

# შოთა პაღაჭკობის



საქართველოს ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტი  
სოციალური მეცნიერებათა დეპარტამენტი

სოციალური მეცნიერებების

საბჭოთა რუსეთში  
საქართველოს  
დამარცხების კრონიკა  
(1921 წელი)

saqarTvel os central ur istoriul arqivSi ganTavsebul i harverdisa da l evil is unikal ur saarqivo dokumentebze dayrdnobiT, naSromSi safuZvl ianadaa Seswavl il i: 1)ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul eba da masTan mimarTebaSi qarTul i sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri azris damokidebul eba; 2)axl ad mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebis safuZvel zea gaanal izebul i, saqarTvel os mTavrobisgan dasavl eT evropaSi 1919 wl is gazafxul ze gagzavnil i dipl omatiuri, ekonomikuri da samxedro komisiis mier qarTul i jarisTvis iaraRis, amunciis, sursaTis Sesasyidad da finansuri sesxis misaRebad gaweul i saqmianoba; 3)naSromSi dasabuTebul ia, rom evropis qveynebisgan daxmarebis dagvianebis gamo, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, XI armias Tbil isis arsenal Si kustarul ad datenil i rusul i vaznebiT Sexvda; 4)axl ad mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebis safuZvel ze garkveul ia, rom baTumis ol qSi osmal eTis saokupacio jaris Semosvl a, saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis `mopatiJebiT- ki ara, ruseT- osmal eTis winaswari garigebiT ganxorciel da; 5)naSroms, damatebis saxiT harvardisa da l evil is saarqivo fondebSi dacul i da istorikosebisaTvis dRemde uc nobi saarqivo (sul 69 dasaxel ebis) dokumentebi erTvis, roml is srul teqsts qarTvel i sazogadoeba pirvel ad gaecnoba.

redaqtori           nugzar zosiZe  
                          istoriis doqtori, profesori

recenzentebi: koka kutubize  
                          fil osofiis doqtori, profesori  
                          manana darCaSvil i  
                          istoriis doqtori, profesori

saqarTvel os okupaciis winaarmdeg  
100 wl is winat mebrZol i qarTvel i  
gmirebis xsovnas eZRVneba es wigni.  
                          di deba maT saxel ebs!

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                                  Tbilisi  
                                  2021

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## Sesaval i

saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis erT- erT umniSvnel ovanes monakveTs 1918-1921 wl ebi warmoadgens. am mcire periodis gansakuTrebul i adgil i imiT aris ganpirobepul i, rom igi ruseTis kol oniuri uRI isgan qarTvel Ta TavdaRwevas da Cvens sinamdvil eSi pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikis Seqmnas ukavSirdeba. vinc safuZvl ianad icnobs am probl ematikisadmi miZRvnil uaxl es samecniero literaturas, udaod dameTanxmeba, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ika, mefis ruseTis mier ekonomikurad dacemul , finansurad gaZarcul da samxreT kavkasiis regionis garSemo mimdinare pol itikurad umZimesi procesebis epicentrSi aRmoCenda. visac saxel mwifos mSenebl obisa da qveynis TavdacviTi meqanizms SeqmnisTvis saWiro finansuri da ekonomikuri SesaZl ebl obebis mniSvnel oba srul fasovnad aqvs gacnobierebul i, mis winaSe bunebrivad daismeba kiTx-va\_ rogor iarseba 1028 dRis ganmavl obaSi qarTul ma saxel mwifom?... miTumetes, dRevand- del i gadasaxedidan, saqarTvel os mesame respubl ikis mTavrobebs, ucxo saxel mwifoebi aTeul obiT mil iardis daxmarebas aZl evdnen da aZl even. mi uxedavad ami sa, qveynis ekonomika, nul ovani niSnul idan, saSual o donis mimarTul ebiT erTi safexuriT win ver wagviw- evia, xol o saxel mwifos srul fasovnad damcavi da teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRmdgeni cocxal i meqanizmi, dResac ver Segviqmnia. tendenciurad daweril i sabWouri litera- turis da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isufl ebis wevrebze ganawyenebul i pirovnebebis mier tyuil ebiT damZimebul i, simarTI idan zarbaznis erTi gasrol iT dacil ebul i memuarul i literaturis tyebaSi moqceul zogierT Cems kol egas, an kidev, istoriul mecnierebaSi ucxo saxel mwifoTa dakveTiT Semoxiznul adamianebs Segnebul ad ar surs im udidesi sirTul eebis gacnobiereba, romel ic axl ad aRmoceneb- ul i saxel mwifos xvedria. miTumetes, Tuki ucxo qveynebidan finansuri daxmareba ar eqneba. Tu ramdenad did sirTul eebTanaa dakavSirebul i saxel mwifos aRmSenebl obis procesi, amis saukeTeso ni muSs dRevandel i saqarTvel os yofa warmoadgens. `donori organizaciebidan- raodenobis daxmarebis mi uxedavad, dRevandel i saqarTvel o eko- nomikurad dacemul da teritoriul ad daCexil mdgomareobaSi. am mZime procesebis, afxazeTidan da Sida qarTI is mTiani zonidan\_ `samxreT oseTidan- 400 aTasi devnil i emateba. am fonze Tuki SevafasebT saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis saqmi- anobas, igi l anZRva- ginebas ki ara, qebaTa- qebas imsaxurebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs; 1)sa- bWoTa ruseTis mier waqzebul i da maRal doneze dafinansebul i separati- stebis safuZvl ianad al agmva; 2)afxazeTsa da Sida qarTI is mTian zonaSi qar- Tvel Ta interesebis Rirseul ad dacva, mama- papeul samkvidrebel ze damagreba da devnil ebad arqceva; 3)saerTaSoriso arenaze qarTvel Ta Rirsebis maRal doneze dacva (marto kol bis antiqarTul i notisadmi e.gegeWkors pasuxic sa- kmarisia); 4)evropisgan Sepirebul i daxmarebis armiRebis mi uxedavad, mezobe- l i qveynebisgan (ruseTi, azerbaijani, somxeTi) 1918- 1920 wl ebis agresiul i qmedebis Rirseul ad mogerieba; 5)saqarTvel os teritoriis mis istoriul sazRvrebSi ZiriTadad aRdgena; 6)qveynis ekonomikis sabWoTa ruseTze, azerba- ijanze da somxeTze ukeTes mdgomareobaSi Cayeneba...

am CamonaTval is fonze, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis bi- ol ogiurad moZul e adamianebs winaSe vsam kiTxvas: 1)ucxo saxel mwifoebi- dan daxmarebis gareSe, romel i pol itikuri Zal a SeZl ebda qveynis SigniT re- formebis ukeTasad gatarebas, rac saqarTvel os social - demokratiul i partiis l iderebma SeZl es 1028 dRis ganmavl obaSi? 2)ratom iviwyeben, qarTvel Ta yve- l aze kritikul momentSi, erovnul - demokratiul i partiis l iderebma qvey- nis winaSe pasuxismgebl obas Tavi rom aarida da saqarTvel os pirvel i respu- bl ikis koal iciur mTavrobaSi Sesvl aze uari ganacxada? maT msgavsad qarTve- l i social - demokratebi (menSevikebi) rom moqceul iyvnen, qveyanas ruseTis kounisturi partiis (b) wevri qarTvel i renegatebi daepatronebodnen da saq- arTvel os damoukidebl obis sakiTxs wertil i maSinve daesmeboda; 3)evropis qveynebis pol itikur moRvaweebTan urTierTobis dasamyarebl ad, saxel mwifo- brivad araRiarebul saqarTvel oSi, romel i pol itikuri partieb- l iderebs gaaCnda im donis avtoriteti da dafaseba, rac karl o Cxeizes, irakl i wereTe- l s, evgeni gegeWkors, akaki Cxenkel s... qonda evropaSi?; 4)ingl isisa da safran- getis premier ministrebTan da sagareo saqmeTa ministrebTan, romel i pol iti-

kuri partiebis l iderebi SeZl ebda ukeT urTierTobas? ai, is el ementarul i kiTxvebi, romel sac saRad moazrovne istorikosebma, l literaturaTmcodneebma, Jurnal istebma... dasabuTebul i pasuxi unda gasces. mxol od amis Semdeg miece- ma zneobrivi ufl eba, il aparakos saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavro- bis Secdomebze. samwuxarod, maTi l eqsikis arsenal Si sityva miRweva ar ar- sebovs. yovel SemTxvevaSi, 1918- 1921 wl ebis xel isufl ebis mimarT- miRwevas arsad ar iyeneben. afetiSeben mxol od im pol itikur Zal as, romel mac, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis saxel mwifos mSenebl obis sarZikvel ze, Tavisi wili aguris dadebaze da misi daSenebis xa- risxis pasuxismgebl obaze uari oficial urad ganacxada. am sinamdvil is gaTval - iswineba nebi smieri saRad moazrovne istorikosi saTvis aucil ebel ia. Cemi aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, savsebiT l ogikurad da mizanSewonil ad mimaCnia saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis zogierTi wevrebis mxridan daSvebul i Secdomebis aRniSvna da misi ganmapirobel i mizezebis dasabuTebul i formiT wina pl anze wamoweva.

Cemi kol egebis garkveul i j gufis mier, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis augad moixseniebis erT- erT ganmapirobel i mizezad, sabWoTa ruseTTan 1921 wl is Te- berval - martis saomari moqmedebebis wagebaa dasaxel ebul i. maT ZiriTad arguments, sa- qarTvel os garSemo warmoqmnil i rusul i safrTxis ignorireba, reagirebis droul ad vergakeTeba, qarTul i j aris saWi roebisamebr ar, an ver SeiaraRebaa miCneul i. **tenden- ciuri xasiaTis memuarul l literaturaze dayrdnobiT, es adami anebi iseT fo- ns qmnian, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis pol itikuri el ita TiTqos mxarTeZoze iyo wamowol il i da saRaTas Zil iT gaTangul i. qveynis winaSe aisbergis msgavsad wamomarTul da daZrul safrTxes ver, an ar acnobierebda.** am SemTxvevaSi, me-11 armi is sardl is general hekkeris saiduml o moxsenebas imowmeben da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas dabegiTebiT `umtkiceben-, rom am dokumentis xel Si Cagdebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam Sesabamisi pragmatul i RonisZiebebi ar gaata- rao. samwuxarod, maT aviwydebaT, rom general hekeris aRniSnul i moxseneba 1920 wl is 18 dekembriTaa daTariRebul i, xol o, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan\_ iaraRis, amuniciis, sursaTis da a.S. SesaZenad evropasi gagzavnil i sagangebo del egaciis pirvel i sxdomis oqms, 1920 wl is 1 maisis TariRi azis. es imas niSnavs, rom gen. hekeris moxsenebis dawe- ramde, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas 7 TviTa da 18 dRiT adre dauwyia qveynis usafrTxo- ebaze pragmatul i RonisZiebebis gatarebisTvis zrunva. am fonze iqneba naSromSi ganxi- l ul i, Tu ramdenad marTebul ia saarqivo masal ebis ucodinari adami anebis mxridan sa- qarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba da usistemod yvel a brun- vaSi moxsenieba. l evil idan da harvardidan Camotanil unukal ur saarqivo dokument- ebze dayrdnobiT daweril i am naSromis bol omde wakiTxvis Semdeg, saRad moazrovne mkiTxvel ma Tavadve gansaj os, zogierTi Cemi kol egisa da tendenciuri memuarebis avto- rTa gamonaTqvamebi da Sefasebebi, Seesabameba Tu ara sinamdvil es.

Cemi es ganxadeba ar exeba grigol onianisa da mi xeil saxvaZis msgavs adami anebis, ra- dgan, maTTvis arqivi da saarqivo dokumenturi masal a pirvel wyaros ki ara, zedmet da- namats warmoadgens. isini mxol od tendenciurad Seqmnil i memuarul i l literaturiT `ikvebebian- da masze dayrdnobiT gkeTebul i `anal iziT-, saqarTvel os pirvel i demokra- tiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas Seuferebel i epiTetebiT moixsenieben. rac Seexeba grigol onians, igi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis damoukidebl obis dauZinebel i mtrebis (i.stal ini, s.orj onikiZe, S.el iava, f.maxaraZe...) gafetiSebas zeaRmatebul formebsi axdens. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis damoukidebl obisadmi maTi siZul vil is warmocenis srul fasovan dokumentad, i.stal inis mier s.orj onikiZisadmi 1921 wl is 15 Teberval s gagzavnil i sayovel Taod cnobil i depeSis teqsti gamodgeba, romel sac gr.oniani mkiTxvel sazogadoebas sagangebod umal avs. **`axl a gadmogcem cekas daSifrul pasuxs, -vki- Txul obT dokumentSi- agreTve winadadebas gaZl ev exl ave Seutio, dasturia, aiRe qal aqi- (stal ini.)** gr.onianis gansakuTrebul i tendenciuroba imaSiac vl inde- ba, rom misi `mtkicebiT,- sabWoTa ruseTis dampyrobl uri pol itikis saqarTvel os winaaRmddeg amoqmedebis danaSaul ebrivi mizezTa- mizezi, Turme saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavroba yofil a.<sup>1</sup>

am tyuil is simarTl ed gasaRebis mizniT, cnobil i istorikosis z.aval iSvil is mog- onebebis Sesaval nawil s iSvel iebs da Sesabamisi citatac moaqvs. mis mier motanil i amonaweris mixedvit, saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan mdgomi `angel ozad- qmnil i sabWoTa ruseTis XI armi is nawil ebTan situaciis garTul ebaSi da saomari moqmedebebis dawye-

baSi, Turme saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isufli eba yofil a damnaSave. iqve, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi umkacresi sayveduria gamoTqmul i imasTan dakavSirebiT, rom man, qveynis Tavdacvis el ementarul i pirobemis Seqmnaze ar izruna da sabWoTa ru-seTis l aSqars `SeIaraRebul i xal xi- ki ara, `partiul i bel adebis j gufi... da maTTan erTad erTgul i miuridebis mcire razmi- daaxvedra.<sup>2</sup> z.aval iSvil is es pozicia, XI armiis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i qarTvel i gmirebis Seuracmyofel ia, istoriis fal sifikaciis SesaniSnavi nimuSia da saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isufli e-bisadmi usafuZvl o cil iswamebiTaa datvirTul i. aseTi fonis Seqmnidan gamomdinare, 1917-1921 wl ebis istoriis probl ematikasTan mimarTebaSi arsebul i saarqivo dokumentebis siRrmiseul ad mcodne yvel a obieqturi mkvl evaris winaSe principul ad ismeba kiTxva: ra mizezebma ganapiroba z.aval iSvil is im doneze ganawyeneba, rom mis mier daweril mogonebebSi, saqarTvel os mTavrobis saqmi anobis Sefasebebi, Cveni qveynis okupaciisa da aneqsiis erT- erTi Semoqmedis\_ Sal va el iavas mosawoni rom gamxdariyo? am saki-Txze pasuxis gacemis mizniT, harvardis universitetisa da l evil is unikal ur saarqivo masal ebSi dadasturebul i uamravi faqtebidan, mxol od erT maTganze SevaCereb mkiTxvel is yuradRebas. saqme exeba saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis mier dasavl eT evropis qveynebSi iaraRis, amunciis, sursaTis da a.S. SeZenis mizniT, saqarTvel os sagangebo del egaciis Tavdadebul da titanur Sromas, romel Siac z.aval iSvil ic aqtiurad monawil eobda. igive dokumentebi, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi misi ganawyenebisa da tendenciurobis Sesazl o ganmapirobebel mizezebzedac mianiSnebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis (dipl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) gaerTianebul sxdomebze (1920 wl is 18, 29 maisi, 2, 8 ivni si) k.CxeiZis, k.kandel akis, k.gvarjal aZis iv.gobeCias, d.RambaSiZis, gen. il .odiSel iZis, gen. al .erisTavis... mxridan gamoTqmul i is gamanadgurebel i kritika, romel ic somxebTan erTad iaraRis SeZenastan dakavSirebiT, z.aval iSvil is mier l ondonSi TviTneburad xel moweril i xel Sekrul ebis mimarT iqna dafiqsirebul i. am faqtis Sesaxeb, dawvril ebiT naSromis meore TavvSi meqneba saubari.

zemoarNiSnul idan da saarqivo dokumentebiT dadasturebul i sxva faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, z.aval iSvil is mogonebebis ukritikod da saarqivo masal ebTan Sedarebis gareSe miReba yovl ad dauSvebel ia. miTumetes, obieqturi mkvl evarisgan pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i, rom es mogonebebi, sabWoTa xel isufli ebisTvis aRmoCnda misaRebi. igi Targmna, winasityvaoba daurTo da gamosacemad moamzada Sal va el iavam. imave mTargmnel is (S.el iava) rekomendaciit iqna 1929 wel s dabeWdil i. wigni B-5 formatis mocul obisaa da 250 gverds SeiCavs.<sup>3</sup>

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi, b.n. gr.onianisTvis meataSed xarisxovania, Torem mis winaSe pirvel rigSi daismeboda kiTxva: ratom daarRvia sabWoTa ruseTma 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul eba da ra esaqmeboda XI armiis saqarTvel oSi. l ogikuri azrovnebis kategoriaSi moqceul am kiTxvas, man gverdi Segnebul ad auara. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis istoriis fal sifikaciit da sinamdvil is Tavdayira dayenebiT damZimebul i Sefasebebi SesTavaza mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. Tavisi `mignebebiTa- da `mecnierul i wiaRsvl ebiT- gaTamamebul i, istoriul i sinamdvil is zRvars maqsimal urad acda da 1918- 1921 wl ebis monakvetis Semsavil el i qarTvel i istorikosebis misamarTIT cil ismwamebl uri sibirnzure isrol a, Tanac urcxvad ganaxxada: `sircxvil ia, rodesac istorikosi dol aris safasurad istorias ayal bebs da Savs TeTrad warmoaCens.<sup>4</sup> marti ac da sircxvil ia, roca istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxiznul i da 1918- 1921 wl ebis unikal uri saarqivo masal ebis kl asikuri donis ucodinari pirovneba, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis uaRresad rTI i istoriis probl ematikis kvl evaze da Sefasebaze pretenzias rom acxadebs. aTgzis sircxvil ad unda CaiTval os is faqti, roca saqarTvel os teritoriis danakuwebis bral debis sibirnzres, gr.oniani saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobas mZivebi vit kiserze rom kidebs. saubedurod, istoriul i faqtebis amneziaqmnil s ar axsendeba: a) sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel moweril i (1921 wl is 16 marti) xel Sekrul eba da saqarTvel os samxreT- dasavl eTis teritoriebis gasxviseba; b) am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebisTvis samarTI ebrivi saxis micemis mizniT, 1921 wl is 13 oqtombers yarsSi xel moweril i xel Sekrul eba da saqarTvel os central uri aRmasrul ebel i komitetis sagangebo sesiaze (1922 wl is 14 april i) misi ratifikacia; g) Segnebul ad iviwyebis 1921- 1936 wl ebSi, ioseb stal inisa da sergo orj onikiZis mier, saqarTvel os teritoriebiT me-

**zobel i respubl ikebis dasaCuqrebis faqtebs. (ix. ruka # 1 da # 3).**

rac Seexeba b-n. mixeil saxvaZes, manac probl emis `Seswavl a- gaSuqebis- ZiriTad wyarod, memuarul i literatura miicnia. masze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os istoriis erTerTi umniSvnel ovanesi periodis mrude sarkeSi warmosaCenad Seqmnil i sagazeTo statia\_ `orj onikiZis, stal inisa da leninis mimowera-<sup>5</sup> SesTavaza mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. am publ i kaciaSi dasmul i sakiTxebidan da msaxvaZiseul i Sefasebebidan mxo-l od ramdenomes Sevexebi: 1). msaxvaZe, n.Jordaniias da mis xel isufl ebas upasuxismgebl obaSi, l amis samSobl os Ral atSi, mavnebl ur qmedebaSi, ruseTis sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan farul SeTanxmebaSi adanaSaul ebs. Cemi es gancxadeba miutevebel bral debad rom ar CameTval os, msaxvaZis imave publ i kaciidan Sesabamis amonawers movitan da utyuari saarqivo dokumentebisadmi pativiscemiT ganmsWval ul ma mkiTxvel ma gansazRvros misi avkargianoba. `ai ras mogviTxrobs- vkiTxul obTY weril Si- general i mazniaSvil i Jordaniias arnaxul upasuxismgebl obaze qveynis Tavdacvisunarianobis mimarT, rac samSobl os Ral atad SeiZl eba CaiTval os. diax, roca ecnobi general mazniaSvil is mier mowodebul masal ebSi Jordaniias, ara Tu mxol od umoqmedobis, aramed mis mier aSkarad Cadenil mavnebl ur qmedebas, aucil ebl ad gebadeba kiTxva: xom ar iyo Jordania farul ad SeTanxmebul i marqsistul i ideol ogiit axl omdgom leninTan\_ saqarTvel o ganiaraRebul i daexvedrebina Tavdamsxmle mxaresTan brZol aSi?!-<sup>6</sup>

sabWoTa historiografiidan nasesxebi epiTetebisa da gaugonari mcdari Sexedul ebebisadmi `damaj erebl obis- micemis mizniT, b-n. msaxvaZe, miseul i Sefasebis amosaval safuZvl ad general gmazniaSvil is mogonebebs miicnevs da Tavisi Sexedul ebis gasamyarebl ad vrcel i amonaweri moaqvs. mas aviwydeba, rom marTI acda am brwyinval e general is mogonebebi, sabWoTa xel isufl ebam wignad 1927 wel s dabeWda. am naSroms vinc safuZvl ianad gaecnoba, masSi mTel rig l ogikur winaaRmdgobebis SeamCnevs. es faqti da misi gamocemis dro, imaze migvani Snebs, rom memuarebis xel nawerma, sabWoTa uSiSroebis mxridan, Sesabamisi formiT redaqtireba ganicada. roca gmazniaSvil is memuarebis sabWo- urad redaqtirebul i varianti dabeWdes, igi emigraciaSi myofi demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom Cemi mdel obis miuxedavad, arqivsacavebis fondebSi gmazniaSvil is memuarebis xel nawers ver mi vakvl ie. savaraudoa, rom igi uSiSroebis TanamSroml ebma moskovSi waiRes da iq ganaxorciel es Sesabamisi Casworebebi. amis Semdeg mi sces wignad dabeWdvis rekomendacia. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, ismeba kiTxva: saqarTvel os istoriis Sida pol itikuri cxovrebis 1918- 1921 wl ebis movl enebis SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi, SeiZl eba Tu ara aRniSnul i memuarebs srul ad daveyrdnoT? Cemi poziciaa\_ ara! Tuki ar dameTanxmebian, keTil i inebon da maCvenon am didi general is memuarebis gmazniaSvil iseul i xel naweri, romel ic wignSi arsebul i Sexedul ebebis xel nawerTan Sesabamisobis gadamowmebis SesaZl ebl obas momcems. Cemi aseTi pozicia, harvardisa da l evil is fondebSi dacul i saarqivo masal ebis safuZvl ianma Seswavl am ganapiroba. imave masal ebiT, rgabaSvil isa da gmazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil i faqtebisa da Sefasebebis siyal be dasturdeba; 2). saqarTvel os pirvel i demokratiul i respubl i kis xel isufl ebis gaukuRmarTebul i formebiT moxsenieba- SefasebebiT, b-n. msaxvaZe, rekordis zRvars scil deba. l eqsikis iseT formebs mimarTavs, roml is msgavsi XX saukunis 20- 30- iani wl ebis sabWoTa historiografiis mesveurebsac ar ukadrebia. **ai, ras wers igi: ocopintre menSevikuri xel isufl ebis uTavobisa Tu am Segnebul i borotmoqmedebis Sesaxeb imaves adasturebs revaz gabaSvil i.**<sup>7</sup> rogorc Cans, am striqonebis avtori arasdros yofil a arqivSi da 1918- 1921 wl ebis Sesaxeb iq ganTavsebul masal ebs xel iT ar Sexebia. mTel i ubedureba imaSia, rom b-n. msaxvaZe, uaxl esi periodis qarTvel i istorikosebis Sromebsac ar icnobs da mxol od da mxol od, memuarul i literaturit `ikvebeba-.

dasarul , b-n. gr.onians da msaxvaZes unda Sevaxseno, rom istoriul i mecniereba, dil etantebis `saj il dao qvas- ar warmoadgens da igi memuarul i literaturit ki ara, saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebis siRrmiseul i analizis safuZvel ze iwereba. sabednierod, es masal ebi yvel a mkvl evarisTvisaa xel misawvdomi da masSi motanil i utyuari faqtebi, gr.onianisa da msaxvaZis msgavsi adami anebis `Sexedul ebebis- sawinaaRmdegos RaRadeben.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i demokratiul i respubl i kis arsebobis historiaSi, erTerTi yvel aze urTul esi dReebi 1921 wl is Teberval - marti iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)sabWoTa ruseTis SeiaraRebul Zal ebTan gadaxdil i umZimesi br-

Zol ebi; 2) general gkvinitazis mier 1921 wl is 24 Teberval s gamocemul i brZaneba # 131, roml is Zal iTac qarTul ma saj ariso SenaerTebma Tbil isi datova; 3) suramis uRel - texil Tan gancdil i marcxil da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis SenarCunebasTan mimarTebaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri situacia; 4) osmal eTis mxridan qarTvel Ta istoriul i teritoriebis mitacebis, kerZod, baTumisadmi dapatronebisa da osmal eTisadmi mierTebis mcdel oba. marTal ia, es sakiTxebi qarTul istoriografiaSi sakmao sisrul iTaa Seswavl il i, magram amas ver vityviT saqarTvel os revkomisa da saqarTvel os pirveli demokratiul i respublikis warmomadgenl ebs Soris quTaisis 1921 wl is 17-18 martis mol aparakebisadmi qarTvel mkvl evarTa damokidebul ebaze. dRevandel i monacemebiT am mol aparakebis mxol od 17 punqtiani SeTanxmebis sabol oo teqstia dabeWdil i.<sup>8</sup> rac Seexeba mol aparakebis stenografiul angariSs, misi publ ikacia dRemde ar ganxorciel ebul a, Tu mxedvel obaSi ar miviRebT imave mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSidan gr.I orTqifaniZisa da moraxel aSvil is saubris samiode mcire amonarids, romel ic Jurnal ma `kavkasionma- gamoaqveyana.<sup>9</sup> aRniSnul i masal iT isargebl a yvel a im mkvl evarma, roml ebic sabWoTa ruseTisa da saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis saj ariso SenaerTebis sabrZol o moqmedebebis fonze, quTaisis mol aparakebas Seexo.

rac Seexeba quTaisis mol aparakebis stenografiul angariSs, igi l evil idan da harvardidan Camotani l saarqivo masal ebSia dacul i da aJamad saqarTvel os central ur istoriul arqivSi inaxeba. es dokumenti, xel is manqanaze nabeWd 51 gverds Seicavs. marTal ia teqstis zogierTi adgil ebi dazianebul ia (gafermkrTal ebul ia) da Znel ad ikiTxeba, magram Cemi kol egebis daxmarebiT, misi amokiTxva SesaZl ebel i gaxda. aRniSnul dokumentTan erTad, imave fondebSi dacul sxva saintereso masal ebsac SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas im mizniT, rom saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis 1920-1921 wl ebis umniSnel ovanes sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi swori Sexedul eba Camouyal ibdes, da rac mTavaria, urwmunoTa gadarwmunebis SesaZl ebl oba Sei qmnas.

saqarTvel o- ruseTis 1920- 1921 wl ebis mimdinare pol itikur procesebTan dakavSirebul i mTel i rigi sakiTxebia ganxil ul i l .uruSaZis,<sup>10</sup> l .ToiZis,<sup>11</sup> S.vadaWkoriaS,<sup>12</sup> a.bendianiSvil is,<sup>13</sup> m.vacnaZisa da v.gurul is,<sup>14</sup> a.dauSvil is,<sup>15</sup> m.baxtaZis,<sup>16</sup> oj anel izis,<sup>17</sup> l .salaral izis,<sup>18</sup> n.kirTaZis,<sup>19</sup> a.CaCxianis<sup>20</sup> da sxvebis samecniero SromebSi.

## Tavi I

### ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul eba da qarTul i pol itikuri azri

damoukidebel i saqarTvel os sagareo pol itikuri istoriis erT- erT umniSnel ovanes sakiTxs, ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul eba warmoadgens. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTal iswinebis fonze, am dokumentis safuZvl iani Seswavl a da misadmi qarTul i pol itikuri azris damokidebul ebis warmocena, qarTul istoriografiaSi jer- jero biT kvl evis sagnad ar gamxdara. arsebul i xarvezis amovsebis mizniT, Sevecdebi pasuxi gavce Semdeg ZiriTad sakiTxebis: 1)ra pozicia eWira dasavl eT evropis qveynebs saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi, ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebis gaformebamde; 2)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis mxridan, saqarTvel os **de-iure- d** aRiarebisgan TavSekaveba, iyo Tu ara sabWoTa ruseTis zegavl enis faqtoriT ganpirobebul i; 3)im etapze mimdinare urTul esi pol itikuri procesebis koniunqTuridan gamomdinare, SeiZl eba Tu ara gamarTI ebul ad CaiTval os sabWoTa ruseTTan 1920 wl is 7 maiss dadebul i xel Sekrul eba. ra iyo am dokumentSi dadebiTi da ra uaryofiti.

probl emis am kuTxiT gaazreba SesaZl ebl obas mogvcems, obieqturad iqnas warmoceni- l i yvel a is niuansi, romel ic argumentirebul ad dasabuTebul i pasuxis momzadebis safuZvel s Seqmnis pol itikuri xasiaTis umniSnel ovanes kiTxvaze\_ ramdenad gaamarTI a ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebam, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis imedebi.



rac Seexeba pirvel kiTxvas: 1)saqarTvel os damoukidebl obasTan mimarTebaSi dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis pozicias 1920 wl is maisamde, rogorc saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebiTaa dadasturebul i, indiferentul xasiaTs atarebda. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa winaSe savsebiT kanonzomierad daisva sakiTxi\_ dasavl eTi Tu aRmosavl eTi. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba swori pol itikuri orientaciis arCevas eniWeboda, radgan, mcireodeni cdomil ebac ki, saqarTvel os momavl isTvis gamousworebel i zianis momtani SeiZl eba gamxdariyo. `sagareo pol itika- ambobda n.Jordania- ganizomeba misi SedegebiT, misaRebia is pol itikuri kursi, romel ic qveynisaTvis sauketeso nayofs izl - eva.-<sup>1</sup> am debul ebis gaTval iswinebiT, qarTul i pol itikuri azris erT- erTi lideri n.Jordania, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis arsebobis SenarCunebis perspeqtivas, mxol od dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebTan mWidro urTierTobaSi xedavda. misi samarTliani mtkicebiT, ramdenadac sabWoTa ruseTisa da saqarTvel os gzebi erTmaneTs dascil da, xol o saqarTvel o pirvandel bunebriv process daubruna, qveyanas tradiciul i evropul i gza unda aerCia. `aq yoymani- ambobda igi- SeuZl ebel ia. Cven mudam virCevT dasavl eTs... Cveni gza midis evropisaken... vici mtrebi ayvirdebian imperial istebs emsaxurebiTo. amitom aq gadaWrit unda vTqva: mirCevnia dasavl eTis imperial istebi aRmosavl eTis fanatikosebs.-<sup>2</sup> rogorc vxedavT, aq evropul i orientacia naTl adaa gamokveTil i. amitom, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes is faqti, rom XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mTel i Zal isxmeva, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoTi evropul i qveynebis dasainteresebl ad rom iyo mimarTul i. am mxriv, saqarTvel os maSindel ma xel isufl e- bam, im etapze arsebul i Sesazl ebl obebis TiTqmis yvel a forma gamoiyena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)saqarTvel os sasargebl od Il internacional is sapropagando saSul ebebis amomedeba; 2)qarTul i dipl omatis mesveurTa mxridan dasabuTebul i formiT ingl isis sagareo saqmeTa saminstrosa da aSS- is mTavrobisadmi wardgenil i oficial uri Txovna (1919 wl is ianvari, Teberval i)\_ saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRiarebis Sesaxeb; 3)parizis samSvidobo konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoebisadmi gakeTebul i vrcel i mimarTva (1919 wl is 14 marti), isev saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRiarebisadmi mxar- dasaWerad.

samecniero l iteraturidan dadasturebul ia, rom qarTvel pol itikosebs evropis saxel mwifoebis daxmarebis imedebi gaucruvdaT. es arc iyo gasakviri, radgan, akCxenkel is sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, antantis saxel mwifoebis, axl adSeqmnil i saqarTvel os saxel mwifo, ruseTis anarqiis `ukanono Svil ad-<sup>3</sup> miaCndaT. isini im etapze erTiani demokratiul i ruseTis aRdgenaze ocnebobdnen da saqarTvel os, ruseTis ganuyofel nawil ad moiazrebdnen. Tu ramdenad mtkivneul ad aRiqva qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi evropul i qveynebis aseTi pozicia, es kargad gamoCnda saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1919 wl is 9 maisis sxdomaze. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `saerTaSoriso pol itikuri mdgomareobis Sesaxeb- e.gegeWkors mier gakeTe- bul i gancxadeba. am dokumentSi ZiriTadi aqcenti evropis qveynebis mxridan `patara erebis daviwyebisa- da maTdami gul gril i damokidebul ebis faqtebze iyo gadatanil i. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis anal izidan gamomdinare, igi savsebiT kanonzomierad dasZenda, rom saqarTvel os sakiTxi `CvenTvis yve- l aferia, maTTvis ki, vinc dResdReobiT ganagebs Cveni da saerTo kacobriobis bediRbal s, Cveni sakiTxi SedarebiT umniSvnel oa, wvriI mania.-<sup>4</sup> am `wvriI man- sakiTxebs parizis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoebi TviTneburad, ama Tu im pol itikuri subieqtisadmi angariSgauwevl ad wyvetdnen. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeni imeds ar hkargavda da saqarTvel os momaval s kvl avac dasavl eTs ukavSirebda. maT kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom Zl ieri mokavSiris Tanadgomis gareSe, saqarTvel o saerTaSoriso aRiarebas ver moi povebda. amis Sesani Snav dadasturebas saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e. gegeWkorsisa da kavkasiaSi ingl isis gansakuTrebul i komisariss o.uordropis 1919 wl is 4 seqtembris saubris Canaweri warmoadgens. `Cven- ambobda e.gegeWkori\_ Zal ian kargad gvesmis, rom Tu ar gveyol a Zl ieri mokavSire, Znel i iqneba Cveni damoukidebl obis cnobis mopoveba... saqarTvel os mTavrobas esmis, rom igi unda daeyrdnos romel ime Zl ier saxel mwifoebriV organizms, da am SemTxvevam ukarnaxa mas garkveul i orientacia ingl isze... igi sTxovs daxmarebas ingl iss da surs icodes, ras moisurvebs ingl isi samagierod.-<sup>5</sup>

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan gadadgmul i es nabiji, ori faqtoriT iyo ganpirobebul i: 1)saerTaSoriso pol itikuri situaciis qarTul ebiT da parizis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoebis mxridan, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriwi damoukidebl obis aRiarebisadmi TavSekavebiT; 2)san-remos momaval konferenciaze, saqarTvel osadmi inglis Sesazl o mxardaWeris miRebis mcdel obiT. aRniSnul i konferenciis (1920 wl is april i) uSual o monawil es z.aval iSvil s Tuki daveyrdnobiT, san-remos konferenciaze saqarTvel os del egaciis warumatebl obis erT-erT mizezs, somxeTisa da azerbaijanis del egaciebis xel mZRvanel ebis mxridan baTumis mxaris garkveul teritoriebze prezenziebis gacxadeba warmoadgenda. ramdenadac amierkavkasiis respublikebs Soris aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi SeTanxmebis miRweva SeuZl ebel i gaxda, inglis warmomadgenel ma b.vansittartma oficial urad ganacxada: `me yvel aferi vcade, rom Tqvens Soris momxdariyo SeTanxmeba... igi moxsendeboda umaRI es sabWos. Cemma megobrul ma rCevam ver gamoiRo nayofi. me iZul ebul i Seviqeni damebana xel i da ganze gavmdgariyavi... Tumca es CemTvis metad saznel oa, unda ganvacxado l ord kerzonis saxel iT,... rom somxeTisaTvis baTumis ol qze rkinis gzisa da misi dasavl eTis Stos srul sakuTrebad gadacemis SeTanxmeba, misis azriT, unda iqnes xel moweril i, da Tu es exl ave ar iqneba Sesrul ebul i, Sedegebis psuxismgebl oba Tqven unda idvaT Tavze, me am SemTxvevaSi miymarTav saqarTvel os del egacias.-<sup>6</sup> am amonaweris mixedvit kargad sCans, rom inglis warmomadgenl oba, saqarTvel os del egacias, somxeTis mtacebl uri prezenziebis dakmayofil ebisaken mouwodebda. Tanac afrTxil ebda, rom am nabijis gadaudgmel obis SemTxvevaSi, amierkavkasiis qveynebisadmi damokidebul ebis Tval -sazrisiT, san -remos konferencia uaryofiT gadawyvetil ebas miRebda. dRevandel i gadasaxedidan Tuki SevafasebT qarTul i del egaciisa da misi meTauris k.CxeiZis Seuval principul obas, isini istoriisa da momaval i Taobebis winaSe pirnatel ni arian, radgan, maTi moqmedeba erovnul i saxel mwifoebriobis interesebis CarCoSi TavSdeba. rac Seexeba san-remos konferenciis uaryofiT Sedegebi dan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis respublikebi dan vansittartis mier saqarTvel osTvis pasuxismgebl obis dakisrebas, tendenciur gancxadebas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, imave konferenciis stenografiul i Canawerebis mixedvit, mTel i simZime ara qarTul , aramed somxur da azerbaijanul del egaciebs ekisreba, radgan maTi moqmedeba, baTumis mxareSi saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriis garkveul i nawil is mtacebasa da saerTaSoriso konferenciaze mis sakuTrebaSi samarTl ebrivad dakanonebas isaxavda miznad. ramdenadac san-remos konferencia saqarTvel osatvis uSedegod damTavrda, xol o l ordkerzonis kavkasiurma pol itikam marcxani ganicada, z.aval iSvil is sityvebiT rom vTqvaT `san-remos Semdeg SeuZl ebel i gaxda evropisagan raime mizanSewonil i daxmarebis miReba, darCa erTiRa gza\_ uSual od ruseTTan da osmal eTTan SeTanxmebisa. gza igi iyo Znel i, saeWvo, magram aucil ebel i. saqarTvel os mTavrobis moval eobas Seadgenda am gziT gadaedga saWi ro nabij ebi.-<sup>7</sup>

saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris kompromisebze dafuznebul i mSvidobiani mezo-bl uri urTierTobis damyarebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, inglis xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebi saqarTvel os del egaciis wevrebs 1920 wl is dasawyisSive azl evda Sesabamis rekomendacias.<sup>8</sup> am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, social - demokratiul i partiis 1924 wl is 28 dekembriis sxdomaze warmoTqmul sityvaSi ir.wereTel i xazgasmiT miuTitebda, rom inglis sagareo saqmeTa ministri l ordi kerzoni `real - isturi pol itikis mosazrebiT... gvirCevda mTel i Cveni pol itikis damyarebas ruseTTan da kavkasiis xal xebTan SeTanxmebaze; uroml isodac mas saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba ar swamda.-<sup>9</sup> imave l .kerzonis mtkicebiT, `saqarTvel os arseboba ar SeeZl o, Tu is ruseTs ar SeuTanxmdeboda da misgan cnobas ar miRebda.-<sup>10</sup> ir.wereTel Tan pirad saubarSi l .kerzonis mier gamoTqmul i zemoaRniSnul i Sexedul eba, qarTul mxares garkveviT mi aniSnebda, rom sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os ara mar to keTil mezo-bl uri urTierToba unda daemyarebina, aramed, misgan aRiarebul ic yofil iyo da usaf-rTxoebis Sesabamisi garantielic mieRo. amis miRweva mxol od im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i, Tuki ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris Sesabamisi xel Sekrul eba gaformdeboda. amis aucil ebl oba ori garemoebiT iyo ganpirobebul i: a)denikinis damarcxebis Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTi Crdil oetidan daumezobl da saqarTvel os, xol o azerbaijanis gasabWoebiT\_ aRmosavl eTidan. samxreTidan osmal eTis agresiiis safrTxesev arseboda; b)saqarTvel os de- iure mxol od osmal eTs (1918 wel i) hqonda aRiarebul i. evro-

pisagan mitovebul i da iuridiul ad misgan ignorebul i qveyana samarTI ebriv sivrc-  
es iyo mowyvetil i da garduval i safrTxis winaSe imyofeboda. miTumetes, sabWoTa  
ruseTis mier denikinis winaaRmdeg saqarTvel osadmi SeTavazebul samxedro xel Sek-  
rul ebaze (1920 wl is 6 ianvari) uarisTqmam, ruseTis xel isuflebis gaafTreba gamoiwvia,  
romel ic faqtiurad am or saxel mwifos Soris `diplomatiur omSi- gadaizarda.<sup>11</sup>

am fonze, sabWoTa ruseTis mTavrobam, `imperial isturi mTavrobemis winaaRmdeg  
SeTanxmebul i- samxedro operaciebis Catarebis, `ruseTisa da osmal eTis xal x-  
ebis- SekavSirebis motivaciiT, mustafa qemal Tan Sesabamisi diplomatiuri  
mol aparakeba daiwyo.<sup>12</sup> aseT pirobebSi myofi saqarTvel osatvis erTaderT ga-  
mosaval s kerzonis mier SeTavazebul i\_ ruseTTan urTierTobis mogvarebis  
gzebis Zieba warmoadgenda. es iyo izul ebiti, magram z.aval isvil is sityvebit  
rom vtqvaT `aucilebel i nabiji-. am mimarTul ebit saqarTvel os xel isuflebas,  
sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan didi winaaRmdegoba ar unda Sexvedroda, radgan, im etapze  
sabWoTa ruseTs ori umniSvnel ovanesi amocana hqonda gadasawrel i: 1) pol onel ebTan  
omis mogeba da 2) yirimSi gamagrebul i vrangel is ganadgureba. am faqtorebis gaTval -  
iswinebi dan gamomdinare, saqarTvel osTan samSvidobo urTierTobis damyareba da samxreTis  
sazRvrebidan usafrTxoebis garantiis miReba, mis pol itikur intaresebSiac Sedioda.  
miuxedavad amisa, rusul safrTxes, qarTul i pol itikuri azri saRi gonebit afasebda  
da real ur gamosaval s mxol od ketil mezobl uri urTierTobis aRdgenaSi xedavda.  
imavdroul ad, qarTul i sazogadoebis yuradRebas saqarTvel osadmi sabWoTa ruseTis  
aramegobrul ganwyobil ebaze miapyrobda. am probl emasTan mimarTebaSi im periodSi  
gamoqveynebul i publikaciebidan, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gaz. `erTobaSi- dabeWd-  
il i mowinave weril i `cven da ruseTi- iqcevs. pol itikuri azrovnebis Tval sazrisiT,  
misi mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom igi saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi denikinis  
jarsa da `witel armias- Soris identurobas xedavda. aqedan gamomdinare, orive matgans  
saqarTvel osatvis real ur safrTxed ganxil avda. `cventvis... araviTari mniSvnel oba  
ara aqvs... vkitxul obT weril Si\_ rom erT j ars win mouZRveba denikini, meores trocki,  
rom erTi j ari iyo `Savi,- meore `witel i.- ras vaqnevT cven j aris ufrosis saxel s, an  
j aris fers, Tuki erTica da meorec erTnair ganadgurebas uqadis cvens ers.-<sup>13</sup> aq  
garkveviTaa mititebul i, rom saqarTvel osTvis denikini da sabWoTa ruseTi momakvdinebel  
safrTxes warmoadgendnen. amitom, Crdil oetidan samxreTisaken dagorebul i aisbe-  
rgisaTvis saqarTvel os Sesabamisi Tavdacviti meqanizmi unda daepirispirebi-  
na. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi misi daRupva qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWe-  
ebs garduval ad esaxeboda.

rac Seexeba dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa mxridan ruseTis faqtoris  
gaTval iswinebas da saqarTvel os iuridiul ad aRiarebaze TavSekavebas, mimdi-  
nare pol itikuri procesebis anal izidan gamomdinare, es sakiTxi real obas  
warmoadgenda. qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeni darwmunebul ni iyvnen,  
rom Tuki sabWoTa ruseTi iuridiul ad saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas aRia-  
rebda, amit igi ruseTis yofil i imperiis erT- erT Semadgenel nawil ze\_ saqa-  
rTvel oze oficial urad teritoriul pretenziebs moxsnida. meore mxriv, ru-  
seTi (osmal eTis Semdeg) pirveli qveyana iqneboda, romel ic saqarTvel os saerTa-  
Soriso samarTI ebrivi subieqtis rangSi warmoaCenda. `am Tamasuqit-, rogorc  
n.Jordania ambobda, qarTul i diplomatia `evropis aeropagis winaSe- warsdge-  
boda da warmatebasac moipovebda.<sup>14</sup> amis imeds, qarTul i pol itikuri azris  
erT- erT liders, ir.wereTel Tan saubrisas l ord kerzonis mier gakeTebu-  
li gancxadeba aZi evda. `ruseTTan mtrul i damokidebul eba Tu geqnaT,- ambo-  
bda kerzoni- ingl isi ara Tu Tqvens daxmarebas ver ikisrebs, aramed cnobasac  
ver mogcemT, vnaidan cventvis komprometacia iqneba iset pirobebSi cnoba  
axal i saxel mwifosi, Tu mas momavl is piri ar eqneba.-<sup>15</sup>

arNi Snul i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom ingl isis sagareo saqmeTa ministri, ruseTis  
faqtors gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aniWebda da saqarTvel os momaval s axl adSeqm-  
nil sabWour saxel mwifosTan ketil mezobl uri urTierTobis rangSi ganxil avda. es  
imas niSnavda, rom denikinis da iudeniCis damarcxebis (1919 wl is noemberi- 1920 wl is  
ianvari) Semdeg, ruseTSi kanonieri xel isuflebis aRdgenis ideas, ingl isi dRis wes-  
rigidan xsnida da masTan ekonomikuri da pol itikuri SeTanxmebis Sesaxeb mol aparake-  
bas agrZel ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, l oid j orj is mTavroba, ruseTis Semadgenel naw-  
il ad saqarTvel os aRar moiazrebda. imavdroul ad, anal ogiuri poziciis ruseTis

mxridanac oficial ur dadasturebas urCevda saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obas. kerzoni mxridan pol itikuri rCevs Sesaxeb, Cems mier motanil i zemoaRniSnul i faqtebi angariSgasawevia. misi uaryofa mxol od Sesabamisi dokumenturi masalis (Tuki aseTi arsebobs) safuZvel ze gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom urTul es pol itikur situaciaSi myofi saqarTvel os mimarT, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi im etapze gul gril obas iCendnen. amis Sesaxeb igive ir.wereTel i garkveviT miuTitebda, rom `evropis pol itikuri ZarRvis saukeTeso mcodne (kerzoni S.v.) gvafRTx- il ebda, gadaWarbebul i imedebisgan evropis daxmarebaze, radgan icoda, ramdenad gul gril ad uyurebda Soreul i kavkasiis xal xebis beds mTel i evropis da kerZod ingl isis burJuazia.-<sup>16</sup>

aRniSnul i faqtebi imis maCvenebel ia, rom ruseTTan keTil mezobl uri urTierTobis damyarebisa da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri vi arsebobs dadasturebis misaRwevad, Sesabamisi gzebis Ziebis erTaderT saSual ebad\_saxel Sekrul ebo arCevani rCeboda. mi- Tumetes, v.l enini da istal ini saqarTvel os, sabWoTa ruseTis ganuyofel nawil ad mo- iazrebda da mis saSinao saqmeebSi Carevis pretenzias acxadebda.<sup>17</sup>

oficial uri saxiT gakTebul i aseTi ganacxadi, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis mxridan saqarTvel os **de-iure** aRiarebisgan TavSekavebis erT- erT ganmsazRvrel faq- tors warmoadgenda. amitom iyo, rom sabWoTa ruseTis pozicias saqarTvel osTan mi- marTebaSi, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aniWebdnen. zogierTi istorikosis mier gamoTqmul i mosazreba, imis Sesaxeb, rom aral egitimur sabWoTa ruseTTan dadebul xel Sekrul ebas saqarTvel osaTvis saerTaSoriso Tval sa- zrisiT `araviTari rol is Sesrul eba ar SeeZl o-<sup>18</sup> araswor debul ebas warmoadgens. aseTi saxis gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi da damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 11 maisis sxdomaze qarTvel kanonmdebel Ta gamosvl ebi iZl eva. **exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, qarTul i pol itikuri azris erT- erTi mesaWe g.gvazava garkveviT miuTitebda:** `exl ac amboben, rom bol Sevikuri ruse- Tis cnoba TiTqos ar aris mniSvnel ovani, imitom, rom TviTon bol Sevikebi ar arian cnobil ni rogorc mTavroba. iuridiul ad es azri marTal ia, magram Tu mivaqcevT yuradRebas imas, rom dRevandel i ruseTi ganagebs im ruseTs, romel - sac ekuTvnodazal aufl eba `imperium,- da romel ic saqarTvel ozedac vrcel de- boda, maSin aseT xel Sekrul ebas aqvs udidesi mniSvnel oba... ruseTi 117 wl is ganmavl obaSi ar scnobda Cvens suverenobas da exl andel i ruseTi iZul ebu- l i gaxda ecno Cveni damoukidebl oba, suverenoba da acxadebs, rom igi xel s iRebs `imperium-- zed, e.i. umaRl es mbrZanebl obazed. ruseTma gaatara is xazi, romel ic moskovSi dadebul xel Sekrul ebaSi gvaqvs Cven exl a... am xel Sekru- l ebas aqvs uaRresi mniSvnel oba saerTaSoriso ufl ebaSi.-<sup>19</sup>

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom bol Sevikuri ruseTis xel isufl ebis ara- l egitimurobidan gamomdinare, xel Sekrul ebis saerTaSoriso mniSvnel obisadmi skep- tikuri damoukidebul eba XX saukunis 20- iani wl ebis zogierT pol itikur moRvawesac gaaCnda, radgan isini sakiTxs mxol od wminda samarTi ebrivi kuTxiT ganixil avdnen da istorizmis principis ignorirebas akeTebdnen. **aseT adamianebs g.gvazava imave dam- fuZnebel i krebis sxdomaze Seaxsenebda:** `ruseTi rom iseTi saxel mwifo yo- fil iyo, rogoric aris patara, axl adSobil i saxel mwifoebi... somxeTi da az- erbaijani, Tavistavad cxadia, am xel Sekrul ebas, maT cnobas araviTari mniS- vnel oba ar eqneboda.- es imas niSnavs, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris saRad moazrovne nawil i, sabWoTa ruseTs, xel isufl ebis mxol od aral egitimurobis poziciidan ki ar ganixil avda, aramed, pirvel rigSi angariSs mis potencieur SesaZl ebl obebsa da ukidegano sivrces uwevda. am faqtoris gansakuTrebul obas evropis saxel mwifoebic ki aRiarebdnen, aqedan gamomdinare, 1)momxdari faqtis Sefase- bas, g.gvazavas si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswi neba da dasavl eT evropis didi saxel mwifoebis moRvaweTa rekomendaciebi unda dadeboda safuZvl ad. swored amaze mianiSnebda kerzoni pirad saubarSi ir.wereTel s; 2)antantis qveynebma da gansakuTrebiT ingl isma, 1920 wl idan ruseTis imperiis arDgenaze rom xel i aiRo, amis dadasturebas, sabWoTa ruseTsa da ingl iss Soris ekonomikuri da pol iti- kuri urTierTobis sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi saxel Sekrul ebo mol aparakebis dawyeba warmoadgens; 3)im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki ruseTis xel isufl ebis aral egitimurobidan gamom- dinare, evropis saxel mwifoebi angariSs ar uwevdnen mas, maSin riT unda aixsnas is faqti, rom gamarj vebul i germania, rogorc z.aval iSvil i wers, saqarTvel os aRiarebis

sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Sesabamisi Tanxmobis miRebas pirvel rigSi ruseTidan moiTxov-  
da. am mimarTul ebiT sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebasTan saTanado mol aparakebasac  
awarmoebda. germaniis mxridan saqarTvel os de- faqto aRiareba mxol od mas  
Semdeg moxda, roca 1918 wl is ivl isSi germania- ruseTs Soris Sesabamisi  
SeTanxmeba iqna miRweuli,<sup>20</sup> romel mac asaxva ruseT- germaniis damatebiTi  
samSvidobo xel Sekrul ebis (1918 wl is 27 agvisto) me- 13 muxl Si hpova. `ruse-  
Ti\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ Tanxmobas acxadebs, rom germaniam cnos saqarTve-  
l o rogorc damoukidebel i saxel mwifo.-<sup>21</sup>

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul i imis damadasturebel ia, rom aral egitimurobisa Tu l egi-  
timaciis miuxedavad, sabWoTa ruseTis faqtors, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi anga-  
riSs uwevdnen, miuxedavad imisa, Tavsdoboda Tu ara igi saerTaSoriso samarTI ebriv  
CarCoSi. aqedan gamomdinare, Cems mier motanil i faqtebis gaTval iswineba aucil ebel ia  
Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom sxva dokumentur masal asTan Sepirispire-  
bis safuZvel ze, igi probl emis garSemo wamoWril i sakiTxebis obieqturad gaazrebis  
sa-Sual ebas iZl eva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifos maRal i rangis moxel eTa da  
qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa mxridan SemoTavazebul i rekomendacie-  
bidan gamomdinare, rogorc n.Jordania ambobda, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis  
winaSe ori ZiriTadi sakiTxi idga gadasawyvetad: 1)ruseTis mxridan saqarTve-  
l os damoukidebl obisa da 2) misi teritoriul i sazRvrebis aRiarebis miRwe-  
va.<sup>22</sup> amis garantad, qarTvel pol itikosebs, saqarTvel o- ruseTs Soris dadebu-  
l i xel Sekrul eba miaCndaT. meore mxriv, aseTi saxis dokumentis SeqmniT, ruseTis  
mxridan qarTvel i eris ufl ebebis aRiareba da am ufl ebebze dafuZnebul i qa-  
rTul i saxel mwifos suverenobis cnoba oficial urad moxdeboda. isic gasa-  
Tval iswinebel ia, rom im etapze saqarTvel os xel isufli eba erTa l igis saer-  
TaSoriso organizacias imedis Tval iT Sehyurebda da masSi gawevrianebisen  
iswrafvoda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTvel o, ruseTidan Camocil ebul ad da  
gancal kevebul ad TviT aral egitimuri sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufli ebis mier  
ar iqneboda aRiarebul i, ruseTTan urTierTobis qarTul ebisa da Crdil oel i  
mezobl isgan mosal odnel i safrTxis motivaciIT, saqarTvel os sakiTxs erTa  
l ligaSi arcki ganxil avdnen. swored, zemoaRniSnul ma garemoebebma gansazRvra  
ruseTTan SeTanxmebis misaRwevad gr.urataZis moskovSi gazavna.

rogorc cnobil ia, saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris xel Sekrul ebas xel i 1920 wl is 7  
maiss moewera. es dokumenti maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri azris msj el obis sagani  
gaxda. mis ganxil va- SefasebaSi aqtiuri monawil eoba miRo im etapze saqarTvel oSi  
moqmedma pol itikuri partiebisa da mimdinareobebis TiTqmis yvel a warmomadgenel ma.  
aRniSnul i xel Sekrul eba Tu rogor iqna Sefasebul i qarTul i pol itikuri azris me-  
sveurTa mxridan, amis gasarkvevad pasuxi unda gaeces mesame kiTxvas; 3)ramdenad  
gamarTI ebul ad SeiZl eba CaiTval os sabWoTa ruseTTan dadebul i zemoaRniS-  
nul i xel Sekrul eba, rogor aRiqva igi qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam, ra  
iyo masSi dadebiTi da ra uaryofiti.

dasmul i probl emis ukeT warmocenis mizniT, am SemTxvevaSi erT- erT ZiriTad doku-  
ments saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 11 maisis sxdomis stenografiul i  
angariSi warmoadgens. ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebas damfuZnebel i krebis monaw-  
il eni ZiriTadad saqarTvel os iuridiul ad aRiarebis kuTxiT ganxil avdnen. aseTi  
fonis Seqmna imiTac iyo ganpirobepul i, rom saqarTvel os de- iure cnobis mizniT, 1918  
wl is maisidan dawyebul i mraval gzisi mcdel oba, TiTqmis uSedegod damTavrda. am Se-  
mTxvevaSi, qarTul i saxel mwifos pol itikur el itas gansakuTrebul precedentTan hqonda  
saqme. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWoTa ruseTs Camocil ebul i yofil i kol oniis mZime saer-  
TaSoriso mdgomareoba da aseT situaciaSi myofi saqarTvel os iuridiul ad aRiarebis  
faqti. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, imave damfuZnebel i krebis sxdomaze ak.Cxenkel i  
garkveviT miuTitebda, rom `ruseTma daarRvia, Tu gnebat, is Cveul eba, romel -  
ic icis saerTaSoriso istoriam. iuridiul i cnoba saxel mwifos mier Tavisi  
yofil i nawil isa xdeba mxol od imis Semdeg, roca mas icnoben sxva saxel mwi-  
foebi. Cvens SemTxvevaSi moxda piriqit. Cven viqeniT cnobil i de- iure im sa-  
xel mwifos mier, romel sac gamoveyaviT, da ar varT cnobil ni imaTgan, visTanac  
ar viyaviT dakavSirebul ni.-<sup>23</sup>

am SemTxvevaSi ak.Cxenkel i dipl omatiur formebSi garkveul gul istkivil s gamoTq-  
vamda im evropul i saxel mwifoebis mimarT, roml ebic saqarTvel os de- iure aRiareb-

isgan TavS ikavebdnen da sabWoTa ruseTis mol odinSi iyvnen. swored es garemoeba ganapirobebda im `eiforias,- momxdarma faqtma qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebSi rom gamoiwvia. aseTi ganwyobis miuxedavad, saqarTvel osTvis im etapze Seqmni- li mZime pol itikuri situaciis fonze, qarTvel i pol itikosebi zemoaRniSnul i xel Sekrul ebis mniSvnel obas ZiriTadad sworad afasebdnen. qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTaTvis am SemTxvevaSi Sefasebis kriteriums Tu ra warmoadgenda, amis nimuSad gazeT `saxal xo saqmeSi- gamoqveynebul i mowinave statia\_ `morigi gamarj veba- gamodgeba. `dRes miRweulia usisxl od\_ vkiTxul obT weril Si,\_ rasac mTel i qarTvel i eri eswrafvoda. ruseTTan zavi da aRiareba saqarTvel os damoukidebl obisa Tavis bunebriv sazRvrebSi- es aris morigi gamarj veba, rasac Cven siamovnebiT vul ocavT mTel qarTvel ers.-<sup>24</sup>

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeni, ruseTTan urTierTobis daregul irebas da ruseTis mxridan Tavis bunebriv sazRvrebSi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRiarebas\_ prioritetaad miicnevda. am sakiTxTan mimarTeBaSi damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 11 maisis sxdomis monawil eTa pozicia TiTqmis identuri iyo. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iv.gobeCias mier imave damfuZnebel i krebis sxdomaze warmotqmul i sityva iqcevs. man winapl anze ori sakiTxi wamoswia: 1) sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis iuridiul ad aRiarebisa da 2) saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebisadmi yovel gvare saxis pretenziebis moxsnis dadastureba. es faqti iv.gobeCias, saqarTvel osTvis saerTaSoriso mniSvnel obis movl enad miacnda. `mTel ma kacobriobam unda gaigos- ambobda igi, rom saqarTvel os miwa- wyal is erTaderTi uzenaesi patroni aris mxol od saqarTvel os xal xi, rom ruseTma Tavis nesiT uari ganaxada yovel gvar suverenul ufl ebebze, romel ic mas odesme ekuTvnode saqarTvel os xal xisa da miwa- wyl is mimarT.-<sup>25</sup> am SemTxvevaSi, iv.gobeCia dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis meTaurebs, ruseTis mxridan yovel gvare saxis pretenziebis saqarTvel oze moxsnis faqts Seaxsenebda. imavdroul ad, qarTvel i xal xisa da misi saxel mwifoebriobis arsebobis saerTaSoriso samarTI ebriv sivrceSi Seyvanis mxardasaWerad, Sesabamisi nabij is gadadgmisken mouwodebda. isic sayuradReboa, rom zemoaRniSnul xel Sekrul ebas, qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi, saqarTvel osaTvis im etapze sasicocxl o mniSvnel obis sakiTxebis mosawesrigebl ad xel Semwyobis rangSi ganxil avdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs dasavl eT evropis mxridan, saqarTvel osadmi ekonomikuri da finansuri daxmarebis SesaZl ebl oba. qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa mtkicebiT, dasavl Tis qveynebi am mimarTul ebiT praqtikul ad nabij s mxol od mas Semdeg gadadgamdnen, Tuki saqarTvel osTvis usafrTxoebisa da iuridiul ad aRiarebis real - uri garanti Seiqmneboda. swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi g.gvazavas, roca qarTvel kanonmdebl ebs Seaxsenebda: `CvenTvis axl a iuridiul i cnoba, aucil ebel saWiroebas warmoadgens,... uamisod gadaWra Cveni ekonomikuri da finansuri cxovrebis yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia... amitom, exl andel iuridiul cnobas aqvs gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba... imitom, rom ar iqneba arc erTi saxel mwifo dedamiwis zurgze, romel ic ar gauwevs angariSs bol Sevikur cnobas. e. i. ruseTis mier saqarTvel os cnobas.-<sup>26</sup>

aRniSnul i amonaweridan kargad sCans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri azris erTerTi mesaWe, ganaTI ebiT iuristi g.gvazava, ruseTTan dadebul xel sekrul ebas saerTaSoriso mniSvnel obas aniWebda da mas, saqarTvel osTan mimarTeBaSi evropul i saxel mwifoebisaTvis arsebul i barieris moxsnis rangSi ganxil avda. meore mxriv, igi imeds gamoTqvamda, rom sabWoTa ruseTis mier oficial urad gacxadebul damoukidebl obas, sazRvargareTis qveynebi angariSs gauwevdnen, ara marto de- iure aRiarebis, aramed misadmi ekonomikuri da finansuri daxmarebis Tval sazrisiTac. aRniSnul i da sxva faqtorebi hqonda mxedvel obaSi social ist- federal istTa partiis erT- erT liders S.nucubizes, roca imave damfuZnebel krebase xazgasmit miuTitebda, rom sabWoTa ruseTi `srul iad garkveul ad aRiarebs imas, rasac Cven pretenziis sagnad vacxadebdiT da rasac Cven erovnul i arsebobis aucil ebel pirobad vaRiarebdiT.-<sup>27</sup>

qarTul i pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebi, S.nucubizis sityvebiT rom vtqvat, `erovnul i arsebobis aucil ebel pirobad- mTel rig komponentebTan erTad saqarTvel os teritoriis fargl ebis gansazRvrasa da mis dadasturebas miicnevden. ramdenadac am xel Sekrul ebis meoTxe muxl is pirvel i paragrafis mixedviT ruseTi baTumisa da zaqaTal as mxareebis saqarTvel os udao teritoriad acx-

adebda, xol o meore paragrafi, samxret kavkasiis sanamestnikos ama Tu im nawil is Se-  
moerTebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda saqarTvel os im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki amis Sesaxeb Sesa-  
bamis saxel mwifo erTeul Tan igi saTanado xel Sekrul ebiT iqneboda dadasturebul i.<sup>28</sup>  
es faqti, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa Soris did kmayofil ebas iwvevda. amis  
Sesaxeb garkveviTaa miTiTebul i gazeT `erTobaSi~ dabeWdil mowinave statiaSi `ruseTi  
da azerbaij ani-. `xel Sekrul ebiT\_ vkiTxul obT weril Si\_ sakmaod naTI ad da mkafiod  
aris gansazRvrul i Cveni teritoriis fargl ebi, rogorc Crdil oetis, ise aRmosavl e-  
Tis mxriv. Cvensa da azerbaij ans Soris gavl ebul ia erTgvari xazi.<sup>29</sup>

rac Seexeba baTumis mxaris sakiTxs, Tavis gamosvl ebSi egegeWkorma da ak.Cxenkel ma  
erTxel kidev dadastures baTumis mxaris saqarTvel os kuTvnil ebad aRiarebis saer-  
TaSoriso mniSvnel oba. `baTumis dabroneba\_ ambobda ak.Cxenkel i\_ ubral o samarTI ianobis  
da saerTaSoriso Tavazianobis saqmea. es miT ufro unda iyos gasagebi yvel asaTvis  
exl a, roca TviT ruseTi baTumsa da mis ol qs saqarTvel os teritoriis nawil ad Tvl is  
da ase Seaqvs xel Sekrul ebaSi.<sup>30</sup>

ak.Cxenkel is gamosvl is aseTi forma SemTxveviTobas ar warmoadgenda. mas garkveul i  
adresati hyavda. kerZod, ingl isis xel isufl eba, romel ic baTumis mxaris saqarTvel osadmi  
gadacemas Segnebul ad aWianurebda. ruseTTan dadebul i xel Sekrul ebis IV muxl is mo-  
Svel iebiT, ak.Cxenkel i mokavSireebs `samarTI ianobisa da saerTaSoriso Tavazianobi-  
sken- mouwodebda. imavdroul ad, baTumis mxaris kanonieri mfl obel isadmi gadacemis  
aucil ebl obasac Seaxsenebda. es imas niSnavs, rom aRniSnul `xel Sekrul ebas, saqarTve-  
l os xel isufl eba saerTaSoriso Tval sazrisiT dipl omatiuri da propagandistul i  
xasiaTis datvirTvasac aniWebda. miTumetes, qarTul i pol itikuri azris umetesobis  
mxridan, es dokumenti saerTaSoriso xasiaTis xel Sekrul ebad iqna aRiarebul i. amis  
Sesaxeb egegeWkori, ak. Cxenkel i da ggvazava xazgasmiT miuTiTebdnen. `es xel Sekrul e-  
ba\_ ambobda ggvazava,\_ aris saerTaSoriso xasiaTis... am xel Sekrul ebas aqvs uaRresi  
mniSvnel oba saerTaSoriso ufl ebaSi. Cven aseT xel Sekrul ebas gamoviyenebT, wavi RebT  
evropaSi, warudgenT iq, sadac wesi da rigi moiTxovs da Tavistavad cxadia ar gamoCn-  
deba iseTi qveyana, romel ic gamoacxadebs davas saqarTvel os teritoriaze, an mis ama Tu  
im nawil ze.<sup>31</sup>

rogorc vxedavT, ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebiT aRiarebul saqarTve-  
l os sazRvrebs, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeni ucxo saxel mwifoTa mxri-  
dan saqarTvel os kuTvnil i teritoriebis mitacebisagan dazRvevis erT- erT  
garantad Tvl idnen. amis real ur safuZvel s sabWoTa ruseTis mier osmal eTis  
didi erovnul i krebisadmi gagzavnili nota (1920 wl is 19 dekemberi) warmoad-  
gens. am dokumentis mixedvit, `sabWoTa ruseTis mTavroba mizanSewonil ad  
Tvl ida, osmal eT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul eba SemuSavebul iyo ruseT- saqarTve-  
l os xel Sekrul ebis safuZvel ze.<sup>32</sup> es imas niSnavs, rom garkveul i mosazrebe-  
bidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTi, osmal eTis xel isufl ebas baTumis mxaris  
saqarTvel os kuTvnil ebad aRiarebis aucil ebl obaze mianiSnebda. meore mxriv,  
am dokumentze dayrdnobiT qarTul i mxare, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa  
winaSe, saqarTvel osTvis saerTaSoriso samarTI ebrivi ufl ebebis aRdgenis  
sakiTxis dasmas apirebda. Tu ramdenad ganxorciel ebadi aRmoCndeboda es imedebi,  
igi pol itikuri procesebis ganvitarebaze iyo damokidebul i. erTi ram cxadia, qarTu-  
l i pol itikuri azris l iderebi, saqarTvel os iuridiul ad aRiarebis daCqarebis Tva-  
l sazrisiT, ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebas gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas aniWe-  
bdnen. maTive mtkicebiT, aRniSnul i dokumentis safuZvel ze 1) Crdil oetis frontis  
Tundac droebiTi `gauqmebiT,- azerbaij anisa da osmal eTis frontis xaziT warmatebis  
misaRwevad saqarTvel os meti SesaZl ebl obebi eZl eoda; 2) xel Sekrul ebis VI muxl is  
mixedvit, ruseTi val debul ebas iRebda, saqarTvel os mTavrobis winaaRmdeg (mis dasamx-  
obad) an misi saxel iT moqmedi j gufebi da organizaciebi ar daeSva Tavis teritoriaze.  
zegavl enas moaxdenda mis mokavSire saxel mwifoebze, raTa anal ogiuri saxis j gufebisa  
da organizaciebis saqmianoba droul ad yofil iyo maT mier aRkveTil i.<sup>33</sup> 3) imave xel Se-  
krul ebis XII, XIII da XV muxl ebi, saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris savaWro, ekonomi kuri  
da kul turul i urTierTobebis aRdgenis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi dokumentebis momzadebas  
iTval iswinebda. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul praqtikul nabij s da or qveyanas Soris  
normal uri urTierTobis damyarebas, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeni qveynis eko-  
nomikis gaj ansarebis aucil ebl obis Wril Si ganxil avdnen.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, rom qa-

rTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam, ruseT- saqarTvel os xel Sekrul eba sxvada-  
sxva saxis epiTetebiT rom Seamko. gazeTma `erTobam- am dokuments `axal i ga-  
marj veba,- gazeTma `saxal xo saqmem- `morigi gamarj veba- da saqarTvel os `is-  
toriul gzaze kidev erTi gamarj vebis miRweva- uwoda. g.gvazavas azriT, es  
xel Sekrul eba `Cveni erovnul i gamarj veba-<sup>34</sup> iyo, xol o ivgobeCias mtkicebiT,  
qarTvel i eris `didi gamarj veba.-<sup>35</sup>

Cems mier motanil i masal ebi iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, TiTqos zemoaRniSnul i xe-  
l Sekrul eba unaki o yofil iyos da saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi kiTxviTi niSnebi ar  
hqonodes. maSindel i qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi ratomRac am konkretul  
muxl ebTan mimarTebaSi dumdnen. rogorc Cans, xel Sekrul ebaSi isini dadebiTs ufro  
mets xedavdnen, vinem uaryofiTis. sxvagvarad warmoudgenel ia xel Sekrul ebis III, V, X  
muxl ebisa da 7 maiss xel moweril i damatebisadmi maTi mxridan gverdis avl a. arada, xe-  
l Sekrul ebis aRniSnul i nawil i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaSe mZime moTxovnebis  
Sesrul ebis aucil ebl obas ayenebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) xel Sekrul ebis III muxl is  
meore nawil i, roml is mixedviTac ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris saxel mwifo sazRvris  
damdgeni ormxrivi Sereul i komisiis daskvnamde, 1922 wl is pirvel ianvramde sazRvris  
uRel texil ebi (sazRvridan 5 versis manZil ze) neutral urad cxaddeboda. drois am  
monakveTSi, uRel texil ebis dakavebis, an misi gamagrebis ufl eba orive mxares ekrZal e-  
boda; 2) meaTe muxl is V da VI paragrafebis moTxovnebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os  
xel isufl ebas misi teritoriidan yvel a is samxedro SenaerTi unda **ganedevna (к  
удалению)**, roml ebic qarTul i jaris Semadgenl obaSi ar Sedi odnen, da rac mTavaria,  
ucxo qveynis jaris nawil ebi saqarTvel os teritoriaze momaval Siac ar yofil iyo da-  
Svebul i.<sup>36</sup> aRniSnul i faqtebidan gamomdinare; a) saqarTvel os Crdil oeTis sazRvris  
strategiul i uRel texil ebi, wel iwadi da 7 Tvis ganmavl obaSi (xel Sekrul ebis dade-  
bidan 1922 wl is ianvramde) dauvel i rCeboda; b) meaTe muxl is V da VI paragrafebi,  
saqarTvel os teritoriaze myofi ucxo qveynis jaris nawil ebSi, ingl isis samxedro Se-  
naerTebis gul isxmobda, romel ic im periodSi baTumis mxareSi iyo disl ocirebul i. sa-  
qarTvel os teritoriidan swored maT gandevnas iTval iswinebda zemoaRniSnul i para-  
grafebi. imavdroul ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas ucxo saxel mwifos samxedro naw-  
il ebis Semoyvana qveynis usafrTxoebis mizniTac ekrZal eboda. es imas niSnavs, rom  
saqarTvel o, sabWoTa ruseTis pirispir martod- marto unda darCenil iyo da qveynis  
usafrTxoebis bedi erovnul saj ariso SenaerTebze daemyarebina.

Cemi azriT, swored es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel obaSi qarTul i pol itikuri azris  
mesaWeebs, rodesac gansakuTrebul aqcentirebas qveynis Tavdacvi sunari anobis gaZl ierebaze  
akeTebdnen. `yovel ive xel Sekrul eba\_ ambobda e.gegeWkori\_... faratina qaral dad iqceva,  
Tuki mas ar hyavs fxizel i jari, romel ic yovel wamSi mzad iqneba iaraRiT xel Si  
daicvas is ufl eba, romel ic... am xel Sekrul ebiT moipova.-<sup>37</sup>

saqarTvel os damouki debl obis SenarCunebis real ur garants, akCxenkel i ara xel Sek-  
rul ebaSi, aramed Zl ier erovnul saj ariso SenaerTebSi xedavda. aqedan gamomdinare  
principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs: `mTel i Cveni gonebrivi,... zneobrivi da nivTier i Zal a  
unda movikriboT imisTvis, rom Cveni respubl ikis damoukidebl oba, misi Tavdacvis  
saqme... saR niadagze davayenoT. es aris Cveni uwmindesi moval eoba demokratiisa, mTel i  
erisa da saqarTvel os xal xis winaSe. uamisoT Cven ar SegviZl ian vsTqvaT, rom Cveni mo-  
maval i uzrunvel yofil i aris.-<sup>38</sup>

saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl ebis mesveurebs, am onawerSi dasmul i sakiTxebis  
droul i mogvarebis aucil ebl oba maRal doneze rom hqondaT gacnobierebul i, amis  
dadasturebas 1919 wl idan evropasi saqarTvel os del egaciis muxl Cauxrel i saqmiano-  
ba warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis qveynebidan iaraRis, amunciis da sursatis  
Sesyidvis mcdel oba. am umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebis Sesaxeb, saarqivo dokumentebze  
dayrdnobiT naSromis meore TavSi meqneba saubari.

rac Seexeba xel Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i araxel sayrel i muxl ebidan gamomdinare sa-  
frTxes, qarTul i pol itikuri azris liderebs, es garemoeba SesaniSnavad hqondaT  
gacnobierebul i. ami tom iyo, rom Crdil oel i mezobl is mxridan SemoTavazebul i nebi-  
smieri `siurprizisadmi- Rirseul ad daxvedris sakiTxs ayenebdnen dRis wesrigSi.  
`did ruseTs\_werda gazeTi `erToba- arasodes ar eqneba SiSi patara saqarTvel os  
Tavdasxmis, magram patara saqarTvel os ki unda hqondes geografiul ad da strategiul  
ad gamagrebul i sanapiroebi, rom pirvel ma avantiuristma da monapire razmma... iol aT  
ar gadmol axos Cveni sazRvreb i da Suagul Si ar Semogvesi os. Tavdacvi saTvis... aris sa-



Wiro aqac mtkice da sasurvel i sazRvris dadeba.-<sup>39</sup>

imave xel Sekrul ebis mixedviT, ucxo saj ariso SenaerTebis (igul isxmeba ingl isi) mxridan saqarTvel os datovebis moTxovna da misi Sesrul ebis aucil ebl oba, mxol od xel Sekrul ebiT ar iyo ganpirobepul i. es sakiTxi l ord kerzonis kavkasiuri pol itikis marcxTan erTad, ruseT-saqarTvel os xel Sekrul ebis gaformebamde, 1919 wl is noemberSi ingl isSive gadawyda. **amasTan dakavSirebiT z.aval iSvil i wers: `l ord kerzonis pol itika kavkasiis Sesaxeb damarcxda,... baTumis ol qSi ingl isis jarebis dayovneba zedmeti gaxda... baTumis datovebas... moiTxovda l ondonSi ekonomii yvel a momxre, romel Tac uxarodaT kidev erTi okupaciis moxna. am zomas iwonebda amierkavkasiaSi ingl isis aqtiuri pol itikis yvel a mowinaaRmdege (e.i. kerzonis mowinaaRmdege).**-<sup>40</sup> es imas niSnavs, rom Seqmnil i pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os datoveba, ingl isis xel isufl ebis interesebSi Sedioda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, xel Sekrul ebis V muxl is V paragrafis asamoqmedebl ad da ingl isze zewol is gansaxorciel ebl ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas saerTasoris an Zal ismieri berketebis amoqmedebis aranairi SesaZl ebol ba ar gaaCnda. **xel Sekrul ebam, rogorc z.aval iSvil i wers, ingl isel ebs `Zl ier gauadvil a... saxel ovnad gasul iyvnen baTumidan.**-<sup>41</sup>

aRniSnul i faqti Tuki sinamdvil es Seesabameba, gamoricxul i araa, rom xel Sekrul ebaSi zogadi saxiT Cadebul i formul ireba\_ saqarTvel os saxel isufl ebo j aris Semadgenl obaSi arSemaval i (e. i. ucxo) saj ariso nawil ebis saqarTvel os teritoriidan gayvanis Sesaxeb\_ sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mxridan, ingl isis dipl omatiur wreebTan yofil iyo SeTanxmebul i. miTumetes; **a)** im etapze ruseTsa da ingl isis Soris ekonomikur da pol itikur sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi safuZvl iani mol aparakeba mimdinareobda; **b)** saqarTvel o -ruseTis xel Sekrul ebis teqstis Sedgenisas, `mokarnaxis- rol s ruseTis warmomadgenl oba asrul ebda; **g)** ingl isis j aris saqarTvel odan gayvana, ara mar to sabWoTa ruseTis, aramed, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i l oid j orjis mTavrobis interesebSiac Sedioda. am SemTxvevaSi, xel Sekrul eba mis mTavrobas, kavkasiis datovebasTan mimarTebaSi oponentebTan mxol od `Tavis marTi ebis- al ibad sWirdeboda.

**3)** marTal ia, xel Sekrul ebis ll muxl iT saqarTvel os Sinaur saqmeebSi ruseTi Caurevl obis garantias iZl eoda, magram, imave dokumentis meate da special uri damatebis pirvel i muxl i saqarTvel os aval debul ebda; **a)** yvel a im pirovnebis ganTavisufl ebas, roml ebic sabWoTa ruseTis an komunisturi partiis sasargebl od iyvnen dasj il ni; **b)** saqarTvel os teritoriaze komunisturi organizaciebis Tavisufal i arsebobisa da saagitacio- propagandistul i saqmianobis nebarTvis micemas.<sup>42</sup>

ramdenadac aRniSnul i muxl ebi qveynis Sidasaxel mwifoebriv kompetenciaSi Carevas gul isxmobda, xel Sekrul ebis meore muxl Tan winaaRmdegobaSi modioda.<sup>43</sup> samwuxarod, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebma es sakiTxi yuradRebis miRma datova. msj el obis sagnad mxol od qarTvel i bol Sevikebis sandooba da misadmi damokidebul eba wamoswia wina pl anze. arada, arsebul i pol itikuri situacia orive sakiTxis erTobl iobaSi ganxil vasa da Sesabamisi daskvnis gakeTebas saWi roebda. **rac Seexeba qarTvel i bol Sevikebisadmi damokidebul ebas, qarTul i saxel mwifoebrivi pol itikuri azri identuri iyo. qarTvel pol itikur moRvawebs kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, rom saqarTvel os moqal aqe bol Sevikebi qveynis damoukidebl obas ver Seurigdebodnen, Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom maTi ideuri mrwamsi, ak.Cxenkel is sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, eris damoukidebl obis uaryofaze iyo dafuZnebul i. `kul turul i eris niadagze- ambobda ak.Cxenkel i- ar unda arsebobdes aseTi ukul turo movl ena Tavis Tavis,... individual obis uarmyofeli... Tu bol Sevikebma awi mainc... ar Sewyvites brZol a Cveni eris damoukidebl obis winaaRmdeg, es iqneba namdvil i Ral ati, da vinc Ral ats Caidens, mas unda moeqcnen ise, rogorc eqcevan dawinaurebul qveynebsi.**-<sup>44</sup> es imas niSnavs, rom qarTvel i bol Sevikebis antisaxel mwifoebriv qmedebas, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba qveynis winaSe Cadenil i Ral atis rangSi ganxil avda da evropis dawinaurebul i saxel mwifoebis msgavsad Sesabamisi kanonmdebl obiT dasj ida. aseTive Tval sazrisia gatarebul i gazeT `ertobaSi- dabeWdil mowinave weril Si- `axal i gamarjveba-. masSi garkveviT iyo miTitebul i, rom bol Sevikebis l egal izacia `srul ebiTac ar niSnavs... dauyovnebl iv... kari gavuRoT bol Sevizmis eqsperimentebs, an am eqsperimentebis motrfial e el ementebis mivceT... ufl eba im boroti muSaobis warmoebisa, romel ic j arze TavdasxmaSi, aj anyebaSi, Ral a-

tis qadagebaSi da sxva aseT moqmedebaSi gamoixateba.~<sup>45</sup>

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mesveurebs, bol Sevikebis `gakeTil Sobil ebisa- da maTis mxridan erovnul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi Cadgomis ar sjeroda. miuxedavad amisa, Tuki sabWoTa ruseTTan kompromisze wasvl iT eris uarmyofel qarTvel bol SevikTa l egal izacia dauSves, igi saqarTvel os garSemo Seqmnil i zemoaRniSnul i rTul i pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, izul ebiti faqtorebit iyo ganpi-robebul i da ara komunisturi ideol ogiisadmi simpaTiIT. erTi ram cxadia, bol Sevikebze sadamsjel o zemoqmedeba, roml is Sesaxebac qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurebi miuTitebdnen, sabWoTa ruseTs xel Sekrul ebis darRvevad SeeZl o gamoexadebina da pol itikuri ambiciebis dakmayofil ebisTvis gamoeyenebina. miTumetes, xel Sekrul ebis arcert muxl Si Cadebul i ar iyo ama Tu im pol itikuri organizaciis mxridan gaweul i antisaxel mwifoebri vi saqmianobisadmi sadamsjel o meqanizmi. qarTul i pol itikuri el itis aseTi riski, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa mxridan Sepirebul daxmarebaze, **de-iure** aRiarebaze da erTa l igaSi saqarTvel os gawevrianebis imedze iyo damyarebul i. Tu ramdenad moswrebadi aRmoCndeboda qarTvel pol itikosTa es Canafiqri, mimdinare pol itikur procesebs unda ganesazRvra. yovel SemTxvevaSi, rogorc samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul i, am mimarTul ebit saqarTvel os dipl oma-tiuri korpusi farTomasStabian samusaos eweoda.

rac Seexeba xel Sekrul ebisadmi bol Sevikebis damokidebul ebas, maTi umetesoba agre-siul ad ganwyobil i namdvil ad ar iyo. gazeT `komunistSi- gamoqveynebul i publ ikacie-bidan dasturdeba, rom isini ruseT- saqarTvel os urTierTobis normal izaciasa da bol Sevikuri organizaciebis l egal izaciis dasvebas dadebitad afasebdnen.<sup>46</sup> **gamonak-l iss mxol od s.orj onikize da misi garemocva warmoadgenda. es arc iyo gasakviri, radgan gansakuTrebul i ambiciebis mqone pirovneba, faqtiurad ruseTis maRa-l i saxel isuflebo Tanamdebobis miRma aRmoCnda. Sel axul i `Tavmoyvareobis-reabil itaciis erT- erT saSual ebad amierkavkasiis srul i gasabWoeba esaxe-boda. amis dadasturebas 1920 wl is 2 maiss saqarTvel oze mis mier ganxorci-el ebul i Tavdasma warmoadgens. moskovis mxridan mkacri gafrTxil eba rom ara, xel Sekrul ebis dadebisa da witel i armiis nawil ebis damarcxebis miuxe-davad, igi brZol is Sewyvetas ar apirebda.**

xel Sekrul ebisadmi negaturi damokidebul eba mxol od somxeTisa da azerbaij anis xel isuflebis warmomadgenl ebma gamoavl ines. mxedvel obaSi maqvs am ori saxel mwifos sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis mxridan, ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa komisar is g.Ci Cerinisadmi gagzavnil i radio- tel egrama. am dokumentebis mixedviT; 1) somxeTi, Tbil isis guberni-is Semadgenel i borCal osa da axal qal aqis mazrebis saqarTvel osadmi gadacemis wi naaRm-degi gamodioda. imavdroul ad baTumis mxareSi Woroxis raioniT dakmayofil ebas moiTx-ovda; 2) rac Seexeba azerbaij ans, zaqaTal as mxaris saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi Setanas aprotestebda. am SemTxvevaSi, ruseTis xel isuflebam mxol od gasabWoebul i azerbaij anis pretenziebis ganxil va miicnia mizanSewonil ad. swored am faqts ukavSirdeba 1920 wl is 12 maiss xel moweril i dokumenti, romel ic ruseT- saqarTvel os 7 maisis xel Sek-rul ebis damatebiti SeTanxmebit aris cnobil i. ZiriTadi xel Sekrul ebis IV muxl sa da damatebis pirvel paragraphs Soris gansxvaveba SemdegSi mdgomareobs: 1) xel Sek-rul ebis IV muxl i zaqaTal as mxaris, sazRvrebis yovel gvare Sesworebis gareSe acxa-debda saqarTvel os Semadgenel nawil ad; 2) xel Sekrul ebis damatebiti SeTanxmebis mixedviT, saqarTvel osa da azerbaij anis sazRvarze da zaqaTal as mxareSi mdebare sadao adgil ebis kuTvnil ebis gadawyvetis sakiTxi ormxrivi Sereul i komisiis kompentenci-ad iyo miCneul i. amasTan dakavSirebit dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: **`Вопрос о спорных ме-стностях на границе между Грузией и Азербайджаном и в Закатальском округе передается на разрешение смешанной Комиссии, образуемой из представителей правительств Азербайджана и Грузии в равном количестве, под председательством представителя Р.С.Ф.С.Р.-**<sup>47</sup> misi qarTul i Targmani iqneba: `dava adgil ebis Sesaxeb, romel ic mdebareobs saqarTvel os da azerbaij anis sazRvarze da zaqaTal as mxareSi (okrugSi), gadasawyvetad gada-ecema Sereul komisiis, roml is Tavmj domare iqneba ruseTis federaciis sab-WoTa social isturi respubl ikis warmomadgenel i.~ am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom sakiTxi exeboda saqarTvel o- azerbaij anis sazRvarsa da zaqaTal as mxareSi arsebul zogierT sadao adgil s, (**o спорных местностях**) an punqts, Tuki aseTi iqneboda. mxol od am SemTxvevaSi gadaecemoda igi komisiisas gansaxil vel ad. es imas

niSnavs, rom xel Sekrul ebis damatebiTi nawil i, ZiriTadi xel Sekrul ebis IV muxl s ar arRvevda, radgan zaqaTal as mxaris kuTvnil ebas kiTxvis qveS ar ayenebda. am SemTxvevaSi, saqme exeba zaqaTal as mxareSi mxol od sadao adgil is\_ punqtis sazRvris mosal odnel `kosmetikur- cvl il ebas da ara azerbaij anisadmi uSual od mxaris gadacemas, rogorc es zogierT istorikoss hgonia.<sup>48</sup> rac Seexeba sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel s, igi ra donis tendenciuric ar unda yofil iyo, damatebiTi xel Sekrul ebis aRniSnul i para-grafidan gamomdinare, azerbaij anisadmi ara zaqaTal as mxaris, aramed, saqarTvel o- aze-rbaj anis sazRvarze da TviT zaqaTal as mxareSi mdebare mxol od sadaod qceul i zo-gierTi adgil is (**о спорных местностях**) gadacema SeeZl o.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis anal izi, Semdegi saxis daskvnebis gake-Tebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva: 1)saqarTvel o- ruseTis 1920 wl is 7 maisis xe-l Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i, saqarTvel osaTvis sasargebl o da sazano muxl ebis miuxedavad, saerTaSoriso pol itikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdi-nare, qarTul ma pol itikurma azrovnebam es dokumenti dadebiTad Seafasa. maT ZiriTad amosaval safuZvel s, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis mxridan (misi aral egitimurobis miuxedavad), saqarTvel os istoriul sazRvrebSi samarTI e-brivi aRiareba da masze yovel gvare saxis pretenziebis moxsnis dadastureba warmoadgenda. 2)ruseTTan keTil mezobl uri urTierTobis aRdgenisa da xel - Sekrul ebiT `Tavdauxmel obis garantiis- oficial urad miRebis miuxedavad, qarTul i pol itikuri el ita, ruseTis mxridan aRebul i val debul ebis Sesru-l ebaSi darwmunebul i ar iyo. Crdil oel i mezobl is undobl obis faqtori edo safuZvl ad qarTul i dipl omatis yvel a im RonisZiebas, romel ic dasavl - eT evropis saxel mwifoebidan saqarTvel os de- iure- s droul ad aRiarebas da am samarTI ebrivi bazit erTa ligaSi gasawevrianebas isaxavda miznad. 3)sabWoTa xel isufl ebis aral egitimurobis miuxedavad, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesaWeTa mxridan, aRniSnul i xel Sekrul eba saerTaSoriso mniSvel o-bis dokumentad savsebiT kanonzomierad iqna aRiarebul i. gansakuTrebul i datvirTva, man sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg SeiZina. igi sabWoTa imperiis winaarMdeg brZol is erT- erT ZiriTad samarTI ebriv bazad iqca. masze dayrdnobiT ganxorciel da saqarTvel os komunisturi xe-l isufl ebis arakanonierad gamocxadeba (1990 wl is 9 marti), sabWoTa kavSiris sivrcidan saqarTvel os gamoyvana da misi damoukidebl obis aRdgenisaTvis samarTI ebrivi safuZvl is momzadeba.

## Tavi II

### evropis qveynebi da saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis j aris SeiaraRebis sakiTxi

saqarTvel os pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikis istoriis erT- erT umniSvel ov- anes sakiTxs, qarTul i j aris SeiaraRebasTan dakavSirebiT warmoqmnil i probl emebis dazusteba da am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Tanamedrove istoriografiaSi gavrcel ebul i Tval sazrisis gadaxedva Semdegi garemoebiT aris ganpirobebul i: 1) istorikosTa erTi nawil i, memuarul i literaturaze dayrdnobiT mkiTxvel sazogadoebas araswor de- bul ebebs sTavazobs da cdil obs daarwmunos, ruseT- saqarTvel os omis dros (1921 wl is Teberval - marti), Tbil isis arsenal i TiTqos iaraRiT da amuniciiT iyo savse; 2)ar iTval iswineben da yuradRebis miRma toveben harvardidan da l evil idan Camot- anil da saqarTvel os erovnul arqivSi dacul unikal ur saarqivo masal ebs.

Cems mier dasmul sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, WeSmaritebis dasadgenad, aucil ebl ad mimaCnia ganxil ul i iqnas da pasuxi gaeces Semdeg sakiTxebis: 1)saqarTvel os ra finan- suri baza gaaCnda damouki debel saxel mwi fod gamocxadebis pirvel safexurze; 2)qarTul i j aris Sesaqmnel ad, Tbil isis arsenal Si marTI a arsebobda Tu ara saWiro raodenobis iaraRi da samxedro amunicia; 3)riT iyo ganpirobebul i, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier qarTul i j aris gadaiaraRebis aucil ebl obis sakiTxis 1919 wl idan dasma; 4)ra

damokidebul eba gamoavl ina evropul ma saxel mwifoebma saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikisadmi iaraRis, amunciisa da sursaTis miyidvasTan mimarTebaSi.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis finansur SesaZl ebl obebs, am mxriv igi urTul es mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. samwuxarod, zogierTi Cemi kol ega ar iTval - iswinebs im garemoebas, rom mefis xel isufl ebam 1914- 1916 wl ebSi, saqarTvel os xazina oqros maragisgan safuZvl ianad gawminda da ruseTSi gaitana. amas isic daerto, rom saqarTvel oSi Camosaxl ebul i rusi moxel eebis uzarmazari `armia-, adgil obriv mosaxl eobas daawva sarCenad. es ori faqtori, regionSi umZimes finansur garemos qmnda da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriwi warmonaqmnis Sesaqmnel ad, mosamzadebel i safexurisaTvis Semaferxebel barriers warmoadgenda.

samecniero l literaturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom im etapze moqmedma politikuri partiebisa da samoqal aqo speqtris l iderebis umetesobam, Seqmnil i mdgomareoba sworad Seafasa da Sesabamisi pragmatul i nabijic gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kafxazisa da dniJaraZis mier axl ad arCeul i saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosadmi Tbil isisa da quTaisis guberniebis TavadzaurTa qonebis gadacemis faqti. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom es qoneba, saqarTvel os erovnul i fondis Seqmnas daedo safuZvl ad. isic cnobil ia, rom aRniSnul i fondis mizans, saqarTvel os damouki debl obisa da regionSi Seqmnil i urTul esi politikuri situaciidan gamosaval i safexuris momzadeba warmoadgenda.<sup>1</sup>

qarTul i politikuri el itis warmomadgenl ebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom erovnul i saxel mwifos formireba da misi damcavi meqaniznis\_ SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Seqmna TiTqmis paral el ur reJimSi unda momxdariyo. winaarMdeg SemTxvevaSi, samxreT kavkasiis geopolitikuri sivrcis specifikidan gamomdinare, axl ad Seqmnil i saxel mwifos arseboba xanmokl e aRmoCndeboda. am real obidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis wevrebi qarTul i j aris Seqmna-SeiaraRebisaTvis Sesabamisi saSual ebebis gamoZebnas maqsimal urad cdil obdnen. amis dadasturebas, **saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetis 1917 wl is 8 dekembris sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens.** dokumentidan irkveva, rom am sxdomas aSS- is, ingl isis, safrangeTis, ital iis saxel mwifoebis el Cebi eswrebdnen. maTi mxridan erT- erT umTavres sakiTxad, qarTul i j aris Seqmna da ruseT- osmal eTis jer kidev moqmedi frontis xazis dacvis aucil ebl oba iqna dasmul i. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os politikuri el itis warmomadgenel Ta pozicias, stenografiul i angariSis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, n.Jordaniam igi Semdegi formiT Camoayal iba: `Cven jari mal e gveyol eba... magram iaraRi ar gvaqvs sakmao. iaraRi Tqven mogveciT, Cven davicavT Cvens territorias. Cven rom osmal eTs win davudget, ganmartoebiT xom ar davrCebiT, an mokavSireebi ra gvaris daxmarebas gagviweven... Cven iaraRi gvWiria.- am amonaweridan kargad cans saqarTvel os politikuri speqtris l iderTa pirdapiri da gaxsnil i pozicia. am faqtma antantis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebi iZul ebul i gaxada qarTul i mxaris mxridan wamoWril sakiTxebze konkretul i pasuxi gaeca. imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom evropel ebi saqarTvel os mxol od ful iT da evropel i samxedro oficrebis miSvel ebit daexmareboda. rac Seexeba iaraRs, mis miwodebaze uars acxadebdnen.<sup>2</sup> arc imas akonkretebdnen, Tu rogor da ra gziT unda momxdariyo axl ad Seqmnil i qarTul i j aris SeiaraReba. aRniSnul i faqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom dasavl eT evropis qveynebi, qarTvel ebisadmi iaraRis miwodebaze, qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebis Seqmnis pirvel i safexuridanve ikavebdnen Tavs. es imas niSnavda, rom saqarTvel os erovnul sabWos, rusul i iaraRis SeZenaze ezruna da imave (ukve gasabWoebul i) qveynis mier warmoebul i iaraRis momxmarebl ad darCenil iyo. Tuki qarTul istoriografiaSi dRemde gabatonebul i Tval - sazrisiT\_ samxedro sawyobebi TiTqos iaraRiT iyo savse\_ vixel mZRvanel ebT, maSin evropis qveynebisgan saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis armiyidva did tragediad ar unda CaiTval os. aRniSnul i natyuari informacia gen. gmazniaSvil is memuarebidan iRebs saTaves da misi gaziareba dRemde ukritikod xdeboda. am SemTxvevaSi, yuradRebis miRma yvelaze mniSvnel ovani faqtori iyo datovebul i. kerZod, gmazniaSvil is memuarebis sabWoTa xel isufl ebis periodSi dawerisa da mTavlitis cenzuris gavl is Semdeg 1927 wels stamburad dabeWdva. bunebrivia, am garemoebebma Tavisi uaryofiT daRi daasva aRniSnul memuarebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRisa da tansacmel is arsebobis Sesaxeb motanil i fantastikuri cifrebi. samwuxarod, misi sandoobis sakiTxi dRemde eWvis qveS aravis dauyenebia. CemTvis sainteresoso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit

imave memuar ebSi vkiTxul obT: `iaraRi, mokazmul oba da mTavari sursaTis maragi sawyobebSi imdeni iyo, rom Sesazl ebel i iyo qarTul i laSgris Tund 50 aTasi kacis SeiaraReba, mokazmva da gamokveba aTi wl is ganmavl obaSi.-<sup>3</sup> an kidev: `1921 wl is maisSi, Cvens sawyobebSi darCenil i tansacml iT me SevZel i Semosva Tavidan fexebamde 17 aTasi kacisgan Semdgari wiTel i armiisa. es ar kmara: saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavroba, dRidan Tbil isSi Semosvl isa, ori kviris ganmavl obaSi hkvebavda ufasod mTel i qal aqis mcxovrebl ebs saministros sawyobebidan.-<sup>4</sup>

am amonawerebSi motanil i faqtebi, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis miTiTebiT rom aris Cadebul i iqedanac Cans, rom wina gverdze igive g.mazniaSvil i Sefarviti formiT wers: `mal e gamoirkva, rom saindendato sawyobebSiac ar iyo tansacmel i da mokazmul oba, rac mTavaria, Tofebic.-<sup>5</sup> am SemTxvevaSi principul ad ismeba kiTxva: 1)Tuki saindendanto sawyobebSi tansacmel i, mokazmul oba da Tofebi ar iyo, ra gziT unda momxdariyo 50 aTasi kacis SeiaraReba, an cariel i sawyobebis Semyure g.mazniaSvil ma rogor SeZl o 17 aTas kaciani qarTul i wiTel i laSgris Seqmna? sad ambobs simarTi es da sad tyuis igi? 2)rac Seexeba imave g.mazniaSvil is mier miTiTebul sursaTis marags, igi konkretul ad ar asaxel ebs skvebi produqtebis im saxeobas, roml iTac 50 aTsi jariskacis 10 wl iT gamokvebas varaudobda. xazgasmiT mmda arvniSno, rom amierkavkasiaSi da miTumetes Tbil isis samxedro sawyobebSi, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, l obio, konservis qil ebi, Zexvi...) ara Tu 10 wl iT, aramed 2 wl iT SenaxvisaTvis Sesabamisi teqnoL ogiuri saSual ebebi ar arsebobda; 3)dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom pirvel i msofl io omis dawyebisa da misi mimdinareobis paral el urad, ruseTidan etapobrivad amierkavkasiaSi frontisTvis Semotanil i produqtis daniSnul ebis mimarTul ebiT gagzavnas, amierkavkasiis frontis mTavarsardl oba kurirebda. es procesi ruseTis droebiti mTavrobis periodSiac gagrZel da. misi Sewyveta, 1917 wl is oqtombris saxel mwifo gadatrial ebas da frontis xazidan jaris demobil izacias ukavSirdeba. smecniero l iteraturaSi dasabuTebul ia, rom 1918 wl is ianvar-Tebervl is CaTvl iT, osmal eTis frontidan wamosul i gabol Sevikebul i rusul i eSel onebis, gansakuTrebit bol o eSel onis sursaTIT uzrunvel yofa, samxedro sawyobebis sicariel is gamo, amierkavkasiis komisariatma udidesi Zal isxmevis Sedegad moaxerxa.

roca saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis sursaTis sarezervo fondis Sesaxeb vsaubrobt, pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i: a)1918\_ 1920 wl ebis monakveTsi bol Sevikuri aj anyebebis sal ikvidacio da mezobel i saxel mwifoebidan Tavdasxmebis mogeriebiti saomari operaciebi, roml ebmac didi raodenobit finansebi da qveynis sasursaTo maragi Seiwova; b)dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebis mxridan saqarTvel osadmi sursaTis miwodebis danapirebis arSesrul eba; g)sasofl o- sameurneo produqciis warmoebis mxriv qveyanaSi im etapze arsebul i sinamdvil e. yovel ive aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, 1921 wl is 20 ianvramde saqarTvel oSi sursaTis Tundac 2 wl ian sarezervo maragze saubaric ki SeuZl ebel ia. mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT SemiZl ia ganvacxada: 1)samxedro tansacmel is, mokazmul obis, Tofebis, sursaTis (xorci, kartofil i, l obio, konservis qil ebi, Zexvi...) saxeobebisgan sawyobebi dacariel ebul i iyo. rac Seexeba xorbal s, 1920 wl is 29 seqtembris monacemebiT umniSvnel o raodenobas 3 Tvis marags warmoadgenda. am umZimesi sasursaTo krizisiT iyo ganpirobebul i damfuZnebel i krebis mier 1920 wl is 14 dekembris gamocemul i dekreti\_ `samxedro sasursaTo fondis gasaZl ierebl ad simindis Sesyidvis- Sesaxeb. dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `1. ufl eba mieces mTavrobas Seisyidos mtkice fasebSi republ ikis sazRvrebSi simindi 1920 wl is mosavl idan samxedro sasursaTo fondis gasaZl ierebl ad; 2.pirvel (l) muxl Si aRniSnul i Sesasyidi simindi ar unda aRemetebodes mTel i mosavl is (10%).- xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom qveynis samxedro SenaerTebis puridan, mouL odnel ad mWadze gadayvana, udides siZnel eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i da misi praqtikul ad gatareba, mxol od ukiduresi, gamouval i mdgomareobis Seqmnisas ganxorciel deboda. am SemTxvevaSi, winaswari Tadarigis daWerasTan gvaqvs saqme. samxedro special - istebis mtkicebit, qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis mxol od mWadiT gamokveba SeuZl ebel i iyo.

isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, gaaCnda Tu ara im periodis saqarTvel os sofl is gl exkacobas simindis marcvl eul is maragis is raodenoba, roml iTac qveynis

mosaxl eobisa da jaris srul fasovnad dakmayofil eba iqneboda SesaZl ebel i. im etapze arsebul i monacemebis mixedvit, aseT did gamowvevas qarTul i sofe- l i ver gaumkl avdeboda. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan da qveyanSi Seqmni- l i umZimesi sasursaTo krizisidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os Tavdacvis samin- istro izul ebul i gaxda sajariso SenaerTebis orjeradi ufaso kvebis ul u- fa, ertjerad ul ufamde daeyvana. amastan dakavSirebit, saqarTvel os respub- l ikis samxedro ministris 1920 wl is 23 seqtembris brZanebaSi vkiTxul obT: `dasamatebl ad a.w. jarebisadmi # 47 brZanebisa vacxadeb, jaris erTeul ebis da samxedro dawesebul ebaTa cnobad da saxel mZRvanel od, rom dasaxel ebul i brZanebis me-7 muxl iT da misi SeniSvniT dawesebul i meore ul ufis micema gauqmebul ia. amieridan frontze myof yvel a samxedro mosamsaxureT unda eZl eodeT TiTo ufaso ul ufa.- am fonze, yuradRebis miRma ar unda dagvrCes, saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is vasil dumbaZis mier xorbl is Sesasyidad 1919 wl is gazafxul idan aSS-i oficial urad gagzavnis faqti da xorbl iT movaWre moqmed firmebTan mis mier gaweul i mol aparakebebi, romel ic muxl Cauxrel Sromastan iyo dakavSirebul i; 2)arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i dokumen- turi masal ebit dasturdeba, rom Tbil isis sawyobebis xorbl iT Sevseba 1921 wl is 20 ianvris Semdeg\_ Tebervl is pirvel ricxvebSi gaxda SesaZl ebel i. am SemTxvevaSi gansakuTTrebul i rol i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis warmomadge- nl obis mier niu-iorkis savaWro saxl Tan\_ `Sabrier morel iko--sTan mol apa- rakebis Sedegad da 1919 wl is noemberSi qal aq marsel Si gaformebul ma xel Sekrul ebam Seasrul a. igi 29 muxl isgan Sedgeba da orive mxaris val debul ebe- bs gansazRvravs. saarqivo dokumentebis mixedvit: a)saqarTvel os mTavrobas, aRniSnul i firmisadmi 100 aTasi kil o (e.i. 100 tona) abreSumis parki an maty- l i, (1 kg. abreSumis parkis sanacvl od 5 kg. matyl i) unda mieca; b)winaswar ga- nsazRvrul i woniTi erTeul is dacvit, `Sabrier morel iko--s xel mZRvanel o- biTvis produqciis Sereul i formac misaRebi aRmoCnda. saqarTvel os moma- ragebis saministros Zal isxmevit, 1920 wl is dekembris dasawyisSi, niu- iorkis firma `Sabrier morel iko--sadmi pirvel safexurze gagzavnil ma abreSumis parkisa da matyl is saerto raodenobam\_ 62400 kil o Seadgina. (gem `frigze- 40 aTasi kg. daitvirTa, xol o gem `todl aze- 22 aTas 400 kg.). firma `Sabrier morel iko-, SeTanxmebisamebr danarCen 37600 kil o parksa da matyl s, mxol od mas Semdeg miRebda, roca xel Sekrul ebit gaTval iswinebul i 1350 tona xorba- l i saqarTvel oSi srul yofil ad iqneboda Semotanil i. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebit arsebul i saarqivo dokumenturi masal ebis mixedvit, Sepirebu- l i xorbal i foTis portSi 1921 wl is ianvaris pirvel naxevarSi Semovida. sagangebod damzadebul brezentis tomrebSi xorbl is Cayra, misi gemebidan gadmotvirTva, miwonva da matarebl is vagonebSi ganTvseba, 2 ianvridan 18 ian- vris CaTvl iT mimdinareobda. xorbl is saerto raodenobam 769 vagoni Seadgi- na. miRebul i produqciis srul fasovnad Sefaseba da miReba\_ Cabarebis aqtze xel mowera 1921 wl is 20 ianvars dasrul da. am umniSvneovanesi saarqivo doku- mentiT irkveva, rom abreSumis parkisa da matyl is safasurad, saqarTvel om 80,184 fuTi (1313456 kg. e.i. 1313.5 tona) xorbal i Seisyida da Semoitana qveyana- Si. es faqti, Sesabamisi uwyebebis warmomadgenl ebis xel mowerebiT da beWdeb- iTaa (saqarTvel os mTavroba, saqarTvel os respubl ikis momaragebis saminis- tro, firma `Sabrier morel iko- da foTis porti) dadasturebul i. xorbl is daniSnul ebisamebr\_ foTidan\_ Tbil isSi gagzavnis, Sesabamis sawyobebSi dab- inavebis proceduris Catarebis Semdeg ganxorciel da, misi damuSavebis Sesax- eb moxmarebis mizniT nebarTvis gacema. saqarTvel oSi im etapze arsebul i sa- rkinigzo mimosvl is SesaZl ebl obebs da arsebul teqnoI ogiur pirobebs Tu gaviTval iswinebT, foTis portidan xorbl is Tbil isSi transportireba da sawyobebSi srul fasovnad dabinaveba, Tebervl amde ver moxerxdeboda. rac Seexeba danarCen 36,5 tona xorbal s, igi imave firmis mier baTumSi 1921 wl is 16 Teber- val s iqna Semotanil i da adgil zeve moxda misi miwonva-dabinaveba.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom foTis portSi xorbl is didi raodenobiT Semotanis (1921 wl is ianvris dasawyisi) faqti daedo safuZvl ad, 1921 wl is 10 ianvris brZanebas\_ 1900 wels dabadebul i moqal aqeebis jarSi gawvevis da samxedro begaris moxdis val debul ebis Sesaxeb. es dokumenti, regioneblis adgil obriv xel isufl ebas aval debul ebda;

a)yovel i mazra ubnebad daeyo da konkretul ad ganesazRvra TiToeul ubanSi Semaval i sasofl o Temebi; b)sofl ebidan da qal aqebidan organizebul ad ganexorciel ebina wvevandel Ta gasawvev punqtebSi droul ad gamocxadeba; g)wvevandel Ta registracia, 1921 wl is 6 Tebervl is dil is 9 saaTidan daewyoT. amis Sesaxeb, im periodis presis fur-cl ebze uamravi masal ebia gamoqveynebul i.

rac Seexeba 1921 wl is ianvar\_ Teberval Si saqarTvel oSi 1350 tona xorbl is Semotanis zemoaRniSnul umniSvnel ovanes faqts (Semotanis dros), SeuZl ebel ia gmazniaSvil is donis maRl CinosanisaTvis ucnobi yofil iyo. miuxedavad amisa, igi am sakiTxs gverds uvl is da mkiTxvel sazogadoebas arsebul sinamdvil es iseTi formiT sTavazobs, TiTqos 1921 wl is 20 ianvramde sawyobebi xorbl is maragit iyo savse da amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas el ementarul i informacia ar gaaCnda. imasac Tu gaviTval iswinebT, rom sabWoTa ruseTma saomari moqmedebebi somxeTidan 1921 wl is 11 Teberval s, xol o azerbaij anidan 16 Teberval s daiwyo, gamoricxul i araa, drois am mcire monakveTSi (31 ianvri\_ 11 Tebervl i), xorbl is pirvel i partiis dafqvac rom ver ganxorciel ebul iyo. firma `Sabrier morel iko-- s mier saqarTvel oSi 1921 wl is ianvar- Teberval Si SemotaniL zemoaRniSnul xorbal s unda gul isxmobdes gmazniaSvil i, roca Tavis mogonebebSi sursaTis `10 wl iani maragis- Sesaxeb saubrobs.

samwuxaroa, magram faqtia, rom giorgi mazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil i pirvel i safexuris tyuil is sazogadoebisadmi miwodebam, ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mesveurTa Canafiqri maRal doneze Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, qarTvel i generl is mxridan saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isufl ebis diskreditaciis mcdel oba. sabWoTa periodidan mokidebul i dReis CaTvl iT, istorikosebi, l ite-raturaTmcodneebi da publ icistebi, arsenal Si iaraRis TiTqosda arsebobis Sesaxeb gmazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil cifrobriv monacemebs eyrdnobo-dnen da dacariel ebul samxedro sawyobebs, # raodenobis iaraRiT aRvsil ad acxadebdnen. am cru informaciam, kidev ufro `damaj erebel i- saxe mas Semdeg miRo, roca gmazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil i tyuili, rezo gabaSvil ma `mxatvrul ferebSi Camosxmuli- miawoda mkiTxvel sazogadoebas, xol o saqarTve-l os xel isufl eba upasuxismgebl obaSi daadanaSaul a da anaTemas gadasca. `Tbil isis samxedro sawyobebi\_ wers r.gabaSvil i\_ dauSretel i (radgan naxevar mil i-onze meti j aris central uri amunciisa iyo)- ise dacariel da, rom SemTxveviT gadar-Cenil idan (an ver mignebul idan)\_ 1921 wl is omis Semdegac,\_ bol Sevi kebs darCaT 17000 axal i Tofi (quTaisSi 300 xel uxl ebi tyviis mfrqvevel i) da... `mTavrobam- (?) yurebi gamouWeda qveyanas: `iaraRi ar gvqonda da j ari rogor unda Segveqmna, an riTi Segvei-araRebina-- o.<sup>6</sup> r.gabaSvil is es da sxva kl asikuri donis tyuil ebi, saarqivo masal ebT-an Sej erebis gareSe daimowma bn. gr.onianma. misi simarTI ed gasaRebisa da gafetiSebis mizniT, ekaterine gabaSvil is saxel is spekul irebas Seecada. `revaz gabaSvil i\_ wers gr.oniani\_ aris cnobil i qarTvel i mwerl is ekaterine gabaSvil is ufrosi vaJi.<sup>7</sup> am SemTxvevaSi gr.onianma iseTi foni Seqmna, rom ekaterine gabaSvil is Svil i\_ r.gabaSvil i tyuil s ar ikadrebda da misi mogonebebidan motanil i faqtobrivi masal is amonaridi, TiTqos simarTI es warmoadgenda, xol o yovel i winadadeba saarqivo dokumentebze ma-Rl a idga. qveyanas harvardis universitetisa da l evil is unikal uri saarqivo dokumentebi qondes da istoriul mecnierebaSi Semoxiznul i adamienebi, sa-zogadoebas r.gabaSvil is tyuil ebiT `kvebavdes,- rbil ad rom vTqva, istoriu-l i mecnierebis gamasxaravebis mcdel oba da imave sazogadoebis upativcemu-l obaa. miTumetes, r.gabaSvil is tyuil ebi da antisaxel mwifoibrivi azrovneba, safuZvl ianad amxil a erovnul - demokratiul i partiis erT- erTma l iderma, Rrmad ganswavl ul ma iuristma da r.gabaSvil ze aTgzis maRl a mdgomma pol i-tikurma moRvawem giorgi gvazavam. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave g.gvazavas mier pa-rizSi 1929 wel s dabeWdil i broSura `saqarTvel o da erovnul - demokratiu-l i partia (weril i mesame).- es naSromi gansakuTrebul juradRebas imiTac iq-cevs, rom misi avtori, 1917- 1921 wl ebis mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis ava-ngardSi idga, yvel a movl enis aqtiuri monawil e da TviTmxil vel i iyo. sabed-nierod, igi simarTI es ar Ral atobs. saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavro-bis saqmianobis r.gabaSvil isa da d.vaCnaZiseul Sefasebebs, istoriul i sina-mdvil is Tavdayirad dayenebas, RmerTgamwyrul i da tvingamoclii adamieneb-is naazrevad miCnevs. es gamonaTqvamebi miutevebel cil iswamebad rom ar CameTval os, imave broSuridan Sesabamis amonawerebs SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sa-

zogadoebas: g.gvazava- `ai amazea naTqvami: `RmerTi rom kacs gauwyreba, pirveli ad tvins gamoaci iso.- (gv. 14) an kidev, `ai marTi a Tavdayira dayeneba yovel i Semecnebis: ufl ebis da moral is, val debul ebis da sindisis.- (gv. 15) gana amis Semdeg, r.gabaSvil is `rac maxsovs-- Si motanil i faqtebi, saRad moazrovne da saarqivo dokumentebis safuZvl ianad mcodne adamanma SeiZl eba ki, sarwmunod miicnios?

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare xazgasmit minda aRvniSno: roca saubarია rusul Tofebze da tyviamfrqveebze, r.gabaSvil sa da arc `gabaSvil istebis- erTxel ar dausvams sakiTxi\_ rusul i vaznebis raodenobis, an misi saTadarigo fondis arsebobis Sesaxeb. arc imaze ufiqriaT, Sesatyvisi vaznebis gareSe darCenil i nebismieri SaSxana Tu tyviamfrqvevi, gadaWril i wyal sadeni mil is ufunqcio mdgomareobaSi rom aRmoCndeboda. am mimarTul ebiT sakiTxi ar dausvamT imitom, rom saqarTvel -os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis l anZRva- ginebiT iyvnen da arian gaTul ni. WeSma-ritebis dadgena srul ebiT ar ainteresebT, winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi, harvardidan da l e-vil idan Camotanil dokumentur masal ebs safuZvl ianad Cauj debodnen da siR- rmiseul -ad Seiswavl idnen. es rom moendomebinaT, r.gabaSvil is zemoaRniSnul da sxva uamrav tyuil ebs farda aexdeboda. amisTvis TavauRebel i da mZime Sroma iyo saWiro. samecni-ero sferosi iol i gziT `moseirne- adaminebs, istoriul mecnierebaSi damkvidrebu- l i dRevandel i ganukiTxaoba, samwuxarod amis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evs. aseTi mkacri Se-fasebidan gamomdinare, simarTi is dasabuTebas, Sesabamisi saarqivo dokumentebiT Sevec-debi. arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i pirveli dokumenturi masal ebiT irkveva, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi Tavmoy-rili rusul i warmoebis sabrZol o iaraRi da amunicia, 1914 wl is sabrZol o moqmedebidan gamomdinare, 1915-1916 wl ebSi saqarTvel odan maqsimal urad iqna gatanil i sariyamiSsa da al eqsandropol Si. rusul i samxedro SenaerTebis mi-er ruseT-osmal eTis frontis datovebis Semdeg, aRniSnul samxedro sawyobeb-ze kontrol s 1918 wl is ianvridan somxeTis erovnul i sabWo axorciel ebda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom amierkavkasi- is komisariatის Zal i-sxmevit, 1918 wl is martis Sua ricxvebSi al eqsandropol - idan da sariyamiSidan saqarTvel os erovnul ma sabWom mxol od 6 vagoni tyvi- amfrqvevis vaznebis, 24 vagoni zarbaznis yumbarebis wamoReba da Tbil isis arsenal Si ganTavseba Se-sZl o. amis Semdeg, somxebs qarTvel ebisatvis arcer- Ti saxeobis vazna ar miucia. 1918 wl is ianvris monacemebit, Tbil isis arsenal Si arsebul i SaSxanebis raodenoba 18 aTas cal s Seadgenda. amierkavkasiis komisariatის dadgenil ebit, igi samad (qarTvel ebisTvis, somxebisTvis da az- erbaijanel ebisTvis) ganawil da da saqarTvel os samxedro SenaerTebis 6000 erTeul i SaSxana gadaeca.

rac Seexeba quTaisis samxedro sawyobebSi darCenil iaraRs, mis sakuTrebase pretenzias quTaisSi disl ocirebul i rusul i samxedro SenaerTi acxadebda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos aRmasrul ebel i komitetის 1917 wl is 10 dekembris sxdomaze ioseb gedevaniSvil i xazgasmit ambobda: `quTaisis ruis jaris qoneba Cvens jars unda gadmoeces, magram sal - daTebi qonebas ar izl evian, Cvenia da Tan unda waviRoTo.- am faqts ukeTebda ra anal izs, igive i.gedevaniSvil i dasZenda: `SegviZl ian miviRoT Zal iT, magram arasasurvel Sedegs moitans.-<sup>7</sup> aq garkveviTaa naTqvami, rom ruis jarisadmi iaraRis Zal ismieri gziT warTmevis mcdel oba, qveyanaSi samoqal aqo omis dawy- ebis safuZvel i SeiZl eba gamxdariyo. aseT situaciaSi gadamwyveti roli mSvi- dobiani gziT mol aparakebas unda Seesrul ebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ori faqt- ori: 1)rusul i jaris sardl obis mxridan `keTil i nebis- gamoCenis SemTxveva- Si qarTvel ebisatvis iaraRis datoveba da 2)evropel ebisgan Sepirebul i ful - iT, am iaraRis Sesyidvis SesaZl ebl oba. aseT kritikul situaciaSi gadamwyvet roli drois faqtori gansazRvravda. evropel Ta mxridan 1917 wl is 8 de- kembers saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos prezidiumisadmi Sepirebul i ful iT daxmareba, ara Tu 1918 wel s. aramed 1919, 1920 da 1921 wl is 25 Tebevli amde periodSiac ar ganxorciel ebul a.

amierkavkasiis regionSi mimdinare umZimesi pol itikuri procesebis fonze, saqarTve- l os damoukidebl obis gamocxadeba da osmal eTis dampyrobl uri qmedebebis SeCereba, j er kidev arSemdgari qveynisTvis finansuri daxmarebis aucil ebl obas saWiroebda.



Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, am sapasuxismgebl o nabij is gadadgmisas, qarTvel i pol itikosebi finansurad dasayrden safexurs `saqarTvel os erovnul fondSi- Cadebul qonebaSi da imave fondisadmi Semowirul ebis safuZvel ze dagrovil TanxaSi xedavdnen. marTal ia, sawyisi safexurisaTvis fonds garkveuli i formiT saxel mwifos xazinis funqciis Sesrul eba SeeZl o, magram igi ver gawvdeoda: **a) damoukidebel i qveynisTvis aucil ebel i urTul esi reformebisa da b) osmal eTis mier Tavsmoxveul i sabrZol o moqmedebebis dafinansebas. aucil ebl oba, garedan daxmarebas saWi roebda. mi Tumetes, mefis ruseTis moxel eTa Semweobi T, saqarTvel os ekonomika `momakvdavi adamianis- dones utol deboda. samwuxarod, Cemi kol egebis umetesobis mxridan zemoarNi Snul i faqtebi mizanmimarTul adaa ignorirebul i. arada, oqros maragis an sazRvargareTis qveynebis finansuri dauxmarebl obis gareSe (gansakuTrebiT pirvel safexurze) saxel mwifos faqtiuri formireba warmoudgenel ia. qarTul i pol itikuri el ita Tuki am siZnel eebis met- nakl ebad daZl evas axerxebda, igi mis Rirsebad unda iqnas aRiarebul i. rac Seexeba samxedro da sxva reformebis srul yofil ad vergatarebas, qveynis mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is SecdomebiT ki ara, ZiriTadad uful obiT da iaraRis uqonl obiT iyo ganpirobebul i. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom **saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos mier 1918 wl is martSi damtkicebul i proeqtis `qarTul i jaris reorganizaciis Sesaxeb- safexurebrivad bol omde ver ganxorciel eba, ful is, iaraRisa da amunciis uqonl obam ganpiroba.** anal ogiuri bedi xvda wil ad saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWosa da saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier 1918 wl is 20 agvistos miRebul kanonebs.<sup>9</sup>**

qveynis xel isufl ebis mesveurebs, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis sakanonmdebl o organos mier miRebul i zemoarNi Snul i kanonebis praqtikul ad gatarebis Sesazl ebl obis imeds, germania- saqarTvel os Soris xel Sekrul ebis proeqtze warmatebul i erTobl ivi muSaobis mimdinareoba aZl evda. rac Seexeba, germaniis xel isufl ebis mxridan qarTul i jaris SeqmnasTan dakavSi rebiT gamoTqmul mzaobasTan mimarTrebiSi, saqarTvel os mTavrobisgan TiTqos uaris Tqmis Sesaxeb qarTul istoriografiaSi `damkvidrebul - mosazrebas, igi simarTl es ar Seesabameba. mi Tumetes, misi avtorebi mxol od memuarul literaturas eyrdnoba. isini gansakuTrebiT r.gabaSvil is mogonebebs imowmeben. imave r.gabaSvil is `mtkicebiT-, germanel ebma `oficial uri winadadeba misces Cvens mTavrobas: `Cven mogcemT ful s, iaraRs, instruqtorebs, \_ Sehqmeni T Tqveni sakuTari ori rkinis divizia, rac sakmarisia saqarTvel osaTvis mSvidobianobis dros, da omis dros SegiZl iaT 300000- dec aiyvanoT--o. \_ Cvenma mTavrobam, ara mar to uari uTxra aseT keTi- l Sobil daxmarebazed, aramed borotebad CaTval a, raRac mzakvrobad da es, j er kidev 1918 wel s SemoTavazebul i.-<sup>10</sup>

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki r.gabaSvil iseul am informacias sarwmunod mi vi RebT, maSi n saqarTvel os mTavrobas udidesi danaSaul i Caudenia erisa da qveynis winaSe. sabednierod, r.gabaSvil i tyuis da mis mier gaxmovanebul i informacia\_ germaniis mxridan saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi SemoTavazebul daxmarebaze uaris Tqmis Sesaxeb\_ sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba.

dabej iTebi T SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom or saxel mwifos Soris urTierTobis samarT- l ebriv CarCoSi moqceva, ama Tu im generl is doneze ar wydeboda. nebismier general s, mxol od Suamdgoml obis funqciis Sesrul eba SeeZl o. am mxriv gansakuTrebul i rol i general ma fon- l osovma Seasrul a. misi Zal isxmeviT moxerxda, saqarTvel os jaris Seqmna-SeiaraRebis sakiTxis dadebiTad gadawyvetis aucil ebl obaSi\_ germaniis sagareo saqmeTa, Tavdacvisa da finansTa saministroebis maRal CinosanTa darwmuneba. am procesis aqtiuri monawil e z.aval iSvil i, dawvril ebiT aRwers im urTul esi samuSaos mimdinareobas, romel ic germania-saqarTvel os Soris xel mosaweri dokumentis Sesaqmnead iqna gaweul i. z.aval iSvil is gadmocemiT, rva Tavisgan Sedgenil proeqtSi\_ `megobrul i urTierTobani germaniasa da saqarTvel os Soris-, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas dokumentis VIII Tavi iqcevdad im Tval sazrisiT, rom masSi germaniis mxridan saqarTvel osadmi saxel mwifo mmarTvel obisa da jaris mosawyobad saWi ro aRWurvil obis misaRebad daxmarebis gawevis aucil ebl obaze konkretul ad iyo miTiTebul i. `aseTi iyo deda-azri dadgenil ebisa\_ wers z.aval iSvil i, \_ romel ic... xel s Seuwyobdnen saqarTvel os saxel mwifo ebrivi damoukidebl obis ganmtkicebas da daexmarebodnen mis ekonomur ganvitarebas.

1918 wl is 3 oqtomberSi yvel aferi mzaT iyo `xel is mowera--Ra akl da. Cxenkel s mxol od es enatreboda: amisTvis itanj eboda igi 2 ivnisidan berl inSi. magram saube-

duroT `meore mxares- amis gakeTeba aRar SeeZl o. Zvel ma kancl erma (grafma gertl ing- ma) da sagareo uwyebis stats- sekretarma (fon- gincem) samsaxuri datoves. axal i j er ar iyo... germania mieqaneboda kancl eris krizisidan parl amentis krizisiken; parl amentis krizisidan\_ revol uciisken. gairkva, rom arc ise advilia `mokle frontze- gadasvla da iq Tavdacvis dawyeba. Zl ierifol adis zambari germaniis saxel mwifoe- briobisa\_ germanuli nebiyofisa, TandaTan SekumSvis magier uecrad gatyda-<sup>11</sup>

aRniSnuli faqtebis siswores adasturebs imJamad germaniaSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cis vl adimer axmetelis Semaj amebel i moxseneba. masSi dawvril ebitaa aRweril i is safexurebrivi procesebi, romelic germaniis saministroebSi (sagareo, Tavdacvis, finan- sTa) xel Sekrul ebis proeqtma gaiara. iqve imis Sesaxebacaa miTitebul i, rom germaniis raixstagi da TviT qveynis imperatori vil hem meore, ormxrivi xel Sekrul ebis ofici- al urad gaformebisa da samarTl ebriv CarCoSi moqcevisaTvis mzaobas gamoxatavda. ge- rmaniis xel isuflebis maRal CinosanTa aseTi damokidebul eba qonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s, roca mis mier momzadebul moxsenebaSi\_ `memuari saqarTvel os srul ufl e- biani el Cisa, dipl omatiuri muSaobis Sesaxeb 1921-1922 w.- sagangebo TavSi\_ `germania- werda: `saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri damokidebul eba germaniasTan j er kidev 1918 wl - idan iwyeba. am droidan... iq didi muSaoba iyo gaweuli da megobruli ganwyobil eba or- save qveynis TandaTan mtkicdeba... germaniis gareSe saqmeTa saministro mudam Ria iyo CvenTvis da saqarTvel os sael Co berl inSi ganuwyvetel damokidebul ebaSi iyo masTan. sael Cos ganges qonda saSual eba, roca saWiroeba moiTxovda, piradad enaxa rogorc gareSe saqmeTa ministri da mTavrobis sxva wevrebi, ise respubl ikis prezidenti, romel - ic gansakuTrebit simpaTiiT epyroboda mudam Cvens qveyanas. reixstaxis wevrebi da sxva wreebi xel misawvdomi iyo Cveni sael Costvis.-<sup>12</sup>

samwuxarod, saqarTvel os bedma aqac umuxTl a. TiTqm is bol omde miyvani i saqme, ge- rmaniaSi ganvitarebul ma pol itikurma procesebma daasamara. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)1918 wl is 3 oqtomers koal iciuri mTavrobis Seqmna princ maqs badenel is meTaurobit; 2)imave wl is noembris revol uciis Sedegad vil hel m meoris gadadgoma. yovel ive aRniS- nul idan gamomdinare, arasworad mimaCnia, zogierTi Cemi kokl egisgan, qarTul i jaris Seqmna-SeiaraRebis sakiTxTan mimarTebsi, germaniis mTavrobisadmi TiTqos uaris Tqm is Sesaxeb arsebul i miTidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba.

arqivebSi gamovl enil i axal i masal ebis mixedvit, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal eb- isTvis sarezervo fondis umZimesi mdgomareoba dasturdeba. am SemTxvevaSi, mxedvel o- baSi maqvs qveynis sakanonmdebl o organostan arsebul i samxedro komisi isgan, saqarTve- l os mTavrobis 1918 wl is 20 dekembris sxdomaze wardgenil i angariSi. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom Tavdacvis uwyebisadmi daqvemdebarebul sawyobebSi arsebul i rusul i va- znebi da qvemexis Wurvebi umniSvnel o raodenobas warmoadgenda. am xarvezis dauyo- vnebl iv aRmofxvris mizniT, imave sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenil ebit daisva sakiTxi\_ evropis qveynebidan sabrZol o masal is dauyovnebl ivi SeZenis, uki dures SemTxvevaSi, sa- qarTvel oSi misi damzadebis mizanSewonil obis Sesaxeb. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, uaRresad sayuradRebo informacias Seicavs pol kovnik kol onel o kartel is mier saqarTvel os samxedro saministros mTavari Stabisadmi gagzavnil i (1919 wl is 9 noemberi) weril i. am dokumentidan irkveva: 1)saqarTvel os mTavrobas. germaniis xel isuflebisatvis TxovniT miumarTavs, rom daxmareba gaewia rusul i vaznebisa da yumbarebis, samxedro tansacml isa da fexsacml is, tel egrafisa da radiotel egrafisTvis saWiro mowyobil obis SesaZenad. 2)im SemTxvevaSi Tuki qarTul i jaris SeiaraRebisTvis saWiro sabrZol o masal a germaniis sa- mxedro sawyobebSi ar aRmoCndeboda, rusul i vaznebisa da Wurvebis dasamza- debel i qarxnis aSeneba saqarTvel oSi moexdinaT. imave weril Si konkretul a- daa miTitebul i pirvel i moTxovnisadmi uaris Tqm is ganmapirobebel i ZiriTa- di mizezebi. rac Seexeba vaznebisa da Wurvebis damamzadebel i qarxnis saqa- rTvel oSi mSenebl obas, k.kartel is mtkicebit, igi garkveul sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qarxnis gadaiaraReba, rac Sesabamisi Carxebisa da yal ibebis damzadebis aucil ebl obas saWiroebda. meore mxriv, am mimarTul ebit samusaos Catareba, kapital istebisaTvis damaxasiaTebl komer- ciul interesebis ukavSirdeboda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, k.kartel i winaswari monacemebis saxiT moiTxovda: a)ra raodenobis masal is Semotana iyo aucil ebel i saqarTvel oSi; b)konkretul ad ra tipis da ra raode- nobis unda yofil iyo qarxnis mier warmoebul i produqcia, romelic saqarTve-

l os swirdeboda. evropaSi mimdinare rTul i politikuri procesebis gamo. am sakiTxis momdevno safexurze gansaxil vel ad gatana SeuZl ebel i gaxda. miuxedavad amisa, aRniSnul i faqti imaze migvaniSnebs, rom im etapze saqarTvel os xel isufli eba, saj ariso SenaerTebis SesaiaraRebl ad da qveynis Tavdacvisunarianobis asamaRl ebl ad, mistvis xel misawvdomi yvel a SesaZl ebl obis gamoyenebas cdil obda.

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis mesveurebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom qveynis Tavdacvis sistemaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareobis aRmofxvra, qarTul i jaris gadaiaraReba (rusul i warmoebis iaraRis evropul iT Canacvl eba) mxol od antantis saxel mwifoebis daxmarebis gareSe SeuZl ebel i iqneboda. am mizniT, dasavl eT evropaSi sagangebo del egacia iqna gagzavnili. maTi warmatebul i saqmianobis xel is SemSl el ad ori faqtori moqmedebda; 1)evropis qveynebidan im etapze saqarTvel os, rogorc damoukidebel i politikuri erTeul is ar aRiareba. isini saqarTvel os, `demokratiul i ruseTis- Semadgenel nawil ad moiazrebdnen; 2)daSnakcuTiunis partiis LiderTa mxridan, 1919 wl idan saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriobis winaarmdeg mizanimarTul i farTomasStabiani kampaniis gaCaReba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, akaki kvitaiSvil i werda: `1919 wel s gaimarTa kampania saqarTvel os winaarmdeg dasavl eTSi, gansakuTrebiT ki ingl isursa da nawil obriv frangul presaSi. presis kampaniaSi did rol s TamaSobda yofil i ruseTis mefis dipl omatia general denikinis karnaxiT. amave dros frangul ad daibeWda daSnakel Ta warmomadgenel is vardanians wigni saTauriT `somex- qarTvel Ta konfli qti da kavkasiis omi.- wigni aRsaSfoTebel i, gaborotebel i, Tavidan bol omde saqarTvel os winaarmdeg cil iswamebebiT aRsave... wigni daurigda antantis umaRl esi sabWos wevrebsa da erTa ligis meTaurebs. aSET mowaml ul garemoSi mouxda muSaoba qarTul del egacias. gansakuTrebiT ingl isel ebi iyvnen Cvens winaarmdeg, roml ebic im dros iyvnen saqmis faqtiuri gadamwyvetni.-<sup>13</sup>

saqarTvel os saxel mwifos winaarmdeg evropis masStabiT amuSavebul i somxuri `ideol ogiuri manqanis- da misi mxardamWeri (somxuri diasporisgan mosyidul i) ingl isurenovani Jurnal istebisgan presis furcl ebze gavrcel ebul i cil ismwamebl uri informaciis daZl eva, gaRatakebul i qarTvel ebisatvis udides sirTul eebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. saqarTvel os saxel mwifos warmomadgenl obas, evropis qveynebsi gansakuTrebul i Zal isxmeva dasWirda, rom somxur- ingl isuri antiqarTul i `propagandistul i manqana- nawil obriv SeeCerebina. amis miRweva mxol od meore internacional is sapropagando saSual ebepis gamoyenebiT gaxda SesaZl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, daSnakcuTiunis partiis sazRvargareTul i warmomadgenl ebis tyuil ebSi mxil eba da evropel i social - demokratTa Liderebis mxridan, evropul i presis saSual ebiT zemoaRniSnul i sakiTxis gapiareba. am urTul esi samuSaos Catarebis Semdeg SeuZl o qarTul ma del egaciam, antantis umaRl esi sabWos warmomadgenl ebTan Sexvedra. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT safrangeTis premier ministr kl emansosTan saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis Sexvedris faqti iqcevs gansakuTrebul yuradRebas. rogorc cno- bil ia, saqarTvel os del egaciis mesveurebma mas sagangebo memorandumum gadasca. am dokumentSi qarTvel Ta moTxovna Semdegi formiT iyo Camoyal ibebul i: `Cven viTxovT dauyovnebl iv daxmarebas imi tom, rom viciT, rac ufro Zl ieri viqnebiT da momzadebul i, miT ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevicebis Semosevis Tavidan acil eba.-<sup>14</sup>

zemoaRniSnul i `Segonebis- miuxedavad, safrangeTis da evropis sxva qveynebis xel isufal T, saqarTvel osadmi Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, ful i, amuncia, sursaTi) Sesarul ebl ad iotisodena nabiji ar gadaudgams. arada, saqarTvel os garSemo mimdinare rTul i politikuri procesebi, qarTul i jaris dauyovnebl iv gadaiaraRebas, rusul i warmoebis aRWurvil obisgan ganTavisufli ebas da saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis raodenobrivad zrdis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. savsebiT sworad aRniSnavda a.kvitaiSvil i, rom qarTul i jaris ricxobriv raodenobas `sazRvravda iaraRis raodenoba da ara survil ebl... evropisgan mitovebul i saqarTvel o Tavis Sinaur mterze damokidebul i, mainc axerxebis mcire SeiaraRebul i l aSqari iyo- l ios.-<sup>15</sup> mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom bol Sevicebisgan yubanis ol qis daWerisa da misi gasabWoebis gamo, puris Sesyidvis SesaZl ebl obebi saqarTvel os gadaeketa. jaris raodenobrivi zrdisaTvis iaraRTan da tansacmel Tan erTad, puris maragic aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. marTalia, saqarTvel os mier xorbl is didi raodenobis partia argentinaSi iyo Sesyidul i, magram mi-

si daniSnul ebisamebr transportireba, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos wasaqcev-  
ad mosurne Zal ebis zemoqmedebidan gamomdinare igvianeabda.

am fonze, kidev ufro miuRebel i Canda baTumis mxareSi azerbaij anel Ta antiqarTul i saqmianobisadmi ingl isel Ta mxardaWera. miTumetes, bol Sevikuri safrTxe daZrul i aisbergiviT uaxl ovdeboda saqarTvel os. es saSiSroeba qarTul i pol itikuri el itis mesveurT siRmiseul ad qonda gacnobierebul i da moaxl oebul i katastrofiskan Tav-  
daRwevis erTaderT meqanizms, evropis saxel mwifoebis mxridan Sepirebul daxmarebaSi xedavda. amis SesaniSnav dadasturebas, egegeWkoris mier parizSi myofi k.CxeiZisa da ak.Cxenkel isadmi 1920 wl is 19 marts gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. `antan-  
tisgan aRTqmul i daxmareba iaraRiT da sursaTiT ar migviRia da arc viciT rod is miviRebT da miviRebT Tu ara saerTod. I odini ki am pirobebSi Seu-  
Zl ebel ia... dauyovnebl iv unda gagvewios iaraRiT da sursaTiT daxmareba mo-  
axl oebul i bol SevikTa winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad. mdgomareoba isea garTul e-  
bul i, rom yoymani da I odini SeuZl ebel ia.~ samxreT kavkasiis regionis pol i-  
tikuri mdgomareobis gansakuTrebul ma garTul ebam da saqarTvel osadmi evropis qveynebidan daxmarebis Sesaxeb avansad gacemul ma tyuil ma ganapiroba ingl i-  
sis, safrangeTis, aSS- is, itali is dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl ebisadmi n.Jordanias mier 1920 wl is 20 marts gadacemul i weril obiTi gancxadeba. dipl omatiuri etiketis dacviT, masSi safuZvl ianadaa mxil ebul i dasavl eTis saxel m-  
wifoTa mxridan saqarTvel osadmi micemul i dapirebebis Seusrul ebl oba. `Cven gansa-  
kuTrebiT Cagvca I axvari Tanxmobis qveynebis damokidebul ebam- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- Cveni Crdil o sazRvrebis dacvis saqmeSi, saidanac Cveni saxel m-  
wifos dangrevis mizniT bol Sevicebi moemarTebian. Cven araerTxel aRvZariT Suamdgoml oba am brZol aSi amunciit da sursaTiT mxardaWerisaTvis. mxar-  
daWeras dagvpiRden, Cven vel odit moTminebiT magram ver miviReT Tqvengan vercerTi vazna, vercerTi funti puri. axl a dadga momenti, rodesac meti I o-  
dini SeuZl ebel ia da dapirebebiT ver davkmayofil debiT... me mwared unda aR-  
vniSno, rom ise, rogorc gasul is wina wel s, Cven isev martoni davrciT, an imis gamo, rom Tqveni mTavrobebi arasakmarisad arian Caxedul ni, an kidev bol Sevi-  
kuri ruseTis mier Cveni respublikis dangreva aRmosavl eTsi Tqveni intere-  
sebis xel yofad ar iTvl eba.<sup>16</sup> es vrcel i amonaweri evropis saxel mwifoTa I iderebis tyuil ze dafuZnebul i Sepirebebis mxil ebis saukeTeso nimuSs warmoadgens. aseTi mkacri ganaCenis miuxedavad, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis, zemoarNiSnul i danapirebis Sesasrul ebl ad Tavi ar SeuwxebiAT.

antantis qveynebisgan gacemul i danapirebisadmi upasuxismgebl o damoki debul eba qonda mxedvel obaSi egegeWkors, roca parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTve-  
l os warmomadgenl ebisadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1920 wl is 24 marti) xazgasmit rom miuTiTebda Crdil oetidan moaxl oebul i safrTxis garduval obaze da dasZenda: `aseT friad gamwvavebul pirobebSi Cven araerTxel migvimarTavs mokavSireTa war-  
momadgenl ebisadmi... araerTxel vTxoveT maT daxmareba sursaTiT da samxedro iaraRiT, magram mraval jer ganmeorebul i dapirebis garda jer- jero biT aravi-  
Tari daxmareba ar migviRia... aucil ebl ad saWiroa, raTa Tqveni mxriv miROT yovel gvare zomebi rom mokavSireebma rac SeiZl eba saCqarod mogvawodon real uri daxmareba sursaTiT, samxedro iaraRiT... Tu evropa martI a dagvexma-  
ra sursaTiT da iaraRiT, Cven ufro gabedul aT davel aparakebiT bol Sevicebs da imedi gvaqvs ukidures SemTxvevaSi SevZl ebT maTTan gamkl avebas da Cveni damouki debul obis dacvas.~

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom qarTul i pol itikuri el ita da qveynis mmarTvel i wreebi, bol SevicebTan ukompromiso brZol is dawyebisTvis iyvnen mZad da saqarTvel os damouki debul obis gadarCenas, evropis saxel mwifoebis umaRl esi eSel oneb-  
iskan gacemul i sityvis argatexaSi da danapirebis Sesrul ebaSi xeda-vdnen. ramdena-  
dac antantis qveynebis maRal Cinosnebi pol itikuri meZavis gzas daadgnen da danapirebis droul ad Sesrul ebaze ar figrobdnen, es faqti, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas Sida resursebze dayrdnobiT gamosaval i gzebis Ziebisken ubi-  
Zgebda. Cems mier mikvl eul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT, iaraRis, amunciis da sur-  
saTs deficitis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba adgil obriv resursebze dayrd-  
nobiT, moaxl oebul i safrTxis neitral izebis mizniT Tadarigs iWerda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os sasazRvro zol is gamagrebasTan dakavSirebiT general il ia odiS-

el izis mier qveynis Tavdacvis sabWosadmi 1920 wl is 4 Teberval s moxsenebis saxiT wardgenil i proeqti. es uaRresad sayuradRebo dokumenti maqsimal urad iTval iswinebda yvel a im safrTxes, romel ic Crdil oeTidan (ruseTi) da samxreT- dasavl eTidan (osma- l eTi) emuqreboda saqarTvel os. masSi samxedro specifikaTvis damaxasiaTebel i moTx- ovnebis gaTval iswinebiT iyo gaweril i: **1)**im strategiul i punqtebis dakavebis aucil e- bl oba, romel ic saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi qarTul i jaris nawil ebs upiratesobas SeunarCunebda; **2)**qarTul i jaris raodenobrivad gazrdis, misi Seiar- aRebisa da umniSnel ovanes strategiul sasazRvro poziciebze batal ionebis raode- nobis ganl ageba; **3)**proeqti TavdacviTTan erTad, SeteviTi xasiaTis operaciebis Casa- tarebel umniSnel ovanes niuansebsac iTval iswinebda.<sup>17</sup>

am proeqtis yvel aze didi nakl i imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi dasmul i sakiTxebis gadawyvetis mizniT, Sesabamisi samuSaos Casatarebl ad miaxl oebiTi xarj TaRricxvac ar iyo gaTval iswinebul i. im etapze arsebul i dokumenturi masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vi- msjel ebT, nebismieri proeqti srul fasovnad mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iTvl eboda, Tuki misi ganxorciel ebisaTvis saWiro xarj TaRricxvis 80%- iani jamuri monacemebi eqne- boda darTul i. qveynis finansebTan dakavSirebul am umniSnel ovanes faqtors, qarTve- l i generl ebis umetesoba xSirad yuradRebis miRma tovebda. angariSsar uwevda saqarTve- l os saxel mwifos biuj etis Sesazl ebl obebs. arc imas iTval iswinebda, rom **1918 -dan 1921 wl is Tebervl amde, daxmarebis saxiT dasavl eT evropidan saqarTvel os arcerTi centi, arcerTi cal i vazna da arcerTi grami puri rom ar miuRia. yovel i umniSnel ovanesi wamowyeba mxol od Sida emisiaze iyo dafuZnebul i.**

aRniSnul i nakl is miuxedavad, es proeqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom saqarTve- l os xel isufl ebas, qveynis usafrTxoebaze zrunva da misi droul ad mowesrigeba nomer pirvel amocnad miaCnda. **xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom Cems mier mikvl eu- l i dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom im etapze Tavdacvis uwyebisadmi daqvem- debarebul sawyobebSi arsebul i Seiararebisa da amuniciis (Tofebi, vaznebi, yumbarebi, tansacmel i, sursaTi...) maragi imdenad umniSnel o iyo, rom igi i.odiSel izis mier SemuSavebul i proeqtis nawil obrivad ganxorciel ebasac ver uzrunvel yofda.** evropul i saxel mwifoebis l iderTa dapirebebis Semyure saqarTvel os mdgomareoba kidev ufro garTul da azerbaij anisa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da somxeTis (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebis Semdeg. momxdari faqtiT, i.odiSel izis proeqtSi damatebiTi cvl il ebebis Setana aucil ebel i Seiqmna. am proceduris ganxor- ciel eba, dafinansebis Tval sazrisiT garkveul i formiT koreqtivs saWiroebda. marTa- l ia, saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 15 ivnisis # 24- e sxdomis mier miRebul i de-kretiT Tavdacvis fonds 400 mil ioni maneTi gamoeyo, magram igi minimal u- radac ver wvdeboda im urTul esi probl emis mogvarebas, romel ic qarTul i jaris Sei- ararebasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. kidev ufro Seusrul ebadi aRmoCnda saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is noembris dadgenil eba\_ qarTul i jaris damatebiT 40 aTasi kaciT gazrdis Sesaxeb. misi ganmapirobebel i mizezebi pirvel adi teqniki da finansuri saSual ebebis (iaraRi, tansacmel i, sursaTi, ful i...) uqonl obiT iyo gamowveul i. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom rusul i warmoebis vaznebiTa da yumbarebiT, samxedro sawy- obebis im etapze Sevseba SeuZl ebel i xdeboda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, general i al eqsandre zaqariaZe mogvianebiT gul istkivil iT werda: `Cveni ocneba iyo ramenairad samoci aTasi j ar i Segveqmna, magram uiaraRobis gamo es ocneba ocnebad darCa (mi uxeda- vad imisa, rom momzadebul j ariskacTa ricxvi saqarTvel oSi aRemateboda orasi aTass. saTanado sardl obac mzad iyo).-<sup>18</sup>

**xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom vaznebis da yumbarebis is maragi, romel ic sariyamiSidan da al eqsandrepolidan iqna Camotanil i (1918 wl is marti), 1918- 1920 wl ebSi mimdinare saomarma operaciebma STanTqa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)osma- l eTTan omi (1918 wl is marti \_april i); 2)bol Sevikebis mier 1918 wel s mowyo- bil i 20- mde gl exTa Seiararebul i aj anyeba; 3)somxeTTan 1918 wl is oqtomber\_ dekemberis saomari operaciebi; 4)bol Sevikebis 1919 wl is aj anyebebi; 5)deniki- nis winaaRmdeg 1919 wel s Catarebul i sabrZol o moqmedebebi; 6)sabWoTa ruse- Tisa da gasabWoebul i azerbaij anis mier 1920 wel s ganxorciel ebel i Tavda- sxma saqarTvel oze da misi mogerieba; 7)osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba da a.S. yo- vel ive es, axl adSeqmnil i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos xazinas aTeul obiT mil - iardi dauj da. xol o Tavdacvis uwyebisadmi daqvemdebarebul i sawyobebi rusu- l i warmoebis vaznebis da yumbarebis maragisgan TiTqmis dacariel da.**

Cems mier zemoT motanil i damamZimebel i faqtebi qonda mxedvel obaSi memarcxene social ist- federal istTa partiis erT- erT l iders Tedore RI onts, roca imave partiis pirvel yril obaze (1921 wl is 30 oqtomberi) ambobda: `3 wl is ganmavl obaSi, rac saqarTvel o damoukidebel i iyo, Cven ar viciT arcerTi sami Tve, rom gagvetarebinos uomrad, aj anyebis gareSe. omi ki, miT ufro sistematuri omi, TviT aRa-maxmad-xanis reJimze uaresia.- nebi smierma mkvl evarma, romel ic saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis Tavdacvis unarianobis SesaZl ebl obebs SeexeBa, pirvel rigSi unda gaiTval iswinos: 1)zemoaRniSnul i procesebidan gamomdinare, qveynis finansurad da ekonomikurad damangrevel i Sedegebi; 2)pasuxi gasces kiTxvas: 1918- 1920 wl ebSi rac saqarTvel os pirvel - ma respubl ikam gadai tana, ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda nebi smieri sxva qveyana (gnebavT igive evropul i) Tuki imave evropul i saxel mwifoebisgan finansur daxmarebas ver miiRebda.

am fonze, al ogikurad moCans gen. giorgi kvinitaZis memuarebSi gakeTebul i gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom saqarTvel os Seiararebul Zal ebs, 1920 wl is mais- ivniSi TiTqos amierkavkasiis ganmatavisufli ebel i misiis Sesrul eba SeeZl o. `es iyo erTaderTi uaRresad xel sayrel i SemTxveva\_ wers g.kvinitaZe\_ azerbaij anisa da somxeTis gasanTavisufli ebl ad bol Seviki dampyrobli ebisagan. Cven SegveZl o bol Sevikebisagan mTel i kavkasiis gawmenda da iqneb daRestnisac. es iyo 1920 wel i, rodesac pol oneTi oms awarmoebda ruseTTan da general i vrangel i daZrul i iyo yirimidan.- erTi SexedviT es gegma mimzidvel i Cans, magram Tuki yvel a aspeqtis gaTval iswinebiT ganvixil avT, misi ganxorciel eba saqarTvel os katastrofas daaCqarebda. roca g.kvinitaZe somxeTis ganTavisufli ebaze l aparakobs, igi j er kidev damoukidebel saxel mwifos warmoadgenda. misi gasabWoeba, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, mxol od 1920 wl is 29 noemberSi ganxorciel da. 1)im SemTxvevaSi Tu general g.kvinitaZis mier SeTavazebul i gegmiT imoqmedebdnen, saqrTvel os xel isufli ebas azerbaij anel Ta da somexTa mxridan qarTul i j aris usafrTxoebis garantia unda qonoda. azerbaij anel ebisgan amis miRveva SeuZl ebel i iyo im ubral o mi zezis gamo, rom bol Sevikeys qveyana TiTqmis ubrZol vel ad Caabara. rac SeexeBa somxeTs, igi xel sayrel i situaciis Seqmnistanave, mis mier `sadaod- qceul i qarTul i miwebis mitacebas Seecdeboda. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, qarTul i mxedrobisadmi azerbaij anel Ta ZiriTadi Zal ebis da prorusul i orientaciis mqone somexTa Tanadgoma saTaveSive iyo gamoricxul i. es imas niSnavda, rom Tuki saqarTvel o, amierkavkasiis `ganmatavisufli ebel is- funqcias ikisrebda, igi riskis pol itikis gzas unda dadgomoda. damfuZnebel i krebis 1920 wl is 25 ivnisis sxdomaze oponentTa misamarTiT v.Tevzaia ambobda: `azerbaij anis xal xi gagveTavisufli ebia ucxo Zal isagan... aseT miznebs saqarTvel os respubl ika ver gaiziarebs... is vinc fiqrobs, rom unda Caerios sxvis saqmeebSi... Sesul iyo maT dedaqal aqSi, gaeyara yvel a misi mokavSire el ementebi... aseTi pol itika respubl ikas ar qonia da arc eqneboda.- imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT akaki Cxenkel ma ganacxada: `Cveni mdgomareoba rTul ia,... irglv ivrkal Semortymul i varT,... Cveni mTavrobac ar awarmoebda riskis pol itikas da yvel a is rasac aq b-ni veSapel i brZanebda, aris riskis pol itika. Cven risks ver vawarmoebT sanam vgrZnobT pasuxismgebl obas Cveni eris, Cveni demokratiis winaSe.- 2)`omis gagrZel ebis momxreniyuradRebis miRma tovebdnen yvel aze mniSvnel ovan kiTxvas; SeZl ebda Tu ara saqarTvel os ekonomika xangrZl ivi omis xarj ebis gadafarvas da ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda qveynis finansebi. miTumetes, 14 dRiani omi saqarTvel os biuj ets mil iard naxevari qarTul i boni dauj da. 3)isini arc imas kiTxul obdnen, Tu ra mdgomareoba iyo samxedro sawyobebSi iaraRis, vaznebis, yumbarebis, tansacml isa da sursaTis Tval sazrisiT. Tavdacvis sabWos gasaiduml oebul i monacemebis mixedviT, 1920 wl is ivnisis bol ostvis, samxedro sawyobebSi mxol od 1 milion 800 aTasi rusul i warmoebis vaznebis maragi iyo. azerbaij anis `ganmatavisufli ebel - misi asTan dakavSirebul i saomari moqmedebebis ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os samxedro Seiararebul Zal ebs minimum 2 milion 500 aTasi vazna dasWirdeboda. gaurkvevli ia, Tu ra raodenobis zarbaznis Wurvebi da sursaTi iqneboda saWiro qarTul i j aris brZol isunarianobis SesanarCunebl ad da mis gamosakvebad. am mxriv, samxedro sawyobebis sarezervo maragi TiTqmis amowurul i iyo. es imas niSnavs, rom kritikul momentSi, qarTul i j aris rusul i warmoebis vaznebis, yumbarebisa da sakvebis gareSe darCeBoda. Tuki es moxdeboda, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos katastrofa garduval i iyo da rac mTavaria, vaznebis gareSe darCenil i qarTul i j aris, osebis 1920 wl is ivnisis aj anyebasac ver gaumkl avdebo-

da da os bol Sevikebs, Tbil isSi Tofis gasrol is gareSe Semosvl is SesaZl e-  
bl oba miecemoda. es aris mware sinamdvil e, roml isadmi angariSis gaweva  
nebismieri mkvl evarisadmi aucil ebl obas warmoadgens. 4)mxedvel obaSi mis-  
aRebi 1918 wl is dasawyiSi, DsomxeTisa da azerbaijanis interesebis dasacavad,  
saqarTvel os Tavgamodebidan gamomdinare miRebul i mware gamocdil eba. aRniS-  
nul i politikuri kursi, erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 16 seqtembris sxdomaze,  
erovnul - demokratma i.maWavarianma `ocoboco- politikad Seafasa da mmarTv-  
el politikur partias mkacri toniT miuTiTa: `daanebeT Tavi ocobocodias,  
daadeqit real uri politikis gzas, daanebeT Tavi msouflioze zrunvas... ai  
Cveni pasuxi sagareo politikaze.- azerbaijanis `ganmaTavisufl ebel i- misiis  
warumatebl obis SemTxvevaSi, qveynis mmarTvel i politikuri partia, imave  
erovnul -demokratebidan anal ogiuri Cawixvl is mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndebo-  
da. erTi ram udaod SeiZl eba iTqvas, opoziciuri partiebisa da samxedro uwyebis  
arcerT maRal Cinosans, g.kvinitazis zemoaRniSnul i gegmis SesaZl o warmatebis das-  
abuTeba an mosal odnel i Sedegebis pasuxismgebl obis aRebis Sesaxeb, raime saxis doku-  
menti mTavrobisaTvis im etapze ar warudgenia. amMSemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isu-  
fl ebam imoqmada Tavdacvis sistemas daqvemdebarebul smxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i  
SesaZl ebl obidan da saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare. samxedro sawyobebSi  
rusul i vaznebis maragis amowurvis gamo, roca mis Sevsebas kustarul ad damzadebul i  
vaznebiT cdil oben, am fonze, bol Sevikebisgan azerbaijanis ganTavisufl ebis raime  
gegmebze saubari yovl ad dauSvebel ia. Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i doku-  
mentiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 24 Tebervl is dad-  
genil ebiT, rusul i warmoebis vaznebis gasatenad (kustarul i wesiT dasamza-  
debl ad) da mwyobridan gamosul i Tofebis SesakeTeb ad, special uri sax-  
el osnoebis mowyobisaTvis 9,440000 maneTi iqna gamoyofil i. imave saarqivo  
masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom rusul i warmoebis SaSxanebisTvis Sesabamisi nawi-  
l ebis dasamzadebl ad, zemoaRniSnul i ful iT 7 saxarato Carxi da erTi frez-  
eris sistemis dazga SeiZines, romel ic daniSnul ebisamebr 1921 wl is 24 ian-  
vars arsenal Si gadaitanes. rac Seexeba vaznebis kustarul ad damzadebis ideas, Tu  
visgan momdinareobda igi, amis Sesaxeb sayuradRebo informacias akvitaisvil is naS-  
romi iZl eva. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT masSi vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel os general uri  
Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe Tavis `Cveneba--Si ambobs: `vaznebis maragi friad  
cotaa. ra vqnaT? gamosaval s TiTqmis ver vxedavT! erT dRes Semovida CemTan general i  
quTaTel aZe da meubneba: me maqvs erTi idea, damiWire mxari da vaznebs gavaCeno. me mas  
mivuge: win da win giWer mxars! raSi saqme? ai ra mi pasuxa man: arsenal Si mil ionobiT  
hyria cariel i vaznebi da gavtenoT waml iT! \_nikel is tyviebs sad Soul ob?- vkiTxe me.  
\_nikel is tyviebi aris arsenal Si. es TaTrul i vaznebia, rac auarebel ia arsenal Si. maT  
Cven amovaZrobT da gavukeTebT rusul vaznebs! rasakvirvel ia, maT Soris gansxvavebaa da  
Zl ier gavl enas iqoniebs srol is sizusteze, magram masirebul i cecxli is dros Sedegi  
mainc daaxl oebiT erTi da igive iqnebao. gen. quTaTel azis winadadeba sisrul eSi  
moviyvaneT.-<sup>19</sup> am faqtis Sesaxeb gen al .zaqariaZis mogonebebSi vkiTxul obT: `arsenal -  
Si daviwyeT vaznebis xel iT awyoba. Cvenma gamoCenil ma artil eristebma Ren.  
quTaTel aZem da yazbegma es moaxerxes, magram ramdeni gveqneboda da rod is  
gveqneboda saTanado Tadarigi? mxol od 1920 wl is Semdeg aviyvaneT dRiuri  
ricxvi ase awyobil i vaznebis ocdaaTi aTasamde, arc amisTvis saWiro masal is  
Tadarigi iyo usazRvro.-<sup>20</sup>

rusul i sabrZol o vaznebis damzadebis gazrdasTan dakavSirebiT, gen. al .zaqariaZis  
mogonebebidan motanil i zemoaRniSnul i informaciis siswores, Tavdacvis sabWos 1920  
wl is 13 noembris dadgenil ebac adasturebs. am dokumentis mixedviT, sxdomas sagange-  
bod ganuxil avs sakiTxi\_ `vaznebis aRsaWurvel saxel osnos Sromis nayofierebis gaum-  
j obesebis Sesaxeb.- miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, Tav-  
dacvis fondidan 7,706000 maneTi iqna gamoyofil i. imave Tavdacvis sabWos 1921 wl is 11  
ianvris sxdomam, rusul i SaSxanebisTvis gaTval iswinebul i `xiStebis- maketi moiwona  
da dasamzadebl ad Sesabamisi nebarTva gasca.

Cems mier motanil i zemoaRniSnul i faqtebi or ZiriTad garemoebaze mig-  
vaniSnebs: 1)rusul i warmoebis SaSxanebisaTvis samxedro sawyobebSi vaznebisa  
da sxva nawil ebis maragis ukmarisobaze, misi kustarul ad gasaiduml oebul  
formebSi damzadebis gziT Sevsebis mcdel obaze; 2)Tavdacvis sabWos maRal Ci-

nosnebis mxol od ramdenime pirovnebas gaaCnda srul fasovani informacia, ra raodenobas Seicavda Tavdacvis sistemisadmi daqvemdebarebul samxedro sawyobebSi im etapze arsebul i iaraRi. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul istoriografiaSi da zogierTi memuarul i literaturis avtoris mier gavrcel ebul i mosazreba, TiTqos saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis maRal Cinosnebma ar icodnen Tu ra `qoneba- iyo Senaxul i arsenal Si, mcdar informaci- ea damyarebul i da sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba. am fonze al ogikurad moCans da sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba al .comalias sagazeTo weril Si `25 Teberval i- motanil i informacia, TiTqos `qarTul i general uri Stabis da damfuznebel i krebis samxedro komisiis gamoangariSebiT saqarTvel os SeeZl o 70 aTasi meomari hyol oda,- iaraRi da tanisamosi mxol od am ricxvs yofnida.-<sup>21</sup>

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom: a)saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis Tavdacvis uwyebaSi Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan gamomdinare, iaraRisa da sabrZol o masal is SeZenis mizniT, safrangeTSi 1919 wl is gazafxul idan sagangebo del egacia iqna gagzavnil i; b)saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 18 martis dadgenil ebiT, aRniSnul i del egaciis dasaxmarebl ad, gen. il ia odiSel izis xel mZRvanel obiT special uri komisia gaigzavna. isic cnobil ia, rom saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obam sagangebo memorandumiT mimarTa safrangeTis xel isufli ebas. `Cven viTxovT vkiTxul obT dokumentSi dauyovnebl iv daxmarebas... rac ufro Zl ieri viqnebiT da momzad- ebul i, miT ufro gaadvil deba bol Sevikebis Semosevis Tavidan acil eba.- rac Seexeba safrangeTis premier- ministrs kl emansos, konkretul i gadawyvetil ebis miRe- basTan mimarTebaSi garkveul i mizezebis gamo Tavs ikavebda. dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, am sakiTxTan dakavSiRebiT akvitaSvil i wers: `premier ministri kl emanso SeekiTxal del egacias- iaraRi da amunicia rom gamogigzavnoT... maTac igive be-di xom ar eweva, rogorc denikinisaTvis gagzavnil s; mas bevri gavugzavneT da bol os yvel a es iaraRi bol Sevikebis xel Si gadavidao.- del egaciam mas saTanado Sesafetisi pasuxi misca. am TaTbiris Sedegi iyo dapireba iaraRis micemisa.-<sup>22</sup>

samwuxarod, es dapirebac Seusrul ebel i darCa. Tuki gen. azaqariaZis mogonebebs daveyrdnobiT, mokavSire saxel mwi foebis umaRl es sabWos, general vrangel isaTvis daval e- ba miucia, rom konstantinopol is sawyobebSi arsebul i misi yofil i jaris naqoni iaraRi qarTvel ebisaTvis gadaeca. imave azaqariaZis informaciIT, am sakiTxTan dakav- SiRebiT konstantinopol Si `gaigzavna komisia Ren. quTaTel azis da Saqro mdi- vnis Semadgenl obiT. ramdenime dRe gaatara am del egaciam iq, magram arc erTi Tofi Cven maTgan ar migviriA... rusul sabWos Ren. vrangel is meTaubiIT gamoutania dadgenil eba, rom yovel nairi zomebi yofil iyo miRebul i, raTa qarTvel ebs iaraRi ar miscemoda.-<sup>23</sup>

erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas; ramdenadac vrangel i da denikini antantis saxel mwi foebis gan finansdeboda da maTi miTiTebebis Semsrul ebl ebi iyvnen, gansakuTre- biT ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta gareSe, saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdogod ver- anair gadawyvetil ebas ver miiRebden. miTumetes, stambol is samxedro sawyobSi Tav- moyril i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, safrangeTis saxel mwi fos sakuTrebas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, gadamwyveti sityva, safrangeTis premier- ministr kl emansos unda eTqva. rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, ramdenadac mas orWoful i\_ waj eq- ukuj eqis pozi- cia eWira, amiT gen. vrangel i sargebl obda da misi naqoni iaraRis vargisi anobis Semo- wmebis ufl ebasac ar aZl evda qarTul mxares. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom igive kl eman- so, evropel i maRal Cinosnebisadmi damaxasiaTebel i orpirovani ianisis rols rom Ta- maSobda. Toem, mis mier gacemul i brZanebis Susrul eba- arSusrul ebaSi Carevas, rusu- l i sabWo da gen. vrangel i namdvil ad ver gabedavda. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyvet sityvas evropel Ta interesebi gansazRvavda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maTi mxridan saqarTvel os sazi- anod Cafiqrebul i samomavl o RonisZieba. kerZod, saqarTvel osgan teritoriebis CamoWris safuzvel ze axal i fsevdo `saxel mwi fos- Seqmnis mcdel obis faqti. am mima- rTul ebiT pirvel i qmediTi nabiji ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal Ta Zal isxmeviT 1920 wl is 25 Teberval s gadaidga da erTa l igis mandatiT, baTumi porto- frankod oficial urad iqna gamocxadebul i. baTumsa da mis garSemo arsebul i teritoriebis bazaze saqarTvel osgan gancal kevebiT, `patara damoukidebel i saxel mwi- fos- Seqmnis sakiTxi, mokavSire saxel mwi foTa umaRl esi sabWos 1920 wl is 27 Teberv- l is l ondonis sxdomaze sagangebod ganixil es. evropel Ta es veragul i gegma, qarTv- el pol itikosebs mxedvel obidan ar gamorCenia da adeqvaturi nabij is gadasadgmel ad



Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebas Seecadnen. amis dadasturebas noe ramiSvil is mier parizSi myofi k.CxeiZisa da ir.wereTel isadmi gagzavnii weril i warmoadgens, romel ic 1920 wl is 22 martiTaa daTariRebul i. am dokumentis gansakuTrebul i Rirebul eba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom masSi gamoaSkaravebul ia qarTul i saxel mwifos teritoriul i mTli anobis winaaRmddeg dagegmil i ingl isis xel isufal Ta miznebi da amocanebi. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os samxret\_ dasavl eTis istoriul i teritoriis CamosaWrel ad, ingl isur- somxuri aliansis Sesaxeb\_ xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `ingl isel ebi cdil obs... daikavon baTumis ol qi da Semdeg gaiyvanon rkinigza baTumidan artaaniT yarsamde... aseTi gegma warmoadgens ganmeorebas im gegmisa, rac erTxel moxda Zvel saqarTvel oSi. samcxe-saaTabagos mowvetiT davkargeT ekonomiuri Zal a- gavl ena da Semdeg politikuri suvereniteti. amitom vibrZviT ase energiul ad am gegmis winaaRmddeg. artaani-baTumis xazi savsebiT Cveni unda Seiqnes. rogorc ar SegviZi ia baTumis ol - qis daTmoba, aseve ar SegviZi ia arc artaanis ol qis somxebisaTvis gadacema... somxebi ibrZvian artaanis ol qidan gaikafon viwro gza baTumisken. gaJl iton iq mcxovrebn, rogorc exl a JI eten artaanis ol qis aRmosavl eT nawil is musl imanebs artil eriit da qmnian sufTa derefans.-<sup>24</sup> am dokumentis gacnobis Semdeg gasagebi unda iyos: 1) saxel mwifoebivad ra maRal doneze azrovnebd Cveni winaprebi da somexTa moTxovnebsi, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobis dasarRvevad ra did safrTxeebs xedavda; 2) imave dokumentiT aSkarad ikveTeba, Tu ratom uWerda mxars ingl isis warmomadgenl oba san- remos konferenciaze somxebis usafuZvl o da mtacebl ur moTxovnebs. isic sayuradReboa, rom antantis saxel mwifoebis mxridan baTumis porto- frankod gamocxadebas, n.ramiSvil ma karikaturul i saxel mwifos Segmnis mcdel oba uwoda da principul ad daayena sakiTxi mis winaaRmddeg energiul i zomebis miRebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. imavdroul ad ingl isis xel isuflebis saqarTvel osken SesaZl o Semobrunebis faqtorebis win wamowevazedac miuTiTa. amastan dakavSirebiT imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `Cven vfiqrobT, SeiZl eba ingl isis xel mZRvanel wreebs advil ad davumtkicoT, rom Zl ieri saqarTvel o sworeT maT interesebSia da maT politikas mTel kavkasiaSi da Sua aziaSi amtkicebs. amitom, saWiroa saqarTvel os interesTa uzrunvel yofa.-

n.ramiSvil is es weril i imiTaca sayuradRebo, rom masSi zaqaTal as mxaris azerbaijanis sazRvrebSi datovebis SeuZl ebl obaze da am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT antantis saxel mwifoTa mxardaWeris miRebazea yuradReba gamaxvil ebul i. rogorc Cans, am sakiTxze azerbaijanel ebs evropul i saxel mwifoebis mxridan garkveul i formiT qonda l obireba. `mesame sakiTxi es aris zaqaTal as ol qi. yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia vkiTxul obT dokumentSi am ol qis azerbaijanis fargl ebSi datoveba. ekonomurad is gadaj aWvul ia Tbil istan. saWiroa am sakiTxSi miimxroT mokavSireni. es miT ufro SeiZl eba, rom azerbaijanis gaZl ierebas saqarTvel os xarj ze ar moisurveben. saerTod, droa sazRvrebis sakiTxi pirvel rigSi daayenoT. modis gen. odiSel iZe. man Cveni azri icis da saWiroa misi erudiciis savsebiT gamoyeneba. imedi maqvs, Tqven SeZl ebT am ukanasknel dabrkol ebaTa daZl - evas.-

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom l ondonis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoebma, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebsi srul i siyrue gamoiCina. qarTvel Ta gasaWiri, misi yovel i winadadeba ignorirebul i iqna. aseTive damokidebul eba gamoavli na saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis miyidvasTan mimarTebsiac. marTal ia, saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obas oficial urad uars ar eubnebodnen, magram arc danapirebs asrul ebdnen. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi ak.Cxenkel s, roca gr.rcxil aZisadmi gagzavnii weril Si (1920 wl is 21 marti), ingl isis xel isuflebis misamarTIT gul iswyromiT rom werda: `Cven ar vTxovT maT jars, ar vTxovT mowyal ebas, gvinda mxol od megobrul ad mogvepyran. gamogvigzavnon iaraRi, sursaTi, mogvcen saSual eba medgrad SevebrZol oT anarqias, rogorc garedan ise SigniT.- imave ak.Cxenkel is mtkicebiT, ramdenadac saqarTvel o evropasa da azias Soris saaRebmicemo xids warmoadgenda, mistvis gaugebari rCeboda ingl isis antiqarTul i politikuri kursi. miTumetes, aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebsi saqarTvel os gansakuTrebul i funqcia ekisreboda. am fonze, gr.rcxil aZis winase ak.Cxenkel i savsebiT kanonzomierad svamda kiTxvas: `vis iSovis ingl isi ukeTess, gana mTel s aziaSi aris kidev iseTl eri, rogorc qarTvel i, romel ic momwifebul ia politikuraT, surs evropul ad

icxovros da mTel is arsebitaa dainteresebul i didi britaneTis gverdiT, misi patara megobris saxiT Seasrul os Tavisi istoriul i misia? Tbilisi gegemonia amierkavkasiisa, is erTgvari sul ieri simagrea, romel zedac dayrdnoba ingl isisTvis metad saxeroa. rac ufro ZI ieri varT Cven, pol itikuraT da ekonomikuraT, miT ufro kargia TviT ingl isisaTvis. amIT mis gavI enas daeqvemdebareba mTel i kavkasia... ratom ar esmis mas es garemoeba, ratom unda amierkavkasia bol Sevikebis saTel ad gaxados?... es pol itika... TviT ingl isis sasicoxl o interesebis Ral atia... gTxovT imoqmedoT mTel is Zal RoniT. GaagoneT mag xal xs namdvil i maTi interesi, nu gvRupaven Cven, nu Ral atoben TviT ingl iss.-

am vrCel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, Tu ra maRal doneze qonda akCxenkel s gacnobierebul i kavkasiis regionSi saqarTvel os geopolitikuri mniSvnel oba da is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel ebic Crdil oetidan da samxreTidan emugreboda Cvens qveyanas. meore mxriv, masSi xazgasmitaa miTitebul i ingl isis gansakuTrebul rol ze, rogorc damcav meqanizmze saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi. samwuxarod, ingl isis xel isufl ebaze zemoqmedebis moxdena, ara Tu gr.rcxil aZes, aramed masze ufro maRal i rangisa da didi saxel mwifos warmomadgenel sac ar SeeZI o. im etapze ingl isis xel isufl eba ruseTis bunebriv simdidreze fiqrobda da wurbel asavit misi amowovis meqanizms SemuSavebit iyo dakavebul i. am fonze, saqarTvel o da samxreT kavkasia misTvis nakl ebad Rirebul geografiul cnebad gadaiqca. saqarTvel os xval indel i dRisTvis ingl isel Ta es damRupvel i kursi, qarTul pol itikur el itas mxedvel obis miRma ar darCenia da masTan mimarTebaSi, adeqvaturi nabij is gadadgmis aucil ebl obas ayenebda. amis utyuar dadasturebad, egegeWkoris mier 1920 wl is 24 marts parizSi, romSi da konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebisadmi gagzavnili werili gamodgeba. Cven eWvi gvaqvs vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, rom ingl isel ebi Cvens zurgsukan saiduml od mol aparakebas awarmoeben sabWoTa mTavrobasTan... Tu isini bol Sevikebisgan miiReben mandats sparseT- indoeTisTvis, amierkavkasiyas advil ad daTmoben. aseT mdgomareobaSi, arsebul i pirobebi Cven sxvas arafers gvikarnaxebS Tu ara saswrafod energiul moqmedebas. mTavrobas gadawyvetil i aqvs daiCvas republ ikis damoukidebl oba Tu is saWiro iqneba iaraRiT xel Si.- ingl isis sandoobasTan mimarTebaSi, egegeWkori ar tyuoda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom im etapze sabWoTa ruseTsa da ingl iss Soris ekonomikuri urTierTobis sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi mol aparakeba da Sesabamisi xel Sekrul ebis teqstis momzadebaze muSaoba marTI ac mimdinareobda. aRniSnulis gaTval iswinebit, mxol od ingl isze dayrdnoba da dasaxuli miznis Sesasrul ebl ad sxva qveynebisken argaxedva, an saTanado nabij is argadadgma da axali safexuris armosinj va, didi pol itikuri Secdoma iqneboda. am mxriv, qarTul i saxel mwifos mmarTvel wreebs safuZvliani gamocdil eba da mimdinare procesebisadmi al Ros aRebis SesaniSnavi intuicia gaaCnda. amis udao dadasturebas imave dokumentebSi motanili faqtebi iZi eva. am masal ebis Seswavis Sedegad irkveva, rom ingl isisgan gadamwyveti pasuxis droSi Segnebul ad gaWianurebis gamo, iaraRis SeZenasTan mimarTebaSi dawyebul i saqmianobis Ziritadi kursi, saqarTvel os dipl omatiurma korpusma italia\_ safrangeTis mimarTul ebiT aiRo. roca saqarTvel os del egaciis mier am qveynebidan iaraRis SeZenasTan dakavSirebit gaweul saqmianobas vexebiT, Cvens winaSe principul ad ismeba kiTxva\_ samxedro aRWurvil obis Sesazen nuxaSi Setanili iyo Tu ara saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saminstrosadmi daqvemdebarebul i italiuri sabrZolo TviTmfrinavebisatvis saWiro sawvavis Sesyidva. es sakiTxi gansakuTrebul aqtual obas im Tval sazrisiTac izens, rom r.gabaSvil is mogonebebis safuZvel ze, istorikosTa garkveul wreebSi, `eqspertebSi- da Jurnal istebSi dRemde mcdari Sexedul ebaa `gabatonebul i,- saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam TiTqos ar izruna da TviTmfrinavebisTvis sawvavis Sesazenad arcerTi TeTri ar gaimeta. isini gazepirebul i l eqsiviT imeoreben r.gabaSvil is mogonebebis sarkazmit Sezavebul teqsts. `sad iyo 12, saukeTeso italiuri haeropl ani, romel Tagan wers r.gabaSvil i vercerTi ver afrinda, miuxedavad saukeTeso qarTvel i mfrinavebisa (mayaSvil ebi, bogomol ovi da sxv), radgan Cvenma `mzrunvel ma- xazeinma- aucil ebel `gargoil isaTvis- ful i ver gaimeta: Zviria!.. ubral o zeTi ixmareTo da bol Sevikuri erTaderTi haeropl ani Tu `panikasa- hqmni da Cvens mamac gvardiaSi, warmoidgineT, ra entuziazms gamoiwvevda maTSi da SiSis zars bol SevikebSi. Cvens 12 haeropl ans Camoegdo maTi es erTaderTi da efrina mtris

Tavze... gind mar to Jordania s qvada gunda Camoeyara, an gegeWkoris margsistul i `rCevebi- margsistul save rigebSi?~<sup>25</sup>

vinc am amonawers yvel a niuansiT siRmiseul ad ganixil avs, udaod dameTanxmeba, rom igi tyuil ebiTaa damZimebul i da saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi biol ogiurad moZul e adamianis mieraa daweril i. am teqstis avtors, 1918 wl is maisis umZimesi dReebi unda gaxsenoda, roca man da misma Tanapartiel ebma, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis koal - iciur mTavrobaSi Sesvl aze da qveyinis xaval indel i dRis pasuxismgebl obaze, upasuxismgebl o gadawyvetil eba rom miRo da `qandaraze Semomj dari- gul gril i mayurebeli opozicioneris rol Si yofna amj obina. es aris mware simarTI e da mas vercerTi istorikosi ver gaqceva.

rac Seexeba ital iuri warmoebis TviTmfrinavebis sawavisTvis ful is TiTqos `vergametebas,- am tyuil is mxil ebis uamravi dokumentia dacul i harvardis universitetisa da l evil is saarqivo masal ebis Sesabamis fondebSi. imave masal ebSi dacul i informaciis mixedvit, samxedro aRWurvil obasTan erTad, aRniSnul i sawvavi ital iis Tavdacvis uwyebidan unda mieRo saqarTvel os. am da sxva sakiTxebis mogvareba ital iaSi sagangebod mivl inebul gen. igedevaniSvil s qonda daval ebul i. saqarTvel os del egaciis (pol itikuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) 1920 wl is 1 maisis sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom, saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis imedebi ital iis xel isufl ebam ver gaamarTl a. xel SemSl el faqtorad sakiTxis pol itikur Wril Si gadatana da aliebis (al iansis saxel mwifoebis) mier gamocemul i brZaneba iqna dasaxel ebul i. es dokumenti, kavkasiis da mcire aziis teritoriaze, iaraRisa da nebismieri sabrZol o saSual ebebisTvis gankuTvnil i nawarmis Setanas krZal avda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveurebma, qveyinisTvis Tavdacviti sabrZol o masal is Sovna `Semovl iTi gziTac- mosinj es. am SemTxvevaSi maT mizans, qarTul i jaris SeiaraReba da respubl ikis damoukidebl obis gadarCena warmoadgenda.

Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, evropasi qarTul i misiis warmomadgenl ebma, moqmedebis erT- erT safexurad, sayovel Taod cnobil i pol itikuri formul ireba\_ `mizani amarTI ebs saSual ebas- gamoyenebac scades. isini ital iis kerZo savaWro sazogadoebis `ICTA--s xel mZRvanel s daukavSirdnen da masTan iaraRis SeZena\_ transportirebaze mol aparakebis garkveul i safexuri Seamzades. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas **gr.rcxil azis mier 1920 wl is 17 ianvars e.gegeWkorisadmi** gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `erTi ital iel i vaWari romel ic droebiT imyofeba aq, rogorc warmomadgenel i ital iuri savaWro sazogadoebisa `ICTA-, winadadebas izl eva Seitanos saqarTvel oSi yovel nairi samxedro iaraRi, ToFebi, zarbaznebi, aeropl anebi, patronebi, yumbarebi da sxva. misi si tyvit, yvel aferi es SeiZl eba iSovos saqarTvel os mTavrobam ital iaSi kerZo mwarmoebel ebis da vaWrebisgan. foTamde mitanas ikisreben gadamyidvel ebi. saWiroa mxol od winaswar icodnen, SeiZl eba Tu ara am saqmeze pirdapiri l aparaki ital iis mTavrobasTan. Tu es ise unda moewyos, rom ital iis mTavrobam ver gaigos. am sakiTxis Sesaxeb me davpirdi pasuxs ori kviris ganmavl obaSi da ami tom gTxovT vidre es vada gavidodes macnobot Tqveni Sexedul eba.-

Sesabamisi saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl is mixedavad, aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi raime saxis gadawyvetil ebis miRebis damadasturebel dokumentis ver mi vakvl ie. rogorc Cans, zemoaRniSnul i kanonis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, ital iidan aral egarul ad iaraRis gamotana did riskTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mi Tumetes, im etapze xmel TaSua zRvisa da Savi zRvis umniSvnel ovanes navsadgurebs da TviT bosforis srutes konstantinopol iTurT\_ ingl isis sajariso SenaerTebi akontrol ebda. saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis miyi dvasTan mimarTebaSi ingl isis waj eq- ukuj eqis pozicias Tuki gaviTval iswinebT, bosforis sruteSi ital iidan aral egarul ad wamoRebul i iaraRis gatarebas ingl isi araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar dauSvebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba kidev ufro damZimdeboda.

ramdenadac iaraRis aral egarul ad transportireba did riskTan da mosal ondel saerTaSoriso skandal Tan iyo dakavSirebul i, saqarTvel os mTavrobam am nabij is gada-dgmisgan, rogorc Cans Tavi Seikava. saarqivo masal ebidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os dipl omatiur-ma warmomadgenl obam, iaraRis SeZenis optimal ur formad, qarxnis mepatroneebTan mol aparakeba miicnia. am mxriv saintereso informaciaa dacul i **nj ayel is**

mier egegeWkorisadmi 1920 wl is 30 ivniss gagzavnil weril Si. dokumentis mixed-  
viT, nj ayel i da igedevaniSvil i sagangebod Casul an qal aq mil anSi ital iis meta-  
l urgiul i qarxnebis mmarTvel i wreebis sanaxavad da maTTan ital iuri warmoebis ia-  
raRis Sesyidvis mizniT mosal aparakebl ad. ramdenadac es mcdel oba warumatebl ad  
damTavrda, nqarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgebni ebi iZul ebul i gaxdnen,  
del egaciis winaSe mdgomi sakiTxebis mogvarebas isev l ondonSi cdil iyvnen. samwux-  
arod, maTi es misiac uSedego gamodga.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, principul ad ismeba kiTxva: romel  
qveyanaSi apirebda r.gabaSvil i TviTmfrinavebisTvis sawvavis SeZenas da Tuki  
aseTi saxel mwifo egul eboda, es saiduml o ratom droul ad ar gaumxila imave  
komisiis wevrebs? roca am kanonzomier SekiTxvas zogietI Cemi kol ega `gabaS-  
vil isti- damajerebel pasuxs gascems, amis Semdeg miecema moral uri da zneo-  
brivi ufl eba gaakritikos da anaTemasac gadasces xel isufl ebis is mesveur-  
ni, roml ebmac r.gabaSvil isgan mikvl eul i TviTmfrinavis `sawvavis sabados-  
aTvisebaze uari rom ganaxxada.

qarTul i jarisTvis iaraRis SesaZenad gaweul i saqmanobidan, gansakuTrebul inter-  
ess gr.rcxil azis mier egegeWkorisadmi 1920 wl is 4 maiss gagzavnil i radiodepeSa  
iqcevs. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom ingl isis, safrangeTis da ital iis qveynebis maRal  
komisrebTan Sexvedraze, gr.rcxil azes principul ad dausvams sakiTxi: `rod is SeiZl e-  
ba miviRoT dapirebul i amunicia. rogorc mosal odnel i iyo\_ wers igi\_ gadaWriTi  
pasuxi arcerTma ar momca. mi Txres, es sakiTxi TviT Cvenma mTavrobam unda gadawyvi toso  
da dampirdnen, rom gaugzavnidnen depeSebs Taviant sagareo saqmeTa saministroebs am  
saqmeze. me vcdil obdi gamegebinebina maTTvis, rom daxmareba swored exl aa saWiro,  
radgan baqoSi bol Sevikebis gamoCenis Semdeg, saqarTvel o Tavdacvis samzadisSia.- sam-  
wuxarod, maTi mxridan qarTul i probl emisadmi civi da indiferentul i damokide-  
bul eba igrZnoboda. iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneboda, rom isini qarTvel ebs gansakuTre-  
bul informacias umal avdnen. qamel eonis pol itikur niRabs amofarebul ni, mxol od  
zedapirul i dapirebebiT ifargl ebodnen. amis SesaniSnav dadasturebad, saqarTvel os  
sazavo del egaciis 1920 wl is 4 maiss sxdomis stenografiul angariSSi dacu-  
l i informacia gamodgeba. dokumentidan irkveva, rom k.gvarjal azis mier frangi pol k-  
ovnikis JorJisadmi micemul SekiTxvaze\_ `Cven gvinda vicodeT... iaraRs Tu miviRebT,  
viRebT marTo safrangeTidan Tu sxvebidanac.- respodentma (JorJma) am kanonzomieri  
SekiTxvisadmi konkretul pasuxs Tavi aarida. rac Seexeba imave k.gvarjal azis  
saubars kremerTan, mas k.gvarjal azisaTvis yovel gvari Sefarvis gareSe uTq-  
vams: `Tu gindaT marTal i giTxraT, maSin azri aseTia,... iaraRi Tqven ar mogecemaT,  
radganac Tqven erTi meores wyvetT.- am SemTxvevaSi mas somex- azerbaijanel -  
Ta sisxl iani dapirispireba qonda mxedvel obaSi. samwuxarod, es danaSaul e-  
brivi qmedeba bral debis saxiT qarTvel ebze gadmoqondaT. anal ogiuri pozi-  
cia eWira qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi grenarsac. rogorc Cans, somxebis mxri-  
dan orive maTgans qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdegod yal bi informacia qonda miwo-  
debul i. igi qarTvel ebis simarTl esa da udanSaul obaSi mas Semdeg darwmun-  
da, roca de- martel is depeSas gaecno. am dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo miTitebu-  
l i: `saqarTvel os energiul i Carevis wyal obiT, mowweul i iqna konferencia  
sami respublikis da omi SeCerebul ia somex- azerbaijanel Ta Soris.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, Tu ramdenad maRal doneze  
muSaobda mezobel i qveynebis warmomadgenl ebi qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg yal bi infor-  
maciis gavr cel ebis mizniT. maT kargad moaxerxes saqarTvel osadmi evropis l iderTa  
garkveul i nawil is undobl obaSi darwmuneba. iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxSi qarTul i dip-  
l omatiis warumatebel i saqmanobis safuZvel Ta- safuZvel i evropis masStabiT qarTvel eb-  
isadmi somexTa gapiarebul i yal bi bral debebi iyo. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTve-  
l os del egaciis da ekonomikuri komisiis 1920 wl is 1 maiss gaerTianebul sxdomaze.  
k.CxeiZe xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `del egaciam iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxis gamorkvevisTvis  
didi Sroma gaswia, magram saubedurod j er mizans ver miarwia.- am SemTxvevaSi k.CxeiZes  
ital iaSi da ingl isSi qarTul i del egaciis warumatebel i saqmanoba qonda mxedvel o-  
baSi. miuxedavad imisa, rom ingl isSi TiTqmis yvel a pasuxismgebel i pirovneba  
iqna naxul i, isini qarTvel ebs iaraRis SesyidvasTan dakavSirebiT erT da  
imave pasuxs aZl evdnen: `principul i mosazrebiT SeuZl ebel ia j er- j erobiT  
sakiTxis sistrul eSi moyvana da a.S.-

ingl isis warmomadgenl obis mxridan aseTi poziciis daWera, moaxl oebul i safrTxis winaSe mdgomi saqarTvel osadmi momakvdinebel dartyas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, samxreT kavkasiis garSemo pol itikuri situaciis gamwvavebis fonze, saqarTvel o umZimes mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. qveyanas sabrZol o iaraRi sWirdeboda da am aucil ebel damcav instruments, dapirebis miuxedavad, dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebi ver imetebda. am real obis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, parizSi, romSi, berl inSi, bernSi, l ondonSi, konstantinopol Si myofi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl ebisadmi 1920 wl is 18 april s gagzavnil radiodepeSaSi e.gegeWkori garkveiT miuTitebda: `Cven SevZl ebT Tavdacvas sakuTari Zal ebiT, yovel SemTxvevaSi erTxans gaumkl avdebiT mters. ra Tqma unda Cveni mdgomareoba ufro imediani iqneboda, rom mokavSireTagan Sepirebul i daxmareba migveRo. yovel dRe gvpirdebian, magram jer araferi gamougzavniaT.- am fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevs imave e.gege-Wkoris mier evropis qveynebSi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obisadmi 1920 wl is 30 april s gagzavnil i radiodepeSa. `Cven gvWiria- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- iaraRi, amuncia da sursaTi. mokavSireTa misiebi gvpirdebian daxmarebas, Tumca jer es dapireba ar ausrul ebiaT... Tqven iq unda miROT yovel i zoma, rom es daxmareba Tuki cariel i sityva ar aris, maTi dapireba dauyovnebl iv mogvardes.- evropis qveynebis l iderebidan sicrueze dafuznebul i waj eq- ukuj eqis pol itikidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os del egaciis winaSe principul ad daisva sakiTxi im arsebiTi meqanizmis wina pl anze wamowebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, romel ic dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebs daainteresebda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.nikol aZis mier SeTavazebul i winadadeba iqcevs. n.nikol aZis azriT, ramdenadac bol Sevikebis mier baqos okupacia ganxorciel da, misi ganTavisufli ebis motivaciIT, qarTul mxares antantis qveynebidan iaraRis miyidva unda moeTxova. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT qarTul mxares gen. foSisadmi dasabuTebul i formiT Sesabamisi moxseneba unda waredgina. erTi SexedviT es winadadeba im Tval sazrisiT Canda misaRebi, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, navTobze daxarbebul ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal T SeiZl eba marTI ac gasCenodaT garkveul i interesi. meore mxriv, bol Sevikebisgan baqos ganTavisufli ebisaTvis saomari moqmedebebis dawyeba, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi omis gamocxadebas niSnavda. is iaraRi (vaznebi, yumbarebi...) roml ebsac evropis qveynebidan qarTul i mxare marganecis safasurad miRebda, evropis qveynebis interesebisaTvis sabWoTa ruseTTan omis dros daixarj eboda da qarTul i jari isev uiaraRod darCeboda. am procesebs qarTvel Ta cocxal i Zal is msxverpl ad SewirvasTan erTad, saqarTvel os ekonomikis srul i ganadgureba da misi saxel mwifoebriobis dacema moyveboda. aqedan gamomdinare, n.nikol aZis zemoaRniSnul i winadadeba, im periodis qarTul i sinamdvil isadmi miuRebel i iyo. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom iaraRis sanacvl od ruseTan dapirispirebiT, saqarTvel o evropis saxel mwifoebis interesTa zvaraki gaxdeboda.

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i dokumenturi masal is mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, antantis saxel mwifoebi ruseTTan omSi saqarTvel os CabmiT marTI ac iyvnen dainteresebul ni. amis Sesaxeb, gr.rcxil aZis mier 1920 wl is 21 ianvars parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis winaSe gakeTebul moxsenebaSi, ingl isis admiral di-robekTan saubris sayuradRebo faqtebia motanil i. `di-robekis nal aparakevidan- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi- gamoirkva, rom antantas ganzraxul i aqvs Cveni CaTreva omSi bol Sevikebis winaaRmddeg. di-robekis TqmiT, mdgomareoba Txoul obs, rom saqarTvel o awarmoebdes bol SevikebTan ara marto TavdacviT pol itikas da mzad iyos mogeriebiTi omisTvis, aramed imasac, rom saqarTvel o daexmaros moxal isebs yubanis ol qSi bol Sevikebis ukan gadasrol istvis... jer unda gamoiCinos saqarTvel om faqtiurad aqtivoba bol Sevikebis winaaRmddeg da masin miRebs iaraRso.- di-robekis aRniSnul i pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan igi parizis konferenciis monawil e saxel mwifoebis mier miRebul i dadgenil ebidan gamomdinareobda. am SemTxvevaSi misi `damsaxureba- imaSi mdgomareobs, rom ingl isel ebisTvis damaxasiaTebel i `daxurul i kartis- TamaSis principi daarRvia da saqarTvel os warmomadgenel s pirdapir mianiSna\_ antantis qveynebs saqarTvel o da misi mosaxl eoba mxol od da mxol od `sazarbazne xorcad- sWirdeboda. amis dadasturebas, kavkasiis qveynebTan mimarTebaSi parizis

konferenciaze miRebul i dadgenil ebis teqstis gr.rcxil aZisadmi gacnoba warmoadgenda. am dokumentSi xazgasmiT iyo aRniSnul i: `material uri daxmareba gaewios kavkasiis republ ikebs imave pirobiT, rogorc moxal iseTa armias.- es faqti imazedac migvaniSnebs, rom antantis qveynebi, saqarTvel os republ i-kas ara saxel mwifoebriV, aramed moxal iseTa armiis doneze ganixil avdnen. Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis anal izi-dan gamomdinare, varaudis doneze SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis miyidvasTan mimarTeBaSi, antantis qveynebis l iderTa TavSekaveba, gamoricxul i araa, rom ruseTTan saomar moqmedebaSi saqarTvel os mxridan monawil eobis miRebaze oficial uri gancxadebis argakeTebiT rom yofil iyo ganpirobebul i.

rac Seexeba azerbaij anis gasabWoebis pol itikuri manipul irebis SesaZl ebl obas, es faqtori, rogorc i.odiSel iZe aRniSnavda, saqarTvel osadmi mosal odnel i safrTxis fonze, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis mxridan wina pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i da ingl isidan an safrangeTidan iaraRis miRebis saSual ebad eqciaT. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi e.gegeWkors, roca parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis Tavmj domaris k.CxeiZis saxel ze gagzavnil weril Si principul i formiT rom ayenebda sakiTxs: `es weril i minda gavaTavo imiT, rom iaraRiT daxmareba mogvcen. ar vTxoul obT ufasod. mogvyidon! nuTu saqarTvel om es mainc ver daimsaxura maT Tval Si?~ igive e.gegeWkori evropasi (parizi, romi, berl ini, berni, stamboli) saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obebisadmi 1920 wl is 19 ivniss gagzavnil SetyobinebaSi principul ad moiTxovda: `amasTanave saWiroa iaraRisa da amunciis sakiTxis gadaWris daCqareba. iaraRi Tu gveqna, Cven gaumkl avdebiT yovel gvar safrTxes.-

azerbaj anSi bol Sevikebis Semosevam, ingl isis xel isufal Ta mesveurni saqarTvel osTan mimarTeBaSi garkveul `kompromisze- waiyvana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs b.vansittartis mier z.aval iSvil isadmi SeTavazebul i winadadeba\_ qarTul mxares ingl isis xel isufl ebi-sadmi iaraRis moTxovna somxebTan erTad waredgina. saqarTvel os del egaciis meTaurma k.CxeiZem, am sakiTxTan mimarTeBaSi 1920 wl is 8 maisis sxdomaze uaryofiTi pozicia daafiqsira. igi sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsenebda, rom, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da transportireba, `erTgvari pol itikuri demonstracia iqneba azerbaij anis winaaRmdog, rac cud STabeWdil ebas iqoniebs da amave dros isic ar viciT, am pol itikuri demonstraciis samagiero kompensacia Tu rogori iqneba.-

k.CxeiZis es pozicia pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT marTebul i iyo da amierkavkasiis regionSi Seqmnil urTul es situacias savsebiT Seesabameboda. rac Seexeba riskze wasvl as, Tu ra saxis `kompensacias- miRebda amisTvis saqarTvel o, es sakiTxi imave **del egaciis 1920 wl is 29 maisis da 2 ivnisis sxdomebis** sagangebo msjel obis sagani gaxda. imave sxdomebis stenografiul i angariSebidan irkveva, rom somxeTTan erTad saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis mier iaraRis waRebis sakiTxis gadawyvetisas, sxdomis monawil eebi pirvel rigSi ruseTTan dadebul xel Sekrul ebas da osmal eTis argaRizianebis faqtors iTval iswinebdnen. `yvel a eseni erTad qmnis im mdgomareobas\_ ambobda k.CxeiZe, \_ romel ic gvaizul ebs metis- metad frTxil ad moveqceT am sakiTxs.- anal ogiuri pozicia daiWira k.kandel akma, roca l ondonSi myofi saqarTvel os ekonomikuri komisiis mxridan vansi-ttartisadmi micemul pirobaze\_ somxebTan erTad iaraRis Sesyidva-transportirebaze daTanxmebas uaryofiTi Sefaseba rom misca. misi samarTliani mtkicebiT, es sakiTxi pol itikuri xasiaTis matarebel i iyo da z.aval iSvil s igi pol itikur del egaciasTan unda SeeTanxmebina. igive k.kandel aki, z.aval iSvil is zemoaRniSnul TviTnebur gadawyvetil ebas da vansittartTan SeTanxmebas naCqarevad miCnevda. `saqme imaSi ki ar aris\_ ambobda k.kandel aki, \_ rom Cven somxebTan erTad migvaqvs iaraRi, pol itikuri safrTxes am sakiTxis imaSi mdgomareobs, Tu rogor gavuSvaT es iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze... me ar mesmis aseTi gul ubryvil oba. z.aval iSvil s unda gaego vansittart- tis winadadeba, somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna da am iaraRis gaSveba Cvens teritoriaze ras niSnavda. dRes sakiTxi ase dgas... pol itikuri mxriT, rom foTSi Casul i iaraRi SeiZl eba ar iqnes miRebul i Cvenebis mier.- aqedan gamomdinare, k.kandel aki savsebiT kanonzomierad moiTxovda, z.aval iSvil is mier xel moweril i xel Sekrul ebis SeCerebis aucil ebl obas. amis saWiroebas gen. il .odiSel iZec xedavda. misi mtkicebiT, ramdenadac sakiTxi pol itikuri iyo, igi sxdomis monawil eebis Seaxsenebda: `iaraRis CataniT sargebol bis magier SeiZl eba vneba movutanoT Cvens qveyanas.- anal ogiuri mosazreba gamoTqva i.gobeCiamac. `z.aval iSvil i\_ ganaxxada man\_ mudam zerel ed uyureb-

da am sakiTxs. man miaRwia imas, rom somxebTan erTad gamosul iyo am sakiTxSi... es mistTvis umTavresia. danarCeni... ar ainteresebs. Cven xel Sekrul eba gvaqvs bol SevikebTan. iaraRis gaSveba ar iqneba darRveva neitral itetis? meoreT, rogor gindaT, gvardia daTanxmdes\_ somxebs miyceT 75 % da danarCeni 25 % Cven davitovoT.- am SemTxvevaSi sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i. miTumetes, iaraRis umniSvnel o nawil is (3- dan 1 Tofi), sanacvl od, saqarTvel o gamousworebel pol itikur dartyas Rebul obda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, del egaciis wevrebis winaSe k.CxeiZe principul ad ayenebda sakiTxs: Rirda Tu ara aTi aTasi TofisTvis somxebTan erTad gamosvl a da qveynisTvis pol itikurad zianis miyeneba. misive mtkicebiT, somex- qarTvel Ta erTobl ivi gamosvl a sxva sakiTxebSi ufro meti sargebl is momtani iqneboda vinem iaraRis erTobl ivi transportireba. magram ingl isel Ta mxardaWeriT gaTamamebul i somxebi, saqarTvel osadmi mezobel i qveynebis dasapirispirebel i safexuris Sesaqmnel ad moqmedebdnen. `yvel aze ufro\_ ambobda k.CxeiZe\_ somxebs Cveni erTad gamosvl a ainteresebs... Cvens teritoriaze iaraRis gatareba, faqtiurad samxedro kavSiri gamodis somxebTan azerbaijanis winaarMdeg. ase erTad gamosvl as me vamj obineb cal ke viqneT am SemTxvevaSi.-

sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom aRniSnul i faqtiT, sabWoTa ruseTi 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebis, saqarTvel os mxridan darRvevis apel irebas moaxdenda da bol Sevikebis provokaciebis ganxorciel ebis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmni da. aqedan gamomdinare, umniSvnel o iaraRis miRebis safasurad da evropul i dapirebebis Semyure saqarTvel o, sabWoTa ruseTTan da azerbaijanTan ganaxl ebul i samxedro dapirispirebis winaSe aRmoCndeboda. miTumetes, ingl isisa da safrangeTis xel isufal ni waj eq- ukuj eqis pol itikur kurss adga da 1920 wl is ivnisisTvisac gaugebari iyo, Tu ra gadawyvetil ebas miRebda TiToeul i maTgani saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi. amis saukeTeso dadasturebas **saqarTvel os del egaciis 1920 wl is 8 ivnisis** sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. es dokumenti imiTac aris saintereso, rom general ma al .erisTavma, sxdomis monawil eebis pol kovnik JorJTan (frangi oficeri) saubris Sinaarsi gaacno. misi TqmiT, safrangeTis mTavrobas somxebisTvis iaraRis micemis gadawyvetil eba miuRia da es iaraRi somxeTSi foTis sazRvao portiT unda gagzavnil iyo. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os, imave pol kovnik JorJs ganuxxadeebia, rom baTumis garSemo Seqmnil i probl emidan gamomdinare, `safrangeTis mTavrobas ar surs waaxdinos damokidebul eba ingl isTan, rac isedac ar aris karg mdgomareobaSi ingl isis mier krasinis miRebis gamo... safrangeTis samxedro saminstro daJinebiT moiTxovs saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis micemas. magram mas sagareo saqmeTa saminstros daukiTxavad es ar SeuZl ia. es ukanasknel i ki j er- j erobiT gadawyvetil ebis miRebas ver bedavs ingl isis gamo.-

am amonaweridan aSkarad Cans, rom evropis qveynebidan, Tugind safrangeTidan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis sakiTxis dadebiTad gadawyvetas, mxol od ingl isis xel isufal Ta guneba- ganwyoba gansazRvravda. miTumetes, im etapze yvel a sazRvao navsadgurs ingl isi akontrol ebda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sasiketod nebismieri sakiTxis mowesrigeba ingl isis xel isufal Ta neba- survil ze iyo damokidebul i. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT, imave sxdomaze k.gvarjal aZem gul iswyromiT ganaxxada: `ingl isma Cven aRgviTqva, rom sawinaarMdego araferi eqneboda, Tu amerikaSi Sevizendit iaraRs. da dRes ki winaarMdegni arian safrangeTma rom mogvces. me mgonia aq raRac pol itika unda iyves somxebis mier nawarmoebi. maT undaT aqac mogvmarton, rom iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze gavataroT.- kidev ufro mkacri iyo imave sxdomaze k.CxeiZis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba: `winaT gveubnebodnen, rom iaraRis SeZena SeiZl eba uful od da Cvenc am mimarTul ebit vmoqmedebdit... Semdeg gviTxres, iaraRis SesaZenad mxol od ful ia saWiroo. daviwyeT am mimarTul ebit moqmedeba. exl a ki isev gveubnebian, rom uful od SegviZl ia miviRoT. Zal ian kargi, amas raRa sj obia Tuki egre iqneba. Cven unda miviRoT yovel i zomebi, rom mogvcen es iaraRi. rac Seexeba somxebs, me Semizl ia vTqva, rom ar mesmis maTi saqme. in- gl isel ebi, Cveni mfarvel ebi somxebs aZl even iaraRs, safrangeTic da ital iac. raSia saqme? somxebis saSual ebit xom ar surT dagvRupon?-

Cems mier motanil i am amonawerebidan kargad Cans ingl isis xel isufal Ta pol itikurad gameZavebul i da orpirovani ianisis niRbiT SefuTul i antiqarTul i kursi. meore mxriv, somexTa mier qarTvel Ta sawinaarMdegod Catarebul i farul i muSaobis Sedegebi. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom evropel Ta mxridan gacemul i dapirebebis

gamudmebul i cval ebadobidan gamomdinare, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egacia umZimes mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. maT mier gaweul i titanuri Sroma, romel ic iaraRis SeZenas ukavSirdeboda, evropis saxel mwifoTa maRal Cinosnebis orpirobis wyal obiT, unayofo gamodga. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul ma del egaciam Cixidan gamosvl is erTaderT saSual ebad iaraRis ingl isel ebisgan SeZena CaTval a mizanSewonil ad. rogorc dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, **k.CxeiZes ingl isel i pol kovnikis gribonisadmi miumarTavs.** am ukanasknel s pirdapir dausvams sakiTxi\_ saqarTvel os SeeZl o Tu ara iaraRis Sesazenad ful is gadaxda. im SemTxvevaSi Tu qarTul i mxare ful s gaiRebda, **gen. mil nis** gankargul ebaSi myofi iaraRiT datvirTul i gemi saqarTvel os gadaecemoda. marTal ia, es winadadeba erTi SexedviT mi mzi dvel i Canda, magram qarTul i mxarisTvis ucnobi rCeboda\_ ra saxeobis, ramdenad maRal xarixiani da brZol isTvis va-rgisiani iyo Tu ara es iaraRi. meore mxriv, misi SeZenis nebarTvis oficial urad da-dastureba da transportireba, ingl isis xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis mxridan gacemul i dokumentis Semdeg gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i. biurokratiul i barieris droul ad daZl evis mizniT, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebs, daxma-rebisTvis ingl isis sagareo saqmeTa saministros erT- erTi maRal CinosanisTvis- **I ord hartingisTvis miumarTavs.** imavdroul ad, im mosal odnel i safrTxis Sesaxebac gaumaxvil ebiaT yuradReba, romel ic saqarTvel os, sabWoTa ruseTidan emuqreboda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis droul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba, qveynis sasicocxl o interesebisaTvis daukavSirebiaT. imave masal ebis mixedviT, am mniSvnel ovan sakiTxTan mimarTebsi, **I ord hartings** indiferentul i damokidebul eba gamouCenia da ganucxadebia: **`rodesac Seiqmneba aseTi situacia, romel zedac exl a Tqven I aparakobT, maSin SeiZl eba xel meoreT davsvaT eg sakiTxi.**~ misi aseTi pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwvevs imdenad, ramdenadac im etapze ingl isis xel isufl eba sabWoTa ruseTTan savaWro xel Sekrul ebis teqstis detal ebs azustebda da ruseTisadmi saqarTvel os `daTmobis- da kavkasiis regioniT `ardainteresebis- sanacvl od, garkveul SeRavaTebis el odeboda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi imeds ar kargavda da iaraRis Sesyidvis sakiTxis dadebiTad gadawyvetas isev ingl isis daxmarebiT cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis (dipl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro misiebi) **gafarToebul i sxdoma (1920 wl is 18 maissi) warmoadgens.** iaraRis SeZenasTan dakavSirebiT imave sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: **`iaraRi SeZenil i iqnas ingl isidan.** Tu mosaxerxebel ia mil nidan. ekonomiurma komisi am gaiRos erTi da naxevari (1 <sup>1/2</sup>) milioni franki da miweros mTavrobas, rom manac gaiRos erTi da naxevari (1 <sup>1/2</sup>) milioni franki.-

imave dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom am dadgenil ebis safuZvel ze, ful is gamoyofisa da mil nis mier ramdenime dRiT adre gacemul i dapirebis miuxedavad, sakiTxi adgil idan ar daZrul a. ingl isuri mxare, saqarTvel osTvis am sasicocxl o mniSvnel obis probl emis mizanimarTul ad mifuCeCevas Seecada. Seqmnil ma mdgomareobam, qarTul i del egaciis meTauri k.CxeiZe izul ebul i gaxada, yovel gvare dipl omatiuri reveransebis gareSe evropel ebisaTvis saTqmel i pirdapir eTqva. **amis dadasturebas saqarvel os del egaciis 1920 wl is 12 ivnisis sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens.** am dokumentidan irkveva, rom safrangeTis sagareo saqmeTa saministros maRal Cinosan moxel eebTan **grenarTan da I aroSTan, k.CxeiZisa da k.gvarjal aZis** Sexvedris dros, qarTul mxares principul ad dausvams sakiTxi\_ Tuki somxebs aZl evdnen iaraRs, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebsi ra mizniT axdendnen TavSekavebas. amasTan dakavSirebiT **I aroSs upasuxia: `marTal ia, somxebze aris I aparaki da CvenTvis saWiroa vicodet, Tqven gauSvebT Tu ara Tqvens teritoriaze somxebisTvis gankuTvnil iaraRso.**~ am SekiTxvaze k.gvarjal aZes del egaciis saxel iT ganucxadebia: **`erT Tofs ar gavuSvebT manamde, sanam Cven ar mogvcemen iaraRs. SeuZl ebel ia davuSvaT, rom Cvens irgvl iv yvel a Se- iaraRdes, maSin rodesac Cven uiaraRod vrCebiT!**~ aseTi principul i xasiaTis gancxadebis gamo, I aroSi izul ebul i gamxdara, qarTvel dipl omatTan `vaWro- bis- garkveul i forma gamoeyenebina da SekiTxvis saxiT mistvis miumarTavs: **`Tqven rom mogcet naxevari maSin gauSvebT?**~ safrangeTis warmomadgenl is mxridan aseT kompromisze wasvl a imdenad moul odnel i iyo, rom k.gvarjal aZes konkretul i psauxisaTvis Tavi auridebia\_ `me ar SemiZl ia am sakiTxze garkveul i ad gi pasuxoT, radganac arc Tqven da arc Cven ar viciT Tu rogori mdgomar-



eobaa iq (kavkasiaSi S.v.) daekiTxeT de- martel s Tqvens warmomadgenel s da im cnobebis mixedviT imoqmedeT, xol o Cven ki erT Tofs ar gavuSvebT manam, sanam iaraRs Cven ar miViRebT.- poziciis ase mkacrad gamoTqmiT, qarTul ma mxarem safrangeTis warmomadgenl obas pirdapir mianisna, rom isini SesaniSnavad erkveodnen mimdinare pol itikur procesebSi da maTi mxridan SefiTul i formiT Cafiqrebul nebismer veragul qmedebas, qarTul dipl omatiur korpuss ver gamoaparebdnen. swored amis Semdeg gaxda SesaZl ebel i, rom l aroSs nabiji ukan gadaedga da qarTul i mxari- sTvis varnaSi (bul gareTi) arsebul i iaraRi SeeTavazebina. misi TqmiT, antantas SeeZl o am iaraRis qarTvel ebisTvis miyi dva, magram winaswar ainteresebda iaraRis transportireba SesaZl ebel i gaxdeboda Tu ara baTumis navsadguriT. ramdenadac im etapze baTumSi saqarTvel os iurisdiccia ar vrcel deboda da ingl isel ebi batonobdnen, k.gvarjal aZem am SemTxvevaSi upiratesoba foTis navsadgurs mianiWa da iqve dasZina: `transportis saqmes qarTul i mxare moagvarebda, oRond maT iaraRis micemis gadawyvetil eba daCqarebiT mieRoT, radgan amas didi mniSvel oba eqneboda saqarTvel osaTvis. l aroSi qarTul mxares Sepirda, rom am sakiTxis Sesaxeb masal ebs Sekrebda da probl emis saCqarod gadasawyvetad yvel a zomebs miRebda.-

miuxedavad imisa, rom qarTul i mxare iaraRis Sesyidvis SemTxvevaSi mis transportirebaze iRebda pasuxismgebl obas, safrangeTis Sesabamis uwyebes saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis pragmatul i gadawyvetil eba 1920 wl is 20 ivl isisTvisac miRebul i ar qonda da sakiTxi mxol od maRal CinosanTa saubris doneze darCa. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis 1920 wl is 21 ivl isis gaerTianebul i (dipl omatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) sxdomis stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT, general ma al .erisTavma bul gareTis samxedro sawyobebSi arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil i iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvis Se-saxeb, safrangeTis mTavrobis Tanxmobaze gaamaxvil a yuradReba. rac Seexeba iaraRis safasurs, igi saqarTvel os mTavrobasa da **frang pol k-ovnik korbel s** Soris mol aparakebis Sedegad unda gadawyvetil iyo. imave sxdomaze k.gvarjal aZem oficial urad ganacxada, rom safrangeTis sagareo saqmeTa saminstrosi pol k. deroziem igi daaimeda, rom safrangeTi 5 aTas Tofsa da 10 mil ion vaznas miyidda saqarTvel os.

dokumenturi masal iT irkveva, rom safrangeTis maRal CinosanTa mxridan saqarTvel osadmi iaraRis miyidvis Tanxmobas, mxol od somxuri interesebidan gamomdinare faqtori gansazRvravda. amis dadasturebas warmoadgens pol k. dero- zies mier k.gvarjal aZisadmi micemul i SekiTxva\_ `SeuZl ia Tu ara qarTvel ebs bul ga- reTSi Sesyidul i iaraRi somxebTan erTad gai tanos,~\_ warmoadgens. am sakiTxTan dakav- SirebiT, saqarTvel os interesebidan gamomdinare, dipl omatiuri etiketis dacviT, k.gvarjal aZem upasuxa: `es pol itikuri sakiTxia... neba momeciT frTxil ad viqne da ga- dawyvetil i pasuxi ar mogceT. miTumetes, gemi romel ic iaraRs waiRebs, Cveni nedl i masal iT datvirTul i dabrundeba ukan. am SemTxvevaSi j obia mxol od Cveni iaraRi mi- diodes. me vTxove, rom iaraRis mocemis Sesaxeb asl i moecaT CvenTvis, rom gagvecno Cveni kurierisaTvis.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom somxebTan erTad qarTvel ebis mxridan iaraRis waReba pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT dauSvebel i iyo, miTumetes, imave gems iaraRis safasurad saqarTvel odan nedl i masal a (wiaRiseul i) unda waeRo. ami tom iyo, rom evropasi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciis warmomadgenl ebi, bul gareTidan iaraRis qarTvel ebisTvis cal ke gagzavnas rom moiTxovda.

bul gareTidan iaraRis Sesyidvis zemoarNiSnul gegmasTan dakavSirebiT Seqm- nil i situacia, dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i gr.rcxil aZis mier egegeWkoriasadmi 1920 wl is 15 ivl iss gagzavnil weril Si. imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom i.odiSel iZisaTvis `frangebs uTqvams, iaraRis wamosaRebad ukve gaugzavniAT gemi qal aq varnaSi, sadac datvirTva unda moxdes. detal urad am saqmes giamb- obs TviT odisel iZe.- Cems mier mikvl eul i saargivo dokumentebidan dastur- deba, rom es danapirebic qarTvel ebisTvis uiRbl o aRmoCnda. safrangeTis samxedro misiis warmomadgenl is mier konstantinopol idan egegeWkoriasadmi 1920 wl is 27 ivl iss gamogzavnil tel egramaSi vkiTxul obT: `varnas navsad- guris muSebma uari ganacxades iaraRis datvirTvaze saqarTvel osTvis da somxeTisTvis. am moul odnel i dabrkol ebiT aixsneboda `borisis- foTsi mis- vl is dagvianeba.- aseve Seusrul ebel i darCa ingl isel i komisariss mier saqarTvel osTvis Sepirebul i 30 aTasi Tofis miyidva. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT

gr.rcxil aZis imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `ingl isis komisar ma Tqva, rom imis garda rasac frangebis gan miRebT da somxebisTvis dagrovil i iaraRidanac rac gergebaT, damatebit miRebT am Tavad 30 aTas Tofis ingl isis gan da Semdegac britaneTis mTavroba mieSvel eba saqarTvel os saWiroebis mixedvit.- marTal ia es dapireba erTi SexedviT imedis momcemi iyo, magram evropel ebis gan mraVal gZis motyuebul ma qarTul ma mxarem misi sandoobis gadamowmeba gen. mil nTan moaxdina. rogorc gr.rcxil aZe wers, `meore dRes gen.odiSel iZesTan erTad vinaxul e gen. mil ni, romel mac Tavazianad migviRo, magram Tqva, rom 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb mas jer araferi cnoBa ara aqvs... Cemis azrit, am saqmis win wasawevad saWiroa winaswari cnoBebis gagzavna l ondonSi, radgan aq mil ns amis Sesaxeb cnoBebi ar aqvs. l ondonSi unda gamoirkves rodis da ra gziT miviRebT ingl isidan am dapirebul iaraRs. SesaZl ebel ia britaneTis warmomadgenl is gan Tbil isSi l ukisaganac SevityoT raime cnoBebi am 30 aTasi Tofis Sesaxeb-.

saqarTvel osTvis es umniSvel ovanesi sakiTxi, ramdenadac adgil idan ar iZvroda da drois faqtori qarTul i saxel mwi fos saZianod muSaobda, egegeWkorma sagangebo daval eba misca gr.rcxil aZes, raTa sabol ood gaerkvia, ingl isi aZl evda Tu ara Sepirebul iaraRs saqarTvel os. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit Cemi yuradReba gr.rcxil aZis mier 1920 wl is 13 seqtembers egegeWkorisadmi gagzavnil ma weril ma miipyro. `Tanaxmad Tqveni daval ebisa\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ admiral di- robeks xel axl a vTxove daxmareba iaraRiT saqarTvel osaTvis im sabuTIT, rom mosal onel ia mdgomareobis qarTul eba somxeTidan mustafa- qemal - faSas jaris mxriv da rom saerTod samxedro Tval sazrisiT Cveni qveynis garSemo myudroeba ar aris. di- robekma sTqva, rom am saganze xel axl a tel egramis gagzavna l ondonSi jer SeiZl eba usargebl o iyoso da umj obesia movucadoT stokss, uordropis magier saqarTvel oSi maRal komisar daniSnul s, gavigoT mis gan ukanasknel i informacia da amis Sesafersad gadavdgaT axal i nabijio. stokssi daaxl oebiT am Tvis 15-s iqneba konstantinopol Si.-

saarqivo masal ebis miukvl evl obis gamo, jer- j erobit SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva, ra pozicia daiWira ingl isis mier saqarTvel oSi gamogzavnil ma axal ma umaRl esma komisar ma stokssma. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom ingl isel ebis gan iaraRis SeZenas, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi 1920 wl is noembris meore naxevarSiac Seecada. mxedvel obaSi maqvs ingl isis xel isufl ebis mier konstantinopol idan samxedro SenaerTebis gayvanis gadawyvetil ebis miReba da am faqtis iaraRis SesaZenad gamoyenebis mcdel oba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is i.gogol aSvil is mier stambol idan k.sabaxtaraSvil isadmi 1920 wl is 15 noembers gamogzavnil i weril i iqcevs. `exl a gavige- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, \_ rom ingl isel ebi ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi konstantinopol s stoveben. e.i. j arebi gayavT aqedan da bosforSi stoveben mxol od Tavis `drendoutebs.- nawil i j arebisa daaxl oebiT erTi divizia ukve wavida aqedan, danarCensac wynarad ukeTeben evakuacias. ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi aucil ebl ad unda moaxdinon l ikvidacia im amuniciisa, romel ic damzadebul i qondaT aq vrangel isaTvis. aq moi poveba rasakvi rvel ia Tofebic da patronebic, agreTve sxva samxedro masal ac. yvel afers yidian ia f fa- sebSi da SeiZl eba Cvenc SeviZinoT Tu damaval ebT centrobanks ganyofil ebis saSu- al ebit.- am dokumentis, sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil em k.sabaxtaraSvil ma Semdegi saxis rezol ucia daado: `saCqarod SeekiTxeT samxedro saministros. k.sabaxtaraSvil i.- rac Seexeba imave i.gogol aSvil is mier 1920 wl is 19 noembriT daTariRebul meore weril s, masSi xazgasmit iyo mititebul i: `umorCil esad gTxovT macnoboT depeSiT SeiZl eba Tu ara daviwyo muSaoba iaraRis da patronebis Sovnis Sesaxeb.- am sakiTxis Semdgom msvl el obasTan dakavSirebit, Sesabamis dokumentur masal as jer- j erobit ver mi vakvl ie. erTi ram dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom qarTul ma mxarem ingl isel eb- is gan stambol Si vercerTi saxeobis iaraRi ver Seisyida. amis ZiriTadi ganmapirobebel i mizezi somxeTis gasabWoebaSi (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) unda veZioT. rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, ingl isi da safrangeTi, saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvas im SemTx- vevaSi Tanxmdebodnen, Tuki am iaraRs somxebTan erTad SeiZendnen, transportirebas erTi gemiT moaxdendnen da somxebisTvis gankuTvnil iaraRs saqarTvel os teritoriaze uprobl emod gaatarebden. ramdenadac somxeTis gasabWoeba, ingl isis jaris mier kon- stantinopol is sabol ood datovebamde moxda, gamoricxul i araa, rom es faqtori ing- l isel ebis gan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvas uaris Tqmis safuZvel i gamxdariyo. aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obis safuZvel s ingl isisa da safrangeTis xe-

l isufal Ta mxridan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis gacemul i pirobis TiTqmis daviwyebis faqti izi eva.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebi imis utyuari dadasturebaa, rom 1920 wl is monakveTSi, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam, misma dipl omatiurma korpusma, evropis qveynebidan iaraRis Sesyidvis yvel a gza da saSual eba mosinj a. am mimarTul ebiT warmatebis miuRwevl oba, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis umoqmedobiT ki ara, evropis qveynebis maRal CinosanTa tyuil ebiT damZimebuli dapirebebiT iyo ganpirobebuli. evropis qveynebis liderebisgan pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miuRebl obis gamo, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situacia, konkretul i RonisZiebebis gatarebas saWi roebda da qveynis damoukidebl obis SesanarCunebl ad Sesabamisi gzebis Ziebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. miTumetes, amierkavkasiis regionSi saqarTvel os damoukidebel saxel mwifod arseboba, sabWoTa ruseTisgan xel SemSi el faqtorad iyo moazrebuli. aqedan gamomdinare, rusi da qarTvel i bol Sevikebi mis gasasabWoebli ad yvel a saSual ebebis maqsimal urad amoqmedebas cdil obda. amis erT- erT dadasturebas, s.orj onikiZisa da skirovis mier skp ck- is yvel a wevrisa da l .trockisadmi 1921 wl is 2 ianvars gagzavnili saidumli owerili warmoadgens. am dokumentis merve da mecxre punqtebis mixedvit, saqarTvel os gasabWoeba Zal - ismieri formiT unda ganxorciel ebuli iyo. am poziciis dasabuTebas, werili is avtorebi Semdegi mosazrebebiT cdil obdnen; **`merve**. imis imedi, rom TviT saqarTvel oSi Signidan moxdeba gadamwyveti afeTqeba, vkitxul obT dokumentSi\_ ar unda gvqondes. amas amtkicebs is ambebi, rac saqarTvel oSi xdeba. saqarTvel os, Cvens dauxmarebl ad gasabWoeba ar Zal uzs. **mecxre**. sababi saqarTvel os saqmeebSi Cveni CarevisTvis gvaqvs. saamisod saWi ro ar aris aSkarad Tavs davesxaT saqarTvel os, **gvaqvs SesaZi ebl oba, rom daviwyoT moZraoba afxazeTSi, aWaraSi, borCal os mazraSi**, sadac saamiso niadagia. am mxriv Cveni daxmareba SeuZi ia agreTve Turqetsa da somxets da SesaZi ebel ia **Seiqmnas iseTi vitareba**, rom mxsnel ad movevl inoT saqarTvel os, romel ic ixrwneba da anarqias eZi eva.

dasasrul saWi roa kidev erTxel xazgasmiT aRvniSnoT, rom Tu mTel i amierkavkasia ar gavasabWoveT, veraviTar SemTxvevaSi mtkiced ver vigrZnobT Tavs Crdil o kavkasiasa da azerbaijanSi. da Tu yubansa da Tergze SedarebiT simSvidea, es mxol od pirvel SemTxvevamde, vidre kazakoba gons movides Cvengan miyenebuli gadamwyveti dartyebis mere, xol o saqarTvel os mTavroba yvel afers iRonebs, raTa kazakobas da mTiel ebs daxmaros Cvens winaaRmdeg gamol aSqrebaSi.~ am amonawerSi garkveviTaa miTitebuli, rom anarqiiis xel ovnurad agorebis SemTxvevaSi, sabWoTa ruseTs `mxsnel is- motivaciit saqarTvel oSi Seiararebuli Zal ebis Semoyvanis da adgil obrivi mosaxl eobisadmi iseTi `gadamwyveti dartyebis miyenebis- SesaZi ebl oba miecemoda, rom kazakebis msgavsad, karga xnis ganmavl obaSi qarTvel ebi gons ver mosul iyo.

es garduvali safrTxe, gansakuTrebiT 1920 wl is dekembris Sua ricxvebSi warmocnda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropis saxel mwifoebisgan iaraRis da finansuri daxmarebis miuRebl oba. am fonze, saqarTvel o im `dasaki av xars- daemgvana, roml is Tavis warsakvetad `Crdil oetis meyafses- gal esil i maxvili SemarTul i qonda da mistvis sasurvel i proceduris Casatarebl ad xel sayrel politikur situacias rom el oda. Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareobisa da safrangeTis maRal Cinosnebis dapirebebis Seusrul ebl obidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveeurebi, isev ingli isis xel isufli ebas miubrunden da saqarTvel osadmi adre micemul i danapirebis erTxel kidev Sexsenabas Seecadnen. amis dokumenturad dadasturebas, egegeWkories mier aguguSvil isadmi l ondonSi gagzavnili werili (1920 wl is 31 dekemberi) warmoadgens. Cems mier zemoT dasmul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT masSi vkitxul obT: `am werili is miRebisTanave, dauyovnebl iv midi ser jon til Tan da l.jorjis mdi vanTan kerTan da orives gadaeci Cemi saxel iT Semdegi: dadgawami, rodesac saqarTvel os swirdeba real uri daxmareba finansurad da iaraRiT. kers gaaxseneT, rom misi e.i. keris TandaswrebiT l.jorj ma me piradad dapireba momca, rom igi mzad aris daxmaros saqarTvel os. nebac momca, misi saxel iT es mecnobebina Cemi mTavrobisaTvis. exl a me vekitxebi maT, rCeba Tu ara misi dapireba Zal aSi da Tu rCeba, SeuZi ia Tu ara mas am mxriv e.i. finansurad (aseTi saWi roa umTavresad puris SesaZenad) da iaraRiT dauyovnebl iv daxmaros saqarTvel os... erTi sityvit, dauyovnebl iv da dauzarl ad Seasru-

l eT Cemi daval eba da dawvril ebiT macnobeT Sedegebi.- samwuxarod, qarTul i mxaris es mcdel obac warumatebl ad damTavrda. ramdenadac dasavl eT evropidan daxmarebis saxiT pragmatul i nabijebi ar idgmeboda, tyuil iT damZimebul i dapirebeb- is amara myofi saqarTvel o\_ real uri safrTxis winaSe dadga. arsebul i situaciis gaanal izebis Sedegad miRebul i daskvnebis safuZvel ze, saqarTvel os pirvel i respub- l ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domare izul ebul i gaxda, sabWoTa ruseTTan garkveul kompro- misze wasvl is mzadyofna gamoeTqva. am ukidures nabij s igi mxol od im SemTxveva- Si gadadgamda, Tuki saqarTvel oSi wiTel i armia ar Semovidoda, eris damoukide- bl oba da suvereniteti iqneboda dacul i. es pozicia, misi mxridan moskovis samxedro warmomadgenel tol stoistan da sabWoTa ruseTis ataSesTan gener- al I ebedinskistan saiduml o Sexvedraze (1920 wl is dekembris bol o) iqna gamoTqmul i. gamoricxul i araa, rom am informaciIT sargebl obda v.l enini, roca s.orj onikiZisadmi gagzavnil weril Si (1921 wl is 2 marti) miuTitebda: `uaRresad didi mniSnel oba aqvs imas, rom gamoinaxos misaRebi kompromisi bl okisTvis Jordaniastan, an mis msgavs qarTvel menSevikebTan, roml ebiC j er kidev (I oreSi S.v.) aj anyebamde abso- l utu-rad mtrul ad ar iyvnen ganwyobil ni garkveul i pirobebiT saqarTvel oSi sabWo- Ta wyobil ebis damyarebis azrisadmi.- aseTi kompromisul i pozicia, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, I ores `aj anyebamde- da saqarTvel oSi XI armiis Semosvl amde n.Jo- rdaniastan marTI ac qonda, magram qveynis okupaciis mizniT saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis Semdeg, sabWoTa ruseTTan raime daTmobaze wasvl a dauSvebl ad miaCnda. es quTais 1921 wl is 17- 18 martis mol aparakebebmac daadastura, roml is Sesaxeb dawvril ebiT naSro- mis meoTxe TavSi meqneba saubari.

xazgasmIT minda aRvniSno, rom I ebedinskistan n.Jordaniastan Sexvedris da I eninis zemoARniSnul weril Si motanil i faqtebis gaanal izebisas, zogier- Ti Cemi kol egis mier, social istobis terminol ogiis manipuliRebiT, n.Jorda- niastan sabWoTa ruseTis `motrfial edaa- gamocxadebul i. maTi mxridan daviwyeba- saa micemul i imave n.Jordaniastan mier 1918 wel s gakeTebul gancxadeba: `aRmo- savl eTis fanatikosebs dasavl eTis imperial istebl mirCevnia!- meore mxriv, isini ar iTval iswineben im momakvdinebel da fsiqol ogiur dartymas, romel- ic evropis qveynebma 1920 wl is dekembris bol omde miayena saqarTvel os. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs: 1)1920 wl is 16 dekembers saqarTvel os erta I igaSi armiReba da ingl is mxridan, samxreT kvkasiis regionIT ardainterebis oficial urad ruseTis winaSe dadastureba; 2)evropis qveynebis mier, saqarTvel osTvis arcerTI saxebis vargisiani iaraRis armiyidva; 3)sabWoTa ruseTis mier azerbaij anisa da somxetis gasabWoeba, pol onettan droebiti dazaveba da vrangel is ganad- gureba.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, martod- marto darCe- nil i saqarTvel o, sabWoTa ruseTs namdvil ad ver gaumkl avdeboda. am real o- bis gaTval iswinebiT, n.Jordaniaseul i kompromisi, saqarTvel os srul i damo- ukidebl obis da suverenitetis Senarcunebaze, saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTis marbiel i wiTel i I aSqaris ar SemoSvebaze da qarTul i jaris samarTI ebrivi statusis xel Seuxebli obaze iyo gaTvl il i. Tuki amis miRweva SesaZI ebel i ga- xdeboda, saqme `nakl eb borotebastan- qveqneboda. misi Sedegi iqneboda: 1)ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebidan da qveynis suverenitetis aRiarebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, ruseT- osmal eTis 1921 wl is 16 martis moskovis xel Sekrul ebaSi Setanil i saqarTvel o- osmal eTis sazRvris cvl il ebebi, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da damfuZnebel i krebis daukiTxavad ver ganxorciel deboda; 2)saqarTvel oSi wiTel i armiis aryofnis SemTxvevaSi, afxazur da osur sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTis Carevis SesaZI e- bl oba maqsimal urad SeizRudeboda da saqarTvel os mTavrobis pirvandel i kursi bol omde iqneboda miyvanil i. vimeoreb, amis miRweva mxol od im SemTx- vevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZI ebel i, Tuki saqarTvel os, damoukidebl oba da erovnu- l i jari Seunarcundeboda, qveynis SigniT rusul i wiTel i armia ar Semovi do- da. zemoT CamoTvl il i garemoebebis gaTval iswineba edo safuZvl ad I ebedi- nskistan n.Jordaniastan saiduml o Sexvedras da ara sabWoTa xel isufl ebis tr- fial i.

Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviti irkveva, rom zemoARniSnul i SesaZI ebl obebis mosinj vis paral el urad, Tavdacvis sistemis gasaZI ierebl ad, saqarTve-

I os xel isufli eba qveynis ekonomikuri potencial is maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdi- l obda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 27 april is dadgenil eba, roml is Zal iTac respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWo Sei qmna. imave sxdomam `respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos- debul eba daamt kica. meore umniSvnel ovanesi RonisZieba, romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier iqna gatarebul i, 1921 wl is 6 ianvris dadgenil ebis amo- qmedeba iyo. am dokumentiT, qarTul i jarisTvis iaraRis Sesyidvis mizniT, Tavdacvis sabWos, sami mil iardi maneTi gamoeyo.

sarezervo finansuri bazis oficial urad arsebobam, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministrs e.gegeWkors evropis saxel mwifoTa warmomadgenl ebisadmi iaraRis SeZenis Taobaze konkretul i moTxovnebis daeyenebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. **amis dadasturebas,** imave e.gegeWkors mier stambol Si saqarTvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvil isadmi 1921 wl is 29 ianvars gagzavnil i depeSa warmoadgens. `yvel a saWiro cnobebi Tu ra gvWirdeba exl ave pirvel i rigis jaris mosawyo- bad\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ ukve gadaveci adgil obriv ingl isis da safrangeTis warmomadgenel T. amaT es cnobebi daugzavnes Taviant mTavrobebs. Cven es moviTxoveT da amis dapirebac miviReT. saWiroa yvel a zomebis miReba, rom pirvel rigSi moTxovnil i sagnebi rac SeiZl eba saCqaroT mogvawvdinonon-.

ramdenadac aRniSnul depeSasTan mimarTebaSi pasuxi igvi anebda, saqarTvel os sagar- eo saqmeTa ministris moadgil em.k.sabaxtarasvil ma morigi daSifrul i depeSa gaugzavna (1921 wl is 14 Teberval i) konstantinopol Si myof saqarTvel os general ur konsul s i.gogol aSvil s. am dokumentis mixedviT vgebul obT, rom iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis daval ebiT konstantinopol Si gagzavnil i iqna general i kir.qutaTel aZe da napol eon kaxiani. rac Seexeba general kir.qutaTel aZes, mas saqarvel oSi myofi safrangeTis warmomadgenel Sevalies mier daweril i sagangebo Suamdgoml obis baraTi miqonda **frang general pel esTan.** igive dokumenti, safrangeTis mTavrobisgan saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis Tanxmobs Sesaxeb i.gogol aSvil s saqm is kursSi ayenebda. `safrangeTis mTavrobam\_ vkiTxul obT depeSis teqstSi\_ prin- cipial uri Tanxmoba ganacxada mogvyidos iaraRi egreTwodebul i vrangel is Tadari- gidan, xol o saWiroa general ma pel em miRos saTanado gankargul eba safrangeTis mTavrobisgan. b-nma Seval iem gaugzavna depeSa Tavis mTavrobas, raTa ukanasknel ma depeS- iTve misces aseTi gankargul eba general pel es. iaraRis gadmocema unda moxdes rac SeiZl eba dakl ebul fasebSi da... windawinve SeTanxmebul pirobebSi.<sup>-26</sup> im saarqivo masal ebis mi xedviT, romel ic Gems mier iqna mi kvl eul i, irkveva, rom iaraRis saqarTvel osad- mi miyidvis procesis sabol ood dasrul eba kus nabij ebiT mimdinareobda. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT safrangeTis xel isufli eba icenda inertul obas. amis Sesaxeb, konstanti- nopol Si myofi e.gegeWkors mier parizSi ak.Cxenkel isadmi 1921 wl is 20 Teberval s ga- gzavnil depeSaSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i. `bol Sevikebis regul arul ma j arma\_ vkiTx- ul obT dokumentSi\_ daiwyo Seteva saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg, mdgomareoba seriozul ia... mostxoveT (safrangeTis S.v.) saministros misces brZaneba konstantinopol Si komisars, mogvces rac gvWiria.- dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os warmomad- genl obis mxridan iaraRis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT pasuxis mi Rebaze gauTavebel ma moTx- ovnebma, safrangeTis xel isufli ebas marganecze iaraRis saqarTvel osaTvis mi-yidvis gadawyvetil eba miaRebina. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, parizidan ak.Cxenkel is mier e.ge- geWkorsadmi gamogzavnil weril Si (1921 wl is 21 Teberval i) vkiTxul obT: `guSinwin ki dev, sanam Sen stambol idan gaxvi dod i, me gamomi gzavnes saCqaro depeSa iaraRis Sesaxeb aqve... sai danac gavi ge,... Cveni mol aparakebisa marganecze iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. aqaurma mTavrobam gauSva iaraRi stambol idan mTavrobis saxel ze j erxanad, sami TviT... saqon- l is Semowmeba ukve dawyebul ia.- miuxedavad amisa, garkveul i dabrkol ebebis gamo, saq- mis daCqareba SeuZl ebel i gaxda. qarTul i mxaris daJinebiTi moTxovni dan gamomdi nare. safrangeTis mTavrobam 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s damatebiTi brZaneba gamosca. amis Sesax- eb saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze akaki Cxenkel is mier parizidan 1921 wl is 27 Teberval s gamogzavnil daSifrul depeSaSi vkiTxul obT: `brZaneba gacemul ia 25 Teberval s ficxl av iaraRis gamosagzavnad.-

am Tanxmobas qarTul ma mxarem mas Semdeg miaRwia. roca safrangeTis mTavrobam sakon- traqto moTxovnebis nusxis SemuSaveba daamTavra da qarTul mxares masze xel mowera SesTavaza. amasTan dakavSirebiT, ak.Cxenkel is mier parizidan 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s gamogzavnil daSifrul depeSaSi vkiTxul obT; `kontraqti samxedro pastavkebis sa- frangeTidan mandatorebis saSual ebiT 10 mil ioni frankisa el is mxol od xel is

moweras. amis garda safrangeTis mTavroba iZl eva stambol idan dauyovnebl iv Tofebs. patronebs, mitraiozebs samasi aTasi frankisas, rogorc ki xel s moawerT sami Tvis vadian vegsil s. masal a Sefasebul ia orjer ufro iafad, vidre namdvil i misi Rirebul eba. exl ave aucil ebl ad saWiroa viyol ioT masal is misaRebad erTi aficeri stambol Si da erTi parizSi. igneb davtovoT droebiT afixazi.-

am dokumentis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, saqarTvel osaTvis iaraRis miyidvis Sesaxeb safrangeTis mTavrobis gadawyvetil eba Zal aSi mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s Sevida. rac Seexeba iaraRze orj r metad fasdakl ebas, ak.Cxenkel is mxridan naCqarev Sefasebas warmoadgenda. Cems mier motanil i dokumenturi masal ebidan gamomdinare, or ZiriTad kiTxvas unda gaeces pasuxi: 1)1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvisa da misi transportirebis gadawyvetil ebis miReba (1921 wl is 14- 25 Teberval i), evropis saxel mwifoebma, konkretul ad safrangeTma, ra pol itikur situacias daamTxvia; 2)ramdenad xarixiani iyo es iaraRi da akmayofil ebda Tu ara im etapze sabrZol o moqmedebebisaTvis el ementarul moTxovnebs.

zemoaRniSnul i saarqivo masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, safrangeTis mTavrobam saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis miyidvis gadawyvetil eba 1921 wl is 14 Teberval s miRO, xol o stambol Si arsebul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRis miTvl is, misi vargisianobis Semownebis nebarTva, imave wl is 21 Teberval s dauSva. rac Seexeba transportirebas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, Sesabamisi brZaneba 25 Teberval s iqna gamocemul i. Cems mier motanil ricxvebs (14-25 Teberval i) Tuki im etapze sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan damoukidebel i saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul samxedro moqmedebes SevufardebT, aRmoCndeba, rom drois im monakveTsi: a)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os samxedro SenaerTebi, sabWoTa ruseTis SeiaraRebul Zal ebs Tbil isis misadgomebTan erkineboda; b)sabWoTa ruseTis XI armia Tbil isSi Semovida da saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufli ebis `gamarj veba- gamoacxada; g)TITqmis uiaraRod darCenil i qarTuli jaris nawil ebi, suramis uRel texil ze mtris SeCerebas cdil obda. imasac Tu miViRebT mxedvel obaSi, rom stambol Si arsebul safrangeTis kuTvnil samxedro sawyobebSi Senaxul i iaraRis miTvl as, mis daxarixebas (vargisianobis Tval sazrisiT), SefuTvas da transportirebas dro sWirdeboda, safrangeTis xel isufli ebis mier saqarTvel osaTvis misayidad gametebul i iaraRi, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gadasarCenad qarTul jars ver mouswrelda.

imasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu ramdenad vargisiani iyo safrangeTis mier saqarTvel osTvis miyidul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, pirdapir unda iTqvas; igi brZol isaTvis im etapze gamousadegari iyo da safuZvl ian SekeTebas saWiroebda. amis damadasturebl ad Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i dokumentebi gamodgeba. stambol Si saqarTvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvil is mier 1921 wl is 28 Teberval s ak.Cxenkel isadmi parizSi gagzavnil daSifrul depeSaSi vkiTxul obT: `stambol Si frangebis aq mxol od TxuTmeti aTasi Tofi da oriaTas samoci pul emioti daJangul ia. exl ave brZol isaTvis gamousadegaria. arc patronebi da arc yumbarebia. mdgomareoba kritikul ia. jars masal a Semoakl da. saWiroa saCqarod daxmareba mandedan.- aRniSnul i depeSis sapisuxod, ak.Cxenkrl i saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domares n.Jordanias 1921 wl is 5 marts or depeSas (# 486, # 490) ugzavnis. pirvel maTganSi (# 486) garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom `iaraRs da sxva saWiro masal as agzavnis safrangeTi.- rac Seexeba meore depeSas (# 490), romel ic pirvel isgan ramdenime saaTis Semdegaa gamogzavnil i, vkiTxul obT: `miRebul ia yvel a zoma, iaraRs usaTuod mogvaSvel eben frangebi.- im SeWirvebis Jams Tu ra donis iaraRi mogvaSvel a safrangeTis xel isufli ebam, es kargad Cans 1921 wl is 6 marts i.gogol aSvil is mier ak.Cxenkel isadmi gagzavnil depeSaSi. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT masSi vkiTxul obT: `gavagzavne Teqvsmeti aTasi Tofi da asormocdarva pul emioti, milioni patrona. iaraRi daJangul ia, SekeTeba sWiria. gamodgeba sami meoTxedi. saCqarod saWiroa saTandado nawil ebi anl uiebis pul emiotebisaTvis. parizidan unebartvod ar gvaZl even. aq meti araferia. Zl ier saWiroa saCqarod rusul i Tofebis patronebi da sam diumiani yumbarebi. miReT zomebi.- Cemi azriT, aRniSnul i faqti unda qonoda mxedvel obaSi gmazniaSvil s, roca mogvianebl daveril da sabWoTa xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwyebebisgan redaqtirebul memuarebSi werda: `ar vici, iyides es

iaraRi, Tu romel ime saxel mwi fom aCuqa igi, saidanac Cans, rom sazRvargareTidan mosu-  
 l i 9 aTasi Tofidan, saxmarad gamosadegi aRmoCnda mxol od 183 Tofi.-<sup>27</sup> dokumenturi  
 masal iT irkveva, rom baTumis portSi Semosul i es uvargisi iaraRi, sabWoTa xel isu-  
 fl ebis mesveurebma Tbil isSi gadmoitana da arsenal Si ganaTavs. XX saukunis 90- iani  
 wl ebSi, Tbil isis yofil i arsenal is sawyobebis gaxsnis da masSi Catarebul i samuSaoe-  
 bis Sedegad, vrangel is naqoni da yuTebSi Cal agebul i zemoaRniSnul i jarTad qceul i  
 iaraRis `aRmoCenis- paral el urad, g.mazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil i cnobebe gaxda  
 imis safuZvel i, rom zogierT istorikoss mcdari gancxadeba gaeketebi na; Ti Tqos Tbil isis  
 arsenal i iaraRiT iyo savse da maSindel ma xel isufl ebam es `simdidre- daniSmul ebi-  
 samebr ver gamoiyena. samwuxarod, im etapze aRniSnul i `simdidrisadmi- eqspertizis  
 Catarebis sakiTxi aravis dausvams dRis wesrigSi. rac Seexeba am iaraRis Cuqebisa Tu  
 Sesyidvis sakiTxs, xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom safrangeTis xel isufl ebam es iaraRi,  
 marganecis mopovebis ufl ebis sanacvl od misca saqarTvel os. imavdroul ad mis Sesa-  
 keTeb ad Sesabamis nawil ebsac Sehpirda. smwuxarod, es danapirebi Seusrul ebel i dar-  
 Ca. aRniSnul i faqtiT erTxel kidev dasturdeba, rom Crdil oeTidan karsmomdgari sa-  
 frTxisadmi qarTvel i xal xis Rirseul ad daxvedrisa da misi Tavdacvisunarianobis  
 amaRi ebisaTvis evropis saxel mwifoebi, maT Soris safrangeTis xel isufl eba dainter-  
 esebul i ar iyo. rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, 1919 wl is gazafxul ze maTi mxri-  
 dan gacemul i danapirebis Sesrul ebisadmi sasxvaTaSoriso damokidebul ebiT iyo gan-  
 pirobebul i, egegeWkorus mier parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel isadmi 1921 wl is 7 marts gamw-  
 yral i formis SinaarsiT gagzavnili daSifrul i depeSa: `saCqaroT gamogzavneT  
 iaraRi. stambol Si iaraRi sakmarisi ar aRmoCnda.-<sup>28</sup>

Cems mier motanil i dokumentebiT dasturdeba, rom safrangeTis xel isufl ebis  
 mier saqarTvel osTvis gametebul i da miyidul i iaraRi uvargisi, SekeTebis ga-  
 reSe brZol isTvis gamosadegari, iyo. rac Seexeba stambol Si arsebul i frange-  
 bis samxedro sawyobSi gadaxarisxebis Sedegad datovebul vrangel is naqon  
 iaraRs, frangul i mxare, mis gasaRebas saqarTvel os emigraciul mTavrobaze  
 apirebda. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom aRniSnul i iaraRi, saertod uvargisi  
 iyo. am faqtis sinamdvil e, mogvianebiT (1923 wl is 7 seqtemberi) erT- erTma  
 frangma oficrmac daadastura. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, stambol idan saqarTve-  
 l os warmomadgenl isadmi parizSi gagzvnil weril Si k.gvarjal aZe werda: `dRes  
 CemTan movida frangebis oficeri da Semekitxa Tu waviRebdiT im iaraRs, ro-  
 mel ic CvenTvis inaxeboda aq (stambol Si S.v.). es iaraRi, rogorc icit, arafrad  
 mosaxmari da gamosadegari aRar aris... Tofebis akl ia iseTi nawil ebi, roml e-  
 bic xel axl ad unda gakeTdes, Torem maTi Sovna Znel ia. es Tofebi rusul i  
 Tofebia. tyviis mfrqvevel nic yvel a daJangul i da wamxdarni arian. maTi ga-  
 moyeneba SeiZl eba mxol od... Tu gadavadnobiT. es sad SegviZl ia Cven! me  
 TviTon frangebis oficers Sevekitxe da maTi azrit am iaraRis gamoyeneba am  
 saxiT SeuZl ebel ia. me maT ganucxade, ramdenadac am iaraRis Senaxva aq Znel i  
 da SeuZl ebel ia, iZul ebul i varT mis miRebaze uari vTqvaT. iaraRs TviTon  
 waiReben da am uvargis rameSi amden ful s aRar gadagvaxdevineben.- Znel i da-  
 saj erebel ia, safrangeTis samxedro uwyebis maRal Cinosnebs im etapze ar scodn-  
 oda, Tu ra donis iaraRi inaxeboda stambol Si\_ safrangeTis kuTvnil samxedro  
 sawyobSi. zemoaRniSnul i faqtebidn gamomdinare, arsebul i sinamdvil e (mxd-  
 vel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel osaTvis uvargisi iaraRis miyidvis gaWianurebul i  
 procesi), ramdenime saxis varaudis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva: 1)sa-  
 frangeTis xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis mier saqarTvel osTvis iaraRis  
 miyidvis droSi gaWianureba da Semdeg etapze uvargisi iaraRis\_ gadadnobas  
 daqvemdebarebul i jarTis SeTavazebis pirvel i safexuris faqti, drois gay-  
 vanisa da aRniSnul i sakiTxis Tavidan dawyebis aRZvris taqtikis STabeWdi-  
 l ebas tovebs; 2)arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom saqarTvel osadmi mtrul ad ganwy-  
 obil ma rusul i erovnul i sabWos, osmal eTisa da vrangel is warmomadgen-  
 l ebma, roml ebiC iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvis winaaRmdegni iyvnen, igi  
 Segnebul ad rom daazianes. Cems mier gamoTqmul i meore mosazreba varaudis doneze  
 darCeba manam, sanam amis damadasturebel i saarqivo dokumenti ar aRmoCndeba.

xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis yovel -  
 gvარი მდელ ობა, samxedro masal isa da sursaTis 1919 wl is meore naxevridan 1921 wl is  
 Tebervl amde evropis qveynebidan droul ad miRebis Sesaxeb\_ uSedegod damTavrda.

arada, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e k.sabaxtaraSvil i, konstanti-nopol Si myofi saqarTvel os general uri konsul is igogol aSvil isadmi 1921 wl is 28 Teberval s gagzavnil daSifrul depeSaSi werda: `mdgomareoba kritikul ia, gagras didi Zal a moawva. Cveni razmi aq sul gawyda. uaxl ovdebian soxums. **samxedro masal e-bi Semogvel ia. frangebi aq arafers gvaZl even. jari uiaraRod ibrZvis.**-<sup>26</sup> imave k.sabaxtaraSvil is mier gagzavnil meore depeSaSi, romel ic iaraRis dauyovnebl iv Sesyidvis mogvarebas exeba, TiTqm is brZanebis forma iyo gamoyenebul i. **`saWi roa am saqm is daCqarebiT damTavreba, dro ar iTmens. Tqven geval ebaT am saqmeSi aqtiuri monawil eoba miRoT da saswrafod Seasrul oT es saqme.**- samwuxarod, saqm is droul i Sesrul eba ara igogol aSvil ze, aramed safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mxridan miRebul gadawyvetil ebebze iyo damokdebul i. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom qarTul i mxare protests gamoTqvamda, aRniSnul i iaraRis gamogzavn is saqmeSi osmal ebis Carevis gamo. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas al .asaTianis xel moweriT arsebul i weril i iqcevs. masSi garkveviTaa miTitebul i, rom `samxedro daxmareba Cven unda mogveces pirdapir da ara saTaTreTis saSual ebiT. CvenTvis yovl ad mouxerxebel ia, rom Cven saTaTreTis saapekunod gavxdeT.-

ramdenadac safrangeTis xel isufl eba im etapze waj eq- ukuj eqis kurss adga, iaraRis Sesyidvis sakiTxis dasmas, saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri korpusis mesveurebi saerTa-Soriso konferenciaze Seecada. aRniSnul sakiTXTan dakavSirebiT gansakuTrebul yura-dRebas ak.Cxenkel is mier l ondonis konferenci is (1921 wl is 21 Tebervl idan 14 marti) monawil e qveynebisadmi (ingl isi, safrangeTi, ital ia, bel gia, saberZneTi) wardgenil i sagangebo mimarTva iqcevs. Sesabamisi saarqivo masal is miukvl evl obis gamo, am etapze SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva\_ ganixil a Tu ara es dokumenti l ondonis konferen-ciam. Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, 1)ingl issa da sabWoTa ruseTs Soris jer kidev 1920 wl is oqtomberSi momzadebul i savaWro ekonomikuri xel Sekrul ebis sabol oo teqstSi\_ amierkavkasiis respubl ike-bit ardaintereseb is Sesaxeb Cadebul i muxl idan gamomdinare, ingl isis mxri-dan saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi daxmarebaze dadebiti gadawyvetil ebis miReba gamoricxul i iyo. miTumetes, d.l oid- jorij is mTavari mrCevel i fr-f. uazi, sabWoTa ruseTis agenti gamodga da man 1923 wl idan sabWoTa saxel mwifos Sesabam is uwyebaSi gaagrZel a saqmianoba. es faqti, saqarTvel os damoukide-bl obis komitetisadmi n.Jordanias mier 1923 wl is 9 april s gamogzavn il wer-il Sia dadasturebul i; 2)rac Seexeba germanias, saqarTvel o- germanias Soris urTierTobis sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi momzadebul i xel Sekrul ebis teqsti (1918 wl is 3 oqtomberi), jaris mosawyobad da finansurad saqarTvel osTvis daxmarebas iTval iswinebda. mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis cval ebadobam (germani is omSi damarcxeba, mTavrobaSi momxdari cvl il ebebi da noembris movl enebi), am dokumentze xel mowera da germani is parl amentSi gatana Seaf-erxa. meore mxriv, versal is sazavo xel Sekrul ebam (1919 wl is 28 ivnisi) ger-mania maqsimal urad SeboWa im Tval sazrisiT, rom iaraRis damzadebis ufl ebas, mokavSire saxel mwifoebi mxol od l imitirebul i raodenobiT aZl evda. am fa-qtorebidan gamomdinare, iaraRis SesyidvasTan dakavSirebiT, erTaderT imedad isev safrangeTi rCeboda.

qarTul i mxaris safuZvl iani moTxovnebi da pretenziebi, rogorc dokumenturi masal ebidan irkveva, safrangeTis mTavrobam Seismina da mis teritoriaze arsebul i samxedro sawyobidan brZol isTvis vargisi iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvaze Tanx-moba mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts ganaxxada. es faqti, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dasrul ebas ukavSirdeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os warmomad-genel grigol l orTqifaniZesa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mes-veurebs Soris quTaisSi 17 marts miRweul i SeTanxmeba\_ saomari moqmedebebis Sewyvetis Sesaxeb (Sesabam is dokuments xel i oficial urad 18 marts moewera) da 2)saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobis mier 17 marts qveynis teritori is datoveba. **yovel ive zemoaRniS-nul idan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom saqarvel osTvis 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebil i iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi da ful adi daxmareba, dasavl eT evropam droul ad ver gaimeta. TiTqm is uiaraRod darCenil i saqarTve-l o, Crdil oetis veSaps Casayl apavad miugdo.**

Cems mier zemoT motanil i saarqivo masal ebi da misi anal izi srul yofil suraTs izl eva im Zal isxmevis Sesaxeb, romel sac saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isu-



Fl ebiš mesveurebi eweodnen evropiŝ saxel mwifoebidan iaraRiŝ Sesasyidad da qarTul i jaris sabrZol o masal iT uzrunvel sayofad. am fonze, zogierTi Cemi kol egas mxridan saqarTvel os mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba, Crdil oetidan moaxl oebul safrTx-estTan mimarTeBaSi general il .odiSel iZis mier 1920 wl is oqtomber- noemberSi saqarTve- l os mTavrobisadmi, sagareo saqmeTa saminstros gaerTianebul i komisiisa da dam- fuZnebel i krebis fraqciisadmi wardgenil moxsenebaSi qarTul i jaris (rezervis CaTvl iT) 75 aTas kacemde gazrdiŝ aucil ebl obis moTxovnaze, TiTqos mmarTvel ma pol i- tikurma el itam droul i reagireba ar gaakeTa\_ usafuZvl o bral debas warmoadgens.

amis SesaniSnav dadasturebas, dasavl eT evropiŝ saxel mwifoebidan iaraRiŝ Sesyidviŝ mizniT, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os del egaciŝ gaerTianebul i (diplomatiuri, ekonomikuri, samxedro) sxdomebis (1920 wl is 1, 2, 4, 18, 29 maiŝi, 8 iwniŝi) stenografiul i angariSebi warmoadgens. imave dokumentebis mixedvit, aRniSnul sxdomebŝ eswrebodnen da dasmul probl ematikasTan mimarTeBaSi gamarTul diskusiebSi aqtiur monawil eobas iRebdnen: generl ebi\_ il .odiSel iZe da al .erisTavi, k.CxeiZe, k.kandel aki, k.gvarjal aZe, d.RambaSiZe, n.nikol aZe, iv.gobeCiA. aqedan gamomdinare, i.odiSel iZisaTvis cnobil i gaxda is udidesi sirTul eebi, romel ic iaraRiŝ SeZenasTan dakavSirebiT del egaciŝ winaSe aRimarTa. imave dokumentis mixedvit, del egaciŝ sxva wevrebTan erTad, garkveul i rekomendaciebis SemuSavebaSi igi aqtiur monawil eobas iRebda. rac Seexeba i.odiSel iZis zemoaRniSnul moxsenebas, masSi gamokveTil i formiTaa miTitebul i, rom saqarTvel os sinamdvil idan gamomdinare, iaraRiŝ, tansacmel is, sursaTisa da sxva saWiro aRWurvil obis SeZena sazRvargareTis qveynebidan unda momxdariyo. dokumenti im udides finansur xarj ebsac iTval iswinebda, roml is gaReba, iaraRiŝ SeZeniŝ SemTx-vevaSi mouwevda saqarTvel os.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom evropidan finansuri daxmarebis miuRebl obis SemTxvevaSi, im periodis saqarTvel os biuj eti, i.odiSel iZis moxsenebaSi arse- bul i moTxovnebis pirvel i safexuristvis val utiT gaTval iswinebul saWiro xarj ebs minimal uradac ver gawvdeboda. meore mxriv, igive i.odiSel iZe, saqarTve- l os SeIaraRebul i Zal ebisaTvis saWiro iaraRiŝ SeZenas, konstantinopol Si varaudobda. misive mtkicebiT, dasaxul i amocaniŝ warmatebiT gadawyveta, kon- stantinopol Si ganTavsebul i antantis saokupacio jarebisa da vrangel is armiŝ naqoni iaraRiŝ maragis bazaze advil ad iyo SesaZl ebel i.<sup>27</sup> aRniSnul i moxsenebidan sami Tvis Semdeg, i.odiSel iZis xel mZRvanel obiT evropaSi samxedro misi- is saqmianobis Sedegebidan gamomdinare, miŝTvis dResavit gaxda naTel i: a)ra didi pol itikuri Zal isxmeva da barrierebis daZl eva iyo saWiro zemoarniSnul moxsenebaSi dasmul i sakiTxebis gadasawyvetad; b)igi imaSiac darwmunda, rom dasavl eT evropiŝ saxel mwifoTa l iderebi, roml ebiŝ sabWoTa ruseTTan `pol itikuri kekl ucobiTa- da merkantil izmiŝ kursis axal i formebis damuSavebiT iyvnen garTul ni, Crdil oetis veSapisgan saqarTvel os gadarCena nakl ebad ainteresebdaT. rac Seexeba konstantinop- ol Si arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil samxedro sawyobebSi imave i.odiSel iZis mox- senebiT nagul isxmev vrangel is naqoni iaraRiŝ vargisianobas, amis Sesaxeb zemoT dawvril ebiT mqonda saubari da sityvas ar gavagrZel eb. mxol od aRvniSnav, rom Cems mier motanil i umZimesi saargivo dokumenturi masal is anal izis fonze, Seusabamod moCans saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis SefasebasTan mimarTeBaSi b-n. a.CaCxianiŝ mier gakeTebul i daskvna: `maSin, 1920 wl is bol os da 1921 wl is dasawyisSi, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis samTavrobo- pol itikurma el itam adeqvaturad ver imoqmeda. man kidev erTxel ar daugdo yuri simarTl is xmas. misma udidebul esoba istoriam ki, sul sxvanairad gansaj a... general odiSel iZis mier Tavdacvis sabWosa da saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi wayenebul i es kategoriul i moTxovnebi ki, samwuxarod darCa `xmad mRaRadebl isa udabnosa Sina-... Tumca es ukve sul sxva istoriaa...<sup>28</sup> diax, misma udidebul esoba istoriam, am istoriis sazogadoebisadmi mimwodebel ma WeSmarit- ma istorikosma da obieqturma mkvl evarma pirdapir unda Tqvas maSindel i evropiŝ pol itikurad gameZavebul i l iderebis tyuil ze dafu-Znebul i dapirebebis Sesaxeb. 1)ar unda daiviwyos, rom ruseTis bunebriv simdidreze daxarbebul ma evropiŝ saxel m- wifoTa pirvel ma pirebma, saqarTvel o gasawirad gaimeta da 1919 wl is gazafxul idan 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde, saqarTvel osaTvis iaraRiŝ miyidviŝ pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebiŝ miReba Segnebul ad gaaWianura; 2)maTi mxridan saqarTvel osTvis yvel aze kritikul momentSi marganeciŝ sanacvl od miyidul i iaraRi, im etapeze brZol isTvis uvargisi da

jarTad qceul i iyo; 3)1920 wl is martSi gamgzavrebul i saqarTvel os ekonomikuri misiisadmi (k.kandel aki (xel mZRvanel i), f.gogiCaiSvil i (saxel mwifo kontrol iori), n.nikol aZe, z.aval iSvil i, m.sumbaTaSvil i), dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderebis (ital ia, safrangeTi, ingl isi) mxridan dapirebul i daxmarebis Sesasrul ebl ad konkretul i gadawyvetil ebis miRebis nacvl ad, maTi pasuxi mxol od `moicadeT-, `dagvacadeT- formatiT Semoifargl a. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom evropis saxel mwifoTa l iderebisgan saqarTvel osadmi finansuri da ekonomikuri daxmarebis rekomendaciebis gacema da gadawyvetil ebis miReba, zemoaRniSnul i misiis 7 Tviani Tavdadebul i muSaobis Semdeg (1920 wl is oqtomber\_ noemberi), gaxda SesaZl ebel i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs itali iur firma `il vasTan- (oqtomberi), safrangeTis firma `ferran gentranTan- (noembris dasawyisi) da rac mTavaria, marganecis xarj ze, britaneTis sagareo vaWrobis bankTan (noembris bol os) 1,5 milioni girvanqa sterlingis sesxad aRebis Se-saxebebel xel Sekrul ebis gaformeba. am dokumentebSi Cadebul i pirobebis amoqmedeba 1921 wl is zafxul idan iyo gaTval iswinebul i.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare, roca saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis saqmianobis Sefasebas vcdil obT, gansakuTrebul i sifrTxil ea saWiro. mimdinare politiki situaciisa da axl adSeqmnil i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos ekonomikuri SesaZl ebl obebis\_ evropis qveynebidan ar daxmarebis fonze, yvel a saxeobis dokumenti erTianobaSi unda iqnas ganxil ul i, moxdes maTi urTierT Sepirispireba da sintezuri anal izi. mxol od amis Semdeg SeiZl eba gakeTdes SefasebiTi daskvna. isic gasaTval - iswinebel ia, rom saqarvel os pirveli respublikis mTavroba damfuZnebel i krebis mier iyo arCeul i da damtkicebul i, xol o qveynis sakanonmdebl o organo, srul iad saqarTvel os mosaxl eobam airCi a da mis saxes warmoadgenda. amitom, zemoaRniSnul i faqtorebis gauTval iswinebl obiT, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis survil isamebr `aburTaveba,- naCqarevad gakeTebul i daumsaxurebel i bral debebiT `Semosva-\_ ganqi qeba da mezobel i qveynebis fal sifikatori istorikosebisadmi `fotnasiT- msuye l uk mis SeTavazeba\_ yovl ad dauSvebel ia.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom, ramdenadac 1919- 1920 wl ebis monakveTSi evropis saxel mwifoebma saqarTvel os iaraRi ar miyida, es faqti sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal T saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg moqmedebis stimulis azl evda. maT kargad icodnen, rom saqarTvel o galwianurebul i omebis warmoebas ver SeiZl ebda. amis ZiriTad safuZvel s, saTadarigo iaraRis (rusul i vaznebisa da yumbarebis) uqonl oba qmnida. am daskvnamde misasvl el ad sabWoTa ruseTs didi sadazvervo samuSaoebis Sesrul eba ar sWirdeboda. miTumetes, rusul i warmoebis iaraRis momxmarebel i qarTul i jarisTvis, imave iaraRisTvis Sesatyvisi vaznebisa da yumbarebis Sesyidva mxol od ori gziT: a) sabWoTa ruseTSi da b) evropaSi (safrangeTSi) iyo SesaZl ebel i. aqedan gamomdinare, maTematikis saSual o donis mcodne samxedro dargis maRal Cinosanic advil ad mixvdeboda, rom saqarTvel o iaraRis sarezervo fondis gareSe iyo darCenil i.

amrigad, 1) qarTul i politikuri elitis mcdel oba, erovnul i saxel mwifos formirebis paral el urad qarTul i jaris Sesatyvisi raodenobiT da srul yofil i SeiaraRebiT Seqmna moexdina, finansebisa da iaraRis uqonl obam Seafexa. qarTul istoriografiaSi dRemde gavrcel ebul i mosazreba \_saqarTvel oSi arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi TTiTqos ganusazRvrel i raodenobis iaraRi iyo, natyuar informacias emyareba da sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba; 2) dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebisgan 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, amunicia, sursaTi, ful i) droul ad miRebis mcdel oba, 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde uSedego aRmoCnda. naSromSi motanil i dokumenturi masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemoaRniSnul i danapirebis Sesasrul ebl ad, safrangeTis xel isuflebam pirveli qmediti nabiji mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gadadga. stambol Si arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil i samxedro sawyobebidan saqarTvel o-sadmi miyidul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, uvargisi da im etapze sabrZol o moqmedebebisaTvis gamousadegari iyo; 3) vargisiani iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvis gadawyvetil eba, safrangeTis xel isuflebis mxridan mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts iqna miRebul i. es faqti, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebs Soris (gr.l orTqifaniZe, m.oraxel aSvil i ab.enuqiZe, S.el iava) brZol is Sewyvetis Sesaxebebel quTaisSi miRweul SeTanxmebas da saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis xel isuflebis mier qveynis

teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) daemTxva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa waj eq- ukuj eqis politikuri kursidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis 1921 wl is Teberval - martis agresias, arsenal Si kustarul ad damzadebul i rusul i vaznebiTa da sagangebod Seqmnil saxel osnoebSi SekeTebul i SaSxanebiT Sexvda.

### Tavi III

#### qarTvel i sardl ebis taqtikuri Secdomebi da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebis garduval oba

saqarTvel os pirvel respublikas qudbedad dahyva mezobel i saxel mwifoebisgan qarTvel Ta istoriul i sacxovrisisadmi teritoriul i pretenziebi. axl adaRmocenebul i da fexze wamosadgmel ad gamzadebul i qarTul i saxel mwifos wasaqcevad, samxreTidan, aRmosavl eTidan da CrTil oeTidan wamosul i muml is, 1918\_ 1920 wl ebSi mogerieba metnakl ebad SesaZl ebel i gaxda. yvel asgan mitovebul i qarTvel oba, gonivrul i gadawyvetil ebebisa da `mkl avis siZl ieris- amara aRmoCnda gamZvinvarebul i mtrebi pirispir. gansakuTrebiT mZime mdgomareoba Seiqmna azerbaij anisa (1920 wl is 28 april i) da somxeTis (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) gasabWoebis Semdeg. ramdenadac, samxreT kavkasiis regionSi sabWoTa ruseTis xel SemSi el ad saqarTvel o moiazreboda, mis `gasawiTl ebl ad- Sesabamisi safexuris SemzadebisaTvis provokaciebis ramdenime saxeoba iqna SemuSavebul i. erT- erT maTgans, somxebis mier sadaod qceul i sazRvris\_ borCal os mazris neutral uri zonis probl emis da masTan dakavSirebiT winaswar Sedgenil i pirobebis SefuTul i formiT win wamoweva warmoadgenda. istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom ingl is- safrangeTis xel isufal Ta Zal isxmeviT, borCal os mazra sam nawil ad (1919 wl is ianvari) gaiyo: 1)borCal os mazris samxreTi nawil i misces somxeTs; 2)borCal os mazris central uri nawil i\_ l ores raioni neutral ur zonad gamocxades; 3)borCal - os mazris Crdil oeTi nawil i\_ saqarTvel os miakuTvnes. saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufleba kargad acnobierebda, rom l ores neutral ur zonad datovebas Cveni qveynistvis dentis kasris funqciis Sesrul eba SeeZl o. aqedan gamomdinare, xel isuflebis mmarTvel i wreebi maqsimal urad cdil obdnen aRniSnul i sakiTxis droul - ad gadawyvetas. or mezobel qveyanas Soris umZimesi situaciis ganmuxtvis erTaderT saSual ebad, qarTul - somxuri del egaciis mol aparakebis magidasTan daj doma da Sesabamisi dokumentis momzadeba iqna miCneul i. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT qarTul i mxare aqtiurobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 2 seqtembris sxdomis saomqmo Canaweri. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom sxdomis monawil eTa msjel obis ZiriTad sagans, somxeT- saqarTvel os Soris neutral uri zonis gauqmebis da administraciul i sazRvris oficial urad dawesebis Sesaxeb, Sesabamisi xel Sekrul ebis momzadeba warmoadgenda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, imave sxdomis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `miendos gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil es xel ismowera im xel Sekrul ebaze, romel - ic dadebul i iqneba somxeTsa da saqarTvel os Soris, am or respublikata Sua neutral uri zonis gauqmebisa da adminisrtaciul i sazRvris dawesebis Sesaxeb. proeqti xel Sekrul ebisa xel is moweramde moxsendes mTavrobas.- samwuxarod, dokumentSi miTitebul i ar aris, qarTul i mxaridan konkretul ad vis unda ewarmoebina somxur del egaciasTan mol aparakeba da aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebsi vin unda yofil iyo pasuxismgebel i. es xarvezi mogvianebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 21 oqtombris sxdo-maze iqna gamosworebul i. Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvil is moxsenebis safuZvel ze miRebul i dadgenil ebiT, somxeTis del egaciasTan mosal aparakebl ad, qarTul i mxaris warmomadgenl ebad n.ramiSvil i, s.mdivani da gr.l ortqifaniZe iqna damtkicebul i.

arqivsacavebSi Cems mier mikvl eul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom qarTul i jaris neutral ur zonaSi garkveul i droit (3 TviT) Seyvanas, somxuri mxare mxol od mas Semdeg daTanxmda, roca osmal ebisgan am zonis okupaciis real uri safrTxe Seiqmna. es faqtori daedo safuZvl ad saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 12 noembris dadgenil ebas, romel ic qarTul i jaris mier neutral uri zonis dauyovnebl iv dakavebas iTval iswinebda. amasTan dakavSirebiT imave

dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `borCal os mazris samxreTi nawil i axl ave iqnas dakavebul i da gamocxaddes samxedro wesebi. adgil obriv mcxovrebT ecnobos, rom Cven SevediT iq osmal Ta mosal odnel i Semosevisagan maTi dacvis mizniT.- saqarTvel os mTavrobis es qmedeba, saqarTvel o- somxeTs Soris 1920 wl is 13 noembers xel moweril i SeTanxmebiT iqna samarTI ebrivad dadasturebul i. dokumentis mixedvit, qarTul i jari neitral ur zonaSi 3 Tvis ganmavl obaSi darCeboda. Tuki im periodSi neitral uri teritoriis sazRvris gamijvnis sakiTxi ver gadawydeboda, saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebi aRniSnul zonas datovebda da adrindel i Sereul i administraciul i mmarTvel oba aRdgeboda.<sup>1</sup> erTi ram xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, somxebis aseT `kompromissze- wasvl a, somxebis winaarmddeg osmal eTis mxridan warmatebul i samxedro operaciebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. es faqti, saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 19 noembris sxdomis saomqo CanawerebSiac aisaxa. imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i xel Sekruli ebi Sesaxe, gen. i.odiSel iZem sxdomaze sagangebo moxseneba gaakeTa, xol o imave sxdomam, moxsenebis safuZvel ze Sesabamisi dadgenil eba miuRo. `jer- j erobiT\_ vkiTxul - obT dokumentSi\_ Cveni j arebi darCes neitral ur zonaSi, xol o im SemTxvevaSi Tu osmal ebma daikaves karaklisi da gamocndnen bezomdalis uRel texil ze da amave dros somxeTis jari gadayvanil i iqna borCal os mazris samxreT nawil idan, \_Cveni j aris mier dakavebul i iqnas es raioni mazris samxreT sazRvramdis waweviT.-

am amonaweris mixedvit borCal os mazris neitral ur zonaSi Seyvanil i qarTul i jaris nawil ebs aqtiuri moqmedebis funqcia qonda dakisrebul i. maT amocanas osmal o dampyobl ebisadmi Rirseul i winaarmddegobis gaweva da neitral uri zonis srul adgakontrol eba warmoadgenda. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebi erT- erT pirobad, imave dokumentis me- 4 punqtis Tanaxmad, borCal os mazraSi saxal xo gvardiis nawil ebi iqna dauyovnebl ivgagzavnil i. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi mier ganxorciel ebul i es Roniszieba, meore mniSvel ovani faqtoritac iyo ganpirobebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs somexi oficrebisa da jariskacebisagan qveynis teritoriul i sazRvris darRveva da Seiararebul formebsi axal qal aqis mazris sofl ebSi TviTneburad Semosvl a. maTi es qmedeba, ucxo qveynisgan agentebis Semogzavnisa da dazverviti procesis STabeWdil ebas tovebda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, es sakiTxi Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 9 da 12 noembris sxdomebze sagangebo msjel obis sagani gaxda. amasTan dakavSirebit miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `xsenebul pirebs aeyaros iaraRi, oficrebi gaigzavnos borjomSi, xol o jariskacebi ganawil ebul i iqnan sofl ebi adgil obrivi administraciis meTval yureobis qveS. Camortmeul i iaraRi gadatanil i iqnas axal cixesi.-

somxeTTan dadebul ma zemoaRniSnul ma xel Sekrul ebam da qarTul i sajariso SenaerTebis mier neitral ur zonaSi Tavdacviti poziciebis daWeram, saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi somexi Seiararebul i oficrebisa da jariskacebis TviTneburi Semosvl a, mxol od somxeTis gasabWoebamde SeaCera. samxreT kavkasiis regionSi mimdinare politikiuri procesebis gaTval iswinebidan gamodinare, samxreT- dasavl eTIT, gansakuTrebit samxreT- armosavl eTIT da armosavl eT saqarTvel os sasazRvro zolis gamagrebis aucil ebl oba qveynis xel isufl ebisatvis prioritetul sakiTxs warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebit im etapze iseti qmediti nabiji unda gadadgmul iyo, risi SesaZl ebl obac evropis qveynebidan zurgSeqceul , motyuebul da yal bi dapirebebis Semyure saqarTvel os sinamdvil idan gamomdinare iyo SesaZl ebel i. meore mxriv, qveynis garSemo Seqmnili real uri safrTxeebis gaTval iswinebit, saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebi sardl ad iseti pirovneba unda daniSnul iyo, romel sac sxvebtan Sedarebit moqmedi armis rigebsi yvel a safexuri qonda gavlii da msxvili samxedro SenaerTebis marTvis didi gamocdil eba gaaCnda. imavdroul ad, samxedro operaciebsi gansakuTrebul i warmatebisaTvis umaRl esi xarisxis samxedro wodebis da ordenebis mfl obel i iqneboda. im etapze, qarTul sinamdvil esi aseT pirovnebas gen. i.odiSel iZe warmoadgenda.

yovel ive zemoTqmulis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22 noembris (oqmi # 22) sxdomis dadgenil ebit, gen. i.odiSel iZes saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebi mTavarsardl is moval eobis Sesrul eba daeval a, xol o imave wl is 13 dekembris dadgenil ebit, respublikis Seiararebul i Zal ebi mTavarsardl ad dainiSna. rac Seexeba samxreT- armosavl eTis fronts, i.odiSel iZis rekomendaciiT (22 noemberi), misi xel mZRvanel oba gen. i.gedevaniSvil s miandves. am faqtidan 15 dRis Semdeg, Tav-

dacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 6 dekembris dadgenil ebiT, axal qal aqi- axal cixe- artaanis raioneSi ganl agebul i qarTul i jaris yvel a saxeobis sardl oba gen. v.wul ukizes Caabares.

j er- j erobiT SeuZl ebel i gaxda iseTi saarqivo dokumentis mikvl eva, romel ic safuZ- vl ianad warmoaCenda im RonisZieebis nusxas, romel ic axl ad daniSnul sardl ebs, maTdami daqvemdebarebul i jaris nawil ebSi unda gaetarebina. miTumetes, samxreT- aR- mosavl eTis mimarTul eba, yvel aze rTul sasazRvro monakveTs warmoadgenda. mdgomar- eobas somxeTis gasabWoeba (1920 wl is 29 noemberi) kidev ufro arTul ebda. miTumetes, gekkeris moxsenebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTis gegmebi saqarTvel os xel isufl eb- isaTvis cnobil i iyo. es faqti, qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obas gansakuTre- bul i pasuxismgebl obis winaSe ayenebda da misgan Sesabamsi RonisZieebis dauyovnebl iv gatarebas moiTxovda. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os Tavdacvis sab- Wos 1920 wl is 3 dekembris sxdomis amsaxvel i masal ebi iqcevs. genStabis ufrosis mo- adgil is mier saerto mdgomareobis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i moxsenebis safuZvel ze miRe- bul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1) a)yvel a frontze myof jaris ufrosebs mieces wi- nadadeba, rom somxeTSi sabWoTa mTavrobis gamocxaedebiT, respubl ikis sazRvarze Seqm- nil i mdgomareobis gamo, miRon zomebi meti sifrTxil isaTvis. moeridon adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebTan raime konfl iqts da Tu mezobel i saxel mwifoebisgan miRebul i raime winadadebebi dauyovnebl iv acnobon Tavdacvis sabWos. b)borCal os mazraSi da tfil i- sis mazris samxreT- aRmosavl eTis nawil Si miRebul i iqnes samxedro wesebi da gener- al - gubernatoris ufl ebani am raionSi mieniWos samxreT- aRmosavl eTis jarebis sar- dal s i.gedevaniSvil s.- es dokumenti qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis da samxreT- aRmo- savl eTis frontis sardl obas, mosal odnel i safrTxidan gamomdinare, sasazRvro strate- giul i punqtebis gamagrebastan erTad, garduval i provokaciebis droul ad aRmo-safx- vrel ad winaswari Ta-darigis daWeris aucil ebl obaze mianisnebda. dokumentSi mot- anil i winadadeba- miRon zomebi meti sifrTxil isaTvis.- jaris nawil ebis saomar mdgomareobaSi Cayenebas da rac mTavaria, yvel a saj ariso qvedanayofSi discipl inis umaRl es safexurze ayvanas moiTxovda.

ramdenadac borCal os mazra, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, sasazRvro zol is yvel aze rTul monakveTs warmoadgenda, respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWo misadmi gan- sakuTrebul yuradRebas icenda. amis dadasturebas imave sabWos 1920 wl is 16 de- kembris sxdomis saogmo Canawerebi warmoadgens. am dokumentidan irkveva, rom borCal os mazraSi dabanakebul i qarTul i jaris mdgomareoba qveynis mTavar- sardal s Seumowmebia da miRebul i STabeWdil ebebi sabWos wevrebisaTvis moxse- nebis saxiT warudgenia. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT imave sxdomis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `a)neba mieces samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal s ganaiaraRos sofl ebi uzunl iari, axpati da Sina- xi; b)Tu borCal os mazris neutral uri zonis administraciaSi an rkinigzis mosamsaxureTa Soris aRmoCndeba Tanamdebobis Seuferebel i pirni, neba eZl e- va samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal s, gadaayenos aseTebi Tana- mdebobidan; g)samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis sardal s Tavdcvis fondidan mieces 200000 man. dazvervis saWiroebisaTvis.- imave Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 18 dekembris sxdomaze, samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardl - is mier gakeTebul i moxsenebebidan gamomdinare, mdinare debeda- CaiZe xidis asagebad 643500 maneTi iqna gamoyofil i.

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi, qveynis Tavdacvisunarianobis gaumj obesebasTan da mtris mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis SemTxvevaSi, misadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris aucil ebl obaze iyo gaTvl il i. saj ariso SenaerTebis marTvis specifiki dan gamomdinare, gadamwyveti rol i frontis sardl obas ekisreboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs arsebul i sirTul eebisadmi Rirseul ad Tavis garTmeva da rac mTavaria, saqarTve- l os sazRvarTan aRmarTul i `aisbergis- SesaCerebel i, ukidures SemTxvevaSi misadmi Rirseul ad daxvedris ramdenime saxeobis meqani zmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba, rac sa- jariso qvedanayofebis mzadyofnaSi moyvanasTan iqneboda dakavSirebul i. am mimarTul e- biT pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom wiTel i armiis nawil ebi TviTneburad arRvevdnen saqarTvel os sazRvars da adgil obrivi sofl ebis mosaxl eobis Zarcvas eweodnen. respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWom (1920 wl is 13 dekemberi), arsebul i mdgomareobis gamsasworebl ad di pl omatiuri gza airCia da Sesabamsi RonisZi- ebis gatareba sagareo saqmeTa saministros daaval a. `daeval os gareSe saqmeTa minist-

rs\_vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_gagzavnos moskovSi da evropaSi protestis nota imis Sesaxeb, rom a) sabWoTa wiTel i armiis moTareSe nawil ebma gadmol axa Cveni sazRvari da borCal os mazris sofl ebs daeca.- miuxedavad amisa, sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan anal ogiuri saxis provokaciebi Semdgom etapzedac gagrZel da. amis dadasturebas Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22 dekembris sxdomis masal ebi warmoadgens. dokumentidan irkveva, rom samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardl is mier gakeTebul moxsenebaSi amis Sesaxeb konkretul ad iyo saubari. miRebul dadgenil ebaSi garkveviT iqna aRniSnul i: `a) daeval os general uri Stabis ufross moel aparakos sabWoTa ruseTis samxedro ataSes wiTel armiel Ta mier Cveni sazRvrebis gadmol axvisa da adgil obrivi mcxovrebl ebis Zarcvis gamo.-

SamxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis xazze Seqmnil i viTareba, sardl obis winaSe, samxedro xel ovnebisTvis aucil ebel i specifikisa da adgil obrivi bunebrivi pirobebis Sesatyvisi TavdacviTi samoqmedo gegmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl obas moiTxovda. dokumenturi masal iT irkveva rom am mimarTul ebiT adgil obriv sardl obas individual urad TiTqmis aranairi konkretul i gadawyvetil eba ar miuRia da igi Tavdacvis sabWos miTiTebebis Semyure darCa. Seqmnil i viTareba, borCal os mazris neitral uri zonis mTel s teritoriaze somxuri sofl ebis mosaxl eobis dauyovnebl iv srul ganiaraRebas saWi roebda. amis Sesaxeb Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 29 dekembris sxdomam sagangebo dadgenil eba miRo. `daeval os samxreT- aRmosavl eTis jarebis sardal s\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ ganaiaraRos borCal os mazris mTel i neitral uri zonia. pirvel rigSi ganaiaraRos sofl ebi uzunl aris, axpatis, Sinixis mcxovrebl ebi.- es dokumenti imaze migvani Snebs, rom 16 dekembris dadgenil ebiT, borCal os mazris mxol od 3 sofl is mosaxl eobis ganiaraReba, arasaakmarisad iqna miCneul i. mazraSi Seqmnil i urTul esi pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare, aucil ebl obam mTel i mazris ganiaraRebis saWi roeba moiTxova. imave sxdomis dadgenil i ebiT, saomari moqmedebebis dawyebisas, sarkinigzo transportis Seuferebel ad muSaobis Senarcunebis mizniT, samxreT- aRmosavl eTis frontis sardal s, borCal os mazris neitral ur zonaSi rkinigzis administraciaSi mosamsaxure saeWvo da Seuferebel i pirebis gadayenebis ufl eba eZl eoda. winaswari Tadarigis da usafrTxoebis garantiis Seqmnas iTval iswinebda Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 22 dekembris dadgenil ebis (b) punqti. `b) somxeTis rkinigzis mosamsaxureni da tel egrafistebi -vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_moxsnil ni iqnen rkinigzis l iandagidan da vidre maTi mdgomareoba saerTod gamoirkveodes gaigzavnon: pirvel ni\_ respubl ikis saxazino rkinigzis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi da meoreni fosta- tel egrafis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi; g) borCal os mazraSi dabanakebul i jarisTvis sursat- sanovages misawodebl ad dainiSnos gzaTa departamentis gankargul ebiT ori orTqmaival i vagonebis saTanado ricxviT, erTi sadgur sandaraze da meore sadgur sanainze.-

SamxreT- aRmosavl eTidan mosal odnel safrTxesTan mimarTebaSi, aRniSnul i dadgenil ebebi erTi SexedviT safuZvl iani mzadebis garegnul STabeWdil ebas tovebs. anal ogiuri saxis damokidebul eba iqna gamovl enil i saqarTvel o- azerbaij anis sazRvris perimetrTan mimarTebaSi ac. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 6 dekembris dadgenil eba. es dokumenti qveynis interesebidan gamomdinare, yaraiazis tyis zonaSi TviTneburad Semosul i azerbaij anel ebis ukan gabronebas da saqarTvel oSi azerbaij anel Ta `aral egarul i formiT mimosvl is- akrZal vas kategoriul ad moiTxovda. es gadawyvetil eba saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebSi srul ad Tavsdeboda Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom im etapze, azerbaij ani ruseTis mier iyo gasabWoebul i da es ori qveyana, saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis myar safexurs amzadebda. amasTan dakavSi rebiT, saqarTvel os respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 13 dekembris dadgenil ebis (b) da (g) punqtebSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i im antisaxel mwifoebrivi qmedebebis Sesaxeb, romel ic azerbaij anma da sabWoTa ruseTma saqarTvel l osTan mimarTebaSi erTobl iovad rom ganaxorciel a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) baqodan navTis saqarTvel osadmi miwodebis umizezod Sewyveta da 2) foil os xidis midamoebSi wiTel i armiis nawil ebis Tavmoyra, sangrebis gaTxra da zarbaznebis dadgma. es Ronisziebebi imdenad gamokveTil i da gamomwvevi formiT mimdinareobda, rom nebismieri saSual o donis samxedro pirisa da pol itikosisTvisac misaxvedri iqneboda, rom sabWoTa ruseTi mizanmimarTul ad da safexurebrivad saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis saTvis emzadeboda. es faqti, samxedro uwyebis mesveurT, adeqvaturi Ronisziebebis dauyovnebl ivi gatarebis aucil ebl obas aval ebda. miTumetes, Tavdacvis sabWos (eswrebodnen: gr. l o-rTqi faniZe\_ sxdomis Tavmj domare, n.rami Svil i, i.odi Sel iZe,

vj uRel i, i.gedevani Svil i, al .Tayai Svil i, al .dgebuaZe. al .zaqariaZe) 1920 wl is 24 noembris dadgenil ebiT, foil os xidze asafeTqebel i masal a droebiT iqna moxsnil i. Tavdacvis sabWo\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ SesaZl ebl ad sTvl is moxsnas xididan asafeTqebel i masal a mxol od im pirobiT, rom asafeTqi mavTul ebi darCeba da neutral uri zonis sakontrol o komisiis muSaobis dasrul ebisTanave, Tanaxmad xel Sekrul ebisa dauyovnebl iv iqneba aRdgenil i sadgur Saqrl ianSi.-

politikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebadobam, zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil ebis 9 dReSi koreqtirebis da misadmi ufro mkacri formis micemis aucil ebl oba daayena dRis wesrigSi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 2 dekembris sxdoma, romel mac foil os xidis midamoebSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul is gr.cincabaZis da genStabis ufrosis al .zaqariaZis moxsenebebi moismina. saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobis anal izidan gamomdinare, imave sxdomaze miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1. b)foil os xidze da mis midamoebSi sastikad iqnes dacul i samxedro wesebi da aravis ar mieces xidze mimosvl a adgil obrivi samxedro ufrosis nebadaurTvel ad; 4. a)dauyovnebl iv gamagrebul i iqnas foil os da wiTel i xidebi da maT dasacavad daniSnul i iqnes sakmao ricxvi jarebisa artil eriiT. orive xidi iyos damzadebul i ucbad asafeTqebi ad.- am dokumentis miRebidan meore dRes (3 dekemberi), Tavdacvis sabWom meore umniSvnel ovanesi dadgenil eba miRo, romel ic saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi rkinigziT jaris Seuferxebel ad gadaadgil ebasa da daniSnul adgil ze misi momaragebis uzrunvel yofas iTval iswinebda. amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `winadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments miRos zomebi samxedro matarebl ebis mimosvl is dasaqarebl ad, jaris gadasayvanad daniSnul i raodenobis zamTris pirobebis mixedvit mosawyobaT da saTanado sadgurebze jaris saWi roebisaTvis cxel i wyl is dasamzadebl ad. yvel a am zomebis asasrul ebl ad saWi ro Tanxa moTxovnil iqnes gzaTa departamentis mier Tavdacvis fondidan.-

am dokumentSi dasmul i sakiTxebis Sesrul ebis procedura, Tavdacvis saministros dabal i rgol is Sesabamisi uwyebis Cinovnikebisa da frontis mowinave xazis sardl obis prerogativas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, politikuri procesebis swrafad cval ebadobam da sasazRvro zol ze mezobel i qveynis mxridan Seqmnil ma real urma safrTxeebma, Tavdacvis xazis gasamagrebl ad adre arsebul i xarvezebis dauyovnebl iv aRmofxvra moiTxova. mxedvel obaSi maqvs foil osa da wiTel i xidebis im doneze danaRmva, rom saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi misi srul fasovnad afeTqeba da mtris garkveul i droiT SeCereba yofil iyo SesaZl ebel i. zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil ebiT gaTval iswinebul i RonisZiebebis maRal doneze Sesrul ebarSesrul ebis mimdinare procesebis zedamxedvel obis pasuxismgebl oba qveynis mTavarsardal sa da mis xel qveitebs frontis mowinave xazis xel mZRvanel obas ekisreboda. maT unda uzrunvel eyoT dokumentSi dasmul i sakiTxebis Sesabamis qvemdebare rgol amde dayvana, konkretul i pirovnebebisadmi daval ebis micema da mimdinare praqtikul i samuSaos Sesrul ebis xarisxze umkacresi kontrol is daweseba. samwuxarod, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl oba, qveynisTvis kritikul momentSi srul fasovnad mobil ur mdgomareobaSi ver aRmoCnda da mis winaSe moulo ondel ad amozidul i probl emebis mogvareba gauWirda. amis dadasturebas Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mopovebul i masal ebi warmoadgens, roml is mixedvi Tac irkveva, rom Tavdacvis sabWos zemoaRniSnul i dadgenil ebebis garkveul i nawil i Seusrul ebel i darCa. am xarvezebma,umZimesi formiT l oreSi, foil osa da wiTel i xidebis midamoebSi gamarTul i brZol ebis dros iCina Tavi. amis Sesaxeb qvemoT dawvril ebiT meqneba saubari, magram amjerad principul ad davsvam kiTxvas: mefis ruseTis armiis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl is brZanebis an Tavdacvis sabWos dadgenil ebis Sesrul ebis aucil ebl obas, qarTvel i generl ebi da oficrebi saval debutl od Tuki miChevden, riT unda aixsnas maTi mxridan anal ogiuri brZanebis an dadgenil ebis Seusrul ebl oba qarTul i jaris Semadgenl obaSi samsaxuris dros? am kiTxvaze srul fasovani pasuxis gacema mxol od Sesabamisi kvl eviTi samuSos Catarebis Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i. samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis qarTvel i sardl ebis ugergil obis naTel dadasturebas, saqarTvel o- somxeTis sazRvarze l ores saomari moqmedebebi warmoadgens.

qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom somxeT- saqarTvel os zemoaRniSnu-

l i xel Sekrul ebis (1920 wl is 13 noemberi) mi uxedavad, gasabWoebul i somxeTis mTavrobam, neitral uri teritoriidan qarTul i jaris dauyovnebl iv gayvana moiTxova. mi uxedavad imisa, rom qarTul i mxare mezobel i respubl ikis xel isufal T probl emis mSvidobianad gadawvyetis winadadebas sTavazobda, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbiuros mi-TiTebiT, somxebi pirobebeze Tanxmobas Segnebul ad aWianurebda da situacias mizanimarTul ad Zabavda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, k.sabaxtaraSvil is mier im etapze evropaSi myofi e.gegeWkorisadmi 1921 wl is 12 Teberval s gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `somxeTma sabWoTa mTavrobis gamocxadebisTanave mogvTxova borCal os mazridan Cveni j arebis gayvana. Cven amazed pirdapir uari ar gviTqvams da winadadeba miveciT amis Taobazed mol aparakeba gagvemarTa. somxeTis mTavroba dagvTanxmda da movel odiT mis warmomadgenl ebs momaval qarTul - somxur konferenciazed. Cven imedi gvqonda, rom borCal os mazris sakiTxs mSvidobianad movagvarebdiT.- xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom arsebul i probl emis mSvidobiani gziT mogvareba, sabWoTa ruseTis interesebSi ar Tavsdeboda. maT mier SemuSavebul i gegmis mixedviT, l ores sakiTxi, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis xel Semwyob faqtorad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebis da am saqmeSi somxeTis gansakuTrebul i mxardaWeris SemTxvevaSi, rkp (b) central uri komitetis kavbiuros xel mZRvanel obam, l ores neitral uri zonis saqarTvel osaTvis CamoWris winaswari piroba rom misca somxeTis xel isufal Ta mesveurebs.

aseTi mosazrebis gamoTqmis SesaZl ebl obas, l ores probl emis somxur- qarTul konferenciaze mSvidobianad gadawvyetis Sesaxeb, somxeTis xel isufal ebis mxridan gacemul i pirobis moul odnel ad `daviwyeba- iZl eva. Tu riT iyo ganpirobebul i SeTanxmebis vadis amowurvamde ori dRiT adre saomari moqmedebebis dawyeba, amis Sesaxeb, saintereso mosazrebaa gamoTqmul i k.sabaxtaraSvil is mier e.gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnil zemoaRniSnul weril Si. `jer-jerobiT am ierisSis mizani- vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ CvenTvis naTI ad gamokveTil i ar aris. SeiZl eba vifiqroT, rom somxebs srul i imedi hqondaT borCal os mazraSi mZl avri aj anyeba moewyoT, iZul ebul i gavexadeT dagvetovebina igi da... daveyenebineT Sesrul ebul i faqtis winaSe. miT umetes,... Zvel i somxeTis mTavrobasTan xel Sekrul ebis Zal iT, Cveni j arebs borCal os mazraSi yofnis vada xval 13 Teberval s gadis.- es mosazreba angariSgasawevia im Tval sazrisiTac, rom Tuki l ores sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, zemoaRniSnul i SeTanxmebis vadis amowurvamde miaRwevda somxebi warmatebas da amis Semdeg moxdeboda somex- qarTvel Ta konferenciis mowveva, somxebi mokarnaxis\_ momgebian rol Si aRmoCndeboda da qarTul i mxarisadmi maqsimal uri moTxovnebis dayenebis SesaZl ebl oba miecemoda. am faqtoris gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufal ebis erT- erT prioritetul amocanad, im etapze l ores `incindentissaswrafo l okal izacia warmoadgenda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, k.sabaxtaraSvil is imave weril Si vkiTxul obT: `es qarTul eba borCal os mazraSi erTob seriozul movlenad unda CaiTval os... Cveni mizania am saqmis l okal izacia da Tanac rac SeiZl eba l ikvidacia Cqara movaxdinoT.- **samwuxarod, qarTvel i sardl ebis mier daSvebul i sabe-diswero Secdomebis gamo, saqarTvel os xel isufal ebam dasaxul i miznis Sesrul eba ver SeZl o. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom borCal os mazraSi XI armis nawil ebis 11 Teberval s SeWra, omistvis saqarTvel os mzadyofnisa da qarTul i jaris brZol isunarianobis Semowmebis safexurs warmoadgenda.**

l ores raionSi qarTul i jaris sardl oba mowodebis simaRI eze rom yofil iyo da mowinaaRmdeges Rirseul ad daxvedroda, azerbaijanidan XI armis nawil ebis 16 Teberval s saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis gadadeba gamoricxul i ar iyo. l oreSi qarTvel Ta katastrofam, mowinaaRmdeges moqmedebis stimuli misca. samecniero da memuarul l iteraturaSi erTxmadaa aRiarebul i, rom borCal os mazraSi qarTul i jaris ucveul o ganl agebit da wesrigis verdamya-rebiT, gen. i.odiSel iZem momakvdinebel i Secdomebi dauSva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)borCal os mazraSi da azerbaijanis sasazRvro zol ze qarTul i jaris nawil ebis araswori ganl ageba; 2)uprincipoba; 3)jaris nawil ebSi udisciplinoba da vakxanal iis umaRI es xarixSi ayvana.

i.odiSel iZis mimarT Cems mier CamoTvl il i nakl ovani mxareebi miutevebel bral debad rom ar CameTval os, samive sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi im periodis samxedro da samoqal aqo pirebis mier gamoTqmul mosazrebebs movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os misi avkargianoba.

1)qarTul i jaris ganl ageba: a)somxeTis sazRvarTan, borCal os mazraSi qarTul i



jari Semdegnairad iyo ganl agebul i: 1)voroncovka- jal al - ori i\_ 4 gvardiis qveiTi batal ioni; ori saartil erio batarea, ori cxenosani eskadroni, ori javSan-avtomobil i (pol kovniki CxeiZe, SimnaiSvil i); 2)bambakis xeoba\_ sanain- Sagal is mimarTul eba\_ meore saarmio brigada, sami qveiTi aTaseul i, ori batarea, ori cxenosani eskadroni (gen. sumbaTaSvil i); 3)bobkinis mTa\_ ori qveiTi batal ioni (pol kovniki giorgi ximSiaSvil i); b)azerbajjanis sazRvarTan: 1)wiTel i xidis mimarTul eba\_ erTi qveiTi batal ioni (maiori xomeriki); 2)foilos xidTan\_ ori qveiTi batal ioni, erTi batarea, erTi cxenosani eskadroni, erTi sanapiro aseul i, mesangreTa mwyobri da javSnosani matarebel i # 4 (pol kovniki kodua).<sup>2</sup>

qarTul i jaris nawil ebis somxeT\_ azerbaijanis 110 kol ometrian sasazRvro perimetrze aseT danawil ebas, im periodis samxedro dargis special istebedid Secdomad miCnevden im Tval sazrisiT, rom frontis am vrcel i monakvetis saSual o doneze uzrunvel yofas, minimum 80 aTasi jariskaci dasWirdeboda. am raodenobis cocxali Zal is gamoyvana saqarTvel os im etapze ar SeeZlo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom evropis qveynebidan Sepirebul i daxmarebis miURebl obis gamo, mis srul fasovnad SeiaraRebas da sursaTIT uzrunvel yofas ver moaxerxebda. meore didi strategiul i Secdoma imaSi mdgomareobda, rom gen. ioseb gedevaniSvil is brZanebis Sesabamisad, qarTul i jaris meore qveiTi brigada bambakis xeobaSi Seiyyanes da somxur sofl ebSi patar- patara jgufebad daanawil es. am qmedebis ZiriTad motivs, sofl is somxuri mosaxl eobidan iaraRis amoReba da aj anyebis mcdel obis neitralizeba warmoadgenda. Cems mier motanil zemoaRniSnul faqtebs ukeTebda ranal izs, gkvinitaZe dasZenda; `mTavarsardals (i.odiSel izes S.v.) am Zal ebis ganl ageba zustad unda scodnoda, miTumetes jari iq ukve didi xania idga. Tu es ganl ageba ar eWaNikeboda, an saerTod arasworad miaCnda, unda Careul iyo da gamoesworebina Tavisi Sexedul ebisamebr.<sup>3</sup> miTumetes, qarTul i dazvervis mier mopovebul i XI armiis ufrosis gekkeris moxseneba\_ sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmis Sesaxeb, i.odiSel izisaTvis cnobil i iyo. jer- jero biT iseTi saxis dokuments ver mi vakv lie, romel ic daadasturebda, qarTul i jaris sofl ebSi gadanawil ebis i.gedevaniSvil is zemoaRniSnul i mcdari gadawyvetil ebisadmi i.odi-Sel izis kritikul damokidebul ebas da misi droul ad gamosworebisatvis raime qmedi-Ti RonisZiebis gatarebas. am mimarTul ebiT mTavarsardl is mxridan droul i reagirebis argakeTeba da konkretul i RonisZiebis argatareba mafiqrebinebs, rom drois im monakvetSi, i.odiSel ize jari gadaadgil ebis i.gedevaniSvil iseul gadawyvetil ebebs iziarebda.

marTalia, mogviane biT momzadebul `moxsenebaSi,- Tavis marTl ebis mizniT bral debebis ZiriTadi mimarTul eba gen. i.gedevaniSvil is `TviTnebur- qmedebazea gadatanil i, magram, erTi sityavac ar aris naxsenebi omis dawyebamde am `TviTnebur- qmedebis misi mxridn gamosworebis mcdel obis Sesaxeb.

**2)uprincipoba:** im periodis cnobil i samxedro da pol itikuri moRvaweebi erTxmad miuTiTeben i.odiSel izis uprincipobaze. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gen. g.kvinitaZis mogonebebis meore wigni iqcevs. masSi dawvril ebiTaa ganxil ul i i.odiSel izis zemoaRniSnul i `moxseneba- da umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebis mimarT gamarTul i diskusiis vrcel i mimoxil vaa warmodgenil i. iqvea dbeWdil i i.odi-Sel izis TvisebebTan mimarTe baSi ama Tu im pirovnebebis mxridan gakeTebul i Sefasebic. i.odiSel izis TandaswrebiT, imave sxdomis monawil eTa mier warmoTqmul i kritikul i si tyebidan, nimuSisaTvis ramdenime amonarids SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogadoebas. **n.xomeriki:** `general i odiSel ize garkveiT arasodes arafers ambobda da arc sakuTar mosazrebebs icavda, amitom iqmneboda STabeWdil eba, rom Tavis moTxovnebs maincd- amainc did mniSvnel obas ar aniWebda.- **vj uRel i:** `xSirad SeuZl ebel i xdeboda erTmaneTis gan gagerCi aT mniSvnel ovani da umniSvnel o moTxovnebi... sakmarisi iyo Jordani as an ramiSvil is sawinaaRmdego eTqvaT, rom general i odiSel ize xmas gakmendda xol me. saqmec ase wydeboda... raSiac Jordani as sdebt bral s, Tqven TviTon xarT damnaSave, radgan garkveiT da dajinebiT arasodes ar mogixsenebi aT. saswrafod eTanxmebodit yvel as yvel aferSi. ai batonebo rogor xdeboda: warmoadgens moxsenebas general i odiSel ize, Sevedavebi\_ dameTanxmeba; mere gamova dgebuaZe, romel ic xSirad mewinaaRmdegeboda, general i axl a dgebuaZes eTanxmeba. modit da gaarkviet... ra undoda general odiSel izes. mudam ase iyo, yvel a sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT.<sup>4</sup> **auStrovi:** `batono il ia,

komi siidan an sabWodan gamosul ebs arasodes ar gvsmenia, ra gindodaT; Tqven arasodes ar gqoniaT garkveul i azri, yovel Tvis yvel as eTanxmebodiT.- i.odiSel izesTan mima- rTebaSi anal ogiuri saxis pozicia uWiravs g.kvinitaZesac. erTi ram dabej iTebiT Sei- Zl eba iTqvas, rom zemoaRniSnul i uprincipobis Tvissebebi, i.odiSel izes adre rom qonoda, ruseTis armiaSi, erovnebiT qarTvel i, generl obamde da armiis sardl obamde ver amaRl deboda. Tuki amas miaRwia, saj ariso SenaerTebis marTvis, mtkice xasiaTis, ama Tu im gadawyvetil ebepis sworad miRebaSi da Tavisi poziciis dasabuTebul i formiT dacvaSi, rus oficrobaze al bad 10 TaviT maRl a idga.

**3) jaris nawil ebSi disciplinis verdamyareba:** i.odiSel izis generl obamde da armiis sardl obamde amaRl ebis yvel aze xel SemSi el faqtorad, jarSi mtkice disciplinis verdamyareba da saomari moqmedebepis dawyebis procesSi saRi azrovnebis dakargvis da dabneul obis Tvissebebi gadaiqceoda. Tuki es nakl ovani mxareebi ruseTis armiaSi samsaxuris dros misTvis damaxasiaTebel i ar iyo, qarTul i jaris sardl obisas, sadac qveynis xval indel i dRis bedi unda gadawyvetil iyo, zemoaRniSnul ma mankierma mxareebma maRal doneze iCina Tavi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs l ores neutral ur zonaSi ganl agebul i qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebis rigebsi damkvidrebul i srul i vakxanal ia. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT XI armiis samxedro komisari da l ores samxedro operaciis erT- erTi xel mZRvanel i i.l aziani 1936 wel s daweril mogonebebSi, bambakis xeobaSi qarTvel Ta samarcxvino damarcxebas Semdegnairad aRwers: `...mTavari mniSvnel ovani saqme aj anyebis mowyobaSi iyo Sagal is operacia; rac unda dagvj domoda, unda gadarCenil iyo Sagal is xidi, romel ic danaRmul i iyo (qarTvel ebis mier); im xids qonda gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba; am saqmis mowyobisTvis gaigzavna yofil i Stabskaptani stepiani, romel mac waiyvana bevri samxedro special isti. stepianma da sxvebma Caicves l tol vil ebis tanisamosi, maT gaxsnes Sagal Si samiki tnoebi, savse RviniTa, aryi- Ta da koniakiT. am iT isini dauaxl ovdnen qarTvel jariskacebs da oficrobs; iyo qeifi da dros tareba. gaiges rogori wesiT iyo xidi danaRmul i. maT gamoimuSaves xidis xel Si Cagdebis gegma. merme 12 Teberval s uecrad daecnen xids, xel Tigdes igi da maT daepatronen.-<sup>5</sup> ramdenadac aq motanil i faqtebi sabWoTa generl is mogonebebs warmoadgens, mkiTxvel ma SeiZl eba misi sandooba eWvis qveS daayenos. samwuxarod, igi simarTl es Seesabameba. amis naTel dadasturebas TviT i.odiSel izis mier daweril i `moxse- neba- warmoadgens. zemoaRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebit masSi vkiTxul obT: `rac Seexeba aTaseul is daRupvas (mexuTe da merve aTaseul i), jariskacebi da oficroba am aTaseul ebisa daumegobrdnen somxebs, qelfobdnen maTTan da bavS- vebs unaTl avdnen; imave dros ki naTl imamebi naTl iebs umzadebdnen daRupvas. am aTaseul ebs rom ar eqeifaT da bavSvebi ar enaTl aT da yofil iyvnen fxi- zl ad Tavisi saguSagoze\_ es ambavi ar moxdeboda. aq iyo usaTuod kol eqtiuri borotmoqmedeba.-<sup>6</sup> am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit a.kvitalSvil i savsebit kanon- zomierad svams kiTxvas: `sad aris sardl obis Tval i? sad aris `cveni- (ufro ki maTi) kontrSpionaJi?- unda vaRiaroT, rom im sabediswero momentSi i.odiSel izem, i.gedevaniSvil ma, g.sumbaTaSvil ma da sxvebma, roml ebic borCa- l os mazraSi ganl agebul i qarTul i jaris nawil ebs sardl obdnen, srul i uunaroba gamoi-Cina da qarTul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis katastrofas Seuwyo xel i. am faqts TviT i.odiSel izec aRiarebs. `mTavari mizezi Cemi gadayenebisa mTavarsardl obidan\_ wers igi\_ Sagal is xidTan momxdari mou odnel i katas- trofa iyo... icit ra moxda? mtris agentebma l xini gaumarTes Sagal is frontze myof ja-riskacebs, daaTvres. RamiT Sagal is xidze SeumCnevl ad `moxsnes- Cveni daraji, gadmovidnen xidiT da Tofis gausrol el ad Caigdes mTvral i mZ- inare TiTqmis Cveni Zal ebi.- es aris saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis Sei- araRebul i Zal ebis mTavarsardl is gen. i.odiSel izis aRiarebiti Cveneba. jaris nawil ebSi damkvidr-ebul i aseTi vakxanal iidan gamomdinare, nebismier qveya- naSi ara Tu Tanamdebobidan gadayenebas dasjerdebodnen, mas pirvel rigSi wodebrivad Camoaqve-iTebdnen da tribunal s gadascemdnen.

exeboda ra borCal os mazraSi qarTul i jaris sabediswero da samarcxvino damarcxebis ganmapirobel mizezebs, grigol urataZe gul iswyromiT savse- bit kanonzomierad dasZenda, rom borCal os mazraSi momxdari `kol eqtiuri borotebis Sedegi iyo `mTel i armiis naxevaris- ubrZol vel ad ganadgureba. aman ra Tqma unda, daangria Cveni Tavdacvis saqme, dascal a strategiul i pun- qtebi da gaaZl iera mtris gamarjvebis Sansebi.- amas isic daemata, rom darCe-

nil i jaris nawil ebi usardl od aRmoCnda da maTi bedi, mxol od TiToeul i qvedanayofis xel mZRvanel is gadawyvetil ebebze iqna damokidebul i.

borCal os mazraSi 1921 wl is 12 dan 15 Tebervl is CaTvl iT ganxorciel ebul i sabrZol o operaciebTan mimarTebaSi arsebul i faqtebis anal izidan gamomdinare, akvi taiSvil i wers: `12- 16 Tebervl amde qarTul j ars namdvil i patroni ar hyavs. aqa- iq gancal kevebul i jarisa da gvardiis nawil ebi gadadian Setevaze. mi Rwevebic aqvT, magram radganac maTi moqmedeba ar aris SeTanxnebul i da ar Cans sardl is nebisyofo, romel mac unda moaxdinos maTi moqmedebis koordinacia, marcxdebian.- amis ZiriTadi ganmapirobebel i mizezebi gen. i.odiSel iZis umoqmedobaSi unda veZioT. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, i.odiSel iZis zemoaRniSnul i `moxsenebis- ganxil vis dros, vj uRel ma dau- faravad ganacxada: `frontze pirvel i gasrol isTanave general i odiSel iZe ise daibna, rom saomari moqmedebis warmarTvis yovel gvari unari dakarga, j ars araviTari miTiTeba ar miuRia da yovel i nawil i, rasac undoda imas ake- Tebda.-` e.i. jaris koordinirebul i marTvis el ementarul i formebi iyo dar- Rveul i. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom im momentSi i.odiSel iZe arsebu- li situaciis droul da swor Sefasebas ver axdenda. amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqti gamodgeba. roca rusebma foil os xidTan ganl agebul i saqarTve- l os sajariso SenaerTis sawinaaRmdegod poziciebze ramdenime qvemexi gam- oitana, qarTul i jaris erT- erTi kol onis meTauri pirdapiri mavTul iT i.odiSel iZes dael aparaka; `mteri amaRam aucil ebl ad gadmova Setevaze. neba momeciT xidi avafeTqo.- aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT i.odiSel iZem upasuxa: `Cven vimyofebiT megobrul ganwyobil ebaSi sabWoTa ruseTTan. dauSvebel ia Cveni mxridan mtrul i moqmedeba. erideT provokacias.- aseT miTiTebas izl eva sardal i, romel sac rusul - somxurma samxedro SenaerTebma, 12 dan 15 Teberv- l is CaTvl iT jaris ori mesamedi gaunadgura da omis samomavl o bedi qarTul mxares 3/4-iT waagebina.%miTumetes, foil os xidis afeTqebi oba, taqtikuri Tval sazrisiT i.odiSel iZis mxridan morig gamousworebel Secdomas war- moadgenda. am xidis moqmedunarianobis SenarCuneba, rogorc g.kvinitaZe wers, `mowi- naaRmdegos rkinigzaze Tavisufli ad moZraobis saSual ebas aZl evda. igi Tavisufli ad gadaiyvanda j ars, advil ad miawodebda i araRs, sursaTs, bol os da bol os j avSanmatare- bl iT moqmedebas SeZl ebda.-` yovel ive aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, foil os xidis afeTqeba pirvel xarixxovan amocanas warmoadgenda, Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom mis aRdgenamde, XI armiis nawil ebs, rkinigzis (im etapze yvel aze xel sayrel i da efeqturi satransporto saSual eba) gamoyenebis Sesa- Zl ebl oba Seekveceboda. aqedan gamomdinare, izul ebul i gaxdeboda mTel i yura- dReba wiTel i xidis mimarTul ebiT gadaetana. Tumca, misi gadaadgil ebisa da Sesabamisi samxedro masal iT droul ad momaragebis procesebis mxol od SezRudul formebsi ganxorciel ebas SeZl ebda. samwuxarod, saqarTvel os Se- iaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obam es umniSvnel ovanesi Sansi droul ad ver ga- moiyna. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave xidis mogvianebiT arasrul fasovnad afeTqebis faqti. Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobidan da mTavarsardl is\_ i.odiSel iZis umoqmedobidan, arsebul i situaciis Sesatyvisi taqtikuri xasiaTis RonisZie- bebis argatarebidan gamomdinare, wiTel xidTan qarTul i jaris nawil i ebma marcx i ganicada. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT arsebul i memuarul i da samecniero l literaturiT ar dasturdeba, rom i.odiSel iZe wiTel i da foi- l os xidebis mimarTul ebiT usistemod `gadasrol il i- qvedanayofebis erT muStad Sekvras cdil iyo. am SemTxvevaSi man borCal os mazraSi\_ l oreSi da- Svebul i taqtikuri Secdoma gaimeora.

wiTel i xidis mimarTul ebiT qarTul i sajariso SenaerTebis dafantul i formiT gan- l agebis suraTi mkiTxvel is mier srul ad rom iqnas aRqmul i, am mizniT akvi taiSvil is naSromidan Sesabamisi amonawers movitan. `ai rogor iyo guriis batal ionis ganawil ebu- li wiTel xi-dze: pirvel i aseul i da mzveravTa gundi\_ dgas wiTel xidze; meore\_ mdinare xramisa da mtkvris SesarTavTan; mesame\_ mdinare al getisa da mtkvris SesarTavTan; meore aseul i pirvel i aseul isgan 7 kil ometriTaa daSorebul i, rogor unda uSvel on am aseul ebma brZol is dros erTmaneTs?...

sofel sarvanSi dgas Tbil isis mesame batal ionis. sofel obel i-anovkaSi ki Tbil i- sis pirvel i batal ionis... Tu am ori batal ionis amocana iyo miSvel eboda wiTel xidze mdgom Cvenebs\_ es xom Znel i asasrul ebel ia\_ ocdaxuTi kil ometris gasavl el ad saWi roa

xuTi- eqvsi saaTi... sanam Tbil isis batal ionebma miRes brZaneba wiTel i xidisken gaqanebul iyvnen, guriis batal ioni ukve ganadgurebul i iyo.-<sup>9</sup>

zemoaRniSnul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma erTobl iobaSi gamanadgurebel i dar-  
tyma miayena saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebs, xol o XI armiis nawil ebs  
brZol isa da SeteviTi operaciebis gagrZel ebis `xal isi- da rac mTavaria, ga-  
marjvebis imedi Causaxa. aseT umZimes situaciaSi ganxorciel da naxebrad gana-  
dgurebul i qarTul i jaris mTavarsardl is Secvl a. saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da  
Tavdacvis sabWos gadawyvetil ebis Tanaxmad, i.odiSel iZis nacvl ad mTavarsardl ad  
g.kvinitaZe dainiSna. gen. al .zaqariaZe am cvl il ebas i.odiSel iZis avadmyofobiT  
xsnis da gverds uvl is im taqtikur Secdomebs, roml ebic 11- dan 15 Tebervl is CaTvl iT  
i.odiSel iZis mTavarsardl obis periodSi iqna daSvebul i da rusul - somxuri Seiar-  
aRebul i Zal ebis warmatebis ganmapirobebel i fatori gaxda.

ramdenadac 1919 wl is 13 seqtembris teraqtis dros i.odiSel iZem (saxeSi  
daiWra) mZime kontuzia miRo, savaraudoa, rom misi srul yofil ad gamoj anm-  
rTel eba im etapze ver moxerxda. miRebul i fsiqikuri Soki, nerviul i siste-  
mis daZabul obis SemTxvevaSi, rogorc Cans `Tavs axsenebda-. am faqtoris gaTval -  
iswinebidan gamomdinare Tuki mi vudgebiT sakiTxs, igi marTI ac avad unda yo-  
fil iyo. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi: 1)yovl ad dauSvebel ia, rusul jarSi gener-  
al - I eitenantis safexuramde (1914 wl is 11 oqtomberi) da dasavl eTis fron-  
tis me- 3 armiis (1917 wl is 12 seqtemberi), xol o imave wl is 2 oqtombridan  
kavkasiis rusul i armiis sardl obamde amaRI ebul pirovnebas, ruseTis saxe-  
l mwifos TiTqmis yvel a umaRI esi xarisxis ordenebis (wminda stanissl avskis  
I da III xarisxis, wminda anas I, II da III xarisxis, wminda vl adimiris III da IV  
xarisxis, wminda giorgis IV xarisxis, oqros iaraRI warweriT- `mamacobisa-  
Tvis-) mfl obel s, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis yofna- aryofnis gadam-  
wyvet momentSi, samxedro dargis profesional i maRal CinosnisaTvis warmoud-  
genel i da qarTul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis TiTqmis ganadgurebis xel Semwo-  
bi taqtikuri Secdomebi daeSva; 2)i.odiSel iZis samxedro ganaTI ebisa da me-  
fis ruseTis armiaSi safexurebrivad gavil i udidesi praqtikul i gamocdil eb-  
is fonze, agekkeri da i.l aziani samxedro saqmis dil etantebad SeiZl eba Cai-  
Tval os. (agekkeri\_ 1909 wel s samxedro saswavl ebel i daamTavra, xol o 1917  
wel s, gasabWoebul i ruseTis genStabis samxedro akademiasTan Seqmnil i daC-  
qarebul i kursebi galara; i.l aziani\_ asoTamwyobi, gasabWoebul i somxeTis jaris  
pol itganyofil ebis ufrosi). am donis sardl ebTan mouxda gen. i.odiSel iZes  
1921 wl is 11 Tebervl idan 16 Tebervl is CaTvl iT dapirispireba. im SemTxveva-  
Si, Tuki drois am monakveTSi mimdinare sabrZol o moqmedebebis Sesaxeb g.kvini-  
taZis mogonebebSi motanil faqtobriv masal as sarwmunod miviCnevT da evro-  
pis qveynebisgan Sepirebul i iaraRis (SaSxanebi, sabrZol o vaznebi) armiRebis  
faqtsac gaviTval iswinebT, Cvens winaSe saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebTan  
mimarTebaSi katastroful i suraTi warmoCndeba.

qarTul i sardl obis mier daSvebul i umZimesi Secdomebidan gamomdinare, XI armiis  
gaTamamebul xel mZRvanel obas, saqarTvel os dedaqal aqis aReba ukve real obad esaxebo-  
da. am amocanis Sesrul ebis mizniT, brZol aSi Caabes: 1)Svidi qveiT i divizia, 2)xuTi  
cxenosani divizia, 3)saarmio mZime artil eria # 12, 4)satanko razmi # 2, 5)j avSnosani  
avtomobil ebis razmi # 55, 6)gasabWoebul i somxeTis me- 5 da me- 6 pol kebi, 7)j avSnosani  
ma-tarebl ebi # 5, 7, 61, 77, 94.

xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom XI armiis warmatebul i moqmedebis Sansebs, isev foil osa  
da wiTel i xidebis aufeTqebel oba zrdida, radgan mters mZime artil eriis, tankebis,  
j avsnosani avtomobil ebis da j avSnosani matarebl ebis saqarTvel os teritoriaze  
uprobl emod Semoyvana- gadaadgil ebis SesaZl ebl oba eZl eoda.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os Tavdacvis uwyebas, gen. g.kvinitaZem mis daqvemdebarebaSi  
arsebul i samxedro Zal ebi Tbil isis dasacavad sam ZiriTad seqtorad gadaanawil a:  
1)marjvena seqtori\_ kojori- Savnabadas monasteris xazi. am monakveTs gen,  
andronikaSvil i sardl obda. mis daqvemdebarebaSi Sedioda: a)meaTe aTaseul i, b)pirvel i  
aTaseul i, g)samxedro skol is erTi batal ioni, romel Siac Sedioda iunkrebis erTi  
aseul i da nacval Ta sami aseul i, d)meoTxe aTaseul i. mogvianebiT mas daemata gvardiis  
4 batal ioni, axl adSeqmnil i mexuTe aTaseul i da mosangreTa aTaseul i; 2)Sua seqto-  
ri\_ Savnabadadan- sadgur navTI uRamde, mdinare mtkvris sanapiromde. misi

dacva gen. g.mazniaSvil s qonda daval ebul i. im etapze mis gankargul ebaSi imyofeboda: a)aspinZis mecxre aTaseul i, b)meSvide aTaseul i, g)sadaraj o aTaseul i, d)sanapiro batal ioni, e)qarTI is ori batal ioni, v)gvardiis erTi batal ioni, z)gvardiis mZime tyviamfrqveveTa batal ioni, T)xuTi saartil erio batarea, i)j avSnian avtomobil Ta erTeul i da k)j avSniani matarebel i # 3; 3)orxevis seqtori\_ mdinare mtkvris marcxena sanapirodan- sofel araj ana pavli as mTamde sofel l il os CaTvl iT. am xazis dacvis uzrunvel yofa gen. j ij i xias qonda mindobil i. mis gankargul ebaSi imyofeboda: a)imereTis meore batal ioni, b)zugdidis batal ioni, g)rezervSi idga duSeTis gvardiis batal ioni, d)savel e batarea #5 da e)samTo batarea, v)cxenosanTa brigadis ori pol ki, romel ic sof. l il oSi idga.<sup>10</sup>

samecniero da memuarul l iteraturaSi erTxmadaa aRiarebul i, rom gkvini taZi seul ma jaris ganl agebis zemoaRniSnul ma taqtikam gaamarTI a. 18 Tebervl idan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT XI armiis yvel a Semotevebi warmatebiT iqna mogeriebul i. qarTul i jaris nawil ebi Setevazedac gadavida da mowinaaRmdegas gamanadgurebel i dartyebi miayena.

miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i SeiaraRebnul i Zal ebis imdroindel i mdgomareobidan gamomdinare (iaraRisa da qarxnul i wrmoebis vaznebis uqonl oba), saqarTvel o gaWiannurebul i omis warmoebas ver gauZI ebd. es faqtori saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i. amis naTel dadasturebas, ruseTis agresiiS Sesacerebl ad qarTvel i dipl omatebisagan evropis saxel mwifoebis Carevis mcdel obebi warmoadgens. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, ital iaSi myofi akaki Cxenkel is mier berl inSi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl is l ado axmetel isadmi 23 Teberval s gagzavnil i weril i iqcevs. am dokumentSi garkveviTaa miTiTebul i, rom l ado axmetyel i maqsimal urad cdil iyo, raTa berl ins garkveul i gavl ena moexdina moskovze, rom mas saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg agresiu- l i qmedebebi SeeCerebina. `es mol aparakeba rogorc berl inSi, ise moskovSi\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ unda xdebodes srul iad saiduml od. TviT Seni nabij ebi saiduml od unda Seinaxo, amxanagebsac ar unda gaando. j er unda Sei- tyo, aris Tu ara raime Zafi berl insa da moskovs Soris. sul ertia, oficial - uri Tu araoficial uri. unda gaigo, saTaveSi vis uWiravs es Zafi da mere imo- qmedo. CvenTvis araa sasargebl o parizSi an sxvagan icodnen, rom berl ini cd- il obs CvenTvis. unda dausuraTxato mand, ramdenad aucil ebel ia da sasarge- bl o germaniisaTvis Cveni gza, mas Semdeg rac mesopotamiaSi fexi amoakveTines. unda daaimedo, rom baqos da erevnis ganTavisufl ebac drois sakiTxia. maSas- adame, berl ins SeuZI ia dabejiTebiT Caagonos moskovs, nu mtrobs saqarTvel - os romel ic SesaZI oa komerciul i kari gaxdes TviT baqosTvis evropaSi.~ am amonaweridan kargad Cans is ZiriTadi mimarTul ebebi, romel ic qarTul i dip- l omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebis muSaobas germaniis xel isufl ebaTan safuZvl ad unda dadeboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs germaniis mxridan saqa- rTvel osadmi l obirebis mizniT, sabWoTa ruseTze zemoqmedebis berketebis amoqmedebisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris mosamzadebel i samuSaoebis Catarebis aucil ebl oba. Tu ramdenad iqna gaTval iswinebul i ak.Cxenkel is zemoaRniSnul i moTx- ovnebi berl inSi myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl is l .axmetel isgan, amis Sesaxeb sr- ul informacias iZl eva imave l .axmetel is mier ukve l ondonSi myofi akaki Cxenkel i- sadmi gagzavnil i weril i (1921 wl is 28 Teberval i). am dokumentidan kargad Cans: 1)ge- rmaniis samTavrobo wreebTan mol aparakebaSi germaniis social - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis l iderebis aqtiurad CarTvis procesi; 2)imave pol itikuri partiis l idereb- is Zal isxmeviT, germaniis prezident erbertTan, l .axmetel is Sexvedris faqti. am Roni sZi- ebis ZiriTad mizans, qveynis prezidentisadmi Txovna warmoadgenda, raTa, garkveul i zemoqmedeba moexdina germaniis mTavrobaze, im Tval sazrisiT, rom Sesabamis uwyebas sa- iduml o kavSirebi gaeba sabWoTa ruseTis umaRl es eSel onebTan da ruseT- saqarTve- l os saomari moqmedebebis SeCerebis aucil ebl obaSi daerwmunebina. imave Sexvedraze l .axmetel ma germaniis prezident erberts sam muxl iani moTxovna warudgina: 1)dauy- ovnebl iv moexdinaT berl inSi myofi sabWoTa warmomadgenel is gawveva da imavdrou- l ad miecaT winadadeba, rom moskovisTvis omis saswrafod SeCerebis aucil ebl obis Setyobineba gadaeca; 2)moskovSi myofi germaniis warmomadgenel isaTvis ecnobebinaT, rom mas garkveul i formiT gavl ena moexdina l ondonze, raTa ingl isis mxridanac yofil iyo moTxovna omis SeCerebis Sesaxeb; 3)ecnobos ul rix rauSers, rom mas germani- is saxel iT emoqmeda omis SesaCerebl ad.

imave weril is mixedviT, germaniis prezidents erberts, qarTveli diplomatebisadmi micemul i dapireba Seusrul ebia da germaniis mTavrobis kabinetis 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl is sxdomaze zemoaRniSnul i samive sakiTxi principul ad dausvams. isic dasturdeba, rom qarTuli mxaris winadadebebi, imave sxdomis wevrebis mier gaziarebul i iqna. Sesabamisi masal ebis miukvl evl obis gamo, jerjerobiT SeuZl ebel i xdeba imis garkveva, saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi Semdegi safexurebrivi nabiji gadadga Tu ara germaniis mTavrobam da konkretul ad ra formiT Semoifargl a igi. imave arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul i masal ebis mixedviT, qarTuli diplomatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebi, sabWoTa ruseTisadmi safrangeTis meSveobiT osmal eTis dasapirispirebl adac muSaobdnen. amis udao dadasturebas, parizSi myofi saqarTvel os warmomadgenl obis wevrebis TaTbiris (1921 wl is 19 marti) oqmi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedviT irkveva, rom aRniSnul i sxdoma im sakiTxiTa SeTanxmebas uzRoda win, romelic safrangeTis sagareo saqmeTa ministrTan akCxenkel is Sexvedrisas, qarTul mxares unda daesva. 1)osmal eTs uari unda eTqva saqarTvel os teritoriis mitacebaze da 1914 wl is monacemebiT arsebul i sazRvrebis eRiarebina; 2)osmal eTi kavkasiaze gabatonebis survil s sabol ood gamoTxoveboda da am saqmeSi arbitris roli erTa ligas Seusrul ebina; 3)saqarTvel os samxedro daxmareba unda mieRo ara osmal eTis saSual ebIT (osmal eTis Cvendami apekunoba yovl ad miuRebel ia), aramed pirdapir safrangeTidan; 4)yvel a zoma unda yofil iyo miRebul i raTa safrangeTis mTavrobis CareviT da antantis saxel mwifoTa garantiIT, osmal eTi, saqarTvel osTan erTad ruseTis winaarmdeg gamosul iyo. martal ia, aq CamoTvl il i sakiTxebi imave sxdomis monawil eTa mier mowonebul i da dadasturebul i iqna, magram misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba xuTi ZiriTadi faqtoris gamo SeuZl ebel i iyo: 1)osmal eTis parl amentis 1920 wl is 28 ianvaris `erovnul i paqtiT-, osmal eTis saxel mwifos sazRvrebis winaswar iyo `dadgenil i-; 2)moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis ruseT- osmal eTis `megobrobis xel Sekrul ebam-, osmal eTis teritoriul i pretenziebis umetesi nawil i, saqarTvel os xarj ze daakmayofil a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs dokumentis pirvel i muxl is meore abzaci sadac osmal eT-saqarTvel os sasazRvro xazi sofel sarfidan iwyeboda da osmal eTis Semadgenl obaSi tovebda qarTvel Ta istoriul teritoriebs\_ ardagan-ol Tis-artvinis mxareebis. rac Seexeba imave xel Sekrul ebis meore muxl s, osmal eTi Tanxmobas acxadebda siuzerenitetis ufl ebiT saqarTvel osTvis daeTmo baTumis mxare, im pirobiT, Tuki iq mcxovrebl ebs miecemodaT adgil obrivi farTo administraciul i avtonomia. am qmedebiT, or qveyanas Soris arsebul ma probl emebma, SeTanxmebisa da gadawyvetis pol itikuri saxe miRo. es faqtori, osmal eTis mxridan im etapze ruseT- Tan dapirispirebas gamoricxavda; 3)imave xel Sekrul ebis pirvel i muxl is meore paraqrafIT, osmal eT- saqarTvel os saxel mwifo sazRvari `sabol ood- iqna dadgenil i. aqedan gamomdinare, osmal eTisgan raime kompromisze wasvl a, evropis saxel mwifoebis gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri zewol iTiqneboda mxol od Sesazl ebel i; 4)ruseT- saqarTvel os saomari moqmedebebis periodSi, evropis saxel mwifoebis l iderebisgan mayurebl is pozicia, sabWoTa ruseTisgan, osmal eTisadmi `samarTebrivi- formiT naboZebi teritoriebis SenarCunebis sagarantio pirobebs qmnida; 5)1921 wl is 19 martisTvis, sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupacia-aneqisia damTavrebul i iyo da qveynis mTavroba, emigraciis gzas adga. am fonze, osmal eT- ruseTis dasapirispirebl ad evropis qveynebis CarTvaze fiqri il uzias warmoadgenda. miTumetes, imave evropis udides saxel mwifos- ingl iss, ekonomikuri xel Sekrul eba hqonda ruseTTan gaformebul i.

rac Seexeba 1921 wl is Tebervl is saqarTvel o- ruseTis saomar moqmedebes qarTuli jaris SenarTebis Tavdadebul i brZol isa da sardl obis gonivrul i gadawyvetil ebebis Sedegad, 18- dan 22 Teberval s, XI armiis nawil ebi sastikad iqna damarcxebul i. Seqmnil i umZimesi situaciidan gamosvl isa da dasaxul i mizmnis Sesrul ebis erT-erT saSual ebad, sabWoTa ruseTis xel mZRvanel obam misi mokavSire osmal eTi aamoqmeda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi osmal eTis mxridan 1921 wl is 22 Tebervl is ul timatumi\_ artvinardaganis mxareebis dacl is moTxovnis Sesaxeb. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, osmal eTsi myofi saqarTvel os el Cis simon mdivanis mier akaki Cxenkel isadmi 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gagzavnil weril Si vkiTxul obT: `angoris mTavrobisgan 22 Teberval s RamiT miviRe ul timatumis winadadeba, romelic 24 saat is vadas gvaZl evda ardagan-artvinis ol qis dasacl el ad. winaarmdeg SemTxvevaSi Sesaferi RonisZiebebis miRebiT gvemuqreboda. exl a ukve aSkara iyo osmal eTis agre- sivoba saqarTvel os winaarmdeg.<sup>11</sup> am amonaweridan gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel obisaa,

saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi, smdivnis mier osmal eTis agresiul i qmedebis aRiareba. am faqts arsebiT mniSvel obas imisTvis vaZl ev, rom misi xel idan gamosul i sxva epistol arul i dokumentebi, osmal eTTan mimarTebaSi ndobis damokidebul ebas avl ens. rac Seexeba osmal eTis xel isufal Ta agresiul qmedebas, igi sabWoTa ruseTis samxedro SenaerTebisTvis maqsimal ur xel Sewyobaze iyo gaTvl il i. amisTvis, sabWoTa ruseTs winaswari Tadarigi qonda daWeril i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTisadmi iaRaRiTa da ful iT daxmarebis faqtebi. qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebul ia: 1)1920 wl is zafxul Si, sabWoTa ruseTma, osmal eTs 6000 SaSxana, 5 mil ionze meti vazna, 18 aTasi Wurvi da oqros kursiT 5 mil ion maneti misca, xol o, imave wl is seqtemberSi 200,6 kil o oqros zodi gadasca; 2)1920 wl is dekembridan 1921 wl is 14 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, osmal eTs gadaeca 3733 SaSxana da 5 mil ionze meti vazna.<sup>12</sup> am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTveel os mTavroba izul ebul i gaxda, 23 Teberval s ardaganisa da arTvinis mxareebi ubrZol vel ad daetovebina.

saqarTvel osTvis Seqmnil i mZime mdgomareobidan gamomdinare, 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s n.Jordaniას mier ak.Cxenkel isadmi gagzavnil depeSaSi principul ad iyo dasmul i sakiTxi, evropis qveyenebisgan osmal eTze zemoqmedebis moxdenis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. amasTan dakavSirebiT parizidan imave ak.Cxenkel is mier mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze 1921 wl is 27 Teberval s gamogzavnil sapaşuxo depeSaSi vkiTxul obT; `mivdivar l ondonSi, angoras Sesaxeb... protesti formal uri ganvacxade l ondonSi. etyoba SeTanxmeba moxda antantas da angoras Soris, am SemTxvevaSi SesaZl ebel ia gavlenis moxdena angoraze. dasmul ia somxeTis sakiTxi, vecdebi daisvas Cveni sakiTxic.- am mimarTul ebiT qarTvel dipl omatTa mcdel obebi uSedego aRmoCnda. es gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan im etapze ingl isis pol itikurad gameZavebul xel isufl ebas, savaWro-ekonomi kuri xel Sekrul ebis sabol oo teqsti sabWoTa ruseTTan j er kidev 1920 wl is meore naxevarSi qonda momzadebul i. oqros moxveWiT daxarbebul ingl isis burJuazias, qarTvel i eris saxel mwifoebriobis dakargva Ciris fasadac ar uRirda. zemoaRniSnul i xel Sekrul ebiT (oficial urad xel i 1921 wl is 16 marts moewera) ingl isma, amierkavkasia sabWoTa ruseTs gadaul oca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave xel Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i sagangebo muxl i, roml iTac kavkasiis saqmeebSi ardainteresebul mxared ingl isi oficial urad acxadebda Tavs. aqedan gamomdinare, ingl isisa da misi satel iti qveyenebisgan saqarTvel osadmi raime formiT mxardaWeraze fiqri\_ il uzias warmoadgenda.

sazRvargareTis qveynebidan dauxmarebl obis miuxedavad, Tbil isis mi sadgomebTan qarTuli jaris gmirul ma brZol ebl ma da mtris didi danakargiT damarcxebam, qarTul i dipl omatiuri korpusis warmomadgenl ebs mterze gamarj vebis rwmena gauormaga. amis dadasturebas parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel is mier berl inSi l ado axmetel isadmi gagzavnil i weril i warmoadgens. saqarTvel odan miRebul i `ukanasknel i cnobebl\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ damamSvidebel ia. omi movigeT, vfiqrobT rom borCal os sakiTxi sabol ood gadawydeba Cvenda sasargebl od.- qarTul i dipl omatiis am optimizs ori faqtori ganapirobebda: 1)1921 wl is 22 Tebervl idan 24 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, saqarTvel os Seiararebul Zal ebs yvel a strategiul i daniSnul ebis simaRI e qonda dakavebul i; 2)sabWoTa xel isufl ebis winaarmddeg aj anyebul ma somxurma mosaxl eobam, qal aqi erevani aiRo. imavdroul ad aj anyeba azerbaij anSi- TauzSi daiwyo. Tuki g.mazniaSvil s, a.kvitaiSvil s, v.TevzaZes da sxvebs verwmunebiT, XI armiis sardl oba ukanasknel Zal ebs ikrebda da Tbil isis aRebas maqsimal urad Cqarobda. mis amocanas, jaris nawil ebSi omis msvl el obis gaWianrebiT warmoqmnil i ukmayofil ebis minimumamde dayvana, somxeTsa da azerbaij anSi dawyebul i aj anyebiT, XI armiisadmi zurgSi Seqmnil i mosal odnel i safrTxis gaZl ierebisadmi daswreba warmoadgenda. gamouval mdgomareobaSi myofma gekkerma, samxedro xel ovnebaSi damkvidrebul i eSmakobis formas mimarTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs general uri brZol is imitaciis Seqmnisa da am saqmeSi JI obas XII cxenosani diviziis moxerxebul ad gamoyenebis faqti. samxedro dargis special istebis monacemebiT, gkvini taZem kargad auRo al Ro Seqmnil situacias da andronikaSvil is, mazniaSvil is, j ijixias Tavdacvis seqtorebs, 24 Teberval s meoTxe seqtori\_ patara l il odan kus tbamde xazi daumata. samwuxarod, mis xel mZRvanel ad pol kovniki nikol oz gedevaniSvil i iqna daniSnul i. marTal ia, Teoriul ad igi maRal doneze iyo momzadebul i, magram, a.kvitaiSvil is si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, `yovl ad uargisi gamodga praqtikul brZol aSi- did SenaerTTa xel mZRvanel obisaTvis.- imave a.kvitaiSvil is monacemebiT, pol kovnik n.gedevaniSvil isa da cxenosani jaris brigadis meTauris pol kovnik sidamon-erisTavis daudevrobidan gamomdinare, mtris mcireodenma mxe-

drobam, patara l il os Tavidacvis xazs Semouara da mosaxl eobaSi panikis Se- qmnis mizniT, avWal is rkinigzis sadguris mimarTul ebiT `patara TareSi- gana- xorciel a. am faqtis siswores, gen. CxeiZisadmi daweril pasuxSi, j avSnosani matarebe- l is meTauri val odia goguaZec adasturebs. `j avSnosani matarebl iT avWal isken gaveSure, mtris mcire gundi garekil i iqna, mil icia da sadguris mosamsaxureni Tavis adgil ze aRvadgineT.-<sup>13</sup> xazgasmIT unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg, pol kovniki sidamon-erisTavi moskovSi iqna gadayvanil i da wl ebis ganmavl o- baSi kremli Si\_ i.stal inis `oxrankaSi- msaxurobda. rac Seexeba Tavidacvis meoTxe seqtoris xel mZRvanel pol kovnik n.gedevaniSvil s, akvi taiSvil is mtkicebiT `al Ro ve- rafers ver auRo da panikiT mocul ma miatova Tavis ubani, gaeqana mTavar StabSi mdgo- mareobis `asaxsnel ad.- swored am panikurma `axsna- ganmartebam iTamaSa sabediswero rol i Tbil isis mitovebaSi.-<sup>14</sup> am faqtis siswores pol kovniki v.TevzaZec adastu- rebs. `pol kovnik gedevaniSvil is dabrunebam Tebervl is 24- Si, didad dagvafiqra. is dRisiT daniSnul i iqna frTazed moqmed jarTa ufrosad. misi arasrul i SefasebiT mteri marcxena qveITTa jarisa da artil eriis garRveviT gvemuqre- boda.-<sup>15</sup> am monacemebis mixedviT, 24 Teberval s dRisiT sardl ad daniSnul i pirovneba, saRamos StabSi garbis, j arsa da Tavidacvis xazs meTauris gareSe upatronod tovebs da mis mier mitanil i informaciIT, Stabis wevrebSi panikas qmnis. arada, n.gedevaniSvil is pirvel xarixxovan amocanas, cxenosani jaris unariani marTva da arsebul i situaciis Sesatyvisi gadawyvetil ebebis droul i miReba warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, meoTxe seqtoris sardl is moval eobis nacvl ad, n.gedevaniSvil ma informatorisadmi dakisrebul i funqcia Seasrul a. panikiT Sezavebul i formiT, mis mier StabSi mitanil i cnobebi gaxda mTavarsardl is mxridan Tbil isis dasatovebl ad gada- wyvetil ebis miRebis erT- erTi myari safuZveli. Tuki frontis mowinave xazis central uri seqtoris sardal is g.mazniaSvil is memuarebSi motanil i monacemebis mixedviT vimsjel ebT, mdgomareoba arcTu sagangaSo iyo. amastan dakavSirebiT igi garkveviT wers: `frontis mdgomareoba ki 24 Teberval s aseTi iyo: mowinaaRmdegis ieriSebi yvel a raionSi mogeriebul ni iqnen da darwmunebul i viyavi, rom mTel i dRis brZol iT daqan- cul i mowinaaRmdege Ramis ieriSebs ar moaxdenda, xol o dil iT, radganac mowinaaRmde- ge idga mTis gaSi il ferdobze da xevSi, Cveni kargad mowyobil i poziciebis pirispir, iZul ebul i gaxdeboda an iaraRi aeyara, an da Tu vini cobaa ukan daixevda, mTI ad gawydeboda, l egionebis ufrosebTan tel efonebiT l aparakis dros es Cemi azri Tanda- Tan mtkicdeboda.- miTumetes, saintendanto da saartil erio sawyobebidan Tavidacvis uwyebam 24 Teberval s g.mazniaSvil is seqtorSi sanovagisa da vaznebis didi maragi Seitana. aRniSnul i faqtebi natyuari informacia rom iyos, igi sxva samxedro maRal Cinosnebis mxridan umkacresi kritikis sagani gaxdeboda. Tumca, g.kvi- nitaZe, al .zaqariaZe da sxvebi, Tavis marTI ebis mizniT, arsebul i situacias ise warmosaxaven, TiTqos mdgomareoba katastroful i iyo da Tbil isis datovebis garda sxva gamosaval i ar arsebobda. xazgasmIT minda aRvniSno, rom am sakiTx- Tan mimarTebaSi, utyuar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, samxedro dargis special istebis mxridan siRrmiseul i samecniero kvl eviTi samuSaos Cataere- ba da Sesabamisi saxeobis rukebis (dawvril ebiTi monacemebis darTviT) Sedgena pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)yvel a sabrZol o operaciis (Tavidacva da Seteva); b)qarTul i jarisa da mtris samxedro Sena- erTebis 1921 wl is 24 Tebervl is monacemebiT ganl agebis; g)imave saj ariso SenaerTebis mier 24 Tebervl isTvis dakavebul i punqtebis, simaRl eebisa da xevebis topografiul i saxis dawvril ebiTi rukebis Sedgena; d)somxeTsa da azerbaijanSi dawyebul i aj anyebebis (monawil eTa raodenobis garkveva) mo- qmedebis sivrcis Sesabamisi rukebis Sedgena. yovel ive aRniSnul is erTobl ioba- Si ganxil va, miudgomel i da safuZvliani sintezuri anal izi SesaZl ebl obas mogvcems swori daskvna gavakeToT, Tu ramdenad kanonzomieri iyo general g.kvinitaZis # 131- e brZanebis safuZvel ze Tbil isis ubrZol vel ad datoveba. samwuxarod, zemoaRniSnul i brZanebis avtorobas zogierTi politikuri moRvawe n.Jordaniabral ebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs r.gabaSvil is memuarebi, sadac vkiTxul obT; `Jordaniabral `mTavrobis- brZanebiT Tbil isis unda migvetovebina da evakuacia xdeboda. amis damadasturebel sabuTad is `kuriozi- mainc gamodgeba,... rom benia CxikviSvil ma... rogorc `qal aqis Tavma,- Tu Tbil isis `gubernatorma- Reneral - gubernatoroba,- daTa vaCnaZes gadasca yvel a Tavis xarixxebi da moval eobani: `Tbil iss upatroneTo- da



TviTon,- baTumSi gadavida Reneral - gubernatorad.-<sup>16</sup> Tuki r.gabaSvil i Tbil isis datovebas zogadad mTavrobas abral ebs, misgan gansxvavebiT, al .comai a ufro konkretdeba da sp.kedias mogonebebeze dayrdnobiT, Tbil isis datovebis gadawyvetil ebis miRebaSi n.Jordanias adanaSaul ebs. Tanac iseT fons qmnis, n.JordaniasTan mimarTebaSi mkiTxveli is gul iswyroma kul minaciur safexurze rom avides. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gazeT `krasni voini-- Si Tbil isis aRebis Sesaxeb 1923 wel s dabeWdil i publ ikaciis, al .comaias mxridan perefrazirebis faqti. `gazeTma `krasni voima-\_ wers igi, \_ gamoaqveyna Tbil isis operaciis aRweril oba da sxvaTa Soris daadastura sorj onikiZis mier ufro adre naTqvami, rom Tebervl is 24- s wiTel ma sardl obam l eninisagan depeSa miRo dauyovnebl iv SeeCerebinaT samxedro operaciebi da ukan daexiaT. magram, qarTvel ebis mier swored 24- s RamiT Tbil isis dacl am ze-dmeti gaxada l eninis brZanebis Sesrul eba da rusebi dacl il Tbil isSi Sevidnen.-<sup>17</sup>

saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da piradad n.Jordanias mimarT gamoTqmuli zemoarNiSnuli bral debis Sesaxeb, memuarebis daweris dros r.gabaSvil ma da sagazeTo statiis `25 Teberval i- avtorma al .comaiam Sesanisnavad icodnen g.kvinitaZis (qveynis mTavarsardali) xel moweriT oficial urad gamocemuli zemoarNiSnuli # 131- e brZanebis arseboba. XX saukunis 30- ian wl ebSi, emigraciaSi myofi samxedro dargis maRal Cinosnebi, presaSi garkveviT werdnen, rom Tbil isis datovebis sakiTxi Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomam gadawyvita da ara piradad n.Jordaniam. amis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTaa saubari g.kvinitaZis, al .zaqariaZis, k.imnaZisa da sxvaTa memuarebSi. vinc am pirovnebaTa mogonebebs gaecnoba darwmundeba, rom Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil isis datovebis sakiTxis dasmis iniciatori g.kvinitaZe iyo. amis Sesaxeb al .zaqariaZe garkveviT wers: `Tavdacvis sabWos sxdoma gaixsna saRamos Svid saatze Cems kabinetSi. mTavarsardal ma (g.kvinitaZem S.v.) gaukeTa mas (n.Jordanias S.v.) dawvril ebiTi moxseneba Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb da miawoda... frontebis meTaurTa azri, rom xval gameorebul bol Sevikebis ierisebs isini veRar gauZI ebdnen... mTavarsardal i askvnida: xval idan an brZola al yaSemortymul Tbil isSi... anda daxeva mcxeTis poziciebze.-<sup>18</sup> aRniSnul faqts g.kvinitaZe Semdegnairad gadmoscems: `saRamos 5- 6 saatisaTvis mTavrobis Tavmj domares movaxsene Cemi gadawyvetil eba ukandaxevs Sesaxeb. brZolis yvel a saSual eba amovwureT da al yaSi moqceva gvemuqreboda. 9 saatisaTvis es brZaneba (saubarია # 131- e brZanebaze S.v.) gadaeca j ars, romel sac ukandaxeva Ramis 12 saatze unda daewyo... Cemi brZanebis Tanaxmad j ars sam kol onad unda daexia ukan.-<sup>19</sup> momdevno gverdze igive g.kvinitaZe wers: `Tbil isis datovebis sakiTxi saxel mwifo Tavdacvis sabWos kiserzea, romel mac orjer principul ad gadawyvita is, anu dedaqal aqis datoveba brZolis Sewyvetad da qveynis damarcxebad ar miicnia... gadawyvetil eba droul i iyo. mxol od 25 Tebervl amde SeiZI eboda j aris gadarCena.-<sup>20</sup>

k.imnaZe, romel ic Tavdacvis sabWos im sabediswero sxdomas eswreboda, dawvril ebiT aRwers sxdomis mimdinare process. imavdroul ad xazgasmiT miuTiTebis, Tu ramdenad uaryofiTi zemoqmedeba moaxdina g.kvinitaZeze Tbil isis dacvis marcxena seqtoris sardl is gen. j ijixias mier satel efono xaziT mowodebul ma sasixarul o informaciam\_ mtris sastikad damarcxebis da pirvandel i sawyisi strategiul i mniSvnel obis poziciebis dakavebis Sesaxeb. rogorc k.imnaZe wers, Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomisadmi mis mier miwodebul ma am informaciam g.kvinitaZe gansakuTrebiT gaanerviul a da mTavrobis Tavmj domares gadadgomiT daemuqra. igi `gaeqana mTavrobis Tavmj domarisken da ganucxada: `ia otstupaiu!- es ori sityva iq myofT mexiviT daatyda Tavze... mTavrobis Tavmj domarem saTval e moixsna da gaocebul i gamometryvel ebiT SeekiTxam mTavarsardal s:- rogor, ra moxda... ukan daxeva aucil ebel ia?!- diax!... -gesmiT aseTi nabij is pasuxismgebl oba da Rebul obT am pasuxismgebl obas Tavze?\_ diax!... da Seudga am moul odnel i gadawyvetil ebis dasabuTebas.-<sup>21</sup> Cems mier motanil i am amonaweridan gamokveTil i formiTaa naCvenebi: a)g.kvinitaZis mxridan Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomaze Tbil isis datovebis kategoriul i moTxovna; b)gen.j ijixias seqtoridan miRebul i sasixarul o informaciidan gamodinare misi gansakuTrebul i ganerviul eba. es faqti, gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan: 1)Tavdacvis sabWosadmi SeTavazebul i misi winadadebis sisworis dasabuTebis myar argumentad, g.kvinitaZe marjvena seqtorze gen. j ijixias warumatebl obas iyenebda; 2)imave gen. j ijixias mier dRis meore naxevarSi mtris sastikad damarcxebis da gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel obis strate-

giul i simaRI eebis dakavebis faqtma, g.kvinitaZis debul ebebi safuZvl ianad Searyia. yovel ive es, r.gabaSvil isa da al .comaiasaTvis cnobil i iyo, magram, saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da misi l iderebisadmi biol ogiuri siZul vil is gamo\_ tyuil ebis gza airCies. samxedro xel ovnebis sferoSi daSvebul i Secdomebidan gamomdinare, qarTvel i generl ebisadmi wasayenebel i bral debebis nusxa, samoqal aqo seqtorSi gadmoitanes, n.Jordaniasa da mTavrobis sxva wevrebs mZivebiviT Camohkides kiserze. maTi gansakuTrebul i tendenciuroba imaSiac vl indeba, rom i.odiSel iZis, g.kvinitaZis, i.gedevaniSvil is, n.gedevaniSvil is da sxva samxedro maRal Cinosnebis mier daSvebul momakvdinebel Secdomebze Segnebul ad daxuWes Tval i da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebis ganmapirobebel i mizezi, r.gabaSvil is sityvebiT rom vTqvaT mxol od `menSevikur mTavrobaSi- unda eZebenaT. erTi ram dabejiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas: g.kvinitaZis mier Cafiqrebul i `manevri-\_ Tbil isSi mtris `Semotyueba,- mcxeTaSi gamagreba da iqedan general uri brZol is dawyeba, gamanadgurebel i dartyembiT Tbil isis isev ukan dabruneba\_ kraxiT damTavrda. es arcaa gasakviri, radgan am gegmaSi Semdegi uaryofiti faqtorebi iyo Cadebul i: 1)qarTvel Ta fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobis argaTval iswineba, romel ic safuZvl ad daedo saqarTvel os saj ariso SenaerTebis sabrZol o aRmafrenis mou odnel ad Caqrobas. Tbil isis `dakargvam- qarTul i jaris nawil ebze dambl adamcemi fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedeba moaxdina da uimedobidan gamomdinare, misi brZol isunarianoba TiTqmis nul amde daiyvana; 2)Tbil isSi 25 Teberval s Semosul i bol Sevicebi, roml ebmac saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isuflebis danyareba oficial urad gamoacxada, saqarTvel os dedaqal aqs advil ad ar Seel eoda. yovel i quCisa da sadarbazos SesanarCunebl ad samkvdro- sasicocxl o brZol ebs gamarTavda. ukidures SemTxvevaSi, l.trockis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, Tbil isis karebs ise mZl avrad miaxeTqebda, rom Tbil isidan `erTi aguric ki aRar darCeboda.- amis gakeTeba maT ar gauWirdebodaT, radgan Sesabamisi praqtika maRal doneze qondaT gavl il i; 3)Tbil isis muzeumbSi da sxva dawesebul ebebSi darCenil i erovnul i simdidris, Tundac metnaki ebad Rirebul is, maqsimal urad Tavmoyras da saqarTvel odan dauyovnebl iv gatanas moaxdendnen.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, Tbil isis isev `dabrunebis- da XI armiis damarcxebis g.kvinitaZiseul i gegma qarTul sinamdvil esTan SeusabamobaSi iyo. Cemi azrit, amjerad savsebit martal i iyo i.odiSel iZe, stambol Si wakiTxul moxsenebaSi (1922 wl is 22 marti) rom ambobda: `mTavari mizezi Cveni jaris demoral izaciis da yvel a frontebis gaxrwnis iyo daxeva Tbil isidan uecari da gaugebari, rogorc jarisTvis ise xal xistvis. dawyebul i avWal idan Cveni jaris gaxrwnas xel s uwyobda pasiuri ukan daxeviti taqtika axal i mTavarsardl isa.- xazgasmit minda aRvniSno, rom Seqmnil i mdgomareoba, XI armiis sardl obam maqsimal urad gamoiyena da ukandaxeul i qarTul i jaris nawil ebs `amosunTqvis- saSual eba ar misca. meore mxriv, gaTamamebul i formiT sabrZol o moqmedebebi merve, mecxre da mecmete armiis Sesabamisma diviziebma gazi ieres. 25 Teberval s mamisonis uRel texil i gadmol axa 33- e samTo- msrol el i diviziis 38- e brigadam, xol o 28 Teberval s, mterma Trusos uRel texil isa da xeobis dakaveba SeZl o. soWi- soxumis mimarTul ebit aqtiuri moqmedeba daiwyo gen. l evandovskis sardl obit IX armiis samma qveiTma da erTma cxenosanma diviziebma, roml ebsac general i arTmel aZe Rirseul ad umkl avdeboda 7 martamde manam, sanam sabrZol o masal ebi Semoel eoda.

rac Seexeba Cveni qveynis samxreT- dasavl eTel mezobel \_ osmal eTs, masTan mimarTebaSi, sabWoTa ruseTi, urTierTgagების პრინციპებზე დამყარებულ ი პოლიტიკური კურსის შემუშავებას ცდილობდა. ამ მმართველობის შესაბამისი საფეხურის მომზადება 1920 წლის დეკემბრის მეორე ნახევრიდან დაიწყო. საბჭოთა რუსეთის ხელისუფალთა კარგად ჰყოფნა გაცნობიერებულ ი, რომ საკართველოს ოკუპაცია-ანექსიის სრულ ფასონად განხორციელების მიზნით, ოსმალეთთან საერთოების გამოზებნა უმნიშვნელოვანეს ამოცანას წარმოადგენდა. მიტუმტეს, ამის შესახებ XI არმიის სარდალი გენერალი ჰეკერი, კავკასიის რევოლუციური-სამხედრო საბჭოსადმი 1920 წლის 18 დეკემბერს გაგზავნილ მოხსენებაში, გამაფრთხილებული ფორმით მიუთითებდა: `საკართველოს წინააღმდეგ სამხედრო ოპერაციები სეზონი ებელია მხოლოდ იმ პირობებში, თუ კი აზიმ კარაბეგირის (ქემალ ისტური ტურქები) ჯარები დაიკავენ გარკვეულ მეგობრულ ნეიტრალიტეტს, რადგან, იმ შემთხვევაშიც კი, თუ ამ ოპერაციისთვის დაინიშნებიან მეტრეტე არმიის გარდა, მთლიანად მეცხრე არმია და მეორე არმიის კავალერია, ცენს კო-

mandobas ar eyol eba sakmarisi Zal ebi Turqebis winaaRmdeg j eburi rom SevqmnaT. Cveni uwyebis cnobebis mixedviT, kiazim karabeqiris Zal ebi sarayamiS- al eqsandropol is xazze aRwevs 22- 240- 4000 regul arul j ariskacs da 14- 16000 qurT da TaTar kaval erists... Cven Turqebis Sesakavebl ad unda davayenoT Zal ebi, roml ebic erT qveiT diviziaze da erTi kaval eris brigadaze mcire ar iqneba...

unda mogaxsenoT, rom TurqebTan Cven urTierTobis winaswari mogvarebis gareSe, saSi- Si iqneba saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg samxedro operaciis dawyeba.<sup>22</sup>

zemoaRniSnul i miTiTebebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebis gareSe, revol uciuri- samxedro sabWos Tavmj domares\_ s.orj onikizes, general i hekkeri, wiTel i armiis mier saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul i sabrZol o operaciebis katastroful i SedegebiT damTavrebas uwinaswarmetyvel ebda. moxsenebis dasasrul s, igi kavkasiis revol uciuri- samxedro sabWos Tavmj domares s.orj onikizes erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda osma- l eTis sardl obasTan dauyovnebl ivi SeTanxmebis aucil ebl obas.

am SemTxvevaSi, osmal eTisTvis iseTi winadadebis SeTavazeba iyo saWiRo, romel ic misi xibl is obieqti iqneboda. sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebma, osmal eTis mmarTvel i wreebis mosyidvisa da ganeitral ebis sagnad, isev saqarTvel o amj obines. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os samxreT- dasavl eTis istoriul i teritoriebi (ardaganis da arTvinis mxareebi), roml ebsac im etapze qarTul i jaris nawil ebi akontrol ebda. sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis ideis xorcsesxmas, misi damoukidebl obis dakargvasTan erTad, istoriul i teritoriebic unda Sewiroda. am mamarTul ebiT, saerTaSoriso doneze pirvel i gabedul i nabiji, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, 1921 wl is 16 marts gadadga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWoTa ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris moskovSi xel moweril i `Zmobisa da megobrobis- xel Sekrul eba. am dokumentis pirvel i muxl iT, osmal eTis Crdil oeTis sasazRvro xazi im formiT iqna gatarebul i, rom arTvinis, artaanisa da ol Tisis mxareebi osmal eTis Semadgenl obaSi moeqca. rac Seexeba imave xel Sekrul ebis meore muxl s, osmal eTi keTil nebas iCenda da baTumis mxare siuzerenitetis ufl ebiT uTmobda saqarTvel os.<sup>23</sup>

am xel Sekrul ebis oficial urad gamoqveynebul i teqstis mixedviT, saqarTvel o- osmal eTs Soris gavl ebul i sazRvari samarTl ebriv CarCoSi rom Camj dariyo, sabWoTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenel is saxel iT, saqarTvel os sazRvris sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, **Sesabamisi komisiis sxdomis oqmze xel i mixa cxakalam moawera.** zemoaRniSnul i dokumentis meore muxl iT da damatebis l (A) nawil iT, osmal eT\_ saqarTvel os sazRvari mdinare WoroxTan iqna gavl ebul i da baTumis mxare saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi moaqcies. aqedan gamomdinare, 9 marts baTumis mxareSi Sesul osmal eTis jaris nawil ebs, aRniSnul i teritoria dauyovnebl iv unda dacl a. amis sanacvl od, baTumSi Sesul ma osmal eTis jarebis sardal ma qiazim- beim 17 marts Tavi qal aqis gubernatorad gamoacxada. am qmedebiT: **a)**osmal ebma moskovis 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis Sesabamisi muxl ebi daarRvia; **b)**osmal Ta mxridan aseTi gaTavxedebul i formiT moqmedeba, misi mokavSire sabWoTa ruseTisadmi da zemoaRniSnul i xel Sekrul ebisadmi angariSis argawevas warmoadgenda; **g)**aucil ebl oba, momxdari faqtisadmi sabWoTa ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa saminstros mxridan Sesabamis reagirebas saWiRoebda, rac argakeTda. Cems mier motanil i faqtebi, bevr kiTxviT niSans aCens. masze pasuxis gacemis SesaZl ebl obas, mxol od nawil obrivi formiT, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebis (gr.l orTqifaniZe, m.oraxel aSvil i, al .svaniZe, ab.enuqiZe) quTaisis 17 martis mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSi iZl eva. am sakiTxis Sesaxeb dawwri- l ebiT, winamdebare naSromis momdevno TavSi meqneba saubari.

amrigad, 1)qarTvel i sardl ebis (i.odiSel iZe, i.gedevaniSvil i, g.sumbaTaSvil i) mier daSvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma da sajariso SenaerTebSi gamefebul - ma udiscipl inobam, bambakis xeobaSi qarTul i jaris samarcxvino damarcxebas, misi 3/4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armiis sardl obis gaTamamebas Seuwyo xel i. Tbil isis dasacavad gen. g.kvinitazis mier sajariso SenaerTebis seqtorebad gadanawil eba, taqtikuri Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda. mis mier gatarebul i Tavdacviti RonisZieebi, 1921 wl is 18- dan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebis warmatebit mogeriebis safuZvel i gaxda. 2) Tavdacviti IV seqtoris xel mZRvanel is- n.gedevaniSvil is mxridan arsebul i situaciis sworad verSefasebam, genStabSi mis mier mitanil ma panikit aRsavse informaciam, fsiqol ogiuri teroris funqcia Seasrul a da Tbil isis Tavdacviti brZol ebis gagrZel ebaze uaryofiti zemoqmedeba moaxdina. g.kvinitazis

brZanebis (# 131) safuZvel ze Tbil isis datoveba, mcxeTaSi gamagrebis gegma da generl uri brZol iT Tbil isis isev dabruneba, qarTvel jariskacTa fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobis argaTval iswinebas warmoadgenda. igi qarTul sinamdvil eStan SeusabamobaSi modioda, radgan momxdarma faqtma, qarTul mxedrobaze fsiqol ogiurd dambl adamcemi funqcia Seasrul a da maTi brZol isunarianoba maqsimal urad daaqveiT.

## Tavi IV

saqarTvel os SevunarCunoT baTumis ol qi da momaval i Taobebis winaSe viyot pirnaTel i...(quTaisis 1921 wl is 17-18 martis mol aparakeba) D

sabWoTa ruseTTan, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis saj ariso SenaerTebis 1921 wl is Teberval is TavdacviTi sabrZol o moqmedebebiT Seqmnil ma umZimesma pol itikurma situaciam, mezobel saxel mwifoebis, saqarTvel os teritoriebis mitacebis real uri Sansi gauCina. am mxriv, im etapze osmal eTi aqtiurobda. igi sabWoTa ruseTis mmarTvel wreebTan winaswari SeTanxmebiT moqmedebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi osmal eTis xel isuflebis mier 22 Teberval s wayenebul i muqarIT damZimebul i ul timatumi\_ ardaganisa da arTviniS ol qebidan qarTul i jaris dauyovnebl ivi gayvanis Sesaxeb.

samecniero l iteraturaSi dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mxridan osmal eTTan kompromisze wasvl a da zemoaRniSnul i ol qebidan qarTul i jaris gamoyvana orma faqtorma ganapiroba: a)samxreT-dasavl eTIT osmal eTTan meore frontis argaxsnam da b)XI armiis mosal odnel i ganaxl ebul i Semotevebis garduval obam.<sup>1</sup>

22 Teberval is osmal uri ul timatumis miRebis miuxedavad, isini amiTac ar dakmayofil dnen da axal cixe- baTumis dapaTronebasac Seecadnen. saqarTvel os teritoriis samxreT- dasavl eTis nawil i dakargvis real uri safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. Tu ra mZime situacia iyo Seqmnil i am Tval sazrisiT, es momenti kargadaa warmoceni l i gazeT `social ist-federal istSi- dabeWdil T.RI ontis publ ikaciaSi\_ `qemal is scenebi.- masSi motanil i ZiriTadi debul ebebi Semdegi formiT SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isuflebis damxoba, mezobel ma erebma saqarTvel os iuridiul ad wasl ad da mis aRsaSrul ad aRiqva; 2)ramdenadac saqarTvel o, ruseTis ganapira provinciad da samarTI ebrivi CarCos miRma miicnies, qarTvel Ta istoriul sxeul ze qirurgiul i procedurebis Catareba da maTTvis misaRebi kiduris CamoWra- mitaceba, arsebul i pol itikuri situaciidan gamomdinare mosaswrebad CaTval es.

yovel ive aRniSnul s ukeTebda ra anal izs, T.RI onti gul istkivil iT dasZenda: `Cven mowme varT saqarTvel os sazRvrebze Cveni mtrebis dipl omatiuri da mil itarul i demonstraciebisa da am scenarebma yvel as dagvanaxa, rom saqarTvel os revkomis xal xs ucqerian rogorc yovl ad uZl ur Zal as, roml is gamoc yvel as SeuZl ia saqarTvel odan yvel afris wagl ej a Tu amas moaxerxebS droze moswrebi T.-<sup>2</sup>

am amonaweris miXedviT, mezobel i respubl ikis xel isufal Ta warmomadgenl ebi saqarTvel os revkoms dauZl urebul mmarTvel organod aRiqvamda. am faqtis Taviant sasargebl od\_ saqarTvel os teritoriebTan mimarTebaSi arsebul i pretenziebis gasanaRdebl ad gamoyenebas cdil obdnen. angariSs ar uwevdnen: a)saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis mesveurebTan adre gaformebul da ratificirebul xel Sekrul ebebs; b)TiToeul i maTganis mtacebl ur miznebTan mimarTebaSi, qarTvel i eris damokidebul ebas. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gamokveTil i pozicia daafiqsira gazeTma `social ist-federal istma- statiaSi\_ `tfil isi, xuTSabaTi, martis 17.- es publ ikacia, sabWoTa xel isuflebis mesveurebs gamafrTxil ebel i formiT Seaxsenebda: 1)borCal os mazris mTlianad Tu ara, nawil is misakuTrebas somxeTi Seecdeboda; 2)axal cixe- axal qal aqis mazrebze da baTumis mxareze xarbi Tval ebi osmal ebs qonda mi pyrobil i; 3)afxazi separatistebi afxazeTis saqarTvel odan Camogl ej as Seecdebodnen; 4)goris mazridan osebi, oseTis Seqmnas moisurvebdnen. e.i. rac pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikis arsebobis periodSi ver SeZl es, imis aRsrul ebis real uri pirobebi sabWoTa xel isuflebaSi dainaxes, Taviant

survil ebi da miswrafebebi kanonieri mTavrobis damxobisTanave daufaravad gamoamJRavnes. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare imave publ ikaciaSi vkiTxul obT: `axal ma mTavrobam am sakiTxs udidesi juradReba unda miaqcios da fxizl ad sdaraj obdes qarTvel Ta teritoriis mTI ianobas. araferi ise ar dascems axal xel isufal Ta avtoritets xal xis Tval Si, rogorc erTi gojis odeni saqarTvel os miwa-wyl isa sxvistvis daTmoba. Tanamedrove qarTvel oba, ganurCevl ad misi social uri mdgomareobisa ar Seurigdeba Tavis samSobl os dakuwvas. momaval i Taobac wyevl a-krul viT moixseniebs saqarTvel os yovel gvar mTavrobas, romel ic misi mTI ianobisTvis Tavgamodebit ar ibrzol ebs.-<sup>3</sup> am SemTxvevaSi publ ikaciis avtorma n.Jordanias mier amierkavkasiis seimis 1918 wl is 15 Tebevli sxdomaze brestis zavis pirobebTan mimarTebaSi warmoTqmul i sityvis ZiriTadi debul eba gaimeora. `iseT zavs, rogorc bol Sevikebi gvTavazoben ambobda n.Jordania Cven xel s ar movawerT. umj obesia adgil zeve davixocot vinem Tavi mivceT STamomavl obas samudamo wyevl a-krul visaTvis.- Tuki am principiT mivudgebit gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufal Ta mxridan qarTvel Ta istoriul teritoriebTan mimarTebaSi damokidebul ebas, Cvens winaSe principul ad daismeba sakiTxi: imsaxureben Tu ara isini n.Jordanias sityvebit rom vTqvaT- STamomavl obisgan `samudamo wyevl a-krul vas?- es uaRresad mniSvnel ovani kiTxva, memarcxene social ist-federal istTa partiis l iderebsac awal ebd. maTi azrit, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavroba, maqsimal urad Seecdeboda saqarTvel os teritoriebis arsebul sazRvrebSi ara mar to SenarCunebas, aramed im ganuyofel i nawil ebis dabrunebazedac izrunebda, roml is SemoerTeba saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobam ver SeZl o. amastan dakaSirebit gazeTi `social ist- federal isti- xazgasmiT werda: `Cveni axal i mTavroba saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris 1920 wl is 7 maiss dadebul xel Sekrul ebas unda daeyrdnos da am fargl ebSi axl ave Semoxazos sabWoTa saqarTvel os teritoria. danarCeni miwa-wyl is SemoerTeba mTavrobis morigi sakiTxi iqneba. teritoriis sakiTxis ase mogvarebit, sabWoTa mTavroba Tavis mizans Seasrul ebs, qarTvel i xal xis erovnul saWiroebas daakmayofil ebs da mdgomareobasac ganamtkicebs.-<sup>4</sup>

Cems mier motanil i es amonaweri qarTvel i bol Sevikebisadmi gansakuTrebul i imedi- Taa damZimebul i. rogorc scans, gazeTis redaqtori da imave statiis avtori moskovis ruseT- osmal eTis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis Sesaxeb informacias ar fl obda. arada imave xel Sekrul ebis pirvel i da meore muxl ebis safuZvel ze, rogorc naSromis III TavSi aRvniSne, saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebi (artaanisa da arTvinis ol qebo) osmal eTs gadaeca. rac Seexeba baTumis ol qs, imave xel Sekrul ebis meore muxl iT, osmal eTi siuzereni tetis ufl ebit uTmobda sabWoTa saqarTvel os.<sup>5</sup> amis Sesaxeb m.oraxel aSvil ma 16 martis Ramis satel efono saubarSi gr.l orTqifaniZes ganucxada: `ruseT- osmal eTis konferenciaze moskovSi, srul iad gadawvyetil ia sakiTxi, rom baTumi, axal cixe da axal qal aqi rCeba saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi. **SeTanxmebaze xel i moweril i aqvs sabWoTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenel s mixa cxakalias.-<sup>6</sup>**

am aRiarebit, m.oraxel aSvil ma sabol ood daasamara memarcxene social ist- federal - istTa l iderebis imedi osmal eTis al agmvisa da saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebis Tundac moskovis 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebit gaTval iswinebul fargl ebSi SenarCunebaze. aRniSnul sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi social ist- federal istebs Sexedul ebis cval ebadoba aSkarad warmocnda imave gazeTis momdevno nomrebSi dabeWdil publ ikaciebSi. am mxriv gansakuTrebul interess iwvevs petre mirianaSvil is statia `moskovis konferencia da saqarTvel o.- publ ikaciis avtoris mtkicebit, moskovis konferenciaze osmal eTi `Zl evamosil i gamovida da antantis imperial izmis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i Tavad gadaiqca imperial istad, da kinaRam mTI ianad aRidgina brest-l itovskis xel Sekrul eba... dRes ki moskovis konferenciis dasturIT baTumis ol qs CamoeWra arTvinis mzra, romel ic artaan-ol Tis-yarsis ol qebiTurT gadavida osmal eTis xel Si da masve mieca ufl eba baTumis portiT sargebl obisa Tavisufal i tranzitisaTvis... moskovis konferencias gul uxvobas daufasebs osmal eTi,... romel ic gaubednierebiaT saqarTvel osa da somxetis mSromel i masis xarjiT. e.i. saqarTvel osgan arTvin- artaan- ol Tisi, xol o somxetisgan yarsis ol qi CamouTl iaT. ispir-TorTum-l azistani ki sal aparakodac ar gamxdara, al baT osmal eTis rogorc `sj ul ieri nawil ebi.-<sup>7</sup>

am amonaweridan kargad cans, rom sabWoTa xel isufl ebam memarcxene social - ist- federal istebs saqarTvel os istoriul i teritoriebis dabrunebis ime-

di gaucrua. metic, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis kontrol irebadi teritoriebi osmal eTs gadasca. am SemTxvevaSi man ZiriTadad daakmayofil a osmal Ta is pretenzia, romelic saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mimarT gaaCnda da mis aRsrul ebas miurwevel ocnebad Tvl ida. p.mirianaSvil is zemoaRniSnul i publ ikacia imiTacaa saintereso, rom igi qarTvel ebiT kompaqturad dasaxlebul i l azistanis, saqarTvel os respubl ikis sazRvrebSi avtonomiuri ufl ebebiT Semosvl as aucil ebl ad miicnevda. rac Seexeba arTvinis ol qs, Tu ra mniSvel obis matarebel i iyo igi saqarTvel osTvis, amasTan dakavSirebiT p.miri-anaSvil i werda: `arTvini masazrdoebel ia aWara-qobul eTisa. misi bunebis si-mdidre saarakoa. misi spil enZis madnebs saqarTvel os mSromeli masisaTvis iseTive mniSvel oba aqvs, rogorc baqos navTs azerbaijanisaTvis.-

gazeT `social ist- federal istis- furcl ebze dabeWdil i zemoaRniSnul i statiebi SegonebiTi xasiaTis da `xmad mRaRadebl isa udabnosa Sina- datvirTvis matarebel i iyo, radgan saqarTvel osTvis mtkivneul i sakiTxi centrma qirurgiul i operaciis meSveobiT moskovSi gadawvita. qarTvel i eris winaSe Cadenil i Ral atis tol fasi qmedeba, samarTI ebriv CarCoSi mas Semdeg moeqca, roca saqarTvel o- osmal eTis sazRvrebis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Sedgenil oqmebze, sabWoTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenl is statusiT, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, Znobisa da megobrobis niSnit xel i m.cxakalias moawerines. xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom sabWoTa ruseTis maRal Cinosanta mxridan moskovis konferenciaze osmal eTTan mimarTebsi miRebul i gadawyvetil eba (1921 wl is 16 marti) uyoymanod unda Sesrulebul iyo. saqarTvel os revkoms mxol od am konferenciit dadgenil sazRvrebSi moqmedebis ufl eba eZl eoda. es imas niSnavda, rom revkomis SesaZl ebl obebi, baTumis ol qis Sesanarcunebl ad maqsimal urad unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i. mitumetes, gaTamamebul i osmal eTis xel isufal ni, moskovis konferenciis gadawyvetil ebis sawinaaRmdegod moqmedebdnen da baTumis ol qis misakuTrebas cdil obdnen. Seqmnil i mZime politikuri situacia erovnul cnobierebaze dafuznebul i swori gadawyvetil ebis miRebas saWiroebda. am mxriv, gabedul i naabiji baTumSi myofma saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domarem n.Jordaniam gadadga. misi inici-ativit, mTavrobis saxel iT saqarTvel os revkomis mesveurebTan mol aparakeba gr.l orTqifanizes daeval a. imave gr.l orTqifanizem, sadgur saj avaxodan 16 marts Ramis 12 saatze saqarTvel os revkomis wevrTan m.oraxel aSvil Tan satel efono saubari gamarTa, roml is stenografiul i Canaweri gazeTma `social ist-federal istma- dabeWda<sup>8</sup> am dokumentis mixedvit, saubris ZiriTad Temas Seadgenda: 1)osmal ebisgan baTumis ol qis gawmenda da saqarTvel osTvis Senarcuneba; 2)saomari moqmedebebis dauyovnebl iv Sewyveta da sazavo pirobebze Setanxmeba; 3)mol aparakebis damTavrebamde, samxretis frontidan ruis jaris winsvl is SeCereba, raTa qarTvel ebsa da rusebs Soris samxedro Setakebas adgil i ar qonoda. mitumetes, gamoricxul i ar iyo, rom am or Zal as osmal ebis winaaRmdeg erToblivi brZola dasWirveboda; 4)orive mxares Soris mol aparakebis adgil ad\_ quTaisi iqna SerCeul i.

CamoTvl il sakiTxebTan mimarTebsi gr.l orTqifanizisa da m.ora-xel aSvil is pozicia ZiriTadad erTmaneTTan TanxvedraSi modioda. am saubris Si naarsi gr.l orTqifanizem baTumSi mTavrobis wevrebis TandaswrebiT n.Jordani as gaacno. miRebul i gadawyvetil ebit, del egacia quTaisSi dauyovnebl iv unda gamgzavrebul iyo. amis aucil ebl oba, osmal eTis saj ariso Senarterebis baTumis ol qSi gaaqtiurebitac iyo ganpirobebul i. Tu rogor afasebda Seqmnil politikur situacias qemal istebi, amis Sesaxeb gazeT `social ist- federal istSi- T.RI ontma saintereso weril i\_ `qemal is scenebi- dabeWda. `qemal is gabedul i moqmedeba mesxeTsa da samahmadiano saqarTvel oSi\_ werda igi\_ agebul i iyo im rwmeneze, rom saqarTvel os rogorc aseTs, aRara hyavs patroni, rom revkomSi samSobl os siyvarul i yel s zeviT gamoTqmul i dekl aracia iyo, rom sakmarisia sazRvrebSi ceremonial uri seirnobaromel ime j arebisa da es teritoriace imis mfl obel obaSi Seva vinc SeZl ebs aseT ceremonial s.-<sup>9</sup>

osmal eTis mxridan baTumis dakavebis da samTavrobo j arebisadmi saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis real obidan gamomdinare, 16 marts cixidan s.qavTaraZe da m.toroSel iZe gaaTavisufl es da mTavrobis Tavmj domares n.Jordani as Seaxvedres. miRebul i gadawyvetil ebit, mTavrobis mier baTumis datovebitanave adgil obrivi Zal aufl eba revkomis xel Si gadavidoda da qarTul i jaris meSveobit baTumis dacvis saqme gadvil debo-

da. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT d.SaraSiZis moxsenebas Tuki daveyrdnobiT, del egaciis quTaisSi gamgzavrebis momentSi (16 martis gamTeniisas) frontis xazi TiTqmis moS- l i l i iyo. udidesi safrTxe osmal ebisgan iyo Seqmnil i. imave dokumentidan isic irkveva, rom baTumSi 17 marts osmal ebisgan mdgomareoba imdenad garTul da, rom quTaisSi myof gr.l orTqifaniZes, satel efono saubarSi n.cincaZe SeTanxmebis miRwevas da ruis jaris gamoSvebis aucil ebl obas aCqarebda.

marTal ia, demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavroba im momentSi baTumis dacvis mizniT qarTul i jaris bol Sevikebis daqvemdebarebaSi gadacemaze acxadebda Tanxmobas, magram es kompromisi qveynis interesebis aucil ebl obiT iyo ganpirobepul i. aqedan gamom- dinare, del egaciis mxridan am sakiTxze daTanxmebis procedura, revkomis cnobis saki- Txis gverdis avl iT unda momxdriyo. e.i. revkomis funqcionireba saqarTvel oSi sama- rTI ebrivi CarCos miRma unda darCenil iyo. gr.l orTqifaniZis xel mZRvanel obiT wargza- vnil del egacias am principis bol omde gatareba hqonda daval ebul i.

quTaisis 1921 wl is 17-18 martis sazavo mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom am istoriul RonisZiebaSi monawil eobdnen: 1)gasabWoebul i saqarTve- l os mxridan: ab.enuqiZe (sxdomis Tavmj domare), m.oraxel aSvil i, al .svaniZe, S.el iava, gambarovi; 2)saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mxridan: gr.l orTqifaniZe, al .dgebuaZe, i.gedevaniSvil i, d.SaraSiZe.

quTaisis mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSis mixedviT, sxdomis Tavmj domare ab.enuqiZe, mxareTa Soris garegnul ad `momrigebl is- funqciis Semsrul ebl is rol Si imyofeboda. isic sayuradReboa, rom igi yovel gvare Sefarvis gareSe aRiarebda im mo- sal odnel safrTxes, romel ic baTums osmal o dampyrobil ebisgan emuqreboda. ab.enuqiZis aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, igi osmal o generl ebis moqmedebis garkveul i formiT gamarTI ebas cdil obda da Sesabamis argumentad sabWoTa ruseTisadmi antantis saxel- l mwifoebis mtrobas asaxel ebda. `osmal eTis jaris ufross\_ acxadebda igi, \_ sxva interesebi, sxva pirobepi ukarnaxebis imas, rom... antanta mudmivi da dauZinebel i mteria ruseTisa, isargebl a Zal iT, rom baTumi daisakuTros.- miTumetes, imave ab.enuqiZis mier gakeTebul i gancxadebiT `axl ac unda gavimeoro, rom baTumis Sesaxeb ukve moxda SeT- anxmeba ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris. am SeTanxmebis Tanaxmad, baTumis ol qi, axal cixe da axal qal aqi unda darCes saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi. es xel Sekrul eba ukve xel moweril - ia da ruseTi daJinebiT moiTxovs osmal eTidan, rom usaTuod baTumi saqarTvel os xe- l Si darCes.- am SemTxvevaSi saubaria moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis SeTanxmebaze. ab.enuqiZis gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom osmal eTi aRniSnul SeTanxmebas TiTqos ruseTis dauZine- bel i mtris antantis mosal odnel i moqmedebis SiSiT arRevda, l ogikas iyo mokl ebu- l i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sabWoTa ruseTis mxridan imave antantis wamyvan saxel mwi fos- Tan\_ ingl istan gaformebl i savaWro- ekonomikuri xel Sekrul eba. am faqtis sis- wores imave sxdomaze gr.l orTqifaniZesTan saubarSi TviT ab.enuqiZe adasturebda. `Cven viciT\_ ganacxada man, \_ rom ingl istan savaWro xel Sekrul eba ukve xel moweril - ia-.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare ismeba kiTxva: antantis saxel mwifoTa momizezebiT, osmal eTis mxridan baTumis ol qSi gaaqtiureba da am faqtTan mimarTebaSi moskovis mier mkacri saprotesto gancxadebis argakeTeba, osmal - eTTan winaswari garigebis STabeWdil ebas tovebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs baTumis real uri dakargvis safrTxis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis warmomadgenel is faqtis winaSe dayeneba da m.oraxel aSvil isgan am momentis manipul irebiT, gr.l orTqifaniZis kompromisze dayol iebis mcde- l oba. aseT daZabul fonze, sxdomis Tavmj domarem ab.enuqizem orive mxares Soris saerTo enis gamonaxvis da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT osmal o askerebisgan baTumis ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxi wamoswia wina pl anze. rac Seexeba m.oraxe- l aSvil s, man zavis pirobepis winaswari ganxil vis aucil ebl oba moiTxova da igi ZiriTad gansaxil vel sakiTxTad gamoacxada. am pozicias mxari ab.enuqizemac dauWira. Tuki msjel oba am mimarTul ebiT warimarTeboda, mol aparakebis Cix- Si Sesvl a da misi CaSl a garduval i iyo.Aam SemTxvevaSi yvel aferi saqarTve- l os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis warmomadgenl obas dabral debo- da. `revkomis- mesveurni diskusiis am mimarTul ebiT gadatanas cdil obda. maTi poziciidan gamomdinare, gaurkvevel i iyo zavis winaswar pirobad Tu ra moTxovnebs daayenebdnen. bol Sevikebis Sefarvit pol itikur manevrirebas gr.l orTqifaniZem droul ad auRo al Ro da principul ad moiTxova: saqa-

rTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis SesanarCunebl ad pirvel rigSi baTumis sakiTxi ganexil aT. osmal ebisgan Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri situaciis fonze, im etapze baTumis SenarCuneba- arSenarCunebis sakiTxis ukana pl anze gadatana, misi samarTI iani mtkicebit danaSaul ebriv qmedebas warmoadgenda. aqedan gamomdinare, igi revkomis warmomadgenl ebs Seaxsenebda, rom qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis SenarCunebis dauyovnebl iv gadawyveta yvel aze saSur da pirvel i rigis amocanas warmoadgenda.

gr.I orTqifaniZis aseTma Seual ma da dasabuTebul ma poziciam, sabWoTa xel isufli ebi warmomadgenl ebi izul ebul i gaxada niRabi CamoexsnaT da saTqmel i oficial uri gancxadebis saxiT eTqvaT. pirvel i aseTi mcdel oba ab.enuqizidan momdinareobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs misi moTxovna\_ saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis del egacias eRiarebina gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os weswyobil eba. es sakiTxi ab.enuqizisa da m.oraxel aSvil is mxridan mol aparakebis ZiriTad pirobadiqna miCneul i. m.oraxel aSvil ma Tavisi pozicia Semdegi formiT Camoayal iba: `Cven gamovdivarT iqedan, rom gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi ukve faqtia. saqarTvel os demokratiul mTavrobas uWiravs mxol od erTi kuTxe saqarTvel osi. danarCeni udidesi nawil i saqarTvel osi revoluciuri komitetis uzenaes xel isufal T scnobs. amitom Cveni pirvel i moTxovnil eba aris, rom meore mxarem scnos gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi,... aRiaros damoukidebel i saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respublika da misi dRevandel i... saqarTvel os revolucionuri komiteti. es aris Cveni ZiriTadi moTxovnil eba da Tu es ar iqneba miRebul i... sxva detal ebi miReba zedmeti iqneba... am sakiTxSi Tu SevTanxmdebiT... danarCen sakiTxebSi SevTanxmebis niadagi gamorkveul i iqneba da gagviadvil ebs saqmes.~ am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1)ucxo qveynis Seiararebul i Zal ebis meSveobit gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os bol Sevikuri xel isufli ebi mesveurni, kanonieri xel isufli ebisgan revkomis winaSe kapitulacias da `axal i mTavrobis- ufl ebebis samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moqcevas moitxovdnen; 2)ramdenadac es sakiTxi maTi ZiriTadi pl atformis dasayrden safexurs warmoadgenda, mis Sesrul ebas saomari moqmedebis Sewyveta da aWaris teritoriis saqarTvel o-sTvis SenarCuneba- arSenarCunebis sakiTxi mizannimarTul ad miabes. arada, quTaisis Sexvedra- mol aparakeba qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobisTvis Sesabamisi meqanizmis SemuSavebas unda dafuzneboda. aseT umZimesi situaciaSi, gr.I orTqifanize gansakuTrebul i saazrovno Zal isxmeva unda gamocina, raTa mowinaaRmdege mxaris moTxovnebl dasabuTebul i formiT uareyo da mol aparakebisTvis iseTi mimarTul eba mieca, romelic bol Sevikebis azrovnebas waRmarTobisken Semoabrunebda da dasaxul i miznis miRwevis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmnida. am mxriv man SesaSuri gamWriaxoba da rkiniseburi logikuri msjel oba gamoavli na. Sesabamis faqtebze da samarTI ebriv normebeze dayrdnobiT mowinaaRmdege mxares dausabuTa: a)bol Sevikebis politikurma jgufma, ramdenadac ucxo qveynis Seiararebul Zal ebze dayrdnobiT SesZl o kanonieri xel isufli ebi damxoba da samTavrobo cvl il ebebis ganxorciel eba, es faqti saqarTvel os mosaxleobis ganwyobis Sedegs ar warmoadgenda; b)ruseTsi momxdari politikuri procesebis saqarTvel osTan gaigiveba araswor Sedarebas efuzneboda Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom iq saxel mwifo gadatrial eba garedan Tavsmoxveul i intervenciis gareSe\_ Sinagani Zal ebit ganxorciel da. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os, aq saxel isufli ebo cvl a mxol od sabWoTa ruseTis XI armiis Sedegma ganapiroba; g)osmal eTis mxridan baTumis mxaris saqarTvel odan Camocil ebis real uri safrTxidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis gadawyvetil ebit, sabWoTa jarebTan saomari moqmedebis Sewyveta da erToblivi Zal ebit osmal o dampyrobel ebis winaaRmdeg moqmedeba, baTumis mxaris gadarCenas isaxavda miznad. aRniSnul i faqtorebidan gamomdinare, gr.I orTqifanize mopirdapire mxares erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda: `rogoric ar unda iyos saqarTvel o, ra wyobil ebac ar unda iyos iq, Cven vfiqrobT baTumis ol qi ueWvel ad unda darCes saqarTvel os fargl ebSi... dee es darCes sabWoTa saqarTvel os. gamovdivarT ra am mosazrebidan... Cven vsTvl iT uwmindes moval eobaT xal xis da saqarTvel os winaSe, rom davcal oT is raionebi, romlebic Cven dRes gviWiravs... da faqturad CavabaroT im xel isufli ebas, romelic dRes aris Tbil isSi,... es aris Cveni saxel mZRvanel o gezi.~ am amonaweridan kargad scans, rom gr.I orTqifanize, erovnul cnobierebaze dafuznebul i kompro-



misit, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis gadarCenis aucil ebl obis faqtis winaSe daayena m.oraxel aSvil i da misi gundi. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os demokretiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis mxridan revkomis xel isufli ebis aRiarebas, gr.l orTqifaniZem Tavisi pasuxi samarTI ebriv normebze aago da mopirdapire mxares Seaxsena: a)saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas ar SeuZI ia xel isufli eba sxva mTavrobas gadasces im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom igi ufl ebis wyaro ar aris; b)ramdenadac ufl ebis wyaro damfuZnebel i krebbea, mxol od misi prerogativaa scnobs Tu ara axal mTavrobas.

gr.l orTqifaniZis zemoaRniSnul i argumentebi ramdenadac damaj erebel i formiT iyo warmodgenil i, mxareebis Soris situaciis argamwvavwebidan gamomdinare, Suamavl is funqcia sxdomis Tavmj domarem abenuqizem ikisra. man gr.l orTqifaniZiseul i mtkicebul ebebi misa-Rebad CaTval a da gamosaval i formul irebis gamoyenebas Seecada. miuxedavad amisa, m.oraxel aSvil i isev kategoriul i formiT demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis TviTI ikvidaciis sakiTxs ayenebda. igi sastiki winaaRmdegi iyo gr.l orTqifaniZis mier gaxmovanebul i formul is\_ **`Cven viyaviT da vrCebiT kanonier mTavrobaT-** da Sesaqmnel dokumentSi misi argamoyeneba moiTxova. am SemnTxvevaSi igi saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobisgan im samarTI ebrivi ufl ebis datovebaze amaxvil ebda yuradRebas, romelic politikuri situaciis cval ebadobis SemTxvevaSi, mas qveynis kanonier mTavrobad gamocxadebis SesaZI ebl obas utovebda. meore mxriv, m.oraxel aSvil is safiqral s, saqarTvel odan emigraciaSi wasul i n.Jordani as mTavrobis mier, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg brZol is l egi timacia warmoadgenda. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, sxdomis monawil eTa Soris winaaRmdegobiT damZimebul i Rrubel is Camowol a garduval i iyo. miTumetes, m.oraxel aSvil i isev gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os samarTI ebriv cnobas moiTxovda. Tuki am mimarTul ebiT real uri gadawyvetil eba ar iqneboda miRebul i, SeTanxmeba SeuZI ebel i gaxdeboda.D`vimeoreb\_ ambobda m.oraxel aSvil i, es sistema, romel sac gamoxatavs dRes revkomi, e.i. sabWoTa wyobil eba saqarTvel oSi usaTuod cnobil i unda iyos. uamisod me mgoni Cvens Soris SeTanxmeba SeuZI ebel ia.- aseTi formiT gamoTqmul i poziciis gaxmovaneba, sabWoTa ruseTis mier Zal ismieri gziT saqarTvel oSi xel dasmul i bol Sevikuri `mTavrobis- (revkomis) samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moqcevas isaxavda miznad. aRniSnul is gamo situacia imdenad damZimda, rom gamosaval i formul is gamoZebna aucil ebel i Sei qmna. miTumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, gr.l orTqifaniZes sagangebo daval eba hqonda miRebul i n.Jordani asgan\_ revkomis araRiarebis Sesaxeb. paral el urad, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis SesanarCunebl ad revkomis wevrebTan mol aparakebis formati unda gaegrZel ebina da qveynis umni Svnel ovanes sakiTxebSi maTgan Tanxmoba mieRo.Aam urTul esi amocanis aRsrul eba, misgan erTxel ki dev l ogikaze dafuZnebul maRal i donis azrovnebis gamovl inebas moiTxovda. am mxriv man gonivrul i gadawyvetil eba miRo im Tval - sazrisiT, rom m.oraxel aSvil is moTxovnebis mizanSewonil ebis sakiTxi politikur Wril Si gadaitana da mowinaaRmdegas dasabuTebul i pasuxi gasca. **misi pozicia Semdegi formiT SeiZI eba Camoyal ibdes:** 1)m.oraxel aSvil is mxridan dasmul i moTxovna\_ sabWoTa sistemis cnobis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb, gr.l orTqifaniZem qveynis sasicocxl o interesebis gverdis avl is mcdel obad da WeSmaritebis gzidan gadacdenad gamoacxada; 2)misi mtkicebiT, real uri iqneboda Tuki sabWoTa xel isufli ebis aRiarebis sakiTxs, revkomis warmomadgenl ebi saqarTvel oSi moqmedi politikuri partieb is l iderebis winaSe daayenebdnen. pasuxis miReba mxol od maTgan iyo SesaZI ebel i Tu ra saxis politikuri kursis gatarebas apirebdnen momaval Si; 3)miuxedavad imisa, rom gr.l orTqifaniZe social - demokratiul i partiis wevri iyo, aRniSnul i mol aparakebis dros ramdenadac mas partiis mandati ar hqonda, igi partiis saxel iT ver isaubrebda; 4)gr.l orTqifaniZis samarTI iani mtkicebiT, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis aRiarebis dayeneba mxol od sabWoTa ruseTSi iyo SesaZI ebel i, radgan Zal aufl eba iq komunistor partias hqonda, xol o partia da mTavroba identuri iyo. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas, igi pasuxs ver gascemda im sakiTxebze, romelic social - demokratiul partias da partiul moRvawebs exeboda; 5)quTaisis mol aparakebis momentSi, sabWoTa xel isufli eba, rogorc samarTI ebrivi subieqti ar arsebobda, radgan mis damyarebaSi xal xs arCevnebis gziT monawil eoba ar hqonda miRebul i, xol o qveyanas ucxo saxel mwifosgan Zal momreobis gziT daniSnul i revkomi ganagebda. rac Seexeba arCevnebs,

saqarTvel os sinamdvil eSi im etapze momavl is proeqtad rCeboda; 6)saqarTvel o-  
Si sabWoebis arCevnebis Catarebis SemTxvevSi, sxva partiebTan erTad SesaZI e-  
bel i iyo social - demokratiul partiasac mieRo am RonisZiebaSi monawil e-  
oba. Tuki es moxdeboda, igi sabWoTa xel isdufl ebisadmi pol itikuri partie-  
bis damokidebul ebas gamokveTda. arsebul i xel isufl ebis mimarT pol itikuri  
partiebis poziciis winaswar ganWvreta im etapze SeuZI ebel i iyo; 7)gr.l o-  
rTqifanizis Seuval i gancxadebis mixedviT, igi saqarTvel os revkomis warm-  
madgernl ebTan mol aparakebas awarmoebda mxol od baTumis mxaris saqarTve-  
l ostvis SenarCunebis sakiTxze, romel ic saqarTvel os demokratiul i respub-  
likis mTavrobisgan hqonda mindobil i; 8)imave l orTqifanizis mtkicebiT, saqa-  
rTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavroba dauyovnebl iv moaxdenda saomari  
moqmedebis SeCerebas XI armiis nawil ebis winaaRmdeg, baTumis mxares uprob-  
l emod gadascemda saqarTvel os revkoms da Tanaxma iyo qarTul - rusul i  
erTobl ivi Zal ebiT moexdinaT osmal o dampyrobl ebis gandevna.

gr.l orTqifanizis aseTi argumentirebul i poziciis miuxedavad, m.oraxel aSvil ma  
erTxel ki dev scada, revkomisadmi baTumis mxaris gadacemis faqti, saqarTvel os demokre-  
tiul i respubl ikis kanonieri mTavrobis da misi damfuZnebel i krebis mxridan dekl a-  
raciIT an Sesabamisi dekretiT yofil iyo dadasturebul i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi igi  
revkomisadmi teritoriis gadacemis sakiTxs samarTI ebrivi Tval sazrisiT kiTxvis  
qveS ayenebda. am SemTxvevaSi m.oraxel aSvil i mopirdapire mxarisgan samarTI ebrivi xa-  
siaTis dokumentis xel Si Cagdebas cdil obda da amiT mdgomareobas Segnebul ad arTu-  
l ebda. miTumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis  
1921 wl is16 martis moskovis xel Sekrul ebis pirvel i statiis mixedviT, osmal eTis  
saxel mwifo sazRvris xazi garkveviT iyo miTiTebul i. igi iwyeboda Savi zRvis piras  
mdebare sofel sarfTan, gaivl ida xeedis mTas, wyal Ta gamyofi xaziT SavSeTis mTas<sup>10</sup>...  
imave xel Sekrul ebis II statiit, osmal eTi Tanxmobas acxadebda saqarTvel ostvis siu-  
zerenitetiT daeTmo baTumis ol qi zemoaRniSnul i sazRvris fargl ebSi.<sup>11</sup> es imas niS-  
navs, rom osmal eTi samarTI ebrivi wesiT saqarTvel os axal xel isufl ebas baTumis  
ol qs `uTmobda- da val debul i iyo aRniSnul i xel Sekrul eba Seesrul ebina. aqedan ga-  
momdinare, m.oraxel aSvil is mxridan gr.l orTqifanizisadmi wayenebul i pretenzia, ba-  
Tumis ol qis revkomisadmi gadacemis faqtis oficial uri dokumentiT dadasturebis  
moTxovna l ogikur fargl ebs scil deboda. es xarvezi kargad SeniSna sxdomis Tavmj -  
domarem ab.enuqizem da Seqmnil kritikul momentSi Tavisi ganmartebiT garkveul i  
disonansi Seitana. `ramdenadac vici\_ ambobda ab.enuqize, \_teritoriis gadacema, omis  
dawyeba, omis gaTaveba, damfuZnebel i krebis prerogativaa... mTavroba yovel Tvis unda  
SeekiTxos mas. Cven rodesac mTavrobas vel aparakebiT, ar SegviZI ia misi Zal aufl eba  
SevamciroT da vuTxraT, rom mTavrobas ara aqvs ufl eba esa Tu is aqti moaxdinos.  
ami tom, mTavroba aris pasuxismgebel i damfuZnebel i krebis winaSe. Cven dRes vel apar-  
akebiT mTavrobas. Tu mTavroba mis gancxadebaSi rai me motivebiT ar daasabuTebis, rom  
gadascems Tavis teritorias revol uciur komitets, Cvenis mxriT es damakmayofil e-  
bl ad migvaCnia... pativcemul i l orTqifanizis gancxadebaSi gamosWvivoda es... me pi-  
radad sakmarisad mi maCnia, rom mTavroba Tavis gancxadebaSi izul ebul ad grZnobs Tavs,  
emorCil eba Zal as... raki amas moiTxovs saerTo interesebi saqarTvel os mTI ianobisa.-

Cems mier motanil i ab.enuqizis sityvis es vrcel i amonaweri, TiTqmis sru-  
l ad warmoaCens gr.l orTqifanizis poziciisadmi mxardaWeras. meore mxriv,  
igi aSkarad mianiSnebda m.oraxel aSvil s, rom im momentisaTvis misi mxridan  
radikal izmiT datvirTul i gancxadebebi saerTo saqmisTvis iyo xel is SemSl e-  
l i. am SemTxvevaSi ab.enuqize dambal ansebl is funqcias asrul ebda or mopirda-  
pire mxares\_ m.oraxel aSvil -gr.l orTqifanizes Soris. misma aseTma poziciam,  
m.oraxel aSvil i izul ebul i gaxada ukan daexia da Tavisi winandel i moTxovn-  
ebi Seecval a- `me vcvl i Cems sakiTxs-- ganacxada man da am qmedebiT, mol apar-  
akebis gagrZel ebis da Sedegebze orientirebis SesaZI ebl oba Seqmna. mxedve-  
l obaSi maqvs revkomis da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis aRiarebis, misi samarTI ebriv  
CarCoSi moqcevis mcdel obis dRis wesrigidan moxsna.

am faqtma SesaZI ebl oba Seqmna mol aparakebis monawil eTa mTel i yuradReba  
baTumis gadarCenaze da im meqanizmis SemuSavebaze yofil iyo gadatanil i,  
romel ic osmal o dampyrobl ebis winaaRmdeg qarTul i da rusul i jaris er-  
Tobl ivi moqmedebis SesaZI ebl obas Seqmni da. miTumetes, gr.l orTqifanizem sabWo-

Ta mxaris warmomadgenl ebs kidev erTxel Seaxsena, rom demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavroba wiTel i armiis nawil ebTan saomar moqmedebes wyvetda da winadadebas iZl e-oda sabWoTa j arTan erTad daecva baTumi. imavdroul ad igi principul ad moiTxovda: `Tu Cven erTad vibrZol ebT, ra formiT? es winaswar unda iyves naTqvami.- am sakiTxTan dakavSi-rebiT mxareebS Soris dambal ansebl is funqcia isev ab.enuqiZem Seasrul a da gr.l orTqifaniZe- al dgebuazis winadadeba iqna miRebul i, rom osmal ebisgan teri- toriis ga-wmendande qarTul i j ar i, qarTul i sardl obis daqvemdebarebiT i brZol ebda. dasaxul i miznis ganxorciel ebis Semdeg, igi axal i sardl obis daqvemdebarebaSi gada- vi doda. am winadadebas ab.enuqiZe daeTanxma, rac baTumis mxaris osmal o mtacebl ebisgan gadarCenis sakiTxSi ormxriv SeTanxmebas ni Snavda.

imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSis mixedviT, msjel obis momdevno ZiriTad sa- gans, osmal ebTan saomari moqmedebis damTavrebis Semdeg qarTul i j aris ganiaraRebis formis SemuSaveba warmoadgenda. es procedura iseTi saxiT unda Catarebul iyo, rom mis wevrebs warsul Si gaweul i saqmianoba danaSaul ebriv qmedebad ar CaTvl oda. amis gaTval iswineba imiTac iyo aucil ebel i, rom mimdinare procesi qveynis SigniT samo- qal aqo omis dawyebis faqtori ar gamxdariyo. es sakiTxi mTel i principul obiT gr.l or- rTqifaniZem daayena. igi revkomis warmomadgenl ebis misamarTiT acxadebda: `Tqven brZa- nebT j aris gadmocemaze da daSl aze, es Tqveni saqmea rogor daSl iT, yovel SemTxvevaSi Cveni saqme iqneba, rom saqarTvel os yvel a moqal aqes, iqneba es pol itikuri moRvawe... sa- mxedro piri, an saerTod saxel mwi fo moRvawe, mosamsaxure,... am pirt ar CaTval os dana- Saul ad warsul Si is, rac moxda. isini Tavisufal ni arian yovel gvani pasuxismgebl o- bisgan, romel ic pirdapir dakavSirebul ia pol itikur moRvaweobasTan, samxedro admin- istraciul samsaxurTan... saWi roa saerTaSoriso amnistia... Cven vTxoul obT rom aseT- nairi muxl i aucil ebl ad iyos Setanil i SeTanxmebaSi.-

gr.l orTqifaniZis moTxovnis sapaSuxod, moraxel aSvil ma saqarTvel os revkomis mier 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gamocemul i dekreti # 1 `amnstiis Sesaxeb- waikiTxa. am doku- mentiT amnistia yvel a im pol itikuri partiis, j gufisa da pirovnebis mimarT cxadde- boda, roml ebic aqtiurad gamodi odnen saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyare- bisa da kompartiis winaaRmdeg. **igive dokumenti imavdroul ad, sabWoTa xel isu- fl ebisa da kompartiis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i partiebS wevrTa mTel moqmede- bas borot moRvaweobad acxadebda.**<sup>12</sup> rogorc vxedavT, saqarTvel os pirvel i respub- likis saxel mwi foebrivi interesebis damcvel ebis mier gaweul i saqmianoba **boroti moRvaweobis- epiTetiT** iqna Sefasebul i, mxol od im sababiT, rom isini ucxo qveynis mier dafinansebul qarTvel bol Sevikebs, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis SesaZl ebl obas ar aZl evda. aRniSnul dokumentSi **boroti moRvaweobis- cnebis** gamoyenba, SemTxvevi- TobiT ar iyo ganpirobebul i. am formul irebiT, arsebul i xel isufl eba `saWi roebis- SemTxvevaSi miSTvis arasasurvel i pirovnebebisadmi saTanado represiul i RonisZiebe- bis gatarebis SesaZl ebl obis safexurs qmni da. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel oba- Si gr.l orTqifaniZes, roca igi ormxrivi SeTanxmebis teqstSi amnstiis Sesaxeb sagange- bo muxl is Setanas rom moiTxovda. imave dokumentidan irkveva, rom gr.l orTqifaniZis am moTxovnaze, ab.enuqiZe, Sel iava da moraxel aSvil i daTanxmdnen. aRniSnul i sakiTxi Sesabamisi formul irebiT cal ke muxl is saxiT iqna Setanil i xel Sekrul ebaSi.

quTaisis mol aparakebis erT- erT sakiTxad, saqarTvel odan ruisis j aris gayvanis auc- il ebl obac daisva. igi mTel i principul obiT gr.l orTqifaniZem daayena. `ruis j ar i\_ ambobda gr.l orTqifaniZe,\_ roca SesaZl ebel i da mosaxerxebel i iqneba gayvanil i iq- nas aqedan.- amasTan dakavSirebiT, moraxel aSvil ma gaRizianebul i formiT ganaxada: `obieqturi pirobebi, rogorc gareSe, ise Sinauri gvaizul eben,... rom es wiTel i j ar i j erj erobiT aq iyves. rodesac Cven saqarTvel oSi gveyol eba sakuTari l aSqari, rasakvirve- lia, **ruseTis j ars waviyanT, mogaSorebT.**- isic sayuradReboa, rom imave gr.l or- rTqifaniZis kategoriul i moTxovniT saqarTvel os moqal aqe samxedro pirebs, j arisk- acebsa da mosa-msaxureebS samxedro begara saqarTvel oSi unda moexada. es sakiTxi Sesabamisi formul irebiT xel Sekrul ebaSi meTeqvsmete muxl iT iqna dadasturebul i.

quTaisis ormxrivi mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSis safuZvl iani Seswavl idan is ZiriTadi winaaRmdegobebi ikveTeba, romel ic saqarTvel os sa- sicocxl o sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi revkomis warmomadgenl obas gaaCnda. me- ore mxriv, wina pl anze wamowevas imsaxurebs demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTa- vrobis rwmunebul is gr.l orTqifaniZis ukompromiso pozicia da maRal i mo- mzadebis done. saqarTvel os interesebze dafuZnebul i misi poziciis miRebis

aucil ebl obis l ogikurad dasabuTebiT, man m.oraxel aSvil i da S.el iava gamouval mdgomareobaSi Caayena. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i um-Zimesi pol itikuri situaciidan gamosaval i gzebis Sesaxeb Tuki isini gr.l orTqifaniZis moTxovnebs ar gaiTval iswinebdnen, qveynis mosaxl eobis winaSe maTi antierovnul i kursi oficial urad gasaj arovdeboda; b)saqarTvel os revkomis warmomadgenl ebs, gr.l orTqifaniZem is mtkivneul i nervi mouZebna, romel ic kompromisze wasvl as aizul ebda; g)quTaisis mol aparakebis bol omde miyvanaSi da or mopirdapire mxares Soris dambal ansebl is funqciis Sessul ebaSi gansakuTrebul i rol i ab.enuqizes miuzRvis. mTel rig sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi mis mier SemuSavebul ma obieqturma poziciam, m.oraxel aSvil i da S.el iava izul ebul i gaxada kompromisze wasul iyo.

Tuki quTaisis 1921 wl is 17- 18 martis mol aparakebiT miRweul SeTanxmebas miudgomel i poziciidan SevafasebT, moral ur-fsiqol ogiuri kuTxiT igi saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis Tval Si wingadadgmul i nabiji iyo. am istoriul ma SeTanxmebam erTxel kidev srul ad gamoavl ina saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis mZrunvel i pozicia qveynisa da misi mosaxl eobis mimarT.

dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom quTaisis SeTanxmeba miuRebel i aRmoCnda sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal i eSel onebis warmomadgenl ebisTvis. isini gansakuTrebiT stenografiul i angariSis Sinaarsma da am dokumentis demokratiul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebisadmi gadacemis faqtma aRaSfoTa. amasTan dakavSirebiT, quTaisis mol aparakebis erT- erTi monawil is d.SaraSiZis moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `bol Sevikebi Zl ier gawyrnen, roca Seityves, rom stenograma Cvenc mogxvda xel Si. stenografistebs daWeriT emuqrebodnen.~ am SemTxvevaSi, maTi gaRizianeba im winaaRmdegobrivi dapirispirebis mosal odnel i gasaj aroebis SiSma ganapiroba, romel ic am dokumentis gamoqveynebas moyveboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)Zal mo-mreobis gziT mosul i xel isufl ebisadmi qarTul saxel mwilfosTan mimarTebaSi farTo sazogadoebis winaSe niRabis Camoxsna; b)dokumentis gasaj aroebiT, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis avtoritetis zrdis garduval oba. yovel ive aRniSnul idan gamomdinare mosal odnel i Sedegebi, qarTvel da rus bol Sevikebs kargad hqondaT gacnobierebul i da maT nerviul obas es garemoebac ganapirobebda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom quTaisis 16 punqtiani SeTanxmebis umetesoba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis umaRl esi eSel onebis (s.orj onikiZe...) mesveurTaTvis miuRebel i iyo, Tundac im Tval sazrisiT, rom revkomis warmomadgenl ebma, demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis rwmunebul Ta mxridan axal i xel isufl ebis aRiarebas, damxobil is mxridan kapitul aciis gamocxadebas ver miARwies. meore mxriv, quTaisis mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSis teqstis, demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis sawinaaRmdegod gamoyeneba ver SeZl es, radgan gr.l orTqifaniZis mier gakeTebul gancxadebebSi da warmoTqmul sityvebSi bol SevikebisTvis xel CasaWidi araferi aRmoCnda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT d.SaraSiZis moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `saerTo STabeWdil eba iyo TviT komunistur wreebSi, rom l orTqifaniZem dipl omatobiT `moatyua- bol Sevikebi. es gareSeebTan sTqva ara erTxel da orjer enuqizem, oraxel aSvil ma da sxvebma.~ Tuki es simarTI es Seesabameba, gamoricxul i araa, rom maTi gaRizianebis gansa-kuTrebul i safuZvel i swored es faqi gamxdariyo. rac Seexeba demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis darCena- ardarCenisa da sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan Sesazl o TanamSro-ml obis sakiTxs, imave mol aparakebis stenografiul i angariSidanac cans, rom SeTanxmebaze xel moweriStanave, demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavroba Zal aufl ebas baTumis re-vkoms gadascemda da saqarTvel os teritorias tovebda. es faqti, mol aparakebis procesSi revkomis warmomadgenl ebisTvis (**ab.enuqize, m.oraxel aSvil i, S.el iava, al .svani Ze**) misaRebi aRmoCnda. miuxedavad amisa, demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier saqarTvel os datoveba da emigraciaSi wasvl a, saqarTvel os revkomma, quTaisis SeTanxmebis gauqmebis erT- erT mi zezad daasaxel a. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os s.s.r. revkomis 1921 wl is 21 martis sxdomis (oqmi # 15) amonaweri warmoadgens. dokumentidan irkveva, rom saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis yofil mTavrobasTan mol aparakebis warmoebis Sesaxeb moxseneba revkomis rwmunebul ma m.oraxel aSvil ma gaakeTa. revkomis mier miRebul dadgenil ebaSi vkiTxul obT: `moismina ra moxseneba revkomis rwmunebul isa, roml istvisac mindobil i iyo yofil menSevikur mTavrobasTan mol aparakeba da miRo ra cnoba n.Jordanas mTavrobis baTumidan gaqcevis Sesaxeb, rac niSnavs rwmunebul ebis mier xel moweril i SeTanxmebis aSkarad darRvevas, amasTanave

gaigo ra, rom gaqceul ma mTavrobam gaitaca uamravi saxel mwifo qoneba da Rirebul e-bani saekl esio da samonastro ganZeul oba da agreTve mSromel Ta farTo masisTvis aucil ebel i pirvel saWiroebis sagnebi, medikamentebi da sxva, saqarTvel os revol uci-uri komiteti hkicxavs mTel i qveynis mSromel Ta masis winaSe, qveynis mZarcvel ebs da adgens: 1. SeTanxmeba misi darRvevis gamo saqarTvel os yofil i mTavrobis mier cno-bil i iqnas gauqmebul ad.- marTal ia, imave dokumentis mixedviT 25 Tebevli is dekretiT da xel Sekrul ebis meToTxmete muxl iT gamocxadebul i amnistia Zal aSi datoves, magram, emigraciaSi wasul i mTavroba da misi Tanmxi ebi pirebi moRal ateebad gamoacxades. rac Seexeba maT qonebas, igi muSaTa da gl exTa xazinisTvis gadacemis motiviT iqna CamorT-meul i.<sup>13</sup> es faqti imis maCvenebel ia, rom gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufal ni, saqarTve-l os pirvel i demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis moRal ated- gamocxadebiT, mTavro-bis mxardamWerTa represiisTvis samomavl od Sesabamis safexurs amzadebda.

amrigad: 1) saqarTvel os Zal ismieri gziT gasabWoebiT da revkomis mmarTvel o-bit Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri situacia, mezobel i respubl ikebis mmarTvel i wreebisgan, saqarTvel os teritoriebis misatacebl ad xel sayrel situaciad iqna aRqmuli. am mosal onel safrTxeze, saqarTvel os memercxene social ist-federal istTa partiis liderebis droul i gafrTxil eba, axal i xel isufl e-bisgan uyuradRebod iqna datovebul i. ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 mais-is xel Sekrul ebis fargl ebSi qveynis teritoriul i mTli anobis aRdgenis me-marxcene social ist- federal istTa imedebi, moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis ru-seT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebam daasamara.

2) gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os revkomis warmomadgenl ebTan mol aparakebis Se-saxeb, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris ini-ciativas, or mxares Soris omis Sewyveta, erTiani Zal ebiT baTumis ol qidan osmal o dampyrobil ebis gandejna da qveynisTvis teritoriis SenarCuneba edo safuZvl ad.

demokratiul i saqarTvel os del egaciis (gr.l orTqifanize, al .dgebuaZe, i.ge-devaniSvil i, d.SaraSZe) mizans, revkomis xel isufl ebis cnobis gverdis avl-iT, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebTan (ab.enuqize, m.oraxel aSvil i, al .svanize, S.el iava, gambarovi) SeTanxmebis miRweva da n.Jordaniას mier micemul i daval ebis Sesrul eba warmoadgenda. gr.l orTqifanizeze zemoqmedebisa da kom-promisze dayol iebisTvis, revkomis mesveurni, baTumis ol qSi osmal ebis gaaq-tiurebis faqtis gamoyenebas cdil obdnen. gr.l orTqifanizes kargad qonda gacnobierebul i, rom m.oraxel aSvil is mxridan revkomis aRiarebis moTxovnis dayeneba, kanonieri xel isufl ebis kapitul aciaze da revkomis samarTI ebriv CarSoSi moqcevaze iyo gaTvl il i. aqedan gamomdinare, baTumis ol qis SenarCu-nebisadmi aRniSnul i sakiTxis gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebis mier mizanmimarTul ad mibma, gr.l orTqifanizes dauSvebl ad miaCnda.

3) quTaisis mol aparakebis procesSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciis fonze, gr.l orTqifanizem saazrovno SesaZl ebl obis maqsimal uri mobil izeba da mopi-rdapiire mxaris moTxovnebis dasabuTebul i formiT uaryofa SesZl o. stenografi-ul i angariSis teqstiT irkveva, rom gr.l orTqifanizem revkomis warmomadgen-l ebs l ogikur saazrovno principebze da faqtobrivi masal is SedarebiTi anal izis safuZvel ze dausabuTa: a) saqarTvel oSi saxel isufl ebo cvl a, sab-WoTa ruseTis XI armiis Zal isxmeviT ganxorciel da da momxdari faqti, saqarTve-l os mosaxl eobis ganwyobil ebis\_ arCevnebis gziT mopovebul Sedegs ar gana-saxierebda; b) sabWoTa j arebTan saomari moqmeebis Sewyveta, baTumis ol qis sa-qarTvel odan Camocil ebis real uri safrTxidan gamomdinareobda da erTobl ivi Zal ebiT osmal ebis gandejnas isaxavda miznad; g) ramdenadac ufl ebis wyaros saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i kreba warmoadgenda, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os revkomisadmi xel isufl ebis oficial urad gadacemis samarTI ebrivi ufl ebibi ar gaaCnda.

4) ab.enuqizis mxridan dambal anebl is funqciis Sesrul ebam da sabWoTa xe-l isufl ebis aRiarebis dRis wesrigidan moxsnam, ormxrivi mol aparakebis gagrZe-l ebis da misi bol omde miyvanis SesaZl ebl oba Seqmna. qarTul i jaris mosa-l onel i ganiaraRebis SemTxvevaSi, jariskacebis, oficrebis, politikuri da samoqal aqo pirebis mier warsul Si gaweul i saqmianobis danaSaul ad arga-mocxadebis gr.l orTqifanizeul i moTxovna, qveyanaSi Sida dapirispirebas

da samoqal aqo omis acil ebas isaxavda miznad. ormxriv SeTanxmebaSi, saqarTvel odan ruis jaris gayvanis da saqarTvel os moqal aqeebisTvis samxedro begaris respublikis fargl ebsi moxdis cal ke muxl ad Setana, gr.I orTqifaniZis del egaciis udides gamarjvebas warmoadgenda.

5) saqarTvel os interesebze dafuznebul ma gr.I orTqifaniZis ukompromiso poziciam da maRal i momzadebis donem, moraxel aSvil i da Sel iava gamouval mdgomareobaSi Caayena. maT kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom gr.I orTqifaniZis mxridan dayenebul i moTxovnebis ignorireba da maTi poziciis gasajaroeba, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi axal i xel isufli ebis antierovnul kurss saaSkaraoze gamoitanda da mis diskreditacias garduals gaxdida. gr.I orTqifaniZem revkomis warmomadgenl ebs is mtkivneul i nervi mouZebna, romelic izul ebit kompromisze maT wasvl as ganapiroebda.

quTaisis 1921 wl is 17-18 martis mol aparakebit miRweul i SeTanxmeba da am procesis amsaxvel i stenograma, damarcxebul i da `gamarjvebul i- mxareebis lustracias warmoadgens. saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisTvis gasagebi gaxda, Tu vin- vin iyo. am kuTxiT Tuki ganvixil avT zemoaRniSnul istoriul faqts, dabejiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom okupirebul i saqarTvel os umZimes fonze, igi wingadadgmul nabjad unda Sefasdes. quTaisis mol aparakebam erTxel kidev srul ad gamoavli na, qveynisa da misi mosaxl eobis mimarT saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis mZrunvel i pozicia.

## Tavi V

### osmal o dampyrobli ebisgan baTumis ol qis ganTavisufli ebis sakiTxi

saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis ukanasknel i dReebis istoriis erT-erT sayuradRebo sakiTxs baTumis ol qis saqarTvel osTvis SesanarCunebl ad gatarebul i RonisZiebbi warmoadgens. am mimarTul ebit, gabedul da warmatebul nabjad unda Sefasdes ori mowinaaRmdege Zal is\_ saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikisa da qveynis okupaciis Sedegad gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenel Ta quTaisis Sexvedra. rogorc naSromis meoTxe TavSi mqonda saubari, sakiTxi exeboda baTumis ol qidan osmal o dampyrobli ebis gaZevebis meqanizmis erTobl ivad SemuSavebas. marTalia, am Sexvedraze miRweul i SeTanxmebiT orive sajariso (demokratiul i saqarTvel os da wiTel i armiis) SenaerTebis erTobl ivi moqmedeba gadawyda, magram, es piroba sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mesveurTa mxridan Seusrul ebel i darCa. amas garkveul i ganmapirobebel i mizezebi qonda.

am sakiTxe srul fasovani pasuxis gacema mxol od mas Semdeg gaxdeba SesaZl ebel i, roca gavarkvevT, baTumis ol qi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam gadasca osmal eTs, Tu, amit sabWoTa ruseTi manipulirebda da ruseT- osmal eTs Soris Sesabamisi winaswari garigebebi arsebobda. am sakiTxs yuradReba pirvel ad prof. I .ToiZem miaqcia. man savsebit kanonzomierad dasva kiTxva, Tu riT iyo ganpirobebul i osmal eTis xel isufli ebis mxridan moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis pirvel i da meore muxl ebis, damatebiti pirvel i (A) punqtis darRveva. amasTan dakavSirebit mis mier gamoTqmul i iqna mosazreba, imis Sesaxeb, rom Tuki osmal eTi baTumis ol qSi sabWoTa ruseTs jaris Seyvanas daaswrebda, mis winaarmdeg ruseTi iaraRs ar gamoiyenebda da amaSi qiazim- bei daimedebul i iyo. am mosazrebis sasargebl o argumentad, ruseT- osmal eTis mokavSireoba da saberZneTis winaarmdeg osmal eTisadmi sabWoTa ruseTis daxmareba daasaxel a. meore mxriv, man varaudis doneze gamoTqva axal i mosazreba imis Sesaxeb, rom demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobam, winaswari garigebit osmal ebi baTumis ol qSi mdinare Col oqamde SemouSva. am SemTxvevaSi I .ToiZe, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis erT-erTi yofil i moxel is, baTumis cixis yofil i komendantis i.furcel azis mogonebebs eyrdnoba, roml is nawyveti v.nozaZis wignSia dabeWdil i.<sup>2</sup> TiTqmis anal ogiuri pozicia uWiravs gmazniaSvil sac. misi Tqmit, `qiazim- beis tkbil i zRaprebit- gabruebul ma saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam `dautmo osmal eTs... j er axal cixis mazris nawil i da mTel i ardaganisa da arTvini ol qebi...<sup>3</sup>

xazgasmiT mi nda aRvni Sno: 1) am sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi i.furcel azisa da gmazniaSvil is

mogonebebi, XX saukunis 20\_ 30- iani wl ebis monakveTsi daiwera da mkacri cenzuris Semdeg dai beWda. aqedan gamomdinare, maTi mogonebebi metnaki ebad, im periodis sabWoTa ideol ogiit gaTval iswinebul moTxovnebs pasuxobs. es araa gasakviri imdenad, ramdenadac orive pirovneba, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg, garkveul i mosazrebedan gamomdinare, sabWoTa jarSi sapasuxismgebl o Tanamdebobebze muSaobdnen. maTi pozicia garegnul ad sabWoTa ideol ogiit gaTval iswinebul propagandas unda damTxveoda. amis aucil ebl obas im etapze saqarTvel oSi mimdinare politikuri procesebi moitxovda. rac Seexeba ardaganisa da arTvinis ol qebis osmal eTisaTvis `daTmobas,- es nabiji qiazim- beis `tkbil i zRaprebiT- ki ar iyo ganpirobebul i, aramed, igi izul ebidan gamomdinareobda da amis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi dokumenturi masal ac arsebobs; 2)saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis mxridan baTumis ol qis osmal eTisadmi `daTmobis- dabral ebis ideol ogiuri safexuris Semqmnel i f.maxaraZea. mis mier gazeT `komunistSi- 1921 wl is 26 marts gamoqveynebul ma weril ma\_ `risTvis gaiqcnen?- zemoaRniSnul iyal bi Sexedul ebis damkvidrebas daudo saTave. `Jordania- ramiSvil is yofil ma mTavrobam\_ wers igi\_ ukanasknel Jams osmal eTis askerebs gauRo baTumis karebi; magram rogorc viciT aqac maTi Ral ati droze iqna gamoaSkaravebul i da dauyovnebl ivi zomebis miRebiT misi Sedegi gabaTil ebul i iqna... gaqceul i yofil i mTavrobis Savi ganzraxva aSkaraa. aSkaraa isic Tu ra bedi ewia imaT moRal atur, danaSaul ebriv avanturas.-

saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mTavrobis f.maxaraZiseul i es daxasiaTeba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel i wreebis ideol ogiis erT- erT dasayrden nawil ad iqca. isic faqtia, rom sabWouri istoriografia mis ganvrcobasa da dakanonebas cdi- l o-bda. i.furcel azisa da g.mazniaSvil is mogonebebis didi nawil i, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis sagangebo uwyebis zemoqmedebidan gamomdinare, im periodis ideol ogiuri CarCos moTxovnebis SesabamisobaSi moyvanil i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi XX s- is 30- iani wl ebis sa-bWoTa xel isufli eba mis dabeWdvas ar ganxorciel ebda da rac mTavaria, TviT g.mazni-aSvil i nebiT namdvil ad ar dawerda: `Tu mTavrobis wevrebi marTal ni iyvnen, ratom ar unda darCenil iyvnen CvenTan da ratom ar unda gaeziarebinaT CvenTan erTad damarcxe-bul Ta bedi?-<sup>4</sup> damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebi s.orj onikiZes da sabWo-ur `cek-as- xel Si rom Cavardnoda, advil i warmosadgenia ra yofaSi aRmoCndeboda isi-ni. miTumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, **bol Sevikebis mizans, saqarTvel -os kanonieri xel isufli ebisgan kapitulaciis oficial urad aRiarebis miRwe-va warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi qarTvel i bol Sevikebi saqarTvel os kompartiis central uri komitetis 1921 wl is 12 martis dadgenil ebit moqmedebdnen. am dokumentis mixedvit, `menSevikebi- da sxva politikuri partiebi Tuki ofici-al urad aRiarebdnen gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobas, maTi warmomadgenel ebi revkomisa da saxel mwifo xel isufli ebis umaRl esi organoebis Semad-genl obaSi iqneboda daSvebul i. aRniSnul i dadgenil ebis saj arod gaxmovaneba or ZiriTad datvirTvas atarebda: 1)qarTvel i bol Sevikebis marionetul xel isufli ebas, saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis mmarTvel i politikuri partiiis liderebis ZiriTadi nawil is satyuar ankesze wamogeba qondaT miznad dasaxul i. Tuki saqarTvel oSi maT darCenas SeZl ebdnen, sabWouri wamebis araadamianuri metodebis gamoyenebit, revkomTa xel isufli ebis oficial urad aRia-reba da `samarTI ebriv CarCoSi- moqceva advil ad gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i; 2)saqarTvel os pirveli respublikis damarcxebul i mmarTvel i politikuri Zal is mimarT, adgil obriv mosaxl eobaSi undobl obis el ementebis Setanis pa-ral el urad, axal i xel isufli ebis `kompromisul i- da `humanuri- politikuri kursi, garkveul i formiT ideol ogiurad wina pl anze unda yofil iyo wamoweul i.**

rac Seexeba baTumis ol qis osmal eTisadmi `nebayofli obiT- daTmobas, amis Sesaxeb zemoaRniSnul pirovnebaTa mogonebebis garda, bral debis damadasturebel i srul faso- vani mtkicebul eba jerj erobit arcerT mkvl evars ar warmoudgenia. arc imis anal izi gaukeTebiaT, ramdenad iyo SesaZl ebel i, qiazim- beistan sityvieri SeTanxmehis safuZ- vel ze, saqarTvel os teritoriis osmal eTisadmi samarTI ebrivad gadacema. aseTi saki- Txehis qiazim- beis doneze gadawyveta SeuZl ebel i iyo. misi ganxorciel eba mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda SesaZl ebel i, Tuki: **a)**ori saxel mwifos mTavrobaTa meTaurebis an sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis oficial urad xel moweril dokumentSi, orive mxaris garkveul i val debul ebebi da masTan SesabamisobaSi moyvanil i pirobebi iqneboda Cadebul i da rac mTavaria, **b)**aseTi saxis dokumentis qveynis sakanonmdebl o organo daamtkicebda. mi-

Tumetes, im etapze ukve moqmedi konstituciis (miRebul i iqna 1921 wl is 21 Teberval s) pirvel i Tavis VI muxl Si vkiTxul obT: `saxel mwifo teritoriis gacema danawil eba da gayidva SeuZl ebel ia. saxel mwifo teritoriis gafarToeba an sadao sazRvrebis Seswo-reba SesaZl ebel ia mxol od kanonmdebl obiTis wesiT.<sup>5</sup> es imas niSnavs rom qveynis teritoriul cvl il ebebTan dakavSirebiT, mTavrobis Tavmj domares individual uri gadawyvetil ebis ufl eba ar qonda. aqedan gamomdinare, sanam mkvl evarTa mxridan saxel mwifoebriw doneze Seqmnil i sarwmuno saarqivo dokumenti ar iqneba mi-kvl eul i, sabWoTa ideol ogiis wnexis qveS moqceul i generl ebisa da oficre-bis sabWourad redaqtirebul memuarebze dayrdnobiT qveynis teritoriis gasx-visebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis dadanaSaul eba, f.maxa-raZiseul i gzis gagrZel ebad da istoriis fal sifikaciis morig mcdel obad unda CaiTval os. miTumetes, am gzis mimdevarTa mxridan dRemde pasuxgauceme-l i rCeba: 1)Tuki saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobam baTumis ol qi osmal eTs gadasca, maSin ra mizans emsaxureboda saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj-domaris n.Jordanias 1921 wl is 16 martis brZaneba\_ qal aqis TviTmmarTvel obi-sadmi baTumis xel isufl ebis gadacemis, cixidan 1000 bol Seviki patimrisa da maTi meTaurebis ganTavisufl eba, baTumis ol qis komisariss g.giorgaZisadmi daval ebis micema\_ bol SevikebTan mol aparakebis gamarTvisa da ol qis masSta-biT maTi mxridan Zal aufl ebis dauyovnebl iv xel Si aRebis Sesaxeb?; 2)ramdenad sandoa patimrobidan 17 marts ganTavisufl ebul i T.JRentis mier g.mazniaSvi-l isadmi miwodebul i informacia\_ `gaqceul i mTavrobis nebarTviT, ramdenime dRis winaT, baTumSi Semovidnen osmal ebis jarebi.- saidan icoda T.JRentma, osmal ebi baTumSi 9 marts `nebarTviT- Semovidnen Tu unebarTvod? igi 17 ma-rtamde xom cixeSi ij da da `gare samyarosTan- nakl ebi urTierToba qonda?; 3)saqarTvel os kanonier xel isufl ebas baTumis ol qi da TviT baTumi osmal e-TisTvis rom gadaeca, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis (m.oraxel aSvil i, S.el iava, ab.enuqiZe) winaSe, baTumis ol qis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi darCe-nis kategoriul i formiT dayenebas gr.l orTqifnize namdvil ad ver SeZl eba. miTumetes, saqarTvel os revkomis mesveurni, momxdar faqts quTaisis 17 martis mol aparakebaze sagangebo msjel obis sagnad gaxdida da gr.l orTqifanizis winaarmddeg warmatebul ad gamoiyenebda. imave sxdomis stenografiul Canawe-rebSi dadasturebul ia, rom qiazim- beis da osmal o askerebis mxridan baTu-mis ol qis da TviT baTumis dakaveba, sxdomis Tavmj domarem ab.enuqizem ki ar dagmo, aramed mis gamarTi ebas Seecada da Tavis poziciis dasasabuTebel ZiriTad argumentad, antantis qveynebidan baTumTan mimarTebaSi mosal odnel i safrTxe daasaxel a. amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `os-mal eTis jarebis ufross -ganacxada ab.enuqizem sxvadasxva pirobebi... ukar-naxebs imas, rom isargebl os imiT, rom antanta mudmivi da dauZinebel i mteria ruseTisa. isargebl a Zal iT, rom baTumi daisakuTros.- am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom baTumis ol qis osmal eTis mxridan dakaveba, antantis saxel mwifoeb-iskan ruseTisadmi dauZinebel i mtrobis motivaciIT da Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebiT ganxorciel da; 4)Cems mier arqivsacavebSi mikvl eul dokumentur masal ebSi garkveul i formiTaa warmodgenil i arTvin- ardaganis ol qebidan qarTul i jaris gamoyvanis ganmapirobebel i iZul ebiTi garemoebebi. imave do-kumentebSi safuZvliani SiSia gamoTqmuli im mosal odnel i safrTxeebis Sesaxeb, romel ic osmal ebis mxridan axal cixis mazrasa da baTumis mxares emuqrebo-da. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, n.Jordanias mier parizSi myofi ak.Cxenkel isadmi 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s gagzavnil depeSaSi vkiTxul obT: `dRes ocdaor Teber-val s miviReT angoris mTavrobisgan nota, romli Tac gvacnobeben, rom xval ocdasami Tebervl idan iWeren ardaganisa da arTviniis mxareebis. Cven exl a wi-naarmddegobas ver gavuwevT. faqtiuraT SemouSvebT, xol o xel s ar movuwyobT. gveSinia baTumi da axal cixe ar daikavon. waradgineT dasabuTebul i protes-ti l ondonis konferenciis winaSe.- ardaganisa da arTviniis mxareebSi os-mal ebis `SemoSveba-, rogorc naSromis mesame TavSi mqonda aRniSnul i, samxre-Tis frontis argaxsnIT da saomari moqmedebebisadmi Tavis aridebiT, baTumis ol qisa da axal cixis mazris gadarCenis mizniT iyo ganpirobebul i. meore mxriv, igi qarTul i jaris XI armiaze 22 Teberval s mopovebul i gamarjvebis SenarCunebaze da mtrisgan 23-24 Teberval s mosal odnel i Setevis mogeriebaze



iyo gaTvl il i. am umZimes situaciaSi, osmal eTis mxridan axal i frontis oficial urad gaxsna, qarTul i jarisaTvis momakvdinebel i dartya iqneboda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier gadadgmul am nabijs Cemi kol egebi daiwuneben, keTil i inebon da daasabuTon, rom evropisgan mitovebul i da Ti-Tqmis uiaraRod darCenil i saqarTvel o, oTxi saxel mwifos (ruseTi, somxeTi, azerbaijani, osmal eTi) winaaRmdeg brZol as gaumkl avdeboda.

rac Seexeba axal cixe-axal qal aqis mazrebisadmi osmal eTis xel isufal Ta damokidebul ebas da maTdami s.mdivnis ndobis faqtors, es kargadaa warmodgenil i simon mdivnis mier 1921 wl is 13 martiT daTariRebul weril Si, romel ic sagareo saqmeTa ministris saxel zea gagzavnil i. xazgasmiT unda iTqvas, rom am SemTxvevaSi adresati e.gegeWkori ki ara, misi moadgil e k.sabaxtaraSvil i unda iyos. am mosazrebis sasargebl od metyvel ebs, imave s.mdivnisgan 1921 wl is 19 Teberval s gagzavnil i depeSa\_ `sagareo saqmeTa ministris sabaxtaraSvil s-. vfiqrob, zemoaRniSnul i weril is adresati k.sabaxtaraSvil ia.

imis sail ustraci od, Tu ra maRal doneze iCenda simon mdivani osmal o maRal Cinosnebisgan gacemul i sityvieri dapirebisadmi ndobas, amis sail ustraci od, misive 13 martis weril idan Sesabamis amonawers movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os qarTvel i dipl omatis mxridan mtris Sinagani Tvisebebis al Ros aRqmis done. `me gadaveci sityvierad Tqveni winadadeba da vsTxove pasuxi ramdenime saaTis ganmavl obaSi, xol o Tu pasuxi dadebiTi iqneba maSin saWiroa Sesafetisi xel Sekrul ebis dadeba saRamomdis, vinaidan saRamos pasuxi unda gadavce Cems mTavrobas meTqi. rodesac me ganvizraxe SekiTxva... im damatebebis Sesaxeb, romel ic maT gaakeTes, wi naaRmdegoba gami wies im mosazrebiT, rom es dros wagvarTmevs, bol Sevikebis jari axal cixes uaxl ovdeba da Tu dagvianda, Cven yovel saSual ebas mokl ebul i viqnebiT TqvenTan SeTanxmebiT vimoqmedoT, radgan teritoria faqtiurad maT xel Si gadavida. es damatebani ar aris saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdego. Cven ki saSual ebas gvaZl evs oficial uri sababi gvqondes amJamad ruseTTan Tavis gamarTi ebisa. rogorc ki Cveni, e.i. osmal eTis mdgomareoba gamoirkveva, dauyovnebl iv jarsac gaviyvanT am ol qidan, araviTar pl ebiscits adgil i ar eqneba da pirobasac davswert im SinaarsiT, rogoric Tqveni winadadeba aris. Cveni mol aparakeba muxtar-beim ase daasrul a: SemeZl o, mTavrobis es azri mxol od me piradad gadmomeca TqvenTvis, magram rom dagarwmunoT angoris mTavrobis pasuxis gulwrfel obasa da simtkiceSi, Tan moviyvane Cemi sami kol ega, romel nic TavianTi patiosani sityviT amasve daadastureben da marti ac samive ministrma erTxmad mTavrobis saxel iTa da piradad patiosani sityviT aRmiTqves, rom is, rac Cven Soris am saganze iTqva aucil ebl ad Sesrul ebul i iqnebao.-<sup>6</sup>

es vrcel i amonaweri, aSkarad miuTitebs dipl omatisadmi Seuferebel im did gul ubryvil obaze, rasac s.mdivani iCenda osmal o maRal Cinosnebtan mimarTebaSi. oTxi osmal osgan micemul i sityvieri piroba, rogorc am amonaweridan Cans, utyuar sabuTad miaCnda da sjeroda, rom isini teritoriul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, haerze gacemul sityvas Seasrul ebdnen. erTi ram dabejiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom osmal eTis warmomadgenel Ta mxridan saqarTvel os teritoriebis dasakavebl ad gansakuTrebul i siCqare, ruis jaris moaxl oebiT ki ara, moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis konferenciis gamarTvis moaxl oebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. osmal eTs, sabWoTa ruseTis faqtis winaSe dayeneba surda, raTa mis mier dakavebul teritoriebze mieniSnebina da konferenciaze, saqarTvel osTvis meti teritoriebis CamoWra moeTxova. samwuxarod, s.mdivnis weril ebSi amis Sesaxeb miniSnebac ar aris. gamoricxul i araa, rom igi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, osmal eTTan mis mier miRweul `wyal gauval - SeTanxmebaSi rom arwmunebda. Cemi azriT, es sakiTxi sagangebo Seswavl as saWiroebs. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom osmal eTis sagareo saqmeTa komisarissadmi 1921 wl is 9 marts gagzavnil weril Si, igi TxovniT mimarTavda xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosans, raTa l ondonSi myofi beqir-sami-beis meSveobiT, akaki Cxenkel iTvis gadaecaT: 1) sabWoTa ruseTTan qarTul i jaris damarcxeba da suramis uRel texil ze gamagreba; 2) angora- saqarTvel os mTavrobis SeTanxmebiT, angoram axal qal aqis, axal cixisa da baTumis samxedro okupacia rom ganaxorcie- l a; 3) energiul i zomebi mieRo saqarTvel os mdgomareobis Sesamsubuqebl ad.<sup>7</sup> es faqti, erT-erTi dasturia osmal o dampyrobil ebisadmi ndobis gamocxadebisa. rac Seexeba osmal ebisgan aRniSnul i qal aqebis okupacias da saqarTvel o -osmal eTis SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze mis manipuli rebas, s.mdivani aSkarad ty-

uis. mXedvel obaSi maqvs, aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi ori qveynis warmomadgenl ebs Soris ormxrivi xel mowerebiT, (Tugind saqarTvel os mxridan cal mxrivi xel moweriT) dadasturebul i dokumentis ararseboba. aseTi dokumentis j er-j erobiT arqivsacavebSi ver mi vakvl ie. smwuxarod, s.mdivans `aviwydeba~, rom misadmi osmal o xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis mier micemul i sityvieri piroba, saqarTvel os mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebisTvis miuRebel i iyo da zemoaRniSnul i misi depeSa upasuxod datova. Y

saarqivo masal ebze dayrdnobiT, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mesveurni, osmal eTisgan zemoaRniSnul i mxareebis (ardagani, arTvini) mitacebas ar egueboda da xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaciis SeqmnisTanave, misi dabrunebis sakiTxis dauyovnebl iv dasmas axdenda. amis dadasturebas saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavj domarisadmi ak.Cxenkel is mier 1921 wl is 12 marts parizidan gamogzavnil i daSifrul i depeSa warmoadgens. `SeTanxmeba angorasa da antantas Soris miRweul ia, mxoli od sabol oo ar aris. amitom, aqtiuri gamosvla angoras CvenTan, j er uimedoa. didi Secdoma iqneboda dauTmoT angoras Tugind artaani, manam, sanam saerto SeTanxmeba ar moxdeba Cveni angorasTan- artaanis monawil eobiT. Cveni safuZvel i unda darCes ruseTosmal eTis 1914 wl is sazRvrebil.~ aq garkveviTaa naTqvami, Tu ra CarCoSi unda moqceul iyo saqarTvel os teritoria. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki artaanis sakiTxi dRis wesrigSi daisneboda, misi bedi artaanis pol itikur el itasTan erTobl ivi SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze unda gadawyvetil iyo.

osmal eTis saokupacio qmedebasTan qarTul i mxaris Seurigebl obas da am saqmeSi safrangeTis xel isufl ebis aqtiurad Carevis mcdel obebze miuTitebs k.sabaxtaraSvil is mier 1921 wl is 13 marts ak.Cxenkel isadmi parizSi gagzavnil i depeSa. `dRes Seval iesTan erTad Cavedi konstantinopol Si, Cveni jaris xazia Sorapani, rioni, zugdidi. mTavroba baTumSi. cxra marts qemal is jarebi baTumSi Semovi da. vcdil obT Tu saWiro iqneba brZol a gavagrZel oT baTumis ol qSiac, ristvisac saWiroa qemal istebma xel i ar Segvisalon. unda vecadoT qemal istebis mier samxedro okupaciit dakavebul Cvens ol qebSi SevinarCunoT Cveni suverenoba safrangeTis mandatit. amis Sesaxeb dRes meqneba l aparaki general pel estan. vimedovneb, pel ec da Seval iec mxars damiWeren da saTanado depeSasac gavugzavni safrangeTis mTavrobas.~ am dokumentis mixedvit, baTumSi osmal Ta jarebis Sesvla, saqarTvel os mTavrobis `mopatiJebiTrom momxdariyo, sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e k.sabaxtaraSvil i sityva Semovidas nacvl ad, Semovi yvaneT- dawerda. da rac mTavaria, osmal ebis jaris mier dakavebul saqarTvel os kuTvnil mxareebis\_ okupirebul ad ar gamoacxadebda. rac Seexeba osmal o askerebis qmedebisadmi im etapze dumil iT Sexvedras, igi izul ebiti faqtorebit\_ meore frontis argaxsnit da XI armiis nawil ebTan meomari qarTul i jaris qvedanayofebis ardanakuwebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. aRniSnul dokumentSi es garkveviTaa mititebul i.

baTumis ol qSi osmal eTis jarebis `mopatiJeba- saqarTvel os mTavrobas oficial urad rom moexdina, es faqti osmal eTis armiis yofil i sardl is vexib- faSasTvisac da berl inSi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri warmomadgenel is l ado axmetel istvisac cnobil i iqneboda. am formiT sakiTxis dasma imiT aris ganpirobebul i, rom Cems mier arqivebSi mikvl eul i dokumentis mixedvit, pol oneTsi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri misiis mrCeval i da imJamad berl inSi myofi vl .baqraZe, l ado axmetel is TxovniT, 1921 wl is 16 marts, saRamos 5 saatze val ter bernSteinis binaSi vexib- faSas Sexvda. rogorc mo-xsenebis tegstidan irkveva, saubari Ziritadad saqarTvel os mdgomareobas Seexo. imave dokumentis mixedvit, `vexib- faSam il aparaki kidev Rimil iT `patara Secdomebzeroml ebic vitom dauSva saqarTvel os mTavrobam. am Secdomebis Sedegia sxvaTa Soris vexib- faSas azrit is mdgomareoba, romel Sidac Cavarda exl a saqarTvel o. yovel SemTxvevaSi saqmis gamosworeba kidev SeiZl eba... me mi vdivar ramdenime dRis Semdeg romSi, sadac Sevxdები Cvens (angoras) del egacias, l ondonidan angoraSi mimaval s. me SemiZl ia wagi yvanoT Tqven da SexvdeT Cvens del egacias. saqarTvel osTvis, sTqva man, aris exl a erTaderTi gamosaval i, Tavis nebit xel i aiRos baTumze da baTumis ol qze da dakmayofil des im teritoriis fargl ebSi romel ic mas ekuTvnis mis mier dadebul (?) xel Sekrul ebis (al bad baTumis 1918 wl is 4 ivnisis, roml is ratifikacia saqarTvel os parl amentma ar moaxdina S.v.) Zal iT. maSin Cvens Soris megobrul i kavSiri damyardeba da Cven dagexmarebit. Tu j er j ero-

biT aSkarad ara, farul ad mainc bol SevicebTan brZol aSi. Semdeg daiwyo mtkeceba, Cven bol Sevicebi ar varT, bol Sevicebi mxol od droebiT mokavSireni arian Cveni da bol om-dis maTTan siarul i ar Sedis... Cvens gegmaSi. bol Sevikuri `sistema-\_ Rimil iT da ironiul i kil oTi Tqva man, \_CvenTvis srul iad miuRebel ia. Cveni gzebi mal e erTmaneTs daSordeba.- am vrcl i amonaweridan kargad Cans baTumisa da misi mxarisadmi vexib-faSas damokidebul eba. **Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam baTumis ol qi osmal ebs 9 marts nebayofl obiT oficial urad marTI ac gadasca, maSin raSi dasWirda imave vexib-faSas `momxdari faqtidan- erTi kviris Semdeg baTumis ol qis osmal eTisadmi gadacemis aucil ebl obis xel meored dasma? xol o am operaciis osmal eTis sasargebl od warmatebiT gadawyvetis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis `ukeTesobisken- Semobrunebis, saqarTvel o- osmal eTis megobr- ul i urTierTobis SesaZI o gaRrmavebis da bol Sevikuri ruseTis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi daxmarebis dapirebebis manipul ireba.**

rac Seexeba TviT qiazim- beis, igi saqarTvel os garSemo Seqmnil i umZimesi pol itikuri situaciIT sargebl obda da zRvars gadacil ebul TviTnebur qmedebebs eweoda. amis erT- erT saukeTeso nimuSs, imave qiazim-beis mis mier 1921 wl is 17 marts qal aq baTumSi gavrcl ebul i prokl amacia warmoadgens. `ukanasknel dros\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, \_ saqarTvel os mTavrobis **TanxmobiT**, baTumis mxare da axal qal aqisa da axal cixis mazrebi Cveni jarebis mier iqmnen dakavebul i. osmal eTis didi erovnul i krebis mTavrobis dadgenil ebiT, romel ic emyareba sxva da sxva drois xel Sekrul ebebiT mraVal j er dadasturebul erovnul ufl ebebs, es mxareebi dReidan brundebian samSobl os sazRvrebSi da pol itikuradac, da administraciul adac eqvemdebarebian osmal ur erovnul mTavrobas.-<sup>8</sup> am amonaweridan kargad Cans osmal eTis miznebi da amocanebi saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi, magram am prokl amaciis paral el urad qiazim-beim ratom ar gamoaCina is `Tanxmobis- dokumenti, romel ic saqarTvel os mTavrobam viTom rom misca osmal eTis warmomadgenel s? mkiTxvel s Sevaxseneb n.Jordani as 22 Teber- l is depeSis erT monakveTs: **`gveSinia baTumi da axal cixe ar dai kavon- osmal ebma.** xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, rom qiazim- beis, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebs mxridan baTu- mis mxaris da TviT qal aq baTumis, axal qal aqisa da axal cixis osmal eTisadmi gadacemis, an osmal eTis jaris Semoyvanis `Tanxmobis- raime xel CasaWidi sabuTi rom qonoda, yo- vel gvare moridebis gareSe, baTumis revkomis Tavmj domares da imave revkomis wevrebs aufrial ebda da Tavis pretenziasac `samarTI ebrivad- dasbuTebul formas miscemda. imavdroul ad, osmal eTis parl amentisgan 1920 wl is 28 ianvars miRebul i `erovnul i paqtis- meore muxl is (roml is mixedviTac osmal eTis sazRvari mdinare Col oqze ga- dis)- saerTaSoriso samarTI is safuZvel ze amoqmedebis sakiTxsac daayenebda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is miuxedavad, yuradRebis miRma ar unda dagvrCes s.mdivanis fo- ndSi dacul i dokumenti roml ic dasaTaurebul ia: `s.mdivans, gamogzavnil i saqarTvel o- dan-. masze TariRi da xel mowera araa darTul i. srul i warmodgena rom Segveqmnas Tu ras warmoadgens igi, am mizniT dokumentis srul teqsts SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazoga- doebas. `saqarTvel os mTavroba aZl evs angoris mTavrobas Semdeg winadadebas\_ dauy- ovnebl iv moaxdinos samxedro okupacia baTumis ol qis da axal qal aqis mazris Semdegi pirobiT: am ol qebis mTel i samoqal aqo mmarTvel oba da suverenul i ufl eba eqneba saqarTvel os mTavrobas. qarTul i j ari daexmareba osmal eTis j ars am operaciis moxde- naSi. es mdgomareoba gagrZel deba manam sanam sabol ood gamoirkveva saqarTvel os da sazogadod pol itikuri mdgomareoba amierkavkasiaSi. Tanaxmad am princi pebis wesebis SemuSaveba moxdeba axl o momaval Si.

**es aris pirvel i proeqti. Tu misi gayvana SeuZI ebel i iqneba maSin waradgi- neT meore proeqti, roml is Sinaarsi Semdegia:** saqarTvel os mTavroba aZl evs angoris mTavrobas Semdeg winadadebas, dauyovnebl iv moaxdinos samxedro okupacia ba- Tumis ol qis da axal qal aqis da axal cixis mazrebisa Semdegi pirobiT: am ol qebis mTel i mmarTvel oba iqneba saqarTvel os mTavrobis. qarTul i j ari daexmareba osma- l eTis j ars am okupaciis moxdenaSi. es mdgomareoba gagrZel deba manam, sanam sabol ood ar gamoirkveva pol itikuri mdgomareoba saqarTvel osi da amierkavkasia sa. Semdeg, saqarTve- l os mTavroba da angoris mTavroba erTad imoqmedeben kavkasiis saxel mwi foTa da erTa konfederaciis Sesaqmnel ad. Tanaxmad am princi pisa, dawvril ebiTi pirobebis SemuSave- ba moxdeba axl o momaval Si. pasuxs vel iT saCqaroT. dResve gvi pasuxeT. frontze Cveni mdgomareoba rTul deba. dRes brZol a swarmoebs suramis win da kodorze.-<sup>9</sup> am teqstis gacnobiS SemTxvevaSi, nebsmi eri adami ani dameTanxmeba, rom igi erT romel ime pirovnebas

ar ekuTvnis, radgan: 1)teqstis dasawyiSive saqarTvel os mTavrobis saxel iTaa saubari; 2)pasuxisadmi l odini, mravl obiTi formiTaa naTqvami: `pasuxs vel iT saCqaroT.- igi rom erT pirovnebas ekuTvnodes, `vel iT- mravl obiTis nacvl ad, mxol obiTis formas airCevda da dawerda vel i-. anal ogiuri mravl obiTis formaa gamoyenebul i sxva SemTxvevaSi ac. mag. `dResve gvi pasuxeT-. am depeSis Sesaxeb, 1921 wl is 13 marts sagareo saqmeTa ministrisadmi (swori iqneboda moadgil e k.sabaxtaraSvil isadmi) miweril weril Si vkiTxul obT: `10 marts i.tatiSvil s gadaveci piri im depeSisa romel ic gagzavnili iyo rva marts saRamoTi mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze, pasuxad misi depeSisa, romel ic gamogzavnili iyo quTaisidan 6 marts da me ki miviRe 7-s saRamoTi. magram radgan Sifri areuli iyo misi ganmeoreba miviRe mxol od 8 marts dil is 6 saaTze. i.tatiSvil isadmi gadacemul i depeSis pirs mTavrobis Tavmj domaris saxel ze, SemTxveviT gamorCa Semdegi winadadeba `Tumca....- garda amisa tatiSvil s maSinve gadaveci pasuxi Tqveni tel egramisa # 187, roml is pirsac amasTanave gaaxl ebT.

**tatiSvil is pirveli SekiTxva gansakuTrebit Seexeboda Semdegs: arsebobs Tu ara saqarTvel os da osmal eTis mTavrobebs Soris am ol qebis okupaciisaTvis Sesafetisi weril obiTi xel Sekrul eba da is garntiebi, roml iTac saqarTvel os suverenuli ufl ebani xel uxl ebel ni darCeba am ol qebSi. amis mokle pasuxi, Cems mier n.Jordanias saxel ze gagzavnili depeSaSi aris.-<sup>10</sup>**

am amonawerSi garkveviTaa miTitebuli, rom i.tatiSvil s principul ad dausvams s.mdivnisadmi SekiTxva: osmal eTis xel isufl ebisadmi SeTavazebul zemoaRniSnul winadadebebTan mimarTebaSi, imave osmal eTis mxridan arseboba Tu ara saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisTvis sagarantio ufl ebebis dacvis weril obiTi dokumenti. kiTxvis am formiT dasma, savsebit kanonzomieri iyo im Tval sazrisiT, rom s.mdivnis mxridan gagzavnili depeSaSi, aseTi sagarantio dokumentis arseboba ar ikveTeba. rac Seexeba s.mdivnis mier gakeTebul ganxadebas imis Sesaxeb, rom i.tatiSvil is SekiTxvis mokle pasuxi n.Jordaniasadmi gagzavnili depeSaSi iyo motanili, gakvirvebas iwvevs im Tval sazrisiT, rom i.tatiSvil i, romel ic weril obiT dokumentis moiTxovda s.mdivnisgan, es ukanaskneli, osmal o maRal Cinosnebis cariel i da arafriSmTqmeli `patiosani- sityvis dajerebis aucil ebl obiT arwmunebda n.Jordanias. es rom namdvil ad aseba, amis sail ustraci od, imave depeSis srul teqsts movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os misi avkargianobis sakiTxvi. `Tqveni pirveli winadadeba miRes magram daumates Semdegi; 1)okupaciisTvis qarTuli jari saWiro ar aris; 2)ol qis mTavar mmarTvel obasTan iqneba saokupacio jaris warmo-madgeneli; 3)iqneba gamocxadebuli, rom momaval Si saqarTvel os da osmal eTis mTavrobaTa SeTanxmebit am ol qebSi unda moxdes pl ebisciti. amas acxadeben l ondonisa da ufro ki ruseTis gasagonad. samma ministrma mTavrobis saxel iT piradad patiosani sityva momca, rom rogorc ki Cveni mdgomareoba gaumj obesdeba, am ol qebidan dauyovnel iv jars gaiyvanen; 4)pirobis dawera uxerxul ad miaCniaT, vinaidan moskovsa da l ondots Sua maTi mdgomareoba gamourkvevelia. garda amisa, Cvenic eSiniaT im ryevis gamo, rasac ganicdis zogierTi gavl eniani wevri damfuZnebeli krebisa da moiTxovs bol Sevizmis miRebas. es cnoba al baT kiazimbeim miawoda. sazogadod unda mogaxsenoT, rom Cveni ubedureba is aris, rom ver SevZel iT dacda l ondonis konferenciis dasasrul isa. Tumca gansxvaveba aris, magram amaT brZaneba misces raTa Tqveni winadadeba dauyovnebl iv moyvanili iqnas sisrul eSi. ubrZaneT rom yovel ive cnobebi momcen evropis informaciisTvis.-<sup>11</sup>

am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom s.mdivani cdil obs n.Jordania darwmunos: a)osmal ebis sityvis patiosnebaSi; b)weril obiT gaformebul i dokumentaciis oficial urad moTxovniT, osmal ebisTvis uxerxul i mdgomareobis SeqmnaSi; g)damfuZnebeli krebis zogierTi gavl eniani wevrisgan, bol Sevikebisadmi araprincipul i damokidebul ebis gamo, osmal ebis mxridan saqarTvel os mTavrobisadmi ndobis faqtoris SemcirebaSi. ucnauria, magram faqtia rom, s.mdivanis mier motanili zemoaRniSnul i argumentebi, ara Tu n.Jordaniasa da mTavrobis sxva wevrebisaTvis, aramed, ubral o saxel mwifo moxel isTvisac ki miuRebeli armoCnda. aqedan gamomdinare, primitivizmis doneze s.mdivnis `mtkicebul ebebis- da osmal ebis mxridan gakeTebul i Casworebebis miuRebl obaze metyvel ebs is faqti, rom zemoaRniSnul i depeSa upasuxod iqna datovebuli.

oficial uri nebarTvis armiRebis miuxedavad, osmal ebma baTumis ol qSi jaris Seyvana ganaxorciel a da baTumSi myofi saqarTvel os mTavroba faqtis winase daayena. yovel ive zemoTqmulidan gamomdinare, savsebit marTebul ad mimacnia aprof. l .Toizis mier sakiTxvis dasma\_ osmal eTsi el Cad myofi ori Zmis (simon mdivani\_ saqarTvel os warmomad-

genel i, budu mdivani\_ sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel i) urTierTobis sagangebod Seswavl is aucil ebl oba. osmal eTSi srul ufl ebian el Cad s.mdivani saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1920 wl is 18 dekembris dadgenil ebiT daini Sna da mis gankargul ebaSi 25 milioni maneTi iqna gadadebul i. 1921 wl is 2 Teberval s, man rwmunebis qaRal di osmal eTis sagareo saqmeTa komisars Caabara. rac Seexeba sabWoTa el Cs\_ b.mdivans, igi osmal eTSi 1921 wl is 19 Teberval s (17 dRis Semdeg) Cavid. gamoricxul i araa, sabWoTa xel isuflebas es nabiji Segnebul ad rom gadaedga da ori Zma erTmaneTis piriSPIr daeyenebina. marTal ia, am ori Zmis osmal eTSi urTierTobis sakiTxi burusiTaa mocul i, magram am fonze yuradRebas iqcevs s.mdivnis mier saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisadmi 1921 wl is 22 Teberval s gagzavnil i depeSa, romel Siac vkiTxul obT: `ruseTis aqauri el Ci, romel ic me piradad ar minaxavs miTvl is; Tu saqarTvel os mTavroba am oms ar miscems xasiaTs ruseTTan omisas, presa kinkl aobas ar daiwyebis, adgil obriv bol Sevikebs didad ar Seaviwroebis da rusebis tyveebis kargad moepyroba, ruseTi ara Tu oms ar gamoucXadebs, piriqIT, exl a ufro ukeTesi zavis pirobebs miRebs. TviT saqarTvel os mTavrobam daiwyos mol aparakeba am omis likvidaciis Sesaxeb da me aqedan davexmarebio. Tu mas ara surs dawyeba, maSin me SemiZl ia aqedan daviwyo. osmal eTsac vaizul ebT baTums da arTvins xel i ar axl os. momecIT direqtivebi.-<sup>12</sup>

es dokumenti 22 Tebervl iTaa daTariRebul i. im dros, qarTul i jaris SenaerTebma sastikad daamarca XI armia da mowinaaRmdeges xel sayrel i poziciebi daatovebina. rac Seexeba sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenl isgan gacemul dapirebebs: a) `ukeTesi zavisdadebas\_ am SemTxvevaSi, s.mdivani 1920 wl is 7 maisis ruseT-saqarTvel os oficial ur xel Sekrul ebas `iviwyebis- da sisxl ismRvrel i omis damwyebi qveynis warmomadgenel is\_ b.mdivanis mier SeTavazebul i `ukeTesi zavis- pirobebisa `sj era-. igi saqarTvel os xel isufle ebisgan am sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi Sesabamis direqtivebs moiTxovs; b) osmal eTze zemoqmedeba da misgan iZul ebiTi wesiT arTvins xel is aReba\_ es sakiTxi saqarTvel os xel isufle ebas gadawyvetil i qonda, sabWoTa ruseTs omi rom ar daewyo. rac Seexeba osmal eTze zemoqmedebas, misi mxridan baTumisa da arTvinsadmi xel is arxl ebas, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis maRal i donis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan moskovis konferenciis winasamzadisis periodSi, es sakiTxebi gadawyvetil i iyo da mxol od oficial urad gaformebas el odeboda. es faqtobi, osmal eTSi myofi saqarTvel os el CisTvis cnobil i unda yofil iyo da Zmis faqtoridan gamomdinare, dipl omatiuri miamitoba ar unda gamocina. es depeSac upasuxod iqna datovebul i. yovel i SemTxvevisTvis, j erj erobiT Sesabamis dokuments ver mivakvl ie.

rac Seexeba baTumSi Semosul i osmal ebis moqmedebas, igi yovel gvar zRvars cil deboda. am faqtTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobam Tu ra damokidebul eba gamoavl ina, es kargad Cans egegeWkorus 1921 wl is 23 martiT daTariRebul i depeSiT. `ukanasknel dReebSi osmal ebi iseT zomebs iRebden\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi, rom SeuZl ebel i Seiqmna omis gagrZel eba. 17 marts qiazim- beim Tavisi Tavi gamoacxada baTumis general - gubernatorad, baTumis ol qis aneqsiIT SeerTebul ad. mTavrobas winadadeba misca jarisTvis iaraRi agveyara da mTavroba wasul iyo. mTavroba iZul ebul i gaxda ul timatumi uareyo. moexsna fronti da Seewyvi ta winaaRmdegoba bol SevikebisaTvis.- am dokumentis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, quTaisis mol aparakeba, bol SevikebTan Sesabamisi SeTanxmebis gaformeba da XI armiisaTvis baTumis mimarTul ebiT gzis gaxsna, roml is Sesaxeb naSromis IV TavSi mqonda saubari, mxol od da mxol od baTumis mxaris dakargvis real uri safrTxiT iyo ganpirobebul i da ara bol Sevikebisadmi simpaTiIT.

4) prof. I .ToiZem gansakuTrebul i yuradReba 1921 wl is 16 martis moskovis xel Sekrul ebis pirveli, meore muxl ebisa da damatebis pirveli (A) punqtis osmal eTis mxridan Seusrul ebl obas, ruseT- osmal eTis sajariso SenaerTebisgan baTumis dakavebisTvis daswrebis gamoyenebis da mxareebis faqtis winaSe dayenebis mcdel obas miacqia.<sup>13</sup> Tu riT iyo ganpirobebul i maTi mxridan `maraTonul i siswrafiT- baTumSi Sesvl is survil i, amis Sesaxeb uarresad angariSgasawevi faqtia motanil i Sal va maRI akel iZis mogonebebSi. masSi dawvril ebiTaa saubari xaSuri- borj omi- axal cixis gziT, goderZis uRel texil iT baTumisken wamosul i JI obas cxenosani diviziisadmi dakisrebul i amocanis Sesaxeb. imave S.maRI akel iZis mtkicebiT, moskovis konferenciis gaxsnamde, osmal o askerebisaTvis baTumSi Sesvl a (1921 wl is 9 marti), JI obas unda daeswro. amasTn dakavSirebiT mis memuarebSi vkiTxul obT: `JI oba ver gadmovida goderZis uRel texil ze, didi Tovl i ido. amdenad Wkvi ani iyo I enini. baTumi rom ar dakargoda JI obas miando\_ xaSurs

rogorc miaRwevdnen, borj omis gziT axal cixeSi unda gaWriil iyo, gasul iyo goderZis uRel texil ze da pirvel i Casul iyo baTumSi, imitom rom xel Sekrul eba aqvs l enins TurqeTTan saqarTvel os gayofaze, romel teritoriasac daikavebs TurqeTi, misi iqneba da JI obas miando, rom daaswros Turqebis, magram didi Tovl oba iyo da ver gadmovida, Turqebma daaswres da baTumi daikaves. amitomac dResac `seatos- da `sentos- organizacia baTums xmel TaSuazRvis paqtiT TurqeTisad Tvl is, magram bol Sevikebma es sakiTxi gadaitanes ise, rom menSevikebi gadmovidnen Cvens mxarezeo. tyuil i! menSevikebma baTumi rom wagvarTveso.- v.rcxil aZis SekiTxvaze\_ `marTI a xom qarTul ma j arma gandevna Turqebi?- S.maRI akel iZem upasuxa: `di ax, menSevikebma gandevnes da marTal i arian Turqebi. Cven menSevikebma gagvdevna, Tqvenma mtrebmao da Cven SeTanxmebul i viyaviT: **romel sac Cven davikavebT, Cven gvrCebao da romel sac Tqven daikavebT is Tqven grCebaTo. pirdapir weria saiduml o mol aparakebaSi l eninsa da aTa- Turqs Soris, rom `vse zeml i v rezul tate vaini, katorie budut zaniati l ibo Castiami tureckimi, l ibo sovetskimi, im prenadl eJat eti samie zeml i...**~ JI oba meubneba: `mi svami oba pogibl i!- ratom- Tqo\_ SevekiTxe, `nikogda ne prastit mne etovol- e.i. baTumi ver davikaveo. `gl avnoe, papaSa ne prastit.- papaSao e.i. l eninio. oriveni isev movbrundiT ukan baTumSi, sastumrosi. JI obasgan gavige me, rom ruseTsa da TurqeTs daunawil ebi aT Turme saqarTvel o. e.i. saiduml o samxedro SeTanxmeba yofil a ruseTsa da TurqeTs Soris, ingl isel ebis dasturiT.-<sup>14</sup>

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki zogierTi Cemi kol ega f.maxarazis zemoaRniSnul sagazeTo statiaSi, gmazniaSvil isa da i.furcel aZis memuarebSi motanil faqtebs ucxadebs ndobas, anal ogiuri damokidebul eba ratom ar unda gamoviciNOT general S.maRI akel iZesTan mimarTebaSi? miTumetes, mis mier mowodebul i informacia, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis samxedro maRal CinosanTa korpusis gamoceni i warmomadgenel isgan- cxenosani diviziis sardl isgan qonda miRebul i. S.maRI akel iZis zemoaRniSnul i informaciis namdvil obis mxardaWeraze metyvel ebs l .Toizis mier motanil i faqtebi: **1)goderZis uRel texil ze JI obas winsvl is SesaCerebl ad qiazim- beis mier daqiravebul i xal xisgan gavrcelebul i natyuari informacia, TiTqos baTumi ingl is- safrangeTis j ars da sazRvaofl ots qonda dakavebul i da ruis j ars baTumSi xafangs umzadebdnen.**<sup>15</sup> am faqtma da didTovl obam, JI obaze garkveul i zemoqmedeba moaxdina da goderZis uRel texil ze gadasvl a droebiT gadaafiqrebina; **2)roca sergo orj onikizes acnobes JI obas gadawyvetil eba, ganrixebul ma `sergo orj onikizem maSinve aparatTan moixmo cxenosani armis samxedro komisari, romel sac ubrZana, brZanebis Seusrul ebl obisaTvis daepatimrebina JI oba da piradad gaZROL oda armias win baTumisaken. es brZaneba JI obamac moismina. daSinebul i, TviTon wauZRva armias, didi Tovl is gadal axvis SeuZl ebl obis Sesaxeb krintic ar dauZravs da uRel texil ic warmatebit gadal axa,**<sup>16</sup> magram dagvianebit. osmal ebi 9 martidan ukve baTumSi iyo Sesul i. S.maRI akel iZis mier motanil i zemoaRniSnul i `daswrebi- faqtis sasargebl od metyvel ebs v.l eninis mier g.CiCerinisadmi gagzavnil i weril i: `amx. CiCerin! metad SeSfoTebul i varT, rom Turqebi aWianureben baTumis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebis xel moweras, dros igeben, sanam maTi j arebi baTumisken midian. aseTi gaWianurebis saSual eba ar unda mi vceT...~ moskovis 16 martis ruseT- osmal eTis xel Sekrul ebis samxedro saiduml o nawil Si `daswrebi- muxl is SasaZl o arseoba rom ara, osmal ebi baTumisken winaswar j aris gadaadgil ebas da xel sayrel i `sastarto poziciebis- daWeras ar moaxdendnen. miTumetes, rogorc aRniSnul i mqonda, am dokumentis ZiriTadi teqsti orive mxaristvis Sesabamisi damatebiti muxl ebit 1920 wl is dekembri dan cnobil i iyo. miuxedavad imisa, rom xel Sekrul ebis meore muxl iT, baTumis ol qi saqarTvel os rCeboda, baTumSi myofma osmal ebma, wiTel i armis 33- e diviziis 292- e pol kis qal aqSi SeSvebaze 17 marts uari ganacxada. maTi es qmedeba winaswar gatvl il ideol ogiur samzadiss efuzneboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osmal eTis Sesabamisi uwyebis mesveurTa mxridan, evropis qveynebis l iderebisa da imave qveynebsi myofi saqarTvel os el Cebis darwmunebis mcdel oba\_ baTumi da misi mxare saqarTvel os kanonierma xel isufli ebam TiTqos osmal eTs gadasca. am mimarTul ebit gaweul i propagandistul i saqmianobit iseti foni Seqmnes, rom osmal eTis mier baTumis dakavebas, ruseT\_ osmal eTis saiduml o garigeba ki ara, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisgan osmal ebis `mi patiJeba- edo safuZvl ad. amis erT- erT dadasturebad, ingl isSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cis ak.Cxenkel isa da l ord kerzonis Sexvedris\_ saubris stenografiul i angariSi warmoadgens. am dokumentis mixedvit, l ord kerzons ak.Cxenkel isaTvis utqvams: `rogorc gavige, saqarTvel os mTavrobam TviTon moiwvia osmal ebi baTumSi... Cveni cnobebi da

sami- beis naTqvami eTanxmeba erTmaneTs imaSi, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobam moiwvia osmal ebi.- amasTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domarisgan oficial urad adre gamogzavnil dokumentze dayrdnobiT, ak.Cxenkel ma, l ord kerzons dasabuTebul i formiT upasuxa: `ara, me macnoba mTavrobis Tavmj domarem, rom osmal ebi Cvens nebadaurTvel ad Semovidnen j er artaanSi da arTvinsi da Semdeg baTumSi. vini dan Cven ruseTi yovel i mxridan gvebrZoda, izul ebul i viyaviT ubrZol vel ad dagvetovebina xsenebul i adgil ebi... me am ori dRis winaTac miviRe stambol idan depeSa, damadasturebel i imisa, rac mogaxseneT. sami- beim mec miTxra, rom osmal eTis j ar i TiTqos saqarTvel os mTavrobis TanxmobiT Sesul iyos baTumSi da iq osmal os sardl obas TiTqos daetovebinos saqarTvel os mTavrobis uzenaesoba da misi moxel eni.-

1)stenoqramis am amonawerSi garkveviTaa naTqvami: a)l ord kerzonisadmi miwodebul i informacia, mxol od osmal ur wyaroebis eyrdnoboda da natyuari iyo; b)am dokumentSi garkveviTaa minisnebul i\_ osmal eTis xel isufl ebis namoqmedaris gamarTi ebis mizniT, saerTaSoriso arenaze ra maRal i aqtiurobiT moqmedebda osmal eTis warmomadgenel i sami- bei. rac Seexeba sabWoTa ruseTis neutral itets baTumTan mimarTebaSi da mimi- nare procesebisadmi Soridan mayurebl is ampl uaSi yofnas, l ogikuri kategoriis arcerT formaSi ar Tavsdaba. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom: 1)1921 wl is 25 Tebev- l idan, sabWoTa ruseTi saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis xel isufl ebas kanonierad aRar cnobda. am fonze, gakvirvebas iwvevs fsevdo `mipatiJebis- osmal Ta mxridan wina pl anze wamoweve da umaRI es `samarTi ebriv- kategoriamede ayvanis mcdel obis faqti; 2)moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis oficial uri xel Sekrul ebiT, sazRvris aRsadgenad sabWoTa ruseTi val debul i iyo, osmal eTis winaaRmdeg Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyeneb- isTvis miemarTa. ramdenadac am mimarTul ebiT adeqvaturi nabiji ar gadadga, momxdari faqti gvafiqrebinebs, rom aq gadamwyveti rol i im `maraTonul ma gadarbenam- Seasrul a, romel ic teritoriis dakavebasTan dakavSirebiT, osmal o askerebma JI obas cxenosan divizias moug. am faqtis Sesaxeb imave l .Toizis mier motanil dokumentSi vkiTxu- l obT: Sal va dadianTan misul 292- e pol kis meTauris ganucxadebia, rom mas miRebul i aqvs `saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel is Seimanis brZaneba, Sevides baTum- Si da gadavides samxedro sabWos gankargul ebaSi, magram Turqi askerebi amis saSual e- bas ar aZl even. Sal va dadiani da 292- e pol kis meTauri qiazim- beis ewivnen mosal a- parakebl ad. qiazim- beim kategoriul i uari ganucxada baTumSi 292-e pol kis SeSvebaze.<sup>17</sup> es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom ol qSi `diriJoris- funqciis Sesrul ebas, osmal eTis xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel i cdil obda. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os revkomis mes- veurebs, okupantTan mimarTebaSi, urTierTobis moridebul formas icavda. am faqtis siswores, gazeT `social ist-federal istSi- dabeWdil vrcel publ ikaciaSi\_ `baTumTan brZol a da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyareba saqarTvel oSi-\_ soso asl aniSvil ic ada- sturebs. rac Seexeba wiTel i armiis 292- e pol kis sardl obisa da d.JI obas 3000 kaci- ani cxenosani diviziis pasieur mdgomareobaSi darCenas, es faqti garkveul kiTxvebs ba- debs. Tuki XI armiis nawil ebis aseTi TavSekaveba moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis `mego- brul i- xel Sekrul ebis oficial uri teqstidan gamomdinareobda, imave teqstis (# 1, 2 muxl ebi da l (A) punqti) mixedviT, osmal eTis j aris nawil ebs baTumis ol qi uprobl em- od unda daetovebina, radgan xel Sekrul ebis oficial uri teqstiT, baTumis ol qi saqarTve- l os kuTvnil ebadaa aRiarebul i da sazRvari mdinare WoroxTanaa gavl ebul i. arsebul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi obieqturi daskvnis gakeTebis mizniT, Cemi azriT Semdegi Zi- riTadi faqtorebi unda iqnas gaTval iswinebul i: 1)osmal eTis mxridan xel Sekrul ebis oficial uri teqstisadmi daumorcil ebl oba; 2)sabWoTa ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa saxa- l xo komisariatiskan osmal eTisadmi oficial uri protestis argagzavna; 3)wiTel i ar- miis sajariso SenaerTebis osmal o askerebTan saomar procesebSi arCabma da maqsima- l urad Tavis Sekaveba. miTumetes, saqarTvel oSi rsfsr srul ufl ebiani warmomadgene- l is a.Seimanisagan, 292- e pol kis sardl obas baTumSi Sesvl a qonda nabrZanebi; 4)yove- l ive zemoaRniSnul Tan erTad, qiazim- beis Tavxeduri qmedebebisadmi baTumis revkomis wevrTa gansakuTrebul i moridebul i damokidebul eba, myar safuZvel s qmnis imisaTvis, rom Sal va maRI akel izis mogonebebSi JI obas naambobze dayrdnobiT, moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis samxedro nawil Si\_ baTumis ol qSi Sesvl is daswrebi- saiduml o muxl is arseboba\_ sinamdvil ed iqnas miCneul i. es garemoeba srul SesaZl e- bl obas izl eva ganvacxado: a)moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis xel Sekrul ebis teqs- ti Sesabamisi damatebebiT, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, ramdenadac 1920 wl is dekembrisaTvis iyo mzad, masSi Cadebul i yvel a debul eba, sabWoTa

da osmal o maRal Cinosnebis garkveul i wrisaTvis saiduml oebas ar warmoad-  
genda. swored amitom aCqarebda s.orj onikiZe baTumSi Sesasvl el ad JI obas.  
rac Seexeba am dokumentze oficial urad xel moweras, orive mxare mxol od  
xel sayrel i pol itikuri situaciis Seqmnas\_ ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os  
winaaRmdeg saomari moqmedebebis dawyebas el odeboda; b)osmal o askerebis ba-  
Tumis ol qSi, TviT baTumSi da axal cixeSi Sesvl as, saqarTvel os pirvel i re-  
spubl ikis mTavrobisgan `mopatiJeba-, ki ara, mxareSi Sesvl isaTvis daswreba\_  
`maraTonul i rbena- edo safuZvl ad. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom quTaisis mo-  
l aparakebis dros, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebis mier, saqarTve-  
l os kanonieri mTavrobis mxridan kapitul aciis oficial urad gamocxadebis  
miRwevis mcdel oba, am garemoebiT yofil iyo nakarnaxevi; g)rogorc zemoTac  
mqonda miTitebul i, amjeradac erTxel kidev xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom  
saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavrobis mxridan osmal ebis baTumSi `mo-  
patiJeba- Sesabamisi dikumentiT rom momxdariyo, es umniSvel ovanesi faqti,  
moraxel aSvil sa da S.el iavas yuradRebis miRma ar darCeboda da 17 marts qu-  
TaisSi gamarTul i mol aparakebis dros, gr.l orTqifanizesTan diskusiis pro-  
cesSi warmatebul ad gamoiyenebdnen.

Cems mier motanil i saarqivo masal ebis erTobl iobaSi gaanal izebis safuZvel ze,  
arasworad mimaCnia saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis 1921 wl is 16 martis sxdomis  
mier\_ ruseTTan saqarTvel os damarcxebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis Sesaxeb miRebu-  
l i dadgenil eba. mkiTxvel s Sevaxseneb am dokumentis ZiriTad muxl ebs: `1.mTavroba  
srul iad moumzadebel i aRmoCnda qveynis TavdacvisaTvis, Tumca icoda, rom mteri  
saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmas amzadebda da TviTonac araerTxel ganucxadebia, rom respub-  
l ikis dasacavad yvel a saTanado zoma miRebul i aqvs; 2.mTavrobam ver Seqmna respub-  
l ikis dasacavad samxedro Zal a da mraVal i daudevrobisa da Secdomis gamo, srul ad  
ver gamoiyena Tavdacvis is Zal ebi, romel ic mis gankargul ebaSi iyo; 3.omis warmoebis  
drosac mTavrobam ver gamoiCina saWirosimtkice da Sei qmna panikisa da arevdarevis  
wyarod.

damfuZnebel i kreba aRniSnavs, rom Tumca qarTvel ma xal xma yovel ive miitana samSob-  
l os dacvis samsxverpl oze, dRevandel ma mTavrobam mainc ver SeZl o saqarTvel os  
damoukidebl obisaTvis brZol is xel mZRvanel oba da ucxadebs mas undobl obas.-<sup>18</sup> am  
dokumentze xel momweri pol itikuri partiebis (social ist- federal istebi, social -  
ist- revol ucionerebi, damoukidebel i social - demokratebi (sxivel ebi), erovnul -  
demokratebi) l iderebi, Cems mier zemoT motanil i saiduml o dokumenturi masal is  
1%- sac ar icnobdnen. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, sbWoTa ruseTTan  
damarcxebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis maTi mxridan mxol od saqarTvel os pirvel i  
respubl ikis mTavrobisadmi gadabral ebis zemoT motanil i samive debul ebis ZiriTadi  
nawil i\_ sinamdvil is gayal bebis mcdel obaze dafuZnebul araswor formul irebebs  
Seicavs.

rac Seexeba osmal o askerebisgan baTumis ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxs, igi i sev saqarTve-  
l os demokratiul i respubl ikis saj ariso SenaerTebis mxrebze gadavida. mdgomareoba  
qarTvel Ta sasargebl od mas Semdeg Seicval a, roca j aris sar dl ad gen. giorgi mazniaS-  
vil i dainiSna. samwuxaro is aris, rom Seqmnil i umZimesi mdgomareobi dan gamomdinare,  
droul i sapsuxismgebl o gadawyvetil ebis miRebis nacvl ad, bol Sevikebi ormag TamaSs  
eweoda. erTis mxriv, g.mazniaSvil s baTumis ganTavisufl ebas aval ebda, xol o meore  
mxriv, osmal ebisadmi arsol is brZanebas aZl evda. am movl enebis TviTmxil vel i sasl  
niSvil i wers: `dil idanve saqarTvel os j arebma bol Sevikebis revkomidan mi iRes ganka-  
rgul eba, rom omi osmal ebTan ar aris da j armac ar unda esrol os TaTrebs, Tuki ukana-  
sknel ebi TviTon ar daiwyeben Tavdasxmas qarTul i j aris nawil ebze.-<sup>19</sup> es imas niSnavda,  
rom qarTul i j aris pasieur mdgomareobaSi yofil iyo, xol o g.mazniaSvil s, Tavisufal i  
moqmedebis SasaZl ebl obebi ezRudeboda da xel sayrel i situaciis SeqmnisTanave, mo-  
qmedebis dawyeba ekrZal eboda. g.mazniaSvil is mxridan aseTi brZanebis Sesrul eba, osma-  
l ebs, strategiul i punqtების daWeris da misi gamagrebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda, rac  
samxedro Tval sazrisiT danaSaul is tol fasi qmedeba iyo. baTumis revkomis zemoaRniS-  
nul i poziciis miuxedavad, g.mazniaSvil ma ul timatumiT mimarTa qiazim-beis \_erTi sa-  
aTis ganmavl obaSi gaenTavisufl ebina fosta-tel egrafi, radios sadguri, barcxanis  
forti, qal aqis mil iciis Senoba da baTumidan osmal o j ariskacebi dauyovnebl iv  
gaeyvana. moTxovnis arSesrul ebis SemTxvevaSi, igi mters sabrZol o moqmedebebis dawye-



biT emugreboda.<sup>20</sup> am SemTxvevaSi, qiazim-beis bol Sevikebis imedi qonda da bunebrivia, g.mazniaSvil is brZaneba mis mier Seusrul ebel i darCa. roca qaTTul i jari osmal ebis winaaRmdeg Setevaze gadavida, baTumis revkomis wevrebi general s xel SemSI el is rol Si moevlina. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, igive g.mazniaSvil i wers: `revkomis wevrebi yovel Rones xmarobdnen, rom Cvensa da osmal ebs Soris Setakeba ar momxdariyo da ganuwyvetl iv mol aparakebas awarmoebdnen qiazim-beisTan. magram qiazim-bei erTis mxriv arwmu- nebda del egatebs, rom is mzadaa mSvidobiani gziT moagvaros Seqmnil i mdgomareoba, xol o meores mxriv, osmal ebis jarebis ufrosebisgan depeSiT moiTxovda maSvel jarebs. am depeSebs Cvenebi iWerdnen da adgendnen StabSi.<sup>21</sup> qiazim-beis mxridan revkomTan gamarTul i es mol aparakebebi, drois mogebaze da osmal uri samxedro Zal ebis koncentraciaze iyo gaTvl il i. aqedan gamomdinare, baTumis revkomis mier gacemul i brZanebebi\_ qarTul i jaris Setevebis SeCerebisa da osmal ebTan droebiTi dazavebis Sesaxeb, absurdul saxes iRebda. osmal ebis mxridan farisevl ur qedebaze dafuZnebul i samxedro eSmakoba, g.mazniaSvil s mxedvel obidan ar gamorCenia da mters sul ismoTqmis saSual eeba ar misca. misi brZanebiT, qarTul ma jarma SeteviTi operaciebi ganaxorciel a barcxana-kaxaberis mimarTul ebiT.

kaxaberis fortebze mimdinare sabrZol o moqmedebes sagangebod Seexo s.asl aniSvil i. `kaxaberis garnizonma (wers igi S.v)... ukuagdo didi damarcxebiT osmal Ta mTel i aTaseul i. am aTaseul idan osmal ebma dahkarges oficroba aTaseul is ufrosiTurt, ris Semdegac aTaseul i daeSva stepanovkis simagrisken, magram iq Casafrebul i meoTxe aTaseul is gundma cecxl i daayara, ris Semdegac, osmal Ta aTaseul i savsebiT dairva da gaifanta.- **am umniSvnel ovanesi brZol is Sefasebas, igive s.asl aniSvil i Semdeg- nairad gadmoscems: `mraVal i axal gazrda Seewira im dRes saqarTvel os mTI iano- bis dacvis ideas. mraVal i udanaSaul o sisxl i daiRvara baTumis irgvl iv. i brZoda qarTvel i mSromel i xal xi baTumis SesanarCunebl ad. i brZoda qarTu- l i ideiT ganmsWval ul i.**<sup>22</sup>

aseTi SemarTebisa da Tavdadebis Sedegad, barcxanis fortTan brwyinval e gamarjveba iqna mopovebul i. miuxedavad amisa, baTumis fortisa da kaxaberis mimarTul ebiT mdgo- mareoba rTul i rCeboda, radgan, osmal ebma dafantul i Zal ebis Tavmoyra da dakavebul i punqtebis gamagreba SeZl o. aseT umZimes pirobebSi, XI armiis nawil ebi pasiur mdgomar- eobaSi iyo. rac Seexeba JI obas kaval erias (3000 kaci), igi baTumSi saRamos 18 marts Sevida da g.mazniaSvil is winadadebiT, stefanovkasa da anariis fortebze dabanakda.

aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, d.JI obam Semdegi Sinaarsis info-rmacia miawoda XI armiis sardal s gen. ahekkersa da kavkasiis frontis samxedro revol uciuri sabWos wevrs s.orj onikiZes: `Cemdami rwmunebul i nawil ebi Sevidnen baTumSi 1921 wl is martis 18-s 17 saaT. da 18 wuTze. qedaSTan da aWaris-wyal Tan miaxl oebisas qemal istebis sar- dl obam yovel ive Rone ixmara, ramdenime saaTiT Cveni winsvl a SeeCerebina, viTomda gaugebrobis mizeziT. qal aq baTumis quCebSi brZol a ariso. miuxedavad amisa, qal aq ba- Tumis dasaWerad win gavuSvi kaval eria. gza da gza Cven gvxxdebodnen Tavzardacemul i qemal istebi. zogi maT Soris iyo daWril i. dakiTxvidan gamoirkva, viTom maT Tav- smian frangebi, ingl isel ebi da qarTvel ebi, xol o qal aqs yumarebs esvrian kreiseri- dan. rodesac mowinave nawil ebma qal aqs miaRwies, me parl amentiorebi gavagzavne. maTi ukan dabrunebisas gairkva, rom saqarTvel os jaris im nawil ebs, romel Tac sabWoTa mTav- vroba ecnoT, saSinl ad daemarcxebinaT osmal ebi, romel Tac ganuzraxavT qal aqis dakaveba.-

qarTul i jaris warmatebis miuxedavad, aucil ebl obas osmal o askerebisgan baTumis srul ad gawmenda warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, mniSvnel ovani rol is Sesrul eba sabWo- Ta xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa mxridan, osmal ebTan mimarTebaSi mtkice poziciis daWeras eniWeboda. am mxriv yuradRebas iqcevs baTumSi Casul i Sel iavas mier qiazim- beisadmi mkacrad micemul i ul timatumi\_ osmal o jariskacebis baTumidan dauyovnebl iv gayvanis Sesaxeb. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave Sel iavam satel efono saubarSi s.orj onikiZesa da abenuqizes Semdegi saxis informacia miawoda: `axl axan davamTavre saubari Turqetis jarebis Woroxis mimarTul ebis sardal Tan al i- riza- beisTan. ka- tegoriul ad movTxove mas baTumidan gaiyvanon yvel a Seiararebul i Tu tyved Cavard- nil i askerebi. dRes maT katarRebiT xofaSi gadaiyvanen, nawil i ki flexiT wava...

dRes araugvianes 10 saatisa baTumi gawmendil i iqneba Turqetis jarisagan. amis Se- mdeg winadadebas mivcem qiazim-beis warmoadginos Tavisi rwmunebani. Tu mas ar eqneba rwmunebani saqarTvel os sabWoTa mTavrobasTan (warmomadgenl obisaTvis), gamovacxadeb kerZo pirad, Turqetis qveSevrdomad, romel ic baTumSi cxovrobs.<sup>24</sup>

aseTma principul ma damokidebul ebam, qiazim-bei izul ebul i gaxada, osmal o jariskacebis baTumidan srul ad gayvanaze ezruna. qarTul istoriografiaSi dadasturebulia, rom qal aqis dacl is samzadisi osmal ebma 1921 wl is 20 martisTvis daiwyes. isic nobilia, rom osmal ebis baTumidan gasvl is zedamxedvel obas qarTul i jari axorciel ebda. 1920 wl is 20 martis dRis 12 saaTisaTvis, baTumSi osmal ebis arcerTi SeiaraRebul i jariskaci ar imyofeboda.<sup>25</sup>

gadauWarbebl ad SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom gen. giorgi mazniaSvil is sardl obiT, osmal o askerebisgan baTumis ganTavisufl eba, im usaxel o qarTvel i gmirebis damsaxurebaa, roml ebsac samSobl o saqarTvel o, erovnul i Rirseba da momaval i Taobebis winaSe pirnaTI ad darCena sococxl eze metad uyvardaT. am rwmeniTa da maRal i SemarTebiT, momaval Taobebs sisxl iT daweril i istoriis saxel mZRvanel o gadauSal es, roml iTac safl avidan dResac Segvaxseneben, gavufrTxil deT da vepatronoT maTi sisxl iT gapoxierebul baTumisa da misi mxaris TiToeul goj qarTul miwas. gveyo rac wargvtaces da maT wminda safl avebs nu movaqcevt Casafrebul i mtris teritoriis fargl rbSi.

amrigad, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis mxridan, baTumis ol qis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTisadmi daTmobis Sesaxeb qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul i mosazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. ambral debis Seqmna f.maxaraZisa da T.JRentis saxel ebTanaa dakavSirebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWoTa jarSi mosamsaxure samxedro maRal Cinosnebis memuarebSiac hpova asaxva. naSromSi motanil i faqtebis anal izi adasturebs, rom baTumis ol qSi da TviT baTumSi osmal ebis Semosvla, garkveul i politikuri mosazrebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis maRal CinosanTa winaswari garigebis STabeWdil ebas tovebs. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl ebisadmi am faqtis `mopatiJebis- formiT gadabral eba, bol Sevikebis mxridan mis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da istoriis fal sifikaciis morig mcdel obas warmoadgenda.

## daskvnebi

Cems mier saarqivo masal eboidan motanil i faqtebis anal izi, Semdegi saxis daskvnebis gakeTebis Sesazl ebl obas izi eva:

1)saqarTvel o- ruseTis 1920 wl is 7 maisis xel Sekrul ebaSi Cadebul i, saqarTvel osaTvis sasargebl o da saziano muxl ebis miuxedavad, saerTaSoriso politikuri situaciis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qarul ma politikumazrovnebam es dokumenti dadebitad Seafasa. maT ZiriTad amosaval safuZvel s, sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufl ebis mxridan (misi aral egitimurobis miuxedavad), saqarTvel os istoriul sazRvrebSi samarTI ebrivi aRiareba da masze yovel - gvარი saxis pretenziebis moxsnis dadastureba warmoadgenda;

2)ruseTTan keTil mezobl uri urTierTobis aRdgenisa da xel Sekrul ebiT `Tavdausxmeli obis garantiis- oficial urad miRebis miuxedavad, qarTul i politikuri el ita, ruseTis mxridan aRebul i val debul ebis Sesrul ebaSi darwmunebul i ar iyo. Crdil oel i mezobl is undobl obis faqtori edo safuZvl ad qarTul i dipl omatiis yvel a im RonisZiebas, romelic dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebidan saqarTvel os de- iure- s droul ad aRiarebas da am samarTI ebrivi bazis erTa l i gaSi gawevrianebisTvis gamoyenebas isaxavda miznad;

3)sabWoTa xel isufl ebis aral egitimurobis miuxedavad, qarTul i politikuri azris mesaWeTa mxridan, aRniSnul i xel Sekrul eba saerTaSoriso mniSnel obis dokumentad savsebit kanonzomierad iqna aRiarebul i. gansakuTrebul i datvirTva, man sabWoTa ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupaciis Semdeg SeiZina. igi sabWoTa imperiis winaaRmddeg brZol is erT- erT ZiriTad samarTI ebriv bazad iqca. masze dayrdnobiT ganxorciel da saqarTvel os komunisturi xel isufl ebis arakanonierad gamocxadeba (1990 wl is 9 marti), sabWoTa kavSiris sivrcidan saqarTvel os gamoyvana da misi damoukidebl obis aRdgenisaTvis samarTI ebrivi safuZvl is momzadeba;

4) qarTul i politikuri elitis mcdel oba, erovnul i saxel mwifos formirebis paral el urad qarTul i jaris Sesatyvisi raodenobiT da srul yofil i SeiaraRebiT Seqmna moexdina, finansebisa da iaraRis uqonl obam Seaferxa. qarTul istoriografiaSi dRemde gavrcel ebul i mosazreba \_saqarTvel oSi arsebul samxedro sawyobebSi TTiTqos N raodenobis iaraRi iyo, natyuar informacias emyareba da sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba;

5) dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoebisgan 1919 wl is gazafxul ze Sepirebul i daxmarebis (iaraRi, amuncia, sursaTi, ful i) droul ad miRebis mcdel oba, 1921 wl is 25 Tebervl amde uSedego aRmoCnda. naSromSi motanil i dokumenturi masal ebi adasturebs, rom zemoaRniSnul i danapirebis Sesasrul ebl ad, safrangeTis xel isufl ebam pirvel i qmediTi nabiji mxol od 1921 wl is 25 Teberval s gadadga. stambol Si arsebul i safrangeTis kuTvnil i samxedro sawyobebidan saqarTvel osadmi miyidul i vrangel is naqoni iaraRi, uvargisi da im etapze sabrZol o moqmedebebisaTvis gamousadegari iyo;

6) vargisiani iaraRis saqarTvel osTvis miyidvis gadawyvetil eba, safrangeTis xel isufl ebis mxridan mxol od 1921 wl is 17 marts iqna miRebul i. es faqti, saqarTvel os kanonieri mTavrobisa da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebs Soris (gr.I orTqifaniZe, m.oraxel aSvil i ab.enuqiZe, S.el iava) brZol is Sewyvetis Sesaxeb quTaisSi miRweul SeTanxmebas, da saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl ebis mier qveynis teritoriis datovebas (17 marti) daemTxva. dasavl eT evropis saxel mwifoTa waj eq- ukuj eqis politikuri kursoridan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis 1921 wl is Teberval - martis agresias, arsenal Si kustaruli ad damzadebul i rusul i vaznebita da sagangebod Seqmnil saxel osnoebSi SekeTebul i SaSxanebit Sexvda;

7) qarTvel i sardl ebis (i.odiSelize, i.gedevaniSvil i, g.sumbaTaSvil i) mier dasvebul ma taqtikurma Secdomebma da sajariso SenaerTebSi gamefebul ma udisciplinobam, bambakis xeobaSi qarTul i jaris samarcxvino damarcxebas, misi 3/4 -iT ganadgurebas da XI armiis sardl bis gaTamamebas Seuwyo xel i. Tbilisis dasacavad gen. g.kvinitazis mier sajariso SenaerTebis seqtorebad gadanawil eba, taqtikuri Tval sazrisiT swor gadawyvetil ebas warmoadgenda. mis mier gatarebul i Tavdacviti Ronisziebebi, 1921 wl is 18- dan 22 Tebervl is CaTvl iT, mtris Semotevebis warmatebit mogerlebis safuzvel i gaxda;

8) Tavdacviti IV seqtoris xel mZRvanel is\_ ngedevaniSvil is mxridan arsebul i situaciis sworad verSefasebam, genStabSi mis mier mitanil ma panikit aRsavse informaciam, fsiqol ogiuri teroris funqcia Seasrula da Tbilisis Tavdacviti brZol ebis gagrZel ebaze uaryofiti zemoqmedeba moaxdina. g.kvinitazis brZanebis (# 131) safuzvel ze Tbilisis datoveba, mcxeTaSi gamagrebis gegma da generl uri brZol iT Tbilisis isev dabruneba, qarTvel jariskacTa fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobis argaTval iswinebas warmoadgenda. igi qarTul sinamdvil estan SeusabamobaSi modioda, radgan momxdarma faqtma, qarTul mxedrobaze fsiqol ogiurd dambl adamcemi funqcia Seasrula da maTi brZol isunarianoba maqsimal urad daaqveita;

9) saqarTvel os Zal ismieri gziT gasabWoebiT da revkomis mmarTvel obiT Seqmnil i umZimesi politikuri situacia, mezobel i respublikebis mmarTvel i wreebisgan, saqarTvel os teritoriebis misatacebl ad xel sayrel situaciad iqna aRqmuli. am mosal odnel safrTxeze, saqarTvel os memercxene social ist-federal istTa partiis liderebis droul i gafrTxil eba, axal i xel uisuflebisgan uyuradRebod iqna datovebul i. ruseT- saqarTvel os 1920 wl is 7 maysis xel Sekrul ebis fargl ebSi qveynis teritoriul i mTlianobis aRdgenis memarcxene social ist-federal istTa imedi, moskovis 1921 wl is 16 martis ruseTosmal eTis xel Sekrul ebam daasamara;

10) gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os revkomis warmomadgenl ebTan mol aparakebis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris iniciativas, or mxares Soris omis Sewyveta, erTiani Zal ebit baTumis mxaridan osmal o dampyroblebis gandevna da qveynisTvis teritoriis Senarcuneba edo safuzvl ad.

demokratiul i saqarTvel os del egaciis (gr.I orTqifaniZe, al .dgebuaZe, i.gede-

devaniSvil i, d.SaraSiZe) mizans, revkomis xel isufli ebis cnobis gverdis avli iT, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebTan (ab.enuqiZe, m.oraxel aSvil i, al .svaniZe, S.el iava, gambarovi) SeTanxmehis miRweva da n.Jordaniias mier micemul i daval ebis Sestrul eba warmoadgenda. gr.l orTqifaniZeze zemoqmedebisa da kompromisze dayol iebisTvis, revkomis mesveurni, baTumis ol qSi osmal ebis gaaqtiurebis faqtis gamoyenebas cdil obdnen. gr.l orTqifaniZes kargad qonda gacnobierebul i, rom m.oraxel aSvil is mxridan revkomis aRiarebis moTxovnis dayeneba, kanonieri xel isufli ebis kapitul aciaze da revkomis samarTI ebriv CarSoSi moqcevaze iyo gaTvl il i. aqedan gamomdinare, baTumis ol qis Senarcunehisadmi aRniSnul i sakiTxis gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os warmomadgenl ebis mier mizanimarTul ad mibma, gr.l orTqifaniZes dauSvebl ad miaCnda.

11)quTaisis mol aparakebis procesSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciis fonze, gr.l orTqifaniZem saazrovno SesaZl ebl obis maqsimal uri mobilizeba da mopirdapire mxaris moTxovnebis dasabuTebul i formiT uaryofa SesZl o. stenografiul i angariSis teqstiT irkveva, rom gr.l orTqifaniZem revkomis warmomadgenl ebs l ogikur saazrovno principebze da faqtobrivi masal is SedarEBiT i anal izis safuZvel ze dausabuTa: a)saqarTvel oSi saxel isufli ebo cvl a, sabWoTa ruseTis XI armiis Zal isxmevit ganxorciel da da momxdari faqti, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis ganwyobil ebis\_ arCevnebis gzIT mopovebul Sedegs ar ganasaxierebda; b)sabWoTa j arebTan saomari moqmedebis Sewyveta, baTumis ol qis saqarTvel odan Camocil ebis real uri safrTxidan gamomdinareobda da erTobl ivi Zal ebit osmal ebis gandevas isaxavda miznad; g)ramdenadac ufl ebis wyaros saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i kreba warmoadgenda, saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os revkomisadmi xel isufli ebis oficial urad gadacemis samarTI ebrivi ufl ebebi ar gaaCnda.

12)ab.enuqizis mxridan dambal ansebl is funqciis Sestrul ebam da sabWoTa xel isufli ebis aRiarebis dRis wesrigidan moxsnam, ormxrivi mol aparakebis gagrZel ebis da misi bol omde miyvanis SesaZl ebl oba Seqmna. qarTul i jaris mosal odnel i ganiaraRebis SemTxvevaSi, jariskacebis, oficrebis, politikuri da samoqal aqo pirebis mier warsul Si gaweul i saqmianobis danaSaul ad argamocxadebis gr.l orTqifaniZiseul i moTxovna, qveyanaSi Sida dapirispirebas da samoqal aqo omis acil ebas isaxavda miznad. ormxriv SeTanxmehaSi, saqarTvel odan ruis jaris gayvanis da saqarTvel os moqal aqeebisTvis samxedro begaris respublikis fargl ebSi moxdis cal ke muxl ad Setana, gr.l orTqifaniZis del egaciis udides gamarjvebas warmoadgenda.

13)saqarTvel os interesebze dafuZnebul ma gr.l orTqifaniZis ukompromiso poziciam da maRal i momzadebis donem, m.oraxel aSvil i da S.el iava gamouval mdgomareobaSi Caayena. maT kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i, rom gr.l orTqifaniZis mxridan dayenebul i moTxovnebis ignorireba da maTi poziciis gasajaroeba, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobaSi axal i xel isufli ebis antierovnul kurss saaSkaraoze gamoitanda da mis diskreditacias gardual s gaxdid. gr.l orTqifaniZem revkomis warmomadgenl ebs is mtkivneul i nervi mouZebna, romelic izul ebit kompromisze maT wasvl as ganapiroebda.

quTaisis 1921 wl is 17-18 martis mol aparakebit miRweul i SeTanxmeha da am procesis amsaxvel i stenograma, damarcxebul i da `gamarjvebul i- mxareebis l ustracias warmoadgens. saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisTvis gasagebi gaxda, Tu vin- vin iyo. am kuTxiT Tuki ganvixil avT zemoaRniSnul istoriul faqts, dabeb iTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom okupirebul i saqarTvel os umZimes fonze, igi wingadadgmul nabij ad unda Sefasdes. quTaisis mol aparakebam erTxel kidev srul ad gamoavl ina, qveynisa da misi mosaxl eobis mimarT saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis mZrunvel i pozicia;

14)saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis mxridan, baTumis ol qis mdinare Col oqamde osmal eTisadmi daTmohis Sesaxeb qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul i mosazreba, arcerTi saarqivo dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. am bral debis Seqmna f.maxaraZisa da T.JRentis saxel ebTanaa dakavSirebul i da man garkveul i formiT sabWoTa jarSi mosamsaxure samxedro maRal Cinosnebis memuarebSiac hpova asaxva. naSromSi motanil i faqtebis anal izi adasturebs, rom baTumis ol qSi da TviT baTumSi osmal ebis Semosvl a, garkveul i politikuri mo-

sazrebidan gamomdinare, sabWoTa ruseTisa da osmal eTis maRal CinosanTa wina-  
swari garigebis STabeWdil ebas tovebs. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os pirvel i  
respublikis xel isufl ebisadmi am faqtis `mopatiJebis- formiT gadabral eba,  
bol Sevikebis mxridan mis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl ili da istoriis fal-  
sifikaciis morig mcdel obas warmoadgenda.

Shota Vadachkoria

Chronicle of Georgia's defeat with Soviet Russia (1921)

### Summary

Based on analysis of archive documents and press materials the following is substantiated in the paper:

1) Despite of harmful clauses found in the Georgian-Russian Agreement of 7 May 1920, apart from the ones suiting interests of Georgia, the main figures of the Georgian political thought considered the document worth of appreciation. The main reason for such an approach was the fact of recognition of Georgia by Russian Soviet power (despite of illegitimacy of the latter) within her historical borders, and as a result, official confirmation that Russia has refused the policy of any pretensions to Georgia;

2) The Georgian diplomats considered that reestablishment of good-neighbour relations with Russia, and official receipt from her of "non-aggression guarantee" was a pre-condition, which would lead to prompts de-jure recognition of Georgia by European states, and would guarantee their support for becoming a Member of the League of Nations;

3) Despite of illegitimacy of the Soviet power, the main figures of the Georgian political thought appropriately considered the Agreement as a document of international importance. It has obtained special significance after Russia occupied Georgia. The Agreement became the principal legislative basis for the struggle against the Soviet empire. Based on it, the Georgian Soviet power was announced illegitimate (on 9 March 1990), the country seceded from the realm of Soviet Union, and legislative basis was prepared for reestablishment of Georgia's independence;

4) the attempt of the Georgian political elite to form Georgian army with adequate amount of warriors and complete armament in parallel with the formation of the national state, was prevented with financial problems and lack of weapons. The still existed in the Georgian historiography viewpoint that there were enormous amount of weapons in the military depot, is based on false information and is not true;

5) Till February, 1921 all attempts to receive in time the aid (weapons, ammunition, food and money) from the Western European states promised in spring, 1919 was impossible. The documents that are given in the work prove that the first effective step to fulfill the promise was made by the French government only in February, 25, 1921. From the military depot in Istanbul that was belonging to France the weapons that were used by Wrangell and sold to Georgia was worthless and out of service at that time;

6) The French government received decision to sell to Georgia weapons fit for military affairs only in March, 17, 1921. This decision was received when the legitimate government of Georgia and the representatives of Soviet Georgia (G. Lordkipanidze, M. Orakhelashvili, A. Enukidze, Sh. Eliava) reached the agreement in Kutaisi and when the government of the first republic of Georgia left the country. Because of this policy of the Western European countries the military forces of the first republic of Georgia met the aggression of Soviet Russia in February – March with Russian, handcraft maid cartridges and Russian rifles mended at specially created workshops;

7) the tactical errors committed by the Georgian commanders (I. Odishelidze, I. Gedevanishvili, G. Sumbatashvili) and indiscipline that prevailed in military units promoted shameful defeat of the Georgian army in Bambaki gorge, annihilation of the three-quarter of the army and encouraged commanders of the 11<sup>th</sup> army. General G. Kvinitadze's decision to redistribute military units by sectors for defense of Tbilisi was positive from the point of view of tactics. The measures of defense carried on by him in February 18 – 22 made possible to repulse successfully an attack of the enemy;

8) N. Gedevanishvili, the head of the 4<sup>th</sup> sector of defense, was unable to assess the given situation properly. The information, which he brought to the General Staff, contained panic. This information had played the role of psychological terror and had a negative impact on the further continuation of defensive military operations for Tbilisi. G. Kvinitadze's order (131) to leave Tbilisi, strengthen in Mtskheta and return Tbilisi back with battles did not take into account the psychological mood of the Georgian soldiers. It was not relevant with Georgian reality because, the fact psychologically had the impact of paralysis on the army and their combat capability had been completely deteriorated;

9). The utterly egregious political situation generated by forced Sovietization and the activities of the Revolutionary Committee in Georgia served as a favorable situation for the governments of neighboring countries to seize the territories of Georgia. Party leaders of the left-wing social-federalists of Georgia timely warned about this probable danger, but it remained unanswered by the new government. The Russia-Ottoman treaty of Moscow in March, 16, 1921 drew to grave the illusion of restoring territorial integrity of Georgia according to the plan of the right-wing socialist federalists within the frames of the Russia-Georgian treaty of May, 7, 1920;

10). After Sovietization of the country the aim of the initiative of the head of government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia to negotiate with the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia was to bring to the end the war between the two sides, to combine forces for bringing the Ottoman conquerors out of the Batumi district, to maintain territory for the country. The goal of the Georgian delegation (G. Lordkipanidze, A. Dgebuadze, I. Gedevanishvili, D. Sharashidze) was to fulfill the task that N. Jordania set for them: to circumvent the authorities of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia and reach an agreement with the representatives of Sovietized Georgia (A. Enukidze, M. Orakhelashvili, A. Svanidze, Sh. Eliava, Gambarov). From their side the leaders of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia tried to use the fact of the Ottoman Empire's activation in Batumi to influence G. Lordkipanidze and to make compromise. G. Lordkipanidze knew well that M. Orakhelashvili's demand to recognize the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia meant the surrender, capitulation of the legitimate government and acknowledgment of the Committee into legal rights. That is why G. Lordkipanidze considered unacceptable linking maintaining Batumi region issue with the mentioned problem from the side of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia;

11). On the background of the utterly egregious situation created during the Kutaisi negotiations, G. Lordkipanidze was able to refute their claims. According to the shorthand text of the report it turns out that G. Lordkipanidze, based on logic and factual material, proved that: A). 11th army of Soviet Russia carried out the change of power in Georgia which was not the result of elections and did not reflect legitimate will of the population of Georgia; B). The suspension of hostilities with the Soviet troops was due to the real danger of cutting of the Batumi district from Georgia and aimed to drive out with joint forces the Ottomans from the district; G). Since the Constituent Assembly of Georgia was the main body which could transfer power officially to the Sovietized Revolutionary Committee of Georgia, the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia had not had legal right to do this;

12). A. Enukidze's balanced relationship during the negotiations and withdrawal from the agenda the issue of the Soviet government recognition, made it possible to continue and complete the negotiations. G. Lordkipanidze demanded that in the case of the expected disarmament of the Georgian army the past cases of soldiers, officers, politicians, civilians not to declare a crime. This demand was put forward in order to avoid internal confrontation and civil war. In this bilateral agreement a separate article was recorded - withdrawal of Russian troops from Georgia and to have an active military service in the country. It was a great victory of Georgian delegation headed by G. Lordkipanidze;

13). Based on the interests of Georgia uncompromising position and high qualification of G. Lordkipanidze put M. Orakhelashvili and Sh. Eliava in a hopeless situation. They were well aware that ignoring his demands and publicity of their position should have exposed anti-national course of the new government to the population of Georgia and its discredit would be inevitable. The Kutaisi negotiation of March, 17-18, 1921 and the stenographic record in fact is a lustration document of two sides: looser and "winner". For the population of Georgia it became obvious who was who. If we discuss aforementioned historical fact from

this point of view, we may ascertain, that on the utterly egregious background of the occupide Georgia it was a positive step forward. Kutaisi negotiation once more completely showed that the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia had a solicitous position towards his people.

14) The fact that the first government of the republic ceded the Ottoman Empire Batumi district till river Choloki, the viewpoint put forward in Georgian historiography, is not proved by a single archive document. The authorship of this accusation is associated with the name of P.Makharadze and somehow it also is reflected in the memoirs of the Soviet high rank army officials. The analyses of the facts given in the work proves that the Ottomans' entry in Batumi district and in Batumi as well was one of the stages of the Soviet Russia-Ottoman high officials transaction which had a certain political background. Shift the blame for this fact on the government of independent Georgia seeks to discredit the government and to falsify history.

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2. iqve
3. iqve. gv. 14
4. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. # 14. gv. 32
5. v.nozaZe. saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis brZol a mesxeTis gamo. Tbil isi. 1989 w. gv. 62- 63
6. z.aval iSvil i. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba 1918- 1921 wl ebis saerTaSoriso pol itikaSi. Tbil isi. 1929 w. gv. 217
7. iqve. gv. 224
8. iqve. gv. 223
9. n.kirTaZe. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba da qarTul evropul i urTierTobebi. Tbil isi. 1997 w. gv. 91
10. iqve. gv. 90
11. S.vadaWkoria. qarTul i social - demokratia 1917- 1921 wl ebSi. Tbil isi. 2001 w. gv. 411-416
12. iqve. gv. 416
13. gaz. `erToba- 1920 w. 24 marti. # 87
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15. n.kirTaZe. dasaxel ebul i naSromi. gv. 90
16. iqve
17. S.vadaWkoria. saqarTvel os politikuri istoriis sakiTxebi. (XX saukune) wigni I. Tbil isi. 2003 w. gv. 15
18. a.dauSvil i. soso jugaSvil is ambavi. Tbil isi. 2007 w. gv. 43
19. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. # 16. gv. 21
20. z.aval iSvil i. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba 1918- 1921 wl ebis saerTaSoriso pol itikaSi. I. Tbil isi. 1990 w. gv. 92- 93
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23. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. # 16. gv. 12
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25. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. # 16. gv.25
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33. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. #16. gv.21
34. iqve. gv.26
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37. iqve. gv. 15
38. gaz. `erToba~ 1920 w. 14 maisi # 107
39. z.aval iSvil i. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba 1918- 1921 wl ebis saerTaSoriso pol i- tikaSi. tbil isi. 1929 w. gv. 225
40. iqve
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44. damfuZnebel i kreba. stenografiul i angariSi. 1920 w. # 16. gv. 12
45. gaz. `erToba~ 1920 w. 11 maisi # 104
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48. g.bogveraZe. saqarTvel o\_ azerbaij anis samxedro- pol itikuri urTierTobis isto- ria. quTaisi. 2005. gv. 185

## Tavi II

### evropis qveynebi da saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis j aris Sei araRebi s saki Txi

1. scssa. f. 1836. aRw. 1. saq. 2. furc. 14
2. iqve
3. g.mazniaSvil i. mogonebebi. baTumi. 1990. gv. 6
4. iqve. gv. 170
5. iqve. gv. 169
6. r.gabaSvil i. mogonebebi. ix. `dabruneba~ t. 3. Tbil isi. 1992. gv. 315- 316
7. scssa. f. 1836. aRw. 1. saq. 2. furc. 16
8. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis samarTI ebrivi aqtebis krebul i. Tbil isi. 1990. gv. 49- 54
9. akvitaiSvil i. ruseT\_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 115
10. r.gabaSvil i. mogonebebi. ix. `dabruneba~ t. 3. Tbil isi. 1992. gv. 225
11. z.aval iSvil i. saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba 1918- 1921 wl ebis saerTaSoriso pol i- tikaSi. tbil isi. 1929 w. gv. 104
12. scssa. f. 1831. aRw. 2. saq. 319. furc. 12
13. akvitaiSvil i. ruseT\_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 116
14. iqve.
15. osTa saki Txi. Tbil isi. 1996. gv. 303
16. iqve. gv. 316- 320
17. a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ika 1917\_ 1921. Journ. `mxedari~ 1994. # 1- 4. gv. 55
18. akvitaiSvil i. ruseT\_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 115
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20. akvitaiSvil i. ruseT\_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 116
21. a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ika 1917\_ 1921. Journ. `mxedari~ 1994. # 1- 4. gv. 57
22. scssa. f. 2115. saq. 119. furc. 1
23. scsa. f. 1864. saq. 483. furc. 9
24. g.mazniaSvil i. mogonebebi. gv. 155
25. scsa. f. 1864. saq. 483. furc. 16

26. iqve. furc. 12
27. Journ. `mxedari~ 1991. # 3. gv. 62; a.CaCxiani. istoriis sabediswero gakveTil ebi\_ `Cven momakvdinebel i safrTxis winaSe vdgevarT...- ix. axal i da uaxl esi istoriis sakiTxebi. 1 (14). Tbil isi. 2014. gv. 240
28. iqve. gv. 243

### Tavi III

#### qarTvel i sardl ebis taqtikuri Secdomebi da sabWoTa ruseTTan damarcxebis garduval oba

1. I .ToiZe. intervenciac, okupaciac, Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebac, faqtobrivi aneqsiac. Tbil isi. 1991. gv. 69
2. akvitaSvil i. ruseT- saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 118-119
3. gkvinitaZe. mogonebebi. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis wl ebi 1917\_ 1921 wl ebi. II. Tbil isi 1999. gv. 42
4. iqve. gv. 268
5. akvitaSvil i. ruseT- saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 119
6. gurataZe. ori sardal i. ix. qarTul i emigrantul i Jurnal istikis istoria. t. VI. Tbil isi 2005. gv. 89
7. gkvinitaZe. mogonebebi. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis wl ebi 1917- 1921 wl ebi. II. Tbil isi 1999. gv. 269
8. iqve. gv. 62
9. akvitaSvil i. ruseT- saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 121
10. akvitaSvil i. ruseT\_ saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 125; a.zaqariaZe. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ika 1917- 1921. Journ. `mxedari~ 1994. # 1- 4. gv. 61; gkvinitaZe. mogonebebi. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis wl ebi 1917- 1921 wl ebi. II. Tbil isi. 1999. gv. 64- 65
11. scssa. f.2118. aRw. 1. saq. 7. furc. 17
12. I .ToiZe. saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoria (1921-1923 wl ebi) Tbil isi. 1999 w. gv. 108
13. v.goguaZe. gen. CxeiZis weril is gamo. ix. qarTul i emigrantul i Jurnal istikis istoria. t. VI. Tbil isi. 2005. gv. 99
14. akvitaSvil i. ruseT- saqarTvel os omi 1921 wel s. ix. Journ. `ganTiadi~ 1990. # 2. gv. 128
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17. al .comaa. 25 Teberval i. gaz. `qarTul i azri~ 1973 w. # 93
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19. gkvinitaZe. mogonebebi. saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis wl ebi 1917\_ 1921 wl ebi. II. Tbil isi. 1999. gv. 83
20. iqve. gv. 86
21. k.inasariZe. patara `oqros xana.- 1918- 1921. mi unxeni. 1984. gv. 533
22. iqve. gv. 498
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### Tavi IV

#### saqarTvel os SevunarCunoT baTumis ol qi da momaval i Taobebis winaSe viyoT pirnaTel i (quTaisis 1921 wl is 17- 18 martis mol aparakeba)

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2. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 25 marti # 21
3. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 17 marti # 15
4. iqve
5. Документы внешней политики СССР. т. 3. М. 1959 г. стр. 597-598
6. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 20 marti # 17
7. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 26 marti # 22
8. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 20 marti # 17
9. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 25 marti # 21
10. Документы внешней политики СССР. т. 3. М. 1959 г. стр. 597-598
11. iqve. gv. 598
12. saqarTvel os ssr konstituciuri aqtebis krebul i. Tbil isi. 1983 w. gv. 19
13. gaz. `social ist-federal isti- 1921 w. 26 marti # 22

## Tavi V

### osmal o dampyrobli ebisgan baTumis ol qi ganTavisufli ebis saki Txi

1. I .ToiZe. brZol a baTumisaTvis: 1921 wl is marti. Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 30
2. v.nozaZe. saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis brZol a mesxeTis gamo. Tbil isi. 1989. gv. 98- 102
3. g.mazniaSvil i. mogonebebi. baTumi. 1990. gv. 193
4. iqve. gv. 195
5. saqarTvel os respubl ikis konstitucia (1921). masal ebi da dokumentebi. t. II. Tbil i- si. 2015 w. gv. 956
6. scssa. f. 2118. aRw. 1. saq. 7. furc. 25
7. scssa. f. 2118. aRw. 1. saq. 6. furc. 49
8. v.nozaZe. saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis brZol a mesxeTis gamo. Tbil isi. 1989. gv. 103
9. scssa. f. 2118. aRw. 1. saq. 9. furc. 25
10. iqve. furc. 22
11. iqve. furc. 5
12. iqve. furc. 36
13. I .ToiZe. brZol a baTumisaTvis: 1921 wl is marti. Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 34- 35
14. S.maRI akel iZe. qarTvel ebi germanul i droSis qveS meore msofi io omSi. Tbil isi 1994 w. gv. 88
15. I .ToiZe. brZol a baTumisaTvis: 1921 wl is marti. Tbil isi. 2009. gv. 35
16. iqve
17. iqve. 36
18. gaz. `social ist- federal isti- 1921 w. 12 april i # 35
19. s.asl aniSvil i. baTumTan brZol a da sabWoTa Zal aufli ebis damyareba saqarTvel oSi. gaz. `social ist-federal isti- 1921 w. 13 maisi
20. g.mazniaSvil i. mogonebani. baTumi. 1990 w. gv. 202-203
21. iqve.
22. s.asl aniSvil i. baTumTan brZol a da sabWoTa Zal aufli ebis damyareba saqarTvel oSi. gaz. `social ist-federal isti- 1921 w. 13 maisi
23. iqve.
24. I .ToiZe. brZol a baTumisaTvis: 1921 wl is marti. Tbil isi. 2009 w. gv. 51-52
25. o.TurmaniZe. saqarTvel os Zal datanebTi gasabWoeba da brZol a aWaris dedasamSob- l odan Camocil ebis winaaRmdog (1921 wl is Teberval -marti). ix. samxreT-dasavl eT saqarTve- l os istoriis narkvevebi. aWara. t. IV. 1921-1990. baTumi. 1012 w. gv. 41-42

# saarqi vo dokumentebi

## dokumenti # 1

germanel i pol kovnikis kol onel o karl etis weril i saqarTvel os samxedro saministros. 1919 wl is 9 noemberi.

samxedro saministros mTavari Stabis ganyofil ebis ufrosi.

Cvenma saministrom Seiswavl a didis simpaTiit Tqveni Txovna sxvadasxva masal is Sesaxeb, romel ic gamogvigzavna saqarTvel os respublikis mTavrobam. gul iTadi sixarul iT Seasrul ebda am Txovnas rom hqonoda is tipebi da gvari masal ebisa, romel ic Tqvena gsurT.

saiaraRo masal a exeba srul iad ruis masal ebs roml is mxol od ramdenime egzemplari arsebobs aq dasaxel ebul masal as Soris. aqac SesaZl ebel ia vsTqvaT exla, sanam yvel a masal a iqneba miwyobil i da naxuli, SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara Sesaferi masal ebis organiul i mowyobil oba im pirobebiT rom SeiZl ebodes saWiro muSaobisTvis.

rac Seexeba tansacmel s, fexsacmel s, tel egrafis da radio-tel egrafis masal ebs, ar SegviZl ia imis daTmoba, radgan Zal ian nakl ebad gvaqvs.

...avtomobil is masal ebTan da cxenis mokazmul obasTan mimarTebaSi unda gamogicxadot, rom wil ad mainc Cveni Tanxmoba, magram gvWiria agvixsnaT ukeTesad zogierTi masal ebisgan ra tipebi gsurT (imaTi dasaxel eba), radganac Cveni tipebis da maT Soris patara gansxvaveba aris da romel sac Cveni jari xmarobs. rac Seexeba nedl i masal is da zogi sxva masal as, romel zedac l aparakobT, saWiroa mimarToT kerZo mrevel obas.

rac Seexeba Tqven kiTxvas, SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara Cvens qarxnebsi momzadeba artil eris vaznebis (patronebi) da yumbarebis da sxvadasxva tipebis, unda mogaxsenoT, rom, imisda miuxedavad, rom am qarxnebs aqvs sakmarisi mowyobil oba yovel gvari tipis momzadebisTvis im SemTxvevaSi Tu aqvT asaSenebel i Carxebi da Tu SesaZl ebel ia, agreTve kal - apotebi (model ebi). aseTi operacia ar aris amJamad ise advili, vinaidan am qarxnebis xasiaTi srul ebit icvl eba, da omis qarxnebi, exla industrial ur qarxnebad icvl ebian da mxol od industrial ur miznebisTvin muSaoben.

qarxnebis mowyoba saqarTvel oSi srul ebit ar aris Znel i, magram ar SegveZl o gada- wyveta Tu ra masal is motana aris saWiro da ra xarj ia saWiro, gvqondes srul i cnobebi Tu ra tipis unda iyos masal a, romel ic unda vavarmovoT da raodenoba im sagnebis, romel sac moiTxovT am qarxnebidan.

vel i Tqvens pasuxs da agreTve gTxovT SegvatyobinoT Tu sad unda gaigzavnos es masal a da yvel a pirobebi daTmobisa.

kol onel o karl eti.

## dokumenti # 2

evgeni gegeWkorus mier grigol rcxil azisadmi gagzavnili werili. 1919 wl is 21 noemberi.

### Zvirfaso Znao gigo!

am Cems weril s kerZo xasiaTi aqvs. pasuxebis yvel a Tqven mier dasmul kiTxvebze uaxl oes xanebsi gamogigzavni. me ki minda SemTxveviT visargebl o da oriode si tyviT gadmogce is kmayofil eba, rasac me vgrZnob Tqveni muSaobiT. zedmetia imaze l aparaki, rom stambol s gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba eZl eva am droebiT evropis saerto pol itikaSi da CvenTvis ki es punqti pirdapir sarkea, romel mac unda dagvanaxos yovel ive

is rac xdeba dipl omatiur kul isebSi antantis dedaqal aqebSi. me pirdapir unda giTxraT, rom mxol od stambol Si SeiZl eba gavigoT, CavxedoT da davafasoT xasiaTi, mimarTul eba da perspeqtivebi im Zal Ta Widil isa, roml is mowmeni dRes Cvena varT. namdvil saxes evropis dipl omatiis da pol itikisas stambol Si Tu dainaxavT, Torem parizi, l ondoni, vaSingtoni aseT saSual ebas Cven ar mogvcems. iq mxol od l aboratorioaa, sadac mzaddeba sxvadasxva gegmebi. CvenisTana momakvdavebisaTvis yovel ive es, saiduml oebiT aris mocul i da am gegmebis praqtikaSi gatareba stambol Si iwyeba umTavresad da amitomac me mas aseT did mniSvnel obas vaZl ev. pirmoTneobiT ar CamomarTvaT Tu getyviT, rom Tqvens informacias met mniSvnel obas vaZl ev vidre sxva romel ime Cveni warmomadgenl isas. amas imitom gwerT, rom xazi gavusva im garemoebas, Tu ramdenad SeuZl ia CvenTvis stambol is misias aramc Tu moxsna, misi Sesustebac ki. amitom Tqveni stambol idan daZvra me miuRebl ad mimaCnia. Tqven imdenad gaerkvieT mandaur saqmeebSi, rom Tqvennair moadgil es me ver viSovni. piradad Tqven Rirsebaze me aras gwerT. vici muSaoba Zl ier giZnel deba. vagvianebT direqtivebis mocemas. ar gegzavnebaT TavTavis droze saWiro masal ebi da sxva. magram Tu saerTo Cven mdgomareobas miiRebT mxedvel obaSi, roca Cvens ministrs TiTqmis mTel i dReebi undeboda 'stumrebi- is- gastumreba-miRebaSi, maTi dabinaveba, sadarbazot miReba, gamaspi nZl eba, notebis wera da sxva da sxva, ar gakvirdebi Tu Cvens aparats bevri defeqtebi aqvs. miuxedavad amisa me vRebul ob zomebs raTa yovel ive es gamoswordes da sasurvel niadagze dadges saerTo muSaoba. antantasTan saerTod (ramdenadac aseTi Semecneba dRes ki dev arsebobs real urad) damokidebul eba gamoketdeba. ingl isi, amerika, safrangeTis warmomadgenel T exl a aq sul sxvanairad uWiravs Tavi da swored amiT aixsneba rom Tqven aseTi yura- drebis centrSi xarT stambol Si da Cvens niWze da moxerxebaze damokidebul i uxvad visargebl o im interesTa winaaRmdgobebiT, romel ic maT Soris aris gamefebul i. Cveni orientacia exl a unda iqnas ingl isze. me savsebiT viziareb Tqveni ukanasknel i mox- senebis yvel a mosazrebebs. marTI aac erTaderTi real uri Zal a, romel sac Seswevs Zal a, aqvs unari da tradicia aRmosavl eTSi samoqmedoT, es ingl isia. danarCenebi mxol od kompensaciebs eZeben da miRebisTanave aseTebisa CaCumdebian. Cveni pol itika unda iqnes: gamoyeneba maTi uTanxmoebisa, raTa CvenTvis ufro xel sayrel pirobebSi moxdes Sekav- Sireba im el ementebTan, roml ebmac sabol ood unda ibatonos CvenSi da mcire aziaSi. ufro vrcl ad yvel a Tqven mier dasmul kiTxvebze miiRebT Cvens weril s. exl a me mxol od gakvrit Sevexe amas, rom aRmeniSna is real oba, romel ic sufevs Tqveni da saministros Sexedul ebebSi. soso gogol aSvil i TqvenTan darCeba, rasakvirvel ia, Tu amas metad saWirod da aucil ebl ad dainaxavT. mogvwerET da vinmes sxvas ki dev gamogig- zavniT. giZRvniT sal ams egegeWkori.

### **dokumenti # 3**

**akaaki Cxenkel is mier grigol rcxil aZisadmi gagzavnili werili.  
1920 wl is 21 marti.**

**didat pativcemul o batono grigol .**

vsargebl ob SemTxveviT da gwerT oriode sityviT. parizSi mimaval samxedro misias daval ebul i aqvs ramdenad me vici, TqvenTan erTad rogorc mil nis, ise umaRl esi komisar is admiral is (gvari ar maxsovs) naxva. ar vici gwerdnen Tu ara aqedan, mxol od unda mogaxsenoT baTumis sakiTxma l amis Tan gadagvi tanos, dagvaviwyos yvel aferi, e.i. xifaTi Crdil oeTiT, mezobl ebisgan, raic Cvens daRupvas moaswavebs. kukkol isi ukve aSkara brZol as eweva Cvens winaaRmddeg, ar erideba araviTar saSual ebas, bnel sa da gasvril sac ki. misi agentebi (azerbaj anel ebi, Turqofil ebi, denikinel ebi, TviT bol Se- vikebic) dawrwian sofl idan sofel Si da aqezeben xal xs Cvens winaaRmddeg gasal aSqre- bl ad. am ukanasknel ad isini razmaven Cetnikebs, agzavnian emisrebs l azistanSi, rom iqedanac moawyon Cetnikebis Tavdasxma, axerxeben yal bi weril ebis xal xSi gavrcel ebas, viTom stambol idan ubrZanebdnen mas qarTvel ebi ar dazogos, viTom Cqara moaSvel ebs

osmal eTi j ars da sxva da sxva. kargi iqneba Tu mosaxerxebel ia, mahmud faSam erTxel kidev amcnos aWarl ebs da qobul eTel ebs, rom osmal eTis imedi ar iqonion. Cveni mtrebi xarj aven auarebel ful s, ryvnian xal xs; baTumSi xom auwerel i mdgomareobaa. erTis mxriv spekul iantebis vakxanal ia, meores mxrit anarqiul i vul kani. arCevnebi marTal ia Cveni gamarj vebiT damTavrda baTumSi, magram kukkol isi ar amtkicebs mas, ar iwvevs.

Tqven getyvian, Tu j er kidev ar iciT mTavrobis ukanasknel i nabij ebi. j arma gadal axa qedebi da Sevida zeda aWaraSi (xul o), SavSeTi (saTI ul i) da kl arj eTSi (artanuj i). iyo dipl omatiuri gamwvaveba, magram bol os Seurigda kukkol isi im pirobiT, rom j ar i mis saerTo sardl obas dauqvemdebares da uSual o sardal i CvengniT baTumSi gagzavnes Tavis StabiT. axal cixe-axal qal aqi-artaanis xazis gaZI ierebas epiirebian, vinaidan ukanasknel i cnobebiT osmal eTidan server-begi Tavdasxmas l amobs, mas hyavs 800 askeri, 1000-mde Cetniki, artil eria, tyvi amfrqvevebi da sxva. imave dros soCis xaziT ukve sabWo-Ta mTavrobaa, kavkavSi dRes Tu xval igive iqneba, baqo bol Sevikuri gadatrial ebis win sdgas, somxebi emzadebian borCal osa da axal qal aqze Tavdasaxmel ad...

saWiroa naTI ad dausvaT kiTxvebi mandaur sardal s da umaRI es komisars: ras isaxavs miznad ingl isi saqarTvel oSi da amierkavkasiaSi? fiqrobs Tu ara is seriozul ad Cveni damoukidebl obis dacvas? Tu fiqrobs, rad ar gvaZI evs iaraRs, rad gviSxamavs sisxl s baTumSi? aRmouCens Tu ara misi fl oti daxmarebas Cvens j ars gagris xazze? rad ar unda mas baTumis Sesaxeb pirdapir Cven SegviTanxmos? rad ar gvawvdis sursaTs? rad gonia mas, rom anarqia saqarTvel oSi da Tbil isSi misTvis xel sayrel ia? ratom aviwydeba mas, rom usaqarTvel od verc azerbaijani da somxeTi iarsebeben? erTi si-tyviT, ratom ar vxedavT misgan araviTar megobrul niSnebs, ratom uyurebs ase gul g-ril ad bol Sevikebis moaxl oebas?

ingl iss, rogorc etyoba, mol aparakeba aqvs bol SevikebTan, SesaZI oa germanel ebsaviT isic zavs epiireba maTTan Cvens xarj ze. me ar vfiqrob, rom ingl isis warmomadgenel ni gul axdil ad gvamcnoben Taviant ganzraxvebs, es arc saWiroa. Tavi da Tavi isaa, Cven TviTon gaviTval iswinoT maTi pol itikis damRupvel i Sedegebi ara marto CvenTvis. Cven ar unda vcdebodeT, roca vambobT, rom Cveni da ingl isis interesebi erTmaneTs eTanxmebian, erTmaneTze gadaxl arTul ni arian. amitom Cveni l oial oba maT mimarT aris ara simpaTiis sakiTxi, aramed obieqturi pirobebidan l ogikurad gamomdinare. Cven ar vTxovT maT j ars, ar vTxovT mowyal ebas, gvinda mxol od megobrul ad mogvepyran. gamogvigzavnon iaraRi, sursaTi, mogvcen saSual eba medgrad SevebrZol oT anarqias rogorc garedan ise SigniT. Cven ara varT winaaRmdegni gansakuTrebul i mdgomareoba hqondes ingl iss baTumis navTsadgurSi, iqces igi mis samxedro bazaT, hqondes mas ekonomiuri SeRavaTebic da sxva. magram, yvel a amas aramc Tu ar uSI is xel s mmarTvel o-bis Cvens xel Si gadmosvl a qal aqsa da ol qSi, aramed mxol od da marto am gziT Se-iZI eba rogorc misi, ise Cveni interesebis savsebiT dakmayofil eba. nuTu ingl isi-saTvis xel sayrel ia, rom mis gverdiT ibatoneben frangni da ital iel ni, gana ukeTesi araa TviTon marto iyos, rogorc samxedro Zal a navTsadgurze, Cven ki gadmogvcen mmarTvel oba, an ukeT Sevides qal aqi da ol qi saqarTvel os fargl ebSi? gana waagebs ingl isi, Cvens l oial obaze dayrdnobil i? gana Cven TviTon ar varT dainteresebul i (saqarTvel o S.v.) gauxdes saaRebmicemo xidi evropasa da azias Soris? vis iSovis ing-l isi ukeTss, gana mTel s aziaSi aris kidev iseTi eri, rogorc qarTvel i, romel ic mo-mwifebul ia pol itikuraT, surs evropul aT icxovros da mTel is arsebiT dainteresebul ia didi britanetis gverdiT, mis patara megobris saxiT Seasrul os Tavisi istori-ul i misia? Tbil isi gegemonia amierkavkasiisa, is erTgvari sul ieri simagrea, roml is dayrdnoba ingl isisTvis metad saxei roa. rac Zl ieri varT Cven, pol itikuraT da ekono-miuraT, miT ufro kargia TviT ingl isisaTvis. amit mis gavl enas daeqvemdebareba mTel i kavkasia. me ar vityvi ufro Sor qveynebze. ratom ar esmis mas es garemoeba, ratom unda amierkavkasia bol Sevikebis saTel avad gaxdes? erTi unda axsovdes da kidec saWiroa eTqvas: vinicobaa es pol itika (me mas veZaxi TviT ingl isis sasicocxl o interesebis Ral ats) gagrZel da, vinicobaa Semogvesia urdoebi samxreTiT, vinicobaa Cven gariyul ad davrciT, saSinel Surs viZiebT, SevurigdebiT ise v bol Sevikebs, CavudgebiT maT saTaveSi, CavberavT maT axal sul s da maSin ixil avs ingl isi Tu ra SesZI ebia qarTul demokra-tias... me vambob ara Cems Tavze, al baT piradad bol omdis winaaRmdegi viqnebi aseTi nabij ebisa, xol o sasowarkveTil i da gamwarebul i Cveni xal xi amas ki iqms ueWvel ad.

momenti erTob sapauxismgebl oa... gTxovT imoqmedoT mTel is Zal RoniT. CaagoneT mag xal xs namdvil i maTi interesi, nu gvRupaven Cven, nu Ral atoben TviT ingl iss. gwerT kerZoT, viciT mixvdebiT rom es bunebrivia Cemis mxriT. sal ami da survil ebi maradis. ak.Cxenkel i.

mokiTxva Tqvens meuRI es Cvengan, sosos madl oba misi weril istVis.

a.C.

## dokumenti # 4

akaaki Cxenkel is mier grigol rcxil aZisadmi gagzavnili werili.  
1920 wl is 22 marti.

guSin dawwere TqvenTvis weril i, dRes gadmomces Tqveni pasuxi pirvel weril ze. mis Sinaarsze me mqonda ukve baasi saRamos samxedro ministrTan gen. odiSel iZesTan. gegeWkoris saxel ze mosul weril sjer ar gavcnobivar. Tqven Tvl it batumis metoqed ruseTsa da saqarTvel os, maSin rodesac umTavresi metoqe TviT ingl isia. misi mizania baTumis da misi ol qis gamoyofa da misi protektoratis qves dayeneba. amitom iyo baTumis arCevnebi Catarebul i da igi kukkol isis sastiki damarcxebiT rom ar damTavrebul iyo, ueWvel ia, sabWoSi daismeboda da kidec gavidoda baTumis da ol qis saqarTvel odan Camocil eba. axl a igive kukkol isi awyobs parl amentis arCevnebs ol qSi, qobul eTSi ukve airCies eqvsi deputati, ra Tqma unda ubral o yril obaze da isic denikinel ebis zedamxedvel obiT. I ozungi Semdegia wamosrol il i, romel sac rezol uciaSi atareben: damoukidebel i aWaristani (!), ar gvinda saqarTvel o, brest-l itovskma dasva Cveni TviT-gamorkvevis kiTxva, gavidnen saqarTvel os j arebi, moviwi oT parl amenti... Cvenc viwyebT kampanias, CauSI iT parl aments. movi wvevT agvistoSi mej l iss, romel ic Tavis Tavs faqtiur mmarTvel ad gamoacxadebs ol qSi avtonomiur nawil ad saqarTvel oisa, mostxovs mas sesxs administraciis mosawyobad... da sx. vinai dan vambob me, ingl isi isea dainteresebul i baTumiT, saWiroa SeuTanxmdeT mas, rom es interesebi metia, mavnea mistVis, prestiJis damcemi. nu dai viwyebT, ingl isel ebs ufro aqvT exl a saxel i gatexil i ol qSi, vinem rusebs. qal aqSiac ra Tqma unda. saqmis gamosworeba SegviZl ia mxol od Cven, me vambob srul iad gul wrfel ad da imave dros Cven dainteresebul i varT ingl iss mieces gansakuTrebul i mdgomareoba navsadgurSi, agreTve ekonomiuri upiratesobani. portofranko araa Tavis-Tavad urigo CvenTvis, es miT ufro, rom ruseTis SavizRvis napi rebi da cota zeviT, dakmayofil deba am gadawyvetil ebiT, mistVisac gzaa saWiro kaspis zRvisken, magram me vambob saxel mwifo xel isufl ebaze, romel ic Cvens xel T unda iyos rogorc qal aqSi, ise ol qSi. Cven viciT da Tqvenc marTal i xarT, rom saSiSroeba Crdil oetidan mogvel is, magram baTumze sakiTxs TviT kukkol isi ayenebs Tavis SeCvenebul i pol itikiT, aqeT kidev Cetnikebi Semogvesevian osmal eTidan da maSin, daij ereT, axal cixeze daismeba sakiTxi!

me srul iad darwmunebul i var, gonieri ingl isel i Seignebs Cvensa da mis interesTa erTdaigiveobas amierkavkasiaSi. saqarTvel os Segnebul i aqvs es instiqturaT, amitom iTmens amden sisaZagl es ingl isis moxel eebisgan. srul iad araCveul ebrivi energiis gamocenaa saWiro Tu daaj ereT eg xal xi, pirdapir saSvil iSvil o saqmes gaakeTebT. unda isargebl oT samxedro misi iT, windawin miswereT maTi titul i, mizani, rom l ondonSi da parizSi midian...

erTi kidev unda giTxraT: nu ucdiT aqedan weril ebs, directivebs, imoqmedeT droisa da adgil is mixedviT. gisurvebT srul gamarj vebas.

samxedro misi as saTanado yuradreba unda mieqces taqtikuris mosazrebiT, rom sxvebmac Sesaferisad miRon maTi biografia da naRvawi ar dai viwyoT, mil ni da admiral i moisurveben maTTan sxva saganze baass, rac xel sayrel ia.

ak.Cxenkel i.

1920 wel i. 22 marti.

## dokumenti # 5

n.ramiSvil is mier k.CxeiZisa da ir.wereTI isadmi gagzavnii  
weril i. 1920 wl is 22 marti.

saq. coc. dem. muS.partiis central uri komiteti. 1920 w. 22 marti  
amx. k.CxeiZes da ir.wereTel s. parizi.

amxanagebo!

cekas daval ebiT oriode sityviT msurs aqauri mdgomareoba agiweroT. bol Sevi kebi moadgnen sazRvars. miRebul ia yovel ive zomebi sazRvris dasacavad. Tavdasxmaze ar gvi fiqria da arc vfiqrobT. xol o Cveni sazRvrebis dacvas uTuod SevZI ebT. marTal ia, sabrZol o masal a gvaki ia, magram denikinel ebs sakmao masal a avarTviT sazRvrebSi gadmosvl isas. evropel ni gvpi rdebian, magram es dapi rebad rCeba. saWiroa am sagans di di yuradReba mi vaqci oT.

**meore saqme:** ingl isis, eWvs gareSea, cdil obs amierkavkasiis brWyal ebit CaWeras. samxedro wreebi gansakuTrebit il tvian daikavon baTumis ol qi da Semdeg gaiyvanon rkinigza baTumidan artaanit yarsamde da Semdeg sparseTIT indoeTamde. aseTi gegma warmoadgens ganmeorebas im gegmias, rac erTxel moxda Zvel saqarTvel oSi. samcxe-saaTabagos mow-yvetiT davkargeT ekonomiuri Zal a-gavl ena da Semdeg pol itikuri suvereniteti. amit-om vibrZviT ase energiul ad am gegmis winaarMdeg. artaan-baTumis xazi savsebit Cveni unda Sei qmnes. rogorc ar SeiZl eba baTumis ol qis daTmoba, agreTve ar SeiZl eba arc artaanis ol qis somxebisaTvis gadacema. es srul ebit naTel ia amJamad CvenTvis. somxebi ibrZvian, artaanis ol qidan gaikafon viwro gza baTumisaken, gaJl iton iq mcxovrebn, rogorc axl a Jl eten artaanis ol qis aRmosavl eT nawil is musl imanebs artil eriiT da qmian sufta territorias.

aseTia rTul i vitareba baTumis ol qis. Tu amas davurTavT azerbaijanis intrigebs baTumis ol qSi, razedac sagareo saqmeTa saminstro gacnobebT, suraTi srul i iqneba. swored amitom, ase erTsul ovnad gamovi da saqarTvel os xal xi baTumis sakiTxSi da dagmo umaRl esi sabWos dadgenil eba baTumis porto-frankod gamocxadebi sa da karikaturul i saxel mwifos SeqmniT. saWiroa energiul i zomebi Tqvenis mxriv.

Cven vfiqrobT, SeiZl eba ingl isis xel mZRvanel wreebs advil ad davumtkicoT, rom Zl ieri saqarTvel o sworeT maT interesebSia, maT pol itikas mTel kavkasiaSi da Sua aziaSi amtkicebs. amitom saWiroa saqarTvel os interesTa urzunvel yofa. imedi maqvs, muSaTa partia ingl isisa did daxmarebas gagiwevT.

**Semdegi, mesame sakiTx:** es aris zaqaTal as ol qi. yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia am ol qis azerbaijanis fargl ebSi datoveba. ekonomiurad is gadaj aWvul l ia Tbil isTan. saWiroa am sakiTxSi mi mxroT mokavSireni. es miT ufro SeiZl eba, rom azerbaijanis gaZl ierebas saqarTvel os xarj ze ar moisurveben. saerTod, droa sazRvrebis sakiTx i pirvel rigSi daayenoT.

modis gen. odiSel iZe. man Cveni azri icis da saWiroa misi erudiciis savsebit gamoyeneba.

imedi gvaqvs, Tqven SeiZl ebT am ukanasknel dabrkol ebaTa daZl evas. k.gvarjal aZe da k.sabaxtaraSvil i dabrundnen, agreTve gobeCi ac...

sal ams giTvl is noe xomeriki.

al baT noe Jordania cal ke mogwers.

amxanaguri da megobrul i sal miT n.ramiSvil i.



## dokumenti # 6

grigol rcxil azis mier evgeni gegeWkorisadmi gagzavnii  
moxseneba. 1920 wl is 6 april i.

### baton sagareo saqmeTa ministrs.

generl ebi odiSel ize da erisTavi 2 april s movidnen da gadmomces, ra mdgomareobaa Seqmnil i Cveni jaris nawil ebis Sesvl iT baTumis ol qSi da bol Sevikebis frontis moaxl oebiT. generl ebTan SeTanxmebiT, 3 april s ingl isis aqauri komisari di-robeki vnaxe da dawvril ebiT auwere kritikul i mdgomareoba, romel Siac imyofeba saqarTvel o. erTis mxriT, im mizeziT, rom dapirebul i daxmareba samxedro amunciis ar mogvdis, meore mxriT imis gamo, rom baTumis ol qidan qarTul i jaris ukan dabruneba gamoiwvevs kriziss, rac metad saxifaTo Sedegs iqoniebs gansakuTrebiT exl a, roca bol Sevikebis Setevas vel iT. di-robekma qarTul i jaris datovebis SesaZl ebl obaze baTumis ol qSi miTxra, es sakiTxi general mil nis kompetenciaao da Tan aRniSna, radgan baTumze pretenziebi aqvT saqarTvel os garda somxeTsa da azerbaij ans, SeiZl eba imaTTac moiTxovon Tavisi jaris SeSveba baTumis ol qSi, Tu iq saqarTvel os jari darCao. di-robekma daamowma, rom mosal odnel ia bol Sevikebis gamol aSqreba Cven winaarmdeg soWis mxriv. saWirot CaTval a saqarTvel oSi mobil izaciis gamocxadeba. amunciis miRebaze is azri gamoTqva, rom jer unda gamociinos saqarTvel om faqtiurad aqtivoba bol Sevikebis winaarmdeg da maSin miRebs daxmarebaso.

Cveni generl ebis miReba, romel Tac am saqmis gamorkveva aqvT daval ebul i, di-robekma iuara da general mil nze mimiTiTa, is inaxul ono. Sevecade damerwmunebina di-robeki, rom azerbaij ani da somxeTi baTumze Sors arian da rom bol SevikebTan brZol is warmoebisTvis Cveni Sinauri probl emebis mixedvit, aucil ebel ia ama Tu im saxiT qarTul i jari datovebul iyos baTumis ol qSi. miuxedavad Cveni mcdel obisa, di-robekisgan gadaWril i pasuxi ver miviRe.

di-robekis Semdeg vinaxul e general i mil ni. unda vTqva, mil ni metad mkvaxed damxvda. gavacani Tu ara sagani Cemi misvl isa, general ma mil nma momisia SekiTxvebi: ra ufl ebiT SeiyyaneT jari baTumis ol qSi, gqondaT gana amistvis nebarTva umaRl esi sabWosi? rad imoqmedeT Cemi piradi gankargul ebis winaarmdeg, ristvis awarmoebT pol itikas Cven winaarmdeg, ristvis il aSqrebs Tqveni presa Cvens winaarmdeg, xom ic iT ras weren Tqvens gazeTebSi ingl isze da sxva. yvel a am sakiTxebze pasuxs vaZl evdi imis Tanaxmad, rogorc amis Sesaxeb vupasuxet mand da Tan urkvevdi, rom Cven ar gvinda vimoqmedoT ingl isis pol itikis winaarmdeg, piriqit, gvinda ingl isis daxmareba bol Sevikebis winaarmdeg gasamagrebl ad, rom baTumSi jaris Seyvana pol itikurad TiTqmis umniSvel o faqtia da rom Cveni imedi ar aris damyarebul i imaze, viTomc qarTul i jaris saSual ebiT SeiZl ebodes baTumis SemoerTeba saqarTvel oStan, winaarmdeg umaRl esi sabWos gadawyvetil ebi sa, rom Seqmnil pirobekSi jaris dabruneba ol qidan waaqezebis adgil obriv osmal eTis da bol Sevikebis agentebis, daasustebs SinaurobaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobas, gamoiwvevs mis gadadgomas, xel s Seusl is samzadi ss bol Sevikebis winaarmdeg, waaqezebis azerbaij aSi da mTaSi Turqofil ebs da bol Sevizms da sxva. sabol ood general mil ns vTxovdi, datovebina qarTul i jari ol qSi ingl isuri kontrol is qveS. general i mil ni kiTxul obs: mere ingl isis prestiJi, romel ic Sel axul ia imiT, rom imisi saokupacio zona daarRvieTo. Cemis STabeWdil ebiT general i mil ni TandaTan dauaxl ovda Cveni Tval - sazrisis Segnebas. roca ganvucxade, rom rogorc presis gamol aSqreba, romel ic piradad me samwuxarod mimaCnia meTqi, ise bevri ram sxva erTmaneTis gaugebrobis mizezia, gamowveul i Sesafei informaciis uqonl obiT da rom me piradaT TviTon minda Tbil isSi wavide, ramdenadac SevZl eb, am garemoebaTa mosaspobad meTqi. gen. mil ni ufro l mobieri Seiqla. jaris datovebaze ol qSi miTxra, rom es pol itikuri sakiTxia, Cemis ufl ebiT ver gadawyvet da SevekiTxebi l ondonSi mTavrobaso. mirCia wamovide Tbil isSi, roca is macnobebis pasuxs jaris datovebis Sesaxeb ol qSi. gamomicxada, rom Tu ingl isTan TanxmobiT imoqmedebis saqarTvel o, ingl isisgan did daxmarebas miiRebso. gul axdil ad getyvit, Tqva mil nma, rom ingl iss baTumSi darCena ar unda, rom exl ac mxol od imitom varT iq, rom kavkasiis respublikebi gavamagroT. meore sakiTxze, samxedro amunciis micemis Sesaxeb, general ma mil nma sTqva, rom, brZaneba amunciis gagzavni sa saqarTvel ostvis mas ara aqvs, magram daval ebul i hqonda

gamoekvl ia, ra esaWiroeba saqarTvel os, rom es gamokvl eva asrul ebul ia da gagzavnil ia l ondonSi, sadac mas ganixil aveno. general mil ns vacnobe agreTve, rom qarTvel i generl ebi arian Camosul i aq am amunciis sakiTxis gamosarkvevaT da vkiTxe, rod is moisurvebs maT naxvas. mil nma mipasuxa, roca amunciis Sesaxeb l ondonidan pasuxs mi viRebo. saWi rod mimaCnia mogaxsenoT, rom general odiSel iZes ganzraxva hqonda aqaur ingl isel ebTan muqaris kil oze el aparaka. muqaris Sinaarsi unda yofil iyo is azri, rom Tu ingl isi ar dagvakmayofil ebs, saqarTvel o bol Sevikebs dauaxl ovdeba. Cemi azriT, am kiTxvaze l aparakiT saqm is gafuWeb a SeiZl eba, gakeTe ba ki araviTar SemTxvevaSi. amitom me winaaRmdegi viyavi rom gen. odiSel iZes da gen. erisTavs TiTon daewyoT amgvari muqariT l aparaki. mcire l aparakis Semdeg, erisTavi srul ad daeTanxma Cems azrs, odiSel iZe ki sanaxevroT. maTi TanxmobiT ingl isis komisari j er me unda menaxa da gamecxadebina, rom amunciis miRebis gamosarkvevad saqarTvel odan mosul ia teqn ikuri misi iT ori Cveni general i. exl a vfiqrob, rom SeiZl eba Secdoma iyo, rom odiSel iZes misi is teqn ikuri mizani miwawere da iqneba amis gamo ar moisurves di-robekma da general mil nma Cveni generl ebi s naxva. mgonia ki, rom arsebiTad amit araferi daSavebul a, radgan orive sakiTxi, rogorc sCans wydeba l ondonSi da ara aq. srul iad darwmunebul i var, rom ingl isel ebTan muqara Cven did zians mogvitans. muqariT ingl isze faqtiurad verqaf er gavl enas ver axdenen SeerTebul i Statebi, safrangeTi da ital ia da raTqma unda, Cveni muqara mas moqmedebis gzas ver Seacvl evinebs.

ramdenime dReSi vel i general mil nis pasuxs. imedi maqvs es pasuxi baTumis Sesaxeb damakmayofil ebel i iqneba, Tu metis- metad ar aris Cveni saqme gafuWebul i l ondonSi. Cemi azriT metad cud STabeWdil ebas iqoniebs l ondonSi Cveni moTxovna kukkol isis gadayenebis Sesaxeb. es xom ingl isis Sinaur saqmeebSi Carevas niSnavs im dros, roca ingl isis pol itika gamarjvebul ia da gabatonebul i yvel gan bol Sevikuri ruseTis garda. Tbil isSi, mgoni sakmaod ar uweven angariSs gamarjvebukl is fsiqol ogias. ara mgonia, Cvens interesebs Seeferebodes iseTi mwvave sagazeTo kampania ingl isis winaaRmdeg, rogorc Cveni presa awarmoeb s. Cveni publ icistebi j er sakmao gamocdil ebi ar arian sagareo pol itikis sakiTxebSi da amitom, presis Tavisufl eba unda SeuTanxmdes sagareo saminstros darigebas da instruqciebs. magram, arasodes frangul i presa ase mkvaxed da rixianad ar il aSqrebs ingl isis winaaRmdeg, rogorc Cven. Tbil isSi TiTqos zogj er aviwydebaT, rom Cven patara da sakmaod uZl uri eri varT. Tu vaxerxebT da Tu movaxerxebT rames, es gareSe Zal ebi s daxmarebiT da ara maTTan SetakebiT. baTumis krizisi rom gamoirkveva, cota xniT minda Tbil isSi geaxl oT da mogitanoT si tyvieraT sainformacio cnobebi. generl ebi odiSel iZe da erisTavi dRes or saaTze wavl en ital iisken.

misi is Tavmj domare gr.rcxil aZe.

## dokumenti # 7

parizi. 1 maisi 1920 w.

oqmebi del egaciis da ekonomiuri misi is SeerTebul i sxdomis.

krebas eswrebian: n.s.CxeiZe, k.i.gvarj al aZe, z.d.aval iSvil i, i.p.gobecia, n.i.nikol aZe, f.gogiCaiSvil i, k.p.kandel aki. daeswrnen krebas generl ebi: odiSel iZe da erisTavi.

n.s.CzeiZe xsnis krebas.

finansTa ministri **kandel aki** krebas ukeTeb s informacias saqarTvel os pol itikuri da ekonomiuri mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**k.kandel aki**. saubeduroT pol itikuri mdgomareobis Sesaxeb bevrs verafers getyviT garkveul s, vinaidan dRes erTi mdgomareoba saSinel i si swrafiT ecvl eba meores. Cemi iq yofnis dros yvel aze ufro afiqrebda Cvens mTavrobas bol Sevikebisa da ful is sakiTxi.

**pirvel i sakiTxi.** ambavi romel ic aq gavigeT bol Sevikebis mier baqos dakavebis Sesaxeb moul odnel i ar iyo. Cven mTavrobas aseTi mol odini didaT afiqrebda da didi yuradRebiTac eqceoda mas, magram, saubedurod Znel i Seiqla Cveni mTavrobisTvis am Tval yuris devna, radgan igi Tavis Sinauri saqmeebiT didaT dakavebul i iyo da aris. samwuxarod, iq ar moipoveboda iseTi Zal a Tvinier im Zal isa, romel sac azerbaij anis susti mTavroba warmoadgenda. amastanave miReT mxedvel obaSi baqos bol Sevikebis SeuCerebel i muSaoba da dainaxavT mas, rom is rac moxda srul ebiT ar iyo moul odnel i. kavkavSi da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi bol Sevikebis Zal a didi ar yofil a, magram Tu isini imarj veben mxol od imisaTvis, rom iq saSinel i demoral izacia iyo. Cven, miuxedavad amisa, mainc SevZel iT gamogvenaxa 15 aTasi fuTi puri. denikinis j aris demoral - izaciis gamo saqme ise Seiqla iq, rom Tundac TxuTmeti bol Seviki sakmarisi iyo imisaTvis, rom sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamoecxadebinaT. ase rom es niSnebi Cven imeds gavZl evda, rom iqedan araviTari safrTxe ar mogvel oda.

**baTumis sakiTxi.** rac Seexeba j ars, SegviZl ia Tamamad vTqvaT, rom j ars SeuZl ia brZol a Tuki iaraRi gveqneba. baTumis sakiTxi metad seriozul i xdeboda miT, rom Seyvani l i j ari unda gamogveyvana baTumis ol qidan, es ki SeuZl ebel i Seiqla da exl ac asea rom is mTavroba, romel ic j ars gamoiyvans baTumis ol qidan, erT dResac ver gaCerdeba. am sakiTxis gamo, kukkol isi Camovida tbil isSi didaT gaj avrebul i. is ukve mol ba exl a, magram rogorc (sardal i? ar ikiTxeba S.v.) brZanebis ausrul ebl oba ar SeuZl ia. Cven rom wamovediT mdgomareoba aseTi iyo.

**pol itikuri mdgomareoba.** damouki debl obis sakiTxma didaT moiki da fexi xal xSi. misi mowinaaRmdege xal xi\_ es mobol Seviko el ementebia. rusi Zvel i moxel eebi da sxv. aseTi pirebi Rebul oben yovel zomas Cveni damouki debl obis Ziris gamosaTxedl ad, magram maT es ver SeZl es da verc SeZl eben, radganac isini sustni arian. mokl ed, pol itikurad Cven dRiT i dRe vmagrdebiT.

**ekonomiuri mxare.** Cveni damouki debl obis mowinaaRmdegeni yvel aze ufro im sabuTs ayeneben, rom ekonomiurad saqarTvel os ar SeuZl ia iarseboso, magram rogorc xedavT, am ori wl is ganmavl obbaSi aravisgan araviTari daxmareba ar migviri a. yvel aze ufro cud mdgomareobaSi ful is sakiTxi imyofeboda, radganac ver SevZel iT amierkavkasiis saerTo val uta Segveqmna da izul ebul i SeviqeniT Cveni bonebis amara davrceni l iyaviT. TiTqmis ori mil iardi aris gamoSvebul i Cveni pasuxismgebl obiT. Cveni ful is kursi yvel aze maRl a dgas, mag. donis 100 maneTi Rirda 20 maneTi. Semdeg daiwia ki dev da exl a milioni Rirs. donis 100 maneTi Rirs Cveni 5 maneTi. kerenskis kursi dacemul ia da isedac akrZal ul ia. nikol ozis maRl a dgas\_ saerTod Cveni ful is mdgomareoba Zal ian cudia imisTvis, rom mas gareT araviTari fasi ara aqvs da araviTari saqmis dawyeba CvenSi amis gamo ar SeiZl eba. ucxoetis ful s bazarze ver iSoviT. val utis Sesaqmel ad izul ebul i SeviqeniT nedl i masal a gamogveyenebina. TuTunze, parkze, marganeceze gamovacxadeT monopol ia. TuTunze Cven vudgendiT fasebs da vinc ar Tanxmdeboda mas ufl ebas ar vaZl evdiT gatanisas. SevadgineT sindikati, romel ic awarmoebs am saqmes. parki Sesyidul i aqvs safrangeTis firmas (ferans). qarxnebis da fabrikebis mowyoba ver SevZel iT, radganac teqniki masal ebi gvaki da. gadasaxadebis ver viqnebiT ukmayofil i. am wel s 80 milioni aikrifa. rkinigza veraviTar Semosaval s ver gvaZl evs. sul gvixdeba damateba. remonti ar gakeTebul a. vagonebi, imisda miuxedavad, rom Cven ufro meti gvaqvs vinem azerbaij ans da somxets, mainc ar gvyofnis.

eroba did muyaiTobas icens. saubedurod biuj eti ar yofnis da izul ebul ia komercias mokidos xel i. Cvens ekonomiur mdgomareobas metad aferxebs kidev biuj etis defici ti, rogorc mTavrobis, ise TviT mmarTvel obaSi, es ufro imis wyal obiT, rom ar gvaqvs sistema finansuri\_ ful is niSnebic ki ar gvaqvs. mTavroba aRiarebs, rom Cveni Zal iT ver SevZl ebT ekonomiuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebas. imisda miuxedavad, rom miwis qveviT da zeviTac Cven didZal i simidre gvaqvs. mTavrobisaTvis aucil ebel ia sesxi. es ufro saWiroa ful is sistemis Sesaqmel ad. amastanave unda movaxerxoT, rom ucxoel i kapital istebi davainteresoT, rom maT moawyon CvenSi qarxnebi, roml isaTvisac Cven nedl i masal a mogvepoveba. agreTve CvenTvis did saWiroebas warmoadgens rkinigzis masal ebi, rasac ital iel ebi arian Sepirebuul i, magram iseT mZime pirobebs gviyeneben, rom Znel i iqneba maTi SeZena. Cven gvaqvs daval eba, rom evropis mTavrobebs mi vmartoT, rom dagvexmaron sursaTiT, amistvis ufro SegviZl ia mi vmartoT ingl iss da neutral ur qveynebs, radgan maTi ful is kursi maRl a dgas. Cveni vaWrobis saqmec ver midis kargad, radganac, ful is garda, enisa da vaWrobis mcodne xal xi ar gvyavs. Cven imedi gvaqvs, rom

aseT mdgomareobas cota odnavad mainc gavaumj obesebT, saWiroa amistVis aqauri saerTo mdgomareobis Seswavl a, komerciul i agentebis yol a sxvadasxva saWiroebzebze, roml ebic saWiro cnobebs mogvavvdian. biuj etis Sesamcirebl ad gadawyvetilia Semicirebul i iqnes sazRvargareT arsebul i warmomadgenl obaTa xarj ebi. garda amisa, saWiroT mimaC- nia gacnoboT, rom dadgenil ia sabaxtaraSvil is, gvarjal aZis da gobeCias gawveva.

#### **general i erisTavi akeTebis informacias iaraRis Sesaxeb.**

**a.erisTavi.** me vinaxul e batonebo iaraRis Sesaxeb general i vegani, foSis TanaSemwe, man mi pasuxa, rom TqvenTvis iaraRis micemis Sesaxeb didi xania rac sagareo saministrom brZaneba gasca. es exl a damokidebul ia mxol od samxedro Zal ebzeo. Sempirda, rusul i sistemis zarbaznebs da agreTve safrangeTisas\_rusul i patronebisTvis gadakeTebul s. rac Seexeba patronebs, es bl omad aris bul gareTSi romel Tanac jer zavir aris Sekrul io. me amasTanave ganvuxade Tu ramdenad seriozul ia mdgomareoba aWaraSi, sadac yvel a is gzebi roml iTac TaTrebs SeuZl iaT CvenSi Semosvl a Ria aris Tqo. radganac es foSis saqme yofil a, Sempirda, rom am gzebis dakavebis Sesaxeb is moxsenebas gaukeTebis general foSs. xval istvis me dabarebul i var mivide im pirebTan, romel Tac Cabarebul i aqvT iaraRi da special urad awarmoeben am sakiTxs.

**i.b.odiSel iZe.** me vTxoul ob batonebo, rom sagareo saministroSi gagebul i iqnes Tu rodus iyo gacemul i brZaneba am gankargul ebis Sesaxeb, da am cnobit erTad mivideT general foSTan da gavarkviolet Tu ramdenad saWiroa am gankargul ebis sisrul eSi moyvana.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** batonebo, del egaciam iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxis gamorkveisaTvis didi Sroma gaswia, magram saubedurod jer mizans ver miaRwia. mas Semdeg, rac italiis misiam verafris gakeTebe ver SesZl o am sakiTxSi, Cven gamoviwviete iqedan gedevani Svili, romel Tanac erTad giixel iT l ondonSi, sadac am sakiTxis gamo Cven vinaxul eT yvel a visi naxvac ki SeiZl eboda. yvel ani erT da imave pasuxs gvaZl evdnen, e.i. rom am sakiTxis principul i mosazrebit SeuZl ebel ia jer-jerobit misi sisrul eSi moyvana da aS.

rac Seexeba sazRvargareT warmomadgenl obaTa Semicirebis sakiTxs, amaze unda marTali mogaxsenoT, rom mas Semdeg rac Cven faqtiuri damoukidebl oba mivireT, del egaciam sakiTxi dasva Tu ra unda gveqna. davrcenil iyavit isev Zvel fargl ebSi, Seivseboda is Tu Semicirdeboda da sxva. miRebul i iqna, rom irakli wereTel i wasul iyo CvenSi da mTavrobisTvis moxseneba gaekeTebina amis Sesaxeb. sakiTxebi aq sakmaod rTul iyo da maTi gaurkvevl obac ar SeiZl eboda. magal iTad, l ondonSi yofnis dros, SesaZl ebel i iyo dasmul iyo sakiTxi bol SevikebTan mol aparakebis Sesaxeb. meore didi sakiTxi, es baTumis sakiTxi iyo, roml istvisac saTanado nabijebi iyo gadadgmul i. bol os da bol os, es sakiTxi ise daisva, rom imis gadaWra zedmiwvenit Znel i Seiqna. magal iTad, somxebi moitxovdnen mieces maT gasaval i rkinis gza, Senobebi da sxva. yvel a es sakuTreba Cvens teritoriazea da amas emxrobian ingl isel ebic. me ar minda aq bevri l aparakiT Tavi SegawyinoT, Tqven amas SemdegSi TandaTan gaecnobit. me minda mogaxsenoT mxol od, rom am mdgomareobam del egacias dausva metad mZime sakiTxi baTumis saxiT. Cven gvinda vicodet batonebo Tqvengan (mimarTavs axl ad Camosul ebs ekonomiuri misiis wevrebs) qonda Tu ara mTavrobas ase mwaved dayenebul i es sakiTxi, rogori damokidebul eba iyo presaSi, mTavrobaSi da xal xSi.

**n.nikol aze.** exl a rodesac Cveni mdgomareoba arsebitad Seicval a bol Sevikebis baqosi Semosvl is Semdeg\_ Cven Segvizi ia movstxovot safrangeTs da ingl iss da sxvebs, rom gagviwion daxmareba, Tu surT, rom baqo gavanTavisufl ot bol Sevikebisgan. dRes sakiTxi ise dgas, rogorc am ori wl is winad, rodesac germania da saTaTreTi dagvekitxnen Tu rogor SegveZl eba ganTavisufl eba baqosi. me mgonia es dRes ufro advil ad SeiZl eba... foSis Segvizi ia srul i moxseneba gavukekeToT rogorc aWaris ise baqos Sesaxebac. me darwmunebul i var, rom antanta amas yuradRebas miaqcevs.

**k.p.kandel aki.** baTumis Sesaxeb, CvenSi dadioda Seumowmebel i xmebi, rom ingl iss surs gaiyvanos rkinigza baTum-ardagan-yarsze. es sakiTxi mTavrobaSi ar dasmul a. CvenSi ukve garkveul i iyo, rom somxebis da azerbaijanel ebis ekonomiuri pirobebi saxeSi unda gvqonoda am sakiTxis gadawyvetis dros. xolo, rom vinmes raime iuridiul i ufl eba, sakuTreba qonoda Cveni teritoriis Tundac umniSnel o nawil ze, amas aravin ar uSvebda. rkinisgzaze Cven ise vfiqrobdiT, rom is ol qebze ar gavl ida, ase rom es sakiTxi konkretul ad ar dasmul a.

**i.a.gobeCia.** ianvarSi rodesac Cven gvicnes, faqtiurad ingl isis samxedro Stabma, romel sac naTl ad gaurkvia, rogorc Cveni sazRvrebi, ise Cveni saWiroebani am sazRvrebis dasaca-

vad\_ i qve iyo aRniSnul i, rom Cven Tu vTxoul obT iaraRs, imisTvis ki ara, rom bol Se-  
vikebs SevebrZol oT, aramed imisTvis, rom maT mol aparakebis dros CvenTvis angariSi  
gaewiaT. san-remoSi yofnis dros Cvenma Tavmj domarem inaxul a ital iis ministri, said-  
anac man gaigo, rom umaRI es sabWos ainteresebS baTumis dacva. Cven ar viciT Tu ras  
fiqrobs dRes antanta. me mgonia\_ saWiroa dRes gavarkviOT is sakiTxi, romel ic aRZra  
odiSel iZem da romel zedac il aparaka b-n. nikol aZem.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** aqamde batonebo, am sakiTxs (iaraRi) ase Tu ise del egacia awarmoebda, exl a  
tqven CamobrZandiT, gavecaniT Tqveni aq Camosvl is mizans. imisaTvis rom Tqven del eg-  
acia dagexmaroT saWiroa vicodeT Tu exl a ra gsurT Tqven darCebiT aq, mi dixarT sadme,  
gveqneba saerTo sakiTxebi\_ sazogadoT rogori iqneba erTmaneTisadmi damokidebul eba.  
**k.p.kandel aki.** me piradaT vfiqrob, rom Tu gveqneba iseTi sakiTxebi, romel Tac pol i-  
tikuri mniSnel oba eqneba maSin rasakvirvel ia, rom saWiro iqneba TqvenTan erTad maTi  
gamowveva. detal urad rames Tqma yovl ad SeuZI ebel ia, radganac j er, Cvens Sorisac ar  
gamovrkveul varT.

**f.gogi Cai Svil i.** kiTxul obs, Tu rogori iyo del egaciis praqtika ekonomur sakiTx-  
ebSi.

**n.CxeiZe.** del egaciam Camosvl isTanave daisaxa, rom marto pol itikuri sakiTxebiT ver  
dakmayofil deboda. amisTvis man Seadgina ekonomuri komisia, roml is wevric b-n.  
z.d.aval iSvil i gaxl avT, romel ic dawvril ebiT gagacnobT Tu rogori iyo maTi muSao-  
ba.

Tavmj domareobda n.s.CxeiZe. mdivnobda s.s.asaTiani.  
oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## gagrZel eba 2. V. 20

**ixsneba kreba samxedro komisiis wevrTa odiSel iZisa da erisTavis Tan-  
daswrebi T.**

**erisTavi.** irakl is Sesaxeb me unda mivide xval im pirebTan romel nic momcemen yovel -  
gvar cnobebs. didi imedi maqvs iaraRis miRebis.

**gvarj al aZe.** b-n. general i optimisturad uyurebs saqmes iaraRis Sesaxeb da me moxaru-  
l i viqnebi Tu es Sesrul deba. mxol od ital iaSi gen. odiSel iZesa da ital iis gener-  
al Ta Soris l aparakiT gairkva, rom es pol itikuri sakiTxia. unda davekiTxoT di-  
robeks Tu rogoria mdgomareoba baTumSi da mis ol qSi da sxva.

**odiSel iZe.** me rasakvirvel ia mwams, rom es sakiTxi ufro pol itikuria da mainc da  
mainc bevr praqtikul Sedegebs ar vel i, magram Cven, Tqvenis daxmarebiT, me mgonia unda  
miviRoT zogierTi zomebi, miT umetes, rom dRes ukve baqo dakavebul ia da aman SeiZI eba  
antantas misces Cvens sasargebl od moqmedebis erTgvari motivi.

**aval iSvil i.** Tanaxmaa rom gadadgmul i iqnes saWiro nabij ebi, miT umetes, rom baqo  
dakavebul ia da es maT aucil ebl ad aiZul ebs miRebul i iqnes raime zomebi.

**odiSel iZe.** SesaZI oa separatul i daxmareba frangebis mxriT, rogorc ital iam mogvca  
patronebi.

**gobeCi a.** me maqvs imedi da darwmunebul i var, rom Tu Tqven kavSirs daiKavebT frangebT-  
an Cven miviRebT daxmarebas, TumcaRa ar davfarav, rom manam pol itikurad sakiTxi ar  
gamoirkveva, bevrs veras gavakeTebT. nu daviwyebT, rom somxebma aq iaraRi iyides da  
kidec gagzavnes. es qna safrangeTis mTavrobam.

**gvarj al aZe.** sakiTxi gamorkveul ia. yvel a ise vfiqrobT, rom zomebi unda iqnes miRebu-  
l i. mi vayol oT Cveni moxseneba da Cveni mxriT nota iqnes wardgenil i da samxedro  
komisiam Tavis mxriT imuSaos.

es winadadeba miRebul i iqna.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 8

parizi. 4. 5. 1920 w.

oqmi saqarTvel os sazavo del egaciis sxdomisa.

**daeswrnen: CxeiZe, aval ISvil i, gvarj al aZe, gobeCi a.**

**k.gvarj al aZe.** gvarj al aZe akeTebS moxsenebas iaraRis Sesaxeb. konstantine iagorisZe gvarj al aZes unaxavs pol kovniki JorJi da mistVis auxsnia, Tu rogori mdgomareobaa saqarTvel oSi, bol Sevikebis mier azerbaij anis gasabWoebis Semdeg. miuTitebia iaraRis SeZenis aucil ebl obaze da amastanave Seuxsenebia umaRI esi sabWos mier dapireba iaraRis micemis Sesaxeb. dabol os, gvinda vicodeT, Cven mogvecema iaraRi Tu ara\_ ukiTxavs momxsenebel s. JorJs upasuxnia, iaraRs mogcemen magram jer araviTari oficial uri mimarTva amis Sesaxeb ar yofil a. amistVis mas urCevia oficial uri moTxovnistVis nota warvadginoT umaRI es samxedro sabWostan, romel sac foSi Tavmj domareobs da asl i gadavceT samxedro ministrs, rom man Tavis mxriT dauWiros mxari.

Cven gvinda vicodeT iaraRs Tu mivi RebT, vi RebT mar to Tqvengan safrangeTidan Tu sxvebi danac. es sakiTxi sworad aris dasmul i, Tumca me ar SemiZi ia exl a raime garkveu- l aT giTxraT\_ upasuxia JorJs. mxol od es ki marTal ia, Cven ar gvaqvs akrZal ul i Tqven iaraRi mogceTo. momxsenebel s uTxovia, rom samxedro sabWo dagvxnareboda, rom is sa- Wiro iaraRi, romel ic safrangeTs ar moepoveba sxvebisgan SegveZina. JorJi dapirebia, TumcaRa bevri imedi ar maqvsu upasuxnia.

pol itikuri saqmis gamosarkvevad mas unaxavs kremeri, romel sac mondobili aqvs saTaTreTis sakiTxi. rodesac gvarj al aZes dauwyia Iaparaki bol Sevikebis Sesaxeb, kremers uTxovia, rom am sakiTxs ar Sexeboda, radganac is awarmoebS saTaTreTis sakiTxs. gvarj al aZis SekiTxvaze SeuZi ia Tu ara mas I aparaki baTumis Sesaxeb, mas Tanxmoba gan- ucxadebia. kremers uTqvams, rom baTumis sakiTxi jer kidev gadawyvetil i ar aris da rom jer kidev Zvel i proeqtia e.i. suvereniteti saqarTvel oSi baTumze da mis ol qze, somxebis, azerbaij anel ebis da evropel ebis saxel mwifoebis interesebis dacviT. gvarj al aZes gaurkvevia mistVis Tu ramdenad saWiroa exl a Cveni j aris mier batumis da misi ol qis daWera. amastanave auxsnia, rom baTumi istoriul - eTnografiul da yovel i mxriT qarTul ia, rac sxvaTa Soris daamtKica ukanasknel ma arCevnebma da sxva.

kremers upasuxnia, rom imdenad, ramdenadac safrangeTzea damokidebul i, is Tanaxma iqneba Cveni j arit iqnes dakavebul i baTumi da misi ol qi. mxol od im pirobiT, rom moxdes SeTanxmeba Tqvensa da Tqvens mezobl ebs Soris.

iaraRis Seasaxebac dauwyia I aparaki gvarj al aZes kremerTan. Tqven Tu marTal i gindaT giTxraT, masin azri aseTia, rom iaraRi Tqven ar mogecemaT, radganac Tqven erTti meores swyvetT. gvarj al aZis SekiTxvaze Tu rodis da sad da romel i xal xi gawvyvita saqarTvel om, imas upasuxia, rom marTal ia Tqven kul turul i xal xi xarT, magram ai, sxvebi magal iTad azerbaij ani da somxebi. gvarj al aZes uTqvams, Tu ramdens cdil obs saqarTvel o am or respublik ebs Soris urTierTobis gaj ansaRebas. kremers mainc mouTx- ovia SerigeberTi meoreSi. es rogorc aucil ebel i piroba iaraRis misacemaT.

Semdeg gvarj al aZes unaxavs b. grenari. imas TiTqmis igive uTqvams rac kremerma. imanac igive mizeziT wamoayena iaraRis miuceml obis Sesaxeb rac kremerma. dabol os, greners uCvenebia de-martel is tel egrama, sadac naTqvami iyo rom saqarTvel os en- ergiul i Carevis wyal obiT, mowveul i iqna konferencia, sami respublik is da omi Se- Cerebul ia somxeT-azerbaij ans Soris.

**i.gobeCi a.** wina krebaze miRebul i iqna rom ekonomiur misias miscemoda yovel gvari saSual eba esargebl a gazeTi ^`emps-- iT. me gaxl diT amis Sesaxeb redaqciasa sadac vinaxul e de-Jesseni. man miCvena sxvaTa Soris sami weril i Jantibonidan. saWiroa gamo- varkviOT gavagrZel ebT Tu ara am gazeTTan kavSirs. xval 11 saatze unda mivi de pasuxis misacemaT. rogorc mogexsenebaT, Tu dadebit pasuxs gavcemT, amistVis ful i iqneba saWiro. me vuTxari maT, rom Cven mogvixdeba ekonomiur sakiTxebze weratQo.

### 1. iaraRis Sesaxeb.

sakiTxi daisva, Tu ra gza yofil iyo arCeul i iaraRis misaRebaT.

**n.Cxei Ze.** CxeiZis winadadebit dadgenil i iqna am miznisaTvis yovel gvari saSual ebis

cda exl ave wardgenil i iqnas erTi nota pol itikuri mdgomareobis Sesaxeb umaRI esi sabWosadmi da yvel a mTavrobebisadmi, sadac xazgasmiT iqneba aRni Snul i iaraRis saWiroeba da meore nota umaRI esi samxedro sabWos da asl i samxedro ministrisadmi (igul isxmeba safrangeTis). amasTanave gagzavnil iqnes del egaciis wevrTan samxedro misiis erTi wevri ingl isSi da italiaSi, rom iqac iqnes miRebul i exl ave yovel gvari zomebi. notebi da mTavrobidan miRebul i tel egramebi gaegzavnos exl ave l ondonSi RambaSiZ-es rogorc masal ebi.

2) **gazeTi ^`emps-- is Sesaxeb** azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul i iqna; gagrZel des kavSiri am gazeTis redaaciasTan da gadaeces mas 30000 franki (ocdaaTi aTasi franki). ful is gadacema ikisra z.d.aval i Svil ma. oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## **dokumenti # 9**

**parizi. 7 mai 1920 w.**

**oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis krebisa.**

**krebas eswrebodnen: n.s.CxeiZe, z.d.aval i Svil i, i.p.gobeCi a, k.i.gvarj al aZe.**  
**dRiuri wesrigi: 1. informacia iaraRis Sesaxeb; 2. kj ayel is sakiTxi; 3. del - egaciisaTvis ful is Sovna; 4. studentebis Txovna daxmarebis sesaxeb.**

azerbaj anSi bol Sevikebis mier saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis moxdenis Semdeg, n.s.CxeiZem miReba sTxova mil eirans, safrangeTis mTavrobis Tavmj domares. del egaciis Tavmj - domaris mizans Seadgenda srul i informacia gaeketebina mil eiranisaTvis saqarTvel os pol itikur-ekonomiur da samxedro mdgomareobis Sesaxeb da eTxova daxmareba gansakuTrebiT iaraRis. mil eiranma Tanxmoba ganacxada miRebaze da Tavis magivrad, ramdenadac igi dakavebul i iyo, n.s.CxeiZis miReba daaval a pol itikuri departamentis direktors b.berTel os. berTel os sanaxavad iyvnen n.s.CxeiZe da k.i.gvarj al aZe.

**k.i.gvarj al aZem** krebas informacia gaukeTa amis Sesaxeb. man aRni Sna, rom berTel o moxre yofil a Cven iaraRi mogveces da rom is am sakiTxis mxars dauwers ise, rogorc mxars uwers somxebisTvis iaraRis micemis sakiTxis. n.CxeiZes da momxsenebel s ul aparakiat agreTve baTumis Sesaxebac, Tu ramdenad umweo mdgomareobaSi Cavardeba saqarTvel os respublika Tu baTumis sakiTxi gamorkveul i ar iqneba da yvel a strategiul i punqtebi saqarTvel os jaris mier dakavebul i. yvel a aRni Snul sakiTxebs, berTel o didi TanagrZnobiT mopyrobia da aRuTqvams yovel gvari daxmareba safrangeTis mTavrobidan, ramdenadac es Sesazl ebel i da mosaxerxebel i iqneba.

**n.s.CxeiZem** ganacxada, rom man agreTve inaxul a am dReebSi parizSi myofi amJamad pol oinetis sagareo ministri b. petefi, romel sac daaval a dagvxmareboda Cven iaraRis Sovnis sakiTxisi. vinaidan mas aq bevri gavl eniani piri icnobs, Cvens sasargebl od maTi moqmedeba did daxmarebas gagviwevda. petefi Sepirebia Tavis mxrit, rom is xel sayrel SemTxvevas am sakiTxiTan mimarTebaSi ar gauSvebda. Cemi STabeWdil eba, saertod aseTia, rom iaraRis sakiTxis Sesaxeb dRes ufro met juradRebas gvaqceven\_ dasZina n.s.CxeiZem.

**kj ayel is sakiTxi.**

**n.s.CxeiZe.** rogorc icit, batonebo Cven vfiqrobdiT uwin, rom d.RambaSiZe amerikaSi wavidoda da amisaTvis b. kj ayel i CvenTvis saWiro iqneboda l ondonSi. d.RambaSiZe arasadar wasul a, maSasadame kj ayel i CvenTvis araviTar saWiroebas ar warmoadgens amJamad l ondonSi miTumetes, rom iq informacio biuro, roml istvisac is gWird eboda aRar arsebobs. is ufro ekonomiur misias gamoadgeba. me msurs amis Sesaxeb Tqveni azri vicode.

**i.p.gobeCi a.** Cemi azritac S.kj ayel i del egaciisTvis araviTar saWiroebas ar warmoadgens.

**dadgenil i iqna SeeTval os kj ayel s, rom is Tavisufalia del egaciis samsaxuridan.**

## student Tofurizis momarTva del egaciisadmi.

Tofurize sTxovs del egacias gauwios mas daxmareba sesxiT, radganac ganicdis material urad did gaWirvebas.  
azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Sedegad miRebul i iqna esesxos 500 fr.

## student Wkuasel is Txovna.

Wkuasel i Txoul obs esesxos mas del egaciis kasidan 300 f. im pirobiT, rom stipendiis ful idan 50 fr. yovel kviraSi gamoericxos.... man daagrova stipendiis ful idan 300 fr. azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul ki iqna esesxos 200 fr. im pirobiT, rom yovel TveSi gamoericxos 50 fr. sanamdi val s ar dafaravs.

## del egaciisTvis ful is Sovna.

radganac del egaciis sacxovrebel i saxl i el oda da saqarTvel odan ki metis miReba SeuZl ebel i iyo, val utis dacemis gamo daisva sakiTxi, rogor eSovna ful i del egacias Tavis saarsebo. azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul i iqna: imoqmedon finansTa ministris k.p.kandel akis saSual ebiT, romel ic amJamad parizSi imyofeba, rom aRebul i iqnas parkis ful i marsel Si da amasTanave mi vmarToT, Tu sxva gza ar aRmoCnda, Svei car-iaSi datovebul Tanxas (markebi berl inis bankSi). dauyovnebl iv iqnes gagzavnil i vinme marsel Si Sabriel morel Tan mosal aparakebl ad parkis ful is Sesaxeb.  
Tavmj domareobda n.CxeiZe.  
mdivnobda s.s.asaTiani.  
oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 10

parizi. 8. V. 1920 w.

## oqmebi saqarTvel os sazavo del egaciis sxdomisa.

eswrebian: n.CxeiZe, z.aval iSvil i, k.gvarjal aZe, i.gobeCia.

**aval iSvil i** yofil a vansitardTan. daval ebisamebr baqoSi momxdari cvl il ebebis Sesaxeb gamouTqvams is azri, rom ufro Turqofil uri unda iyves vinem bol Sevikurio. man ar icis gaj inskis Sesaxeb araferi. icis rom narimanovi TamaSobs did rol s.

**aval iSvil s** ul aparknia iaraRis saWiroebis Sesaxeb. vansitards uTqvams, rom arian rogorc CvenSi, ise aqac iaraRis gagzavnis winaaRmdegi. urCevia mas rom iaraRis Sesaxeb somxebTan erTad wargvedgina Txovna amas eqneba dadebiTi mniSvnel oba, gansakuTrebiT san-remos cudi STabeWdil ebis Semdego, radganac san-remoSi SeuTanxmebl obam iqonia cudi STabeWdil eba umaRI esi sabWos wevrebze. vansitards urCevia amasTanave, rom yvel a is notebi iaraRis Sesaxeb umaRI es sabWosadmi da agreTve pol itikuri nota gaegzavnaT misTvis, romel sac is gadagzavnis dauyovnebl iv l ondonSi.

**dadgenil ia**, vansitards gaegzavnos pol itikuri da samxedro nota ukanasknel i Tavis damatebiT Tu ra da ra iaraRi gvWiria.

sakiTxia, mi vmarToT Tu ara somxebTan erTad iaraRis Sesaxeb.

**n.CxeiZe**. winaaRmdegia imisi, rom somxebTan erTad viTxovoT iaraRi, amJamad mas es miaCnia udrovoT, im motivebiT, rom es iqneba erTgvari pol itikuri demonstracia azerbaijanis winaaRmdeg, rac cud STabeWdil ebas iqoniebs da amave dros isic ar viciT Tu am pol itikur demonstraciis samagiero kompensacia rogori iqneba.

**dadgenil i iqna**, rom SeCerebul iqnas somxebTan gamosvl is sakiTxi.  
oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

A



## dokumenti # 11

parizi. 15. V. 1920 w.

oqmebi SeerTebul i sxdomis ekonomiur komisiastan erTad.

eswrebian: CxeiZe, gobeCi a, nikol aZe, kandel aki, gogiCaiSvil i, sumbaTaSvil i. dRiuri sakiTxi: 1. iaraRis SeZena; 2. studentis saqme; 3. aval iSvil is tel egrama; 4. informacia.

**n.s.CxeiZe** snis krebas. batonebo, marTal i giTxraT kargad ki ar vici ra da ra sakiTxebistvis unda SevikriboT. amis modus-vivendi j er kidev ar SegvimuSavebia. TumcaRa, magram is sakiTxebi, romel ic dRes daismeba aq me mgonia, rom saerTo unda iyves. mag. iaraRis sakiTxi. vin awarmoebis am iaraRis yidvis sakiTxs. sadac ki gavixedavT, iaraRs yovel i mxridan gvawvdian, magram ful ia saWi ro, vin gadawyvi tos es sakiTxebi. aqnobamde ase Tu ise del egacia erkveoda am sakiTxebSi. meore sakiTxi studentebis Sesaxeb, mesame\_ Sabriel is tel egrama da meoTxe\_ Cvensa da azerbaij ans Soris damokidebul eba\_ Cvens Soris namdvil i omia. rogor SevxedoT Cven am sakiTxs da rogori informacia gavakeToT. rogorc xedavT batonebi, es sakiTxebi saerTo msj el obis sagans Seadgens.

**n.s.CxeiZe** svams iaraRis sakiTxs da acnobebs krebas Tu ra mdgomareobaSi a es sakiTxi. j ayel is weril i ital iidan iaraRis sakiTxis Sesaxeb. aseTive winadadebaa l ondonidan gvarjal azis weril iT. winadadeba eberis sagareo saminstrodan da fanasies\_ Wiaturel i mrewvel is. am oris winadadeba marganecze gacvl iT SeZenis ar aris.

**sumbaTaSvil i.** kiTxul obs Tu ra xasiaTi miRo im dapirebam iaraRis micemis Sesaxeb, romel ic gamodioda umaRl esi sabWodan.

**n.s.CxeiZem** upasuxa j er iaraRi ar migvira.

**k.kandel aki.** aRiarebs did saWi roebas iaraRisas da Txoul obs gamorkvevas krediti- sas. is Tanaxmaa marganecze, magram sul rom marganecze iqnes gacvl a is ar aris Tanaxma, radganac marganecis val utaT gamoyenebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis pol itika srul iad daemxoba am gziT. randenic gvinda ver SeviZenT, magram rac SegviZl ia is mainc unda SevizinoT da es gamoirkveva mxol od mas Semdeg, rodesac gavigeBT danamdvil ebiT minimums saWi ro iaraRisas da mis Rirebul ebas.

**gogiCaiSvil i.** aRiarebs iaraRis saWi roebas. mxol od winaarMdegia imisi, rom Cveni nedl i masal a, marganeci iqneba Tu sxva, mivceT mTI ad, radganac, misi azriT, amas moyveboda aucil ebl ad Cveni damSeva.

**kandel aki.** SeZenil i iaraRi aucil ebl ad maT unda Cagvitanon Tavianti branenoscebiT, rac SeiZl eba daCqarebiT.

**nikol aZe.** am miznis misaRwevad saWi roT miaCnia im pirebis CarTva am saqmeSi, romel nic dainteresebul ni arian baqos navTiT. mas qonia l aparaki erT pirTan, romel ic didaT dainteresebul ia am saqmeSi. xval mas eqneba mol aparakeba erT ingl isel Tan (mrewvel ia amierkavkasiaSi). is fiqrobs, rom am xal xis daxmarebiT Cven mivirebT iaraRs an muqTaT an sul ia fad.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** naxul obs, rom panasies gamoyeneba SeiZl eba, radganac is didaT dainteresebul ia marganecis sakiTxiT. Cven rasakvirvel ia unda vicodeT Tu ra vupasuxoT, Tu dagvisves sakiTxi marganecis Sesaxeb. amasTanave, Cemis azriT, CvenTvis ufro saWi roa To- fis wamal i, tyvia da yumbarebi.

**gobeCi a.** batonebo, misaRebia mxedvel obaSi is, rom ra SegviZl ia mivceT samagiero, radganac, rogorc ingl isSi ise ital iaSi da aqac ise dgas sakiTxi, am mxriT Tavmj domarem dRes daayena sakiTxi praqtikul ad\_ SegviZl ia mivceT ful i Tu ara? es sakiTxi gamosarkvevia da Semdeg SegveZl eba moqmedeba.

**k.kandel aki.** iaraRis saWi roebis Sesaxeb sakiTxi garkveul ia, xol o saWi roa gamorkveva imis Tu ra formebsi gamovxatoT samagiero Rirebul eba. marganecis micema srul iad ar SegviZl ia da romc SegveZl os, Cven amas verc vizamT. rodesac Tu gvecodineba ras gvaZl even da ra Rirebul ebas warmoadgens, maSin SegveZl eba gavarkvIoT Tu ris micema SegviZl ia. nawil s naRd ful sac mivcemT. magal . erTi mil ioni fr. marganecisac mivcemT nawil s. maSin marganeci unda iyidos mTavrobam. radgan, marTal ia monopol iaa, magram es imas ar ni Snavs, rom es Cven gvekuTvnis, es kerZo sakuTrebaa.

**n.CxeiZe.** svams sakiTxs praqtikul ad: aqamde misi azriT am sakiTxs akademiuri xasiaTi

qonda. dRes ki aseTi al gebrul i formul ebiT ver davkmayofil debiT, dRes garkveul ad unda vupasuxoT Tu ris da ramdenis micema SegveZl eba.

**nikol aZe.** I aparakobs panasies Sesaxeb, romel sac unda gayidos Tavisi marganeci misi mowyobil obiT da is Rebul obs yovel zomebs mTavrobasTan, rom Cven gvaiZul os marganecis yidva, radganac Tu iaraRi mogvces marganecSi, maSin imisic unda viyi doT da es aris, rom mas ainteresebs.

**k.kandel aki.** arkvevs, rom SeuZl ebel ia aseTi kustarul i moqmedeba. undaT marganeci, maSin Cven miVuTiTebT Tu rogoria bazarze marganecis fasi.

**sumbaTaSvil** i naxul obs, rom momenti didaT kritikul ia. dRes dgas sakiTxi iarsebos Tu ara saqarTvel os xal xma. yvel aze ufro Tu SeuZl ia gaarkvios rame, es ingl isia. es yvel aze ufro pol itikuri sakiTxia. imaT unda misceT ful i Tunda nawil i. nedl i masal a sul erTia batonebo, isini mainc waiReben. Tqven ras fiqrobT marganeci ki ara, vin icis ramdeni ris micema mogvixdeba koncesiebis Tu sxvebis saxiT, radganac Cven ukve ganadgurebis pirze vdgevarT rom ar vcadoT yvel aferi, es boroteba da danaSaul i iqneba istoriisa da Cveni xal xis winaSe.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** arkvevs sakiTxis pol itikur xasiaTs da ambobs sumbaTaSvil is sapasuxoT: pol itikuraT Cven am sakiTxs mudam vaqcevdiT did yuradRebas. dResac ase vuyurebT da sworeT amisaTvis gvpareba eWvi ful iTac SevZl ebT iaraRis SeZenas Tu ara. uTitebs azerbaijanze, romel ic bol Sevikuri gaxda da ras fiqrobT Tqven, gana imaT visac SeuZl ia CvenTvis iaraRis mocema, isini ar fiqroben, rom Cven rogorc ki CavigdebT iaraRs xel Si maSinve baTumSi amovyofT Tavsl!

**n.s.CxeiZe.** sakiTxis konkretul ad gamosarkvevad sTxovs special istebs\_ odiSel izes da erisTavs warmoadginon minimumi im iaraRis, romel ic Cven gvWiria da misi Rirebul eba aRniSnon.

**k.kandel aki.** Txoul obs gamorkveul i iqnas Tu ra eRireba tonnaJi.

**i.p.gobeCi a.** moxsenebas akeTebis studentebis Sesaxeb. saerTod exeba maT nivTier mdgomareobas da masTan dasZens, rom mas eWvi epareba imaSi, rom im drois ganmavl obaSi romel ic maT aqvT gansazRvrul i, miaRwion im mizans, romel ic mTavrobas dauxatavs, radganac jer-j erobit TiTqmis arcerTi studenti ar aris Sesul i imisda miuxedavad, rom isini eqvsi- Svidi Tvea rac Camovidnen. ra gamova maTgan ar vici, magram miuxedavaT imisa, rom es aseba, mdgomareoba saSinel ebaa.

**k.kandel aki.** iZl eva winadadebas, rom ivanobis TveSi mivceT ful i da masTanve gai gzavnos tel egrama misi da CxeiZis xel moweriT, rom krediti gamogzavnil i iqnes. amasTanave winadadeba Semoaqvs mowyobil i iqnes maTi kontrol is saqme.

**n.CxeiZe.** marTal i unda mogaxsenoT batonebo, rom Cveni pirdapiri misi asTan erTad studentTa sakiTxma udidesi adgil i daikava del egaciis cxovrebaSi, romel sac ase Tu ise, angariSs vuvevdiT. exl a sakiTxi mwaveT dgas da gamosarkvevia Tu ra gzas davadgeT.

**k.kandel aki.** im azrisaa, rom markebs nu SeviZenT jer-j erobiT, rom Cven germaniaSi gvaqvs saqonel i sayidel i. SesaZl ebel ia ase vqnaT, rom Cvens frankebs Tqven mogcemT da markebs gamovwerT Cvenze. gagzavnil iqnes tel egrama mTavrobasTan kreditis Sesaxeb.

**dadgenil ia: ecnobos axmetel s, rom is miirebs daxmarebas, radganac germania-Si myofi qarTvel i studentoba uful od aris.**

**mesame sakiTxi:** (aval iSvil i marsel Si iyo gagzavnil i parkis ful is sakiTxis gamosarkvevad) aval ovis tel egramis Sesaxeb sadac naTqvamia, rom CxeiZis saxel ze unda iqnes Setanil i ful i. kiTxul obs CxeiZe, Tu rogor naxul obs amas finansTa ministri. ministrma upasuxa, rom ful i Cems saxel ze unda yofil iyo, aseTia mandati mTavrobisgan, magram exl a, rom miwveroT CxeiZis ki ara kandel akis saxel ze Tqo, es ver gamova kargaT. darCes Tqvens saxel ze.

**miRebul ia:** darCes CxeiZis saxel ze.

**meoTxe sakiTxi:** tel egramebis Sesaxeb (saqme exeba saqarTvel odan mTavrobis mier gamogzavnil tel egramebs). Tu rogori informacia mivceT da saerTod mivceT Tu ara.

**k.kandel aki.** winaaRmdegia dafarvis, miT umetes, rom dainaxaven Cvens brZol as bol Sevikiebis winaaRmdeg. SeiZl eba aman xel ic Segviwyos iaraRis mosacemaT.

**dadgenil ia:** gamoqveynebul i iqnes miRebul i tel egramebi.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 12

parizi. 17. V. 1920 w.

### oqmebi saqarTvel os sazavo del egaciis sxdomisa.

daeswrnen: CxeiZe, gvarjal aZe, nikol aZe, aval iSvil i, gobecia, sumbaTaSvil i odiSel iZe, erisTavi.

**informacia n.s.CxeiZisa da a.erisTavisa.**

**n.CxeiZe.** akeTebS moxsenebas saqarTvel os ukanasknel i cnobebisa da iaraRis yidvis sakiTxis mdgomnareobis Sesaxeb. pirvel sakiTxze jer kidev gamourkvevl obaa im cnobebisda mixedviT, romel ic Cven mogvivida. rac Seexeba iaraRs, es aucil ebl ad da principiul ad ukve miRebul ia del egaciis mier. mxol od sad viyidoT an rogor movaxerxoT es, saWiroa amaze movil aparakoT. SeiZl eba exl a Tqven gaqvT raime informacia ekiTxeba gvarjal aZes, romel ic winadRiT Camovi da l ondonidan, sadac is iyo gagzavnil i iaraRisTvis.

**gvarjal aZe.** Cven vinaxul eT bat. stoksi, romel ic CvenSi aris daniSnul i uordropis magivrada ar apirebs wasvl as manamdis, sanam iaraRi ar iqneba gagzavnil i. iman sworeT am saxiT warudgina nota saministros. Semdeg Cven vinaxul eT pol kovniki griboni, romel sac Cabarebul i aqvs iaraRis miwodebis saqme aRmosavl eTSi. me avuxseni, rom imdenaT seriozul ad dgas sakiTxi CvenSi, rom mTavrobam gamogzavna mTavarsardal i Tavisi jaris iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxis mosawyobaTqo. iman pirdapir dagvisva sakiTxi: Cven SegviZl ia Tu ara gadavixadoT ful i. rogorc stoksim, ise gribonma migviTites sanremoze, sadac TiTqos Cvenma arasasurvel ma gamosvl am wagvixdina saqme iaraRis miRebis Sesaxeb. rasakvirvel ia cnobebi gadamaxinj ebul i iyo, romel ic ar vici Tu vin miawoda. magram miuxedavad amisa, gamoirkva rom is, rom ful s Tu gaviRebT, iaraRi maSinve mogvecema. erTi gemi iaraRiT datvirTul ia mil nis gankargul ebaSi, romel ic gadmogvecema Tu ful s gaviRebT. l ord hartingma sagareo saministrodan, romel ic Cven vinaxul eT, gvi pasuxa, rom maT yavT kaci, migviTita mil nze, romel sac mindobil i aqvs am sakiTxis gamorkveva. amaze Cven vupasuxeT, rom rodesac iq mi vmarTavT aq gvagzavni an, aq ki iqeT gvagzavni an. Cven unda vicodeT, bol os da bol os Tu sad wydeba es sakiTxi. misi pasuxi iseTive iyo e.i. es mil nis saqmeao. miT umetes, rom Tqveni saqme arc ise cudaT aris exl a da masTan bol SevikebTan gaqvT l aparaki. Cven ganumarteT mas, rom bol SevikebisaTvis exl a saWiroa zavi CvenTan (pol oneTi, ukraina da sxva, romel nic mas ebrZvian) magram rogorc ki wel s gaimagreben, isinic saSiSi iqnebian da sxva. amaze gvi pasuxa, rom rodesac Seiqmneba aseTi situacia, romel zedac exl a Tqven l aparakobT, maSin SeiZl eba xel meoreT dasvat eg sakiTxi. baTumis Sesaxeb, saidanac Cven mogvel is didi safrTxe, Tu is Cven mier dakavebul i ar iqneba\_ man gvi pasuxa, Cven araferi winaaRmdegi ar gveqneba baTumis ol qis da misi strategiul i adgil ebis dakavebis. xol o qal aq baTumis da misi zonis dakavebis Sesaxeb jer-j erobiT verafers getyvit. es iyo Sinaarsi samxedro da sagareo saministroebTan l aparakis.

**aval iSvil i.** marsel idan Camosvl is Semdeg aval iSvil i akeTebS moxsenebas parkis Sesaxeb. `aresti- aris dadebul i Tqven iciT. maTTvis amxel a ful is gaCerebas, rasakvirvel ia didi mniSnel oba aqvs. saWiro iyo kantonemani e.i. rom gansazRvrul i yofil iyo `aresti- im ful iT, romel ic mopirdapires sadaoT miaCnda es TiTqmis Cems Casvl amdissac uqniat 600000 fr. me vinaxul e veqil i, romel sac Cabarebul i qonda saqme, sadac gamoirkva, rom araviTari weril obiTi brZaneba sudis mxrit saWiro ar yofil a. ase rom, sami mil ion naxevari Cven mTavrobas ekuTvnis da erTi mil ion axal i parkis, romel ic maT miuRiaT. daisva sakiTxi Tu vis saxel ze yofil iyo gadatanil i es ful i. finansTa ministrze Tu Cvenze. miRebul i iqna, rom gadatanil i yofil iyo Tavmj domaris saxel ze ital iis bankis ganyofil ebaSi parizSi, roml is Sesaxebac me weril obiT gancxadeba Sevitane erTnaxevari (1/2) mil ion marsel idan gadmova da ori mil ion l ionidan. rac Seexeba axl ad mosul parks, es damokidebul ia finansTa ministrze, gaiyidos exl a Tu ara. mTel i ful i, romel ic ekuTvnis saqarTvel os mTavrobas 4.294.803 fr.

proceSis Sesaxeb me maT gavurkvie, rom saqarTvel os mTavroba ar icnobs arasodes kompentencias marsel is `sudiisas-, radganac saqme Tuki marTI a moxda, qonda adgil i saqarTvel oSi, ase rom is eqvsiaTas ormocdaaTiaTasi fr. gauCerdeba Cvens mTavrobas, ma-

gram ar daekargeba. me kerZoT vel aparake ferans da vuTxari, rom SeiZl eba saqarTvel os mTavroba daTanxmdes ormocdaaTi aTasi (50000 fr.) gaiRos da protesti ar moxdes. me mgonia, rom isini daTanxmdebian da maSasadame 600000 fr. ganTavisufli deba.

**n.ni kol aZe.** akeTebS ganxadebas iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. is ambobs, rom rogorc irkveva iaraRis miReba Znel i xdeba Tu naRdi ful i ar gveqna. me momeciT ufl eba vimoqmedo kerZoT, rogorc kerZo pirma. imedi maqvs rom baqos saSual ebiT davarwmuneb daintere-sebul pirebs, Tu Cven SevZl ebT Cvenis Zal iT baqos aRebas, maSin ecdebian isini dagvexmaron iaraRis SeZenaSi.

**n.s.Cxei Ze.** sworeT sakiTxi ise dgas batonebi, rom saerTod unda movil aparkoT, SeiZl eba ekonomiurma misi am ikisros am saqmis xel Si aReba.

azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul i iqna dainiSnos special uri kreba xval - isTvis 18/V dil is 11 saaTze.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 13

parizi. 18. V. 1920 w.

oqmebi SeerTebul i sxdomebis dipl omatiuri, ekonomiuri da samxedro mi siebis.

eswrebian: kandel aki, gogiCaiSvil i, gvarj al aZe, gobeCia, erisTavi, RambaSiZe, sumbaTaSvil i, nikol aZe, odiSel iZe, aval iSvil i.

sakiTxi: iaraRis SeZena.

**n.s.Cxei Ze.** batonebo, marTal ia informacia gaTavebul i gvaqvs, magram daviT RambaSiZes aqvs raRac saTqmel i.

**d.RambaSi Ze.** amuniciis Sesaxeb Cven mol aparakeba gvqonda ital iasTan da saqmec kargad iyo, magram gamoica brZaneba al iebis (al iansis saxel mwifoebis S.v.) mier, rom zogierT teritoriaze iaraRs veravin Seitanda maT daukiTxavad. es iyo kavkasia, mcire azia da sxva. denikinis damarcxebis Semdeg es sakiTxi cota ufro sxvamxriv daisva. ingl isSi rodesac odiSel iZe Cavida, maSin Cven yvel as miymarTeT\_ magal iTad, me maqvs pasuxi Cems mimarTvaze sadac naTqvamia: is rkinigzis val i, romel ic ingl iss aqvs gadasaxdel i, SeiZl eba Tu ara iaraRiT iqnes gadaxdil i baTumSi CabarebiT da Tanaxmaa Tu ara saqarTvel os mTavroba.

**n.Cxei Ze.** rogorc xedavT, Cveni kacTmoyvareobis grZnobiT iaraRs aravin ar mogvcems. kiTxva pirdapir dasmul ia: gnebavT iaraRi? gviboZeT ful i. Cveni del egaciis gasul or krebaze dasmul i iyo kiTxva\_ viyidoT Tu ara iaraRi. erTxmad vupasuxeT\_ ki! xol o sad viyidoT da rogor, gvaqvs Tu ara krediti mTavrobisgan, Tu SegviZl ia ramenairad am sakiTxs SemovuaroT? maSin unda gavarkvioT Tu vis miymarToT. ai es aris sakiTxebi dReis kiTxvaze, romel ic aucil ebl ad gamorkveul i unda iqnes.

**gvarj al aZe.** marTal ia, iaraRi unda SeviZinoT, magram pirvel rigSia gamosarkvevi Tu ra gveqneba ful i da amasTanave ra raodenobis iaraRi gvWirdeba. am ukanasknel sakiTxs imedia pasuxs gascemen Cveni generl ebi, roml ebic aq arian. sad? itl iaSi da safrangeT-Si? es cota Znel i iqneba, miT umetes, rom yvel a portebi ingl isis xel Sia da mas SeuZl ia yovel Tvis xel i SegviSal os. aris ingl isi, romel sac iaraRi CvenSive aqvs konstantinopol Si, isic axl os aris Cvenze. siaxl oves ki CvenTvis didi mniSvnel oba aqvs. ase rom Tu ingl iss unda iaraRi Sevides CvenSi, es advil i saqme iqneba da ekonomuri komisia rom midis exl ave ingl isSi, mas SeuZl ia moawyos es saqme, Torem Tu ingl iss ar unda, garwmunebT, arc amerikas, arc ital ias da arc safrangeTs ar SeuSvebs.

**n.Cxei Ze.** SeiZl eba batonebo aq orgvarad daisvas sakiTxi. erTi is rom Cven vtyobil o-bT Tu ramdeni gvinda iaraRi da rogor SeiZl eba misi Sovna, amas vatyobinebT Cvens mTavrobas. an da Cven gvaqvs gansazRvrul i ful i da viZenT iaraRs. sakiTxi ase unda

daisvas. gTxovT amas miaqciOT yuradReba.

**odiSel iZe.** batonebo, Cven gviTxarIT Tu ris gaReba SegiZl iaT da Cven amisda mixedviT gamoviangariSebT Tu ris SeZena SegveZl eba. ufro rasakvirvel ia yumbarebi da patronebi sxva araferi. me vTxoul ob, rom aucil ebl adital ia gamoricxul i iqnes. iq verafers ver SeviZenT, radgan iqauri iaraRiT Cven unda gardavqmnaT Cveni jaris Seiar-aReba.

**RambaSiZe.** iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxs uqvemdebareben gen. mil nis Tanxmobas. ingl isSi ase swamT: Tu gen. mil ni daTanxmdeba, Cven gvaZl even iaraRs, Tu ara, maSin ar mogvcemen. ase rom es sakiTxi gadawydeba iq da ara aq.

**n.ni kol aZe.** rogorc irkveva, yvel aze ufro ingl isTan aris xel sayrel i saqmis daWera, miT umetes rom is Tanaxma aris iaraRi Semoitanos im val Si, romel ic mas aqvs Cveni da meore is, rom maT gareSe Cven mainc ver Sevi tanT iaraRs.

**kandel aki.** erTaderTi gziT, ingl iss naxul obs da iZl eva winadadebas gaRebul iqnes milion naxevari Cveni pasuxismgebl obis qveS\_ambobs is, \_is ful i romel ic Cven unda mogvces ingl isma, me mgonia rom Cven im ful s ver SevexebiT, radganac im Tanxam Cven ufro sxva samsaxuri unda gagviwios.

**gogiCaiSvil i.** unda gaigos Tu raze emyareba kreba, rodesac erT milion naxevarze l aparakobs.

**odiSel iZe da erisTavi iZl evian cnobas, rom minimumi 16 milioni iqneba saWiro iaraRis Sesazenad.**

**gvarjal aZe.** am ful is Sovna am gzobisad SeuZl ebel ia. Cven unda vimagadinoT im ful iT rac Cven xel Ta gvaqvs. amisTvis me saWiroT vnaxul ob exl ave iqnes gagzavnili erTi general i konstantinopol Si mil nTan mosal aparakebl ad da erTic Tu gnebatvT ingl isSi.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** bat. gogiCaiSvil i kiTxul obs Tu riT vxel mzRvanel obT Cven, rodesac erT milion naxevarze vl aparakobT. bat. me marTal ia bevri ar mesmis iaraRis sakiTxiSi, magram me ase vfiqrobdi, rom im SemTxvevisaTvis, romel sac iq aqvs adgili, Tundac 100000 (asi aTasi) patronasac didi niSvnel oba eqneba.

**kandel aki.** cifrebiT arkvevs, rom 5 milioni patronis SeZenasac ki didi mniSvnel oba eqneba. am xuTi milioni patronis SeZena da yumbarebis imdeni, ramdenic es Cven SegviZl ia, mosaxerxebel ia Tundac im erTi milioni naxevariT romel sac Cven gaviRebT.

**gobeCia.** ar swams, rom aq marto ful ze iyos saqme, rodesac Cven gvaqvs saqme mil nTan, romel mac baTumidan datvirTul i gemi ukan daabruna. winadadebas iZl eva miviRoT rame garantia imisi, rom iaraRs mivirebT Tozem SeiZl eba ful ic gaviRoT da iaraRic ver miviRoT.

**RambaSiZe.** ar eTanxmeba gobeCias. is xsnis mizezs Tu ratom gamoabruna mil nma gemi. man ganacxada (mil nma) saqarTvel os samxedro mdgomareoba ar aris saSiSario.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** batono i.p.gobeCiav, Tqven im Tavidan aqamde iyaviT erTi aqtiuri wevrTagani, rogorc yvel afer sakiTxiSi, ise am sakiTxiSiac. Cven es sakiTxi bevri vatrial eT gansakuTrebiT pol itikuri mxriT, magram dabol os gamoirkva, rom saWiroa ful is gaReba. sakiTxi dadga ase: ful s mivcemT\_ iaraRs mogvcemen.

**odiSel iZe.** ar EeTanxmeba mil nis azrs, rom saqarTvel o samxedro Tval sazrisiT karg mdgomareobaSia. me vTxoul ob, ambobs is, rom am ful iT, rac aq aris, SeviZinoT rac SegviZl ia. magram amaze nu SevCerdebiT, ganvagrZoT saqme, ingl isma unda mogvces ful i da SeiZl eba is maqsimumi, romel ic Cven wamovayeneT maSin davikmayofil oT. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi Cemi misia ar iqneba Sesrul ebul i. me nabrZanebi maqvs mzaT viqneT. dRes Tu bol SevikebTan ar vibrZiT, xval TaTrebtan mogvixdeba.

**kandel aki.** eTanxmeba odisel iZes, rac Seexeba saqmis farTo warmoebas, magram saxeSi Rebul obs sxva saWiroebebs da masTan masac, rom mTavrobas erTi patronasTvisac ar miucia krediti. iZul ebul i varT davkmayofil deT am gzobisad am erTi milion naxevariT.

**daadgenilia: iaraRi SeZenili iqnas ingl isidan, Tu mosaxerxebel ia mil nidan. ekonomurma komisiar gaiRos erTi da naxevari (1.1/2) milioni franki da mieweros mTavrobas, rom manac gaiRos erTi da naxevari (1.1/2) milioni franki.**

**gvarjal aZe.** winadadebas iZl eva, rom orive generl ebi wavidnen konstantinopol Si am saqmis gamosarkvevad.

**n.ni kol aZe.** winaaRmdegia rom orive generl ebi wavidnen, radganac aq iqneba dasmul i sakiTxebi, roml ebisTvisac isini saWiro iqnebian. magal . spaSi, sadac SeiZl eba daisvas

sakiTxi sazRvrebze, roml ebSidac general i odiSel iZe gamocdil ia.

**odiSel iZe.** iZi eva axsnas Tu rogoria misi misia, rom is ufro pol itikuria vinem samxedro da Tu daadgenT Cems wasvl as, maSin me vixsni pasuxismgebl obas Cemi Tavidan. me gamomgzavnes rogorc mrCevel i Tqvens gankargul ebaSi. me rom exl a wavi de, es darRve-va iqneba imis, rac iq daadgines.

**gvarj al aZe.** Tavistavad cxadia, rom sakiTxi marTl a ise idges, rom saqarTvel os del egacias am droebiT eqneba iseTi sakiTxebi, roml ebsac Cven Tavs ver gavarTmevt, rom odiSel iZe aqedan wasul iyo, magram aseT sakiTxs ar vxedav da verc warmomidgenia. sazRvrebis sakiTxi unda gadawydes Cvens mTavrobebs Soris, Tu ar moxerxdeba maSin al iebis komisia igzavneba saqarTvel oSi da iq wydeba es sakiTxi. sazRvrebis sakiTxi rasakvirvel ia saWiro iqneba, magram ra Sedarebaa im saWiroebasTan, romel sac is CvenSi warmoadgens, miT umetes, rom b. odiSel iZes arc ki aqvs araviTari instruqciebi sazRvrebis Sesaxeb. misi wasvl a aucil ebel ia.

**RambaSiZe.** mil nTan l ondonSi depeSa gagzavnil ia. saWiroa odiSel iZis wasvl a.

**n.nikol aZe.** miaCnia, rom saWiroebis dros samxedro saqmeSi cnobebis micema odiSel iZ- is mier ufro avtoritetul i iqneba vinem, mag. Cemgan.

**gobeCia.** saWiroT Tvl is mis wasvl as mil nTan mosal aparakebl ad.

**kandel aki.** saWiroT da aucil ebl obad Tvl is mis wasvl as konstantinopol Si. rac Seexeba saqarTvel oSi wasvl as, es damokidebul ia pol itikur del egaciaze.

**odiSel iZe.** me maqvs instruqciebi baTumze, ardaganze, borCal oze. Cemis azriT aucil e- bel ia wasvl a konstantinopol si. xol o rac Seexeba saqarTvel oSi wasvl as, amaze me movifiqreb.

**CxeiZe.** Tqveni wasvl a l ondonSi Tu konstantinopol Si aucil ebel ia. rac Seexeba Tqvens dabronebas ukan, me momeciT neba rogorc del egaciis Tavmj domares movifiqro amis Sesaxeb.

**dadgenil ia:** gen. odiSel iZe gaemgzavros konstantinopol Si zemo moxseniebul i mizniT. oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 14

parizi. 29. V. 1920 w.

oqmebi del egaciis krebi sa.

gagrZel eba.

daeswrnen: kandel aki, gogiCaiSvil i, gvarj al aZe, gobeCia, RambaSiZe, sumbaTaS- vil i, nikol aZe, aval iSvil i. sxdomas eswrebodnen agreTve odiSel iZe da erisTavi.

gansaxil vel ia iaraRis sakiTxi.

**n.CxeiZe.** me vsvam sakiTxs batonebo Cveni wevrebisaTvis Tu rogor mdgomareobaSia iaraRis sakiTxi gansakuTrebit mas Semdeg, rac ekonomiuri misia awarmoebis am saqmes. rogoria exl a Cveni damokidebul eba am sakiTxisadmi. aqamde Cven vawarmoebdiT am saqmes. exl a weril i, romel ic Cven mogvivida l ondonidan aval iSvil is mier, gveubneba rom, rogorc etyoba, rogorc finansurad ise pol itikurad, isini awarmoeben am saqmes. magal iTad CvenTvis am sakiTxs Tavisi pol itikuri mniSvnel oba ar daukargavs. rodesac z.d.aval iSvil i vansitardTan iyo, maSin man, aval iSvil ma dasva sakiTxi CvenTan, rom iaraRi somxebTan erTad gveTxova, magram man del egaciis Tanxmoba ver miRo.

Cven amas gavurbodiT da dResac gavurbivarT, vinaidan pol itikuri situacia iseTia, rom erTad gamosvl is sasargebl od srul iadac ar l aparakobs. azerbaijanSi jer ki- dev kargad ar aris gamorkveul i saqme. imaTTan ki xel Sekrul eba gvaqvs. ruseTTan zavi CamovagdeT. saTaTreTi isedac kars gvadgia. yvel a eseni erTad qmnis im mdgomareobas, romel ic gvaizul ebs metis-metad frTxil ad moveqceT am sakiTxs.

**gobeCia.** finansuri komisia batonebo, mowveul i iyo mieRo monawil eoba, finansurad da-eWira CvenTvis mxari. rac Seexeba Cveni ekonomiuri komisiis moqmedebas l ondonSi, is srul ebiT ar eTanxmeba im gzas, romel sac Cven vadgevarT. pol itikur del egacias araviTari monawil eoba ar miURia da is nabiji, romel ic maT gadaudgamT, Cven araviTar pasuxismgebl obas ar gvakisrebs. maT icodnen kargad Cveni azri am sakiTxis Sesaxeb\_SegveZina Tu ara iaraRi somxebTan.

**gvarj al aZe.** me exl a ase vsvam sakiTxS batonebo, Tu rogor gamovideT Seqmnil i mdgomareobidan. me ekonomiur komisiyas, rasakvirvel ia ar veTanxmebi, radganac iseTi sakiTxebi, rogorc dasmul i sakiTxia, aris pol itikuri da maSasadame Cven unda gvcodnoda es ambavi, rogorc pol itikur del egacias. me vfiqrob, rom maT ar miacqies yuradReba sakiTxis aseT xasiaTs, ra ki naxes maT, rom SesaZl ebel ia iaraRis SeZena. isini aCqardnen. ra vqnaT exl a Cven momxdari faqtis Semdeg? ar mi vaqci oT yuradReba? es SeuZl ebel ia. saqme imaSi ki ar aris, rom Cven somxebTan erTad migvaqvs iaraRi, am sakiTxis pol itikuri safrTxe imaSi mdgomareobs, Tu rogor gavusvaT es iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze. miiReT mxedvel obaSi Cveni xal xis damokidebul eba, saTaTreTis damokidebul eba da sxva. aq aris bevri mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi pol itikuri xasiaTisa, romel ic gvikarnaxebS zedmiwveniT sifrtXil es. me ar mesmis batonebo aseTi gul ubryvil oba. b. aval iSvil s unda gaego vansi tardis winadadeba somxebTan erTad iaraRis moTxovna Tu ras niSnavda am iaraRis gaSveba Cvens teritoriaze. dRes ise dgas sakiTxi, Cemis azriT pol itikuris mxriT, rom SeiZl eba iaraRi foTSi Casul i ar iqnes miRebul i Cvenebis mier da gauSvan somxebisaTvis. me ase vityodi sifrtXil isaTvis, rom Tavidan avicil oT yovel gvari arasasiamovno mdgomareoba, miwveroT weril i, rom SeCerdnen ramdenime xniT saerTo mdgomareobis garkvevamde. mTavrobas SeekiTxon da ucadon mTavrobis pasuxs.

**odi Sel iZe.** arsebiTad me srul ebiT Tanaxma var k.gvarj al aZis gamoTqmul i azris. me minda mxol od zogierTi samxedro mosazrebani gamovTqva. iaraRis miwodebis sakiTxSi Tqven didi rol i unda iTamaSoT, radgan es sakiTxi pol itikuria da SeiZl eba ise moxdes, rom iaraRis CataniT sargebl obis magier vneba moutanoT Cvens mxares. Tqven iciT, rom mustafa qemal s surs CvenTan karg ganwyobil ebaSi iqnes da amastanave bol Sevikebsa da azerbaijans Soris didi ukmayofil eba iZabeba. es yvel aferi mxedvel obaSi aris misaRebi. me srul ebiT vuerTdebi k.g.gvarj al aZis winadadebas. miweros ekonomiur misias SeaCeron da gadaxedon maT xel Sekrul ebas iaraRis miRebis Sesaxeb somxebTan da davekiTxoT Cvens mTavrobasac.

**gobeCia.** kargad ganaxxada b. kandel akma. aRiara, rom mas aqvs mTavrobisgan srul i ufl eba Seikras kontraqti da es sakiTxi moagvaros. batonebo, b. aval iSvil i mudam zere l ed uyurebda am sakiTxS. man miarwia imas, rom somxebTan erTad gamosul iyo am sakiTxSi. es man kidevac qna. es mistvis umTavresia. danarCeni mas ar ainteresebs. mermeT batonebo, Cven xel Sekrul eba gvaqvs bol SevikebTan. iaraRis gaSveba ar iqneba darRveva neutral itetis? meoreT, rogor gindaT Tqven, rom gvardia daTanxmdes imaze, rom somxebS miwceT 75% da danarCeni 25% Cven davitovoT. aucil ebl ad saWiroa davekiTxoT Cvens mTavrobas\_ gauSvebs Tu ara iaraRs. saerTod gamovarkvioT mdgomareoba da manamdi ki SeCerebul i iqnas iaraRis gagzavna.

**odi Sel iZe.** momxrea imisi, rom SeCerebul i iqnes iaraRis gagzavna manam, sanam ar davekiTxebiT mTavrobas.

**Cxei Ze.** raSia saqme batonebo, Cven gveZl eva Cveni iaraRi? aTi aTasi? Rirs es imaT rasac Cven somxebTan erTad gamosvl a gvavnebs? da es xom saukeTeso demonstraciaa erTad gasmosvl is? ratom ar SeiZl eba ufro sxva sakiTxSi, romel ic maTTvis da CvenTvisac ufro sasargebl o iqneba movawyoT es saerTo gamosvl a? da ara am sakiTxSi da isic aTi aTasi TofisTvis. me rasakvirvel ia varCev, rom gamosvl a iqnes cal ke. amas me maiZul ebs vTqva, sworeT is pol itikuri situacia, romel Sidac Cven vimyofebiT. erTaderTi gamosaval i aris, rom davekiTxoT mTavrobas. icodes mTavrobam Tu ra xdeba, vicodeT misi azri. Cveni azri aucil ebl ad unda ecnobos ekonomiur misias. maT gadawvyetil ad arafers ar veubnebiT da arc araviTar direqtivebs ar vugzavniT.

**eristavi.** me mgonia batonebo saWiroa ekonomiuri misiis mosmena Tu ra pirobepSi Sekres mat es kontraqti. me saubedurod sxva Sexedul ebis var. Cven iaraRi metismetad gWirdeba. aTi aTasi Tofi ukeTesia vinem sul ar aferi. ase rom Cven nu gadaviqceviT msaj ul ebad.

**Cxei Ze.** SeniSnavs eristavs, rom Cven aq msaj ul ebs ar warmovadgenT. Cven gvinda rom sakiTxi ise iqnes gamorkveul i, rom sargebl obis magier vneba ar mogvitanos.

**dasmul ia sakiTxi** l ondonSi vinmes wasvl is Sesaxeb. radgan sakiTxi metad seriozu-  
l ia da weril i da tel egrama ar ikmarebs.

**gobeCia.** weril i da tel egrama srul ebiT ver miaRweven im mizans, romel sac Cven  
visaxavT. amistvis saWiroa vinmes wasvl a.

**azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul i iqna wavides i.p.gobeCia.**  
oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 15

parizi. 2. VI. 1920 w.

oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomis.

eswrebian: CxeiZe, gvarj al aZe, gobeCia, konst.kandel aki, sumbaTaSvil i, odiSel -  
iZe, erisTavi.

dRiuri wesrigi: iaraRis saqme.

**kandel aki.** akeTebis moxsenebas: me vinaxul e regzameri, romel Tanac mol aparakeba maqvs  
iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. man miTxra rom mil eiranis mdivans unda Tqveni naxva (CxeiZis),  
romel sac unda mi iRos Tqvengan si tyva, rom iaraRs, romel ic Tqven mogecemaT ar gamoiy-  
enebT somxebis winaaRmdeg da arc ingl isis, da rom saqarTvel o daeqvemdebareba umaR-  
l esi sabWos dadgenil ebas baTumis Sesaxeb. me vupasuxe, rom es pol itikuri sakiTxi a da  
am sakiTxze pasuxis gacema ar SemiZl ia Tqo. Tu Tqven am sakiTxze gascemT dadebiT  
pasuxs, miTxra man, maSin mil eirani moawers xel s im qaRal ds, sadac nebadarTul i iqneba  
iaraRis gatana.

**Cxei Ze.** me rogorc vxedav, batonebo, regzamers ainteresebs yvel aze ufro Tavis stoke-  
bis gasaReba da ara saqarTvel os mdgomareoba. Cven ki rasakvirvel ia unda SevexoT  
sakiTxs sxva mxriv. Cven gvinda iaraRi misda damoukidebl ad Tu rogoria bat. regzame-  
ris survil i da mizani. misi skotebi cal ke, iarARis SeZena ki cal ke. vsTqvaT stokebi  
viyideT im ful iT roml itac iaraRi unda gveyida. vsTqvaT orasi aTasze, romel sac is  
gvTxovs SevCerdiT, moaweros xel i ubral o Cinovnikma ki ara TviT mil eiranmac. magram  
saqme imaSia, Tu SevZl ebT iaraRis SeZenas im pirobebSi, rogorc is gveubneba. me pirda-  
pir vsvam batonebo sakiTxs. si tyvierad mzad varT mivceT maT garantia, rom aravis wina-  
aRmdeg iaraRs ar vixmarT. me es ar maSinebs, mxol od saqme imaSia, Cven vaZl evT erTgvar  
sasyidel s da me amis winaaRmdegi ar var gaviRoT Tundac 500000 fr. imisaTvis, rom  
20.000.000 iaraRi miviRoT. mxol od saqme imaSia, rodesac Cven stokebs vukavSirebT iara-  
Ris SeZenas, Cven SevZl ebT es stokebi SeviZinoT? da Tu ar SeviZenT, xom iaraRic  
dagvekarga. me gTxovT ase davsvaT sakiTxi da gamostqvaT Tqveni azri.

**kandel aki.** kiTxul obs xel Sekrul ebis proeqts. Cven rasakvirvel ia SegviZl ia orasi  
aTasi franki mivceT maT. es damokidebul ia imaze Tu ramdens mogvcemen iaraRs da es  
ful i miecema mas foTSi... ise Cven saqonel s ver miviRebT. rac Seexeba saqonel ze  
ful is gadaxdas, es moxdeba rodesac marsel Si dai tvirTeba gemi.

**gvarj al aZe.** vTqvaT rom saqonel i ar mogvewona da viyideT, maSin?

**odi Sel iZe.** sul erTia, saqme mainc ar Seferxdeba, radganac sxva kombinaciebi aqvs  
kidev. me girCevT, rom ase pesimisturad ar moeqceT am sakiTxs.

**gvarj al aZe.** me pesimisturad ki ar vuyureb, aramed minda am seriozul sakiTxSi  
yovel i nabij i win da win Sesasferisad awonil -dawonil i iqnes, rom raime Secdoma ar  
davuSvaT. es pesimizmi ki ar aris, aramed sifrTxil ea.

**Cxei Ze.** Tu, aq am kacTan moaxerxeT es operacia, maSin l ondonSi swyvetT saqmes?

**kandel aki.** pasuxs aZl evs: rasakvirvel ia!..

**sumbaTaSvil i.** safrangeTi batonebo xedavs exl a rom Cveni orientacia ar aris arc  
bol Sevikuri da arc Turqofil uri. Cven l ondonSidac gviTxra RambaSiZem, rom sa-  
frangeTidan ufro advil ad viSovniT iaraRs da me mgonia, rom am SemTxveviT unda vi-



sargebl oT. rac Seexeba stokebs, es rasakvirvel ia SeiZl eba moXTes da arc moXTes. iaraRis gatana mainc SeiZl eba.

**CxeiZe.** rasakvirvel ia batonebo, rom principal urad ra gvaqvs sawinaaRmdego imisa, rom iaraRi SeviZinoT. piriqiT Cven amaze vmecadineobdiT amdeni xania. xol o saqme imaSia, rom ra gziT viaroT am sakiTxSi. SesaZl ebel ia is gza romel zedac exl a vdgevarT Cven aris swored saukeTeso da rom amdeni xani ase ar moviqeciT al baT aman SegviSal a xel i. Cven im kacs ver auvl iT gverds. mxol od saqme imaSia, rom iqnes gamorkveul i ras vRebul obT. ramdens da Semdeg SevudgeT am sakiTxis ganxil vas.

**odiSel iZe.** iaraRi Tu ramdeni mogvecema Tavis Tavad cxadia, rom es gamorkveul i unda iqnes da amisda mixedviT unda gaviRoT sasyidel i am saqmis mowyobisaTvis. stokebi SeiZl eba viyidoT rac mogvewoneba. fexsacmel i, sacvl ebi da sxva.

**CxeiZe.** rogoria fasebi saqonel ze. SeTanxmebiT aris Tu fasebi ukve mis mier dasmul ia da ginda Tu ara unda gadaixedos? me ar mgonia batonebo, rom Cveni l amazi Tval ebiSTvis regzameri amden muSaobas awarmoebdes. ar mesmis, magal iTad, rogor SeiZl eba rom man saqarTvel oSi araferi miROS?

**gvarj al aZe.** Tu ra viyidoT es ekonomiurma komisi am unda gamoarkvios. Semdeg ful s Tu mi vcemT, Cven amiTi Tavisufal i unda viqneT. yvel a patara moxel eebisTvis naSromis micema TviT regzamerma ikisros.

**gobeCia.** saqme imaSia batonebo, rom, rogorc Cans iaraRs ver miviRebT, Tu ful i ar gaviReT. mTavroba gvaZl evs iaraRis as da es unda iyves im xal xis saSual ebiT, romel T-anac Cven unda SevideT am erTgvar kombinaciaSi.

**CxeiZe.** ki batonebo, magram, Tqven rom waxval T vin unda awarmoos es saqme? ekiTxeba n.s.CxeiZe saekonomio komisi as.

**kandel aki.** aq rCeba odiSel iZe, erisTavi da el igul aSvil i. me davtoveb erT mil ion naxevars Tqvens gankargul ebaSi da rogorc ki moewyoba es saqme, Tqven saWiro ful s gascemT.

**gobeCia.** xel moweril i qaRal di sakmarisi ar aris manamdis, sanam gamorkveul i ar iqneba, rogorc varnaSi iaraRis Sesaxeb ise marsel Si stokebis Sesaxeb. Cven verafers ver gaviRebT rogorc naSroms am saqmisaTvis.

**sumbaTaSvil i.** me vTxoul ob, rom detal ebSi didaT nu gaverTobiT, Torem verafers ver mi vaRwevT.

**CxeiZe.** maS ase, Tqven gyavT special isti, romel ic am saqmes awarmoebds ara?

**kandel aki.** diax, es aqvs Cabarebul i el igul aSvil s, ful i Tqvens xel Sia.

**CxeiZe.** Tqven midixarT, vin unda awarmoos mol aparakeba?

**gobeCia.** batonebo, Cven notebi gadaveciT ramodenimej er samxedro saministros da umarl es sabWos. is rac xdeba (iaraRis mocema) usaTuod Sedegia Cveni muSaobis, amisaTvis Cven unda ganvagrZoT mol aparakeba. xval , magal iTad saWiro iqneba l aparaki Tundac mil ieranis mdivanTan\_ wavidnen iq gvarj al aZe da odiSel iZe.

**CxeiZe.** Tu gnevavT me geaxl ebiT, magram ase Tu ise Cemi sityviT, rogorc Tavmj domaris, SeiZl eba Tqven rameTi SegakavSiroT... umj obesi iqneba vinme sxva wavides.

**sumbaTaSvil i.** azri iseTia rogorc ambobs rakzameri, rom bl andiani matarebl is gamogzavnam, rkini gzaze baTumis axl os, cota Seaferxa iaraRis gacemis saqme. daekiTxen de-martel s. ar viciT Tu rogori iqneba pasuxi, TumcaRa ambobs is, rom es mTI ad ver Seaferxebds saqmes. me mgonia, rom ukeTesi iqneboda bat. n.s.CxeiZe wabrZandebodes. amas didi mniSvnel oba eqneba.

**erisTavi.** momxrea rom b. CxeiZem inaxul os bat. mil eirani, romel ic direqtoria aRmosavl eTis sakiTxebis sagareo saministroSi. rasac is ityvis, amaze bevri iqneba damokidebul i. eTxovos mas rom aq movides.

**miRebul ia:** bat. mil eirani moiwvion del egaciaSi.

**kandel aki.** informacias ukeTebds krebds somxebTan iaraRis SeZenis Sesaxeb. Cven rode-sac mi vdiodiT l ondonSi RambaSiZesTan, RambaSiZdan miviReT tel egrama, rom iaraRis micema SegviZl ia da wamoiyvaneT odiSel iZe. odiSel iZe ver waviyvaneT, radgan Cven ukve gzas vadeqiT. RambaSiZem gviTxra l ondonSi Casvl isas, rom somxebds aZl even iaraRs, radganac maT eSini aT, iaraRs Cven ar gavatarebT. amisaTvis mogvel aparaknen, rom mogvce-men nawil s iaraRis as im pirobiT rom Cvens teritoriaze gatarebisaTvis 27 % gviT-moben. winawari mol aparakeba gaTavda. Cvenma warmomadgenel ma moawera xel i da mec unda momewera. dadga Semdegi sakiTxebi: j er erTi, 31 dekembers unda gadagvexada Rirebul eba; meore\_ iaxtis ful i da gemi romel sac ar vicodiT rod is viSovi diT; mesame\_

rogor SegviZl ia iaraRi SeviZinoT somxebTan erTad, maSin rodesac maTi pol itikuri fizionomia gamorkveul i ar aris da vin icis, isini bol SevikebTan erTad Cvenze ar wamovl en. amis Sesaxeb Cven informacia gavukeTeT del egacias, roml idanac Cven tel e-grama miViReT da Semdeg ki weril i, sadac aRniSnul i iyo is eWvebi, romel ic CvenC gvqonda. Cven davinaxeT weril idan, rom del egacia ase advil ad ar gadawvyetda am sakiTxs. Cven moviqeciT ise, rogorc del egacia gvirCevda, e.i. gavagzavneT tel egrama Tbil isSi. daisva sakiTxi Tu ra gveqna, radganac somxebi gvTxovdnen garkveul pasuxs. ar vicodiT Tu rogor movqceul iyaviT, Tu mTavrobidan pasuxi daagvianeBda, TumcaRa vfiqrobdiT, rom Cven unda davTanxmebul iyaviT, radganac ingl isel ebis saSual ebiT somxebs SeeZl o gaetanaT dampI ombil i vagonebi. ase Tu ise del egaciis daukiTxavad mainc ar SegveZl o pasuxi gagveca. sakiTxi ase dgas: movucadoT pasuxs mTavrobisas Tu movuveroT xel i pirobas? saWiroa Tqveni azri.

**gvarj al aZe.** Cven ver Sevcvl iT im azrs, rac ukve mogwereT. bol o sakiTxi ase dgas: exl a ucadoT Tu ara mTavrobis azrs. Tu pasuxi dadebiTi ar mova mTavrobidan, maSin rogorc weril Si gwerdiT, gaafRTxil eT somxebi, rom mosal odnel ia sxva da sxva mdgomareobis wyal obiT iaraRi mTavrobam ar gauSvas da Tu pasuxi aseTi iqneba mTavrobidan, maSin gems daabruneben.

**Cxei Ze.** Cven rom weril i mogwereT mas Semdeg kidev bevri vifiqreT am sakiTxze. magal - iTad azerbaij anTan gavwyviteT kavSiri Tu ara, ar viciT. bol SevikebTan rogor aris saqme arc es viciT. somxebi rogor arian da ras fiqroben es ar viciT. 3 Tofs maT vaZl evT da erTs Cven vitovebT da es maSin, rodesac ar viciT Tu ra gzas daadgebian isini. azerbaij anis warmomadgenel i Zal ian sayvedurs gveubneba, rom Cven maT bral s vdebT Turqofil obasa da bol SevizmSi. erTi sityviT, yvel aferi es gvaizul ebs Cven frTXil ad moveqceT am sakiTxs. Cemis azriT, bevri rom ar gavaWianuroT es saqme. j obia ise v is iaraRi wavides da iq mTavroba TviTon gaarTmevs TavS. aq raime gansazRvrul is Tqma yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. me ver vkisrul ob raime dadebiTis Tu uaryofiTis Tqmas am sakiTxis Sesaxeb. es SeiZl eba gamoirkves mxol od CvenSi. Cemi azri aseTia\_ gaigzavnos iaraRi im pirobiT, romel sac isini I aparakoben.

**gobeCi a.** somxebma miTxres: Tu del egacia winaaRmdegi iqneba am iaraRis aseT pirobebSi gagzavnis, gviTxarit Tqven da Cven ar gavgzavniTo. me rasakvirvel ia garkveul pasuxs ver vetyodi. Cemi azri aseTia batonebo, rom marTal ia, iq CvenSi ukeT gamoirkveva es sakiTxi, magram nu dagaviwydebaT, rom aq ingl isic Careul ia am saqmeSi. es misaRebia mxedvel obaSi.

**gvarj al aZe.** me momxre var, rom iaraRi wavides. es ufro mistvis, rom Tavidan moviSorebT yvel a sayvedurebs, roml ebsac SeiZl eba adgil i eqnes. rom aqedan xel i SevuS- al oT, me vfiqrob ufro sxva xasiaTi eqneba, Tu iq ar miscemen nebas iaraRis gataniS.

**Cxei Ze.** SeiZl eba Tu ara moxerxdes, rom somxebi ar iyos aseT priveI igiur mdgomare- obaSi?

**gvarj al aZe.** exl a es ukve gvian aris.

**Cxei Ze.** me ar mgonia batonebo, rom es ase iyos. yvel aze ufro somxebs is ainteresebs, rom Cven erTad gamovdivarT. es demonstraciaa Cveni erTad gamosvl is. Cvens teritori- aze iaraRis gatareba, es gamodis faqtiurad samxedro kavSiri somxebTan\_ azerbaij anis winaaRmdeg. pol itikurad es dauSvebel ad mimaCnia. me veravin damwamebs nacional ur siZul vil s. somxebs vusurveb bednierebas da yovel ive kargs, magram ase erTad gamosv- l as me vamj obineb cal ke vigneT am SemTxvevaSi.

**erisTavi.** aq ornairad dgas sakiTxi: pol itikurad da xel Sekrul ebis mxriT. pol i- tikurad es darRvaa neitral itetis, magram mdgomareoba iseTia, rom Cven uvardebiT xel Si somxebs.

**Cxei Ze.** Cemi Sexedul eba aseTia da vTxoul ob, rom es Tqven icodeT. Tqven Txoul obT, rom radganac ukve saqme gaTavebul ia ganawil ebis mxriT, ganagrZeT rogorc geneboT, xol o me vityodi, rom SeiZl eboda maTTan mol aparakebiT naxevari mainc mogvcemoda. exl a wavides iaraRi da gamoarkvios TviT mTavrobam.

**kandel aki.** batonebo, Tqven faqtis winaSe ar dgexarT. Cven gvainteresebs Tqveni azri. gveSinia, rom pol itikuri Secdoma ar davuSvaT. Cven ryevaSi viyaviT, Tqvenc ryevaSi xarT. iaraRi gvinda. iaraRi maTac surT. SemTxveva aseTia, sxva gza ar aris: vaWroba SeiZl eba rasakvirvel ia.

**Cxei Ze.** del egaciis azri aseTia, rom iaraRi gagzavniI i iqnes im pirobebSi, ra pirobeb- Sic moxda xel Sekrul eba.

**wi nadadeba mi i Res.**

**j ayel is** momarTva kandel akisadmi 25000 fr. gagzavnis Sesaxeb.

**kandel aki.** n.j ayel i mTxovs gaugzavnoT 25000 fr. me gTxovT, rom es ful i gagzavnil i iqnes Tqveni TanxmobiT, radganac Cems Cekebs aweria yvel as Tavis saxel i.

**sumbaTaSvil i.** Cven yovel Tvis Tqven unda mogmarToT xol me, radganac umaRI esi organo romel sac SeuZI ia Cveni xel mZRvanel oba es Tqvena xarT. swored Zaan saWiroa, gamorkveul iqnas saerTod aseTi sakiTxebi.

**Cxei Ze.** Cven mzaT varT yovel mxrivaT davexmaroT Cvens warmomadgenl ebs, xol o rac Seexeba nivTier daxmarebas, es cota Znel ia. berl inis, l ondonis da aqauri studente- bic Cven mogvaweres, amistvis Tanxac unda gveqnes Sesaferi. Cven ki mas ver vxedavT.

**kandel aki.** me marTal i giTxraT ar mesmis Tu raSia saqme. aq iseTi mdgomareoba iqmneba, rom yovl ad SeuZI ebel i iqneba ase gagrZel eba. aq gamouSves amdeni xal xi, ful i ki ar aris. bat. sabaxtaraSvil i erTi Tvea rac wavida da ar dautovebia Cveni warmomadgen- l obistvis araferi. ar vici Tu raT qna.

**gobeCia.** me mgonia formal uris mxriT es ase unda moxTes, rom j ayel ma mogvmarTos Cven da Cven ki miviRebT mxedvel obaSi Tqvens l aparaksac da gavcemT pasuxs.

**miRebul ia** gaegzavnos 25000 franki (ocdaxuTi aTasi franki).

sakiTxia imis Sesaxeb Tu vin unda gayves iaraRs.

sakiTxi Riad darCa.

**Cxei Ze.** me vfiqrobdi, rom iaraRs ara Tu gayves vinme, aramed mTavrobas gaegzavnos mTel i informacia am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

oqmi beWdiTaa dadasturebul i.

## **dokumenti # 16**

**parizi.**

**oqmebi del egaciis 1920 wl is 4 ivanobistvis krebisa.**

**eswrebian: n.CxeiZe, gvarj al aZe, gobeCia, odiSel iZe, maWavariani (oficeri Tfil - isidan Camosul i).**

**dRIuri wesrigi: pol kovnik maWavarianis moxseneba.**

Tbil isSi yofnis dros, rodesac senator kontis misia kidev iq imyofeboda, erTma ital iel ma oficerma kerZo l aparkSi miTxra, rom ital iaSi SeiZI eboda (safreni S.v.) aparatebis Sovna Zal ian xel sayrel pirobebSi, radganac kontis misia gamodioda 13 maiss, maSin ase ucbad wamosvl a TumcaRa Znel i iyo, magram me im dResve gavukeTe moxseneba samxedro ministrs, romel mac am sakiTxis simwvavis gamo moaxdina gankar- gul eba, rom meore dResve wavsuliyavi ital iaSi. me geaxel iT kontis misiasTan erTad. kontim momca weril i, roml is saSual ebiTac SemeZI eboda mivsul iyavi da gamomerkvia aeropl anebis Tviseba da maTi SeZenis sakiTxi. neapol Si me davaTval iere 4 fabrika. neapol idan geaxel i l ombardiaSi. iq damainteresea yvel aze ufro kapronim, romel ic itevs 40 kacs. frenac kargi (aqvs S.v.) da masTan saqarTvel ostvis didaT gamosadegi. magram, saqme imaSia, rom maT gadasatanaT saWiro iqneba 3 baza, roml is mosawyobad gvWirdeba 4-5 mil ioni. zRviT waReba ki dagvij deba 5-j er meti. ase rom amis mizeziT uari unda vTqvaT.

Semdegi **zvavis** sistemis. meore esaa samxedro mzveravi (**razvedoCni**)\_ sistema **gama- nadgurebl is (istrebidel )** 245 k. saaTSi. maTi siCqare yvel aze metia. erTaderTi, romel sac SeeZI o siCqariT misi damarcxeba aris safrangeTis aeropl ani spa da isic ital iaSi gakeTebul i. gadasatani sakiTxi didaT gviSI ida xel s da es me mgonia aRar aris, radganac fabrika antal dom momca wi nadadeba, riTac marganecis mi iReben gadasatan fasebSi. me tel egrama gavugzavne `bal il o da zvas- Sesaxeb (antal dis fabrikidan) mTavrobas. fabrika kistrul obs maT gadatanas Tbil isSi da Rirebul eba 66 aTasi bal i- l o da 67000 zvavi, marganecis saSual ebiT SegveZI eba nakl ebi dagvij des.

tel egramaze pasuxi j er ar mimiRia. Semdeg gavige, rom daarsebul a sazogadoeba transporti, romel sac daval ebul i qonia aparatebis miwodebis saqme. am sazogadoebam miiRo yovel i zomebi, rom CemTvis xel i SeeSal a da is piri, romel ic saqmes miwyobda, Seiyvanes am sazogadoebaSi (merkanto aris Tavmj domare im transportis sazogadoebis).

me miviRe Semdeg weril i, rom batoni gel a Sevda transportis sazogadoebaSi. ase rom xel axl a unda damewyo mol aparakeba. am dros b. ir.wereTel ma Camoiara. me mindoda misTvis gadameca yvel a masal aebi. miviRe weril i ital o kokazikas- transportul i sazogadoebidan. sazogadoebam TiTqmis naxebrad Seamcira Rirebul ebis da gadatanis fasi im pirobiT, rom me viyiddi antal dis fabrikidan aeropl anebs\_ TiToeul i tipis unda gvyol oda aTi mainc. ricxvi Semcirebul i adidebs aparatebis Rirebul ebas. magal iTad: bal il o Rirda 60 aTasi. unda migveca 66 aTasi. zvavi Rirda 66 aTasi. unda migveca 72 aTasi. es Tbil isSi ver gaugiaT da sworeT tel egrafi, romel ic mTavrobidan miviRe amas amtkicebs. magal iTad, me unda viyido 9 aparat, roml isTvisac 15 mil ioni sakmarisi ar aris. (kiTxul obs weril s Tu rogori unda iqnes pirobebi aparatebis SeZenis da gadatanis\_ nedl i masal ebi, parki, marganeci da sxva produqti kontraqtireba).

aeropl anebis SeZena me exl ave SemiZl ia da gagzavna maTi SeiZl eba 22 ivanobisTvidan 5 kviramde. me miviRe kidev tel egrama ital o-kavkas bankze\_ TayaiSvil i ugzavnis maWavarians 770 aTas l iras. es tel egrama ar aRmoCnda kargi daweril i da ful is miRebac SeuZl ebel ia. amas vambob imisTvis, rom Tu ful i ar meqna kontraqtis Sekvra SeuZl ebel i iqneba.

me rogorc (ar ikiTxeba S.v.) gamowveul i var del egaciis mier rom gavecno aqauri aviaciis saqmes. unda mogaxsenoT, rom safrangeTis aeropl anebi arafraT varga. (moyavs magal iTebi pol oneTidan da ruseTidan da amtkicebs simarTi es misi gancxadebisas). sakiTxi ase dgas, SevizinoT aeropl anebi axal i sistemis Tu Zvel is. amtkicebs magal iTebiT rom yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia Zvel i sistemis aeropl anebis SeZena. j obia cota gveqnes da kargi, vinem bevri da cudi. ingl isel ebma gamikeTes winadadeba swored imdeni da iseTi Tvisebebis, rogoric ital iel ebis aparatebia, Rirs ki samj er meti. amasTanave unda aRvniSno, rom TiTqmis yvel ani frangebic ki yidul oben ital iaSi. da manam antal dis firma arsebobs, araviTari orientacia sxva aviaciaze ar mogvixdeba.

**daskvna:** Tu Cven gvinda gveqnes aeropl anebi axal i sistemis da gamosadegi, maSin unda SevizinoT ital iaSi. 9 an 10 zvais sistemis. dazvervac uzrunvel yofil i gveqneba da yumbarebis srol ac.

**Cxei Ze.** gTxovT miTxraT Tu rad eZaxodiT Tqven ital iaSi b. odiSel iZes.

**maWavariani.** es sul sxva saqmezed. es exeboda pul emiotebis da Tofebis. zogadad iar- aRis Sesaxeb.

**Cxei Ze.** Cven gvinda vicodeT, Tu rogoria Cveni rol i am saqmeSi. Cven gvinda gvcodnoda Tu raSia saqme. isargebl eT Tqven Tu ara safrangerTis cnobebiT. Cveni mizani umTavresad es iyo. e.i. Tqven gagekeTebiaT CvenTvis informacia da gacnobodiT iqaur aviaciasac. Tqven rogorc Cans, SegiZl iaT SehkraT kontraqti da imoqmedoT damoukidebl aT.

**miRebul ia:** gaecnos maWavariani ramdenadac Sesazl ebel ia aqauraviaciasac da dros nu dakargavs kontraqtis Sesakravad.

**b. maWavariani** ayenebs ful is sakiTxs. ar icis man Tu saidan unda miiRos saarsebo ful i.

**azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul ia:** pol kovnik maWavarians eZl eodes daxmareba ital iis misiidan. nawil i 25 aTasi frankisa, romel ic j ayel s unda gaegzavnos. saxel dobr, sami aTasi franki mieces aq.

## informacia.

**n.Cxei Ze.** guSinwin aq l aparaki iyo, rom aq unda mosul iyo regzameri da sagareo saministros moxel e bil ooni, isini iyvnen aq CemTan (radganac es pol itikuri saqme iyo da daval ebul i mqonda me). saubars daeswrnen gobeCia da odiSel iZe. maT ganacxades, rom grenel s surs movel aparakoT Tqven somxebs baTumis Sesaxeb. Tqven rom inaxul ebT mas, uTxarIT, rom somxebTan kargad xarT da baTumis sakiTxsac ise gadaWriT rogorc saerTod sasargebl o iqneba Tqo. l aparaki amazed iyo marTal ia, magram namdvil ad ki sul sxva iyo. Cemi STabeWdil eba iseTi iyo, Tu rogor SevexebodiT Cven gasamrjel os sakiTxs. meore dRes viyavi grenel Tan, odiSel iZe iyo da gvaxl da nazarovi. mokl eT, l aparakis Sinaarsi aseTi iyo: radganac didi xania Tbil isidan ar migviri ambebi,

kargi i qneba saqarTvel os del egacia gvetyodes Tu rogoria damokidebul eba saqarTvel o-Si somxebTan. soxebzed Cven vuTxariT, rom safrangeTma kargad icis Tu ra rol s vtamaSobdit saerTod amierkavkasiaSi. Cveni mecadineobaa, rac SeiZl eba mSvidobianoba damyardes. kerZot somxebTan Cveni sazRvrebis Sesaxeb vmacadineobT. Tu ver movrigdiT, maSin arbi traJs mi vmarTavT. aseTia Cveni damokidebul eba somxebTan da agresiul pol i-tikas Cven saerTod ar vawarmoebT.

**baTomi. suvereniteti Cveni baTumzed\_** interesi ekonomiuri da savaWro, danarCeni respubl ikebis iqneba dacul i portSi da sxva. erTi si tyviT, Cven vi meorebT mas, rac ara erTxel gviTqvams. adgil obriv moqmedebas mokavSi reebisas mouvida erTi samwuxaro Sedegi, saxel dobr is, rom erTis mxriT bol Sevikebis da meore mxriT TaTrebis bandebi iweven da Tavisufl ad TareSoben, aseTi mdgomareoba Cven safrTxes gviqadis anarqiis SeqmniT. Cvens xel Si rom yofil iyo baTumi, Tamamad SegviZl ia vTqvaT, rom iq wesrigi iqneboda damyarebul i. baTumis Sesaxeb gvi pasuxa grenel ma, rom rac SeiZl eba baTumis Sesaxeb frTxil ad viqneT, radganac Sors ar aris dro, rodesac baTumis sakiTxi gada-wydeba Tqvens sasargebl od.

bol Sevikebis Sesaxeb daayena sakiTxi, mistvis rom gveTqva: radganac bol SevikebTan Cven zavi Sevkarit, iaraRi CvenTvis saWiro aRar aris. Cven vupasuxeT, rom Cven yovel Tvis viTxovdiT da dResac vTxoul obT (iaraRs S.v.), radganac bol Sevikebis zavi garantia ar aris imisi, rom dRes an xval iaraRiT Cvenze ar wamovl en. mag. moskovma zavi Sekra CvenTan da bol Sevikuri azerbaijani ki gveomeba.

wamosvl isas grenel ma gviTxra san-remos Sesaxeb somxebTan rom SevwyviteT I aparaki. me vuTxari, rom is mi iRebs oqmebs Cveni I aparakisas, rom eqnes namdvil i warmodgena Tu raSi iyo saqme san-remoSi.

**Tavmj domare aRni Snavs,** rom regzameri romel ic unda mosul iyo dRes aq ara Cans da ra gzas davadget.

**gobeCia.** me mgonia, rom Cven regzamerTan ar SevwyvetT kavSirs imdenaT, ramdenaTac is Cven ar CamogvSordeba da amasTanave me vfiqrob vnaxoT didi pirebi, berTel o iqneba es Tu mil eirani. gaaj avrebs es patara pirebs? me mgonia rom ara, radganac Cveni imaTTan misvl a maT ar SeuSl is xel s, radganac amboben, rom iaraRis miRebis sakiTxi damokidebul ia imazed, Tu ramdenad davarwmunebT mil eirans rom somxebis winaaRmdag miRebul iaraRs ar vixmarT. ase, rom aucil ebl aT saWiroa vinaxul oT berTel o da mil eirani.

**b. odiSel iZe.** eTanxmeba gobeCias.

**n.CxeiZe.** batonebo, am gzas Cven movdevdiT fexdafex mas aqet, rac bets, vil sons vel aparakeT da agreTve umaRl es sabWosac da sxvaganac, magram iciT, rom araferi gamovida. dRes ucbad bol Sevikebma baqo aiRes da swored es aris, rom maT aCqarebas daesva sakiTxi CvenTvis iaraRis mocemis Sesaxeb. swored amistvis SeiZl eboda ki dev wmi ndaT gwewar-moebia es saqme da avSorebodiT am spekul iants. exl a isRa dagvrCenia, rom vinaxul oT Tundac berTel o, magram j er gasagebia Tu raSia saqme\_ guSin Rame dagvecen Tavze ise eCqarebodaT, exl a ki arsad sCanan. raSia saqme?

**gvarj al aZe.** me mgonia, batonebo rom ekonomiuri komisia srul iad tyuil ad Caeria saqmeSi. imas araferi ar auCqarebia. batonebo, Tqven nu dai viwyebT, rom Cvenma del egaciam nota gadasca samxedro ministrs da foSsac, sadac vTxoul obT iaraRs. amaze me berTel os da grenel sac vel aparake da vstxove, rom mxari daeWiraT am saqmis daCqarebiT gasakeTeb ad. grenel ma me tel egrama maCvena Tfil isidan de-martel is, saqarTvel os mecadineobis Sesaxeb, rom somxebs da azerbaijanel ebs Soris mSvidobianoba damyarebul iyo. ase rom saqme ase Tu ise gakeTebul ia da SegviZl ia gavagrZel oT. regzameri ar mova? miT ukeTesi. Cven vinaxul ebT berTel os da vkiTxavT Tu raSia saqme iaraRis micemis Sesaxeb. rasac Cven mraval j er Segviprdnen. ase rom moucadoT ori sami dRe regzamers, gavigoT sxvagan Tu raSia saqme?

**CxeiZe.** guSin Cven SekiTxvaze\_ grenel Tan gadawyvetil ia Tu ara iaraRis micema Tqo, gvi pasuxes, rom am or sam dReSi gadawydebao. ase rom Cven srul ebiTac izul ebul i varT regzamerTanac gveqnes kavSiri, magram saWiroa vinaxul oT sxvebic.

**gobeCia.** Tqven, batonebo, yovel mxri vaT Seexet sakiTxs, magam erTi ram dagaviwydaT. ministrma ganacxada, rom Cven iaraRi ufasod mogvecemoda. es b. mil eiranis mTavrobis saqmea da ara regzameris. pirobebi momzadebul ia ise, rom SeiZl eba mTavrobam iaraRi mogvces, magram regzamers ver mivatovebT, radganac imas SeuZl ia xel i SegviSal os. Tqven ambobT, rom mas daucdiT. Cemis azriT, saqmeSi Cven varT dai nteresebul i, maSasadame ini-ciativa Cven unda mi viRoT Tavzed. pirobebi iseTia, rom Cven yvel asTan unda mi vi deT,

rogorc berTel osTan, ise grenerTan da ragzamerTanac ar Sewvyi toT kavSiri. ase rom gaCereba ar gvargia, miT umetes, rom naxva Tu gsurT, es arc ise advil i iqneba. Tu SeatyobinebT mas, amas dReebi moundeba. amasobaSi SeiZl eba rame gamoinaxos meore mxriTac.

**Cxei Ze.** Cven ar gavaj avrebT regzamers, magram isic unda gavagebiOT, rom mil eirani da loid-jorji magal iTad mis xel Si ar arian.

**gvarj al aZe.** b. iosebs raT ar unda gaigos, rom Cven srul ebiT ar gvinda, rom regzamers Cven sul el ebi ar vegonoT. man unda gaigos, rom mas aqvs saqme im xal xTan, romel ic Tavs aravis moatyuebinebs. saWiroa mas emcnos, rom is CarCia. mas gasamrjel os vaZl evT saqmisTvis da rom am saqmis gakeTeba mar to maszed ar aris damokidebul i. rac Seexeba iniciativas, b. ioseb, ar SeiZl eba am sityvis mCateT wamosrol a. iniciativac aris da iniciativac. xan da xan zogi iniciativa aradroul ia. iniciativa iseT pirobebSi unda iqnes dawyebul i, rom saqme wagebul i ar iqnas. ai raSia saqme. magal iTad, Tqven gindaT dRes vTxovoT mil eirans miReba. vsTqvaT migviRo or dReSi. maSin ras veubnebiT? verafers. es iniciativa kargia? srul ebiTac ara. amisTvis vambob, rom Cven aqac vmoqmedebT da iqac. e.i. moxel eebSac vnaxul obT da megzamersac ar vuSvebT xel s.

**gobeCia.** exl a momenti ar aris imisi, rom Cven vuTxraT regzamers, rom Cven saqmeSi Cabmul i varT. es orjer Tu samjer gavumeore mas. Semdeg SeiZl eba man xel i SegviSa- l os da versaidan iaraRi veRar miviRoT. Tqven, b. gvarj al aZe, ristvis gamigeT ise, TiTqos aCqareba merCios da raTac unda dagvij des iniciativa exl ave gamoviCinoT. es gaugebroba iyo. vinaxul oT mil eirani da regzamersac frTxil ad moveqceT.

**miRebul ia: mil eiranis naxva da regzamerTan gamoirkves saqme.**

**sxdomis dros movida regzameri.** kreba Sewyda imasTan mosal aparkebl ad. bb. gvarj al aZe- es da odiSel izes daeval a masTan l aparaki.

**regzamerTan l aparakis Semdeg kreba xel axl a gaixsna.**

gvarj al aZe kreas ukeTebS moxsenebas. me viyavi grenel Tan, sTqva ragzamerma, romel mac miTxra, rom sam dReSi aucil ebl ad sabol ood gamoirkveva sakiTxi. saqme aris mxol od ingl isze (baTumis incindentis gamo). me vuTxari, rom ingl isis mxriT araviTari winaaRmdegoba ar iqneba, miT umetes, rom ingl isi TviTon Segvpirda. me ufro vfiqrob, rom SeCereba ufro kancel ariis moxel eebis saqme unda iyos. is dameTanxma amazed. es ki imas ni- Snavda, rom unda dagvewyo l aparaki j il dozed, man wamoayena n.nikol aZe, romel sac unda miendos am j il dos gacemis saqme misi azriT. me es uxerxul ad vaRiare da vuTxari mas, rom TviTon moewyo gacemis gamo gamowveul i sayidel is ganawil eba. j il doT daasaxel a 500 aTasi.

marTal i giTxraT me ver var optimisti. yvel aze ufro me gadazidvis teqnikiuri mxare maSinebs. miT umetes, rom patara gemebiT unda visargebl oT. am gemebiT ramdenjerme mogvixdeba sargebl oba. aq ki ismis muSebis sakiTxic, naxSiris paraxoTi da sxva sakiTx- ebi, roml is warmodgenac exl a ar SegviZl ia. me amas imisTvis ki ar vambob, rom uari vTqvaT\_ me vamj obineb amnair saqmeSi warmovidginoT rac SeiZl eba mZime pirobebi, rom ufro movemzadoT, vinem sakiTxs ubral od da advil ad SevxedoT.

**odiSel iZe.** is rom Cven imasTan l aparaki unda dagvenaxebia, rom sul el ebi ara varT, es kargad movaxerxeT. man daasaxel a 500 aTasi. es ufro imisTvis, rom viTom didi pol itikuri samsaxuri gagviwia. Cven mas davanaxeT, rom pol itikurad maTi rol i arafers niSnavs da masTan Cveni kategoriul i gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom Cven amazed arasodes davTasnxmdebiT. me darwmunebul i var, rom is daukl ebs naCvenebs ricxvs. rac Seexeba gagzavnas, es SegviZl ia imas movawyobinoT Tu kontraqtiT Sevekreb iT.

**gobeCia.** sTqva Tu ara man rame imis Sesaxeb, rom qaRal di gveqneba? Cemis azriT qaRal di Cven mogvecema, magram manam, sanam is ar gai gebs Tu ramdenis micema SegviZl ia. es qaRal di batonebo, ar gamoCndeba. dRevandel i l aparaki gveubneba imas, rom Cven umisod vimacadi noT am qaRal dis mi Rebaze. Cven gvqonda dadgenil i, rom qaRal dis mi Rebis Semdeg, Cven davaTval ierebT iaraRs, mis TviSebas, raodenobas da Semdeg mxol od SegveZl eba gavCer- deT ama Tu im j amze. is winaaRmdegia imis, rom iaraRi nawil -nawil ad iyves gagzavnil i, rogorc regzameri ambobs. mas eqneba Tavisi mizani. am gemiT is daiwebs sxvadasxva portebSi Sesvl as da RmerTma icis rodis miaRwevs daniSnul adgil as. Cemi azri aris davufiqrdeT kidev kargad transportis saqmes.

**gvarj al aZe.** dRes regzamerTan l aparakiT araferi gamorkveul a da arc Cveni damok- idebul eba Secvl il a. Tu am sam dReSi man ar gamogvirkvia sakiTxi, maSin Cven waval T sadac rigia da vimoqmedebT.

**k.Cxei Ze.** batonebo, rodesac Teoriul ad aris l aparaki maSin sxva aris, magram praqtiku-

I ad roca unda SevudgeT saqmis ganxorciel ebas, maSin ufro bnel i xdeba sakiTxis gadaWra. naSromi unda mivceT im kacs, magram, rodiss da sad. magal iTad, SeiZl eba qaRal ds Cven ver miviRebT manamdis, sanam naSroms ar mivcemT. Cven ki naSromis micema maSin gvinda, rodesac iaraRi ukve foTSi iqneba. ai, aseTi sakiTxebia batonebo, daTanxmdeba is imas, rom ful i miRos masin, rodesac iaraRi foTSi iqneba? ara mgonia, TumcaRa Cven moviTxovT daJinebiT, rom es ase iqnes. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi SeiZl eba kidev varnaze davTanxmdeT, mxol od imis Semdeg, roca davrwundebiT, rom iaraRi warmoadgens raime Rirebul ebas. meorea transportis sakiTxi. Tu rogor unda moewyos. es iman unda ikisros Tu Cven movawyoT. ase Tu ise, sami dRe moviTminoT kidev. SeiZl eba gamoirkves rame. Tu ise Seiqla saqme, rom qaRal dis (iaraRis gatanis ufl ebis) miReba ar SeiZl eba, maSin Semsrul ebel ia iZul ebul i gavxdeT naSromi aqve mivceT.

**miRebul ia: naxul i iqnes berTel o, romel Tanac I aparaki dagvanaxebs Tu rogor moviqceT.**

### **Semdegi sakiTxi.**

**Tavmj domare.** aval iSvil is weril ebi.

I aparakia del egaciis somxebTan erTad iaraRis SeZenis, amasTanave rkinis gzis da ingl isel i inJinerisadmi masal ebis (dokumentaciis S.v.) gagzavnis Sesaxeb. am weril is pasuxi Cven gavgzavneT. gobeCia aq ar brZandeboda. me minda saerTod yvel asi azri vicode aval iSvil is weril zed. b. aval iSvil i iwereba, rom san-remos Sesaxeb masal a gaegzavnos ingl isel general s baTumsa da yarss Soris rkinigzis gayvanis Sesaxeb. rogoria Tqveni azri amis Sesaxeb?

**gvarjal aZe,** im azris aris, rom masal ebis gagzavna SeiZl eba, magram umj obesia, rom is general i TviTon mogvmarTavdes.

**gobeCia.** (I ondonSi iyo wasul i iaraRis (somxebTan erTad) SeZenis Sesaxeb da aval iSvil is weril is Sinaarsis gamorkvevac mas qonda daval ebul i).

me mindoda TqvenTvis mokl e moxseneba gamekeTebia da amas exl a vSvebi, miT umetes, rom sakiTxi romel ic Tqven dasviT, amasTan aris SekavSirebul i. me vkiTxe aval iSvil s, Tu ra ufl ebiT Sepirda ingl isel inJiners, masal ebs rkinigzis Sesaxeb. man mi pasuxa, rom es informacias exeba da sxva araferi. me movTxove, rom yovel ive pol itikuri nabiji mis mier gadadgmul i iqnes del egaciasTan SeTanxmebiT. man aRmiTqva, rom SemdegSi ase imoqmedebs.

rac Seexeba Tqvens weril s aval iSvil isadmi miweril s, me srul iad Tanaxma var; ingl isel ma inJinerna unda mogvmarTos Cven Tu surs miRos masal ebi (dokumentacia S.v.) rkinis gzis Sesaxeb. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, Tanaxma ar gaxl avarT. oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## **dokumenti # 17**

**parizi. 5. VI. 1920 w.**

**oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomisa. 5 ivnisi 1920 w.**

**eswrebian: CxeiZe, gvarjal aZe, gobeCia, odiSel iZe.**

**dRiuri wesrigi: aval iSvil is weril i.**

**Tavmj domare:** guSin, batonebo SevcerdiT imaze, gavugzavnoT Tu ara masal ebi rkinigzis Sesaxeb im inJiners, romel zedac aval iSvil i gviCvenebs. me miwwe mas misi weril is sapasuxoT, rom es sakiTxi mas xel axl a dausvams ise rogorc iyo dasmul i san-remoSi da razedac daTanxmeba SeuZl ebel i Seiqla. me vsTxove, rom CvenTan SeTanxmebul ad imoqmedos. mas surs exl a rogorc scans gavagrZel o es sakiTxi ise, rogorc mas dausvams I ondonSi, san-remoSi da parizSi. sakiTxi rkinis gzis Sesaxeb ise rogorc es iyo dasmul i san-remoSi, gavacaniT Cvens mTavrobas weril obiT. sakiTxis ise dasma rogorc mas warmoudgenia, CvenTvis yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia, ra mxriTac unda iyos is, rogorc is ambo-

bs, teqnukurad Tu iuridiul ad es sakiTxi CvenTvis sul erTia. mas, masal as Cven ver gavugzavniT manamdis, sanam Cven ar gvecodineba, Tu ra saxiT dasva sakiTxi man l ondon-Si. Cven srul ebiT ar gvinda, rom masal is gagzavniT im inJiners vagrZnobinoT, rom sakiTxs vagrZel ebT im formebSi, ra formaSidac es san-remoSi idga. miweros mas, rom am mizezebiT Cven mas am masal as ver gavugzavniT.

**gvarj al aZe.** me ar mgonia, rom aval iSvil ma gangeb qna es da me vTxoul ob, rom araviTar eWwebze aq l aparaki ar iqnes da arc oqmebSi aris saWiro amis Cawera.

**Cxei Ze.** me vacxadeb batonebo, Tu rogori iyo motivi imis Tu ratom ar vugzavniT masal ebs. me minda yovel mxrivad uzrunvel yofil i viqne am sakiTxSi, rom aravis araf-ris Tqma ar SeeZl os. Tu is inJineri masal is gagzavniT ifiqrebs, rom sakiTxs vagr-Zel ebT im formebSi, rogorc es iyo dasmul i san-remoSi, me aucil ebl ad sastiki winaaRm-degi viqnebi. me minda miweros es aval iSvil s, rom SemdegSiac icodes Tu rogor moiqces. Cven miwwereT mas weril i da pasuxi ar aris kidev. gavumeoroT, vkiTxoT Tu rad ar iZl eva pasuxs da amasTanave mivutiToT Tu ra mizeziT ar vugzavniT im inJiners masal ebs.

**gvarj al aZe.** winaaRmdegia weril is, radganac weril s araferi mniSvnel oba ar eqneba. porvel i weril i mas ver mounel ebia da exl a meore weril i miwveroT, es mTI ad arevs mas da muSaobas Tavs daanebebs. oqmebSi aRniSnul ia Tu ratom ar vugzavniT.

**Cxei Ze.** batonebo, asec ar SeiZl eba moqceva. Cven am sakiTxis Sesaxeb misTvis araferi ar migviweria. motivi imisi, Tu ratom ar vugzavniT masal ebs, man unda icodes. Cven val de-bul i varT mas pasuxi gavceT da amasTanave erTxel kidev davumtkicoT, rom is daukiTx-avad gamodis del egaciis saqmeebSi. rad mivceT mas sababi imisi, rom man gamosTqvas sayveduri, rom Cven ar avasrul eT misi winadadeba.

**gobeCi a.** batonebo, me vfiqrob, Tu marTI a aval iSvil i mainc gaugzavniS am masal as, maSin sxva mxrivad unda vimoqmedoT. umTavresi ki is aris, rom im pirma masal ebi del egaciis-gan ar miRos.

**Cxei Ze.** me saWiroT mimaCnia batonebo aRvniSno, rom rkinis gzis sakiTxebis Sesaxeb yvel a seriozul i sabutebi mis xel Sia da saqmeSi ar aris Setanil i, rac sasurvel i ar aris.

**j anaSias sakiTxi.**

stud. j anaSia Txoul obs mieces 500 fr. radganac mas stipendia ar yofniS ekskursieb-isa da wignebis xarj ebaT.

**Cxei Ze.** pirvel Txovneze\_ del egaciam kmayofil eba gamosTqva imis Sesaxeb, rom j anaSia Segvpirda mariamobisTvidan exada val i mTavrobisaTvis. exl a rogorc cans, is ukve dabrunebia saswavl ebel s. Cven misi pirvel i TxovniT Seuracyofil i ki ar davrcenil -varT da an rom vyofil iyaviT Seuracyofil i amiti ar visargebl ebdiT mis wiaaRmdeg, saqme imaSi aris, rom j anaSia Zvel i studentia, Cven davadgineT studentebS SeedginaT organizacia da gaZRol odnen Taviant saqmes. j anaSia ki rogorc Zvel i studenti iqna arCeul i komitetis Tavmj domareT da imedi gvqonda, rom is gauZRveboda axal studen-tebs. del egaciisaTvis j anaSia pirvel i sazrunavi iyo, magram imis magivrad rom mas mo-ewyo organizaciis saqme, yovel mxrivad gaZRol oda mas da winaswar SeemuSavebina yovel -gvari smeta da xarj ebis aRnuxva maTi saWiroebisaTvis, man ki aswia da rogorc mas moe-surva mogvadga karze Tavis saWiroebis Sesaxeb. erTi si tyviT batonebo, man daiwyo mo-qmedeba ise. rom Tavisi moqmedebiT studentebSi da studentTa saqmeebSi anarxia Seitana. Cven ki movel odiT, rom is maT gauuZRveboda da maTze yovel mxrivad karg gavl enas iqoniebda. imisda miuxedavad, rom man uari sTqva stipendiaze, mas gaugrZel es stipend-iebS micema.

**gobeCi a.** batonebo, aq j anaSiaze mar to ar aris saqme. aq unda mi vaqci oT yuradreba, rom studentebi daJinebiT moiTxoven, rom is dakmayofil ebul i iqnes. amasTanave mi iReT mxed-vel obaSi, rom is anaxl ebs swavl as. Tuki es marTal ia, maSin mas mTel i Tve daukargavs da maSasadame mas institutis gaTaveba ar SeeZl eba. Cven es aucil ebl ad unda gavigoT aris is institutSi Tu ara.

**Cxei Ze.** Cemis azriT stipendia mieces da gavigoT isic aris Tu ara is saswavl ebel Si.

**gvarj al aZe.** Txoul obs rom yovel i Txovna studentebisa garCeul i iqnes j er del e-gaciaSi da Tu saWiro iqneba mermed gadaeces studentTa komitets.

**Cxei Ze.** arcerTi dadgenil eba ar yofil a del egaciaSi, rom yovel i sakiTxi TiTqos stu-dentTa komitets unda gadaeces da rom isini arian umaRl esi instancia, kanonmdebl ebi da Cven aRmasrul ebel i mTavroba. Tu isini ase fiqroben, es Secdomaa. aris sakiTxebi



iseTi, rom aucil ebel ia maTi SekiTxva. mag. romel ic kargavs ful s da Txoul obs magieri mieces\_ ar SevekiTxoT, ar gavigot maTi azri? da ramdenia aseTi sakiTxebi, romel Ta gamorkveva saWiroa. magram, es srul ebiT imas ar niSnavs, rom imaT ekuTvnis ukanasknel i sityva. Cven am praqtikas awic gavagrZel ebT.

**miRebul ia:** gagrZel des stipendiis micema, gagebul i iqnes aris Tu ara igi saswavl ebel Si. damatebiT 500 frankze uari eTqvas.

**odiSel iZis gancxadeba.** Txoul obs ganxil ul i iqnes misi konstantinopol Si wasvl is sakiTxi, romel ic dadgenil i iyo 18 maiss.

**CxeiZe.** batonebo, me marTal i giTxraT saWiroT mimaCnia, rom es sakiTxi gamorkveul i iqnes. ufro ki dev imiSTvis, rom Tavidan aviSoroT is demagogia, romel ic SeiZl eba amas moyves, miT umetes rom am sayvedurs erTgvari niadagi eqneba. Tqven b. odiSel iZe, gaqvT weril i mil nTan. rom ar vcadoT maSin gvetyvian Tu ristvis ar vcaDeT. amas marTI ac SeiZl eba moyves didi sayveduri. politikur situacias Tu miviRebT mxedvel obaSi (baTumis incidents) SeiZl eba veraferi ver miviRoT, magram mainc vcaDoT.

**odiSel iZe.** batonrbo, me msurs gamorkveul iqnes Cemi wasvl is sakiTxi imiSTvis, rom ar sTqvan Tu raT vzivar aq da ar momyavs sistrul eSi dadgenil eba\_ Tqven ukve aRiareT da oqmSidac Setanil i iqna. imedi maqvs, rom Cemi aq gaCereba dRemdis saWiro iyo. es gancxadeba me makmayofil ebs. me waval konstantinopol Si, rom vscado im weril idan gamova rame Tu ara da me vucdi Tqvens gankargul ebas.

**odiSel iZe.** me Tqvens gankargul ebaSi viqnebi Tu konstantinopol is misiis?

**Tavmj domare:** Cvens gankargul ebaSi.

**dadgenil eba:** radganac iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxi daisva safrangeTSi da imedi gvqonda, rom mal e gaTavdeboda, am mizeziT general i odiSel iZe saWiro iyo darCenil iyo. dRes ki rogorc irkveva, aq saqme grZel deba da amisaTvis del egacia saWirod sTvl is general i odiSel iZe wavides konstantinopol Si da imecadinos iaraRis SeZenis sakiTxis gamosarkvevad mil nTan, rogorc es dadgenil i iyo.

**pasportis sakiTxi:** azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Sedegad dadgenil iqna, rom gagebul iqnes sxva warmomadgenl obaSi da misda mixedviT SemoRebul i iqnes gadasaxadi.

umaRI es sabWos gaegzavnos sia del egaciis wevrebis, Tanaxmad sabWos sekretariatis Txovni sa.

**maWavarianis gancxadeba ful is micemis Sesaxeb.** azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg del egaciam daadgina: pol kovnik maWavarians, romel ic darCenil ia srul iad uful od, rac mas xel s SeuSI is Tavis daval ebis asrul ebaSi, mieces misi Txovni samebr, im 25 aTasi frankidan, romel ic unda gaegzavnos j ayel s ital iaSi\_ sami aTasi (3000) franki. oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 18

parizi. 1920 wl is 8 ivnisi.  
saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomis oqmebi.

eswrebian: k.CxeiZe, gvarjal aZe, gobeCia, erisTavi.

gener. erisTavi akeTebis moxsenebas iaraRis Sesaxeb.

pol kovnik JorJTan I aparaki.

safrangeTis mTavrobas miuRia gadawyvetil eba misces somxebs iaraRi, romel ic gaigzveneba foTiT. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os mTavrobas, j erj erobiT es sakiTxi SeCerebul ia baTumis incidentis gamo. safrangeTis mTavrobas ar surs waaxdinos damokidebul eba ingl isTan, rac isedac ar aris (es damokidebul eba) karg mdgomareobaSi ingl isis mier krasinis miRebis gamo. safrangeTis mTavroba krebs yovel gvar cnobebs demartel is saSual ebiT da imis mixedviT, Tu ra gamoirkveva da gadawydeba safrangeTis mTavrobis mier iaraRis gagzavnis Sesaxeb. SeiZl eba es moxdes ingl isis winaaRmdegac. JorJs daumatebia, rom saWiroa Cveni mxridanac energiul i Careva. safrangeTis samxedro saministro daJinebiT moiTxovs CvenTvis iaraRis mocemas. magram mas sagareo saministros daukiTxavad es ar SeuZl ia da es ukanasknel i ki j er-j erobiT ver bedavs gadaw-

yvetil ebis miRebas ingl isis gamo.

**gobeCia.** maS Tqveni azriT iaraRs mogvcemen uful od?

**erisTavi.** aseTi gaxl daT jorjis l aparaki.

**daisva sakiTxi iaraRis Sesaxeb gen. erisTavis moxsenebis Semdeg.**

**k.gvarjal aze.** gamoTqvams gaktivvebas, ingl isma aRgviTqva, rom araferi eqneba sawina-  
aRmdego imisic ki, rom Cven amerikaSi SeviZinoT da dRes ki winaARmdegni arian rom saf-  
rangeTma mogvces? me mgonia aq raRac pol itika unda iyves somxebis mier nawarmoebi. maT  
undaT aqac mogvmarTon, rom iaraRi Cvens teritoriaze gavataroT. yovel SemTxvevaSi Cv-  
en miwverT ingl isSi Tu raSia saqme. aqc movel aparakoT mag. berTel os. rac Seexeba re-  
gzamers, mas vuTxraT, rom sxvagan veZebT iaraRs, magram mTI ad Tavidan ki nu moviSorebT.  
**gobeCia.** batonebo, exl a mgonia yvel aferi gamorkveul ia, rom es regzameri da kompania  
sul tyuil i iyo da saWi roa rom vnaxoT ufro kompententuri pirebi, rogoric arian bb.  
mil eireni da berTel o sabol ood sakiTxis gamosarkvevad. Cven sami kvira davkargeT. me  
vfiqrob dRes mainc yovel gvari zomebi unda miviRoT am saqmis gamosarkvevad.

**CxeiZe.** winaT magal iTad gveubnebodnen, rom SeiZl eba iaraRis SeZena uful od da Cven  
am mxriT vmoqmedebdiT. es iyo erTi epoka. Semdeg gviTxres, iaraRis SesaZenaT mxol od  
ful i aris saWi roo. daviwyeT am mxriv moqmedeba. exl a ki isev gveubnebian, rom uful od  
SegviZl ia miviRoT. Zal ian kargi, amas raRa sj ibia Tuki egre iqneba. gavyveT amasac. Cven  
unda miviRoT yovel i zomebi, rom mogvcen es iaraRi. rac Seexeba somxebs, me SemiZl ia  
vTqva, ar mesmis raSia saqme. ingl isel ebi, Cveni mfarvel ebi safrangeTi da ital iac  
somxebs aZl even iaraRs. raSia saqme? somxebis saSual ebiT xom ar surT dagvi pyron?

### **puris sakiTxi.**

**skobel ovi.** im teritoriisaTvis, romel ic uWiravs saqarTvel os, saWi ro iyo 25 mil io-  
ni fuTi puri. 20 mil . TviTon saqarTvel oSi modioda. saWi ro iyo maSasadame 5 mil .  
fuTi. mas aqET rac me ekonomiuri komisiis wevri Seviqeni, mudam vmacadi neobdi  
saqarTvel oSi puris Setanas. saubedurod ukrainidan araferi gamogviva. azerbaij an-  
idan SevZel iT gamogvetana 120000 fuTi. nawil s purisas vSoul obdiT amierkavkasiidan-  
ac, magram iseTi didi deficitis Sevseba, rogoric 5 mil ioni fuTi aris, Znel i Sei qna.  
ase rom am wl is dasawyissi Zal ian mwvaved idga sakiTxi da iZul ebul i viyaviT sxva  
sanovagiT Segvevso es danakl isi. es iyo brinj i, romel ic baqodan Semovitanet. Semdeg  
dasavl eTSi mogvixda Zebna. Cven vicodiT, rom aq puris Sovna SeiZl eboda, mxol od  
ful i iyo saWi ro. is puri, romel ic me gavagzavne gveyofa kvirkobisTvis daml evamde.  
ital o-kavkasiis bankma Zal ian dagvexmara im ful iT, romel ic man mogvca Zal ian xel -  
sayrel pirobebSi. es aixsneba Tavisi mizezebiT. rasaktivvel ia, gansakuTrebiT ital o-  
kavkasiis banks ainteresebda am operaciis kargi Catareba, tyvarCel is koncesiis gamo,  
roml is miRebas isini bevrs mecadineoben. TviTeul i tomara daj da 44 l ira. TiTqos  
cota Zvirad meCvena, magram is rom maisis daml evamdis puri usaTuod foTSi unda  
yofil iyo, maiZul ebda davTanxmebul iyavi.

saqarTvel om miiRo ital iidan naxsirzed da kokonebze orjer xutasi tona, magram  
ramdenadac kokonebi cudi gamodga, ital iis mTavrobam uari sTqva puris mocemaze. maSin  
sabaxtaraSvil ma Tavisi iniciativiT mimarTa sagareo saminstros puris sexesTvis.  
maT miiRes winadadeba, mxol od im pirobiT, rom Cven fasi sterl ingebiT migveca (baz-  
arze Rirebul ebiT). Cven davTanxmdiT amaze im pirobiT, rom or TveSi maT davubruneb-  
diT purs da isini ful s dagvibrunebdnen. amas isini ar dasTanxmdnen. bol os Cven  
iZul ebul i SeviqeniT im direqtivebis mixedviT, romel ic me mqonda, e.i. ar miveqcia  
yuradreba fasisTvis, gadagvexada Titoeul tonaSi 44 girvanqa sterl ingi frankobiT.  
unda mogaxsenoT, rom puri saiketeso Tvi sebi saa.

gaskel i Segvpirda 3,000 tonas. 1000 tona mogvca Cems iq yofnaSi. aq momivida b.  
Jordani as weril i, rom gaskel ma dagviTmo puri 1000 tona.

ase rom, kvirkobisTvemdis gveyofa. magram Semdeg es sakiTxi Riad rCeba. swored am  
dReebSi me miviRe tel egrama eraZisgan, rom unda wavide. tumcaRa tel egramaSi kargad  
ar Cans Tu vis eZaxian. tel egramaSi meZaxian axal i direqtivebisatvis Tu is Cems saxel  
l zed aris.

Semdegi ekonomiuri pol itika saqarTvel oSi CrdioeT kavkasiisken ver iqneba mimar-  
Tul i. Cemis azriT, Crdil oeT kavkasiidan Znel i iqneba raimes Semotana, jer erTi  
imisTvis, rom ar viciT rogori iqneba pol itikuri mdgomareoba. magram rogoric unda

iqnes is, ris micemac Cven SegviZl ia maTTvis ar aris is rasac isini Txoul oben. rCeba ise v dasavl eTi. Cem is fiqriT es momenti ar unda gavusvaT. me exl a l ondonSi mi vdivar da iq gavige b TuTunis fasis ambebs da am Tvis daml evs unda viqne saqarTvel oSi.

### yurul iSvil is weril i.

am weril Si yurul aSvil i Txoul obs daxmarebas im qarTvel ebisadmi, roml ebic bl o-mad moipovebian da romel Tac Zal ian cudi mdgomareoba aqvT. varSavaSi SeudgeniaT qarTul i komiteti da moxsenebul weril Si yurul aSvil i moiTxovs del egaciidan, oficial ur qaRal ds, rom mas eval eba qarTvel Ta interesebis dacva pol oneTSi.

**gobeCi a.** Txoul obs, rom yurul aSvil s eqnes miqceul i yuradReba. saintereso a Tu ras warmoadgens komiteti. rad daamtkica is pol oneTis mTavrobam, ristvis ar gzavis program as. dRes iq ukve komiteti daarsebul ia. mra val i qarTvel oba yofil a umaRl es swavl a damTavrebul i da sxva. me winadadebas viZl evi, rom daeval os axmetel s Cavides iq da gaigos adgil obrivi saqm is viTareba. miT umetes, rom saqarTvl os mTavrobis survil ic aseTi iyo.

**gvarj al aZe.** batonebo, rac unda patara da umniSvnel o iyos saxel mwifo, ar SeiZl eba misi warmomadgenl is `komivoaJeraT- gadaqceva. komitetis Sedgena arafers amtkicebs. Cven ar viciT visTan gvaqvs saqme da cnobe bi rac xel T gvaqvs gvikarnaxebs metis met sifrTxil es.

**CxeiZe.** batonebo, Cven veraviTar pasuxismgebl obas ver vikisrebT am komitetis moR-vaweobis Sesaxeb, romel ic b. yural aSvil s Seudgenia. mi eweros weril i axmetel s, rom gaigos, Sekribos cnobe bi da amasTanave gaegzavnos weril i mTavrob as da masac mi eweros, rom ful is gagzavna ar SegviZl ia.

b. CxeiZis winadadeba miRebul ia.

### I ondonis qarTvel i studentebis Sesaxeb.

I ondonel i studentebi Txoul oben ivnisis stipendias.

**dadgenil ia.** gaegzavnos erTi Tvis aTas-aTasi franki TiToeul s. oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

### dokumenti # 19

parizi. 12 ivanobisTve 1920 w.

oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomebisa.

daeswrnen: n.s.CxeiZe, i.p.gobeCi a, i.z.odiSel iZe, a.n.erisTavi.

dRIuri wesrigi iaraRis sakiTxi.

**k.i.gvarj al aZe.** krbas ukeTeb s informacias missa da n.s.CxeiZis mier b. grenarisa da l aroSis (sagareo saqmeTa ministris moxel eni) naxvis Sesaxeb.

**k.i.gvarj al aZe.** grenarTan l aparakiT gamoirkva Semdegi: roca me vkiTxe Tu rogor stadiaSi iyo iaraRis mocemis sakiTxi, man mi pasuxa, rom es sakiTxi mal e gamoirkve va da gadawyvetil pasuxsac mi iRebTo. Cems SekiTxvaze, Tu ratom aWi anureban ase, rodesac Cven viciT, rom zogierTi Cveni mezobl ebi, rogorc mag. somxebi Rebul oben iaraRs da Cven ki ara Tqo, man mi pasuxa: marTal ia somxebze aris l aparaki da CvenTvis saWi roa vicodeT, Tqven gauSvebT Tu ara Tqvens teritoriaze maTze gacemul iaraRso. me vupasuxe del e-gaciis saxel iT, rom erT Tofsac ar gavusvebT manamde sanam Cvenc ar mogvcemen iar-aRstqo. radganac CvenTvis SeuZl ebel ia davusvaT, rom irgvl ivyel a SeiararDes, rodesac Cven uiaraRoT vrCebiTtqo. Tqven rom mogceT naxevari maSin gauSvebT? me ar SemiZl ia am sakiTxze garkveul ad gipasuxoT, radganac arc Tqven da arc Cven ar viciT Tu rogoria mdgomareoba exl a iq. daekiTxeT de-martel s Tqvens warmomadgenel s da im cnobe bisda mixedvit, romel sac is Tqven mogcemT davinaxavT Tu rogor unda imoqme-doTTqo, xol o Cven ki erT Tofs ar gavusvebT manam, sanam iaraRs Cvenc ar mi vi RebTTqo.

baTumis Sesaxeb miTxra, rom aRel vebas nu gamoviCenT da baTumis sakiTxi usaTuod Cvens sasargebl od gadawydeba. gamoTxovebis dros vuTxari, rom ori dRis Semdeg Sevivi i-di kidev ambis gasagebad. b. I aroSs davekiTxe Tu ra bedi ewia im notebs rome-I ic Cven warudgineT, sadac j er ars iaraRis SesaxebTqo. man mi pasuxa, rom iaraRi varnaSi aris, am iaraRis mocema SeuZl ia `antantas-. is damekiTxa, Tu ramdenad SesaZl ebel ia Tundac iaraRis baTumidan gatana. me mi vuTiTe foTze, mi Tumetes, rom baTumSi j er Cveni Zal au-fl eba ar arsebobsTqo. es Cemi pasuxi baTumidan iaraRis gatanis Sesaxeb notaze waaw-era. saqme imaSia, rom transporti aWirvebs saqmes. iaraRis mocema exl ave romc SegveZ-l os, rogor unda mogawodoT daniSnul adgil aso. me vupasuxe, rom Tu es maTTvis samZimoa (transportis mowyobazea I aparaki), maSin Cven vimecadinebT transportis Sesaxeb. Cven vsTxoveT, rom saqme daeCqarebiaT, radganac amas didi mniSvnel oba eqneboda Cveni xal xisaTvis. Segvipirda, rom kidev saWi-ro masal ebs am sakiTxis Sesaxeb Sekrebda da yovel ive zomebs miiRebda am sakiTxis saCqarod gadasawvyvetad.

**general i odiSel ize.** me batonebo, exl a Sematyobina tel efoniT b. regzamerma, rom sagareo saministrodan ukve gamougzavniaT weril i. nebarTva iaraRis gatanis Sesaxeb\_ j er araferi Cans.

**i.p.gobeCia.** akeTebis informacias radioTi safrangeTis da saqarTvel os dakavSirebis Sesaxeb.

**i.p.gobeCia.** b. sel inma (finansuri sazogadoebis mdivani) mel aparaka dRes radioTi dakavSirebiT saqarTvel osa da safrangeTis urTierTobis Sesaxeb. me movsTxove mas warmoedgina srul i paketi weril obiTi da agreTve ecnobebina dro, roml is ganmavl o-baSi SeZl ebden maTi proeqtis ganxorciel ebas. proeqtis Sesaxeb imsj el ebda del ega-cia da ekonomiyuri misiac.

informacia gaTavda. daisva sakiTxebi.

### **iaraRis Sesaxeb.**

**n.s.CxeiZe.** dRes batonebo, del egaciis wevrebma unda inaxul oT regzameri da gaigoT Tu raSia saqme. j er-j erobiT ki gamorkveul i ara aris ra. I ondonidan kandel aki gwvers, rom regzamerTan frTxil ad viyoT, amasTanave imasac gveubnebian, rom iaraRs srul iad uful od gvaZl even.

**i.p.gobeCia.** batonebo, ar mesmis raSia saqme. erTis mxrit gvel aparakebian, rom yve-l aferi es `antantis- saqmea da Tu man ar gadawyvita ise araferi ar gamovao. meores mxrit regzameri gveubneba sxvas... me vfiqrob, rom regzameri ufro Cven gvaTval ierebs, Tuki antantam mogvca ufl eba, mas unda isargebl os TiTqos saministrosTan daaxl oe-biT da ucbad Segvatyobinos, TiTqos es misi moxerxebiT xdebodes da misTvis is ful s moiTxovs. me mgonia dro aris rom mas exl a mainc davaneboT Tavi.

**k.i.gvarj al aZe.** Cemi azri iseTia, rom is kaci unda CamoviSoroT, magram es CamoSoreba unda moxdes iseT formebsi, rom man ar igrZnos. eWvs gareSea, rom man unda isargebl os saministrosTan kavSiris daWeriT, Tu marTI a mogvces ufl eba, man es mis mecadineobas miaweros. dRes Cven imas unda SevxxvdeT\_ Cemi mizani is aris, rom am Sexvedris dros mas davanaxoT, rom is CvenTvis saWi-ro ar aris.

**i.z.odiSel ize.** batonebo, regzameri me gamacno b. n.nikol aZem. man gviTxra, rom SeuZl ia Segvyaros im xal xTan, romel sac bevri SeuZl ia gaakeTos aqedan iaraRis gatanis ufl eb-is mopovebisaTvis. sasyidel s arafers ar Txoul obda. am samsaxurs gviwevda imisTvis, rom CvenTan kargi damokidebul eba daekavebina. me mgonia, rom is Tavidan unda moviSo-rot.

### **iaraRis Sesaxeb msj el oba gagrZel da Semdeg dReebSi.**

stud. dgebuaZis weril i. i.gobeCia moxsenebas ukeTebis krebis dgebuaZis Sesaxeb. momx-senebl is azriT, dgebuaZe erT wel iwadSi daasrul ebs universitets. misTvis saWi-roa daxmareba, radganac mas araviTari saxsari ar moepoveba amJamad. azrTa gacvl a-gamocv-l is Sedegad miRebul i iqna mieces daxmareba stud. dgebuaZes 300 franki.

## mel iton filias weril i.

**mel iton filia** sTxovs del egacias asesxos mas sami aTasi franki Sveicariul i, rad-

ganac is mZime avadmyofia da Tavis mosavl el i saxsari mas ar aqvs. mis weril Tan darTul ia weril i b. bogockis, ruseTis wiTel i jvris warmomadgenel is SveicariaSi, romel ic momarTavs del egacias imave TxovniT. bogocki val debul ad Tvl is ruseTis wiTel j vars gadaxdil i iqnes es val i.

**k.i.gvarj al aZe.**Ebatonebo, ymawvil i niWieri da muSakTa zedmiwveni T patiosani, am mxriT arafris Tqma ar SemiZl ia. man ukve gaaTava qimiuri fakul teti saqarTvel osTvis saWi ro iqneba. me yuradRebas ar vaqcev mis bol Sevikobas, magram aTiaTasi franki (Sveicariul i samiaTasi franki) Cven ar mogvepoveba\_ sakiTxi ise unda dadges Tu ramdeni SeiZl eba.

**n.s.Cxei Ze.** me batonebo, arafers ar vaqcev yuradRebas, saqme imaSia, rom mas amJamad Cvens meti aravin yavs. amdeni ful is gagzavna Cven ar SegviZl ia. me Tanaxma var, rom mas gaegzavnos 300 franki. azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Semdeg miRebul i iqna: gaegzavnos 300 franki da miweros weril i bogockis, rom finansuri siviwrovnis gamo, saubeduroT meti ar SegviZl ia. (es ful i mel iton filiam ar miRo).

**feranis weril i.** ferani ityobineba, rom parkis fasi ecema da iman ar icis dRes- dRe-obiT Tu ra Tanxis gadatanas SeZl ebs k.kandel akis saxel ze, rogorc es del egaciam mTxova. amasTanave ferani Txoul obs mieces ufl eba veqil Jurden auves daniSvnis, radganac Sesazl ebel ia mopirdapirem daiwyos procesi (l aparakia parkis dakavebis saqmeze).

**i.p.gobeCi a.** batonebo, me mgonia, rom yvel aferi es ekonomuri misiis saqmea, Cemis azriT umj obesi iqneba am feranma pirdapiri kavSiri daikavos misiasTan. imasTan iqoni os miwer-mowera da Cven ki gamogvigzavnos weril ebis asl ebi informaciisaTvis.

**miRebul ia:** miweros ferans, rom mis weril Si dasmul i sakiTxi aris finansTa minis- tris saqme romel ic amJamad l ondonSi imyofeba. misi weril i gadaegzavneba mas, rom- l isganac pasuxs miRebs arsebiTad. miweros k.p.kandel aks: radganac parkis saqmes Tqven ganagebT, keTil i inebeT da daikaveT pirdapiri kavSiri feranTan. aqve gegzavnebaT misi weril ebi, romel zedac imedia pasuxis gacemas inebebT. miweros amis Sesaxeb fe- rans, e.i. rom aseTi weril i gaugzavneT b. k.p.kandel aks l ondonSio.

## yurul iSvil is weril i.

yurul iSvil i Txoul obs daxmarebas, radganac saqarTvel os moqal aqeTa mdgomareoba zedmiwveni T gaWi rvebul pirobekSi yofil a varSavaSi. aq ukve Semdgara komi teti, romel sac miURia zogadi sakonsul os ufl ebebi. azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl is Sedegad dadgenil i iqna: miweros axmetel s gamoarkvios es sakiTxi, an wasvl iT da sxva saSual ebebiT. amasTanave gamorkveul i iqnes yurul iSvil is vinaoba da im komitetis Semadgenl oba, romel Sidac Tavis weril Si l aparakobs.

## pasportis gadasaxadis Sesaxeb.

saqmeTa gamge iZl eva cnobebS Tu rogori gadasaxadi arsebobs sxvadasxva warmomadgen- l obaSi magal iTad, l itva axdevinebs pasportze 6 TviT\_ 15 fr. yovel gvar vizaze\_ 10 fr. mowmoba pirovnebis\_ 10 fr. saqmiani 10 fr.

estonia: pasportze\_ 20 fr. vizaze\_ 10 fr. somxeTi: pasporti erTi wl iT\_ 50 fr. erTi mogzaurobisaTvis\_ 20 fr.

azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl is Sedegad miRebukl i iqna estoniis sistema pasportze\_ oci fr. vizaze\_ aTi fr.

ecnobos amis Sesaxeb mTavrobas da yvel a TanamSroml ebs saqarTvel oisas dasavl eTSi.

**Tavmj domare** n.s.Cxei Ze. mdivani s.s.asaTiani

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 20

parizi 1920 w. 21 ivnisi

oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomebisa.

eswrebodnen: CxeiZe, gvarj al aZe, gobeCiA, erisTavi.

dRis wesrigi: iaraRis sakiTxi.

**erisTavi akeTebis informacias.**

**erisTavi.** batonebo, Sedegi azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da safrangetis misias Soris Tbil isSi da saqarTvel os del egaciis muSaobis nayofi aseTia: safrangeTis mTavroba Tanaxma aris mogvces iaraRi bol gariidan. rac Seexeba sasyidel s, j er amaze l aparaki ar aris, magram unda vifiqroT, rom es gadasaxdel i iqneba Tu dRes ara SemdegSi. rac Seexeba danarCen samxedro masal ebs, amaSidac gvexmareba safrangeTi, magram es iqneba sasyidel iT da ramdenadac gavige, dRes l aparaki unda iqnes saqarTvel os mTavrobas da pol k. korbel is soris, romel ic aris safrangeTis samxedro warmomadgenel i Tfil isSi.

**gvarj al aZe.** akeTebis moxsenebas. me dRes rom sagareo saminstrosi mivedi, ambobs igi, mainteresebda erTi sakiTxi\_ xuTi aTasi Tofi da aTi mil ioni patrona aris mocemul i Tu ara? roca davekiTxe pol k. derozies, man dadebiTad mi pasuxa, rom amas gadaitans samxedro gemiT mTavroba. gveZl eva ufasoT Tu ara? amaze j er verafers getyvit, Tqven mi gaqvT exl a da rac Seexeba gadaxdas, amazed mere gveqneba l aparaki, radganac SeiZl eba TviTon bol gariam daayenos sakiTxi reparaciis. Cven mogviwvia ufro imisaTvis, rom gamoerkvia Tu ra aris TqvenTvis saWiros da rac Seexeba sasyidel s amis Sesaxeb gveqneba mol aparakeba saqarTvel os mTavrobasTan.

... ris mocema SegiZl iaT, rogor SeiZl eba moewyos gadatana da sxva.. yovel gvar cnobebis movTxovT pol k. korbel s da romel sac agreTve mindobil i eqneba am saqmis mowyoba.

mere SemekiTxa\_ SegiZl iaT Tu ara erTad gadaitanoT somxebTan, radganac isinic aq izenen. me vuTxari, rom es cota pol itikuri sakiTxia da misda mi uxedavad, rom Cven karg damokidebul ebaSi varT somxebTan, yovel SemTxvevisaTvis aq neba momeciT frTxil ad viqne da gadawyvetil i pasuxi ar mogceT. mit umetes, rom gemi, romel ic iaraRs waiRebs, dabrundeba Cveni nedl i masal iT. Cven gvgonia, rom am SemTxvevaSi j obia Cveni iaraRi mi diodes. me vsTxove, iaraRis micemis Sesaxeb moecaT CvenTvis kopio, rom gagvetanebina Cveni kurierisaTvis raTa gvecnobebina, rom daaxl oebiT am mdgomareobaSi a es sakiTxi.

**konstantine kandel akis weril i\_ ityobineba,** rom nikol aZes sTxoves regzameri Camovides parizSi iaraRis Sesaxeb saqmis gaTavebisatvis. Tqven mand gTxovT, rom, rogorc saqmis vitareba moitxovs ise gemoqmedaT. mTavrobidan tel egrama movida, purs Txoul oben. ra vqnaT, rogoria Tqveni azri\_ puri viyidoT Tu iaraRisTvis davtovoT ful i. Tu iaraRi ufasod gveZl eva, maSin sxvaze movixmarT ful s.

**gogiCaiSvil is weril i CvenSi special istebis gagzavnis Sesaxeb.**

gogiCaiSvil i sTxovs Tavmj domares, miweros weril i vandervel des, rom is dagvexmaros special istebis amorCevaSi. gogiCaiSvil s ufro mizanSewonil ad miaCnia special - istebi gagzavnil i iqnan CvenSi neutral uri qveynebidan.

**axmetel is weril is Sesaxeb.** igi ityobineba rom warmomadgenl obistvis ful i swirdeba. **dadgenil i iqna:** SevekiTxoT, Tu ramdenia mistvis saWiros.

deputati de- Seni Txoul obs masal as, radganac surs waikiTxos l eqcia da il aparakos saqarTvel oze.

**n.s.CxeiZe.** iaraRTan erTad, roml is SeZenis sakiTxis gamosarkvevad Cven amdeni Sroma migviZRvis, puris SeZenis sakiTxic Seiqmna gamosarkvevi. im ful iT, roml iTac iaraRi unda SegveZina, puri unda SeviZinoT. rogoria Tqveni azri am SemTxvevaSi, rogor unda moviqceT?

**gobeCiA.** bat. iaraRi, romel ic Cvens mTavrobas misces, rogorc gamoirkva, uful oT aris. es iyo pol itikuri aqti, iqidan mTavroba moqmedebda, aqedan Cven da es pol itikuri aqti moxda. rac Seexeba meore sakiTxs, ki dev iaraRis Sesaxeb, me mgonia rom aq saWiros iqneba sasyidel i. me mgonia Cven es unda vacnoboT mTavrobas da Tu mTavroba dadebiT pasuxs mogvcems, maSin SevudgebiT muSaobas. regzameri aqac unda iqnes gamoricxul i da es

miwweROT kandel aks. miT umetes, SegviZl ia Tavisufl ad moviSoroT is, rom man orj er ver Seasrul a Tavisu dapireba da swored ase unda miwweROS kandel aks. stokebis yidva? vici ras warmoadgens is. me mgonia es ufro ekonomiyuri komisiis saqmea da moiqnen rogorc isini saWiroT dainaxaven. Cemis azrit dRes sakiTxi ise dgas, rom pirvel yovl isa puri unda viyidoT.

**gvarj al aZe.** batonebo, regzamerS CvenTvis araferi ar gaukeTebia, magram radgan ekonomiyuri misiis zogierTi wevrebis naxul oben, rom mas SeuZl ia gakeTeba raimesi, amistvis Cven ase moviqceT: naxon stokebi, rom ar gaaj avron regzameri, Tu moewonebaT iyidon\_ Cven auweROT obieqturad Tu raSia saqme. aTi mil ioni patrona da xuTi aTasi tofi visovneT. amistvis regzameri ar gvinda. amastanave saWiroa SevatyobinoT mTavrobasac, SeiZl eba iq sakmaoT aqvT iaraRi da Cven ki kidev vyidul obT. mTavrobas SeuZl ia moel aparakos pol k. korbel s. Cven SevatyobinebT rom amdeni da amdeni iaraRi modis. amdens kidev gvaZl even, ase Tu ise unda vicodeT mTavrobis azri amis Sesaxeb.

**gobeCias** saqme gaTavebul ad ar miaCnia da ambobs, rom SeiZl eba dagWirdes kacis gagzavna desperesTan.

**Cxei Ze.** me mgonia batonebo, rom es saqme j er kidev ar aris gaTavebul i da SeiZl eba vinmes gagzavnac dagWirdes, rom saqmem ufro swrafi xasiaTi miROS.

**gvarj al aZe.** sworeT amis Sesaxeb mec mindoda meTqva. desperem SeiZl eba did xans gaaCeros eg sakiTxi da aucil ebl ad saWiroa devna, Tavis moZul ebac. i.gobeCia rom wavides magal . es Zal ian kargi iqneba, miT umetes rom franSe despere icnobs gobeCias.

**Cxei Ze.** me marTal i giTxraT ar vici kargaT Tu ra sakiTxi wamoyofs Tavs da ra xasiaTis iqneba es. yovel SemTxvevaSi gen. erisTavi aq araviTar saWiroebas ar warmoadgens, garda im SemTxvevisa Tu k.kandel aki rames yidvas ar apirebs. iyos, ristvisac misi aq gaCereba, rogorc general is saWiro iqneba.

vinmes wasvl is Sesaxeb sakiTxi Riad rCeba.

Jantinzoni Txoul obs gaegzavnos informacia deputats, romel sac unda waikitxos konferansi.

**azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl is Sedegad dadgenil i iqna gaegzavnos masal a.**

#### **sakiTxi Jantinzonis Sesaxeb.**

**Cxei Ze.** es is kacia batonebo, romel mac dasavl eT evropas gaacno saqarTvel o. mas unda Cven Semdegzedac ar dagviviwyos. me im azris viqnebi, rom rogorc madl obis niSnaT mas SevTavazoT rame, Tu rac miveciT Remps-s. amit davkmayofil deT ase Tu ise es sakiTxi CemTvis gamosarkvevia.

**gvarj al aZe.** me mgonia batonebo, rom is marTl a bol gariaSi midis, magram mas mainc SeuZl ia iqedanac weros Cvenze da amisaTvis mivceT sasyidel i. me mgonia ase ukeTesi iqneba.G

**Cxei Ze.** rac Seexeba batonebo, imas rom mas rva aTasi franki daukargavs, romel ic CvenTvis unda gadmoeca, marTal ia ful i Cven gvekuTvnoda formal urad, magram mgonia rom is gasamrjel od stvl is.

deputat de-Sanis gadasacemad, romel sac saqarTvel os Sesaxeb l eqciebis wakiTxvasurs. tret-memuari da yovel gvari masal ebi gaegzavnos Jantinzons. voitinskis gaegzavnos yaribi.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## **dokumenti # 21**

**parizi. 25 ivnisi. 1920 w.**

**oqmi saqarTvel os del egacis sxdomisa.**

**eswrebian; k.CxeiZe, gvarj al aZe, gobeCia, erisTavi.**

**dRiuri wesrigi: iaraRis SeZena. informacia.**

**mdivani** kiTxul obs mil eiranis weril s 24 ivnisis sas, sadac ministrTa Tavmj domare ityobineba, rom safrangeTis mTavrobam principial urad miRo saqarTvel osTvis iar-

aRiT daxmarebis sakiTxi. am mizniT ebrZana visac j er ars, rom bul gareTidan miRoT iaraRi. amasTanave me miveci instruqciebi marSal foSs rom es daxmareba ar ganisazRvros bul gareTSi yofil i iaraRiT. mogceT rac TqvenTvis saWiro iqneba. rasakvirveli ia im pirobebSi, rom movil aparakebT saqonl is Sesaxeb. weril s xel s awers al eqs. mil erani, safrangeTis ministrTa Tavmj domare.

**Cxei Ze.** regzameri, rogorc xedavT batonebo, da rogorc es weril i amtkicebs, CvenTvis araferi saWiro ar iyo. me mgonia, rom exl a mainc saWiroa gamorkveul i iqnes Cveni misadmi damokidebul eba am saqmeSi.

**k.gvarj al aZe akeTebS informacias.**

**gvarj al aZe.** rogorc iciT Jantinzonma ramdenime weril i uZRvna saqarTvel os mas Semdeg, rac Camovida. is exl a midis bul gareTSi. me vSTxove, rom bul gareTidan weros am masal ebis mixedviT, romel ic mas eqneba da romel sac mivawodebT. Segvpirda, rom is wigns dawers, romel sac am or TveSi daamTavrebs. me mas vuTxari, rom misi Sroma aucil ebl ad SeZl ebisdagvarad dafinansebul i iqneboda. is mel aparaka gazeT `pres posieze-, romel Sidac TiTqmis yvel ani Rebul oben monawil eobas da kul inariasac didi gasavali iqneba. me ver gaveci amis Sesaxeb dadebiti pasuxi, imiSTvis rom Cven ar SegveZl eba mivawodoT masal ebi amis Sesaxeb da ver visargebl ebT sakmarisad, radgan Svidi aTasi franki unda gadavixadoT. mas vagrZnobine, rom 5000 franki miecema Tavis naSromSi.

### **i sev dai sva sakiTxi i araRis Sesaxeb.**

**gvarj al aZe.** iaraRis Sesaxeb Cven unda moviqceT ise, rogorc gviTxra de-rozim (pol kovniki). e.i. rom safrangeTis mTavroba TviTon moel aparakeba Cvens mTavrobas misiis saSual ebit da mis mixedviT Tu ra gzas daadgebian isini CvenC mis mixedviT vimoqmedebT. rac Seexeba sxva saqonel is yidvas, es unda SevatyobinoT Cvens ekonomur komisi as. regzameri TiTon me mgoni aRar akavSirebs iaraRis micemis sakiTxs saqonl is yidvasTan. ase rom SeiZl eboda regzameri mTI ad ar CamoeSorebinaT. SeiZl eba naxva saqonl is, magram gadavyvetiT Tqmas ver vbedavT mit umetes, rom Cven j er ful i ar gvaqvs **gobeCia**. Cven gvgonia, rom is ful i romel ic ekonomurma komisi am gadadva iaraRisTvis imis Semdeg rac Cven iaraRis erTi nawil i ufasod mogveca, xol o meore nawil is Sesaxeb ki TviTon mTavrobasa da gorbeis Soris unda gamoirkves, es ful i ase Tu ise Tavisufal ia (ar vyidul obT araferS), aramed vucdiT mTavrobis gankargul ebas. rac Seexeba axal winadadebas, amis Sesaxeb l aparaks awarmoebs Cveni mTavroba.

**k.Cxei Ze.** amden xans Cven vfiqrobdiT, rom iaraRisTvis ful i saWiro iqneboda. dRes vgebul obT, rom nawil i gveZl eva ufasod, nawil ic mogvecema, magram ar viciT j er ranair pirobebSi. TumcaRa gveubnebian (safrangeTis mTavroba), rom iaraRisTvis Cven unda gaviRoT sasyidel i.

Cven ekonomur komisi as vatyobinebT Tu raSia saqme. Tu ekonomur komisi as surs miRos iniciativa am saqmeSi, mas Semdeg rac mas vatyobinebT saqmis faqtiur mxares, es misi saqmea, xol o is ful i, romel sac Cven maT vTxovdiT, exl a Tavisufal ia. maT SeuZl iaT moiqcnen ise, rogorc maT surT.

**gobeCia.** me mgonia batonebo, rom ekonomuri komisi a ver Caereva am saqmeSi. Cven mil eirans unda vupasuxoT, madl oba gadavuxadoT da SevatyobinoT, rom Cven mTavrobas amas vacnobeT da sxva. ranairad SeiZl eba rom amis Semdeg ekonomuri komisi a Caerios da saqme ganagrZos.

**k.Cxei Ze.** batonebo, Cven aseTs araferS vl aparakobT. Cven mxol od vatyobinebT ekonomur komisi as saqmis faqtiur mxares. mas mets araferS vel aparakebit.

**gvarj al aZe.** Cven vatyobinebT ekonomur komisi as Tu rogoria mdgomareoba. Cven ar SegviZl ia mas aukrZal oT rame. ekonomur komisi as aqvs Tavisi direqtivebi, roml is wyal obiTac mas SeuZl ia yovel gvare kontraqtebis Sekvra.

**k.Cxei Ze.** batonebo, vin awarmoebs am saqmes SemdegSi, marTal i giTxraT amisi Tqma yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. Cven vatyobinebT saqmis mdgomareobas rogorc mTavrobas ise ekonomur komisi as. arc meti, arc nakl ebi. araviTar praqtikul nabij ebs ar vdgamT exl a.

### **general erisTavis wasvl is sakiTxi.**

**k.gvarj al aZe.** me mindoda gamomerkvia, saWiroa Tu ara kidev gen. erisTavi aq.

**k.Cxei Ze.** me, marTal i giTxraT, miWirS raimes Tqma, radganac ar viciT Tu ra xasiaTs mi-



iRebs es iaraRis mocemis sakiTxi praqtikul ad. am sakiTxis sapauxoT unda vicodeT, Tu rogor moviqceT am weril is Semdeg (b. mil eiranis weril i 24/VI iaraRis Sesaxeb). SeiZl eba SevudgeT imis gamorkvevas Tu ra pirobebSi mogvecema iaraRi. Tu Cven am gzas davadeqiT, maSin Tqven gamorkveul pirobebSi waxval T mTavrobaTan. ase rom raime gansazRvrul is Tqma ar SemiZl ia wavides gen. erisTavi Tu ara, manam sanam es pirobebi ar gamoirkveva. mxol od erTi saqmea, Tu Tqven unda daeswroT bul gariaSi mocemul i iaraRis arCevas, maSin rasakvirvel ia umj obesi iqneba waxvideT im cnobebiT, romel Tac SekrebT. gaacnobT mTavroba Tu raSia saqme da dabrundebiT ukan.

**gobeCia.** Cemi azriT umj obesi iqneba, rom gen. erisTavi wavides mas Semdeg, rac Sekrebs im cnobebs, ris Sekrebac SeiZl eba. miT umetes, rom mTavrobisTvis metad saWi ro iqneba, korbel Tan mol aparakebis dros Tu kontraqtis Sekvra Sei qna saWi ro.

**miRebul ia:** yovel gvarebi cnobebiT iaraRis Sesaxeb gaigzavnos saqarTvel oSi gen. erisTavi. da isev dabrundes ukan Tu saqarTvel os mTavroba amas saWi rod dainaxavs.

**TaTaraSvil is weril i.**

TaTaraSvil i Txoul obs daxmarebas del egaciisgan martamde kidev.

sakiTxi darCa Riad.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 22

parizi. 30 ivnisi 1920 w.

oqmebi saqarTvel os del egaciis sxdomebis.

eswrebian; CxeiZe, gvarjal aZe, gobeCia, erisTavi, el igul aSvil i.

dRis wesrigi: 1. studentebisTvis mosul i ful is daxurdavebis Sesaxeb; 2. gemebis misvl a-mosvl is Sesaxeb Cvensa da baTums Soris.

n.s.CxeiZe krebas gaxsnil ad acxadebs.

el igul aSvil is ganxadeba\_ Txoul obs del egaciam miRos zomebi, rom aRdgenil i iqnes gemebis mimosvl a safrangeTsa da baTums Soris.

azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl is Semdeg dadgenil i iqna: komerciul i damokidebul ebis mo-sawesrigebl ad safrangeTsa da saqarTvel os Soris didaT sasurvel i iqneba, rom gemebis mimosvl a mowyobil i iqnes am or saxel mwifoTa Soris. amasTanave saWi roa TviT safrangeTis mTavrobaSidac gavigoT Tu raSia saqme. miwersos paqesac, rasakvirvel ia, sazogado formaSi, rom aseTi misvl a-mosvl is mowyoba Seicavs am sazogadoebis da safrangeTis interesebisac. gavigoT Tu ramdenaT marTal ia is xmebi, rom mTavrobam gasca brZaneba TiTqos Sewyvetil i iqnes gemebis misvl a-mosvl a. es miendo k.i.gvarjal aZes.

### haeropl anebis Sesaxeb informacia.

**gen. erisTavi.** omis Semdeg safrangeTs darCenia mraval i haeropl anebi, roml is SeZenac SeiZl eba iafad da ramdenic gvinda. magal iTad srul iad axal i haeropl ani eRireba rvaaTasi. meore bol iTis tipis 250 cxenis Zal is aparatiT oci aTasi (20000) franki. me mgonia, rom maWavarians gavugzavnoT tel egrama da SevatyobinoT es cnobebi.

**meore sakiTxi,** razedac minda mivaqcio Tqveni yuradreba Semdegia: dRes pol kovnikma deroziem miTxra, rom sagareo sainformacio da samxedro saminstroebi SeTanxmdnen imaze, rom iaraRi rac saWi ro iqneba mieces saqarTvel os. ucdian mxol od tel egramas korbel idan. rogorc ki iqedan mova korbel is pasuxi, safrangeTis mTavrobis tel egramaze, rom es da es iaraRi aris saWi rovo, maSinaTve gaigzavneba. exl a dgas sakiTxi, rom me wavide 6 ivl iss Tu movucado gamorkvevas am sakiTxisas. rogorc irkveva, safrangeTs imdeni aqvs iaraRi, rom SeiZl eba metis-met xel sayrel pirobebSi miviRoT.

**gobeCia.** CemTvis irkveva batonebo, rom safrangeTis mTavrobas qonia pirdapiri damokidebul eba Cvens mTavrobaTan. korbel s ucnoberia rom saqarTvel os bevri nedl i masal a aqvs\_ safrangeTs upasuxia. ase Tu ise sakiTxi irkveva TiTqmis Cvenda damoukidebl ad. general s eubnebian, rom ramdenime dReSi es sakiTxi gamoirkveva da maSasadame

saWi ro iqneba misi (gen.erisTavis) darCena. aq ismis ukve sakiTxebi, roml is gamorkveva saWi roa\_ SeiZl eba Cveni mTavroba figrobs, rom aq general i aris da sabol ood saqm is gadasawyvetad imis aq yofna saWi ro iqneba. SeiZl eba Cveni mTavroba safrangeTis misi is saSual ebiT iq aTavebs saqmes da maSin generl is Casvl a CvenSi ukve gvian iqneba. marTal i giTxraT, aq Znel ia rame garkveul is Tqma. Cem is azriT saWi roa rom tel egrama gavugzavnoT mTavrobas: saWi roa Tu ara general i erisTavis iq Casvl a.

**gvarj al aZe.** sakiTxi wydeba CvenSi imisda mixedviT, Tu raa maTTvis saWi ro da ra miRes. Cveni mTavrobac gamoarkvevs sakiTxs iaraRis kidev Sovnisas da imisda mixedviT Tu ris micema SegviZl ia da an eseni ras mogvcemen, iq Sekraven kontraqts. miReT batonebo mxedvel obaSi is, rom Cveni mTavrobisTvis saWi roa icodes miRebs iaraRs aqedan Tu ara? Tuki es man icis da amaze metis Tqma araviTari ar SeuZl ia gen.erisTavs, maSin detal ebis Sesaxeb mol aparakeba iqneba CvenSi safrangeTis misi is saSual ebiT. ase rom, radganac mdgomareoba iseTia, rom ramdenime dReSi unda gamoirkves sakiTxi, maSin darCes general i erisTavi erTi kviriT kidev.

**gobeCia.** batonebo, Tu marTal ia, rom korb el ma SemosTval a, rom saqarTvel os SeuZl ia misces bevri nedl i masal a, amiT upasuxes da imisgan pasuxs el ian\_ maSasadame sakiTxi unda gamoirkves da amisaTvis gen.erisTavi unda darCes sabol ood sakiTxis gamorkvevamdis.

**erisTavi.** batonebo, sakiTxi konkretul ad ase dgas\_ wavi de me 6 kvirkobisTves Tu ara? me rom mi vdi odi wi naT, rogorc Tqven gadaswyvi teT, maSin gvegona, ori Tve mainc mouxdeboda saqm is gamorkvevas. exl a ki irkveva, rom saWi ro iqneba erTi kvira.

**CxeiZe.** marTal i giTxraT ar vici Tu ra vsTqva. Tu marTl a erT kvirazea saqme, maSin rasakvirvel ia darCena sj obia, magram me mgonia rom erTi kvira ki ara, ori da samic SeiZl eba dasWirdes.

**gobeCia.** batonebo, erisTavi 6 kvirkobisTves unda wavides. 10 kvirkobisTves iqneba konstantinopol Si, 12 kvirkobisTves general s ukve ecodineba Tu ra mouvi da im iaraRs, romel ic del egaci is iniciativiT SeZenil i iqna. da Semdeg imisda mixedviT Tu ra gamoirkveva aq am iaraRis Sesaxeb, romel zedac Tbil isSi ukve mol aparakebaa. Cven davuZaxebT general s ukan gamobrundes an wavides CvenSi.

**CxeiZe.** nu daviviwyebT batonebi, rom konstantinopol Si SeiZl eba sakiTxi dadges pol itikurad. rac Seexeba samxedro sakiTxebis da iaraRs, bat. general i rasakvirvel ia sakmarisi iqneba, magram pol itikuri sakiTxebis Sesaxeb saWi ro iqneba vinme general Tan.

**gobeCia.** batonebo, pol itikuri sakiTxi, sul erTia, konstantinopol Si araferi ar gadawydeba. ra sakiTxic unda iqnes pol itikuri xasiaTis franSe despere maSinaTve aq atyobinebs da aq ki Cven vzivarT.

**miRebul i iqna:** gaigzavnos tel egrama konstantinopol Si, SekiTxviT, Tu ra qna odiSel izem franSe despereagan iaraRis miRebnis Sesaxeb.

#### studentebisaTvis mosul i ful is Sesaxeb.

**gobeCia.** daxurdavdes es ful i da gaegzavnos yvel a qveynebSi myof qarTvel student stipendiantebis oTxi Tvis erTad Tu ara.

janel iZe Txoul obs mieces mas sami Tvis erTad radganac is midis germaniaSi.

**miRebul i iqna:** Tu SegviZl ia yvel a Cekebis real izacia, maSin vugzavniT erTi Tvisas yvel as. Tu ara da maSin gaegzavnos yvel as imisda mixedviT, rogorc davaxurdavebT.

janel iZes eTqvas, rom misi ful i gadacemul i iqneba germaniaSi da is daeqvemdebareba im pirobebs, rogoric iq aris.

oqmi damowmebul ia beWdiT.

saqarTvel os respubl ikis momaregebis saminstrosa da niu- iorkis savaWro firma `Sabier morel - iko-- sTan 1920 wl is ivl isis dasawyisSi gaformebul i xel Sekrul ebis teqsti.

Договор.

Между Министерством Снабжения Грузинской Республики и Фирмой “Шабриер, Мороль и ко”, находящейся в Марселе, улица Паради, 52, заключается договор на нижеследующих, обеими сторонами принятых, условиях:

1. Фирма “Шабриер, Мороль и Ко” берет на себя обязательство быть одним из агентов Министерства Снабжения Республики Грузия как по реализации на зарубежных рынках сырья и полуфабрикатов, порученных министерством, так и по закупке на зарубежных рынках товаров и предметов по заказу Министерства с доставкой их в Грузию.
2. Для этих операций фирма обязывается открыть Министерству кредит не менее, чем на ДВАДЦАТЬ МИЛЛИОНОВ /20 000 000/ франков, в пределах какого кредита Министерство может делать фирме поручения по закупке нужных ему товаров.
3. В уплату за покупаемые фирмой для Министерства товаров, в пределах открытого Министерству кредита - Министерство по подписании же сего договора приступает к заготовке и отправке Фирме сырья и полуфабрикатов, вызов коих их пределов Грузии оно найдет возможным.
4. Каждый заказ на подлежащие закупке для него товары дается Министерством в письменном виде непосредственно или по доверенности через своего уполномоченного.
5. При каждом заказе Министерство указывает название товаров, их год, сорта, количество, происхождение, конструкцию, место покупки и отправки их.
6. Министерство может ограничиться указанием только названий и количеством должных быть купленным товаров, а остальные условия покупки, в целом или по частям предоставить усмотрению Фирмы.
7. Фирма может закупить и отправить заказанные Министерством товары по указанию уполномоченного Министерства, на что она обязана в письменной форме получить согласие и одобрение сего последнего.
8. Товары, закупленные и доставленные фирмой должны соответствовать всем условиям данного Министерством заказа, в противном случае Министерство вправе не принять их, причем Фирма обязана принять на себя все убытки, понесенные от этой операции.
9. Фирма закупает и доставляет заказанные Министерством товары на свой риск. Министерство ответственно за эти товары лишь с момента их сдачи ему, Министерству.
10. Все расходы на перевоз купленных для Министерства товаров, страхование, хранение, пошлины и т.п. будет делаться фирмой за счет Министерства.
11. Заказанные Министерством и отправленные ему товары должны быть всегда застрахованы, причем страховая сумма указывается либо Министерством, либо его уполномоченным.
12. За купленные по заказу Министерства и врученные ему товары Министерство должно уплатить фирме следующие суммы:
  - а/ - фактурную стоимость этих товаров.
  - б/ - расходы на транспорт, фрахт, хранение, страхование и т.д.
  - в/ - годовые % в 6/шесть/ процентов на аванс, сделанный фирмой для закупки заказанных ей Министерством товаров.
  - г/ - комиссионных СЕМИ /7/ процентов с затраченной фирмой для Министерства суммы.
13. Фирма обязана в пределах открытого ею кредита оплачивать счета, представленные Министерством на закупленные им за границей товары, принять на себя приёмку их от продавца и доставку их в Грузию. В этом случае фирма получает все вознаграждение, комиссионные так и друг., согласно п. 12-го сего договора.
14. В уплату должных министерством сумм фирм, согласно п. 12-го сего договора, Министерство передает фирме всякого рода сырье и полуфабрикаты, находящиеся на территории Республики Грузии, вызов коих из Грузии Министерство найдет возможным для их реализации на зарубежных рынках. Полученные от этой реализации деньги и будут служить для уплаты должных Министерством фирм сумм. Расплата может быть произведена также и наличными деньгами в целости или же частью.
15. Сырье и полуфабрикаты будут привезены Министерством в один из портов Республики Грузии и погружены на пароход. Им и национальность этого парохода устанавливаются при каждом случае предварительным по этому вопросу соглашением между Министерством и Фирмой.
16. Расходы на перевозку этих товаров в один из портов Республики Грузии и на погрузку их на пароход уп-

лачивается всецело Министерством.

17. Расходы по транспорту, страхованию и все др. необходимые законные расходы, какие фирме придется производить со времени погрузки товара на борт парохода до момента его полной реализации авансируется фирмой, но относится всецело за счет Министерства. На все произведенные расходы фирма представляет при учинении с Министерством расчета оправдательные документы.

18. Фирма принимает на себя материальную ответственность за порчу, утрату, сохранность товара с момента погрузки товара на борт парохода до полной его реализацию.

19. Реализация переданных Министерством фирм сырья и полуфабрикатов совершается фирмой согласно письменным инструкциям Министерства или уполномоченным. Министерство указывает рынок, условия количество, цены для реализации, но оно может также разрешить фирме совершить эту реализацию по ее усмотрению. В том или в другом случае, условия реализации указывается фирме письменно либо министерством, либо его уполномоченным.

20. Из вырученной от продажи товара суммы фирма удерживает в свою пользу:

а/ - должный ей Министерством суммы согласно п. 12-го сего договора.

б/ - расходы сделанные фирмой на транспорте, страхование, хранение и т.д. переданных ей для реализации товаров.

в/ - комиссионных в размере 3/трех/ процентов на проданные в Европе товары и в размере 3 1/2% трех с половиною процентов/ на проданные вне Европы.

Остающуюся сумму в иностранной валюте фирма обязана внести Министерству или в другое место по указанию Министерства или его уполномоченного.

21. Министерство обязывается приступить к заготовке и отправке сырья и полуфабрикатов немедленно, не ожидая получения от фирмы заказанных им ей товаров. С своей стороны и по взаимности фирма обязывается закупить и прислать Министерству заказанные им товары, не ожидая вручения им равного по стоимости количества сырья и полуфабрикатов.

22. Фирма должна передать Министерству фактуру, коносаменты и другие документы в оправдание того, что покупка и отправка заказанных товаров ею в действительности была совершена.

23. Если в момента отправки Министерством фирме товаров у этой последней не будет иметься в Грузии уполномоченного лица, фирма должна письменно подтвердить о получении таковых в порту назначения и уплатит за счет Министерства все сделанные на перевозку товаров расходы. В этом случае товары могут быть застрахованы либо Министерством при их отправке, либо фирмой по получении от Министерства соответствующей телеграммы.

24. Если Министерство ничего не должна фирме фирма обязывается выдавать Министерству аванс на отправленный им ей товар в размере 70% /семидесяти процентов/ со всей стоимости товаров заранее вычитывая от этой последней все сделанные фирмой на перевозку его и другие расходы.

25. Стоимость передаваемых в фирме Министерством товаров определяется на основании средней европейской рыночной стоимости передаваемых товаров и в момент их погрузки на борт парохода.

26. Министерство может закупить нужные ему товары и продавать имеющиеся у него сырье и полуфабрикаты самостоятельно и без посредничества фирмы. фирма со своей стороны может совершать те же самые операции вне и не для Министерства.

27. В случае разногласий и споров поэтому договору между Министерством и фирмой разрешение их передается судебным учреждением республики Грузии и решение суда обязательно для обеих сторон.

28. Договор этот заключён на один год и может быть возобновлен по истечении этого срока. но он может быть аннулирован в случае невыполнения одной из подписывающихся сторон своих выше изложенных в нём условий.

29. Гербовый сбор с настоящей сделки купли-продажи и комиссии уплачивается обеими сторонами пополам, причём виду неопределённости теперь цен сделки договор оплачивается наклейкой гербовых марок на четыре рубля, а затем гербовый сбор уплачивается по мере выяснения цены поставляемых Министерству товаров равно реализации товаров Министерством за границей.

## dokumenti # 24

general i.odiSel izis mier, 1920 wl is 21 ivniss romidan gagzavnii i weril i, safrangeTSi myof general a.erisTavisadmi.

pativcemul o al eqsandre nikol ozis Zevl

pol kovnikma maWavarianma damaval a gacnoboT Tqven, safrangeTis samxedro saministro-Si Tqven mier Sesaferi zomebis miRebisaTvis, rom Tqven moiTxovoT yovel gvare saaviao masal a da haeropl anebi general uri Stabis mier Cvendami mocemul nusxaSi aRniSnul i. is ambobs, raki gvaZl even unda aviRoT. yvel a is mniSvel ovania praqtikul i mecadineobisaTvis da nawil obriv samxedro miznebisatvis. saerTod Zl ier marj ved unda iqneT. TiTqmis Tavic movaZul eT safrangeTis samxedro saministros, rom man misces general franSe de gasners srul i gankargul eba, rasakvirvel ia Cventvis sasargebl o xasiaTisa. kidev gimeorebT, rom iaraRi Tqven dauswrebl ad ar unda dai tvirtos. Tqven aucil ebl ad unda xedavdeT Tu ras tvirtaven da unda xel mZRvanel obdeT dasatvirTi masal is SerCevas. me aq meubnebian, rom winaarmddeg SemTxvevaSi SeiZl eba datvirTon aramc Tu cudi masal iT, aramed, SeiZl eba iaraRis magier sxva rameTi datvirTon gemi.

pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i aq aris samxedro saministrosgan gansakuTrebul i mondobil obiT, Tqvens gankargul ebaSi gadasvl a ar SeuZl ia, radgan brZaneba aqvs, saqmis gaTavebis Semdeg Tbil isSi dabrundes.

Tqveni i.odiSel iZe.

me mi vemgzavrebi romidan 23 ivniss, tarantodan 24 an 26 ivniss.

weril i damowmebul ia beWdiT.

## dokumenti # 25

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
15 noemberi 1920 w. # 6

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri gr.I orTqifaniZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgil e WiWinaZe, gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e sabaxtaraSvil i.

**damswreni:** saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, momaragebis ministri eraZe, general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi saerTo momaragebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. a)axsna-ganmar teba momaragebis ministrisa mi Rebul i iqnas cnobad; b)gawveul i iqnas mobil izaciiT j aris tansacml is sakeravad, fexsacml isa da tansacml is mkeravebi; g)winadadeba mieces gzaTa departamentis direktors Seiswavl os saerTod qvanaxSiris yvel aze gacema da rkinisgzebis saWiroebaze zedmeti naxSiri gadaeces momaragebis saministros sazRvargareTidan puris SesaZen-Semosatanad gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan gvardiis saWiroebisaTvis mTavari Stabis gankargul ebaSi avansis saxiT 300 milioni maneTi.

2)**moi smi nes:** TadarigSi myof general uri Stabis pol kovnik sl inkos mobil izaciiT gavvevis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** xsenebul i oficeri gavveul iqnas mobil izaciiT da mievl inos saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs cal ke erTeul is ufrosis j amagiriT.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

il .odiSel iZe, WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: gr.I orTqifaniZe, sabaxtaraSvil i, vj uRel i (xel moweril ia)

mdivnis magier general i zaqariaZe (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 26

### amonaweri respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 19 noembris sxdomis oqmidan

Tavmj domare n.Jordania, samxedro ministri gr.l orTqifaniZe, saxal xo gvardiis Stabis ufrosi v.j uRel i. daeswro: saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, gen-stabis ufrosi al .zaqariaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 3)moxseneba gen.odiSel iZis, borCal os mazris neitral uri zonis Sesaxeb somxeTis mTavrobasTan dadebul xel Sekrul ebaze.

**daadgi nes:** j er-j erobiT Cveni j arebi darCes neitral ur zonaSi, xol o im SemTxvevaSi Tu osmal ebma daikaves karaklisi da gamoCndnen bezomdalis uRel texil ze da amave dros somxeTis jari gayvanili iqna borCal os mazris samxreTi nawilidan,- Cveni jaris mier dakavebul i iqnas es raioni mazris samxreT sazRvramdis waweviT.

**moi smi nes:** gen.odiSel iZis borCal os mazraSi saxal xo gvardiis zogierTi nawil ebis dauyovnebl iv gazavnis saWiroebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** winadadeba mieces saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs yovel Tvis acnobos general ur Stabs yvel a gvardiis nawil ebisadmi mis mier gacemul i yvel a operatiul i xasiaTis brZanebebi.

## dokumenti # 27

### respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o) 20 noemberi 1920 w. # 11

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri gr.l orTqifaniZe, misi TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministris moadgil e WiWinaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj - domare v.j uRel i.

**damswre:** general uri Stabis ufrosi, general i zaqariaZe

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** moxseneba miRebul i iqnas cnobad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. samxedro fl otilli is mosamsaxureTa j amagirebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** mobil izaciis drois ganmavl obaSi damtkicebul i iqnas general uri stabis ufrosis moxseneba am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba general TayaiSvil isa voroncovkamdis satel egrafo xazis gayvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** mieces neba droebiTi tel egrafis xazis aSenebisa. amisda mixedviT Semcir- ebul i iqnas moTxovnil i Tanxa.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba pol kovnik guramiSvil isa benzini sa da rezinis SeZenis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** xsenebul i sagnebis SeZenis SesaZl ebl obis gamorkveva miendos Cvens konsul s konstantinopol Si b-n. gogol aSvil s.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa tyve osmal Ta baTumidan samSobl osi dabrunebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. neba mieces tyveebis dabrundnen samSobl oSi Tavisi xarjiT\_ avadmyofebi anatol iiT, xol o janmrTel ebi ki konstantinopol iT.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

gr.l orTqifaniZe, il .odiSel iZe (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: v.j uRel i, WiWinaZe (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 28

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
24 noemberi 1920 w. # 13

**Tavmj domare:** Tavmj domaris moadgil e gr.l orTqifaniZe.

**wevrebi:** Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** general i i.gedevaniSvil i, general i TayaiSvil i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba general uuri Stabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. miRebul iqnas cnobad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba quTaisis erobisa mobil izaciisTvis vadis gagrZel ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. saerTo mobil izaciis vadis gagrZel eba sasurvel i ar aris, xol o quTaisis komisiyas gansakuTrebul i pirobebis gamo neba eZl eva ganagrZos miReba saTadarigo jariskacebisa da ar misces pasuxisgebaSi is saTadarigoni, roml ebic gamocxaddnen mimReb komisiaSi 20 noembrandis, magram gamocxadebul Ta didi ricxvis gamo komisiyam ver moaswro misi miReba.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba baTumis cixesimagris komendantisa saxal xo gvardiis baTumis batal ionis daqvemdebarebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. Tavdacvis sabWos azriT yvel a frontze myofi saxal xo gvardiis nawil ebi unda daeqvemdebaron saTanado frontis ufross da yvel a misi gankargul ebani dauyovnebl iv aasrul on Cveul ebrivi SeTanxmebiT savel e StabTan, an gvardiis warmomadgenel Tan.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba gzaTa departamentis direqtorisa foil os xidze damzadebul i xidis asafeTqebel i masal is Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. Tavdacvis sabWo SesaZl ebl ad sTvl is moixsnas xididan asafeTqi masal a, mxol od im pirobiT, rom asafeTqi mavTul ebi darCeba da neutral uri zonis sakontrol o komisiis muSaoba, Tanaxmad xel Sekrul ebisa, dauyovnebl iv iqneba aRdgenil i sadgur Saqarl isSi.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba gzaTa departamentis direqtorisa sadgur beiuk-kisiakidan mdmdinare mtkvris napiramde rkinisgzis Stos gayvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. am Stos gayvana, rogorc strategiul i, ise ekonomiuri mosazrebiT friad sasurvel ia. daeval os gzaTa departaments, sa-mxedro saminstrosa da saxal xo gvardiis warmomadgrenl ebis TandaswrebiT SeimuSaos saTanado moxseneba sabWoSi warmosadgenad. saWi ro Tanxa gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan.

**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba sainJinro-sateqniko j arebis ufrosis karzan-zurzuna da zurzuna-artaans Soris mudmivi satel efono xazis gayvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 6. moxseneba damtkicdes. saWi ro Tanxa 3303600 man. gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan sainJinro-sateqniko j arebis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi.

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba samxedro ministris amxanagisa mdinare mexadirze myofi j arebisTvis Senobebis agebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. radgan SesaZl ebel ia Cveni sazRvris da sadaraj o nawil ebis axl o momaval Si mdinare fsouze gadayvana, Senobebis agebaze j er-j erobiT uari eTqvas.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa gvardiis saWi roebisaTvis 30 oficris mobil izaciis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. mTavarma Stabma warmoadginos sia msurvel i oficrebisa da ukanasknel ni gamoZaxil iqnen gvardiaSi mobil izaciis saxiT.

**moi smi nes:** 9. moxseneba gagris samxedro ol qSi mTavrobis sagangebo rwmunebul isa mis gankargul ebaSi Tavdacvis fondidan Tanxis gamoyofis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 9. gadadebul i iqnas xsenebul i rwmunebul is gankargu-l ebaSi Tavdacvis fondidan erTi milioni maneTi.

sabWos Tavmj domaris moadgil e gr.l orTqifaniZe. (xel moweril ia)

n.ramiSvil i (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: vj uRel i, il .odiSel iZe (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 29

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
26 noemberi 1920 w. # 14

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri gr.I orTqifaniZe, misi TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. miRebul i iqnes cnobad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba cxenosani I egionis Tavis maior sayvarel iZisa sadgur Sagal ze myof osmal eTis sardl obis warmomadgenl is Txovnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. xsenebul warmomadgenel s maior sayvarel iZis saSua-l ebiT mieces Semdegi pasuxi: a)kurieris gagzavna baqoSi misi ukandabrunebiT osmal eTis sardl obas SeuZl ian, xol o rac Seexeba masTan erTad baqoSi myof osmal eTis tyveebis saqarTvel os teritoriaze gamoSvebas, es j er-j erobiT SeuZl ebel ia saerTo pol itikuri mdgomareobis gamo; b)al eqsandropol idan tfil isamde tel egrafis xaziT sargebl obis neba eZl -eva moxsenebul sardl obas, xol o rac Seexeba al eqsandropol -tfil is-baqos xazs, amiT sargebl oba j er-j erobiT SeuZl ebel ia; g)sakontrol o posti somxeTSi mimaval i matarebl ebis gasasinj ad SeuZl ian daarsos xsenebul ma sardl obam mxol od borCal os mazris samxreTi sazRvris iqiT, e.i. mdinare manl us xidis samxreT bol oze.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa mil iciis moxel eTa mobil izaciis gamo Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs SeimuSaos saTanado proeqti adgil o briv mcxovrebl ebze mil iciis zogierTi moval eobis daval ebis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba baTumis ol qis sagangebo rwmunebul isa baTumSi myof j aris erTeul ebisaTvis sursaT-sanovagis uqonl obiT Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. mieces winadadeba samxedro samneo komitetis Tavmj do-mares momaragebis saministrosTan SeTanxmebiT dauyovnebl iv mi iRos saTanado zomebi.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa j arSi kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o muSaobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. daeval os samxedro ministrs mi iRos yovel nairi zomebi cal ke erTeul ebSi da wvril man nawil ebSi kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o muSaobis rac SeiZl eba gasaZl ierebl ad im intel igenturi Zal ebis saSual ebiT, romel ic moxvda j arSi mobil izaciis gamo.

**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba general uri Stabisa 1896 wel Si dabadebul i saTadarigo jariskacTa Sesaxeb, roml ebic dRemdis ar arian daTxovnil ni saswavl o yril obis gaTavebis Semdeg.

**daadgi nes:** 6. daTxovnil iqnan.

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa namdvil samsaxurSi myof j ariskacTa Sesaxeb, romel nic ukve msaxuroben or wel ze mets.

**daadgi nes:** daeval os general ur Stabs Semdegi sxdomisTvis waradginos dawvril ebiTi moxseneba am j ariskacTa Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba gzaTa departamentisa j avsnosani matarebl is saWiroebisaTvis foil os xidTan rkinisgzis asaxvevi Stos gasake-Tebl ad 500000 maneTis gadadebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. mieces gzaTa departaments am miznisTvis Tavdacvis fondi dan xsenebul i Tanxa avansis saxiT.

**moi smi nes:** 9. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa samneo komitetis gankargul ebaSi gansakuTrebul i moxel eebis daniSvnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 9. daeval os samneo komitets warmoadginos dawvril ebiTi moxseneba.

**moi smi nes:** 10. moxseneba seqtantebis kavsiris sabWosi seqtantebis samxedro samsaxurSi gawvevis sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 10. daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs am sakiTxis sabol ood garkveva Tav-



dacvis sabWosTvis mosaxsenebl ad.

**moismines:** 11. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa foil os xidze damzadebul i asafeTqi mavTul ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 11. sabWos ama 24 noembris dadgenil ebis dasamatebl ad SesaZl ebel ia es mavTul ebic moixsnas.

**moismines:** 12. moxseneba centrobankis konstantinopol is ganyofil ebis gangis petre surgiul aZesi adgil obrivi samxedro masal is xel sayrel fasebSi SeZenis SesaZl ebl obis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 12. miendos samxedro samneo komitetis Tavmj domares, momaragebis saministrosTan SeTanxmebiT miRos saswrafo zomebi konstantinopol Si CvenTvis saWiro samxedro masal is SesaZenaT.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

gr.l orTqifaniZe, n.ramiSvili (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: vj uRel i, il .odiSel iZe (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 30

### respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saidumlo) 29 noemberi 1920 w. # 15

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri gr.l orTqifaniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvili, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, sa-xal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damsvre:** saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil isa saerto mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 1. moxseneba miRebul i iqnas cnobad.

**moismines:** 2. moxseneba respublikis samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis sardl is general ioseb gedevaniSvili isa masTan axl ad mosawyobi Stabis saWiroebisaTvis 100000 maneTis gamoyofis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 2. aRniSnuli Tanxa gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan general ioseb gadeevaniSvili is gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 3. moxseneba sanitarul i seqciis ufrosis samxedro uwyebis saWiroebisaTvis eqimTa mobil izaciis gamocxadebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 3. Tavdacvis sabWo principul ad eTanxmeba eqimTa mobil izaciis gamocxadebas, magram winadadeba mieces sanitarul i seqciis ufross, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari StabTan SeTanxmebiT warmoadginos mobil izaciiT gasawvev eqimTa sia.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba sanapiro jaris ufrosis respublikis sazRvrebze el daris raionSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 4. moxseneba gadaegzavnos gareSe saqmeTa ministrs, raTa miRos saTanado zomebi mSvidobiani gziT Seqmnil i mdgomareobis mosagvarebl ad.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba sainJinero-sateqniko jaris ufrosis mobil izaciiT gawveul jariskacebze qveSsagebis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** daeval os samxedro-samneo komitets gamoarkvios aRniSnul jariskacebze romel ime saxis qveSsagebis gacemis SesaZl ebl oba.

**moismines:** 6. moxseneba sainJinro-sateqniko jaris ufrosis axal cixe-axal qal aqi-artaanis gzebis SesakeTebul ad da agreTve zamTris ganmavl obaSi Tovl idan xanioris uRel texil is gasawmendad Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 6. damtkicebul i iqnas moxsenebis is nawili, romel ic Seexeba axal cixe-axal qal aqi-artaanis gzis SekeTebas, xol o rac Se-exeba Tovl ian xanioris uRel texil - is gasawmendad Tanxis gaRebas, uari eTqvas. zemoaRniSnul i gzis SekeTebisaTvis saWiro Tanxa gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan.

**moismines:** 7. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa sandar- voroncovkis gzis

mdgomareobisa da mis SesakeTebI ad saWiro Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. damatebaT 22 noembris # 12 dadgenil ebisa gaRebul i iqnas am mi znisTvis saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis gankargul ebaSi sami mil ioni maneTi da amave dros daeval os mas gzis SekeTebis mTavari xel mZRvanel oba. winadadeba mieces adgil obriv erobasa da gzaTa departaments am saqmeSi aRmouCinos saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs yovel gvare daxmareba. gzaTa departamentma gagzavnos gzis SekeTebis dros ori sago-ravi gzaze miyiril i RorRis dasatkecad.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa samxedro mdgomareobiT gamowveul samuSaoebis sawarmoebl ad Sromis begarisa da gansakuTrebul samuSao j gufebis mowyobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. daeval os saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs Sinagan saqmeTa ministrTTan erTad SeimuSaos am sakiTxis Sesaxeb dawvril ebiTi proeqti Tavdacvis sabWos mosaxsenebl ad.

**moi smi nes:** 9. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa samxedro xe-tyis saxerxi qarxnis saWiroebisaTvis Tavdacvis fondidan sesxis saxiT 40 mil ioni maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 9. xsenebul qarxanas uari eTqvas sesxis micemaze. samxedro-samneo komitets mieces avansis saxiT samobil izacio saWiroebisaTvis 40 mil ioni maneTi.

**moi smi nes:** 10. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil isa sal oRl i-foil os raionSi xidebis danaRmvis muSaobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 10. winadadeba mieces sainJinro-sateqniko j aris ufross SeZl ebisdagvarad farul ad da umokl es xanSi daamTavros masze naCvenebl xidebis danaRmva.

**moi smi nes:** 11. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi im j ariskacTa Sesaxeb, romel Tac ukve Sesrul ebul i aqvs kanoniT dadgenil i samsaxuris vada da j er-j erobiT ar arian saTadarigoT gadaricxul ni.

**daadgi nes:** 11. winadadeba mieces general ur Stabs warmoadginos cnobebi, Tu ramden j ariskacs aqvs Sesrul ebul i samsaxurSi ori da orze meti wel i.

**moi smi nes:** 12. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa 1919 wl is 30 ianvris kanonTa da 1920 wl is 22 ivnisis dekretiT gaTval iswinebul mobil izaciit gawveul Ta oj axebisTvis daxmarebis gadidebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 12. moxsenebis is nawil i, romel ic Seexeba mobil izaciit gawveul i oficrebisa da moxel eebisadmi samxedro uwyebis mier formis tanisamosis naturiT gacemas, dakmayofil ebul iqnas. danarCeni moxseneba gadaeces gasacnobad Tavdacvis sabWos wevrebs.

**moi smi nes:** 13. saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis moxseneba sagangebo aTaseul isa da yofil JandarmTa- yazarmebis SesakeTebI ad Tavdacvis fondidan 1703626 maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 13. neba mieces saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs daxarj os am saWiroebisTvis gamoTxovil i Tanxa 300 mil ioni dan, romel ic mioca mas samobil izacio xarj ebaT, xol o daxarj ul i Tanxis Sevseba unda moxdes kanonmdebl obiTi wesiT gamoTxovil i kreditiT.

**moi smi nes:** 14. Txovna pol kovnik baxSi-beg maCabl isa, mis mier politikuri muSaobis saWiroebisaTvis daxarj ul i osmal eTis 1000 banknotis anazRaurebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 14. sakiTxis garCeva gadadebul i iqnes.

**moi smi nes:** 15. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi mobil izaciit gamowveul i muSaobis gamo gadidebul i sakancel ario xarj ebis dasafaravi Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 15. gaRebul i iqnas saWiroebisaTvis Tavdacvis fondidan general uri Stabis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi 50000 maneTi.

**moi smi nes:** 16. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa artaanis samxreTi nawil is yazarmebis SesakeTebI ad 24 mil ioni maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 16. Tavdacvis sabWos saWiroT miaCnia kapital uri SekeTebis moxdena. war-modgenil i iqnas xarj TaRricxva im samuSaos, roml is moxdena aucil ebel saWiroebas warmoadgens. j er-j erobiT j ar darCes kerZo binebze.

**moi smi nes:** 17. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa j arSi momaragebis kontrol Ta droebiTi Statebis SemoRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 17. gaigzavnos samxedro-samneo komitetis Tavmj domaris gankargul ebaSi mobil izaciit gawveul Tagan am mi znisTvis Sesafebi 20 kaci, romel Ta mdgomareoba da kmayofa dawesebul i iqnas samxedro ministris gansakuTrebul i dasturl amiT.

**moismines:** 18. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa sad. sandarze rkingzis Cixis (tupikis) gayvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 18. winadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments gaxsnas sadgur sandarze ori Cixi.

**moismines:** 19. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa tankebis SekeTebis daCqarebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 19. winadadeba mieces rkingzis departaments daamTavros tankebis SekeTe-  
ba umokl es droSi.

**moismines:** 20. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa samxedro droisTvis saWiro samxedro-  
sanitarul dawesebul ebaTa SesadgenaT 52350000 maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 20. winadadeba mieces samxedro samneo ganyofil ebis sanitarul i seqciis  
ufross saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabsa da samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis sardal  
general ioseb gedevani Svil Tan erTad SeimuSaos saerTo proeqti omis asparezze j arisa  
da gvardiis sanitarul i daxmarebis aRmoCenis. proeqti warmoudginos Tavdacvis sab-  
Wos dasamtkicebl ad.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

gr.l orTqifaniZe, n.ramiSvili. (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: vj uReli, il .odiSelize (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevani Svili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 31

amonaweri respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 1 dekemberis #16- is  
sxdomis oqmi dan

3) **moismines:** moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevris saRiraSvili sa l ores  
raionSi arsebul i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 3) a)winadadeba mieces adgil obriv sardl obas yvel a im mosaxl eobaSi,  
sadc dabanakebul ia Cveni j ari, daniSnul iqnan komedantebi da am ukanasknel T daeqvem-  
debaros adgil obrivi administracia; b)winadadeba mieces finansTa ministrs gauadvi-  
l os neutral uri zonis adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebs saqonl is mitan-motana Cven sazRvrebze  
voroncovkis mimarTul ebiT.

**dadgenil eba gadaegzavna mTavar Stabs gen.ioseb gedevani Svili s da finansTa  
ministrs.**

## dokumenti # 32

amonaweri respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1920 wl is 2 dekemberis  
sxdomis oqmi dan

Tavmj domare n.Jordania, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadg-  
il e gr.l orTqifaniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvili, gvardiis mTavari Stabis  
Tavmj domare vj uReli, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe i.odiSelize.

**daeswrnen:** damfuZnebel i krebis wevri ak.Cxenkel i, genStabis ufrosi al .zaqariaZe,  
saxal xo gvardiis Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul i foil os  
raionSi cincabaZe, gzaTa departamentis direktori p.WiWinaZe.

**moismines:** 1)moxseneba mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul is cincabaZesi foil os  
xidid midamoebSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 1. a)foil os xidTan myofi osmal o tyvebi gaSvebul i iqnen respublikis  
teritoriiT samSobl oSi; b)TviT foil os xidze da mis midamoebSi sastikad iqnes  
dacul i samxedro wesebi da aravis ar mieces xidze mimosvl a adgil obrivi samxedro  
ufrosebis nebadaurTvel ad.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba genStabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobnis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 4. a)dauyovnebl iv gamagrebul i iqnes foil os da wiTel i xidebi da maT da-

sacavad daniSnul i iqnes sakmao ricxvi j arebisa artil eriiT. orive xidi iyos damzadbul i ucbad asafeTqebel ad; b)q.Tbil isis dasacavad miRebul i iqnes gansakuTrebul i zomebi. Tbil isis simagreebis raionis komendantaT dainiSnos general i mazniaSvil i. masTan dainiSnos mTavrobis Tavmj domaris gansakuTrebul i rwmunebul i. dadgenil eba gaegzavna ioseb gedevaniSvil s, g.mazniaSvil s, saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs.

## dokumenti # 33

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
3 dekemberi 1920 w. # 17

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri gr.l orTqifaniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** iusticiis ministri arseniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministris amxanagi WiWinaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri sj ibl aZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. a)frontze myof j aris yvel a ufrosebs mieces winadadeba, rom somxeTSi sabWoTa mTavrobis gamocxadebiT respubl ikis sazRvrebze Seqmnil i mdgomareobis gamo meti sifrTxil istvis miiRon zomebi. gaurbodnen adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebTan raime konfl iqtebs da Tu mezobel i saxel mwifos warmomadgenl ebisgan miiRes raime winadadebebi\_ dauyovnebl iv acnobon Tavdacvis sabWos; b)borCal os mazraSi da Tbil isis mazris samxreT-aRmosavl eTis nawil ebSi miRebul i iqnes samxedro wesebi da general gubernatoris ufl ebani am raionebsi mieniWos samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis j aris sardal s; g)winadadeba mieces sainJinro-sateqniko j arebis ufross Seadginos sagangebo j gufi mesangre aTaseul is Semadgenl obidan foil os xidis saWiro dros ucbad asafeTqebel ad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi Tbil isis da navTI uRis sadgurebze myofi sabWoTa ruseTis wiTel -armiel Ta Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. winadadeba mieces gareSe saqmeTa ministrs moel aparakos sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel s am sakiTxis Sesaxeb, xol o Sinagan saqmeTas ministrs daeval os miiRos zomebi, rom respubl ikis teritoriaze araviTari wiTel -armiel ebi ar iqnen SemoSvebul i.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebis sardl isa borCal os mazris neitral ur zonaSi Cveni j arebis saWiroebisTvis adgil obriv sardl obaze rekviziciis ufl ebis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. adgil obriv sardl obas neba mieces j aris saWiroebisaTvis gamoarTvas adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebs saWiro sursaT-sanovage bazris fasis micemiT.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosis moadgil esi rkinisgzit j arebis gadayvan-gadmoyvanis pirobemis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. winadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments miiRos zomebi samxedro matarebl ebis mimosvl is dasacqarebl ad, j aris gadasayvanad aRniSnul i ronodebis zamTris pirobemis mixedvit mosawyobaT da saTanado sadgurebze j aris saWiroebisTvis cxel i wyl is dasamzade-bl aT. yvel a am zomebis asarul ebl ad saWiro Tanxa moTxovnil i iqnes gzaTa departamentis mier Tavdacvis fondidan.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba saxazino rkinigzis sammarTvel osi 1890, 1891, 1892 da 1893 wl ebSi dabadebul gardiel Ta Tav-TavianT adgil ebze datovebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. es sakiTxi gadaeces saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs Tavdacvis sabWosTvis mosaxsenebl ad Tavis daskvniT.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

n.ramiSvil i, il .odiSel iZe (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: gr.l orTqifaniZe (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 34

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
4 dekemberi 1920 w. # 18

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare v.j uRel i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe.

**damswreni:** damfuZnebel i krebis wevri ak.Cxenkel i, general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul i foil os raionSi cincabaZe, gzaTa departamentis direktori WiWinaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba mTavrobis Tavmj domaris rwmunebul is cincabaZesi foil os xidis midamoebSi Seqmnili mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. a)foil os xidTan myofi osmal o tyveebi gaSvebul iqnen respubl ikis teritoriit samSobl oSi; b)TviT foil os xidze da mis midamoebSi sastikad iqnes dacul i samxedro wesebi da aravis ar mieces xidze mimosvl a adgil obrivi samxedro ufrosis nebadaurTvel ad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa sanainis sadgurTan Camovardnili i zvavis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. miRebul i iqnes cnobad.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa jaris da gvardiis erTeul ebis rkinisgziT mogzaurobis pirobebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. winadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments jaris nawil e-bisTvis daniSnul i matarebl ebi amoZraon navTis saSual ebiT.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgo-mareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. a)dauyovnebl iv gamagrebul iqnes foil os da wiTel i xidebi da maT dasacavad daniSnul iqnes sakmao ricxvi j arebisa artil eriiT. orive xidi iyos damzadbul i ucbad asafeTqebel ad; b)q.tfil isis dasacavad miRebul i iqnes gansakuTrebul i zomebi. tfil isis simagreebis raionis komendantaT dainiSnos general i mazniaSvil i. masTan dainiSnos mTavrobis Tavmj domaris gansakuTrebul i rwmunebul i.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi saxal xo gvardiaze mobil izaciis saWiroebisTvis 200 mil ioni maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. xsenebul i Tanxa mieces.

**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa Tavdacvis fondidan Tavdacvis sabWos gankargul ebaSi erTi miliard manetis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 6. eTxivis mTavrobas.

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa eqimebis mobil izaciis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. gamowveul i iqnes mobil izaciiT q.tfil isSi mcxovrebn yvel a 35-40 wl ebis asakis eqimebi. rac Seexeba maT Soris zogierTebis mobil izaciisgan ganTavisufl ebas yovel cal ke SemTxvevaSi unda iqnes aRZrul i Suamdgoml oba Tavdacvis sabWos winaSe.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

n.ramiSvil i, v.j uRel i, p.WiWinaZe (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: il .odiSel iZe, gr.I orTqifaniZe (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 35

saqarTvel os respubl ikis momaragebis saministros mier savaWro firma  
`Sabier morel - iko--s xel mZRvanel obisa da moqal aqe erbertisadmi  
1920 wl is 4 dekembers gagazvnil i Setyobimneba.

**Гражданину Эрберу.**

представителю торгового дома “Шабриер, Мороль и Ко”  
4 декабря 1920 г.

Нами получена телеграмма от нашего консула в Константинополе следующего содержания:  
1350 т пшеницы купленный Шабером отправляются из Нью-Йорка 12 ноября и будет в Констан-  
тинополе в середине декабря. Совершенно необходимо чтобы сто тысяч кило коконов или шерсти  
по расчёту 5 шерсти на одно кило коконов были отправлены /прошли через Константинополь/ в  
адрес шабера иначе шабер продаст пшеницу в Константинополе точка расходы за наш счёт. Скобелев  
Как вам известно на пароходе “Фригия” погружено и отправлена 40.000 кило коконов. В настоящее  
время к погрузке на пароход “Тодла” отправлено в Батум 22400 кило, что составить вместе 60400  
кило.

В вместе с тем считаем излишним вам сообщить, что виду того, что в этом году в Грузии против  
обыкновения наступила ранняя зима и вдобавок довольно суровая, вследствие чего организации с  
мест пока не успели подвезти коконы.

Вследствие вышеизложенного Министерством приняты срочные меры к заготовке к отправке шерсти  
на равноценную сумму недосланных коконов.

В виду того, что шерсть это сможет быть только отправлена на следующем пароходе, и естественно,  
что в указанный в телеграмме срок не успеть пройти через Константинополь, Министерство просит  
Вас довести о вышеизложенном до сведения вашего дома с просьбой извинить нас от неприятностей  
продажи в Константинополе предназначенного для нас зерна.

Министр снабжения.

## dokumenti # 36

saqarTvel os respubl ikis momaragebis saministros mier savaWro firma  
`Sabier morel - iko--s xel mZRvanel obisaadmi 1920 wl is 4 dekembers  
gagazvnil i Setyobimneba.

**Господам “Шабриер, Мороль и Ко”**  
город Марсель. 4 декабря 1920 г.

Министерство снабжением Республики Грузии сим извещает Вас, что контракт заключённый между Вами  
и г. Канделаки, Министрами финансов Республики Грузии на предмет хранения и реализации коконов  
санкционирован правительством республики Грузии и исполнения его поручено Министерству снабжения.

Сообщаем Вам об вышеизложенном Министерство сим извещает Вас что все, что оно со своей стороны  
возложило представительство по этому делу на экономического представителя Республики Грузия Матвею  
Ивановичу и Скобелева, который будет вам давать необходимые инструкции указания по реализации коконов  
и вообще будет вести все расчёты между Вами и Министерством снабжения нашей Республики.

Адрес Парижской Делегации и Экономического Представителя Грузии в Европе.

## dokumenti # 37

respubl i kis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
6 dekemberi 1920 w. # 19

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebil:** samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj - domare v.j uRel i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa j aris erTeul ebis dasaTval ierebl ad gazavnil pirTa kmayofis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi 1000000 mil i oni maneTi xsenebul pirTa sagzao ful iT dasakmayofil ebl ad.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa samxedro val debul Ta morigi gawvevis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. miRebul i iqnes yovel gvare zomebi morigi gawvevis am mokl e xanSi gasatarebl ad. daCqarebiT iqnes Setanil i damfuZnebel krebaSi dekreti erTaderT marCenal Ta (1919 w. 20 maisis) kanonis gauqmebis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa frontze mimaval i oficrebis da moxel eebisTvis daxmarebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. yvel a im j aris erTeul ebis oficrebs da moxel eebis, romel nic gazavnil i iqnebian Tavis mudmiv binidan sxva adgil as, mieces saxel mwifo tanisamosi imave normiT, rogorc j ariskacss da meore ul ufa.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba samxedro ministris TanaSemwis general odiSel iZesi j aris saTanado fexsacml iT momaragebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. winadadeba mieces samxedro-samneo komitets daamzados j arisTvis qal amnebi da Tbil i windebi.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba samxedro samneo komitetisa quTaisSi saartil erio sawyobis Senobebis SesakeTebul ad Tavdacvis fondidan 3285510 m. gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. moTxovnil i Tanxa mieces xsenebul komitets Tavdacvis fondidan sesxis saxiT. winadadeba mieces samneo komitets umTavresi saartil erio sawyobi moawyos quTaisSi da ara sxvagan.

**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj do-maresi, samxedro mdgomareobiT gamowveul i samuSaoebis sawarmoebl ad Sromis begarisa da gansakuTrebul i samuSao j gufabis mowyobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 6. xsenebul i samuSaoebis saTvis gayvanil i iqnen mobil i-zaciis saxiT q.Tbil isis aramSromel i el ementebi. muSaobis da samuSao j gufabis mowyoba daeval os saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs. yvel a am mobil izaci iT gawveul i pirni eqvemdebarebian samxedro wesebs da disciplinas, xol o dezertirobis CadenisTvis pasuxs ageben samxedro sasamarTl os winaSe. xsenebul i pirni unda gamocxaddnen Tav-TavianT sakuTar tanisamosi, xol o saxel mwifosagan SeuZl iaT miiRon qal amnebi da saWiroebis mixedviT erTi wyvil i winda. maTi gamokveba eval eba saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs gvardiel ebisTvis arsebul i saerTo wesiT. yvel a muSas eZl eva gansazRvrul i samuSao, roml is Sesrul ebis Semdeg is Rebul obs samuSaosgan Tavisufl ebis saTanado mowmobas. **(dadgenil eba gadaegzavna saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs da Sinagan saqmeTa saministros. 8/ XII #5026)**

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj do-maresi saxal xo gvardiis saWiroebisTvis cxenebis rekviziciis moxdenis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. mTavarma Stabma warmoadginos cnoba cxenebis sakvebis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb, ris Semdeg sabWos SeuZl ian iqonios msjel oba am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi respubl i kis aRmosavl eTis sazRvrebis daketis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. ayyaraiazis tye srul ad gawmendil i iqnes TviTneburad Cvens sazRvarze gadmosul i azerbaijanel ebisagan da es mcxovrebl ebi, Tu maT eyol ebaT j ogebi gada-saxl ebul i iqnen tyis gareSe sazovrebze rkinisgzis l iandagis Crdil oetIT da daSo-

rebiT; b)araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar iyos daSvebul i momaval Si visme Tavis nebiT gadmos-  
vl a Cvens teritoriaze.

(dadgenil eba gadaegzavna mTavar Stabs, Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs, sagareo saqmeTa  
ministrs, gen i.gedevaniSvil s, miwaTmoqmedebis ministrs da sanapiro jarebis  
ufross).

**moismines:** 9. moxseneba samxedro ministris TanaSemwesi general odiSel iZesi Tanamed-  
rove gansakuTrebul i pirobebis gamo general wul ukiZeze da general mdivanze sa-  
Tanado ufl ebebis miniWebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 9. general mdivans mieniWos baTumis ol qSi myofi yvel a jarebis sardl o-  
ba, xol o general wul ukiZes axal cixe- axal qal aq- artanis raionebSi myof yvel a  
jarebis sardl oba.

**moismines:** 10. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa yvel a uwebebis mier frontis  
moTxovnil ebebis dauyovnebl iv asrul ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 10. winadadeba mieces yvel a uwebebis xel mZRvanel ebs dauyovnebl iv aasru-  
l on frontis yvel a moTxovnil ebebi.

**moismines:** 11. moxseneba saqarTvel os wiTel i jvris gameobisa misi mosamsaxureebis  
mobil izaciisgan ganTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 11. Tu xsenebul i uwebis raime dawesebul eba gaixsneba frontze jarebi-  
sTvis daxmarebis aRmosaCenad, saTanado ricxvi mosamsaxureebisa iqneba mobil izaciis-  
gan gaTavisufl ebul i am dawesebul ebaSi samuSaod.

**moismines:** 12. moxseneba miwaTmoqmedebis ministrisa xsenebul i saministros direq-  
toris bregvaZis mobil izaciisgan ganTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 12. xsenebul i bregvaZis mobil izaciisgan ganTavisufl ebaze uari eTqvas,  
xol o mas mieces saSual eba saRamoobiT imuSaos saministroSi.

**moismines:** 13. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa angoris mTavrobis misiis Sesax-  
eb.

**daadginis:** 13. a)xsenebul misias dauyovnebl iv mieces saTanado bina mel iton qar-  
civaZis saxl Si. iq mcxovrebl ebi ki gadayvanil i iqnan sxva binaze. am dadgenil ebis  
asrul eba daeval os Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs; b)neba mieces xsenebul misias radio-  
depeSebis nisiad gadacemisa; g)maxmud efendievis ganTavisufl ebis sakiTxis gadaWra  
miendos Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs.

**moismines:** 14. moxseneba gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil esi kiskin-zades Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 14. xsenebul i piri dainisnos general uri Stabis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 15. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa tfil isis simagreebis raionis  
komendantis Statis damtkicebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 15. Stati damtkicebul i iqnas im cvl il ebiT, romel ic Seitana sabWom.

**moismines:** 16. moxseneba gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil esi konstantinopol Si ing-  
l isel ebisgan samxedro tanisamosis- mokazmul obis SeZenis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 16. sabWo am SeZenaze principial urad Tanaxmaa. daeval os Cvens adgil obriv  
konsul s SeimuSaos ingl isel ebTan pirobebi SeZenisa da dauyovnebl iv warmoadginos.

**moismines:** 17. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerto mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 17. miRebul i iqnas cnobad.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

n.ramiSvil i, gr.l orTqifaniZe, p.WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: il .odiSel iZe, vj Rel i (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 38

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)

13 dekemberi 1920 w. # 19

Tavmj domare: mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

wevrebi: samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, saxal xo  
gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe genera-



l i o d i S e l i z e.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi, general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

1)**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba genStabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. daeval os gareSe saqmeTa ministrs gagzavnos moskovSi da evropasi protestis nota imis Sesaxeb, rom: a)sabWoTa wiTel i armiel ebis moTareSeebma gadmol axa Cveni sazRvari da borCal os mazris sofl ebs daeca; b)srul iad umizezod Sewyites baqodan navTis gamogzavna, riTac daarRvies azerbaij anTan dadebul i Cveni xel Sekrul eba; g)foil os xidis midamoebSi Tavs iyris wiTel i armia, sTxrian sangrebs egreT wodebul neitral ur zonaSi da sdgamen zarbaznebs; d)aseTive cnobebi modis zaqaTal - is ol qis sazRvrebis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba gen. wul ukiZesi axal cixis qal aqis mil iciis, samazro mil iciis ufrosisadmi daqvemdebarebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. yvel a, rogorc qal aqebis, ise samazro mil icia axal cixe-axal qal aqis mazrebisa da artaanis ol qisa daeqvemdebaros general wul ukiZes.

**moi smi nes:** 3. respublikis yvel a SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis mTavarsardl is daniSvnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. respublikis yvel a SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis mTavarsardl ad dainiSnos general i i.odiSel iZe.

4)**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba Tavdacvis sabWos Tavmj domaresi konstantinopol idan SemoTvl il i Sekazmul obisa da iaraRis fasebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. daeval os samxedro ministrs, momaragebis ministrTan erTad da saxal xo gvardiis mTavar StabTan SeTanxmebiT Seadginos sagangebo komisia am saqonl is SesaZenad.

**moi smi nes:** 5. moxseneba gzaTa departamentisa masze sadgur sandaraSi Cixebis mosawyobad 4800000 m. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. ukve micemul 1000000 maneTis garda kidev mieces xsenebul departaments Tavdacvis fondidan 3800000 maneTi.

**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi sofel saatis sabajoSi adgil obriv mcxovrebl ebisgan saqonl is da cxenebis CamorTmevis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 6. daeval os voroncovkis mimarTul ebiT moqmedi jarebis ufross general j i j i x i a s g a m o i z i o s e s S e m T x v e v a d a S e d e g i m o a x s e n o s T a v d a c v i s s a b W o s .

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba gareSe saqmeTa ministrisa angoraSi da yarsSi dipl omatiuri misiebis gagzavnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. a)xsenebul i ministris mier moxsenebul i misiebis Semadgenl oba damtkicebul iqnes; b)yarsSi mimaval i misiisTvis Tarj imani oficris daniSvna daeval os general uri Stabis ufross; g)orive misiis gasamgzavrebl ad mieces gareSe saqmeTa saministros Tavdacvis fondidan sexis saxiT 30000000 maneTi.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardl isa sofel uzunliaris mcxovrebl ebis ganiaraRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. a)mieweros xsenebul i frontis jaris sardal s, rom Tu ganiaraReba ar gamoiwvevs pol itikuris mxriv raime uxerxul obas da an xal xis aj anyebas, sabWo Tanaxmaa am zomaze; b)borCal os mazraSi am sakiTxis Sesaswavl ad gaigzavnos rogorc mTavrobis Tavmj domaris sagangebo rwmunebul i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

n.ramiSvil i (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: v.j Rel i, WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 39

respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
16 dekemberi 1920 w. # 23

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvili, mTavarsardali general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare v.j uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis sardali i.gedevaniSvili, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerto mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 1. a)daeval os gareSe saqmeTa ministrs moel aparakos angoris mTavrobis warmomadgenel s kiazim-beis yarsSi gasagzavni misiis Semadgenlobis Sesaxeb; b)winadadeba mieces Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs momaval Si azerbaij anidan mosul i osmal eTis tyeebi gagzavnos samSobl oSi baTumiT da ara foTiT.

**moismines:** 2. moxseneba mTavarsardali samier borCal os mazraSi dabanakebul i jaris daTval ierebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 2. a)neba mieces samxreT-dasavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal s ganaiaraRos sofl ebi uzunl iari, axpati da Sinaxi; b)Tu borCal os mazris neitral uri zonis administraciaSi an rkinigzis mosamsaxureTa Soris aRmoCndeba Tavianti Tanamdebobis Seuferebel i pirni, neba eZl eva samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal s gadaayenos aseTebi Tanamdebobidan; g)samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal s mieces Tavdacvis fondidan 200000 man. dazvervis saWiroebisaTvis; d)daeval os samxedro ministrs miRos zomebi sainjinro-satexniko jarebis saWiroebisaTvis rezinisa da saaviacio benzinis SesaZenad.

**moismines:** 3. moxseneba sabWos Tavmj domaresi yubanel i yazaxebis qonebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 3. daeval os samxedro ministrs moel aparakos xsenebul i yazaxebis warmomadgenel sam qonebis SeZenis pirobebis Sesaxeb.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa TadarigSi myof samxaziani Tofebis ricxvisa da mdgomareobis, am dargis erTi nawilis saxal xo gvardiaze gadacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 4. daeval os samxedro ministrs, SeaTanxmos es sakiTxi saxal xo gvardiis mTavar StabTan.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa seqtantebis samxedro samsaxurisgan gaTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 5. daeval os samxedro ministris, droebiT mimdinare mobil izaciis dros, im seqtantebisgan, romel nic moxvdnen jarSi, Seadginos gansakuTrebul i droebiti samuSao gundebi.

**moismines:** 6. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa ama wl is morigi gawvevis vadis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 6. moxdes ama wl is morigi gawveva ara ugvianes 1921 wl is 20 ianvrisa.

**moismines:** 7. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa artil eriis seqciis mier damzadebul vaznebis Rirsebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 7. daeval os samxedro ministrs moaxdinos arsenal is, saartil erio sawyobisa da vaznebis qarxnis revizia da miRos yovel gvare zomebi maTi dacvis uzrunvel - sayofad.

**moismines:** 8. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa reviziis saxiT CamorTmeul i cxenebis Rirebul ebis micemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 8. neba mieces mTavar Stabs gaiRos saTanado Tanxa im 500 milioniani maneTidan, romel ic mieca mas samobil izacio saWiroebisaTvis.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

n.ramiSvili, v.j uReli (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: WiWinaZe, gr.I orTqifaniZe, il .odiSel iZe (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 40

respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
18 dekemberi 1920 w. # 23

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvili, mTavarsardali general i odiSelize, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare v.j uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, ak.Cxenkel i, general i mdi-vani, general i ios.gedevaniSvili, gzaTa departamentis direqtori WiWinaZe.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa kauckis broSuris jarSi gavrcel ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 1. neba mieces samxedro ministrs Seiayidos saWirowicxvi xsenebul i broSuris jarSi gasavrcel ebl ad. amistvis saWirow Tanxa gacemul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 2. moxseneba sabWos Tavmj domaresi kul tura-politikuri muSaobistvis sa-Tanado Tanxis gadadebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 2. gadaidos amiznisatvis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris gankargul ebaSi 2000000 maneti.

**moismines:** 3. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa tfilisis sima-greebis komendantis kancelariistvis saweri manqanis SesaZenaT 120000 manetis gadadebis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 3. saTanado Tanxa mieces xsenebul komendants Tavdacvis fondidan.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa rkinigzis mier jarebis sardlobis saWirowebisatvis gansakuTrebuli orTqmavalis daniSvnis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 4. dainisnos gansakuTrebuli orTqmavali mTavarsardlobis gankargul ebaSi sal ori isagal s Soris samogzauroT, xolo orTqmavalistvis saWirow navTi ixarjebodes im gansakuTrebuli Tadarigidan, romelic samxedro uwyebis gankargul ebaSi imyofeba.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa satransporto sazogadoebis zogierTi saavtomobilo qonebisa avtogundze gadacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 5. xsenebuli qoneba gadaecis samxedro uwyebas da saxal xo gvardias Rirebul ebis anazRaurebit.

**moismines:** 6. moxseneba gzaTa departamentis direqtorisa sadgur beiuk-kisiakidan mdinare mtkvramde rkinigzis Stos gayvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 6. gzaTa departaments daeval os Seadginos sagangebo komisia samxedro uwyebis, saxal xo gvardiis, rkinigzisa da iusticiis saministros warmomadgenel ebis ganxsenebuli sakiTxis detal urad SesamuSavebl ad da SemdegSi Tavdacvis sabWosadmi mosaxsenebl ad.

**moismines:** 7. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa mobilizaciiT gamowveuli xarjebistvis masze 50000000 manetis gadacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 7. sakiTxi gadaidos Semdegi sxdomistvis da daeval os samxedro ministrs warmoadginos dawvril ebिति xarjTaRricxva.

**moismines:** 8. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa raWis erobaze Casavalis raionistvis miliciis gansakuTrebuli jgufis dasaqiravebl ad 1611787 man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 8. uari eTqvas.

**moismines:** 9. moxseneba fosta-tel egrafis ufrosisa axal qal aq-troickaias Soris tel egrafis mudmivi xazis gasayvanaT 4000000 manetis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 9. saWirow Tanxa gacemul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan fosta-tel egrafis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 10. moxseneba miwaTmoqmedebis saministrosi masze Tavdacvis miznit respublikis zogierTi kutxebis mosaxl eobaTa Casaxl ebis saWirowebistvis 26211605 man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadginis:** 10. amiznistvis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris gankargul ebaSi gaRebuli iqnas Tavdascvis fondidan 20 milioni maneti.

**moismines:** 11. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa ardagan-turkaSenis tel egrafis mudmivi xazis gasayvanaT 1200000 man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 11. am miznisaTvis saWiro Tanxa gacemul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan sainJinro-sateqniko j arebis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 12. moxseneba samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebis sardl isa mdinare debeda-Caize xidis asagebaT 643500 man. gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 12. xsenebul i Tanxa gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan sainJinro-sateqniko j arebis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 13. moxseneba gzaTa departamentis direktoris j avSniani matarebl is asagebaT 5 mil ion manetis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 13. gaRebul i iqnas xsenebul i Tanxa Tavdacvis fondidan gzaTa departamentis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 14. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa yubanel i yazaxebis qonebis SeZenis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 14. neba mieces samxedro ministrs SeZinos xsenebul i qoneba ara umetesat 45 mil ion manetisa.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

n.ramiSvili, WiWinaZe (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: vj uReli, gr.I orTqifaniZe, il .odiSel iZe (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 41

respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saidumlo)

20 dekemberi 1920 w. # 25

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvili, mTavarsardali general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uReli.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, gogua, sabaxtaraSvili.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba sabWos Tavmj domaresi mdinare fsouze saxel mwifo sazRvris xazis gasayvanad Semdgari komisiis wevrebis daniSvnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 1. xsenebul i komisiis wevrebadi dainiSnon topografiul i ganyofil ebis ufrosi general i benaSvili da soxumis sanapiro razmis Tavi pol kovniki sreseli. xolo im SemTxvevaSi, Tu komisiis muSaoba tfil isSi moewyoba, pol kovnik sreselis magivradi dainiSnos pol kovniki gedevaniSvili.

**moismines:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerto mdgo-mareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 2. cnobebi zaqatal as ol qis Sesaxeb gaegzavnos gareSe saqmeTa ministrs da daeval os mas saTanado protestis nota gaugzavnos sabWoTa rusetis mTavrobas.

**moismines:** 3. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa mobil izaciit gamowveul i xarjebisTvis masze 500 mil ion manetis gadacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 3. mieces Tavdacvis fondidan 200 mil ion maneti momaragebis ministrs jarisa da gvardiisTvis miRebul i puris fasaT. 100 mil ion maneti mieces samxedro samneo komitets da 100 mil ion maneti saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs mobil izaciit gamowveul i xarjebis dasafaravad.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi sabWoTa wiTel armiel Ta cxenosani jaris winaarmddeg sabrZolo zomebis miRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 4. a)winadadeba mieces sardl obas gawvrTnan qveITTa jarimtris cxenosani jaris Sesaxvedrad; b)miRebul i iqnas saTanado zomebi, raTa jarisa da gvardiis cxenosani legionebi Sevsebul i iqnan cxenebit srul Statamdis.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi saartil erio sawyobidan saxal xo gvardiisTvis samasi atasi xistis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 5. a)xsenebul i ricxvis xistebi mieces saxal xo gardias; b)winadadeba mieces samxedro ministrs, rom jarisa da gvardiisaTvis iaraRis yovel gvari damzadeba, Sesworeba da SekeTeba xdebodes mxol od da mxol od arsenal Si da ara sadme sxvasaxel osnoebSi.

**moismines:** 6. kul tura-ganmanaTI ebel i seqciis saWiroebisaTvis vagon-bibl ioTeki-saTvis mosawyobad 725857 m. gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 6. xsenebul i Tanxa gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

n.ramiSvil i, gr.l orTqifaniZe (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: WiWinaZe, il .odiSel iZe, vj uRel i (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 42

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)

22 dekemberi 1920 w. # 26

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania.

**wevrebi:** Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, gareSe saqmeTa ministris amxanagi sabaxtaraSvil i.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba sabWos Tavmj domaresi, Tanaxmad mTavrobis dadgenil ebisa, Tavdacvis fondidan momaragebis ministrze 200 mil ioni man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 1. Tanaxmad mTavrobis dadgenil ebisa momaregebis ministris gankargul ebaSi gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan 200 mil ioni man.

**moismines:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 2. miRebul i iqnas cnobad.

**moismines:** 3. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa tfil isis qal aqis gamageobaze mobil izaci iT gawveul Ta oj axebl dasaxmarebl ad saTanado Tanxis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 3. tfil isis qal aqis gamgeobis gankargul ebaSi gaRebul i iqnes 2000000 man.

**moismines:** 4. moxseneba samxret-aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebl isa mis mier frontze myofi j arebl daTval ierebl Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 4. a) daeval os general uri Stabis ufros moel aparakos sabWoTa ruseTis samxedro ataSes, moTareSe wiTel armiel Ta mier Cveni sazRvrebis gadmol axvisa da Cveni mcxovrebl ebis Zarqvis Sesaxeb; b) somxeTis rkinigzis mosamsaxureni da tel egrafistebl moxsnili iqnen rkinigzis liandagidan da vidre maTi mdgomareoba saerTod gamoirkveodes gaigzavnon: pirvel ni\_ respubl ikis saxazino rkinigzis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi da meoreni\_ fosta-tel egrafis ufrosis gankargul ebaSi; g) borCal os mazraSi dabanakebul i j arebl saTvis sursaT-sanovages misawvdenaT daini Snos gzaTa departamentis gankargul ebl ori orTqmaival i vagonebl saTanado ricxviT: erTi sadgur sandaraze da meore sadgur sanainze; d) yvel a j aris qveiT Ta aTaseul is Stats droebiT, mimdinare mobil izaciis ganmavl obaSi daematos xuT-xuTi umcrosi oficeri.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevris al .dgebuaZesi voroncovkis midamoebSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 5. miRebul i iqnes cnobad.

**moismines:** 6. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa masze yubanel i yazaxebis saqonl is SesaZenad saTanado Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb

**daadgines:** 6. gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi am miznisTvis 20 mil ioni maneTi, xol o danarCeni fasis Sesaxeb daeval os samxedro-samneo komitets moel aparakos saqonl is patronebl.

**moismines:** 7. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa tfil isis sadgurze tel egrafSi da gamwevrigebl ganyofil ebaSi arsebul i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 7. daeval os xsenebul i sadguris komendants miRos saWiro zomebl am dawesebul ebis dasacavad.

**moismines:** 8. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetsa cxenebl SesaZenaT masze 28300000 man. gacemisa da saTanado fasebl damtkicebl Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 8. a) cxenebl SesaZenaT damtkicdes Semdegi saSual o fasebl: sabargo cxene-

bze\_ 65000 man. saartil erio cxenebze\_ 75000 man. da saj dom cxenebze\_ 100000 man; b)gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro-samneo komitetis gankargul ebaSi 183000000 man. xol o saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis gankargul ebaSi 10000000 man.

**moi smi nes:** 9. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa samxedro saminstros kancel ariaze sakan cel ario xarj ebisaTvis gansazRvrul i Tanxebis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 9. gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi am miznisTvis 157750 man.

**moi smi nes:** 10. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa masze Sinauri frontis gasamagreb l ad saTanado Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb

**daadgi nes:** 10. gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros gankar gul ebaSi am miznisTvis 10000000 man.

**moi smi nes:** 11. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj do-maresi zogierTi kategoriis gvardiel Ta j amagirebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 11. a)saxal xo gvardiis mudmivi nawil ebis is gvardiel ni, romel Ta nawil e bi mobil izaci iT ukve gawveul ia jarSi, unda Rebul obdnen srul iad im j amagirs, romel ic maTTvis dadebul ia saxal xo gardiaSi; b)is gvardiel ni, romel nic Tanaxmad saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis gankargul ebisa j er-j erobiT ar arian gawveul ni, Tumca maTi nawil ebi ukve gawveul ia mobil izaci iT jarSi, Tavianti samsaxuris adg il ebze unda iRebden j amagirs srul ad, vidre isini gawveul ni iqnebian gardiaSi.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

WiWinaZe (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: n.ramiSvili, vj uReli (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 43

**XI armiis sardl is general hekkeris saiduml o moxsenaeba, romel ic man `kavkasiis revol uciur-samxedro sabWos- Tavmj domares sergo orj oni kiZes 1920 wl is 28 dekembers warudgina**

general hekkeris saiduml o moxseneba `kavkasiis revol uciur-samxedro sabWos- Tavmj domares sergo orj onikiZes. 1920 wl is dekemberi. saiduml o.

Tqveni werilis # 1753 sapsuxod, qvemoT mogaxsenebT mosazrebebs Tu ra pirobebSi unda moxdes saqarTvel oSi SeWra da ra unda iqnes mxedvel obaSi miRebul i amistvis: 1. saerTaSoriso mdgomareoba, Cveni damokidebul eba TurqetTan; 2. Cveni Zal ebis mdgomareoba, romel Ta gadaj gufeba gansazRvrul vadebSi SeiZl eba Tavdasxmis punqtebze; 3. qarTuli jaris mdgomareoba da ricxobrivi Zal a; 4. mdgomareoba Cvens zurgSi.

rogorc ukve mogaxseneT, `me-11 armiis revol uciuri- samxedro sabWos- krebaze ama wl is (1920) 3 dekembers, saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg samxedro operaciebi Sesazl ebel ia mxol od im pirobebSi, Tu kiazim karabeqiris (qemal isturi Turqebi) j arebi daicaven garkveul megobrul neutral itets, radgan, im SemTxvevaSiac Tu am operaciisTvis daini- Snebian meTerTmete armiis garda, mTli anad mecxre armia da meore armiis kaval eria. Cvens kamandobas ar eyol eba sakmarisi Zal ebi Turqebis winaaRmdeg j ebiri rom Sevqm naT. Cveni uwyebis cnobebis mixedvit, kiazim karabeqiris Zal ebi, sarayamiS- al eqsandrep ol is xazze arwevs 22-24000 regul arul i jariskacs da 14-16000 qurT da TaTar kaval erists. virebT ra mxedvel obaSi somxuri jaris sisustes, romel ic sul daSl is kriziss ganic dis da, romel ic safuzvl ianad reorganizacias moiTxovs. Cven Turqebis Sesakavebl ad unda davayenoT Zal ebi, roml ebic erT qveiT diviziaze da erTi kaval eris brigadaze mcire ar iqneba.

am SemTxvevaSiac ki Cveni operacia yazax- wiTel i xidis mimarTul e-biT da Sorsac, Tbil isisken Seferxebul i iqneba. qarTul i jaris nawil ebis mier seriozul i winaaRm degobis SemTxvevaSi, Cveni j arebi SeiZl eba katastroful mdgomareobaSi Cvardnen.

amgvarad, me ver vxedav Sesazl ebl obas aseTi j ebiris mosawyobad, miTumetes samxedro operaciebis dasawyisSi ver gavbedav, gamoviyvano j arebi, roml ebic dakavebul i arian

I enqoranSi, daRestanSi, j avuSirSi da yarabaRSi.

aseT pirobebSi, Cemi Rrma rwnena aris, rac weril obiT unda mogaxseno, rom Cveni urTi-erTobis TurqetTan winaswari mogvarebis gareSe saSiSi iqneba saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg samxedro operaciebis dawyeba.

Tu meTerTmete armiis revol uciuri-samxedro sabWo miiRebs real ur garantiებს imisas, rom kiazim karabeqiris j arebi Cvens mimarT megobrul ganwyobil ebas daiweren, saqarTvel os okupaciis probl ema, da upirvel esad yovl isa Tbil isis, ufro real uri gaxdeba. saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg srul iad usaSiSro operaciis Casatarebl ad me mi maC- nia saWi rod Semdegi Zal ebis Tavmoyra: yazax-wiTel i xidis j aris ori divizia da kaval eriis ori divizia, foil osken- qveiTi j aris erTi divizia da kaval eriis ori divizia, aRstafa- el izavetopol is xazze qveiTi j aris ori divizia. sul eqvsi divizia qveiTi j arisa da xuTi divizia kaval eriisa. sul namdvil i ricxviT: 25000 xiSti da 4000 xmal i. foil os mimarTul ebiT amis garda kidev unda gvyavdes sami j avSnosani matarebel i. soWis mimarTul ebiT qarTul i j arebis Sesakavebl ad iq unda davtovoT qveiTi j aris erTi divizia, xol o vl adikavkazis dasafaravad- amxanag iqsis moZravi j aris. es Zal ebi unda gamovyoT mecxre da meTerTmete armiebi dan. am gamoyofisTvis, Tu SesaZl ebel ia maTi samxreTis frontze gadmoyvana, unda movixmaroT pirvel i armiis erTeul ebi.

pirvel i gegmiT, saqarTvel oSi Sesasvl el ad, operaciebisTvis Tbil isis winaaRmdeg undodaT daeniSnaT special uri erTeul ebi meoce, meTvramete, meocdaTormete da meocdarve diviziebisa, amxanag SerSenevis, kaval eriis diviziebis mervesa da meTvrametes erTeul ebi, roml ebic unda gamoiyvanon mecxre da meTerTmete sxva erTeul ebidan. damxmare Zal ebi dasaxel ebul nawil ebidan unda gamoiyon im frontis nawil ebidan, roml ebsac exebaT mTavarsardl is depeSa, raTa Cemi armia gaZl ierebul iyo. am pirobebSi, dekembris damdegisTvis, me meyol eboda sakmao Zal ebi saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg gasal aSqrebl ad, magram, pol itikurma ambebma, roml ebsac Tqven kargad icnobT, SeuZl ebel i gaxada am gegmis Sesrul eba. damxmare Zal ebi Cemi armiisTvis modiodnen ufro dagvianebiT, vi-dre es nagul isxmebi iyo. samxreTis frontis revol uciuri-samxedro sabWos # 5376 depeSis mixedvit, meore armiis kaval eriis transporti SeCerebul i iqna, eSel onebi ## 134-628-661-312-454 dakavebul i iqnen guduru- petrovskis xazze. meocdarve qveiTi divizi- is nawil ebi ver gamoiyvanes da ver gagzavnes frontze, da ganicades ra didi danakl isi, TviTon maT sWirdebaT Sevseba, mTel i me-32 qveiTi diviziidan mxol od me-96 brigadis gayvana SeiZl eba yazaxis mimarTul ebiT, me-18 diviziis erTeul ebsac sWirdebaT damxmare Zal ebi da maTi Tavmoyra Zal ian Wianurdeba. petrovskSi mosvl isas, eSel onebi gadaviy- vaneT Cemi brZanebiT I enqoranis raionSi. amgvarad, aqstafa-yazaxis raionSi, uki dures SemTxvevaSi SesaZl ebel ia amJamad I aSqrobaSi SeviyvanoT ganzraxul is mxol od meoTxedi Zal ebi. dekembris oTxs (1920). yvel a vitarebis awon- dawonis Semdeg, me movaxsene saqa- rTvel os respubl ikis Sesaxeb revol uciur- samxedro sabWos, rom yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia Sesrul des revkomis brZanebebi da dasrul des j arebis Tavmoyra saqarTvel os wi- naaRmdeg TviT dekembris Tvis dasasrul isaTvis. Tu damxmare Zal ebis mosvl a dagvi- anebiT gagrZel deba, wina moxsenebul is damatebiT da SesavsebaT gacnobebT, rom saWi roa Cqari gadmoyvana j arebisa Crdil o kavkasiidan da meore armiis kaval eriisa, Tugind amiT droebiT dabrkol des saqonl is gadazidva, raTa sul mokl e xanSi j aris nawil ebi iseT vitarebaSi moxvdenen, rom SeeZl oT yovel wuTSi revol uciis mimarT Tavisi mova- l eoba aRasrul on.

aseve unda Sesrul des j aris momaragebis saqmec. viReb ra mxedvel obaSi momaragebis mdgomareobas, winadadebas gaZl evT moucadoT xorbl is motanas da damxmare Zal ebis mosvl as, rac dagvianebiT gagrZel deba, mis dawyebas el izavetopol Si manam, sanam saqa- rTvel oze Tavdasxmas daviwyebdeT. miTumetes, rom Tbil isze I aSqrobis dros, j aris momaragebas gzaze SeuZl ia gamoiwios protestebi mosaxl eobisa, romel ic mtrul adaa ganwyobil i wiTel i armiis mimarT.

zurgis mdgomareobaze: kategoriul ad vacxadeb, rom zurgi ar SemiZl ia uSiSrad Cav- Tval o Tu Semdegi erTeul ebi ar iqnebian Cems gankargul ebaSi: I enqoranis raionSi erTi nawil i qveiTi j arisa da erTi kaval eriisa tertera-SuSa-j ebrail is raionSi. ori nawil i qveiTis da erTi kaval eriisa aucil ebel ia vanqa-SuSa-Serusis raionSi. nu- xis raionSi erTi nawil i qveiTisa, baqos da rkinigzis dacva moiTxovs ara nakl ebi er- Ti diviziisas. amis dmoukidebl ad, saiduml o dawesebul ebebis cnobiT, april Si unda movel odeT masiurad Turqebis Semosvl as j ebrail is raionSi. aucil ebel ia axl ave davikavoT araqsze gadmosasvl el i yvel a punqti da am mizniT iq sakmao Zal ebi unda mi-

viyvanoT.

rac Seexeba qarTul i j arisa da gvardiis mdgomareobas, amis gamo aq aRar vl aparakob, radganac amaze ukve movaxsene dawvriI ebiT revol uciur- samxedro sabWos 1920 wl is 24 noembers. aq mxol od unda gavimeoro, rom miuxedavad sisustisa da revol uciuri sul iskveTebisa, qarTul j arebs SeuZl iaT winaaRmdegoba, gansakuTrebiT Tu Tavidanve Cven iniciativa wagverTva.

yvel a es mosazreba srul ebiT imas ar niSnavs, rom SeuZl ebel i iqneba saqarTvel oze Seteva, aramed mgonia, rom es unda moxdes mxol od da mxol od kargi momzadebis Semdeg, raTa saswrafod movuTavoT xel i Tbil isis xal xs. Tu mainc pol itikuri movl enebi gvaiZul eben daviwyoT Seteva, maSin unda movel odeT imas, rom omi saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg miiRebs xangrZl iv xasiaTs.

me Remad var darwmunebul i, rom Cven SegviZl ia daubrKol ebl ad okupacia movaxdinoT mTel i saqarTvel os teritoriisa suramis qedamde, magram Semdeg Cemi j arebi Seferxdebian. amis gamo, nebas vaZl ev Tavs gagafrTxil oT, rom unda davagvianoT Seteva saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg, sanam Semdegi pirobebi ar ganxorciel deba: 1. koncentracia baqobul ax-nuxa-el izavetopol -yazaxSi meSvide qveiTl diviziis da merve armiis kaval erisa; 2. baqo-el izavetopol is xazze sanovagiT datvirTul i matarebl ebis mosvl a, droul i sursaTic sakmarisi iqneba dekember-ianvris TveTa ganmavl obaSi; 3. SeTanxmeba TurqeTis sardl obasTan.

am probl emebis da j aris erTeul Ta simtkicis SemTxvevaSi, me Rmad var darwmunebul i, rom kampania saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg SeiZl eba moTavdes eqvsi kviris ganmavl obaSi.

me Tqven gTxovT angariSi gauwioT zemoT aRniSnul mosazrebebs Tqvens moxsenebaSi `revol uciuri-samxedro sabWos- Tavmj domaris mimarT. me-11 armiis sardal i hekkeri.

## dokumenti # 44

### respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o) 29 dekemberi 1920 w. # 28

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania

**wevrebI:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, samxedro ministri p.Wi WinaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj - domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. daeval os samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis j arebis sardal s ganaiaraRos neitral uri zonis da misgan samxreTiT mdebare imave mazris nawil is mcxovrebl ebi. pirvel rigSi ganaiaraRos sofl ebis: uzunl iaris, axpatis da Sinixis mcxovrebl ebi.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis Stabis wevris al .dgebuaZesi borCal os mazris aRmosavl eT nawil Si arsebul i mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. miRebul i iqnes cnobaT.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa damfuZnebel i krebisagan Tavdacvis fondisTvis 2268364252 maneTis moTxovnis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. daeval os samxedro ministrs es moxseneba saxel mwifo kontrol is da finansTa ministris daskvnasTan erTad Seitanos mTavrobaSi.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa i unus bol qvaZisTvis dakargul i qonebis anazRaurebis Sesaxeb

**daadgi nes:** 4. sakiTxi gadaeces Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs.

**moi smi nes:** 5.moxseneba samxedro ministrisa kul tura-ganaTl ebis seqciaze 400000 maneTis sesxis saxiT gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 5. mieces Tavdacvis fondidan xsenebul seqcias sesxis saxiT 400000 maneTi im pirobiT, rom sesxi ganaRdebul i iqnes xsenebul i seqciis damatebiTi xarj T- aR- ricxvis damtkicebis Semdeg.



**moi smi nes:** 6. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saTadarigo oficrebis Sromis begarisgan ganTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 6. sakiTxi gadaidos Semdegi sxdomistvis da winadadeba mieces saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs, warmoadginos Tavisi daskvna.

**moi smi nes:** 7. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa raWis erobaze 5000 samxaziani vaznis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 7. mieces xsenebul erobas moTxovnil i ricxvi vaznebisa.

**moi smi nes:** 8. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetisa saSobaoT da saaxal wl oT jariskacTa saWml is gasaumj obesebl ad 12 milioni maneTis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 8. neba mieces samxedro-samneo komitets da saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs daxarjos saaxal wl od TiToeul jariskacze da gvardiel ze 200 maneTi saWml is gasaumj obesebl ad da am saWi roebistvis gaRebul iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi rva milioni maneTi.

**moi smi nes:** 9. moxseneba sabWos Tavmj domaresi seqtantebis samxedro begarisgan ganTavisufl ebis Sesaxeb

**daadgi nes:** 9. is seqtantebi, romel nic amJamad moxvden jarSi, droebi Tiqnen ganTavisufl ebul i, xolo winadadeba mieces amierkavkasiis seqtantebis central ur sabWos warmoadginos Tavisi gegma seqtantebisTvis samxedro begaris Sromis begariT Sevl is Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 10. moxseneba samxedro-samneo komitetis Tavmj domaresi samobil izacio xarjebistvis masze saTanado Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 10. gaRebul iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan samxedro-samneo komitetisa da saxal xo gvardiis Stabis gankargul ebaSi mimdinare xarjebistvis aT-aTi milioni.

sabWos Tavmj domare: n.Jordania (xel mowerilia)

gr.I orTqifaniZe, n.ramiSvili (xel mowerilia)

wevrebi: p.WiwinaZe, vj uReli (xel mowerilia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvili (xel mowerilia)

## dokumenti # 45

**e.gegeWkoris mier, 1920 wl is 31 dekembers parizidan aguguSvil sadmi l ondonSi gagzavnili werili.**

am werilis miRebisTanave dauyovnebl iv midi serjon til Tan da l oidjorjis mdivanTan kerTan da orives gadaeciT Cemi saxel iT Semdegi: dadga wami, rodesac saqarTvel os sWiria real uri daxmareba finansurad da iaraRiT. kers gaaxseneT, rom misi e.i. keris TandaswrebiT l oidjorj ma me piradad dapireba momca, rom igi mzad aris daexmaros saqarTvel os. nebac momca, misi saxel iT es mecnobebina Cemi mTavrobisTvis. exl a me vekiTxebi maT, rCeba Tu ara misi danapirebi Zal aSi da Tu rCeba, SeuZlia Tu ara mas am mxriv e.i. finansurad (aseTi saWiroa umTavresad puris SesaZenad) da iaraRiT dauyovnebl iv daexmaros saqarTvel os. Cveni mTavrobis cnobiT, mdgomareoba politiki mtkicea. Cveni SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi sazRvarze dganan da mzad arian medgrad daicvan respublika, magram ekonomiuri gaWirvebani, upuriba, pirveli saWi roebis saganTa uqonl oba da gaZvireba, asustebs saxel mwifos da xel s uwyobs bol Sevikebis agitacias respublikis sawinaaRmdegoT muSaobas. aq parizSi, sagareo saqmeTa saministro gvarwmunebs, rom igi Tavis mxriT mzad aris saqarTvel os yovel gvari daxmareba misces da am saganze TiTqos igi ukve SeekiTxal ondonis mTavrobas, raTa gaigos ukanasknel is azri am sakiTxze. ar vici ramdenaT marTalia es. ami tom Tqven unda hkiTxoT, rogorc saministroSi, ise kers, Seesabameba Tu ara es simarTles da Tuki, ra pasuxia mosal odnel i maTgan. erTi sityvit, dauyovnebl iv da dauzarlad Seasrulte Cemi daval eba da dawvril ebit macnobeT Sedegebi.

e.gegeWkori

## dokumenti # 46

საგარტველ ოს რესპუბლიკის მთავრობის სამინისტროს სავაჭრო-სამრეწველო განყოფილების მიერ, მთავრობის სამინისტროს ფოტის განყოფილებისადმი 1921 წლის 2 იანვარს გაგზავნილი სეტყობინება.

Уполномоченный Министерства Снабжения в Потти.

**Министерство снабжения**  
**В торгово-промышленный отдел**  
2 января 1921 г. №1

Сегодняшний дождь задержал выгрузку парохода, если не будет дождя выгрузку кончим завтра до 12:00 дня. Сегодня подано 15 вагонов, которые нагружаем с перевозкой в присутствии агента парохода Салоникиди, представителей контроля, таможни, железной дороги и милиции. Представителей товаро хозяина и страхового общества нет.

Если вагоны будут подаваться в достаточном количестве, то сдача пшеницы и агентам Салоникиди будет произведена при нагрузке, в противном случае придется производить перевеску в складах.

Пшеница хорошего качества, но засорена благодаря тому, что в трюмах сверху был другой груз, о чём нами составляется акт.

Уполномоченный Министерства снабжения К. Жгенти

Делопроизводитель /подпись/

С подлинным верно. /подпись/

## dokumenti # 47

ამონაწერი რესპუბლიკის თავდაცვის საბჭოს 1921 წლის 11 იანვრის სხდომის ოქმიდან

3) მოისმინეს: მოხსენება არსენალის უფროსისა ქისტების დამზადების შესახებ.

3) დაადგინეს: უარმოდგენილი ნიმუში მოვინებულ იქნეს და მიწებულ იქნეს ყოველ გვარი ზომები ქისტების დამზადებამ მაქსიმუმს რომ მიარწიოს.

## dokumenti # 48

საგარტველ ოს რესპუბლიკის მთავრობის სამინისტროს სავაჭრო-სამრეწველო განყოფილების მიერ, მთავრობის მინისტრისადმი 1921 წლის 12 იანვარს გაგზავნილი სეტყობინება # 34.

### Господину министру снабжения

12 января в 1921 года. № 34 .

На вашу телеграмму номер 42 доношу:

Приёмка пшеницы от администрации парохода еще не закончена и коносаменты мною не подписаны. В виду требования капитана срочно освободить пароход мною всего согласия и согласия агента парохода П. Салоникиди была произведена спешная выгрузка в склады без перевески с тем чтобы перевеска производилась в присутствии агента парохода П. Салоникиди при отправлениях и отпусках почему мною также не было произведено срочный перевести в складах сейчас же освобождении парохода. За отсутствием пре-

дставителя “Шабриер, Мороль и Ко” и агента страхового общества приемка и перевеска производится в присутствии агента парохода Салоникиди и представителей таможен, железной дороги, милиции и государственного контроля.

Склады закрываются двумя замками таможи и министерства снабжение с наложением пломбы таможней, в присутствии выше указанных представителей, при которых и открываются для работы.

Недостаточная подача вагонов задерживает выяснение точного веса принятой пшеницы составление приемочного акта. По сегодняшний день включительно принято и отправлено 58150 пудов.

Считаю, что при достаточной подачей вагонов в субботу смогу перевесить остаток и окончательно оформить приемку соответствующим актом.

Считаю долгом сообщить подробности хода работы пароход “Велинг Мольде” прибыл 26-го декабря и за неимением коносаментов только 28-го декабря удалось добиться разрешения капитана приступить к выгрузке. По соглашению с рабочими согласно вашего письма решено было произвести выгрузку в спешном порядке, выставила невозможное количество рабочих рук и работала в 4 смены с 7-ми часов утра до 11-ти вечера, некоторые дни и до 12-ти часов ночи без перерыва, производя выгрузку в склады до темноты, а остальные время насыпку и зашивку мешков трюмах.

Работа производилась праздничные дни 1 и 2 января, в таком же размере.

Выгрузка закончена утром 4-го января и было несколько задержана дождливой погодой 2-го и 3-го января в эти рабочими, кроме работы по выгрузке, был нагружен первый маршрутный поезд в 21 вагон, 4-го января были поданы еще пять вагонов и затем только 10-го 18 вагонов, 11-го 5 вагонов, и 12-го 11 вагонов.

Все вагоны сопровождаются моими проводниками.

Принимая во внимание условий работы, я после первых двух дней согласился на оплату артели 50 руб за каждый выгруженный пуд с насыпью в мешки и зашивки их.

Из-за плохого качества мешки не выдерживали при выгрузке лебедками и лопались, но благодаря заранее придуманным мерам по берегу около парохода и по дороге в склады мною были разостланы взятые взаимнообразно у железной дороги брезенты и россыпь почти все могла быть собрана и %-ея должен быть минимальный.

При открытии трюма 28-го декабря бросились в глаза большая засоренность пшеницы, но оказалось, что очень небольшой верхний слой, на котором лежали тонкие доски отделявшие пшеницу от выше лежавшего и уже загруженного груза.

По остатку трудно судить, будет недостача против коносамента или нет, надеюсь что в субботу смогу ответить на это точной цифрой согласно формального акта.

Уполномоченный Министерство снабжения К. Жгенти

делопроизводитель

/подпись/

С подлинным верно:

/подпись/

## dokumenti # 49

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
15 ianvari 1921 w. # 33

Tavmj domare: mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil e samxedro ministri p.Wi Wi naZe.

wevrebi: Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.l orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i il .odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvar-diis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

damswreni: damfuZnebel i krebis wevri sil j ibl aZe, gareSe saqmeTa ministris amxanagi

sabaxtaraSvil i, general i i.gedevaniSvil i, general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe, vl .j ibl aZe, samxedro samneo komitetis Tavmj domare kal .gogua.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevrisa al .dgebuaZesi sadgur sandaraze savel e Stabis saWiroebisaTvis ori ronodis micemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. Tu gzaTa departamentis azriT Sesazl ebel ia\_ mieces.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardl isa borCal os mazridan kerZo pirebis mier Tivis gamotanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. ukve damzadebukl i Tiva gadaeces adgil obriv frontze myof j arebs maTi saWiroebisaTvis, xol o CamorTmeul i Tivis magivraT damamzadebl ebs mieces Tiva yara-iazidan. momaval Si aekrZal os kerZo pirebs Tivis damzadeba da gamotana frontebis raionebi dan.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba samxedro ministris TanaSemwesi, general odiSel iZisa respub-likis SeiarAREbul i Zal ebis mdgomareobis gasaumj obesebl ad saTanado zomebis miRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. a)Tavdacvis sabWos dadgenil eba morigi gawvevis daCqarebis Sesaxeb ganx-ocriel ebul i iqnas dauyovnebl iv; b)winadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments saCqarod warmoadginos Tavisi mosazrebani wnoriswyal i-l agodexis rkinigzis aSenebis da moxse-naebaSi aRniSnul i borCal os mazris gzebis SekeTebis Sesaxeb; g)winadadeba mieces fosta-tel egrafis sammarTvel os, saCqaroT warmoadginos Tavisi mosazrebani moxsenebaSi aRniSnul i satel egrafo xazebis agebis Sesaxeb; d)winadadeba mieces sainJinero-sate-qniko jarebis ufross, saCqaroT warmoadginos Tavisi mosazrebani moxsenebaSi aRniS-nul i xidebis da bornebis agebis Sesaxeb; e)winadadeba mieces samxedro-samneo komi tets warmoadginos Tavisi mosazrebani cxenebis da xarebis SeZenis Sesaxeb, saaviacio da saavtomobil o benzinis SeZenis Sesaxeb; v)winadadeba mieces samxedro saminstros SeimuSaos saerTo gegma tfil isis midamoebis, ial gujis xazis da wiTel i xidis raio-nis gamagrebis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba samneo komitetis Tavmj domaresi abano-matarebl is saWiroebi-saTvis erTi mil ionis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. mieces samxedro-samneo komitets Tavdacvis fondidan avansis saxiT am saWiroebiTvis moTxovnil i Tanxa.

sabWos Tavmj domaris moadgil e p.WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia)

n.ramiSvil i, gr.l orTqifaniZe (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: v.j uRel i, il .odiSel iZe (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevaniSvil i (xel moweril ia)

## dokumenti # 50

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)

17 ianvari 1921 w. # 34

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania

**wevrebl:** Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, samxedro ministris TanaSemwe general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj -domare v.j uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, samxreT-aRmosavl eTis frontis jarebis sardal i general i i.gedevaniSvil i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevrebi: al .dgebuaZe da vl .j ibl aZe, samxedro-samneo komitetis Tavmj domare kal .gogua.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba samxdro ministris TanaSemwis general odiSel iZesi respub-likis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis mdgomareobis gasaumj obesebl ad saTanado zomebis miRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. a)winadadeba mieces gzaTa departamentis direktors, momaragebis minis-trTan SeTanxmebiT gamoimuSaos samanqano zeTis saaviacio benzinze gadacvl is pirobe-bi; b)wi nadadeba mieces gzaTa departaments dauyovnebl iv Seudges moxsenebaSi aRniSnul i borCal os mazris strategiul i mniSvnel obis gzebis SekeTebas; g)eTxovos mTavrobis

Tavmj domares moel aparakos ucxo saxel mwi foebis warmomadgenl ebs respubl ikis j aris tansacml iT, Sekazmul obi T, iara Ri T da sasrol i masal iT momaragebis Sesaxeb da agreTve moel aparakos vaWar-mrewvel Ta warmomadgenl ebs maTi mxriv j aris tansacml iT momaragebis daxmarebis aRmoCenis Sesaxeb; dj j arisa da gvardiisaTvis cxenebisa da xarebis SesaZenad da sazidavebis SesakeTebI ad gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondi dan samxedro ministris gankargul ebaSi 60 mil ioni maneTi.

sabWos Tavmj domare n.Jordania (xel moweril ia)

n.rami Svil i, p.WiWinaZe (xel moweril ia)

wevrebi: v.j uRel i, il .odiSel iZe (xel moweril ia)

sabWos mdivani, pol kovniki gedevani Svil i

## dokumenti # 51

savaWro firma `Sabier morel - iko-- s mier foTSi Semotanil i  
xorbl is miReba- Cabarebis 1921 wl is 20 ianvris aqti.

### Приемочный акт.

город Потти январь 20 дня 1921 года

Настоящий акт составлен уполномоченным Министерства снабжения Карпезом Максимовичем Жгенти присутствии Агента парохода "Веллинг Мольде" и представителей Поттииской таможни, Милиции, Железной дороги и Таможенный трудовой Артели в нижеследующем : Пшеница прибывшая на пароходе "Веллинг Мольде" по кономесементам пароходного общества "Буль - Леин" за №№ 90901 и 9092 для Министерства снабжения в количестве 80184 пуда /1313456 кг/ с согласия капитан парохода и Агента парохода П. Салоникиди была выгружена под досмотром Путинской таможни без перевески склады 14 и 15, с тем чтобы перевеска была произведена при отправке.

Выгрузка производилась зашитых мешках и продолжалось с 28 декабря до 12-ти часов 4-го января.

Склады находились под охраной таможни и Поттииской Организации Министерство снабжения, под замками этих учреждений и под пломбами Таможни и открывались, и закрывались присутствии нижеподписавшиеся лица или уполномоченных.

Перевозка пшеницы производилась тоже в присутствие нижеподписавшийся /или лиц ими уполномоченных/ при погрузке вагоны и при местных отпусках, начиная с 2-го по 18 января. Всего было отправлено 76 вагонов общим весом брутто 73739 пудов в 30 Ф. в 16900 мешках и отпущено со складов круто брутто 2800 пудов в 615 мешках. Перевеска остатка определила последний в 3296 пудов 01 ф. брутто в 742 мешках. Всего брутто 79835 пудов 31 ф. в 18257 мешках.

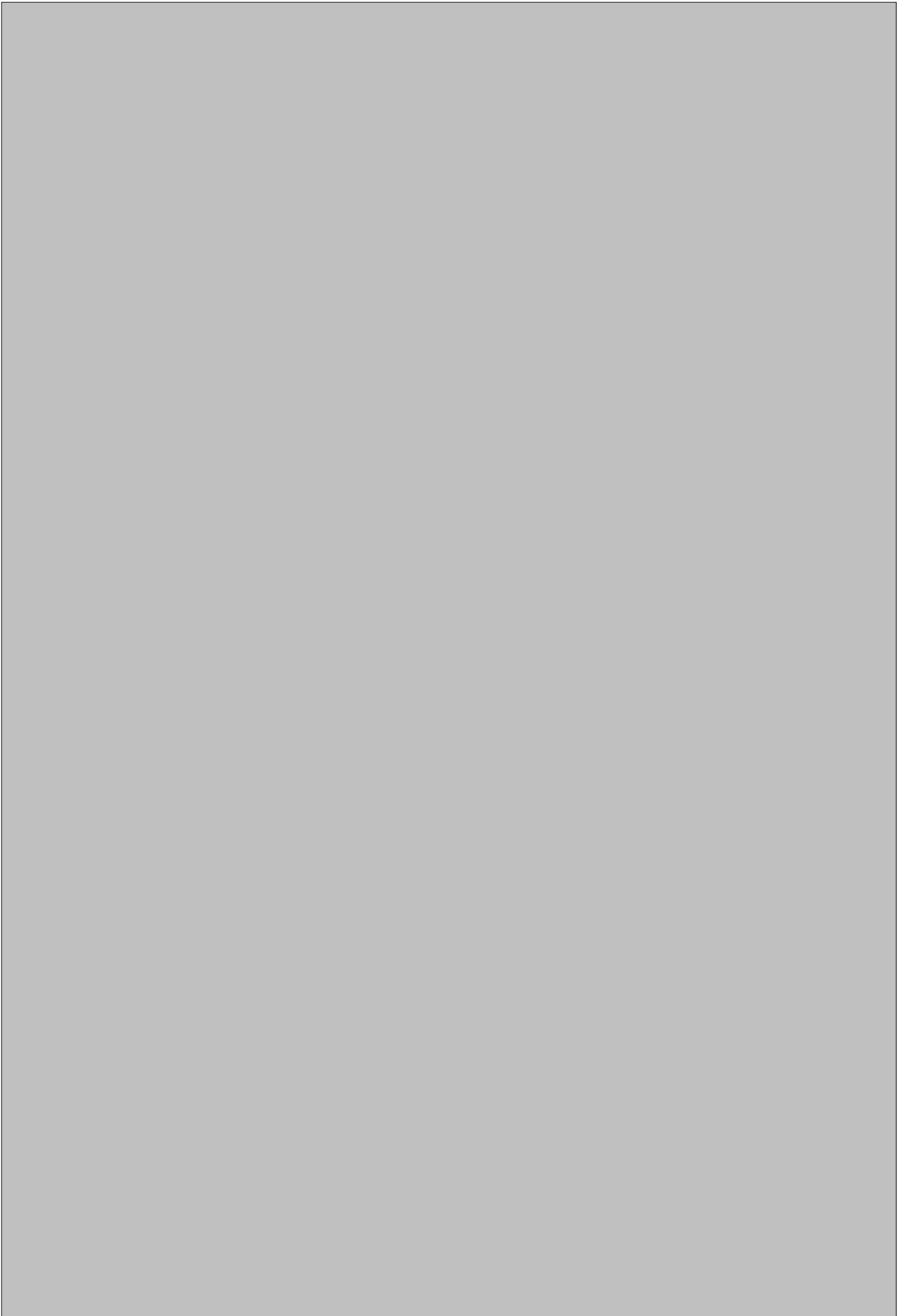
Произведена перерезка нескольких партий порожних мешков определили средний вес каждого мешка 1.1/2 ф., что дает вес всех 18257 мешков - 684 пуда 25, 1/2 ф.

Таким образом чистый вес всей приняты Министерством снабжения пшеницы равняется Семьдесят девять тысяч сто пятьдесят один пуд 5,1/2 ф. /79.151 п. 5,1/2 ф./

Пшеница по качеству вполне годная для потребления в пищу сухая не сорная за исключением первого слоя около 300 пудов, в которых попадались остатки выше лежавших грузов как-то: обломки досок сапожник деревянные шпильки зерна риса куски сахара и пару количество около 5%.

Настоящий акт составлен в 3 экземплярах из которых два посылаются в торгово-промышленный отдел Министерства снабжения, а третий остается у Уполно-моченного Министерства снабжения в Потти. Уполномоченный Министерства снабжения /подпись/

dokuments xel s awers saqarTvel os momaragebis saminstros, savaWro firma `Sabier morel iko-s-, foTis portis, gemebis: `todl asa- da `frigeas- warmomadgenl ebi. TiToeu- li xel mowera Sesabamisi beWdebiTaa dadasturebul i.



## dokumenti # 52

amonaweri respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1921 wl is 24 ianvris sxdomis oqmi dan

**moismines:** moxseneba samxedro samneo komitetisa satransporto sazogadoebidan arsenal ze 7 saxarato da erTi frezeris dazgebis gadacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** xsenebul i dazgebi dauyovnebl iv gadaecis arsenal s, xol o samxedro ministrs daeval os, Tavdacvis fondidan gamoTxovil i Tanxidან gauswordes satransporto sazogadoebas.

## dokumenti # 53

amonaweri respublikis Tavdacvis sabWos 1921 wl is 26 ianvris sxdomis oqmi dan

15)**moismines:** moxseneba samxedro ministris TanaSemwis general gedevani Svil isa konstantinopol Si Cveni konsul is saSual ebiT samxedro masal is SeZenis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** neba mieces samxedro saministros SeiZinos xsenebul i konsul is saSual ebiT 48 xaziani haubicebis yumbarebi.

## dokumenti # 54

saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkoris mier stambol Si saqarTvel os konsul is i.gogol aSvil isadmi 1921 wl is 29 ianvars gagzavnili depeSa

Tqveni depeSis sapasuxod gauwyebT, rom yvel a saWiro cnobebi, Tu ra gvWirdeba exl ave, pirvel i rigis j aris mosawyobad, ukve gadaveci adgil obriv ingl isisa da safrangeTis warmomadgenel T. amaT es cnobebi daugzavnes Taviant mTavrobebs. Cven es moviTxoveT da amis dapirebac miviReT. saWiroa yvel a zomebis miReba, rom pirvel rigSi moTxovnil i sagnebi rac SeiZl eba saCqarod mogvawvdinoT.

sabWoTa ruseTi gvemuqreba. Cven magraT varT. saWiroa samxedro sagnebis saCqarod mowodeba. e.gegeWkori.

## dokumenti # 55

evropaSi saqarTvel os ekonomikuri warmomadgenl obisadmi 1921 wl is 2 Teberval s gagzavnili Setyobineba.

**Экономическому представителю Грузии в Европе Матвею Ивановичу Скобелеву.**

2 февраля 1921 года. №377. город Париж 44. Улица Виктора Гюго. Веелинг Молде.

В дополнение к нашему отношению № 301 от 28 января 1921 года При семь при провожаем вам :

- 1 / одну копию коносаментa от 12 ноября 1920 года на отправление из Нью-Йорка 13502 бушелей пшеницы;
- 2/ одну копию коносаментa от 12 ноября 1920 года на отправление из Нью-Йорка 34809 бушелей пшеницы;
- 3/ один страховой полис номер 496 30 от 12 ноября 1920 года назад стр 13592 бушелей пшеницы;
- 4/ один страховой полис номер 54 96 31 от 12 ноября 1920 года нас за страхование 34809 бушелей пшеницы;
- 5/ два удостоверения экспертное инспекции за номером 3056 и 3059 от 12 ноября 1920 года на погрузку вы-

шеуказанного количество пшеницы;

6/ два удостоверение элеваторные компании от 12 ноября 1920 года на погрузку выше указанного количества пшеницы;

7/ две фактуры фильмы на погрузку количество пшеницы;

8/ один экземпляр приемочного акта переведенного на французский язык подлинник акта на русском языке;

9/ 1 копию отношения №1 от 2 января полученного нами от уполномоченного Министерства в Потти, из которого Вы усмотрите, что Агента страхового общества в котором пшеница застрахована, в Потти не имеется;

10/ копия доклада уполномоченного на имя гражданина Министра № 34 от 12 января 1921 года, из которого видно, что вследствие требования капитана, о срочном освобождении парохода, уполномоченный с согласия капитана и Агента парохода вынужден был произвести в спешном порядке выгрузку в склады без перевязки сетем, чтобы перевеска производилось присутствие Агента парохода Салоникиди при отправках и отпусках, причем за отсутствием представителя "Шабриер, Мороль и Ко" и Агента страхового общества приемка и перевеска производилось сверлить официальных, на что в делах Министерства имеется в телеграфном порядке указание представителя "Шабриер, Мороль и Ко". Копия телеграммы представителя "Шабриер, Мороль и Ко" послана Вам при письме за № 301 от 28 января 1921 года. Министерство просит Вас принять все зависящие от вас меры к тому, чтобы Министерство не потеряла стоимость недостающей пшеницы в количестве 1033 пудов.

Директор торгового промышленного отдела /подпись/

Правитель канцелярии /подпись/

Приложение: две копии коносаментов, два страховых полиса подлинниках.

Удостоверения Экспортной инспекции в подлиннике

Удостоверения Элеваторной Компании

Одна копия приемочного акта на французском языке

отношение уполномоченного Министерство за №1

доклад уполномоченного Министерство за № 34.

## dokumenti # 56

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)

5 Teberval i 1921 w. # 40

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.I orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, mTavarsardal i general i il .odiSel iZe.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevrebi: al .dgebuaZe da saRiraSvil i.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba Sinagan saqmeTa ministrisa ingl isis da safrangeTis warmomadgenl ebTan samxedro masal is SeZenaze warmoebul i mol aparakebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. daeval os mTavarsardal s ganagrZos mol aparakeba xsenebul warmomadgenl ebTan am sakiTxis Sesaxeb.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. miRebul i iqnas cnobad.

**moi smi nes:** 3. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa mTavarsardal ze arsebul debul ebaSi zogierTi cvl il ebebis Setanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 3. xsenebul debul ebaSi Setanil i iqnas general uri Stabis ufrosis mier warmodgenil i cvl il ebebi.

**moi smi nes:** 4. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa mdinare debedaCaiZe xidis asaSenebl ad 6888000 man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 4. moxseneba gadaeces saxel mwifo kontrol s, romel sac daeval os warmoadginos Tavisi daskvna Tavdacvis sabWos ara ugvianes sami dRis ganmavl obaSi.

sabWos Tavmj domare

wevrebi:

sabWos mdivani pol kovniki



## dokumenti # 57

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
7 Teberval i 1921 w. # 41

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.l orTqifaniZe, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevrebi: al .dgebuaZe da vl j ibl aZe.

**moismines:** 1. moxseneba gzaTa departamentis direqtorisa beiuk-kiasikis rkinigzis Stos gasayvanad saTanado Tanxis gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 1. gaRebul i iqnes Tavdacvis fondidan am miznisaTvis 26400000 maneTi gzaTa departamentisa da 12000000 man. saxal xo gvardiis gankargul ebaSi.

**moismines:** 2. misive moxseneba respubl ikaSi arsebul i navTeul obis Tadarigis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 2. daeval os momaragebis saministros dauyovnebl iv SeiZinos sazRvargareT 500 tona navTi.

**moismines:** 3. misive moxseneba tfil isis qal aqis gangeobis mier Tavdacvis sabWos a/w. 10 ianvris dadgenil ebis sistrul eSi moyvanis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 3. winadadeba mieces tfil isis qal aqis gangeobas sami dRis ganmavl obaSi warmoadginos Tavdacvis sabWoze cnoba, Tu raa gakeTebul i xsenebul i sabWos a/w. 10 ianvris dadgenil ebis asarbul ebl ad (garda wyal sadenis sadgurisa).

**moismines:** 4. misive moxseneba Tavdacvis sabWos borCal os mazris gzebis SesakeTebul ad gaRebul i 100 mil ionis maneTis xarj vis wesis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 4.xsenebul i Tanxidan gadaeces gzatkecil Ta sammarTvel os ufross avansis saxiT 25 mil ionis maneTi.

**moismines:** 5. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domaresi mdinare debe-Caize xidis asagebaT saTanado Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 5. mieces Tavdacvis fondidan saxal xo gvardiis mTavar Stabs am mizniT angariSis qveiT ori mil ionis maneTi.

**moismines:** 6. moxseneba general uri Stabis ufrosisa baTumis simagreebis gasafarToebl ad saTanado Tanxis gaRebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 6. mieces Tavdacvis fondidan baTumis cixe-simagris komendants erges simagreebis gasafarToebl ad 45500000 maneTi.

**moismines:** 7. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevrisa vl j ibl aZesi, Six- il odan, yaraiazis raionSi gadmosul i TaTrebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 7. yaraiazis midamoebSi gadmosul TaTrebs, j aris saWi-roebisaTvis Camo- erTvas 1/10 maTi saqonl isa, rogorc sabal axo ij ara.

**moismines:** 8. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj do-maresi borCal os mazraSi arsebul samxedro tvirtis gadasazidavi fasebis Sesaxeb.

**daadgines:** 8. xsenebul raionSi damtkicebul i iqnes urmebis saqiraod versze TiTo futze\_ 2 maneTi.

**moismines:** 9. moxseneba samxedro ministrisa mTavarsardl is Statis damtkicebis Sesax- eb.

**daadgines:** 9. mTavarsardal s mieces j amagiri da sxva kmayofa rogorc ministrs.

sabWos Tavmj domare

wevrebo:

sabWos mdivani pol kovniki

## dokumenti # 58

respubl ikis Tavdacvis sabWos sxdomis Jurnal i (sr. saiduml o)  
12 Teberval i 1921 w. # 42

**Tavmj domare:** mTavrobis Tavmj domare n.Jordania

**wevrebi:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris moadgil e gr.l orTqifanize, samxedro ministri p.WiWinaZe, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n.ramiSvil i, mTavarsardal i general i odiSel iZe, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis Tavmj domare vj uRel i.

**damswreni:** gareSe saqmeTa ministris amxanagi sabaxtaraSvil i, general uri Stabis ufrosi general i zaqariaZe, samxreT-aRmosavl eTis jaris sardal i general i i.gedevaniSvil i, saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis wevri al .dgebuaZe.

**moi smi nes:** 1. moxseneba mTavarsardl isa saerTo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 1. winadadeba mieces mTavarsardal s miiRos yovel gvare zomebi borCal os mazraSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis l ikvidaciisTvis da gansakuTrebul i yuradreba miaq-cios Cveni samxreT-aRmosavl eTis sazRvrebis dacvas.

**moi smi nes:** 2. moxseneba saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabisa, masze bei uk-kiasikis da wiTel i xidis midamoebSi Senobebis asagebaT, 37920876 man. gacemis Sesaxeb.

**daadgi nes:** 2. xsenebul i Tanxa gaRebul i iqnas Tavdacvis fondidan saxal xo gvardiis mTavari Stabis gankargul ebaSi.

sabWos Tavmj domare

wevrebi:

sabWos mdi vani, pol kovniki

## dokumenti # 59

saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil is k.sabaxtara-Svil is mier saqarTvel os general uri konsul is i.gogol aSvil isadmi 1921 wl is 14 Teberval s konstantinopol Si gagzavnil i tel efonograma.

mTavrobis daval ebiT moemgzavrebian konstantinopol Si general i quTaTel aZe da na-pol eon kaxiani. maT aqvT special uri daval eba samxedro masal is Sovnis Sesaxeb. general quTaTel aZes moaqvs saTanado baraTi saqarTvel oSi myof safrangeTis warmomad-genel b-n. Seval iesgan safrangeTis (general S.v.) pel esTan. am sagnis Sesaxeb sagareo saqmeTa ministrs egegeWkors aqvs aRZrul i sakiTxi safrangeTis mTavrobis winaSe. rogorc batonma Seval iem gadmogvca, safrangeTis mTavrobam principial uri Tanxmoba ganaxada, mogvyidos egreTwodebul i vrangel is Tadarigidan (iaraRi S.v.), amistvis saWiroa general ma pel em miiRos saTanado gankargul eba safrangeTis mTavrobisgan. b-nma Seval iem gaugzavna depeSa Tavis mTavrobas, raTa ukanasknel ma depeSiTve misces aseTi gankargul eba general pel es. iaraRis gadmocema unda moxdes rac SeiZl eba dak-l ebul fasebSi da saqonl is winaaRmdog windawinve SeTanxmebul pirobebSi.

saWiroa am saqm is daCqarebiT damTavreba. dro ar iTmens. Tqven geval ebaT am saqmeSi aqtiuri monawil eoba miiRoT da saswrafoT Seasrul oT es saqme. saqm is msvl el obas Sifriani depeSiT gacnobebT.

sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e k.sabaxtaraSvil i.

## dokumenti # 60

k.sabaxtaraSvil is mier stambol Si saqarTvel os konsul is i.gogol aSvil isadmi  
1921 wl is 28 Teberval s gamogzavnii depeSa.

### depeSa pirveli

mdgomareoba kritikulia. gagrasi didi Zala moawva. Cveni razmi aq sul gawyda. uax-  
l ovdebian soxums. samxedro masal ebi Semogvelia. frangebi aq arafers gvaZl even. jari  
uiaraRodibrZvis. Jordania gTxovT... (araa gasifruili) mdgomareobas ixsnis angoris  
gamosvla rusebis winaarmdeg da iqonot gavl ena.

konsul i gogol aSvil i

28/2 21 w. stambol i.

miRebulia 2 marts. quTaTel aZe.

## dokumenti # 61

stambol Si myofi saqarTvel os konsul is i.gogol aSvil is mier  
ak.Cxenkel isadmi gagzavnii depeSa. 1921 wl is 28 Teberval i.

### depeSa meore

depeSa samas rva mivire. stambol Si frangebis aq mxol od TxuTmeti aTasi Tofi da  
oriaTas samoci pul emioti daJangulia, exl ave brZol istvis gamousadegaria. arc pa-  
tronebi da arc yumbarebia. mdgomareoba kritikulia. j ars masal a Semoakl da, saWiroa  
saCqarot daxmareba. am saqmezed aq Camovida general i quTaTel aZe. acnobeT mdgomareoba  
berl ins.

konsul i i.gogol aSvil i. 1921 wl is 28 Teberval i. stambol i.

miRebulia 2 marts 1921 w. squTaTel aZe.

## dokumenti # 62

saqarTvel o respublikis momaragebis saministrosadmi 1921 wl is 1 marts  
parizidan gamogzavnii Setyobineba.

Париж, 1-го марта 1921 г.

### ГОСПАДИНУ МИНИСТРУ СНАБЖЕНИЯ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ГРУЗИИ

Тифлис

Согласно Вашего письма от 28-го января №301 мы обратились к гг. “Шабриер, Мороль и Ко” с просьбой  
исчерпать все средства для защиты наших интересов в вопросе о нехватке 1.033 пудов в партии муки,  
доставленной ими Грузинскому Правительству.

Гг. Шабриер, Мороль и Ко ответили нам, что условия продажу ими нам муки заключали в себе ответственность  
за весь при погрузка, согласно официальных актам о погрузке в Нью-Йорке, каковые были нам вручены и  
должны быть почитаемы за окончательные.

Они далее указывают на то, что эти условия являются общими для всех закупок, производимых в Америке,  
и им было бы совершенно невозможно найти - продавца. На условиях гарантированного веса в Поти; если  
же такой и нашелся бы, то цена, им назначенная, была бы несравненно выше, именно Ввиду желаяния  
обеспечить себя от риска потери веса в дороге.

2. Г-ну Мин. Снабж. Респ, Грузия.

Гг. Шабриер, Мороль и Ко уклоняются поэтому от принятия каких бы то ни было мер к получению нами компенсации за недостающее количество муки.

В заключение они констатируют, что недостаток составляет лишь 1,1/3 всего количества товара и не предоставляет собою ничего ненормального, если принять во внимание тот, значительный путь и те многочисленные остановки, которые пароход имел в пути.

Оби напоминают нам, что они осуществили заказ по цене 175 фр. за 100 кило, вместо 180 фр. /предел, установленный Вами/, в результате чего достигнута экономия в нашу пользу приблизительно в 4%.

Доводя обе до Вашего сведения, имею честь просить Вас, не отказать сообщить мне Ваше по сему вопросу мнение.

Экономический ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬ /подпись/

### dokumenti # 63

stambol Si myofi saqarTvel os konsul is i.gogol aSvil is mier  
ak.Cxenkel isadmi gagzavnil i depeSa. 1921 wl is 2 marti.

#### depeSa mesame

angoris mTavroba Seecada Carevas da mosTxova moskovs omis Sewyveta, mmagram pasuxi ar aris. Cvenebma mi marTes angoras daxmarebi saTvis. maT wamoayenes pirobad artaani s da arTvinis ol qebis gadacema. mTavroba dasTanxmda rogorc saSual ebad amas. Semdeg moiTxoves baTumis pl ebisciti. Cvenebma uari uTxres.

ocdaoTx am Tves mdgomareoba mtkice iyo, magram samxretiT j arebi Semogvertya da Tbil isis dacva SeuZl ebel i gaxda. ocduxuTs dil iT mTavrobam Tbil isidan evakuacia moaxdina da quTaisSi gadavida. brZol a grZel deba. iaraRis saqmezed aq Camovidnen general i quTaTel aZe da kaxiani.

konsul i gogol aSvil i.

### dokumenti # 64

e.gegeWkoris mier safrangeTSi myofi saqarTvel os el Cis ak.Cxenkel isadmi  
1921 wl is 3 marts gagzavnil i depeSa.

Cveni jari exl a gamagrebul ia suramis uRel texil ze. xal xSi da jarSi sul ieri simtkicea, magram Tu saqarTvel o marTo darCa am brZol aSi, maSin mdgomareoba unugeSoa. dauyovnebl iv unda iqnes miRebul i zomebi, rom angora CvenTan erTad gamovides, Tu exl a es momenti gaSvebul i iqna, Semdeg Znel i iqneba mdgomareobis gamosworeba. angora marTo ver SeZl ebs moskovTan gamkl avebas. oficeri special isti gamogzavnil ia. saCqar- oT mogvawodeT iaraRi. stambol Si iaraRi sakmaod ar aris. miRebul ia 1921 w. 7 marts.

### dokumenti # 65

stambol Si myofi saqarTvel os konsul is i.gogol aSvil is mier 1921 wl is  
6 marts 19 saaTze ak.Cxenkel isadmi parizSi gagzavnil i depeSa.

gavgzavne Teqvsmeti aTasi Tofi da asormocdarva pul emioti, mil ioni patrona. iaraRi daJangul ia, SekeTeba sWiria. gamodgeba sami meoTxedi. saCqar oT saWiroa saTanado naw-

il ebi an-l uiebis pul emiotebisTvis. parizidan nebarTvis gareSe ar gvaZl even. aq meti araferia. Zl ier saWiroa saCqaroT rusul i Tofebis patronebi da sam diumiani yumbarebi. miiReT zomebi. soxumi aRebul ia. sxvagan mdgomareoba ucvl el ia. moxseneba gegzavnebaT. saWiroa Tu ara quTaTel azis Camosvl a. miRebul ia 7 marts 1921 w. 9 saaTze.

## dokumenti # 66

grigol I irTqifniZisa da mamia oraxel aSvil is 1921 wl is 16 martis satel efono saubari.

es saubari quTaisis mol aparakebamde erTi dRiT adre sadgur saj avaxodan pirdapiri mavTul iT 16 marts Ramis 12 saatidan daiwo da dil is 8 saaTamde pagrZel da.

I orTqifaniZe: me gaxl avar I orTqifaniZe, aris vinme Tu ara aparatTan revkomis wevrTagan.

oraxel aSvil i: vin aris aparatTan.

I . mTavrobis Tavmj domaris moadgil e I orTqifaniZe.

o. aparatTan mTavrobis wevri oraxel aSvil ia. mosal aparakebl ad gvaqvs TqvenTan sakiTxi. marTal ia Tu ara yarabeqiris cnoba, rom Tqvenma mTavrobam gadasca mis j arebs baTumi da igi viTom osmal eTis j arebma 11 marts daikaves.

I . ar aris marTal i. marTal ia baTumSi aris angoris j aris patara j gufi, romel ic Semovida Cvenis TanxmobiT. magram TviT qal aqSi, cixeSi da agreTve ol qSi Cveni srul i dominaciaa. rogorc samxedro ise samoqal aqo mxriv. angoris j aris nawil ebi darCebian iq im dromde, vidre amaze Cveni Tanxmoba iqneba.

o. maSasadame raRa mizani aqvs Cvens Sexvedras da raze unda viTaTbiroT Tu baTumis okupacia, Tugind Tqveni TanxmobiT ukve faqtia.

I . kidev erTxel gicxadebT, rom araviTar okupaciaze I aparaki ar SeiZl eba. erTi saqmea survil i yarabeqirisa, meore saqmea faqti, rom es j gufi srul ebiT ar warmoadgens saokupacio Zal as. aqamde j er ar aris okupacia, rogorc faqti da rogorc ufl eba. Cveni nebis daurtvel ad aravis SeuZl ia baTumis da ol qis okupacia, Tu ara iaraRiT dapyrobis garda.

Cven ver warmogvidgenia Sesazl ebl oba, rogorc Tqvens radioSia naTqvami, rom saqarTvel os teritoriis mTl ianobas kidev sxva safrTxe moel odes. amas naTl ad amtkicebs yarabeqiris cnoba.

rac Seexeba imas Tu Cven raze unda visaubroT, mgonia rom saWiroa saubari bevr rameze; exl a Tqven aRZariT sakiTxi da Tqvenve inebeT mogecaT winadadeba omis I ikvidaciis da masTan dakavSirebul i sakiTxebis Sesaxeb mol aparakebis aucil ebel saWiroebaze.

o. ramdenadac Tqven Tavi mTavrobad migaCniaT, angoris SeiaraRebul i ori askeris baTumSi yofnac ki imas niSnavs, rom es an okupantebi arian, an Tqveni mokavSireni. sakiTxi teritoriis mTl ianobisa, udidesi sakiTxia. Tqven ukve ukuagdeT sasurvel i gadawyveta am sakiTxisa ucxoel i SeiaraRebul i Zal is meSveobiT baTumSi, maSin rodesac ruseT- osmal eTis konferenciaze moskovSi srul iad gadawyvetil ia sakiTxi, rom baTumi, axal cixe da axal qal aqi rCeba saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi. SeTanxmebaze xel i aqvs moweril i sabWoTa saqarTvel os warmomadgenel s mixa cxakaias (saubari droebiT Sewyda)...

I . aparatTan mTavrobis moadgil e I orTqifaniZe.

o. aparatTan revol ucionuri komitetis Tavmj domaris moadgil e oraxel aSvil ia. inebeT SematyobinoT, miiReT Tu ara Cemi pasuxi da sakiTxi Tqveni cnobis Sesaxeb baTumSi osmal Ta j aris Semosvl aze Tqveni TanxmobiT.

I . ar mesmis Tqveni fraza. Cveni saubari Sewyda im dros, rodesac Tqven SegvatyobineT gadawyvetil eba moskovis konferenciisa. Semdeg saubari Sewyda. Cven gvindoda gve-

pasuxa. inebebT ganagrZoT Tu Cven gi pasuxoT.

o. gTxovT pasuxs.

I . informaciisTvis gmadl obT. moskovis konferencias Cven mxol od mivesal mebiT. iuridiul ad da faqtiurad baTumi Cven xel Sia Tu igi aravin dai pyro. misi bedis gadawyveta SeiZl eba mxol od CvenTan mol aparakebis Semdeg. baTumSi Semosul i angoris jari arc okupantia, arc Cveni mokavSire. Cven im azrisa varT, rom am sakiTxisa da sxvebis Sesaxeb mol aparakeba da movl enis yovel mxrivi ganxil va Sexvedris dros unda moxdes.

o. neba momeciT davamTavro Cemi cnobebi. yarabeqirma oficial uri me- 11 armiis ufrosis saxel ze gamogzavnil i depaSiT Segvatyobina, rom didi erovnul i krebis dadgenil ebiT, baTumi, misi ol qi, axal qal aqi SeerTebul i unda iqnas osmal eTTan da rom man amis Tanaxmad gasca brZaneba xsenebul i raionebis daWeris Sesaxeb. misi oficial uri cnobis Tanaxmad, baTumi dakavebul ia 11 marts. rogorc xedavT, yarabeqiris cnobiT, baTumi daWeril ia osmal eTis j aris mier, xol o axal cixe da axal qal aqi gviWiravs Cven. Cvenis Rrma rwmeniT baTums emuqreba aucil ebel i safrTxe, erTaderTi xsna aris Cveni jari dauyovnebl iv Seyvanil i iqnas baTumSi da mTel i Tqveni jari damorcil des Cvens sardl obas baTumis dasacavad da mis SesanarCunebl ad saqarTvel osTvis. Tu dasTanxmdebiT da cariel vagonebs gamoagzavniT, Cveni jari dResve Seva baTumSi. amasTan Tavistavad cxadia, Cveni mol aparakebis safuZvel i izev Zvel i unda darCes. Tu amis Tanaxma iqnebiT, Cven dauyovnebl iv wamoval T TqvenTan ruseTis s.f.s. republ ikis saxal xo komisarTa sabWos rwmunebul ebTan amx. enuqizesTan da svanizesTan erTad.

I . diax, baTums namdvil ad SeiZl eba emuqrebodes da etyoba emuqreba kidec safrTxe oris mxriv. es safrTxe marto samxreTidan rom iyos, maSin, Cven darwmunebul i varT movigeriebt mas. amitom, Cven energiul winadadebas gaZl evT mkvidri droebiTi zavis CamogdebiT xel fexi gagixsnaT da SegaZl ebinoT samxreTisken vibrunoT piri, daviCvaT qal aqi da ol qi, droul ad daviwoT mol aparakeba mtkice imediT, rom am sakiTxSi Cven vipoviT ara marto saerto enas, aramed saerto saqmistvis miviRebT erTobl iv gadawyvetil ebas.

o. Cven, Cvenis mxriv gicxadebt Tqven, Cveni qveynis winaSe sabWoTa ruseTis warmomadgenel Ta TandawrebiT, rom Cveni jaris SeyvaniT batumSi srul iadac ar gvinda davukargoT mniSvnel oba Cvens mol aparakebas da dagayenoT Tqven ukve momxdari faqtis winaSe. rac Seexeba Cvensa da Tqvens Soris sisxl is Rvris Sewyvetas da baTumis uSiS-roebas\_ rac srul iad uzrunvel yofil i iqneba, Tu Tqven dasTanxmdebiT amas\_ Cven dauyovnebl iv wamoval T, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi republ ikis teritoriis simrTel is da kerZod baTumis dasacavad, Cven vsTvl iT baTumisken gal aSqrebis dagvianebas misi dakargvis Tanasworad, rac gvaiZul ebs dauyovnebl iv daviwoT Seteva baTumisken. vacxadeb kidev erTxel Cveni qveynisa da mTel i msofil ios winaSe, rom Cven miVdevT erTaderT mizans\_ baTumi SeunarCunoT saqarTvel os. ukanasknel SemTxvevaSi ac Cven mainc movdivarT quTaisSi TqvenTan mosal aparakebl ad da TqvenC giwvevT qal aq quTaisSi.

I . kidev erTxel vimeoreb, rom Tqven mier naCvenebl saSual eba sakiTxis gadasawyvetad warmoadgens imave xel Sekrul ebas droebiTi zavis Sesaxeb, ris Semdeg mTel i Cveni j arebi unda emsaxuron immizans, romel zedac Tqven I aparakobT. Cveni Zal aul eba srul iad sakmaoa da Cven uzrunvel vyofT, rom Cven daviCvaT baTums da ol qs formal uri I ikvidaciis wamamde, amitom Tqven dauyovnebl iv unda wamoxvideT, rogorc iyo dapirebul i. me gzaSi var samtrediasTan. es aris exl a movida del egacia tfil - isidan: wereTel i da RI onti.

o. Cveni gadawyvetil eba sabol oa. amasTan erTad movdivarT quTaisSi. wamodiT TqvenC.

I . rogor unda gavigoT es; maSasadame droebiTi zavi grZel deba yovel s SemTxvevaSi erTmaneTTan Sexvedramde.

o. Tqven aRar geomebiT, gaTenebisas moZraoba baTumisken ganaxl deba.

I . pirdapir sTqviT, Tu aq frontia, Cvens Soris ar aris zavi da SeTanxmeba da Tqven win waiwevT, es swored samxedro moqmedebis ganaxl ebaa. maSin ra azri aqvs imas, rom wamovide gamol aSqrebul Tqven jarTan Sesaxvedrad, an sazogadod ra azri eqneba Cven Sexvedras. gadawyvetil eba roml iTac me mogmarTavT imave ZiriTad mizans emsaxureba, romel ic amJamad Tqven dagisaxavT, magram am sakiTxs Cems mier SemoTavazebul i winadadeba ufro mizanSewonil ad swyvets.

o. Cven sxva gamosaval gzas ar vxedavT. TqvenTan omi ar gvsurs, magram moZraoba baTumisken mis dasaxsnel ad ganaxl deba. yovel pirobebSi mzad varT TqvenTan mosal a-

parakebl ad. mZad varT SeTanxmehis umTavresi muxl ebi gadawvyvitoT pirdapir mavTu-  
l iT.

I . aucil ebl iv saWiroa, rom xval Tqvenma j arma win ar wamoiwios, raTa obieqturad  
mokavSireTa Soris xval indel i dRidan, rac SesaZl ebel ia ar moxdes metad miutevebe-  
l i da umsgavso sisxl is Rvra. es mouTmenl oba Tqvenis mxriT aramc Tu xel s ar  
Seuwyobs baTumis sakiTxis gadawvyvetas, rogorc es sasurvel ia orive mxarisTvis, aramed  
ufro gaaZnel ebs da viRac mesames gaaxarebs. me moviTxov saqarTvel os winaSe, sabWoTa  
Tu arasabWoTa, miviRoT pasuxsagebi gadawvyvetil eba, SevTanxmdeT ZiriTad sakiTxebSi,  
raTa SesaZl ebel i iqnes frontis Secvl a. Tu SeiZl eba miTxariT, abel i xom ar aris  
aparatan.

o. abel i exl a aq ar aris, magram SeiZl eba davuZaxoT. erTxel kidev vimeoreb, rom  
marto baTumis SiSi gvxdis Cven mouTmenl ad. am sakiTxSi yovel i wuTi dagvianebsa  
ufro da ufro arTul ebs saqmes. nebayofl obiT SeSveba Cveni j arisa baTumSi ara Tu  
xel s ar uSl is frontis gadakeTebas, aramed amagrebs am fronts samxedro da pol i-  
tikuri mxriv da xdis mas srul iad miuwvdomel ad mtrisTvis. garda amisa Cven ar  
SegviZl ia ar gamovTqvaT Cveni gakvirveba imis gamo, rom Tu marTl a baTumSi osmal eTis  
j ari SeuSviT, imave dros ase energiul ad ewinaaRmdegebi T Cveni j aris SeSvebas baTumSi  
da masTan xval indel i dRe migaCniaT Cvens Soris zavis dReT.

I . nuTu ar gesmiT, rom erTi dRe dasWirdeba am saqmis ara marto gadawvyvetas da  
organizacias, aramed marto Cvenis frontisTvis ubral o Setyobinebas da ganmartebas  
yvel a amisa Cveni j arisTvis da sardl obisTvis. nuTu es gasagebi ar aris, rom ase Tu  
ise, erTi dRis Semdeg Cven erTad viqnebiT. erTi asaT ufro advil i iqneba saqarTvel os  
teritoriis mTl ianobis gadarCenis sakiTxi, vidre maSin, Tu Tqven exl ave uCvenod da  
Cveni survil is winaaRmdeg gamoil aSqrebT. Cven gTxovT exl ave dauZaxoT abel s.

o. abel i aparatan aris.

I . me gadaWriT moviTxov, rom abel ma mi iRos monawil eoba am sakiTxis gadawvyvetaSi.  
abel ma gamoStqvas Tavisi azri.

ab. I aparakobs abel i. vaZl ev ra did mniSvnel obas Cvens mol aparakebas, me vcdil ob  
winsvl aze brZanebis gauqmebas. me, svanize da oraxel aSvil i varT mZad wamosasvl el ad  
da gTxovT Tqvenc wamoxvideT.

I . me kvl av dabegiTebiT moviTxov, rom is brZaneba gauqmdes. es danaSaul i iqneba,  
radganac darwmunebul i var da Tqvenc unda daij eroT, rom am SeTanxmehiT miVaRwevT  
swored im mizans teritoriis mTl ianobas an umsxverpl od an sul mcire msxverpl iT.  
xol o is rasac Tqven xval apirebT, mapatieT da raRac ugnurobaa. rac SeexeBa Cem  
wamosvl as, me ukve wamovedi da amJamad samtrediis xidTan var. Tu Tqven gul wrfel ad  
gsurT am saqmis keTil ad dabol oeba, Tqven unda ganagrZoT brZol is SeCereba. me, ra Tqma  
unda SemiZl ian exl ave xids gadmovide da TqvenTan Sesaxvedrad wamovide.

**enuqi Ze.** Cemis Zal datanebiT, brZaneba baTumisken mimaval i j aris j gufisaTvis gauqme-  
bul ia. xol o samxreTis j gufisTvis, sardl obis azriT, teqnukuris pirobiT brZanebis  
gauqmeba srul iad SeuZl ebel ia da amgvarad dRes saRamoTi SeiZl eba j aris nawil ebi  
baTums miuaxl ovdnen. sardl obis sityviT, am nawil ebs mieca brZaneba warmogzavnon  
parl amentiorebi da Seatyobinon Tqvenc sardl obas, rom maT daval ebul i aqvT mteri  
ar SemouSvan baTumSi garedan.

o. exl axan gadmocemul isgan SegiZl iaT darwmundeT Cvens gul wrfel survil ebSi  
movspoT omi da gadavarCinoT respublikis teritoriis mTl ianoba. raime gaugebroba  
rom ar moxdes samxreTis j gufi SemoSvebul i unda iqnas baTumSi ubrZol vel ad. Tu  
amaze Tanaxma xarT, Cven Tqveni SemweobiT gadavcemT j gufis sardal s Sifrian depeSas  
Sesaferi SinaarsiT.

I . romel i mimarTul ebiT midis es j gufi.

o. axal cixe- baTumis gzatkecil iT.

I . srul i SesaZl ebl obaa SeaCeroT es j gufi, garda TviTon uRel texil isa, sadac  
SeiZl eba uxerxul i mdgomareoba Sei qmas, vfiqrob, rom saukeTesod moewyos Cveni auci-  
l ebel i SeTanxmeha, saWiroa j aris es j gufic SeaCeroT ufro Sesafer adgil ebSi. rac  
SeexeBa kavSirs, igi uzrunvel yofil ia rogorc baTum- xul oTi, agreTve xul o- axal -  
cixiT da xaSur- borjom- axal cixiT.

o. j gufi uRel texil s ukve gadavida, mi si SeCereba ukve SeuZl ebel ia da arc kavSiri  
gvaqvs amJamad am j gufTan. gana SegviZl ia moxsenebul i Sinaarsis Sesaferi brZaneba.

I . me ar mesmis, ratom ar SeuZl ia SeCereba romel ime mosaxerxebel adgil as\_ rasa-

kvirvel ia ara uRel texil ze. rac Seexeba SiSs, mesame Zal is mxriv garTul ebis Sesaxeb, igi uzrunvel yofil ia Cveni j aris safariT. rac Seexeba Tqvens brZanebas j aris SeCerebis Taobaze, Cven gadavcemT Tavis droze, ukve Tu Tqven ara gaqvT kavSiri, Tumca guSin xul o esaubra axal cixes. me erTxel kidev moviTxov ara erTxel gamoTqmul i motivebiT, nu arTul ebT am naTel da sufTa saqmes samxreTis j gufze miTiTebiT, romel ic ubrZol vel adac rom wavides, egre adrec ver iqneba baTumTan, rogorc es Tqven ggoniaT. rogorc safiqrebel ia, am j gufis mizania baTumis dacva, rasac Cveni j ari savsebiT kargad axerxebes.

o. vimeoreb, j aris j gufi ar SeiZl eba SeCerebul i iqnes mraval i mizezebiT, romel Ta Sesaxeb l aparaki mavTul iT SeuZl ebl ad mimaCnia. Tu es j gufi saRamosTvis ar miva baTumTan, sakiTxi TavisTavad gadawydeba. Tu igi ar miva, Cven winaSe dgeba sakiTxi nebiT gaatarebT j ars, Tu man Zal iT unda gaiaros. pirvel SemTxvevaSi Cven vaZl evT Sesafer directivebs, meore SemTxvevaSi Tavidan vicil ebT yovel ive pasuxismgebl obas mosal odnel i SedegebisTvis.

l. winadadebas gaZl evT brZaneba samxedro moqmedebebis SeCerebis Sesaxeb gaafarTovoT. winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi suyvel a amas ekargeba yovel ive azri. ra gansxvaveba aqvs arsebiTi SeTanxmebisTvis erTi Tu ori mimarTul ebiT iqneba Semoteva. Cven mainc Cvens azrs vicavT, radgan iZul ebul i viqnebiT samwuxarod avicil oT Tavidan yovel ive pasuxisgeba SesaZl ebel i SavbediT gausworebel i Sedegebisa.

o. Cveni gadawyvetil eba mtkicea da gamowweul ia samxreTis j aris mdgomareobiT. Tu Cveni winadadeba Seuwynarebl ad migaCniaT mol aparakeba gaTavebul ad CavTval oT.

l. vimeoreb, araerTxel Cven principul ad TiTqos vi poveT saerTo safuZvel i omis l ikvidaciisaTvis da Cveni konkretul i winadadeba samxreTis j gufis Sesaxeb gadawyvetil i iqneba naxvisa da SeTanxmebis sasargebl od. Tqven gwayenebT iseT pirobebSi, Zl ierac rom gvsurdes Tqveni winadadebis miReba, Tqven ar gvaZl evT arc drosa da arc adgil s, rom SevZl oT praqtikul ad ganvaxorciel oT es winadadeba Tavis droze da umtkivneul od.

o. vimeoreb, CvenTvis sxvanairi gadawyvetil eba samxreTis j gufis Sesaxeb ar arsebobs. Tqven gankargul ebaSi aris mTel i dRe, romel ic srul iad Tavisufli ad SegiZl iaT gamoiyenoT Sesaferi gankargul ebisa da Tqveni sardl obis moqmedebis CvenTan SeTanxmebisaTvis baTumis Tbil isTan dakavSirebiT.

l. Cven vecdebiT yvel a zomebiT avicdinoT Setakeba qarTvel Ta da rusis j arebis. xol o amJamad me sakmaod ar vici, rogoria saqmis viTareba aWaris wyl is xeobaSi. SesaZl ebel ia qarTvel i da rusi j ari ukve erTmaneTs ebrZvis. ar vici, movaswreb Tu ara Sesaferisi gankargul ebis micemas. me mainc vecdebi amas. del egaciebis Sexvedramde Tqveni amxanagebis wamoyvanas vecdebi, roml ebic dpatimrebul ni arian baTumSi da romel Ta wamoyvana saWi roa zogierT mizezTa gamo, romel zedac mavTul iT l aparaki ar aris mosaxerxebel i da roml is Sesaxebac swers Tavis weril Si sergo qavTaraZe. es weril i me Tan maqvs.

o. Tqvens gankargul ebaSia Tqveni ve gancxadebiT mavTul i xul oSi da Tqven SegiZl iaT acnoboT, rac gnebvT Tqveni j aris nawil ebs. Cven dauyovnebl iv vsxdebiT ukve damzadebul matarebel Si da mi vdivarT saCqarod quTaisSi, sadac mogi wvevT Tqven. dpatimrebul i amxanagebi gTxovT gamogzavnoT quTaisSi. yvel a danarCenis Sesaxeb Sexvedris dros vimsjel ebT. abel i gTxovT SeatyobinoT SeimaniS Sesaxeb.

l. Seimani cocxal ia da kargad aris. Tu icit rogor aris maxaraZe.

o. rogorc Seimani. abel i gTxovT dauyovnebl iv gaanTavisufli oT Seimani da misceT SesaZl ebl oba wamovides Tbil isSi. aseve moveqceviT maxaraZes.

l. Seimani ar aris dpatimrebul i. mas ekrZal eba respubl ikis sazRvrebidan gasvl a sanam samagieroT ar iqneba ganTavisufli ebul i gerasime maxaraZe, samSobl oSi dabrunebis azriT. Tqveni winadadeba yofil i el Cebis erTi- erTze gacvl is Sesaxeb srul iad misaRebi da sworia. gvi pasuxeT rod is iqnebiT quTaisSi, rom SevuTanxmOT Cveni Camosvl a gacnobebT, rom Cveni parl amentiorebi samtrediaSi mgurgeniZe da mesayvire j ariskaci ori dRea dakavebul ia samtrediis j gufis sardl obis mier. gaeciT saTanado gankargul eba.

o. maSasadame, SeiZl eba CavTval oT, rom maxaraZes da Seimans dReidan moxsnil i aqvs dakaveba- dabrunebis ufl ebis miniWebiT da isini srul iad Tavisufal ni arian. Tqven mier amaze Tanxmobis gancxadebiStanave ecnoba moskovs. parl amentiorebis dakaveba CaTval eT gaugebrobad da saTanado gankargul eba gaicema. am saatSi skarmi gvatyobin-



ebs, rom TqvenTan kavSiris aRdgenis dros xididan Tqven mier wayvanil ia mSvidobis saxiT instruqtori bel inski, erTi meTval yure da ori muSa. Cven vfiqrobt quTaisSi viqnebiT ara ugvianes dRis 3 saaTisa.

I . romel ricxvSi SegiZl iaT iyoT Tqven quTaisSi.

o. movdivarT sagangebo matarebl iT da yovel SemTxvevaSi saRamoTi viqnebiT.

I . kargi, mag droisTvis Cvenc viqnebiT. Tqveni xal xi marTal ia daWeril ia, magram mxol od Tqven mier Cveni parI amentiorebis dakavebis erTi dRe da Ramis Semdeg. ami tom ganTavisufI ebis si tyva j er Tqven gekuTvni T. ami s Semdeg dauyovnebl iv Tqvenebl i qnebian ganTavisufI ebul ni. maS kargi, naxvamdis.

o. naxvamdis.

## dokumenti # 67

quTaisis 1921 wl is 17- 18 martis sazavo mol aparakeba saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikisa da saqarTvel os sabWoTa social isturi respubl ikis mTavrobemis warmomadgenl ebs Soris.

(sxdoma ixsneba 1921 wl is 17 marts, saRamos.....saaTze).

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** moqal aqeno, saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komitetis daval ebiT maqvs pativi viyo warmomadgenel i am komitetisa mol aparakebis dros saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis warmomadgenel ebTan. maqvs saTanado rwmunebis baraTi, gTx-ovT gaicnoT es da gagvacnoT Tqveni baraTebi.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** me maqvs mocemul i rwmuneba vawarmoo mol aparakeba da movaxdino SeTanxmeba. CemTan erTad aris mrCevel i samxedro sakiTxebSi i.gedevani Svil i, pol itikuri mrCevel i a.dgebuaZe da mdivnaT del egaciisa d.SaraSiZe.

**ab.enuqi Ze:** me maqvs mondobil oba ruseTis sabWos mTavrobisa, rom monawil eoba mivi- Ro da misi survil i gamouacxado saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis. es survil i ukve gamocxadebul i aris (kiTxul obs). meore rwmunebis qaRal di aris amx.svaniZis saxel ze igive Sinaarsisa. svaniZe aris daniSnul i Cems TanaSemwed.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** saqarTvel os revol ucionur komitetis del egaciaSi Sedian rogorc mTavari rwmunebul i me, samxedro saqmeebisaTvis amx. Sal va el iava da mdivnaT amx. gambarovi. es del egacia srul iad iRebs sabWoTa mTavrobis winadadebas da winadadebas iZl eva, rom amx. aenuqiZe iyos daniSnul i Cveni TaTbiris Tavmj domareT da amas, me mgonia, mi iRebs meore mxare.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** si amovnebi T.

**Tavmj domare:** pativcemul o moqal aqeno da amxanagebo, upirvel es yovl isa madl obas gwiravT im mondobil obisaTvis, roml iTac Tqven Cemi Tavmj domareoba inebeT. Cveni aq Seyra im pirebisa, romel nic odesRac erT pol itikas vawarmoebdiT, erT mizans vemsax- urebodiT, erTad vi tanj ebodiT sazogado miznisaTvis, Cveni aq Seyra, rogorc mopi rda- pirebisa dRes imis momaswavebel ia, rom istoriis msvl el obis gza Zal ian rTul ia, ise rTul ia kacobriobis ganviTarebis gza, rom misi gaTval iswineba windawin Cven ar SegviZl ian. am ukanasknel drois ganviTarebam dagvarwmuna Cven, rom bevri ram xdeba cxovrebaSi iseTi, risi gaTval iswinebac Znel ia. ami tom dRes rodesac mi xdeba monawi- l eobis miReba im SeTanxmebaSi, romel ic Zl ier sasurvel i da pasuxismgebel ia, rogorc CvenTvis, ise darwmunebul i var, TqvenTvis, me minda davaxasiaTo mokl ed is mdgomareoba, romel mac aqamdis mogviyvana. vinc gul dasmiT Seiswavl is ruseTis revol uciis ganvi- Tarebas ukanasknel wl ebSi, damokidebul ebas gareSe qveynebisadmi, Tu miudgoml ad Seiswavl is yvel a ganviTarebis moments, darwmundeba, rom is rac dRes moxda, aucil ebe- l i iyo. cxovrebaSi aris iseTi momentebi, rom rac unda sawyeni iyos, erTi mxarisaTvis, yvel am unda CaviqroT gul Si yvel a piradi sixarul i da sevda, da vecadoT sazogado zomebiT da sazogado gziT gamovnaxoT is saerTo ena, roml is Sesaxeb di daT pativcemu- l i g.I orTqi faniZe iwereboda guSin Tavis depeSaSi da gamosTqvamda imeds, rom es gareSe pirobebi TqvenC da Cvenc, yovel ive piradobas dagvaviwyebi nebs da gamogvaZebni-

nebs saerTo enas, saerTo zomebs, rom davicvaT is rac TqvenTvis da CvenTvis Zvirfasia. me piradad moxarul i var, rom wil ad mxvda monawil eoba mimeRo am mol aparakebaSi. rasakvirvel ia ara var imis moxarul i, rom saqme iqamde mivida, rom sisxl i daiRvara, bevri material uri zaral i mieca qveyanas, magram mainc moxarul i var, rom wil i damedo imaSi, rom dRes mainc SevaCero is sazaral o Setakeba, romel ic karg nayofs ar moutans sazogadoebas. mdgomareobas ver Secvl is, zaral s ki vimeoreb bevrs moitans.

dRes mdgomareoba iseTia, rom baTumis kunWul i iseT adgil s warmoadgens, rom osmal ebs Tval i uWiravs da antantac Tavis pol itikas ise awarmoebs, rom xel Si Caihdos an Tavis gavlenis qveS iyol ios es kunWul i. magram am kunWul is CamoSorebiT saqarTvel o rogoric unda iyos, sabWioTa saqarTvel o Tu demokratiul i saqarTvel o, ekonomourad didad daiCagreba. me kargad maxsovs, rodesac baTumi saqarTvel os daubrunda, ra sixarul i gamoiwvia man qarTvel erSi da qarTvel mTavrobaSi. ami tom me darwmunebul i var, rom is pirebi, roml ebic saqarTvel os mTavrobis saTaveSi iyvnen, dRevandel mdgomareobaSi ar kargaven SesaZl ebl obas SemdegSiac ganagrZon Tavisi moRvaweoba. ami Tar Tavdeba misia saqarTvel os mTavrobisa da kerZoT im pirebisa, romel nic Careul ni arian rogorc saqarTvel os mTli anobaSi, ise saqarTvel os marTva- gameobaSi. am pirebisaTvis saqarTvel os mTli anoba, sisxl is Rvris Sewyveta da yvel a zaral is da Sesus- tebis mospoba iseTive sasurvel i iqneba, rogorc meore mxarisaTvis, rogorc aris TqvenTvis. Tqveni cnobebidan viciT, rom baTums safrTxe moel is. Cven amaSi eWvi ar Segvaqvs, Tumca formal urad saqme ise aris, rogorc ukve gauwyeT Tqven amas winaT. axl ac unda gavimeoroT, rom baTumis Sesaxeb ukve moxda SeTanxmeba ruseTsa da osmal eTs Soris. am SeTanxmebis Tanaxmad, baTumis ol qi, axal cixe da axal qal aqi unda darCes saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi. es xel Sekrul eba ukve xel mowerilia da ruseTi daJinebiT moiTxovs osmal eTidan, rom usaTuod baTumi saqarTvel os xel Si darCes. magram Tqven Zal ian kargad iciT, im qveynebSi, sadac pol itikuri mdgomareoba kargad, mWidrod ar moiki debs fexs, Tu ra gavlenaqvs jaris ufrosebs, an sxva da sxva partiebs da maT warmomadgenl ebs. amas vxedavT Cven osmal eTsi. osmal eTis mTavro- basTan, vimeoreb, SeTanxmeba aris. is izul ebul i iyo Tanaxma gamxdariyo baTumis ol qi saqarTvel os fargl ebSi darCes, magram osmal eTis jaris ufross sxvadasxva interesebi, sxvadasxva pirobebi ukarnaxebs imas, rom isargebl os imiT, rom antanta mudmivi da dauZinebel i mteria ruseTisa, isargebl a Zal iT, rom baTumi daisakuTros. me darwmunebul i var, rom amis winaarmdeg TqvenC SeebrZol ebiT da SeerTebul i Zal iT Cven darwmunebul i viquebiT, rom baTumi darCeba saqarTvel os fargl ebSi. miT umetes, rom rac Seexeba dRes ruseTs da mis mdgomareobas, Cven darwmunebul i varT pol itikurad is ufro magrdeba da ikidebs fexs. amas mowmobs isic, rom Cven viciT rom ingl isTan savaWro xel Sekrul eba ukve xel mowerilia. Tqven kargad gecodinebaT, rom pol oneTs antanta Zal as atanda, raTa xel Sekrul eba CaeSal a, agreTve antanta mowadinebul i iyo, rom sabWos mTavrobasTan araferi xel Sekrul eba ar Seekra da Tu aSkara intervenci iT ara, savaWro bl okadiT moespo misi vaWroba. me vambob, rac moxda kavkasiaSi,- es moul odnel i iyo. me aq nebas ar mivcem Cem TavS dawvril ebiT CamovTval o yvel a es mizezebi, magram, vimeoreb, dRes es yvel aferi daviviwyoT, rac moxda CavTval oT faqtad da Cven mowadinebul i varT, rom saqarTvel os am brZol is gagrZel ebiT ziani ar mieces. me kerZod mondobil oba maqvs, rom viSuamdgoml o saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komitetisa da saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobas Sua, rom saTanado SeTanxmebiT movspoT es brZol a. mondobil i maqvs, rom gamogicxadoT survil i ruseTis mTavrobisa, rom SemdegSi mTavroba, romel mac am brZol amdi miyvana, usaTuod monawil eoba miRos saqarTvel os mTavrobaSi im nawil ma mTavrobisam, romel ic monawil eobis miRebas moisurvebs da rasakvirvel ia, Seurigdeba im faqts, rom am dRevandel ma brZol am cvl il eba Seitana da Seitans saqarTvel os pol itikaSi. umTavresi cvl il eba gamoisaxeba imaSi, rom saqarTvel os pol itika ufro mWidrod dauaxl ovdeba ruseTs, ei. ZiriTadad Seicvl is Tavis orientacias. rac Seexeba Sinaur weswyobil ebas,- ekonomiurs da pol itikurs, aqac rasakvirvel ia, cvl il eba iqneba Setanil i. rac Seexeba ekonomiur da social ur mdgomareobas, Cveni azri aris, ramdenadac saqarTvel o gansxvavdeba ruseTidan Tavis Zal Ta ganwyobil ebiT, SeiZl eba sxvanairi weswyobil ebi, sxvanairi pirobebis Camoyal ibebiT. es rasakvirvel ia saqmea ufro imaTi, vinc saTaveSi moeqceva mTavrobas da vinc ukeTesad icis adgil obrivi pirobebi. amiTi me minda gamovTqva, rom ruseTis sabWos mTavroba araviTar garegnul Zal as ar ixmars imistvis, rom aq gadaatrial os Sinauri weswyobil eba da wesrigi saqarTvel oSi. me vambob, rom umTavresi mizani, Tu es SeTanxmeba moxda, Tu is weswyobi-

I eba, romel ic myardeba dRes saqarTvel oSi iqneba cnobil i demokratiul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier, rom es moaswavebs pol itikurad daaxl oebas da saqarTvel os mxriv orientaciis Secvl as. me dRes nebas vaZl ev Cem TavS mogiwodoT orive mxares, rom rac SeiZl eba meti dakvirveba da rac SeiZl eba meti ndoba urTierTobisadmi gamoiCinoT dRes, daviviwyoT yvel a piradi rac Cvens Soris dai do am wl ebis ganmavl obaSi da daumorcil oT Cveni Tavi, piradi survil i, Cveni piradi grZnobebi sazogado saqmes, sazogado interesebs, radganac kidev da kidev vimeoreb, rom momaval Si araerTxel mogvixdeba erTad brZol a, erTad msvl el oba, vecadoT gamovnaxoT sazogado saSual eba, rogor movekidoT dRevandel Znel da samwuxaro movl enas da vecadoT aseTi gzebi gamovnaxoT momavl isaTvis.

gTxovT exl a cota wesrigi SevimuSaoT, Tu ra kiTxvebi unda davsavT da unda raime programa SevimuSaoT Cveni mol aparakebisa. baraTebi ganvixil eT da mgoni, iuridiul ad Cven vcnobT srul ufl ebianad orive mxares.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** erTi ZiriTadi sakiTxi aris Setanil i dRevandel wesrigSi, gamovimuSaoT pirobebi zavis Sesaxeb da am ZiriTadi mTavari sakiTxebis gadawyvetis Semdeg SeiZl eba detal ebze gadavideT. umTavresi ki aris pirobebi zavis Camogdebis Sesaxeb.

**Tavmj domare:** es umTavresi kiTxva gaxl avT. Tqven gnebvT raime SeniSvna amis Sesaxeb?

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** me mgonia ZiriTadi kiTxva Tavis Tavad Seicavs sxva kiTxvebsac. SeiZl eba Tqven axl ave gaanawil oT es kiTxva.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** ise rom ZiriTadi pirobebic miviRoT am saxiT, me mgonia, es sakiTxi gaiyofa or nawil aT- ZiriTadi pirobebi, winaswari pirobebi, roml is gamourkvevl oba da miuRebl oba SeuZl ebl ad xdis Cveni sxdomis gagrZel ebas. umTavresi sakiTxi Cveni sxdomisa, me mgonia unda iyves,- am gziT, am umTavres CarCoSi, Semdeg rasakvirvel ia SeiZl eba SevudgeT am ZiriTadi principebis ufro detal urad Camoyal ibebas da aRnusxvas, rasakvirvel ia, es ZiriTadi principebi Sesdgeba ramdenime muxl isagan, roml eb- sac me warmovadgen. ramdenime wuTis Semdeg movaxseneb amas krebis. ai amitom me j er danamdvil ebiT muxl ebad dayofa SeuZl ebl ad mimaCnia. Cven xel s ar gviborkavs am sakiTxis im saxiT miReba, rogorc me vambob. Semdeg gamoirkveva- ras vgul isxmobT im pirobebSi, roml is gamourkvevl ad sxdomis gagrZel eba SeuZl ebl ad mimaCnia. mere iqne- ba minimumi da SeiZl eba maqsimumi, romel sac Cven aq warmovadgenT. Semdeg Cven gadavdi- varT detal uri pirobebis aRnusxvaze da gadasinj vaze. mxol od Tu es ZiriTadi pirobebi miuRebl i darCa, maSin me mgonia Cveni sxdoma Sewydeba da ukve Semdegi sj a- baasi saWi ro ar aris.

**Tavmj domare:** maS me ase mesmis kiTxva: - Tu am ZiriTad pirobebze SevTanxmdebiT, Semdeg Cven gadaval T wvri l man kiTxvebze, am SeTanxmebis detal izaciaze da aqac avR- nusxavT CarCos SeTanxmebisas. j er unda gamovimuSaoT ZiriTadi pirobebi, Semdeg gada- videT im kiTxvebze, romel ic Tavis Tavad damokidebul i arian am kiTxvebze.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** bodiSs vixdi, SeiZl eba ramdenime wuTiT gamanTavisufli oT, saswrafod gamomiZaxes baTumidan da uTuod amas kavSiri eqneba Cvens mol aparakebasTan.

**Tavmj domare:** maS me sxdomas Sevwyvet. (oci wuTis Semdeg). gTxovT gavagrZel oT Sewyvetil i sxdoma. kiTxva dasmul i iyo imis Sesaxeb, rom pirvel aT ganvixil oT ZiriTa- di pirobebi zavis Camogdebisa. aq mamia oraxel aSvil ma gamostqva is azri, rom Tu ZiriTad pirobebze SevTanxmdiT, maSin, rasakvirvel ia, saWi ro iqneba ufro wvri l man detal ur kiTxvebze gadavideT. rasakvirvel ia, yvel aferi am kiTxvis gadawyvetas unda daemorcil os. Tu amis Tanaxma iqneba meore mxare, maSin SeiZl eba ZiriTadi pirobebis gamokvl evaze gadavideT, an Tu gindaT ki dev sxva kiTxvebis aRnusxva.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** me vfiqrob, rom SeiZl eba ufro mizanSewonil i iyos- SevudgeT ara ramdenime ZiriTadi da winaswari pirobebis gamokvl evas, aramed srul iad konkretul i saSuri kiTxvebis gamokvl evas- aris Tu ara Cvens Soris raime iseTi zRvari, romel ic ar gvaZl evs araviTar saSual ebas, rom SevTanxmdeT zogierT kiTxvebze. me vgul isxmob baTumis saqmes; winaTac, rodesac amaze l aparaki iyo, me ar viyavi winaaRmdegi, rom zogierTi sakiTxi yofil iyo dasmul i, mxol od me eWvi mepareba amis mizanSewonil obisa da axl a, axal i informacia maqvs baTumis Sesaxeb, es ufro mabej iTebis, rom saCqaroT gamovarkvi oT zogierTi kiTxvebi. Semdeg SeiZl eba did zogad kiTxvebze gadavideT, roml ebsac m.oraxel aSvil i gul isxmobs. me mogaxsenebT baTumis Sesaxeb, mdgomareoba iq iseTi yofil a, rom pol ki ruisis j arisa, romel ic gadavida dRes xidze Cemis nebarTviT, j er ar midis win, vinaidan xidi dRes Cvens xel Si aris. mTavarsardal s unda hqondes

instruqcia, Tu rogor unda imoqmedos da gvekiTxeba SevatyobinoT Sedegi am TaTbirisa. amaze iqneba damokidebul i \_wava Tu ara win j ari. meore garemoeba, romel ic saSuri gaxl avT, Semdegia: Cven saomari moqmedeba j er ar dagviwyoa qemal is winaaRmdeg. is metismetad TavxedaT modis baTumis ol qSi da CvenTvis Znel ia Seqmnil pirobebSi vawarmooT omi saj avaxoSi, sufsis frontze da meores mxriT baTumis frontze (amave dros moral ur- pol itikuradac misaRebi da sasurvel i ar aris vawarmovoT brZol a Tqvens frontze). osmal eTi im garemoebiT sargebl obs, rom Cveni umTavresi yuradReba aqeT iyo mi pyrobi l i da iqedan safrTxes ar movel odit. miuxedavad imisa, rom osmal eTi unda SeeCerebina aq aRniSnul xel Sekrul ebas sabWoTa ruseTTan, is modis da, rogorc dRevandel i informaciidan gavige, erTi Soreul i mTa baTumisa dauWeria axl ad mosul pol ks. rogorc etyoba, me j er ar maqvs sakmao infor- macia, rom gadaWriT da kategoriul ad ganvacxado es, aq- j er ar autexia Cven j arTan brZol a, al baT imis mol odinSi, rom gamoirkves mdgomareoba. Cveni survil i gaxl avT, araviTari fronti aRar darCes Tqvensa da Cven j arebs Soris, CvenTvis principial urad gansazRvrul pirobebSi misaRebi iqneba ara marto is, rom Tqveni j arebi Sevidnen ol qSi, rom Cvenma j arma Tqven j arTan erTad daiwyos samxedro moqmedeba, Tu qemal i ieriSebs moitans, SeiZl eba naCqarebia is, rasac vgul isxmobT, magram mainc Cven vdgevarT principial urad im niadagze, rom, rogorc ar unda iyos saqarTvel o, iqneba misi xe- l isufl eba demokratiul i respubl ika, Tu sabWoTa respubl ika, rogoric ar unda iyos saxel mwifoebri vi forma, Cveni moval eoba aris, moval eoba saxel mwifoebri vi, erovnul i da yovel gvare, rom vecadoT es ol qi darCes yovel SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os. vimeoreb, rogorc ar unda iyos is. es aris Cveni saxel mZRvanel o gezi. magram mdgomareoba romel ic exl a Seiqmna, metad garTul ebul ia. gaarTula is osmal ebis Semotevam. ai, amitom viTxov, rom exl ave SeiZl ebodes am kiTxvebis irgvl iv gamovTqvaT Cveni azri, movaxdinoT SeTanxmeba, raTa qarTul ma j arma saswrafod miiRos zomebi namdvil i brZol a gaaCaRos frontze da imave dros Tqveni j ari saj avaxodan Sevides baTumis ol qSi da SeerTebul i Zal iT gamovimuSaoT is saSual ebebi, roml ebic SeiZl ebas mogvcems avi- cil oT is safrTxe, romel ic moel is saqarTvel os, mis mTl ianobas. me ar var winaaRmde- gi, rom is zogadi principial uri sakiTxebi romel ic wamoayena m.oraxel aSvil ma, gamorkveu- l i iyos. magram me vfiqrob, rom ar aris es dakavSirebul i erTi meoresTan. amitom me vfiqrob, rom es kiTxvebi exl ave unda iyos dasmul i da SeiZl eba ramdenime wuTis Semdeg Cven kidec mi vceT garkveul i pasuxi.

**m.oraxel aSvil I.** me ver gamigia, guSin magal iTad es Tqveni piradi gankargul eba iyo, rom wiTel i j ari gaeSvaT win, Tu es iyo mTavrobis dasturiT, rom pol ki gadasul iyo xidze. gankargul eba imis Sesaxeb, rom vagonebi gasul iyvnen wiTel i j aris gadasayva- nad\_ es iyo Tqveni piradi gankargul eba. Tu mTavroba adasturebda amas da es saerTo mTavrobis dasturiT iyo, ratom es j ari ar midis, ar uSveben win da Cven rom TaTbiri davtovoT, vTqvaT general uri debatebi ar gavmarToT Cems mier wamoyenebul sakiTxze, ra sabuTebi, ra sakiTxebi unda gamovarkvioT, rom es Tqveni guSindel i gadawyvetil eba sistrul eSi iyos moyvanil i. ra sakiTxi unda gul isxmobdes pasuxs, rom wiTel j ars mieces saSual eba gaswios baTumisken. uSiSraT, me mgonia Tqveni pozicia gul isxmobs, rom Tqveni sakuTari Zal iT dai cavT baTums. Tqven gindaT rom wiTel ma j arma SeaCeros Tavisi winsvl a. gindaT rom erTgvare demarkaciul i xazi gavl ebul i iyos da Tqveni sakuTari Zal iT SeebrZol oT qemal s; Tu ase gindaT, sakiTxis dasma, es me mesmis; magram Tu Tqven ambobT, rom wiTel j ars SeuZl ian winsvl a- ra winaswari sakiTxia gamosa- rkvevi, rom Cven miviRoT; raze, ra kiTxvebze unda gavceT pasuxi, rom Tqven, magal iTad, rogorc mTavrobis warmomadgenel i, gul isxmobT, acxadebT: `Cven imis momxreni varT, rom wiTel i j aris erT- erTi pol ki an msxvil i nawil i unda gaeSuros baTumisken konkretul ad, ra sakiTxi unda iyos, ra sakiTxis irgvl iv gul isxmobT Tqven, unda moxd- es kamaTi.-

**g.l orTqi faniZe:** me mogaxsenebT oriode sityvas, amis istorias. guSin meTerTmete armiis mTavar sardal Tan qonda l aparaki Cven sardal s da amis Semdeg man gaakeTa Semdegi gankargul eba, Tu winadadeba: rom Tqvenma samxedro j gufma, romel ic midis axal cixidan, rac SeiZl eba saswrafod iaros da SeeTanxmos Cvens j ars, rodesac dauax- l ovdebian erTmaneTs. ise rom aq kategoriul i gankargul eba iyo swrafi svl isa Tqveni j arebisa xul os mimarTul ebiT. rac Seexeba meore mimarTul ebas- Tqven sardl obas damzadebul i yavda samtrediis j gufi, roml istvisac unda gamoegzavnaT baTumidan pirvel i Sesazl ebl obistanave cariel i vagonebi. am j gufis baTumisken gangzavreba

moyveboda Cvens SeTanxmebas. gacemul i iyo gankargul eba, rom gagzavnil i yofil iyvnen cariel i vagonebi. es vagonebi mosul a. Sal va el iavam sTqva- ar mosul ao. magram gamoirkva, rom gamogzavnil ia da kidec mosul a. yovel SemTxvevaSi, dRes gaveci gankargul eba: vinda xidze gasvl a Znel ia, exl ave mieces saSual eba Tqvens j ars gavid es xidze. xidi gafuWebul ia, amitom es procesi daCqarebiT ar moxda da axl a ki ucidian Cven pasuxs SeTanxmehis Sesaxeb. rogorc unda iyos Cveni SeTanxmeha, mTel i kompl eqti am kiTxvebis, Semdeg kiTxvaSia: axl a baTumisken rusis j ari midis, erTi nawil i Sevida samxreTidan, aqedan Seva meore nawil i, magram rogori iqneba urTierT Soris SeTanxmeha? Tqven gnebat, rom erTad daiwyon brZol a, Tu gnebat, rom Tqvenma j arma mar toibrZol os da Cven saSual eba mogveces Cveni j arebi gamoviivanoT, asparezi davtovoT- es Tqvenzed aris damokidebul i. Semdeg: Tu rusis j ari j erj erobiT mcire iqneba Cven j arebTan SedarebiT, vis unda qondes xel isufl eba droebiT. meore, Tu gadavyvetT, rom xel isufl eba Tqveni unda iyos da gadmogcemT baTumis ol qs, aris mTel i rigi kiTxvebisa, roml ebic Cven unda gamovarkvioT, rogorc mogexsenebaT baTumis Sesaxeb. SeiZl eba axl ave aRvnusxoT ispirobebi, roml ebic aucil ebl ad gamorkveul i unda iyvnen Tavidanve.

**Tavmj domare.** maS, ramdenadac me mesmis pirvel ad gamosarkvevi aris, rom am j ars, wiTel armias saSual eba mieces baTumisken imgzavros, unda gamoirkves is kiTxva- Tu ranairi xel mZRvanel oba eqneba am j ars, vis eqneba umTavresi gankargul eba, saerTo iqneba brZol a, Tu gancal kevebul i osmal eTis winaaRmdeg, e.i. im Zal ebis winaaRmdeg, roml ebmac unda daecnen baTums. Tqven gaqvT winadadeba amis Sesaxeb, am kiTxvebis gadavyvetis Sesaxeb, Tqven gaqvT gamorkveul i winadadeba Tu ara.

**g.l orTqi faniZe.** yvel a am kiTxvebis Sesaxeb?

**Tavmj domare.** diax, e.i. SegiZl iaT aRnusxoT ispirobebi, roml ebic saWiro aris TqvenTvis, rom neba misceT wiTel armias baTumisken siarul isa?

**m.oraxel aSvil i.** Cven j er unda gadavyvitoT Semdegi: vsTvl iT Cvenc am sakiTxs pirvel rigSi Tu ara? saqme imaSia: Cven TaTbirs ra davarqvaT\_ sazavo pirobebis gamommuSavebel i Tu Sereul i komisia? is, rasac ambobs moq. I orTqi faniZe j erj erobiT baTumis sakiTxs movuaroT da mTavar sakiTxs nu SevexebiT, me mgoni miuRebel ia CvenTvis. Cven gamogzavnil i varT garkveul i mandatiT, rom vawarmovoT mol aparakeba sazogadoT omis I ikvidaciis Sesaxeb da im zomebis gamosamuSavebl ad, roml ebic moaxdenen am I ikvidacias. rom sazogadoT bol o moeRos omianobis mdgomareobas, ise gamovarkvioT sakiTxi mTavrobis Sesaxeb, ramdenadac teritoriaze ar SeiZl eba ori mTavrobis arse- boba. erTi mTavroba unda iyos uzenaes mTavrobad cnobil i. Tu es ar iqneba, maSin es iqneba TaTbiri kerZo samxedro sakiTxze, baTumze. baTums safrTxe moel is da rogori zomebi unda miviRoT wminda strategiul i xasiaTisa, rom baTumi davixsnaT aseTi mdgo- mareobisgan. me mgonia, es Sedis Cvens kompentenciaSi, magram winaswar unda gvqondes gamomuSavebul i erTgvari SeTanxmeha mTavari sakiTxebis Sesaxeb. rodesac ismeba sak- iTxi, vis eqvemdebareba demokratiul i j ari an wiTel i j ari, vis ufl ebas scnobs igi, amaSi erTgvari Canasaxia axal i mTavrobis Sesaxeb. amitom, me winadadebas viZl evi\_ aseTi sakiTxi misaRebia; mxol od es sakiTxi unda daeqvemdebar os umTavres sakiTxs, e.i. winaswar pirobebs zavis SemoRebisa, romel sac Cven miviRebT, axl ave warvudgenT krebas. ise rom Cven winaaRmdegi ara varT baTumis sakiTxi saSuroT iqnes cnobil i, usaTuod dRes gamoinaxos is gza, romel ic migviyans baTumis saqarTvel os fargl ebSi datovebamdi. magram amas meore xarixis mniSvnel oba aqvs ara imitom, rom es saSuri ar aris, ara imitom, rom mniSvnel oba ar aqvs, aramed imitom, rom yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia am sakiTxis sabol ood gadaWra, Tu ar aris gadaWril i winaswari SeTanxmeha Cvens Soris.

**gr.l orTqi faniZe.** me neba miveci Cem TavS momexsenebia krebisaTvis Cemi winadadeba im imediT, rom arc iseTi didi xangrZl ivi gamosarkvevi iqneboda is. magram, vinda es davas iwvevs, me vxsn Cems winadadebas da Tanaxma var gadavideT m.oraxel aSvil is mier wamoyenebul kiTxvebe.

**m.oraxel aSvil i.** Cven Soris dipl omatia ar aris saWiro. mokl eT davsvaT sakiTxi. usaTuod baTumis sakiTxi iqneba aRiarebul i saSur sakiTxad, magram winaswar gamorkve- va am sakiTxisa xel s SeuSl is, rom es didi mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi gamorkveul i iyos.

**Tavmj domare.** me piradaT im azrisa viyavi, rom umTavresi kiTxva unda iyos gamorkveul i. me mj era pativcemul I orTqi faniZis informacia da imis SiSi, rom baTums safrTxe moel is, amas saxesi vRebul obT da rasakvirvel ia vecdebiT davaCqaroT umTavresi saki- Txis gadaWra da Sevudget im safrTxis sakiTxis [ganxil vas S.v.], romel ic baTumis irgvl iv aris. amitom, raki Tqven Tanxmeha gamoacxadeT, neba mi boZeT gadavideT umTavres

kiTxvaze, e.i. wamovayenoT is ZiriTadi kiTxva, roml is miReba saWiRo da aucil ebel ia, rom Cven Soris zavi Camovardes. es umTavresi kiTxvaa. Tu Cven Soris zavi Camovarda, ufro mogvecema SesaZl ebl oba erTad SevudgeT saCqaroT gadawyvetas im sakiTxisa, romel ic wamoyenebul ia Cvens winaSe.

**svani Ze:** me erTi SekiTxva minda mogceT. iqneba an erTs an meore mxares aqvs is dekl araciul i xasiaTis gancxadeba, roml is miuRebl obiT is ar scnobs saWiRoT kamaTis gagrZel ebas. iqneba an demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs aqvT iseTi pirobebi, roml ebic, Tu meore mxarem ar miiRo, maSin danarCen kiTxvebze saWiRo ar iqneba kamaTi. iqneba revol ucionur komitets aqvs iseTi pirobebi, isini ar CasTvl ian SesaZl ebl ad l aparaks. me mgonia, Tu aseTi pirobebi erTs an meores aqvs gamomuSavebul i, maSin wamoayenon an erTma, an meore mxarem. rasakvirvel ia es pirobebi unda iqnen ZiriTadi da maSin maTi miReba srul iad gauxsnis xel s erTsac da meore mxaresac.

**Tavmj domare:** me mgonia es ukve aRniSna m.oraxel aSvil ma. me mgonia aq orive mxare wamoayenebs aseT pirobebs, me mgoni orive mxares eqneba esa Tu is pirobebi, garkveul i pirobebi amis Sesaxeb.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me kidev vimeoreb amas: Cven ar SevvedrivarT imisTvis, rom gavaCaRoT raimo dipl omatiuri xrikebi. CvenTvis naTl ad sdgas sakiTxi. Cveni azri aseTia: dauSvebel ia erT teritoriaze arsebobdes ori mTavroba. Cven gamovdivarT iqedan, rom gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi ukve faqtia. saqarTvel os demokratiul mTavrobas uWi ravs mxol od erTi kuTxe saqarTvel osi, danarCeni udidesi nawil i saqarTvel osi, revol ucionuri komitetis uzenaes xel isufal T scnobs. am xnis ganmavl obaSi ar mogsvl ia arcerTi saprotesto gancxadeba arcerTi kuTxidan, romel ic uWi ravs Cvens j ars, amitom Cveni pirvel i moTxovnil eba aris, rom meore mxarem scnos gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da aRiaros damoukidebel i saqarTvel os social isturi sabWoTa respubl ika da misi dRevandel i matarebel i\_ saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komiteti. es aris ZiriTadi Cveni moTxovnil eba da Tu es ar iqneba miRebul i, rasakvirvel ia, sxva detal ebis miReba zedmeti iqneba. am sakiTxidan gamomdinareobs bevri sxva friad mniSvel ovani sakiTxebi. magal iTad sakiTxi damfuZnebel i krebis Sesaxeb, sakiTxi saxel mwifo da saxazino qonebis Sesaxeb, mTavrobis konstruqciis Sesaxeb. magram amas Cven vaZl evT meorexarisxovan mniSvel obas. es organul i nawil ebi aris mTavari friad mniSvel ovani sakiTxisa. Cven amas gverds ver auvl iT, es unda iyos gamorkveul i. umTavresi moTxovnil eba Cveni pl atformisa aris cnoba baTumis mTavrobis mier saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komitetisa da aRiareba saqarTvel os damoukidebel i sabWoTa respubl ikisa. am sakiTxSi Tu SevTanxmdebiT, rasakvirvel ia danarCen sakiTxebSi SeTanxmebis niadagi ukve gamorkveul i iqneba da gagviadvil ebs saqmes. vTxovT meore mxares gagvces pasuxi am umTavres kiTxvaze, ramdenad aris maTTvis misaRebi, rom dResve iqnes aRiarebul i sabWoTa gadatrial eba saqarTvel oSi da am gadatrial ebidan gamosul i saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komiteti.

**Tavmj domare:** kiTxva rogorc vxedavT aris dasmul i. gnebat miscet pasuxi?

**g.l orTqifanize:** moq. oraxel aSvil ma daiwyo da gaaTava imiT, rom Sevl il mdgomareobas uwoda momxdari gadatrial eba. rasakvirvel ia, am SemTxvevaSi am Cvens davas arsebiTi mniSvel oba ara aqvs; magram mainc unda aRvniSnoT, rom aseT kval ifikacias Cven ver daveTanxmebiT. is rac moxda saqarTvel oSi, ar aris gamosarkvevi istoriisTvis. Cven migvaCnia, rom es udao aSkara faqtia, moxda is rom erTma pol itikurma j gufma saqarTvel oSi ucxoeTis Zal ebis daxmarebiT xel isufl eba Caigdo xel Si. ucxoeTis l aSqarma gadaiara saqarTvel os udidesi nawil i da erTma pol itikurma j gufma xel isufl eba aiRo. es faqtia da, rasakvirvel ia, Cven amas vcnobT, vcnobT am faqts, agreTve vcnobT, rogorc faqts, rom arsebul revol ucionur komitets aqvs xel isufl eba, xol o rom gadatrial eba moxda Sinagan Zal Ta mier, Sinagan Zal Ta ganwyobil ebis Sedegad, amas rasakvirvel ia Cven ver vcnobT. es ase ar aris, es rom vicnoT, es iqneba Cveni mxriT pirmoTneoba, magram amJamaT, Cemis azriT srul iad ar aris aucil ebel i momxdari garemoebis Cven mier cnoba, rom mxol od amis Semdeg SeiZl ebodes l aparaki. CvenSi vimeoreb ar momxdara Sinauri gadatrial eba, Torem es ase rom yofil iyo amas rasakvirvel ia Cvenve gavuvevdiT angariSs. Cven viciT, rom moxda gadatrial eba ruseTSi da es gadatrial eba moxda Sinagani Zal ebis mier. arc erT Cvangans ar qonia eWvi imaSi, rom es unda yofil iyo cnobil i, vinaidan es iyo ara intervenciit, aramed Sinagani Zal ebis moqmedebiT. vimeoreb, am kiTxvas amJamad ara aqvs praqtikul i mniSvel oba. mdgomareoba, romel ic axl a aris Seqmnil i saqarTvel oSi, SeiZl eba sxvadasxva nairaT davafasoT. zo-

gs miaCnia, rom moxda zeimi, damyarda Tavisufl eba. Cven ki gvgonia, rom es udidesi tragediaa da da es tragedia axl a gamwvavebul ia imiT, rom uxeSi mosul i ucxo Zal a iWreba saqarTvel oSi da erT saukeTeso nawil s baTums da mis ol qs emuqreba. Zal a romel mac iaraRiT xel Si unda CamoarTvas mas erT- erTi saukeTeso nawil i. aseTi gaZl ierebul i tragedia Cven gvaizul ebs vsTqvaT: saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubli kis mTavroba Tqvensa da eris winaSe aRiarebs, rom mas am SemTxvevaSi ar Zal uZs awarmoos brZol a erTis mxriT sabWoTa ruseTis j arebis winaaRmdeg da meore mxriT osmal eTis winaaRmdeg. ganixil a ra man aseTi mdgomareoba, airCia Semdegi: rogoric ar unda iyos saqarTvel o, ra wyobil ebac ar unda iyos iq, Cven vfiqrobT baTumis ol qi ueWvel ad unda darCes saqarTvel os fargl ebSi da, vinaidan orive frontze Cven brZol a ar SegviZl ia, ami tom Cven vambobT: dee es darCes sabWoTa saqarTvel os. gamovdivarT ra im mosazrebidan, rom dRevandel i momenti aseTia, Cven vsTvl iT uwmindes moval eobaT xal xis da saqarTvel os winaSe, rom davcal oT is raionebi, roml ebic Cven dRes gviWiravs ara marto baTumis ol qi, aramed ozurgetis mazra, quTaisisa da senakis mazrebis nawil ebi, es raionebi davcal oT da faqtiurad Cavabarot im xel isufl ebas, romel ic dRes aris Tbil isSi, rasakvirvel ia, es aris Cveni saxel mZRvanel o gezi. TviT cnobis da rwmunebis qaRal di moraxel aSvil isa ar gul isxmobs rom unda iyos cnobil i iuridiul aT erTi mTavroba da meore xel isufl eba srul iad unda iyos gauqmebul i. me mgonia is amas ar fiqrobs, imitom rom ar iqneboda bunebrivi aseTnairi moTxovnil ebis wamoyeneba, arc iuridiul aT, arc revolucionuri SinaarsiT. rasakvirvel ia, demokratiul i mTavroba ver icnobs am mTavrobas iuridiul aT is mxol od cnobs faqts da am faqts uwevs angariSs. Tu iuridiul ad da formal urad ayenebs kiTxvas moraxel aSvil i, es ar aris swori. Cems mTavrobas ar SeuZl ia Tavis xel isufl eba gadasces sxva vinmes. TviTon is ar aris wyaro ufl ebisa. ufl ebis wyaro aris damfuZnebel i kreba da sxva aravin. am mTavrobas mxol od SeuZl ian, im damfuZnebel krebas, romel mac mas misca es xel isufl eba, ukan Caabaros is da damfuZnebel i kreba ityvis\_ scnobs Tu ara igi axal mTavrobas. TviT mTavroba dRes gasul ia Tavis teritoriis erT nawil ze da SeiZl eba xval datovos is kuTxe, romel ic mas ukavia. magram, rasakvirvel ia, am faqts TviTon mTavrobisatvis iuridiul i mniSvnel oba ara aqvs. mas SeuZl ia gadadges da Tu gadadgeba, Tavis mandats Caabarebs Tavisufl ebis wyaros. aseTi unda iyos Tqven mier dasmul i kiTxvis normal uri dayeneba. dasmul sakiTxSi unda dakmayofil deT Cveni gancxadebiT, rom Cven vcnobT am faqts da angariSs vuvevT mas, magram iuridiul sanqcias ver mivcemT mas da arc SegviZl ian mivceT.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me ise gavige, rom arsebul i mTavroba angariSs uwevs faqts, ar Sedis am faqtis iuridiul da revol uciur dafasebaSi, mxol od acxadebs, rom misi survil ia, rom baTumi da baTumis ol qi, romel sac moel is sasikvdil o safrTxe, gadasces sabWoTa saqarTvel os, mgoni aseTi iyo Tqveni winadadeba.

**g.l orTqi faniZe:** di ax.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** e.i. uaryofs, rom aseTi dekl araciul i xasiaTis gancxadebas ara aqvs mniSvnel oba arc pol itikuri, arc zneobrivi, arc iuridiul i, mxol od mas aqvs ufl eba uzenaes damfuZnebel krebas mimarTos da gamoacxados Tavis Tavi gaSvebul ad. g.l orTqi-faniZem ganacxada mxol od, rom mas SeuZl ia Sesaferisi gancxadeba Seitanos damfuZnebel krebaSi. mas ar SeuZl ia icnos kanonieraT Seqmnil i mdgomareoba, mas SeuZl ia mxol od angariSi gauwios faqts, rogorc aseTs da gamodis ra am faqtis dafasebidan, gadascems baTumis ol qs ukanasknel Tavis teritorias sabWoTa saqarTvel os. Tu me sworaT vimeoreb moq. l orTqi faniZis si tyvebs, me mgonia sakiTxis aseT dayenebas Cven daveTanxmebiT, ar CaveWi debiT imas, rom usaTuod arCeul ma mTavrobam noe Jordani as meTaurobiT sTqvas, rom Cven vcnobT, amas ar CaveWi debiT da Tqven gancxadebas vi RebT cnobaT. rom vinaidan baTumis ol qs moel is safrTxe, momxreni varT, rom angariSi gavuwioT Seqmnil mdgomareobas da miviRoT zomebi, rom es ol qi ganuyrel i nawil i saqarTvel osi gadaeces sabWoTa saqarTvel os. Cven vimeorebT, ar CaveWi debiT amas, aq erTgvari dauSvebel i uxerxul obaa, sabWoTa saqarTvel os yavs erTgvari matarebel i aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebis organo\_ es aris revol uciuri komiteti. SeiZl eba es sabWoTa mTavroba gamoscvl os arCevnebma, yovel SemTxvevaSi Cven am uxerxul obas ar vaqcevT yuradRebas, radganac Tqven ar grZnobT, rom es uxerxul oba aris, iqneba grZnobdeT, magram ar gindaT xazi gausvaT, rom sabWoTa saqarTvel o es iseTi mcnebaa, romel sac akl ia umTavresi suverenobis matarebel i organo e.i. mTavrobas da Tqven gindaT amas gverdi auxvioT da migaCniat saWiroT erTgvari fiqsacia ar moaxdinoT. me Cvenis mxriv

unda ganvacxado, rom amas Cven aseT mniSvnel obas ar vaZI evT da Tanaxmani viqnebiT. Tu me sworaT gavige SeiZI eba Sesworeba rame SeitanoT.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** Sesworeba ar aferi maqvs. mxol od davumateb, rom gaurkvevel i ar aferi darCes. kanoni er mTavrobaze rodesac vl aparakobdi, me vgul isxmobdi warmoSvebas, rogorc revol uciurs ise kanoniers, Sinagan Zal Ta ganwyobil ebiT Seqmnil s. rasakvirvel ia, mTavrobaT demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas miaCnia mxol od Tavisi Tavi da sxvas is ar scnobs da verc icnobs. magram is xedavs faqts da ai am faqts uwevs angariSs, rom saqarTvel os nawil i aris revol uciuri komitetis xel isufli ebaSi da rodesac vambob, rom gadaecema teritoria sabWoTa saqarTvel os gansazRvrul i SeTanxmebis pirobebiTo, es ise ki ar unda gaigos vinmem, TiTqos TviTon mTavrobas azraT hqondes damfuZnebel i krebis winaSe winadadeba Seitanos Tavis gauqmebis da axal i mTavrobis cnobis Sesaxeb. ara, Cven ase vfiqrobT: demokratiul mTavrobas, romel ic aris baTumSi srul iad rom ar darCes arcerTi adgil i teritoriisa, mas mainc aqvs miniWebul i da mikuTvnil i uf- l ebrivi suverenoba demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobisa. me minda cotaodenad Sevasworo moq. oraxel aSvil is sityvebi: saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas uWiravs xel Si ara marto baTumi da baTumis ol qi, aramed mas xel Si uWiravs ozurgeTis mazra, senakisa da quTaisis mazrebis mcire nawil ebi.

**Tavmj domare:** me Cemis mxriT siamovnebiT movismine orive mxriT garkveul i sakiTxis dayeneba, raki Tavidanve Cven mier dayenebul sakiTxSi nakl ebi adgil i miecema dipl o- matias da dipl omatiur xrikebs, imi tom mogveca saSual eba, rom ufro adre gadavideT im kiTxvaze, romel ic migviyvans SeTanxmebamde, nec, rasakvirvel ia, unda vaRi aro is, rom Cven ar SegviZI ian sxvanairaT davafasoT esa Tu is movl ena, sxvanairad vicnoT ama Tu im mTavrobis da Zal ebis warmoSoba da, rasakvirvel ia, is rac ganacxada pativcemul ma gr.I orTqifaniZem imis Sesaxeb, Tu ramdenad SeuZI ebel ia maTTvis iuridiul ad da formal urad dRevandel i mdgomareobis cnoba\_ es aris rwmenis Sedegi, rwmenis rezu- l tati da iq sadac rwmenaa, iq veraferi Zal iT ver SeaCerebs adami ans. is ityvis imas rac mas swams. danarCeni rac movismineT Cven imis Sesaxeb, rom mdgomareoba Zal as atans ama Tu im mxares icnos is rac ukve arsebobs miuxedavad imisa, ranairaT Seiqmna da war- moiSva es mdgomareoba da imis cnoba rac arsebobs naTI ad iqneba miRebul i, me mgonia es meore mxares unda akmayofil ebdes, vinaidan faqtiuraT namdvil ad aqedan gamom- dinareobs saSual eba danarCen sakiTxebSi SeTanxmebis aTvis da es me mgonia Tavidan agvaSorebs iseT safrTxes, romel sac Cemda sasixarul od erTnairad afasebs orive mxare. amitom me mgonia, rom am ZiriTadi pirobebis amnairaT miRebis Semdeg, rogorc aq naTI ad da garkveviT iyo dayenebul i da romel sac ar edaveba meore mxare, SegviZI ia es aRvniSnoT da amis miRebis Semdeg gadavideT im saSur wvri l man kiTxvebze, romel ic dakavSirebul ia masTan, Tu Sesworeba ara gaqvt SeiZI eba gadavideT am sakiTxebze.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me Sesworeba ara maqvs, magram mxol od me mgonia am mTavar sakiTx- idan gamomdinareoben meore xarisxis sakiTxebi, romel ic safuZvel s aZI even am mTavar principul sakiTxes. me gamovacxade, rom mniSvnel obas ar vaZI ev im garemoebas, rom mowinaaRmdege mxare uaryofs mTavrobis cnobas, ar cnobs imas dekl araciis saxiT, dekl aratiul i xasiaTis gancxadebiT, is mxol od angariSs uwevs Seqmnil faqts da am faqtidan gamoyavs is daskvna, rom baTumis ol qi, romel sac moel is safrTxe, unda gada- eces sabWoTa axal mTavrobas revol ucionuri komitetis saxiT. Tu asea sakiTxi day- enebul i me srul iad veTanxmebi. es gagviadvil ebs sabol oo SeTanxmebas.

**Tavmj domare:** me Sesworeba Semomaqvs, Tqven I aparakobT marto baTumis ol qze, rogorc Tqven moismineT ozurgeTis, senakis da quTaisis zogierTi patara nawil ebi...

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** is teritoria, romel ic amJamad Cven gviWiravs.

**Tavmj domare:** amitom, ufro naTel i rom iyos, xazs nu gausvamT baTumis ol qs.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** es sakiTxi ase dayenebul i formal urad sadao ar aris; es Ses- woreba ki ar aris aramed damatebaa, yovel SemTxvevaSi moq. oraxel aSvil is gancxadeba- Si SeiZI eba iyos ramodenime sxva niuansi, romel mac SeiZI eba sxva azris gamosaxul eba miiRos. oriode sityviT kidev erTxel gavimeoreb: saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavro- ba ara marto Tavis ikavebs revol uciuri komitetis dekl aratiul i aRiarebis gan, aramed is ambobs, rom mTavroba, kanonieri mTavroba aris da rCeba saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobad, yovel gvar pirobebSi, sanam xal xis uzenaesi neba ama Tu im formiT ar ityvis winaaRmdegs. is amgvarad scnobs Tavs yovel SemTxvevaSi im momentam- di, sanam xal xis neba ar ityvis, rom es mTavroba ar unda iyoso. es aris, rasakvirvel ia, gancxadeba formal uri da am kiTxvaSi mas ar aqvs gadamWrel i praqtikul i mniSvnel oba,



magram yovel gvar gaugebrobis da orWofobis gasacil ebl ad es axl ave unda iTqvas.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me mgonia es niuansi mTel Cvens formul as yiramal a atrial ebs, rodesac mTavroba acxadebs\_ me aramc Tu ar gcnobT, aramed vcnobT kanonier mTavrobaT saqarTvel oSi Cven Tavs. me ar vici ra varT Cven maSin. Cven varT meamboxeni kanonieri mTavrobis winaaRmdeg, me ar vici ra fasi eqneba an formal uri an iuridiul i da an pol itikuri SeTanxmebas, romel ic Cven unda movaxdinoT. me arc ki warmomidgenia is teritoria, romel ic dRes saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobis xel Sia da romel sac moel is safrTxe. rodasac acxadebs mTavroba am teritoriis Zal adautanebl iv gadmoce- mis momxre varTo da es mTavroba dasasrul Si ar spobs Tavis Tavs da ar sTvl is Tavis Tavs ukve gaTavebul ad am axl o momaval Si mainc,\_ SeiZl eba iuridiul ad es dauSvebel i iyos, magram yovel SemTxvevaSi Seqmnil i faqti ukarnaxebs mas, rom gadadges da dauTmos adgil i meore mTavrobas, SeiZl eba meamboxes, SeiZl eba moZal ades, magram yovl ad Seu- Zl ebel ia teritorias wmindavdes da acxadebdes\_ Cven viyaviT da vrCebiT kanonier mTavrobaT, amitom me srul iad miuRebl ad mimaCnia im formul irovkaSi, romel zedac Cven vTanxmdebiT SevitanoT is damateba, romel sac Tqven uwodeT niuansi, Cven viyaviT da vrCebiT kanonier mTavrobaT. es CvenTvis miuRebel ia, Cven gvainteresebs saerTo ena gamovnaxoT. saerTo niadagi movZebnoT, magram Cven ar Segvizi ian daveTanxmoT aseT damatebas. aq gul axdil ad vityvi, rom erTgvari, ruseTSi rom ityvian, `xazeika dai tove- so.- me ar vcnob Tqven mTavrobas, me Cemi mTavroba kanonier mTavrobad mimaCnia da Tu situacia Seicval a... erTgvar iuridiul gasasamarTI ebl ad erTgvari pl iusi gaqvT. Tqven SegiZl iaT sTqvaT, Cven davemorCil eT erTgvar uxeS Zal as, magram davinarcuneT mTel i iuridiul i ufl ebani. Tqven amis Tqma ar gesaWi roebaT, radganac roca moxdeba gadatrial eba im saxiT, roml iTac is moxda, an iqneba im saxiT, romel ic cnobil ia istoriaSi an SeiZl eba sxva axal i formiT, romel ic mosal odnel ia axl o momaval Si, yovel SemTxvevaSi amas Cven angariSs ar vuwevT. SeiZl eba Tqven ar sTqvaT revol u- cionur komiTets scnobT, magram roca Tqven acxadebT Cven viyaviT da vrCebiT, es aris Canasaxi imisa, rom brZol a ara Tu ar Cerdeba, aramed grZel deba, imitom rom ar SeiZl eba erT teritoriaze ori uzenaesi mTavrobis arseboba. me ver warmomidgenia am gancxade- bis Semdeg, rogori unda iyos modusi am or mTavrobas Soris da komkretul ad rogor unda gadawydes teritoriis gadacemis sakiTxi, romel ic aris sagani Cveni sj a- baasisa. Tu am damatebas SemTxveviTi xasiaTi aqvs, SeiZl eba sityvebi `Cven viyaviT da vrCebiT kanonier mTavrobaT- amoiSal os. es moiTxovda ganmartebas da vimeorebT, yovl ad Seu- Zl ebel ia aseTi formis miReba.

**Tavmj domare:** mec samwuxarod unda vsTqva, rom ukanasknel ma gancxadebam cota ar iyos gamakvirva pirvel i gancxadebis Semdeg; me, rasakvirvel ia mesmis pirvel i gancxade- bis Sinaarsi, rom ramdenadac mTavrobas da damfuZnebel krebas Tavis Tavi kanonierad mimaCnia, xal xis warmomadgenl ebaT mimaCni aT, sxva verafers ver gavigonebT, radganac maTi Rirseba moiTxovs, rom es ganacxadon, magram rac Seexeba ukanasknel gancxadebas, me piradad darwmunebul i viyavi, ramdenadac vicnob saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis Semadgenl obas, sadac didi umravl esoba ekuTvnis social - demokratiis partiis warmo- madgenl ebs, me ar megona da ar davuSvebdi imas, rom isini mibaZavdnen yofil i eserebis ruseTis damfuZnebel i krebis erT nawil s, romel ic dResac gaiZaxis, rom is aris kano- nieri mTavroba ruseTisa. rasakvirvel ia, pativc. gr.I orTqi faniZe gvi pasuxebs rom sxva iyo iq da sxva aris aq, radganac ruseTSi moxda Ziridan Seqmnil i revol ucia da aq ki gareSe Zal ebis mxriv, es mdgomareoba faqtiuri mdgomareobaa da Zal Ta ganwyobil ebis sakiTxs ara scvl is. aq erTi Zal aufl eba, Zal Ta ganwyobil eba gadavida sxvis xel Si da swored namdvil ic rom iyos istoriul ad da faqtiurad is pirvel i gancxadeba, romel - ic aq Cven movi smineT, romel ic ganacxada saqarTvel os mTavrobam da mis damfuZnebel ma krebam, rom mis Semdegac, rodesac mTel i saqarTvel os teritorias is naxavs sxvis xel Si, acxadebs, rom igi ar aris kanonieri da srul ufl ebiani mTavroba, me mgonia, es ar Seexeba arc faqtiur mxares da uxerxul ic iqneba. es iqneba wabaZva ukve im istoriul movl enisa, romel ic dagmobil i aris, ramdenadac me vici, social - demokratiul i mxari- danac. amitom me Zal ian moxarul i viqnebodi, rom SemdegSi movi smino gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom amas droebiti mniSvel oba aqvs da es formul a Secvl il i iqneba.

**svani Ze:** Tqven ukve gamostqviT is rac me mindoda, magram mainc Cem Tavs nebas vaZl ev vil aparako ara marto formal urad, aramed gul axdil ad. gul axdil ad vityvi, rom CemTvis Tavi danve yvel a is, rac gr.I orTqi faniZem Tqva mi si azrTa msvl el oba, srul iad martivi iyo. is gadatrial ebas ar uwodebs imas rac moxda saqarTvel oSi, radganac yve-

I a gadatrial eba gamowveul ia Sinagan Zal ebiT da ara gareSe Zal iT. is ki darwmunebul ia, rom gareSe Zal ebiT moxda es da, radganac namdvil i umravl esoba ar iRebda monawil eobas- is ambobs- iuridiul aT cnoba imisa rac moxda- SeuZl ebel i ariso. amitom I ogikuri daskvna srul iad martivi iyo, rom isini Tavis Tavs scnoben iuridiul da kanonier mTavrobaT. aqedan Cveni mowinaaRmdege mxaristvis cxadi unda yofil - iyo ra daskvna gamodis, e.i. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavroba itovebs mudam ufl ebas da rodesac Sesafer SemTxvevas i povnis Tavs gamoacxadebs mTavrobaT. me mgonia am niuanss, romel ic saWiroT scno gr.I orTqifaniZem araferi axal i ar Seutania, amitom me makvirvebs, rom Cemma megobarma sworeT am niuanss miaqcia yuradReba da ambobs, rom am niuansisagan miuRebel i xdeba es formul ao. es faqtiurad arafers ar cvl is. iuridiul ad aRiareben Tu ar aRiareben Tavis Tavs. imitom rom darwmunebul i brZandebodeT, saqarTvel os demokratiul ma mTavrobam rom aRiaros Tavis Tavi mkvdaraTac, es mas xel s ar SeuSl is Tuki saSual eba eqneba erT dRes Tavis Tavi kanonieraT gamoacxados. ase am niuanss yuradReba ar unda mivaqciOT da Sevudget ise v im SeTanxmebis gzas, romel ic gadaSl is orive mxarisaTvis saSuro sakiTxebS.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** rasac moq. abel i brZanebs srul i simarTl e gaxl avs. rodesac vixmare sityva, es im azriT ki ara, rom Cemi ukanasknel i sityva ansxvavebs Cem mier naTqvams, aramed im redaqqias asworebs, romel ic moraxel aSvil ma gaukeTa Cem winandel naTqvams. me ar minda gavimeoro Cemi debul ebani, imitom rom axal i araferi ar Semoutania Cem ukanasknel sityvas. arsebiTad a.svaniZis daskvna mimaCnia savsebiT sworad. es srul iad xel s ar gviSl is, rom Cven am wuTs ganvagrZoT mol aparakeba. amitom Cemi winadadeba gaxl avT rom ganvagrZoT msj el oba im ukanasknel kiTxvebze, romel zedac me mogaxseneT. aq ar aris iseTnairi dabrkol eba im praqtikul SeTanxmebis sesaxeb, romel - ic Cven miznaT gvaqvs.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me minda es sakiTxi gavanawil o orad. revkomi rogorc mowinaaRmdege mxare, srul iad mi viwyebul ia aq. magram is umTavresi sakiTxi sabWoTa saqarTvel os wyobil ebis aRiareba esec sadaoa Tu ara TqvenTvis. Tqven scnobT Tu ara, rom saqarTvel oSi moxda vTqvaT ara im azriT, rogorc Cven es gvesmis, aramed is, rom saqarTvel om unda SeinarCunos, unda ganaviTaros es wyobil eba, pol itikuri, social isturi sistema sabWoTa wyobil ebisa, amitom me vambob, ramdenadac Tqven axasiaTebT bunebas revkomi sas, rogorc mTavrobisas, romel mac miRo Zal aufl eba, ara organul i Zal Ta ganviTarebis Sedegad, aramed ucxo Zal ebis Semosevis Sedegad. vTqvaT, es ase iyo. amas Tavi davaneboT, radgan amas rasakvirvel ia gansjis istoria imitom, rom sakiTxi Zal Ta ganwyobil l ebisa SeiZl eba Seicval os erTi an meore mxaris sasargebl od. yovel SemTxvevaSi, CvenTvis miuRebel ia, rom meore mxarem ar aRiaros, rom sabWoTa saqarTvel os respubl ika arsebobs dRes, rom es sistema TqvenTvis saval debul oa. Tqven scnobT am sistemas, SeiZl eba bevri koreqtivi iyos Setanil i, SeiZl eba mere davamxoT es sistema, xol o dRes Cven ar SegviZl ian ganvagrZoT baasi, Cven ar SegviZl ian SeTanxmebaze l aparaki Tu ar gvetyviT, ar scnobT, rom dRes sabWoTa saqarTvel o faqtia, mas angariSs uwevT da mas scnobT, e.i. es iqneba erTgvari l egal izacia im sistemisa, romel ic aris saqarTvel oSi. es rasakvirvel ia ar gul isxmobs imas, rom ar SeebrZol ebiT SemdegSi, ideuraT, SeiZl eba faqtiurad am sistemis dasacemad. SeiZl eba Zal ac miRoT momaval Si, es yovel SemTxvevaSi momavli is sakiTxia. es Tqveni pol itikuri Semecnebis sakiTxia axl ac da SemdegSiac, magram dRes ki me vambob, rom revkomiS vinaoba, mi si warmoSoba, mi si Sinagani bunebis daxasiaTeba\_ es CvenTvis mniSvnel obas mokl ebul ia. geTanxmebiT, Tqven ar SegiZl iaT sxvanairad daafasoT, sxvanairad miudget sakiTxs, mxol od vimeoreb es sistema, romel sac gamoxatavs dRes revkomi, e.i. sabWoTa wyobil eba saqarTvel oSi usaTuod (cnobil i S.v.) unda iyos. uamisod me mgoni Cvens Soris SeTanxmeba SeuZl ebel ia.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** nu SeCerdebiT ZiriTad sakiTxe da vibaasoT ise, rogorc Seefereba or mowinaaRmdege j gufs, or mowinaaRmdege magram mosurnes, rom saqarTvel os mtl ianoba dacul i iyos axl ave da Soreul momaval Si. gamovnaxoT erTnairi niadagi, romel zedac SegviZl ian SeTanxmeba, saqarTvel os saRvrebis, saqarTvel os mtl ianobis SesanarCunebl ad.

**Tavmj domare:** me oriode sityvas vityvi, rodesac pirvel aT pativcemul ma grigol im ganacxada teritoriis gadacemis Sesaxeb naxmari iyo, rom sabWoTa saqarTvel os unda gadaeces, es me mgoni es formul a, romel ic aRniSnul i iqneba ufro srul iad Seicavs am Semecnebas da Tu cal ke saWiroT migaCniaT am kiTxvis dasma, es Tqveni neba iqneba.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** me axl a ver gavige, aqvs Tu ara praqtikul i mniSvnel oba im kiT-

xvas, romel ic m.oraxel aSvil ma daayena, me mgonia ara. magram, radganac aseTi kiTxva iyo dayenebul i, me saWiroT mimaCnia gavce pasuxi, saerTod gavce pasuxi im ramdenime kiTxvebs, roml ebic iyo aq dasmul i. pirvel i\_ TiTqo Cven unda vicnoT aucil ebl aT sabWoTa sistema; me meSinia, rom xdeba aq Cven Soris erTgvari aberacia. me mesmis, Tqven es sakiTxi dauyenoT saqarTvel os pol itikur partiebs da maT moel aparakoT, kiTxoT, scnoben Tu ara sabWoTa sistemas,\_ vkiTxoT ra pol itikis gatarebas apireben isini. me amJamaT, rasakvirvel ia, gaxl avar yofil i mmarTvel i partiis wevri, magram mandati partiisa me ara maqvs. me misi saxel iT ver vil aparakeb. xol o Tu es aris mTavrobis mimarT, mas, mTavrobas ar SeuZl ia am kiTxvaze gi pasuxos. kiTxvis ase dayeneba SeiZl eba ruseTSi, sadac komunistur partias aqvs faqtiuraT Zal a. iq SeiZl eba partia da mTavroba identuri iyvnen. iq SeiZl eba aseTi kiTxvis dayeneba mTavrobisTvis samarTl iani da swori iyos. magram aq mTavroba ver gascems imaze pasuxs, rac exeba partias, partiul - pol itikur moRvawebs. amitom me am kiTxvas unda gavurbode, radganac me ufl eba ara maqvs partiebis saxel iT vil aparako. j er faqti ar aris sabWoTa saqarTvel o. j er xal xs monawil eoba ar miuRia mis damyarebaSi da arc arCevnebi yofil a. j er arsebobs revkomTa xel isufl eba, sabWoebi j er mxol od proeqtia. partia romel l sac me vekuTvni, miiRebs, al baT monawil eobas sabWoTa arCevnebiSi. iqneba Cven TqvenTan erTad vicnoT sabWoTa saqarTvel o. esa Tu is damokidebul eba pol itikuri partiisa am sistemasTan, rasakvirvel ia, gamoirkveva. magram amJamaT, rogorc faqts, Cven vcnobT rom faqtiuraT saqarTvel os ganagebs revkomi. me srul iad mwams rom revkomi saqarTvel oSi SemoiRebs sabWoTa sistemas, amas Cven gavigebT da yvel a pol itikuri partiebi da maT Soris social - demokratiul i, daiWeren Tavis damoki debul ebas amis mimarT. me ar vici rogorc. amis Sesaxeb me arc mTavrobis saxel iT, arc partiis saxel iT veras vil aparakeb. me vacxadeb, vawarmoebT mol aparakebas mxol od im kiTxvis Sesaxeb, rac me momando demokratiul i saqarTvel os respubl ikis mTavrobam.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me ganvacxade Tavidanve daviwe da exl ac vimeoreb, rom dipl omatias Cvens Soris ar unda qondes adgil i. l orTqifaniZem ganacxada, rom igi aris mTavrobis warmomadgenel i, misgan gamogzavnil i del egati da ara partiis warmomadgenel i. me mgonia amas swored azis niSani erTgvari dipl omatis ara imitom, rom erTgvari farul i raim azri hqondes (ar ismis) Cven umTavresad vel aparakebiT ara social - demokratiul partias, Tqven xarT warmomadgenel ni im mTavrobisa da ara damfuZnebel i krebis. magram rodesac Tqven amobT ar SeuZl ia mTavrobas raim sistema icnos Tu partia ar miiRebs monawil eobas arCevnebiSi, es me mgonia ar aswevs Cven mol aparakebas. magram vinaidan win aris iseTi sakiTxebi roml is gamorkvevis dros pasuxi am ZiriTad sakiTxze aucil ebl ad saWiro iqneba, me amitom vxzni da amJamad ar vCerdebi am sakiTxze. magram, sanam ar iqneba garkveul i es sakiTxi, Cveni winsvl a ar SeiZl eba. vimeoreb, vinaidan iseTi konkretul i sakiTxebi, roml is pasuxi gul isxmobs pasuxs am mTavar ZiriTad sakiTxze, me SesaZl ebl ad mimaCnia, rom wavide win. gadavideT sxva sakiTxebze, detal ebze. me imedi maqvs rom mowinaaRmdege mxare gascems konkretul pasuxs am mTavar sakiTxze.

**Tavmj domare:** axl andel i es formul a ar scvl is am kiTxvebs?

**oraxel aSvil i:** ara.

**Tavmj domare:** gadavideT sxva kiTxvaze. pirvel i kiTxvis Sesaxeb me mgonia ar aris arc ganacxadeba arc damateba exl a gamorkveul azrze.

Tqven formul as xsniT j er...

**oraxel aSvil i:** vxzni.

**Tavmj domare:** maSasadame, Semdeg gadaval T im kiTxvaze, ramdenaT aucil ebel i da saWiro aris ZiriTadi kiTxvis gamorkveva.

**oraxel aSvil i:** meore sakiTxi gamomdinareobs, aris ganvitareba ZiriTadi sakiTxisa. magal iTad baTumis ol qis sazogadoT im teritoriis, romel ic dRes uWiravs social - demokratiul mTavrobas, am ol qis gadacemas sabWoTa saqarTvel os mTavrobisatvis, rogorc isaxavs mowinaaRmdege mxaris warmomadgenel i. am gadacemas, romel i organo axdens da romel i organo mowinaaRmdege banakisa Rebul obs amas Tavis xel isufl ebis qveS.

**g.l orTqifaniZe:** baTumis kiTxva sdgas ase. es ganzraxva, romel ic aqvs demokratiul mTavrobas, aris iZul ebiTi. iZul ebiTi im garemoebiT, rom am ol qs moel is safrTxe da SesaZl ebel i aris saqarTvel os is mogl ij on xangrZl ivad. CvenTvis es yovl aT miuRebel ia. ai is garemoeba, romel ic Cven gvaizul ebs, rom iq sadac dRemdi Tqven winaaRmdeg, revol uciuri saqarTvel os revkomis winaaRmdeg fronti gvqonda, Cveni xmal i qarqaSSi

CavageT da Tu saWiro iqneba, es xmal i vixmaroT meore adgil as, meore mtris winaaRmdeg. Semdeg unda giTxraT da Cven amis ar gvrxcvenia, rom am brZol aSi damarcxebul i viqnebiT, Tu Cven orive Zal as SevebrZol eT da radganac Cven gvinda baTumi, baTumis ol qi SeinarCunos saqarTvel om, amJamaT saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobam gadaswyvita saqarTvel os teritoriis SesanarCunebl ad likvidacia moaxdin nos am omisa, romel sac is awarmoebdada da axl a awarmoeb. xel i Seuwyos da yovel gvari saSual eba ixmaros, rom ol qi darCes saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi da es teritoria gadaeces im xel isufli ebas, romel ic aq aris dRes warmodgenil i. es aris revkomi. es me mgonia savsebiT gipasuxeT Tqven sakiTxze.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** arsebul i mTavroba saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobaa...

**g.l orTqi faniZe:** saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavroba axdens omis likvidacias da am ol qs Caabarebs revkoms.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** es xdeba dauyobnebl iv.

**gr.l orTqi faniZe:** rogorc Tavidanve mogaxseneT es exl ave xdeba da es gaadvil ebul i iqneba, roca Cven gamovimuSavebT mTel rig SedarebiT wvriil man pirobebs, roml ebsac ara Tu Cven wamovayenebT, aramed romel Ta SemuSavebaSi Tqvenc mogvexmarebiT, magram davumateb Semdegs: sanam TviT es Cabareba Tavis Tavad moxdebodes, warmoebs brZol a, rogorc mogaxseneT, osmal ebTan, Tqveni j ari Cven ukve moviwwieT da yovel nairad xel s vuwyobT, rom Tqveni j ari swrafad mivides baTumSi vinaidan am wams aris sakiTxi am ol qis dacvisa. xval SeiZl eba kiTxva dadges konkretul ad Cabareba- gadacemis Sesaxeb. ase rom pirvel i sakiTxi aris dacva baTumis ol qisa, ris Semdeg Cven SegviZl ian CagabaroT; SeiZl eba Cven mogvixdes TqvenTan erTad osmal ebisgan warTmeva da meoreT Cabareba. es erTi. meore, mxol od damateba ase vTqvaT; aris amasTan dakavSirebul i kiTxvebi. es aris TavisTavad omis likvidacia. aq aris ara marto baTumis kiTxva, baTumis Cabareba, aramed sakiTxi ismis imis Sesaxeb, Tu rogor vaxdenT SeerTebul i j ariT brZol is likvidacias.

**Tavmj domare:** Semdeg ra gindaT wamoayenoT?

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Semdegi kiTxva is aris rom bunebrivia, rasakvirvel ia vikiTxoT, mTavroba noe Jordanas meTaurobiT baTums da ol qis darCenil teritorias abarebs revkoms? es iqneba uzurpacia damfuZnebel krebis ufl ebisa Tu ara? Tumca amas mniSvnel oba ara aqvs da Semdeg rogor warmoudgenia mTavrobas, damfuZnebel krebas? ras uSvreba Tavis Tavs damfuZnebel i kreba? Tqven mTavrobas rogor warmogidgeniaT mTel i saqarTvel os teritoria saqarTvel os revkomis xel Si? Tavis Tavs gaSvebul aT acxadebs, daiSl eba damfuZnebel i kreba? Cven unda gamovarkviorogor moxdeba es\_ revol uciis procesiT, Tu es moxdeba rogorc procesi bunebrivi. ar iciT Tqven, rogorc mTavrobis warmomadgenel ma?

**g.l orTqi faniZe:** me mgonia, es kiTxva, roml is dayenebac Tqven axl a inebeT pirdapiri sagani ar aris Cveni konferenciisa. SeiZl eba is sainteresio iyos, SeiZl eba amaze vibasoT Semdeg, rodesac muSaobas wvyvetT da davisl ebiT, magram pirdapir am sakiTxis xazi\_ Tu rogori ganzraxva aqvs, rogor moimoqmedebs damfuZnebel i kreba, ras izams mTavroba, araviTari praqtikul i kavSiri ara aqvs im kiTxvasTan romel ic aris sagani dRevandel i Cveni konferenciisa.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me mgoni ganyenebul i mniSvnel oba ara aqvs am kiTxvas\_ vin aZl evs baTums da am ol qs danarCen teritorias revkoms, mTavrobas.

**g.l orTqi faniZe:** rasakvirvel ia.

**oraxel aSvil i:** aqvs amis ufl eba?

**l orTqi faniZe:** rom man omi Sewyvit os?

**oraxel aSvil i:** rom omi Sewyvit os da Caabaros baTumi revkoms. Tu mTavrobas ufl eba ara aqvs es kiTxva sabol ood gadawyvit os, al baT es Seadgens ufl ebas uzenaesi organosi- damfuZnebel i krebisa da Tu es asea, damfuZnebel i kreba rogor axdens am teritoriis datovebas, omis likvidacias da teritoriis gadacemas ukanasknel i damcvel ebisadmi. am teritoriis gadacemas mowinaaRmdege mTavrobis xel Si, me vambob yvel a Tqveni naTqvamid an rac brZaneT: Tqveni naTqvamid an gamomdinareobs, rom damfuZnebel ma krebam an misgan gamosul ma mTavrobam raime kanonieri faqtiT\_ dekl araciit an dekretiT gamoaqveynos amis Sesaxeb. ramdenadac me gavige, amas adgil i ar eqneba. maSin rogor moxdeba am teritoriis gadmocema, vin moaxdens am teritoriis gadmocemas. vimeoreb, SeiZl eba perspeqtiva damekarga, magram amas mWidro kavSiri aqvs ZiriTad kiTxvebTan, scnoobs Tu ara saqarTvel os mTavrobas.

**Tavmj domare:** me mgonia rom naTqvami iyo mTavrobis warmomadgenl is mxriv, rom imis gamo rom Sei qna aseTi mdgomareoba saqarTvel oSi, saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavroba izul ebul i xdeba raki imas dRes uxdeba orive mxareze brZol a, is arCevs erT mxares da im teritorias, romel ic imis xel isuflebis qveS imyofeba da dRes gadascems revolucionur komitets. amas scadis mTavroba da... angariSs miscems damfuZnebel kreb- bas, rom igi izul ebul i Sei qna aseTi gadacema moexdina, radganac SeuZl ebel i iyo br- Zol is gagrZel eba... rac Seexeba imas, Tu ramdenad konstituciuri iqneba am mTavrobis moqmedeba, me, ramdenadac vici, SeiZl eba vcdebode, romel ime teritoriis gadacema, omis dawyeba, omis gaTaveba, es aris damfuZnebel i krebis prerogativa. ramdenadac me mesmis, mTavroba yovel Tvis unda SeekiTxos mas. Cven rodesac mTavrobas vel aparakebiT, Cven ar SegviZl ia misi Zal aufl eba SevamciroT da vuTxraT, rom mTavrobas ara aqvs ufl eba esa Tu is aqti moaxdinos. amitom mTavroba aris pasuxismgebel i damfuZnebel i krebis winaSe, es imis saqme iqneba Tu ramdenaT agebs is pasuxs. Cven dRes vel aparakebiT mTavrobas. Tu mTavroba mis gancxadebaSi ramenairaT motivebiT ar daasabuTebis Tavis gancxadebas, rom gadascems Tavis teritorias revolucionur komitets, Cvenis mxriT es dasakmayofil ebl ad migvaCnia. mgonia, pativcemul l orTqifaniZis gancxadebaSi gamo- sWvivoda esa. Tu es asea, me piradad sakmarisad mi maCnia, rom mTavroba Tavis gancxadebaSi izul ebul ad grZnobs Tavis Tavs, emorCil eba Zal as da ambobs: `raki amas moiTxovs saerTo interesebi saqarTvel os mTl ianobisa- axl a...

**oraxel aSvil i:** me vcvl i Cem sakiTxs. aq ar yofil a naTqvami, rom mTavroba acxadebs, Tu ra formiT xdeba darCenil i teritoriis gadacema, ra formiT xdeba vici da ra ufl eba aqvs, vici ra mosazreba aqvs, vici SeuZl ia sTqvas am sakiTxis Sesaxeb, mxol od rogor xdeba am omis l ikvidacia, ra formiT amis pasuxi gvinda gvqondes.

**gr.l orTqifaniZe:** saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavroba xsnis Tavis fronts, romel ic mimarTul ia sabWoTa jarebis winaaRmdeg, scl is im teritorias, romel ic mas uWiravs. icavs mas meore mxridan, xel s uwyobs sabWoTa jarebs da uadvil ebs maT, rom es terito- ria daiWiron. SeiZl eba dResve moxsnas es fronti da imave dros daicavs am teritorias, (sanam es saWi ro iqneba mesame Zal istvis). ai aseTia praqtikul i gzebi da saSual ebebi omis l ikvidaciis moxdenisa.

**Tavmj domare:** aq kiTxva ismis, rogorc me mesmis, ra gamoTqmas mi iRebs es, iqneba igi daweril i Tu naTqvami.

**g.l orTqifaniZe:** me vfiqrob rom, suyvel a kiTxvebi, yvel a am SeTanxnebis Sesaxeb, rasakvirvel ia daiwereba da sworeT maSin SegviZl ia vil aparakoT amis redaqciaze.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me dakmayofil ebul i var.

**Tavmj domare:** maS gnebat ganvagrZoT Tu kidev aris rame aseTi kiTxva, me mgoni sakiTxi arsebitad gamorkveul i aris.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** ukanasknel i gancxadeba Seicavs mTavar moments, rom saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavroba scl is am teritorias, uTmobs mas revolucionur komitets da xel s uwyobs am mTl ianobis dacvaSi samxreTi frontis mimarTul ebiT. sTvl is Tu ara saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis warmomadgenel i SesaZl ebl ad, rom fronti moix- snas sworeT samxreTidan, vinaidan amas mniSvnel oba eqneba mxol od im safrTxis asac- il ebl d, romel ic moel is dRes baTumis ol qs, vinaidan angoris mTavrobis j aris ufrosi, Tu gind karabeqiri angariSs gauwevs imas, rom mis winaaRmdeg samxreTis xazze iqneba wiTel i j aris. SesaZl ebl ad migaCniaT Tu ara aseTi kiTxvis dasma, rom dRes magal iTad im xazze, romel ic samxreTIT arsebobs, qemal is wiaaRmdeg, iqneba wiTel i j aris SeCerebul i?

**gr.l orTqifaniZe:** me es mimaCnia savsebiT SesaZl ebl ad da mizanSewonil ad. xol o me Tu mogaxseneT rom am fronts vicavT, es iyo teqniki sakiTxi, vinaidan Tqveni j arebi unda Sevidnen iq sufsidan. ara imitom, rom baTumSi darCnen, aramed samxreTIT gadavidnen. Tu mogaxsenebT, rom `droebiT icavs-, es imitom rom mdgomareoba moiTxovs amas, saWi ro aris rom wavides wiTel i j aris da idges samxreTisaken.

**Tavmj domare:** me ase gavige da rodesac gr.l orTqifaniZe brZanebs, rom Cveni mTavro- ba am teritoriis gadacemaSi xel s Seuwyobs am safrTxis asacdenad, es imas ni Snavs, rom am mxriT Zal as mouwodebs, romel ic uzrunvel yofs baTumis ol qs.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me sul sxva azri vsTqvi, SeiZl eba is j aris, romel ic sufsidan midis, SeiZl eba es j aris TandaTan win wavides da moedos am ol qs. me did mniSvnel obas vaZl ev imas, rom es j aris pirvel rigSi dadges qemal is winaaRmdeg, ara imitom, rom brZol a gaaCaRos, aramed imitom rom is ufro SeaCerebs qemal is Zal ebs, vidre saqarTvel os re-

spubl ikis j arebi.

**Tavmj domare:** me darwmunebul i var, rom pativ. mowinaaRmdegeni afaseben imas, rom qemal istebma wamoiwia saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg imitom ki ara, rom saqarTvel os j arebs ar sTvl ida magar damcvel ad, aramed formal urad ufro xel gaSl il i iqneba qemal i. Cven viciT imis gancxadeba, rom is aSkarad wava, aSkarad oms gamoucxadeb saqarTvel os. rac Seexeba wiTel armias, SeiZl eba amaSi Seyoymandes qemal i. amis magal iTi gvqonda Cven axal cixeSi da ardaganSi da is xel Sekrul eba, romel ic ukve arsebobs da romel ic faqtiurad qemal s Setyobil i aqvs, me mgoni xel s SeuSl is. amitom me sixarul s vacxadeb imis Sesaxeb, rom faqtiurad saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs es kiTxva aSkarad miaCniaT.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** erTi sakiTxi kidev. Tqven SesaZl ebl ad migaCniaT, rom magal iTad umtkivneul od Caiaros saqarTvel oSi arsebul i j aris ganiaraRebam, rasakvirvel ia, ara damamcirebel i formiT, rogorc es xdeba aramed roca Cven wiTel i j aris Seqmnas vaRiarebT da arsebul i j aris daSl as, e.i. CamoarTmeven iaraRs arsebul j ars da Seqmnan axal j ars sul sxva niadagze. Tqven SegiZl iaT dagvpirdeT, rom umtkivneul od Caivl is es ganiaraReba Tu Cven j ars aqedan movxsniT, wamoviyvanT da CamovarTmevT iaraRs da dauyovnebl iv SevudgebiT saqarTvel os wiTel i j aris Seqmnas, vinaidan ukve gvecodineba, rom Cven ukve gamovacxadeT demobil izacia armisa da gvardiis da Sevud-eqiT nawil obriv mainc saqarTvel os wiTel i j aris Seqmnas. sanam es mTavari sakiTxi baTumis dacvis da misi SerCenis Sesaxeb gadaWril iqneba, SesaZl ebel ia, rom am j arma umtkivneul od daiwyos Cveni brZanebis Tanaxmad [gadaadgil eba S.v.] im punqtebze, romel sac Cven mivuTiTebT da iq Cagvabaros iaraRi. Tumca es sakiTxi ar Seadgens Cveni mol aparakebis ZiriTad punqts. magram sasurvel i aris gavigoT mTavrobis azri daaxl oebiT mainc. SesaZl ebl ad sTvl iT, rom iol aT da advil aT Caiaros am ganiaraRebam?

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** unda mogaxsenoT rom es kiTxva, me Seswavl il i ara maqvs da verc getyviT danamdvil ebiT. mTavrobis survil i, cda da imedi iseTia, rom es umtkivneul od moxdes.

**oraxel aSvil i:** aq demobil izacia ar aris, aq aris Zvel i j aris daSl a.

**I orTqi faniZe:** Cven mas dauZaxeT demobil izacia, Tqven daSl as eZaxiT. me mgoni es advil ad Caivl is. aq Cveni special isti gaxl avT. amis Sesaxeb me imas movel aparakebi da mogcemT pasuxs.

**oraxel aSvil i:** j aris daSl a, misi kuTvnil i samxedro iaraRis, samxedro qonebis Cabareba SesaZl ebel ia umtkivneul od iqnes? SeuZl ia mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs gaiTval iswinon is pirobebi, romel Siac moxdeba ganiaraReba? am mxriv Tqven SegiZl iaT sTqvaT, saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavroba xel is SemSl el i ar iqneba, piriqiT es moxdeba mTavrobis daxmarebiT?

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** rodesac Tqven brZanebT es gul isxmobs erT garkveul formas, magram SesaZl ebel ia, rom es j aris, vidre Tqven frontze movides, Cven davSal oT.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Tuki SevTanxmdiT, rom TqvenTan erTad vicavT baTums?

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** saWiroa winaswar vicodeT erTad miVdivarT Tu Tavis Tvisad, Tu Tqven midixarT marto, Tu Tqven erT nawil s icavT da Cven vicavT meores, es sul sxva mdgomareobas qmnis; winaswar unda uZRodes mTel i rigi gadawyvetil ebebisa da Cven savsebiT imedi gvaqvs, rom am mxriv es iqneba srul iad umtkivneul od. da Tu Tqven gul isxmobT, rom Tqven j ars gadmogcemT ara mosaxmarebl ad, aramed kapitul aciisTvis, amas Cveni mTavroba uarhyofs, Tu Tqven gindaT, rom CagabaroT j aris, mxol od imitom rom iaraRi ahyaroT.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** ara, saxl Si gavuSvebT.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** Tu Cven erTad vibrZviT, ra formiT? es winaswar unda iyves naTq-vami. rogor iqneba es praqtikul ad, iqneba es daSl a Tu demobil izacia, es aris teqnikuri kiTxva.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** aq aris darTul i meore sakiTxi saxel mwi fo qonebis Sesaxeb. mTavroba am sferoSi pasuxismgebel ia im qonebis, im samxedro samkaul ebis, im samxedro qonebis, romel ic dRes dafantul ia baTumis ol qSi da sxva im teritoriaze, romel ic dRes ukavia saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobas. amis pasuxismgebel ia mTavroba, ara formal urad, rasakvirvel ia me am kiTxvas viZl evi; moxdeba Tu ara umtkivneul od im procesis Catareba, romel ic dakavSirebul ia j aris daSl asTan, is qoneba romel ic aqvs j ars. saqme imaSia, rom SeiZl eba samxedro qoneba j ars ar hqondes Tan, SeiZl eba es iyos sxva sawyobebSi da ai am mxriv Tuki Cven SevTanxmdebiT, im sakiTxebSi, rom mTavroba

iRebs xel s, rom baTumis ol qSi Cven mier dakavebul i iqnes es qoneba, Tu aq araviTari xel SeSI a ar iqneba, sul advil ia pasuxi meore sakiTxze, rom rasakvirvel ia, mTel i is samxedro qoneba, romel ic aqvs j ars xel T da sxva qoneba, romel ic aris sawyobebSi gadaecema am organos, romel ic Seudgeba wiTel i j aris mowyobas. me mgonia Tqven amaze pasuxi unda momceT.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** Tu jari rCeba, rogorc jari da Tqven gankargul ebaSi gadadis, Tavis Tavadi gul isxmeba, rom im jarsac dagil ocavT mTavroba da mis kuTvnil iaraR-sac, ara mar to kuTvnil , sxvasac, magram unda moaxsenoT ramdenad SeiZI eba aucil ebel i iyos is arasasurvel i da mizanSeuwonel i forma, romel sac sazogadoT Rebul obs yovel i ganiaraReba.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me amowwure Cemi kiTxvebi.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** me mgoni SeTanxmeba ukve moxda.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me mgonia SeTanxmeba ukve moxda. SesaZI ebel ia SevudgeT winaswar mol aparakebas, visaubroT, Semdeg SevimuSaoT pirvel i moTxovnil eba da davudoT es safuZvl ad.

**al .dgebuaZe:** kiTxva qonebis Sesaxeb Cven dawvril ebiT ar gvaqvs Seswavi li i da Semdeg mogcemT Cven erT mTI ian pasuxs.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** es mxol od win uZRodes gadawyvetil ebas j aris daSI is Sesaxeb.

**al .dgebuaZe:** Tavis Tavadi cxadia, arc gvardia, arc jari ar iarsebebs, mxol od ra formiT da ra rigaT moxdeba am j aris daSI a, iaraRis gadacema, amis Sesaxeb Cveni del egaciis SegniT movil aparakebT da Semdeg mogaxsenebT.

**Tavmj domare:** me amis Tqma mindoda, me srul iad ar minda es sityva vixmaro, rom damarcxebul ad gamovaxcaxdo meore mxare. aq sakmaod iyo naTqvami, rom Sei qmneba iseTi pirobebi, iseTi koniunqtura, saqarTvel os mTavroba TviTon afasebs am mdgomareobas da aqedan gamomdinareobs ra darCena saqarTvel os mTI ianobisa da mTavari interesisa, ganacxadebs, rom izul ebul i xdeba moaxdinis teritoriis gadacema, j aris damorCil eba. mec piradad ara maqvs naTI ad warmodgenil i Tu ranairad moxdeba es. Tavistavadi cxadia, Tu orive j arma, wiTel ma armiam da saqarTvel os j arma unda daicvan baTumi da misi ol qi, izul ebul i xdeba, es teritoria gadasces axal Zal as da aq rasakvirvel ia droebiT daemorCil eba im l aSqaRTa ufrosebs, roml ebiC aq awarmoeben brZol as e.i. wiTel i j aris ufrosebs. jari mTel i Tavisi qonebiT gadava mis gankargul ebaSi da Semdeg moxdeba am j aris daSI a, an ra pirobebsi, me mgonia amis gaTval iswi neba gagvi Znel de-ba. aseTi special uri codna ara maqvs amis Sesaxeb. me mgonia sakmarisi iqneba dRes gamovaxcaxdoT, rom radganac saqarTvel os demokratiul ma mTavrobam gadasca Tavisi teritoria, Tavis samxedro Zal ebs daemorCil ebs im l aSqaRTa ufrosebs, romel ic sargas wiTel i armiis saTaveSi, amis aRiareba me sakmarisad mi maCnia. rac Seexeba danarCen kiTxvebs, ra pirobebsi moxdeba saqarTvel os j aris ganiaraReba, rom sxva niadagze davayenoT saqarTvel os j arebis mowyoba, es sxva kiTxvebia, amis gamourkvevl oba ar SeuSI is xel s Cven SeTanxmebas.

**dgebuaZe:** is kiTxva, romel ic Tqven wamoayeneT, Zal ian rTul ia da ase ucbaT Cven pasuxs ver mogcemT. Cven vl aparakobT, rom saqarTvel os interesebi moiTxovs, rom wiTel - ma j arma da j arma demokratiul i respubl ikisam daicvas saqarTvel os teritoria, rom es jari gadaeces erT xel mZRvanel s, romel ic aris am SemTxvevaSi wiTel i armiisa. magram reformaSi, ra pirobebsi, es CvenTvis sadao kiTxvaa vis gadaecema es jari da sxva. yvel a am sakiTxebze ase ucbaT pasuxs ver gagcemT, maSasadame kiTxva gadaecema Tu ar gadaecema Cveni jari Tqven sardl obas, Tu gadaecema ra pirobebsi, ra pirobebsi moxdeba Cveni j aris ganiaraReba, Cven es sakiTxebi imdenaT rTul ad migvaCnia, rom Cven erTmaneTs Soris unda movaxdinoT mol aparakeba da mxol od amis Semdeg mogaxsenebT pasuxs.

**Tavmj domare:** Tqven saWiroT migvaCniaT, rom es sakiTxi exl ave gamoirkves?

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Tanaxma var gadaidos, radganac gadawyvetil ia saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier, rom mTel i teritoria gadadis revkomis xel isufl ebaSi, samxedro moqmedeba swarmoebs im mizniT, rom baTumi da misi ol qi darCes saqarTvel os fargl ebsi da am procesSi demokratiul i mTavroba ara Tu ar ewinaaRmdegeba revkoms, piriqit exmareba mas da ul ocavs dakavebul teritorias. me mgonia sakiTxis aseTi gadawyvetil eba ukve swyvets j aris sakiTxis. jari rasakvirvel ia gadadis sardl obis gankargul ebaSi, aq sakiTxi gamorkveul ia.

**al .dgebuaZe:** mxol od me erTi ram unda ganvaxcaxdo: teritoriis gadacema kidev ar niSnavs imas, rom Cven j ars uTuod Tqveni sardl obis gankargul ebaSi gadavcemT.

**al .svaniZe.** mas Semdeg rac principial ur kiTxvebze Cven Soris SeTanxmeba moxda, erTgvari `perel omi- ukve faqtia da am `perel oms- amasTan kidev Tavis mxriv gansakuTrebul i Sedegi aqvs. e.i. Cven mowinaaRmdege mxaresTan ki ar gvaqvs saqme, aramed iseT pirebTan, romel nic CvenTan erTad dainteresebul ni arian ama Tu im miznis ganxorciel ebaSi. saxel dobr, baTumis ol qis CvenTvis SenarCunebaSi. maSasadame, kiTxva Teoriul i sferodan, pirdapir praqtikul sferoSi gadadis da aseTi kiTxva amistanafarTo wreSi ar SeiZl eba gadawydes. me srul iad veTanxmebi moq. dgebuazEs, rom es sakiTxi gadaeces samxedro special istebs, isini SeimuSaveben, rogor mizanSewonil ad moaxdinon am sakiTxis mowyoba, rogori `grupirovka- moaxdinon, erTad dai cvan Tu ara, yvel a am sakiTxebS SeimuSaveben special istebi, warmoudgenen Cven konferencias da Cven an dasturs davadebT, an Sesworebas Sevitant. me mgonia, amis garda erTi principul i kiTxva darCa. winaT me aRvniSne, rom gansxvaveba arsebobs iuridiul i da praqtikul mxareTa Soris. maSin me ar meCveneba mniSvnel ovan kiTxvad is iuridiul i mxare, romel - sac xazs usvamda moq. gr.I orTqifaniZe, romel mac SeiZl eba erTgvari uTanxmoeba gamoiwvios Tu Sesafer pasuxs ar miviRebT. magram im qonebis Sesaxeb, Tuki faqtiurad Tqven gadascemT saxel mwifo qonebas revkoms, maSin xom sakiTxi amowurul i iqneba. Tqven Tavs aRar scnobT SemZl ebl ad, rogorc iuridiul i matarebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivi ufl ebisa, Tuki rom Tqven aiReT is qoneba, romel ic gatanil i iyo saqarTvel os romel ime nawil Si da CaabareT revolucionur komitets.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** iuridiul aT rasakvirvel ia, demokratiul i mTavroba ar scnobs Tavs val debul ad, rom raime qoneba sxvas gadasces. es imas ar ni Snavs, rom is faqtiurad ar miscems, ar gadascems raime qonebas, es Teoriul i sakiTxia, Cven ki gvaqvs mTel i rigi faqtebisa, Cven am sferoSi sul faqtebis sferoSi varT.

**Tavmj domare:** dakmayofil ebul i var.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me xazs vusvam Cven SeTanxmebaSi araviTar princips adgil i ara aqvs, aq I aparakia samxedro qonebaze, am kiTxvaSi SeTanxmeba unda moxdes. Cven vambobT ara imitom, rom iuridiul ad Tqven Tavisufal i xarT an ara xarT Tavisufal ni, gankargul eba moaxdinoT am qonebis Sesaxeb, aramed faqtiurad Cveni mxare aris msurvel i, rom raki wiTel i jaris Sedgenas SevudgebiT, mTel i iaraRi da samxedro qoneba, romel ic axl a baTumis ol qSi aris, unda daubrundes ara revkoms, rogorc aseTs, aramed darCes am teritoriaze SeiZl eba droebiT saSvil iSvil oT ar daitoveba, Cven vdebT am xel Sekrul ebas, Cven moviTxovT, rom yvel a is qoneba, romel ic dRes Tqveni mTavrobis gankargul ebaSi a, gadavides Cven xel T da darCes saqarTvel os teritoriaze. amaSi araviTari normebis, araviTari principebis aRiarebas adgil i ar eqneba.

**Tavmj domare:** es kiTxva amowurul ia, Tqven gnebat Tu ara amis Sesaxeb cal ke TaTbiri iqonioT am ukanasknel i sakiTxis Sesaxeb, Tu migaCniaT is rac ukve moxda, radganac Cven ar vekidebiT arc erTi mxare, rom es iuridiul formebsi moxda. Tu saWi rod migaCniaT viTaTbiroT am kiTxvis Sesaxeb. Tqven, rasakvirvel ia, srul i neba gaqvT es moiTxovoT, Cven Tanaxma viqnebiT.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** Cveni da Tqveni survil i aris, rom Cven Soris moispas omi. srul iad bunebrivia, rom moispas SesaZl ebl oba raime meorenairi formiT am omis gagrZel ebis. e.i. samoqal aqo omad gadaqcevisa, radganac Tqven brZanebT jaris gadmocemaze da daSl aze, es Tqveni sqmea rogor daSl iT. yovel SemTxvevaSi Cveni saqme iqneba, rom saqarTvel os yvel a moqal aqes, iqneba es pol itikuri moRvawe... samxedro piri, an saertod saxel mwifo moRvawe, mosamsaxure,... am pirt ar CaeTval os danaSaul aT warsul Si is, rac moxda. isini Tavisufal ni arian yovel gvari pasuxismgebl obisgan, rasakvirvel ia, ara sisxl is samarTl is, aramed im pasuxismgebl obisgan, romel ic pirdapir dakavSirebul ia pol itikur moRvaweobasTan, samxedro administraciul samsaxurTan, raic Tavis Tavad Cvenc gvaal ebs da Cveni mxritac gadavdgiT saTanado nabij ebi. Cven gvyavs dpatimrebul i Tqveni megobrebi. saWi roa saurtierTo amnistia. es termini Tumca am sakiTxs savsebiT ar Seefereba, magram Cven vTxoul obT, rom aseTnairi muxl i aucil ebl ad iyos Setanil i SeTanxmebaSi. iqneba es sakiTxi ainteresebs moqal aqe oraxel aSvil s? unda davzinoT isic, rom baTumSi aris erTi mxrit dpatimrebul i nawil i Tqveni pol itikuri megobrebisa da amxanagebisa, meore mxrit arian gaqceul i I tol vil ebi, romel Ta Sesaxeb me mogaxseneT radio tel egrafiT. maT Sesaxeb unda iyos aRniSnul i, rom isini srul iad Tavisufal ad ubrundebian Tav- Taviant sacxovrebel adgil ebs da saWi ro iqneba aRiniSnos xel Sekrul ebaSi, rom I tol vil ebis sakiTxi sazogadoT ispoba da amisi garrantia, sasurvel ia gamoacxados revol uciurma komitetma xel Sekrul ebaSi.



**Tavmj domare:** amis Sesaxeb unda mogaxsenoT, Tu gaxsoVT, rodesac Cemi mondobil obis qaRal di iqna wakiTxul i, iq sabWoTa mTavrobam me aseTi daval eba momca, aq xazi aqvs gasmul i, rom saqarTvel oSi moispas am or Zal Ta ara Tu omi, aramed,... moqal aqeobrivi omi, radganac Cven ukve ganvicadeT ruseTSi sakmaod da viciT, rom es moqal aqeobrivi omi aTasj er ufro damRupvel ia, vidre gareSe Zal asTan. ami tom es kiTxva, rasakvirvel ia, unda daisvas Cven Soris da yovel ive zomebi unda miViRoT, rom aramec Tu es exl andel i Setakeba unda moispas Cven Soris, aramed meti Zal a da Rone unda gamoviCinoT, rom es moqal aqeobrivi omi, romel ic ufro damRupvel i iqneba saqarTvel oSi vidre, sadac es moqal aqeobrivi omi xdeboda, movspoT. amis mondobil oba me mqonda. erTs mxares me ukve movel aparake da unda siamovnebiT aRvniSno, rom SevTanxmdiT suyvel a pol itikur moRvaweeps, saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebs, yvel a moxel eeps, rasakvirvel ia, saSual eba eZl evaT darCnen saqarTvel os teritoriaze, Seudgnen Tavis saqmes, zogma miiRos monawil eoba saqarTvel os saqmeebSi da erTi sityviT, imis garantia iqneba micemul i, rom uzrunvel yofil i iqneba darCenil i maTi sicocxl e da piradi qoneba. me piradad saWirod mimaCnia am muxl is Setana.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** sainformaci od mogaxsenebT: j er Cven Tbil isSi ar viyaviT Camosul i, Tumca vicodiT ra moxda, ra bedi ewia Cven amxanagebs, ra barbarosoba Cai dines maT mimarT. Cven ukve dekreti SemuSavebul i gvqonda. neba mi boZeT wavikiTxo (kiTxul obs). rasakvirvel ia, Tqven ar daeTanxnebiT am dekretis dasabuTebas. yovel SemTxvevaSi misi mTavari azria amnistia yvel a im partieb is, j gufepis da kerZo pirebis, roml ebic aqtiurad awarmoebdnen brZol as sabWoTa Zal aufl ebis winaaRmdeg. Cven radio gadmoveciT aq, rasakvirvel ia, rom Zal aSi rCeba es amnistia im j aris da mTavrobis moxel eebis mimarT, romel nic ganagrZoben brZol as baTumSi da axl o mdebare teritoriaze. Tqven SekiTxvaze me gi pasuxebT, araviTari yoymani ar gveqneba am sakiTxSi `srul i amnistia j ariskacebs, oficrebs, generl ebs, mTavrobis, damfuZnebel i krebis, yvel a im j gufepis da kerZo pirebis, romel nic dRes Cven mowinaaRmdege banakSi imyofebian, srul i amnistia. magram ar dagimal avT piradad Cems azrs, rasakvirvel ia, Tqven rom brZaneT, Tuki es ar aris sisxl is samarTI is xasiaTis damnaSave `уголовного характер`- ai magal iTad dRes me gadmomces, rom dauvretiaT sami Cveni amxanagi, ai es iseTi SemTxvevaa, rasakvirvel ia Cven ar viqceviT am garemoebaSi kediaT, romel ic CvenSi simbol o iyo mdevnel Ta reJimisa. kedia ar iqneba dasj il i, arc sxva vinme administraciul i piri, magram im administracias romel mac gamoiyvana Cveni amxanagebi baTumSi gasagzavnad da daxvrita, Cven ver CavTvl iT im pirTa kategoriaSi, romel Tac exebaT amnistia. amis pasuxismgebel i ar aris Tqveni mTavroba, es ar aris saxel mZRvanel o meTodi imis brZol isa da amaSi ar vadebT imas bral s, es aris eqces i, es aris erTgvari xul ignoba, romel ic ar SegviZl ia uyuradRebod davtovoT. magram vimeorebT, saerTo wesi, garda am gamonakl isisa aris srul i amnistia. moxda iseTi gaugebari faqti, rom gamoiyvanes es Cveni amxanagi p... da daxvrites. Tqveni reJimi ar iyo am eqscesebis matarebel i, vimeoreb, rom menSevikuri mTavroba Cven gvdevnida, magram iyo erTi ori gamonakl isi, rom daxvrites aseTi wesiT: gaiqca, waiqca...

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** es faqtia?

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** ramdenadac me vici es faqtia. yovel SemTxvevaSi vacxaedeb, Tu es namdvil i faqtia, es aris sisxl is samarTI is xasiaTis faqti, danarCen SemTxvevaSi srul i amnistia iqneba.

**I orTqi faniZe:** es marTal ia, rom aseTi radio iyo, magram me msurs Semovitano aseTi winadadeba. es gaxl avT cal mxrivi aqti. sasurvel i iqneboda, rom yovel ive aqac yofil - iyo gameorebul i, radganac ormxrivi aqtis miReba samoqal aqo simSvi des Sei tanda Cvens cxovrebaSi.

**oraxel aSvil i:** usaTuod unda iyos Setanil i, magram roca Tqven ambobT or mxriT amnistas, Cven ar gi pasuxebT... Tqven gyavT Cveni amxanagebi, araviTar krints ar davZravT\_ srul i amnistia, rasakvirvel ia, es principal urad ukve gadawyvetil ia.

**Tavmj domare:** me saWirot mimaCnia, miuxedavad imisa, rom es ukve gamovida revkomis saxel iT, cal ke muxl aT unda iyos Setanil i.

**oraxel aSvil i:** aq sweria 25 Tebervl amde. aucil ebl ad unda SevitanoT kerZo muxl i.

**Tavmj domare:** es Cven xel Sekrul ebaSi unda SevitanoT. me amnistiaT ar mimaCnia, Seuracyofa iqneba rom amiT daviwyoT, ami tom unda vsTqvaT xel Seuxebel i iqneba yvel a is, vinc am brZol aSi, am SetakebaSi Careul i aris. aq SeiZl eba CamovTval oT wevrebi, partiis wevrebi, j ariskacebi da sxva.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** SeiZl eba SevitanoT erTgvari koreqtivi, Tu ara.

**S.el iava:** arafeTi maqvs sawinaarmdego, rom SevitanoT rac aq iyo naTqvami. yvel a samxedro piri vinc iyo wayvanil i Cven gavuSviT, yvel a Tavis saxl Si wavida.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** Cven gvaqvs cnoba, TiTqo oficrebi ar iyvnen gaSvebul ni.

**S.el iava:** iyo iseTi SemTxveva, rom erTi j gufi oficrebisa Cven daukiTxavad gagzavnil i iyo baqoSi, me piradaT gankargul eba miveci, rom es j gufi dabrunebul i yofil iyo Tbil isSi.

**g.I orTqi faniZe:** Semdegi kiTxva j aris Sesaxeb; Cven gvinda iyos naTqvami, rom Cven migvaCnia daTmobaT is SeTanxmeba, romel ic aris. Cven gvinda survil i gamovsTqvaT, rom ruseTis j aris, roca SesaZl ebel i... da mosaxerxebel i iqneba gayvanil i iqnas aqedan, Cven pirobebSi ar Segvaqvs rogori j aris unda SeqmnaT, magram Cven migvaCnia saWirot, rom es garemoeba aRniSnul i iqnas.

**Tavmj domare:** magis Sesaxeb Cven gvqonda l aparaki. ramdenadac maxsovs, aseTi azri iyo gamoTqmul i, roca SesaZl ebel i iqneba, roca saqarTvel os eyol eba Tavis sauksTari Zal ebi, iseTi Zal ebi roml ebic SeZl eben droebiT mainc gareSe safrTxidan daixsnan saqarTvel o da iseTi aucil ebel i saWiroteba ar iqneba ruseTis j arebis aq yofna isic mxol od sazRvrebSi, es ruseTis j arebi gayvanil i iqnebian.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** rasakvirvel ia, es xom ar aris ubral o dapireba, rom saqarTvel os wiTel i j aris Seqmna gadawyvetil ia. Cven ar vdebT vadas, Cven ar SegviZl ia xval ve SevqmnaT j aris, magram kidevac rom xval SevqmnaT, aqedan kidev rom giTxraT es, Tqven ar daij erebT, obieqturi pirobebi, rogorc gareSe, ise Sinauri gvaiZul eben Cven, rom es wiTel i j aris j erjerobiT aq iyves, rodesac Cven saqarTvel oSi gveyol eba sakuTari l aSqari, rasakvirvel ia, ruseTis j ars waviyvanT, mogaSorebT. yovel SemTxvevaSi, rodesac Seqmnil i iqneba wiTel i j aris, ruseTis j aris uTuod iqneba dabrunebul i ruseTsi. magram Tqven rom ambobT dRes SeitaneT xel Sekrul ebaSi es muxl io, Cven ar SegviZl ian dResve ganuxxadoT wiTel j ars\_ Tqven gagiyvanT aqedan, rom davadginoT es, Tqven TviTon dameTanxmebiT, rom es uxerxul oba iqneba. SeiZl eba erTi wl is Semdeg ar daisvas es sakiTxi, j er kidev ar aris Seqmnil i, rom ruis j aris Cven Camovicil oT. rasakvirvel ia Cven pirvel SeZl ebisTanave ruis j ars gaviyvanT, magram dRes CvenTvis es miuRebel ia, Cven ar SegviZl ia dResve ganvacxadoT, rom usaTuod gaviyvanT ruis j ars, magram Tavistavad igul isxmeba, rogorc Seiqmneba Sinauri l aSqari, Cven ukve mol aparakeba gvqonda amis Sesaxeb. ruseTis j aris aq aRar gveyol eba. magram vimeoreb, aq amis aRnusxva xel Sekrul ebaSi Cven yovl ad miuRebl ad migvaCnia.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** Cven gvinda meore survil i gamovTqvaT, gvinda rom qarTvel ma moqal aqem samxedro begara moixados saqarTvel oSie.

**Tavmj domare:** es esec iqneba, Tu sasurvel ia SevwyvitoT axl a sxdoma xval amdi.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** sasurvel ia baTums mivceT pasuxi samxedro special istebs move- l aparakoT, rogorc cans, Cven sxvadasxva kiTxvebSi ukve SevTanxmdiT. xval Zal ian adre daviwyoT. winaswar movil aparakoT, erTi meoris azri gavigoT, gaukeToT redaqcia im gancxadebas, romel ic nawil - nawil iyo gamomuSavebul i. suyvel a sakiTxebi, Tu amas inebebT, Tu ara da Cven movitanT Cvens redaqcias da Tqven mas SeasworebT. maSin Cven adre gavaTavebT saqmes da SeiZl eba dRes Tu ara, xval mainc SevatyobinoT pasuxi baTums.

**Tavmj domare:** me mgonia sakmarisi iqneba, Tumca es dadgenil eba rogorc Sedegi Cveni mol aparakebisa, ar migviri, me darwmunebul i var xval Cven amas Camovayal ibebT dadgenil ebis formiT. amitom me vambob, raki baTumi gekiTxebaT, sakmarisia acnobot is, raSi ac Cven SevTanxmdiT. xval dil idanve daviwyoT mecadi neoba, Tu Cven dadgenil ebas mi vi RebT, saSval eba mogvecema, rom pasuxi gadasceT baTums.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** radganac naCqarevad unda wavides erTi eSel oni Tqveni j arisa, ar aris sasurvel i, rom es j aris Sevides sofel Si, idges iq, adgil i qondes imas rac xdeba sxva adgil ebSi ac. amis garda, rom mova erTi kol ona, erTi eSel oni, нужно договориться, чтобы не было неясностей, Tavis Wkuaze ar unda moiqces erTi kol ona. roca Tqveni j arebi am ramdenime dRis ganmavl obaSi iq gadavl en, iq unda gamoicval os xel isufl eba, смена власти и другие подобные вопросы, затрудняюсь сейчас же перечислить и разрешить, а между тем это дело срочное, по столько обязательно чтобы эта част безостановочно подвигалас, нужно заране урегулировать взаимоотношение между вашими частями и нашим командованием и нашей администрацией.

**Tavmj domare:** Cemi survil i ar aris baTumSi gaCerdnen.

**S.el iava:** Cemis azriT ufro xel sayrel ia, rom Cveni wiTel i armia dadges sazRvarze. es ufro xel sayrel ia swored imisTvis, rom es adgil ebi darces saqarTvel os xel Si

Cveni j ar i j er ar ar is mosul i xul odan, Ji oba modis, me mgonia, rom sanam es armiebi SeuerTdebian erTmaneTs, es erTi pol ki unda daemorCil os (ar ismis). Ji oba Tavisi diviziit unda Sevides baTumSi da maSin iqneba saerTo operatiul i xel mZRvanel oba. Cven ar gvinda omi vawarmoot, SeiZl eba uomraT gavaTaoT, Tu Cven SevTanxmdiT, saWi roa qemal ma icodes, rom rusis wiTel i j ar i sdgas sazRvarze da is am garemoebas angariSs gauwevs. axl a is ase l aparakobs: saqarTvel os menSevikuri mTavroba Cveni mteria, antantis megobari, Cven unda avyaroT mas iaraRi da CamovarTvaT Zal aufl eba. amitom saWi ro ar is, rom maTi mowinaaRmdege ruseTis j ar i iyos. sanam l ikvidacia moxdeba, manam saerTo operatiul i xel mZRvanel oba unda iyos. В случае столкновения, каких либо обострения общее руководство всеми военными силами, должно принадлежать русским. Сейчас можно так Формулировать: Установить порядки посылки всего двух полков, затем с егдня ночью или завтра мы выясним вопрос оканчательно и тогда будет ясно.

**Г.Лорткипанидзе:** Полк из Саджавахо подвигается, он идет прямо не Батум и через Батум выставляются заслоном на юг, он безусловно не вмешивается ни в какое дело административного свойства. Этот полк пользуется услугами нашей администрации, нашей власти, нашим снабжением, обслуживается нашими аппаратами, проходит через Батум и идет на юг. Это безпорно. Этот полк дружелюбен по отношению к грузинской армии, грузинской власти.

**М.Орахелашвили:** Вчера было заявлено Жлобе выслать парламентариев.

**Г.Лорткипанидзе:** Этот полк поидет к Жлобе. Между Жлобой и этим полком будут наши власти. Тогда нашим полком нужно уйти. Кому подчиняется он, Жлобе или нам?

**Ш.Елиава:** Они подчиняются непосредственно Жлобе.

**Г.Лорткипанидзе:** Они не оперативном отношении не подчиняются грузинскому командованию?

**Ш.Елиава:** Нужно войти в соглашения, грузинское командование не в состоянии... тогда можно вопрос поставить об участии.

**Г.Лорткипанидзе:** Входит в контакт мы вашим частям дадим эпитет «дружественный» по отношению грузинской армии. (icodes j arma , rom modis megobari da ara mteri)

**Председатель:** Идти по линии железной дороги не заходить в окрестные села, идет на Батум и через Батум за заслон на...огь (srul ad ar ikiTxeba Sv.). Это сила дружественная по отношению к грузинской армии и власт отнюд не враждебная ей, он будит старается войти с ней в контакт по сколько местная власт это найдеть целесообразным, а вобщем это командование подчиняется Советской власти как это будет.

**Ш.Элиава.** Оно подчиняется непосредственно Жлобе, а Жлоба слава непосредственно.

**Г.Лорткипанидзе:** Ни в коем случае, абсолютно не вмешивается ни в какие дело Батума и области, в смысле административном пользуется услугами грузинской армии и ее органами снабжения.

**gedevani Svi l i:** es aucil ebl ad saWi roa, baTumi amJamaT iseT mdgomareobaSi ar is, rom iq gaCereba wiTel i armiisa yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. mas SeuZl ia gamoiwvios pirdapi ri provokacia. iq arian askerebi, arian aWarl ebi, arian Cveni nawil ebi, aSkaraa raki iq arian, Tu magaT Camosvl amdi ar SeiCval a ra, SeiZl eba Tavzardacemul i qal aqis mcx-ovrebis Sua raime provokacia moxdes. vinaidan raime SesaZl o provokacias adgil i rom ar hqondes, im pol kma, romel ic wava saWi roa gaiaros baTumze da dadges iq, sadac saWi roT dainaxavs Tqveni an Cveni sardl oba. yovel SemTxevasi usardl oT yovl ad SeuZebel ia am kiTxvis gadawyveta. Cven ar viciT ra pirobebia. warmoidgineT rom xval osmal eTs j ar i Setevas daiwyebis. Cven aq rom SevTnxmdet da aq gadawyvitoT xel mZRvanel oba vis hqondes, amit SeiZl eba SeiboWos is sardl oba, romel sac mouxdeba iq brzol is warmoeba. SeiZl eba iseT pirobebze davTanxmdet, rom j ar i midis baTumze, pirdapi r gai vl is, baTumSi ar Cerdeba da Cerdeba iq, sadac sardl oba etyvis da daemorCil eba am sardl obas. yovel SemTxvevasi operaci is mxriT es mgoni, TviTon sardl obam unda gadawyvitos, gamarTos mol aparakeba. Cven ukve gvqonda aseTi precedenti, Tqveni sardl oba el aparakeboda Cven sardl obas, me mgoni ukeTesi iqneba rom es moxdes.

**С.ел и ава:** маS SeiZl eba ese gadawyvitoT, gavuSvaT es pol ki da miwawodoT gekkers da zaqariaZes es mol aparakeba Tqven sardl obasTan. Î разстановке и ползовании этим полком; давайте так решимь сейчас же: вы атдайте приказ погружаться в эшелоны отправиться в Батум. Захариадзе или Квинитадзе соединиться по прямому проводу с Геккером и установить такие участки в чем подчинении, при каких условиях занимают полки тили другие участки и ни в какие политические, административные отношения не вмешиваться. У нас в обще полки в эти вопросы не вмешиваются.

**Tavmj domare:** Cveni mxriT gekkers vacnobot.

**gr.l orTqi faniZe:** Cveni da Tqveni interesebisatvis aucil ebl ad saWi roa, rom es pol ki ar gaCerdes baTumSi, imi tom rom, ra wamsve dainaxaven osmal ebi am pol ks, SeiZl e-

ba SeCerdnen.

**SeI iava:** me darwmunebul i var, rom osmal ebi ver gabedaven Setevis dawyebas.

**Д.Шаршидзе:** Они заставляют местное население оказывать сопротивление.

**gedevani Svil i:** miT ufro, ukve snoba aris, rom maT ukve erTi forti daukavebiaT, rom gaCerdes es pol ki baTumSi, SeiZl eba Znel i pirobebi Seiqnes.

**Tavmj domare:** vwyvet dRevandel sxdomas. xval SevudgebiT xel Sekrul ebis proeqtis ganxil vas.

## 18 martis sxdoma. Tavmj domareobda a.enuqiZe.

**a.enuqi Ze:** neba miboZeT kreba gavxsna. guSin Cven gadavwyviteT, rom dRevandel i sxdomisaTvis iqnes warmodgenil i proeqti xel Sekrul ebisa, guSin Cven SevTanxmdiT umTavres kiTxvebSi. ramdenadac me vici amx. mami asqvs ukve SemuSavebul i proeqti, Tqven al baT SeimuSaveT. SevadaroT erTi meores da an erTi miviRoT safuZvl ad an meore.

**I orTqi faniZe:** Cven gvaqvs SemuSavebul i proeqti. Tu nebas momcemT wagikiTxavT.

**Tavmj domare:** gTxovT waikiTxoT.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs proeqts xel Sekrul ebisas.

**Tavmj domare:** ramdenadac me vici, meore proeqti arsebiTad srul iad eTanxmeba Tqven proeqts.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me maqvs ramdenime SeniSvna. I legal izacia ar yofil a Setanil i dRevandel Cvens dRis wesrigSi. me mgoni xasiaTi im mol aparakebisa, romel ic Cven gvqonda guSin ar gul isxmobs amnistiis daviwebas. es axal i momentia profesional uri kavSirebi, partiul i organoebi. guSindel Cven sxdomaze saubarSi vgul isxmobdiT, xazs vusvamdiT mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebze. Tumca me vfiqrob amaze SegviZl ia kerZo TaTbirze azrTa gacvl a- gamocvl a viqoni oT. magram me mgoni am muxl is Setana Cven xel Sekrul ebaSi uxerxul i iqneba.

**Tavmj domare:** mec ase mimaCnia partiul organoebze I aparaks, partiul moments ar unda hqondes adgil i am sxdomaze, radganac aq ori mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebi arian da unda Seexon saxel mwifos qonebas, saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebs da saxel mwifo moxel eebis xel Seuxebl obas. rac Seexeba danarCen kiTxvebs me mgoni Semdeg eqneba adgil i maTze I aparaks. rasakvirvel ia, am SeTanxmebas mohyveba ufro vrcel i konkretul i SeTanxmeba da ai im mol aparakebaze partieb is Sesaxeb iqneba I aparaki da me mgoni es punqti aqedan gamoricxul i unda iyos.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me ganmartebas moviTxov, ras niSnavs 'maTi qoneba- daubrundes profesional ur kavSirebs. maT qonebaSi ra qonebas gul isxmobT, romel ic unda Caebaros profesional ur kavSirebs?

**Tavmj domare:** ra qonebaze aris I aparaki?

**oraxel aSvil i:** muSaTa sasaxl eze rom iyos I aparaki me mesmis, magram Tqven araferi dagitovebiaT, Cven araferi CamogvirTmevia da ris dabrunebas gvaal ebT.

**I orTqi faniZe:** kavSirTa mimarT ara gvaqvs faqtebi.

**oraxel aSvil i:** es ar SeiZl eba, araferi faqtebi ar iciT da ase Znel ia msjel oba. zogierTi kavSirebi magal iTad srul iad daSl il ia. gamegebebi wavidnen da yvel aferi waiRes Tan. arc erTi kasa, erTi kapeiki ar aRmoCnda araviTari Tanxa arcki gvinoxavs, rom CamogverTva. micemiT ki ramdenime milioni miveciT profesional ur gamegebas. aravisaTvis araferi qonebisTvis muSaTa sasaxl is garda Cven xel i ar gvixl ia. ase, rom es punqti zedmetaT mimaCnia.

**I orTqi faniZe:** mainc aqvs safuZvel i aseTi muxl is Setanas, magal iTad Tqven CamoartviT da daepatroneT pol itikuri partieb is organoeb sa da mTel qonebas.

**oraxel aSvil i:** ese igi, Cven davikaveT social - demokratiis central uri komitetis Senoba maTi redaCqia, es bunebrivi iyo.

**I orTqi faniZe:** Cven gvgonia, rom mTel i toni da safuZvel i am SeTanxmebisa, moiTxovs rom es debul eba iyos miRebul i.

**oraxel aSvil i:** central uri komitetis Senoba davikaveT da me mgoni am Senobis dakaveba moxda im normiT, rom es iTvl eba uZrav qonebaT. yvel a didi saxl i da kerZo mesakuTreebis mier datovebul i saxl ebi iqnebian saxel mwifos organoebis gankargul ebaSi. isini aZl even da asaxl eben am binebSi ama Tu im organoeb. Tu magal iTad Tqven mxol od central uri komitetis Senoba gaqvT mxedvel obaSi, Tu aris sakiTxi am Senobis Sesaxeb, SeiZl eba amaze mol aparakeba viqoni oT SemdegSi. exl a amistaTna punqtis

Setana xel Sekrul ebaSi uxerxul ad mimaCnia, miT umetes, rom guSin ar gvqonia amis Sesaxeb msj el oba. me mgoni, sakmarisi iqneba imis gancxadeba, rom devnas ar davuwyeBT partiul organizaciebs. Cven es devna arc dagviwyia. magal iTad, kerZoT Tqveni partiis j gufs orj er hqonda kreba, momaval Siac l ogikurad warmodgena SeiZl eba, rom es moxdeba yovel i partiisa da j gufis mimaT, romel ic aqtiurad ar eomeba dRevandel wyobil ebas. ideuri brZol a dasaSl el ad ar migvaCnia, piriqiT migvaCnia sasurvel ad. mTel i proeqti xel Sekrul ebisa saerTod srul iad misaRebia.

**Tavmj domare:** exl a gadavideT muxl obriv ganxil vase. mxol od me minda erTi ram daumato partiul i organoebis qonebis Sesaxeb ukve aris moxsenebul i, Tuki kerZo pirebs daubrundeba qoneba, Tavis Tavad cxadia profesional uri kavSirebis qonebis konfiskacia ar moxdeba revkomis mier.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me minda oriode sityva vsTqva l tol vil ebis Sesaxeb, ra aris l tol vil i?

**Tavmj domare:** gTxovT waikiTxoT muxl obriv.

**l orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs muxl obriv.

**Tavmj domare:** pirvel i muxl is winaaRmdeg aravin aris, miRebul ia.

**l orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs meore muxl s.

**oraxel aSvil i:** me winadadebas viZl evi amoiSal os osmal eTi. `osmal eTis wiaaRmdeg-- is magier iyves mosal odnel i safrTxis winaaRmdg, e.i. amoiSal os `osmal eTi.-

**l orTqi faniZe:** SeiZl eba ase iTqvas `saerTo mtrisgan dasacavad.-

**S.el iava:** Cven gvaqvs: `vinc unda iyos.-

**l orTqi faniZe:** winaaRmdegi ara var. (kiTxul obs)

**oraxel aSvil i:** Cven gvaqvs\_ baTumis samxreTi sazRvari uWiravs- am redaacias eT-anxmebi Tu ara.

**l orTqi faniZe:** pirvel yovl isa. â ñèñèùâ î÷âðââè

**el iava:** Cven winaaRmdegi ara varT `pirvel yovl isa- Tu iqneba.

**l orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs. es minda davasabuTo. anarqia rom ar moxdes Cven viRebT maqsimal ur vadas xel isufl ebisas. ходим продальжит срок до 25- го.

**svani Ze:** Я бы вне добавленные: по сколько его имущество находится в распоряжении нового груз. правительства... грузинского ревкома.

**l orTqi faniZe:** (kiTxul obs). (обеспечит искание частных лиц в законном порядке). magal iTad gaZarcves, waiRes, l tol vil i moiTxovs amis dabrunebas.

**dgebuaZe:** SeiZl eba ramdenime pirma revkomis daukiTxvad daiKava romel ime bina. Tqven gaqVT ufl eba gaaZevOT is da bina daubrunoT kanonier patrons.

**svani Ze:** am SemTxvevaSi me maqvs mxedvel obaSi is xel Sekrul eba romel ic dai deba xol me amiTana SemTxvevaSi da yovel Tvis aris iseTi muxl i. TavisTavad sagul isxmoa, rom amnair SemTxvevaSi, rodesac Zarcva- gl ej a xdeba xol me, amas Sinauri mezobl ebi adgil obrivi qurd- bacacebi axdenen. mTavrobas SeiZl eba daekisros da pasuxismgebel i iyos im SemTxvevaSi, Tu man moaxdina rekvizicia, magram rac mTavrobis daukiTxavad moxda, ar SeiZl eba mas moeTxovos. ami tom me mgonia aseTi damateba unda iyos.

**l orTqi faniZe:** amaSi ar aris saqme. rasakvirvel ia, Tu kerZo pirma gaZarcva vinme, mTavroba rogorc aseTi, amaSi ar aris pasuxismgebel i. es gul isxmobs, rom mTavroba kanonier daxmarebas uwevs dazaral ebul s, roca is sdevnis gamZarcvel s. kanonieraT scnobs, rom man daiBrunos dakargul i. їдавительство должно оказывать содействие в смысле принуждения, в смысле судебно- административного возстановления его права. Вот смысл. Если сама формулировка не точно, подразумевает то, что вы думаете, тагда мы можем расшифровать, но всекой обязанность должна быть ревкома в том смысле, что он оказывает содействие.

**Сванидзе:** Требовать обязательство от Грузинского Ревкома, что он содействует и восстанавливает в своих правах граждан, это невысказано, п.ч. это само собою разумеется, если какие нибуд, права существуют у нас, они существуют для всех грузинских граждан, независимо от таво, где бы они ни были и чем бы они ни были.

**oraxel aSvil i:** aq ori momentia. SeiZl eba saerTo wesidan gamonakl isi iyos zogi kategoriebisaTvis, SeiZl eba iseTi pirebi gaZarcvon, roml ebsac Tqven SegiZl iaT uari uTxraT, magram im pirTa mimaT, romel nic gawveul ni iyven j arSi. ლუ ებ იბიჩენი ე ბიე ბატეგორი, ზა კოტორი პრიზაემ პრაო ტრეხოვოტ იტ რეჰკომა სოდეიჰვია ვ ისკანიი პოჰიშენიოი ი რაზგრაბლენიო, პოგოგანიი ვ სემი ზაკონნიი სპოსობაი ისკატი პროპაჰშეე. მე მგონია ეს ცენTვის მისაRebi iqneba.

**l orTqi faniZe:** xel i Seuwyos revkomma, rom maT daubrundeT qoneba.

**oraxel aSvil i:** saqarTvel os revkomi Tavisi sasamarTl oTi da administraciul i organoebiT daxmarebas uwevs.

**svaniZe:** neba momeciT mag formul is Semdeg Cemi formul a mogaxsenoT. maT Soris gansxvaveba iqneba: ubrunes ama Tu im qonebas, ramdenaT es saqarTvel os revkomis gankargul ebiT moxda misi CamoTmeva.

**I orTqi faniZe:** rogorc norma saerTod misaRebia, magram saqme marto magaSi ar aris: В беженец, я должен быть восстановлен в своих правах, на квартиру и движимое имущество. Это мое право признавать ревком. Если это имущество за ревкомом, он возвращает, а если не у моего я обращаюсь к его содействию и домогаюсь восстановления своих прав в судебном и админи-стративном порядке.

**Tavmj domare:** iqneba aseT SemTxvevaSi, rodesac es pirovneba gavi da Tbil isidan da kerZo pirma miTvisa, es revkomis gankargul ebaSi ar aris. pirni revkomis organoebis mimarTaven da daxmarebas moiTxoven.

**dgebuaZe:** me swored es unda meTqva, Tqven rom ambobT. im SemTxvevaSi, rodesac es qoneba aris gadacemul i revkomze da revkomis gankargul ebaSi imyofeba, magram im SemTxvevaSi romel zedac amxanagi ambobs SeiZl eba revkomis gankargul ebaSi ar iyos, kerZo pirs hqondes misi qoneba; Tqven am SemTxvevaSi arafers I aparakobT. Cven gvinda rom amiTana SemTxvevaze iyos I aparaki, rom revkomma yovel gviri daxmareba aRmouCinos, raTa daubrunes es qoneba patrons, ase rom Tqveni formul a ufro viwroa.

**svaniZe:** me imi sArniSvna minda, ra qonebaze aris I aparaki. mTavroba Tu daadebs xel s am qonebas, an binas maSin is aris pasuxismgebel i da mxol od, rogorc moqal aqes uwevs daxmarebas kanonieri gziT. Tqveni formul iT gamodis dakargul i aris Tu ara maSin revkomi zRvavs. magal iTad Tqven giwevT daxmarebas da veZebT Tu ver vi povneT, maSin Tavisufal ia revkomi. Cven Tu mi viReT Tqveni formul a, Tu revkomma kanonieri gziT ver i povna maSin aanazRaurebs. me viReb Tqven SeniSvna, rom Cem formul aSi ar Sedis kanonieri daxmareba. ra saWi roa aseTi formul a? **имущественные и правовые отношения всех этих беженцев остаются таким же, как всех граждан. никакого различия нет, не должно подразумеваться, что всякие иски и прошения также могут действовать для них восстанавливать, как и для всех других граждан. Никакого различия в имущественном и правовом отношении между беженцами и прочими гражданами нет.**

**Tavj domare:** me mgoni amx. al ioSa scdeba, Cven aq iuridiul formebeze ki ar vl aparakobT. amx. mami am sTqva, rom es gamonaki isi ar aris kerZo SemTxvevaze. aq aris I aparaki pasuxismgebl obaze. ar aris I aparaki revkomis pasuxismgebase. Tu vinme iqneba gaZarCvuli i, revkomi val debul ia daxmareba gauwios im pirT, roml ebiC wasul ni arian, an samsaxuris gamo, an brZol is gamo, xel i Seuwyos, rom daubrunes es qoneba da es rogorc ukve aris daweril i me misaRebad mimacnia. Tqven ki sazogado normebi gindaT, amaze aq I aparaki ar aris.

**I orTqi faniZe:** am SesworebiT...

**Tavmj domare:** am SesworebiT me viReb. ar vici danarCenebi rogor ucqerian.

**I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs me- 5- e muxl s.

**S.el iava:** me mgoni amgviri dadgenil ebi xel Sekrul ebaSi Setana srul iad saWi ro ar aris. es Tavistavad cxadia, rom kul turul i ganzebi, material uri nivTebi darCeba saqarTvel os fargl ebSi, roml is niadagze Cven vl aparakobT da SeTanxmebas viqonebiT. Здесь нет третьей силы, которая могла бы ставить вопросы вывозь. Это имущество не транзитное, оно является достоянием республики Грузии и составлять ее имущество. По крайней мере считаю, что это совершенно чудовищно, чтобы можно было так ставить вопрос. Мне кажется это должно быть уничтожено.

**I orTqi faniZe:** saerToT me mgonia yvel a grZnobs, rom es xel Sekrul eba araCveul ebrivia. yvel a es muxl ebi araCveul ebrivia da es muxl ic, rogorc Sal va el iavam brZana marTl ac TiTqos uxerxul ia. magram es srul iad eTanxmeba mTel stil s Cveni SeTanxmebisas. ristvis aris es saWi ro, rodesac saqarTvel os jaris nawil i iaraRs aiyris, im wams Cabarebis dros, Cambarebel i iqneba ruseTis mxedroba. erTgviri damakmayofil ebel i da damamSvidebel i iqneba jaristvis, sardl obistvis da yvel a im Zal ebistvis, romel ic mas yavs, Tu ai es iaraRi Tumca Cabardeba faqtiurad ruseTis mxedrobas, magram aRiarebul i iqneba, rCeba aq. rogorc es erTs Tqvens radioSi iyo I aparaki, gadaecema adgil obriv wiTel armias. es aris Semarbil ebel i momenti, Semamsubuqebel i. axal i aq araferi aris, es savsebiT eTanxmeba Cven xel Sekrul ebas.

**S.el iava:** (I aparakobs rusul ad)

**Tavmj domare:** gTxovT qarTul ad.

**S.el iava:** saqme imaSi: wiTel i armiis nawil ebi, romel ic iqneba baTumSi an sxva rai-

onebSi, es nawil ebi Tqven sawinaaRmdegoT ar moqmedeben. rac Seexeba samxedro qonebis Cabarebas, mis I ikvidacias, es ar gadaecema imaT, es pirdapir Cveni saqmea da Cven unda miViRoT. Cven aseT rwmunebas adgil obriv nawil ebs wiTel i armiisas ar vaZl evT. amitom Tu es gaqvT mxedvel obaSi, rom wiTel i armia am qonebis Cambarebel ia, Zl ier Semcdari brZandebiT. Cven SegviZl ia konkretul ad gamovSTqvaT, Tu vin unda mi iRos es qoneba. piradaT me vambob samxedro qoneba, formal urad me unda miViRo, rogorc samxedro Zal ebis saTaveSi mdgomma. wiTel armias aseTi Cveni rwmuneba ar eqneba. amitom aseTi motivis Setana ar aris saWiRo. mand garda samxedro qonebisa aris I aparaki kul turul ganZebze da sxva... waikiTxeT...

**I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs Semdeg muxl s.

**S.el iava:** kul turul i ganZebi, material uri naSTebi- es srul iad ar Seexeba samxedro qonebas. Tqveni SiSi rom amas miRebs wiTel i armiis nawil ebi da es iqneba gatanil i, srul iad usafuZvl o aris imitom, rom yvel a am qonebas Cven miViRebT. imaT araviTeri saqme, araviTari rwmuneba arc erT sardal s ar eqneba, am ganZebS Cven miViRebT. isini Tavis adgil ebze, Tavis sawyobebSi iqneba miRebul i. wiTel armias aq unda vixseniebdeT rogorc motivs. Cemis azriT es adgil i miuRebel ia.

**Tavmj domare:** dawvril ebiT me ar Sevudgebi am sakiTxis ganxil vas. es SiSi mec metad mimaCnia, magram pol itikuraT mec momxre viqnebi, rom es muxl i Setanil i iqnes ise, rogorc aq aris. es Seitans erTgvar damSvidebas im sferoSi, sadac I aparakia, sadac al baT eSiniaT, rom es qoneba ruseTSi gadava; rasac Cveni rwmeniT adgil i ar eqneba. amitom ukeTesia, rom pol itikurad es darCes.

**I orTqi faniZe:** mogaxsenebT, cnobaT ase Tu ise trial ebs azri masaSi, rom is qveynebi, roml ebic aseTive wesiT daikava ruseTma, dazaral dnen, iqedan gaaqvT qoneba. Tqven SexvdebiT srul iad Segnebul muSebs, roml ebic getyvian: `me SemiZl ia avafeTqo, gavafuWo, vidre es waiRon ruseTSi.- saqarTvel oSi rom darCes es iaraRi, es iqneba saqarTvel osi, magram vai Tu moxdes ise, rac mas gaugonia, rom yvel a amas waiRebs ruseTi: maSin SeiZl eba sabotaJi gaswios. amitom am muxl is Setana arsebitad arafers cvl is, magram fsiqol ogiurad da TviT saqmistvis mas eqneba didi mniSvnel oba. amitom Cven viTxovT sworeT saqmis interesebisaTvis iyos naTqvami, rom es saqarTvel oSi darCeba.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** me vfiqrob, rom pirvel i redaqcia, romel ic Cven wamovayeneT ukeTesia. rac Seexeba danarCen qonebas, iqneba ase: es qoneba rCeba saqarTvel os sabWoTa respublikis sakuTrebat. rom vTqvaT, rom teritoriaze rCeba, SeiZl eba gaugebroba moxdes. rkinis gzis moqmedeba vinc icis ar SeiZl eba, rom saqarTvel odan ar gavides orTqmaVal i moskovamdin, rostovamdin, saidanac modis navTi da sxva. Tqveni azri anarekl ia im gavrcel ebul Sexedul ebisa, rom ruseTi Tu Semova, yvel afers gazidavs. dRes Tbiliss Tu aqvs kuWi gamZRari, mxol od imitom rom ruseTidan modis puri. erTi vagoni miViRe, kidev sami ufasod modis, es puri da Tu erTi orTqmaVal i gavida aqedan maSinve ayayandebian\_ gaaqvT, gazides yvel aferi, Tumca araferi ar gadis aqedan. aseTi saqmis mogvarebisaTvis, rogoric aris sasursaTo krizisi, me mgoni saxifaTo iqneba am muxl is Setana, arev- darevas Seitans masis fsiqol ogiaSi. rac Seexeba kul turul ganZebS, rom es rCeba saqarTvel os kuTvnil ebat, amis Setana damamcirebel i aris. mainca da mainc Cven mTavrobaT migvaCnia Cveni Tavi piroba miVceT, rom amas ar gavitant, ras niSnavs es, rogori Tval iT unda davenaxoT xal xs, rom es qoneba gavitanoT ruseTSi. piriqIT, ruseTSi gagzavnil ia muzeis komisia, sakol eqcio komisia, romel Siac Sedian eqspertebi. maT unda Camoitanon Ивер. Боже Матеры da sxva ganZebi da amis winaaRmdeg aravin aris. Cven vcdil obT, rom is rac saqarTvel os ekuTvnis daubrundeS mas da amitom, Cemis azriT, am muxl is Setanas erTgvari damamcirebel i mniSvnel oba aqvs.

**Tavj domare:** me SemiZl ia davumato: `ar SeiZl eba rom samudamoT iyos gazidul i- SeiZl eba magal iTad, rom orTqmaVal i wavides erTi gziT da meoreTi Semovides, uamisod SeiZl eba Seiqmnes katastroful i mdgomareoba.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** (kiTxul obs muxl s)

**Tavmj domare:** rac Seexeba ganZebS, j er maxarazesTan ukve aris xel Sekrul eba- rac samkaul ebi aris daubrundeS saqarTvel os.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Лузинная коллекционная комиссия aris moskovSi. iqedan unda miViRoT kol eqciebi da aqedan ra unda gavitanoT, ra kol eqciebi, ra kul turul i ganZebi, ra kul turul i naSTebi.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** ase rom darCes es redaqcia (kiTxul obs muxl s)

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** mxol od erTi momenti: В развитие и таво декрета который был в баку в по-

тверждение.

**Tavmj domare:** Скорее я бы сказал в дополненные

**S.el iava:** В допалненные и развитые так как после детализированно.

**Орахелашвили:** Даже больше так как мы в административном преследовать.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** ruseTis taqtika aseTi iyo, iq ase xdeboda- vinc ki gaiqceoda, radganac iq brZol as samoqal aqo omis xasiaTi hqonda, amitom aris es Setanil i.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** zogma binebi dastoves, es binebi gaZarcves. Cven gvaqvs kl asikuri sazomi, Cven ganzraxul i gvaqvs ramodenime didi saxl i iseTi gaqceul ebisa, rogoric arian berZnebi da mdidari somxebi, Cavasaxl oT muSebi. xel ic rom movaweroT Cven amas ver Sevasrul ebT. rac Seexeba mSromel masebs, eWvi nu SegeparebaT Tqven, viciT rom bevria gaqceul i da gaZarcvul i mSromel masaTa Soris. patiosan sityvas gaZl evT, rom **noe Jordanias da noe ramiSvil s** xel s ar vaxl ebT, nuTu ubral o gl exze Surs viZiebT, amitom am punqts mniSvel oba ara aqvs.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** (kiTxul obs) pol itikuri moRvaweebi da sxva.

**oraxel aSvil i:** Tqven gj eraT, rom aseTi sazomiT mivudgebiT, rom mSromel i masa davCagroT? Неужели я буду обижать обивателя трудящихся. nuTu davCagravT mSromel masas?

**S.el iava:** amaT unda davubrundeT, magram mesakuTreesbs roml ebmac dastoves Tavianti bina.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs.

**dgebuaZe:** saqme imaSia, rom yvel as gaqVT Tqven Tqveni sazomi. me darwmunebul i var, rom Tqven, mami a, amis winaaRmdegi ar iqnebiT, magram arian TqvenSi wvril mani amxanagebi, roml ebic sul sxvanairi sazomiT Sexedaven. Cven gvyavs amiTana amxanagebi. Tqvenc geyol ebaT, roml ebic gvetyvian- Tqven gaiqeciT iaraRiT xel Si, Tqven kontr- revol u- cionerebi xarT, rodesac es iqneba moxsenebul i, es iqneba saval debul o, imitom, rom gaatarebT cxovrebaSi am Tqven azrs, Tu am winadadebas miiRebT da mSromel masaze cal ke daswerT.

**S.el iava:** me ar var winaaRmdegi, rom es muxl i SevitanoT mSromel i xal xis da intel igenciis Sesaxeb.

**Tavmj domare:** an da sul nu movixseniebT. dausvaT wertil i. (m.oraxel aSvil i winaaRm- degia am muxl is Setanisa).

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs.

**Tavmj domare:** me ase mgonia, rom mag kiTxvis Sesaxeb Semdegi iqneboda, rom am xel Sek- rul ebis cxovrebaSi gasatarebl ad Cven unda Segvetana amiTana muxl i, rom arCeul i yofil iyo cal ke komisia, romel ic moil aparakebda sxvadasxva sakiTxebis Sesaxeb. ma- gal iTad- Tu ranairaT movawyoT mTavroba, ranairi Semadgenl oba iqneba mTavrobisa. rodesac iqve iqneboda l aparaki, maSi Tavis- Tavad daismeba kiTxva sxvadasxva partieb- is organoebis Sesaxeb. sxvadasxva partieb- is warmomadgenl ebis Sesaxeb da eqneboda adg- il i magas. aq ki me ar mgonia, rom aucil ebl ad saWiro iyos magis Setana. aq aris orive mTavrobis warmomadgenel i da iq Semdeg rodesac im komisiaSi romel ic me movixsenie, rasakvirvel ia, is iqneboda Semdgari sxvadasxva partieb- is warmomadgenl ebisgan, amaze moil aparakebdnen. es sul sxva iqneba.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** me ar gavimeoreb, rom aqac SeiZl eboda am muxl is Setana, radganac is ar ewinaaRmdegeba mTel wyobil ebas am xel Sekrul ebisa. magram, radganac Tqven SauZl ebl ad migaCniaT am muxl is Setana, maSin ase darCes. yovel SemTxvevaSi es ar unda iyos sabuTi imisTvis, rom CaiSal os es xel Sekrul eba.

**oraxel aSvil i:** maSin vfiqrob rom es sakiTxi iyos предметом деловых переговоров между нами о конструкции. am sakiTxs SeiZl eba didi mniSvel oba ar qondes, SeiZl eba ar gainter- esebdeT, SeiZl eba Tqven ar dagveTanxmoT maSin Cven sxva partias mivmar TavdiT o конструкции власти. Tqven daayeneT saSuri sakiTxi. dRevandel i momenti moiTxovs am sakiTxis gaSu- qebas da erTgvar SeTanxmebas da amitom jer Cven ar dagvisvams es sakiTxi o конструкции власти, Tuki dauSvebT am sakiTxs o конструкции власти, maSin didi si amovnebiT davsvamT am sakiTxsac. SeiZl eba cal ke xel Sekrul ebiT, SeiZl eba cal ke punqtad davsvaT partiul muSaobaze. Cven yvel a partias ver mivcemT garantias, rom misi wevrebi xel Seuxebel i iqnebian. amitom, Tu Sesazl ebl ad migaCniaT movxsnaT es muxl i.

**gr.I orTqi faniZe:** kiTxul obs (ar ismis).

**Tavmj domare:** aq es begara, saxel mwifo begaraa. rac Seexeba partiul begaras, Tqvenc gagzavnian da sxvasac. Tu Tqven Zal ian saZnel oT migaCniaT am muxl is gamotoveba, SeiZl eba daumatOT, rom es kreba sasurvel ad scnobs Sedges is komisia, romel ic moil -



aparakebs aseT kiTxvebze. am komisi as eqneba msj el oba mTavrobis konstruqciaze, partiebze. es Cven saSual ebas mogvcems da sabuTs, rom amaze mol aparakeba viqoni oT.

**gr.I orTqifaniZe:** maSin oqmSi SevitanoT.

**Tavmj domare:** oqmSi SevitanoT, rom partiul i organoebis mdgomareobis Sesaxeb, saqarTvel os mTavrobis Semadgenl obis Sesaxeb survil i aris gamoTqmul i, rom Sesdges cal ke komisia pol itikuri partieb is warmomadgenl obasTan erTad, sadac garCeul i da dasmul i iqneba es sakiTxebi.

**d.SaraSiZe:** me ufro zogad formul as virCev. (pol itikuri kiTxvebi).

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Организация конструкции власти.

**Tavmj domare:** pol itikuri kiTxva, Zal ian kargi. me winaaRmdegi ara var.

**m.oraxel aSvil i:** Тогда я свои претензии имею.

**Tavmj domare:** Это совпадает. swyvets sxdomas. sxdoma ixureba or saaTze.

## dokumenti # 68

### quTaisSi 1921 wl is 18 martis SeTanxmeba Sesaxeb samxedro moqmedebis l ikvidaciisa demokratiul mTavrobasa da saqarTvel os revkoms Soris.

saqarTvel os demokratiul i mTavrobis rwmunebul i grigol l orTqifaniZe da saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komitetis rwmunebul i mamia oraxel aSvil i Sexvdnen erTmaneTs 1921 wl is 17 da 18 marts q.quTaisSi da ruseTis sabWoTa federaciul i social isturi respubl ikis warmomadgenel is Abel enuqizis Tavmj domareobiT da imave respubl ikis meore warmomadgenel is al eqsandre svanizis monawil eobiT SeTanxmdnen SemdegSi:

1.moxdes dauyovnebl ivi l ikvidacia saomari moqmedebisa;

2.demokratiul i mTavroba xsnis Tavis fronts sabWoTa armiis winaaRmdeg. scl is saqarTvel os teritoriis im nawil s, romel ic mas uWiravs da saSual ebas aZl evs revol ucionuri komitetis gankargul ebaSi myof j arebs mivides baTumis dasacavad da dasakavebl ad gareSe mtrebisgan Semosevisagan;

3.revol ucionuri komitetis gankargul ebaSi myofi sabWoTa armi ebis nawil ebi pirvel yovl isa baTumze gavl iT iWeren am ol qis samxreT nawil ebs;

4.ara ugvianes vidre 25 martisa TanxmobiT q.baTumsa, mis raionsa da rkinigzis l ian dagze saj avaxodan vidre baTumamde da saerTo im teritoriaze, romel ic dRes ukavia demokratiul mTavrobas, rCeba am ukanasknel T administracia da xel isufl eba;

5.revkomis gankargul ebaSi myofi j arebi Sedian baTumis ol qSi, rogorc megobrul ad ganwyobil i Zal a demokratiul i mTavrobisa da misi mxedrobisadmi;

6.sakiTxi imis Sesaxeb Tu ramdenad saWi ro da mizanSewonil i iqneba demokratiul i mTavrobisa da revkomi s j arebis gaerTianebul i moqmedeba baTumis ol qis gareSe mtrisagan dasacavad, gamorkveul i iqneba orTave sardl obis TanxmobiT;

7.saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis armi isa da gvardiis daTxovna xdeba am armi isa da gvardiis sardl obis gankargul ebiT;

8.imave sardl obis gankargul ebiT CamorTmeul i iaraRi da samxedro samkaul i rCeba saqarTvel os revol ucionur komitets;

9.tansacmel i romel ic aris kacebis, gvardiel ebsa da oficrebs miRebul i aqvT saTanado gankargul ebis Zal iT, darCebaT maT.

10.agreTve eZl eva yvel a samxedro pirT kuTvnil i j amagiri j arisa da gvardiis daS- l is ukanasknel dRemde;

11.j arisa da gvardiis sardl obas eZl eva sakmao ricxvi vagonebisa da orTqmavl ebisa j ariskacebis, gvardiel ebis da oficrebs da maTi oj axebis saxl Si dasabrunebl ad;

12.saqarTvel os revol ucionuri komiteti uzrunvel yofs, rom yvel a saxl Si dabrunebul samxedro pirT, roml ebmac Tavis bina datoves samsaxuris moval eobis aRsrul ebis gamo, daubrundeba rogorc bina, agreTve datovebul i piradi qoneba, romel Si ac saqarTvel os revkomi Tavis sasamarTl oTi Tu Tavis administraciul i organoebis saSual ebiT gauwevs saTanado daxmarebas;

13.is saxel mwifo qoneba, iaraRi, matarebl ebi, istoriul i da kul turul i ganZebi da sxva, romel ic aw gadaecema revkoms, rCeba saqarTvel os respubl ikis kuTvnil ebaT;

14. saqarTvel os revkomi Tavis 25 Tebevli is amnistiis dekretis damatebaT acxadebs, rom ar agebinebs pasuxs da ar dasj is arc sasamarTI oTi da arc administraciul i wesiT respubl ikis arcerT pol itikur moRvawes, samxedro pirebs, j ariskacidan dawyebul i, vidre mTavar sardl amde. gvardiel ebs, gvardiis oficrebs, Stabis wevrebs, administraciis yvel a moxel eT da sazogadoT yovel im pirt, romel Ta moqmedeba maTi saxel m-wifo da sazogadoebrivi samsaxuri, moRvaweobidan gamomdinareobda. es muxl i exeba im pirta moqmedebas, romel Tac adgil i qonda am SeTanxmebis Zal aSi Sesvl amde;

15. revkomi xel s uwyobs yvel a l tol vil ebis Tavisufl ad da saswrafod dabrunebas Taviant adgil as;

16. saqarTvel os moqal aqe samxedro pirni roml ebic aris j ariskacebi, moxel eni da oficrebi, Tavis begaras asrul eben saqarTvel os teritoriaze;

17. es xel Sekrul eba Zal aSi Sedis dRidan misi xel mowerisa 1918 wl is 18 marti.

saqarTvel os revkomis rwmunebul i mamia oraxel aSvil i.

saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis

rwmunebul i grigol l orTqifaniZe.

ruseTis sabWoTa federaciul i respubl ikis

rwmunebul i abel enuqiZe.

18 mrti.

## **dokumenti # 69**

**d.SaraSiZe**

**ramdenime SeniSvna quTaisis mol aparakebis gamo.  
(mxol od s.d. partiis wevrebi saTvis).**

rogorc iqna moaRwia stambol Si quTaisis mol aparakebis steno-grafiul ma angari Sebma. quTaisis mol aparakebis garSemo bol Sevikebma didi gangaSi astexes ruseTSi da al - baT evropasiac. saubeduroT ar mqonia SemTxveva gavnobodi imas, rac mol aparakebis Sesaxeb evropasi gamoqveynda. saqarTvel oSi mxol od amis gamoxmaurebam moaRwia. erT mSvenier dRes (april Si Tu maisSi) 'komunistma- gvamcno Tbil isSi TiTqos noe Jordaniას uari eTqvas quTaisSi gagzavnil del egaciaze, ganexxadebinos rom mTavrobas ar daukirsrebia gr.l orTqifaniZisaTvis bol SevikebTan SeTanxmeba. Cven vifiqreT maSin, rom es Wori iqneboda, magram isic gaviTval iswineT, rom SesaZl ebel i iyo Cven mTavrobas dasWireboda ama Tu im pol itikuri mosazrebiT xel Sekrul ebis ama Tu im nawil is an muxl is dezavuacia. imas ki ver gavifiqrebdit, rom zogierT sazRvargareT wasul amxanagebSi quTaisis xel Sekrul ebis Sinaarsi ukmayofil ebas gamoiwvevda. is weril i romel ic amxanagma noe Jordaniam gagzavna saqarTvel oSi cekas saxel ze, mowmobs rom aseT ukmayofil ebas qonia adgil i. amitom me moval eobaT mimaCnia quTaisis del egaciis saqarTvel oSi darCenil i nawil ebis winaSe am stenografiul angariSs ramodenime SeniSvna davurTo.

quTaisis mol aparakebas win uzRoda radiotel egrafiT l aparaki baTumsa da Tbil is Soris da pirdapiri mavTul iT l aparaki grisa l orTqifaniZesa da mamia oraxel aSvil s Soris RamiT 15- 16 marts. l orTqifaniZe am l aparaks awarmoebda sadgur saj avaxodan. 16 naSuadRebs davbrundiT saj avaxodan baTumSi gr.l orTqifaniZe, al .dgebuaZe da me. mTavrobis Tavmj domaris vagonSi moxda mTavrobis wevrebis da zogierTi pol itikuri moRvaweobis kreba, romel zedac Cven wavikiTxeT saj avaxo- Tbil isis, e.i. l orTqifaniZe- oraxel aSvil is mol aparakebis teqsti. am mol aparakebis mTavari azri iyo l orTqifaniZis mxrit Semdegi: -armistisi (romel sac 16- s dil iT gaudioda vada) unda gagrZel des, radgan Cven ori mxrit brZol as veRar vawarmoebT; Tanaxma varT SevwyivtoT omi da gvinda TqvenTan erTad vizrunoT upirvel esad baTumis gadarCenaze osmal ebisgan. Cven ar gvaqvs SeZl eba exl av gavuSvaT Tqveni (e.i. ruis) j arebi baTumi sak- en. fizikurad SeuZl ebel ia SegatyobiOT dil amde. (l aparaki 15- s Rame swarmoebda) yvel a Cven nawil ebs, rom ruis j ars winaarmdegoba ar gauwion. amitom gavagrZel oT armistisi, avicdinoT srul iad uazro sixl is Rvra, radgan SeiZl eba xval - zeg Cvensa da Tqvens j arebs erTad mouxdes brZol a osmal eTis winaarmdeg baTumis dasacavad. amas eubneboda l orTqifaniZe oraxel aSvil s. am niadagze moxda SeTanxmeba maT Soris

quTaisSi Sexvedris da mol aparakebis Sesaxeb. saj avaxo- Tbil isis pirdapiri mavTul i T I aparakis teqsts, romelic mTavrobis Tavmj domaris vagonSi iqna wakiTxuli, araviTari SeniSvna ar gamouwvevia. gadawyda imave dRes wasul iyo del egacia quTaisSi.

amnairad, mTavrobis mier dadasturebul i 16 martis mol aparakeba gul isxmabda brZol - is Sewyvetas wiTel armiasa da Cvens j ars Soris da momaval SeTanxmebas mTavrobasa da revkoms Soris, aramcTu baTumisken wiTel i armiis Tavisufli ad gaSvebis, aramed Cveni daxmarebiT [Seuferxebel S.v] svl as da baTumis dasacavad saerTo SeTanxmebul i zomebis miRebas. es mTavari azri kidev ufro ganmtkicda 16 saRamos da Rame, roca gamoirkva, rom angoris warmomadgenel s gadawyvetil i hqonda baTumis dakaveba da Cveni mTavrobisa da j arisadmi agresiul i moqmedeba. aman gamoiwvia imave Rames cixidan qavTaraZis da toroSel izis dabareba da maTTan mTavrobis Tavmj domaris mol aparakeba. gadawyda, rom Cven gagveadvil ebia bol Sevikebisatvis mTavrobis wasvl iStanave baTumSi revkomi s gamocxadeba da xel i Segvewyo maTTvis baTumis dacvis saqmeSi, Tu saWi ro iqneboda Cveni j aris daxmarebiT.

im momentSi, roca quTaisis del egacia gaemgzavra baTumidan (16- s Ramis 12 saatze), mdgomareoba Semdegi iyo: Cveni fronti yovel i mxrit srul iad moSi il i iyo. sakmari- si iyo bol Sevikebis Zal ebi saj avaxos mxrit daZrul iyvnen, maT araviTari winaaRmdego- ba aRar daxvdebodaT da mokle xanSi baTumSi Sevidodnen. aseve Tavisufli ad Semovido- da baTumSi xulos mxrit Ji obas kaval eria. TviT baTumSi srul i demoral izacia iyo. mTavrobis xel Seuxebl oba ar iyo uzrunvel yofil i Cveni moxul igno oficrebis mxrit da rom ruseTis j ari samxedro moqmedebiT rom Semosul iyo baTumSi, uTuod katastro- fa moxdeboda. saeWvo iyo, rom am SemTxvevaSi mTavrobas SesZl eboda baTumidan gamosv- l a. amave dros mTavrobas, Cven moRvaweeps da baTumSi myof gvardia- j ars emuqreboda qiazim- bei. davumatoT amas Cveni partiul i amxanagebis Tavis moyra baTumSi sxvadasxva kuTxeebidan, maT Soris gamefebul i SiSi, demoral izacia, gemebsken miswrafeba.

aset pirobebsi datova baTumi quTaisis del egaciam. misi saerTo amocana iyo: erTi mx- rit dros mogeba, raTa mTavrobas baTumidan Tavisufli ad gasvl a SeZl eboda, pol itik- ur moRvaweeps da partiul amxanagebs ki Taviant adgil ebze dabroneba. meore mxrit bo- l Sevikebtan SeTanxmeba, osmal ebis mxridan baTumisadmi [mosal odnel i safrTxis ganeit- ral ebis mizniT S.v.] uzrunvel sayofad. es meore nawil i bol Sevikebtan winaswari mo- l aparakebidan savsebiT gamomdinareobda. im mol aparakebidan, romelic mTavrobam moi- wona da daamtkica. amave dros amocanis es nawil i, srul iad eTanxmeboda im zomebs, roml ebsac TviT mTavroba da misi Tavmj domare anxorciel ebdnen baTumSi: qavTaraZe- toroSel izestan mol aparakeba da sxva.

17- s naSvadRevs Cavida del egacia quTaisi. imave dRes, saRamos gaixsna mol aparakeba. erTi saatic ar iyo gasul i misi dawyebidan, rom bol Sevikebma Seatyobines l ortqifani- zes- pirdapir mavTul ze gezaxian baTumidano. dael aparaka mas g.cincaze mTavrobis Tavmj domaris daval ebiT. am l aparakidan gavigeT, rom Cveni wasvl is Semdeg mdgomareo- ba kidev ufro gartul ebul iyo da yovel wuTSi mosal odnel i iyo katastrofa. cinca- ze gvaCqarebda, mal e SeTanxmdiT, raTa SesaZl ebel i gaxdes rusis j arebis gamosveba ba- Tumiskeno. Tan Sevi tyveT, rom cariel i vagonebi wamosul i iyvnen baTumidan saj avaxosk- en, rom SeTanxmebisTanave rusebs SesaZl ebl oba hqonodaT baTumisken daZrul iyvnen. amis Semdeg del egacias SeZl eba ara hqonia dal aparakeboda baTums. 18- s dil iT baTums rom SevekiTxeT, tel egrafis kantori dan Cveni moxel is magivrad gvi pasuxa rusis j arikac- ma- qal aqSi brZol aa, tel egrafi osmal ebs ukaviaT, rusebs ar gvebrZvian, tel egrafze ki damiSveso. 18- s saRamos gavaTaveT mol aparakeba da wamsve baTumisken gamoveSureT. saub- eduroT mgzavrobis pirobebi iseTi iyo, rom mxol od meore dRes, 19- s naSuadRevs Cave- diT baTumSi. Casvl amde baTumis bedi ar vicodiT. mavTul ebi dawyvetil i iyo. Caqvsda baTums Sua kinaRam dagviWi res Casafrebul ma osmal ebma. gadagvarCina im garemoebam, rom Cvens vagonSi modioda wiTel i armiis sardi oba. baTumSi Sevi tyveT, rom mTavroba wasul i iyo.

daarRvia Tu ara quTaisis del egaciam dakisrebis fargal i, gadaacila Tu ara man daval ebas?

rogorc zeviTiTqva, am daval ebis mTavari sagani iyo baTumis dasacavad SeTanxmeba. am miznistvis mTavroba da Cveni sazogado moRvaweepic mzad iyvnen ubrZol vel ad daeT- moT bol Sevikebisatvis bol o dros Cvens xel Si darCenil i teritoria. mzad iyvnen ag- reTve wiTel i armiis da Cveni j aris moqmedeba gaerTianebinaT osmal ebis winaaRmdeg Cveni an rusebis sardi obis qveS. es mkafiod iyo naTqvami gr.l ortqifanizis mier sa-

j avaxos mol aparakebaSi, romel ic mTavrobam, vimeoreb waikiTxa da moiwona. amnairaT, mTavroba mzaT iyo bol Sevikabis gankargul ebaSi gadaeca baTumis dasacavT j ari, rogorc aseTi. me mgoni es gacil ebiT metia vinem j aris daSl is dros iaraRis gadacema mowinaarmdegisaTvis. iq sadac samxedro moqmedebis l ikvidaciazea l aparaki da SeTanxmebeaa, SeuZl ebel ia ar daisvas kiTxva j aris daSl is Sesaxeb, CvenTvis, ra Tqma unda umj o-besi iyo j ari da gvardia Cvenve dagveSal a, Cvenve dagvekmayofil ebia ramdenadac es maSindel pirobebSi iyo Sesazl ebel i. raxan j aris daSl aze iyo l aparaki, SeuZl ebel i iyo gverdi agvevl o iaraRis sakiTxisaTvis da rom iaraRiT xel Si xal xs ar gagvaSvebinebdnen saxl Si, an yovel SemTxvevaSi, amas ar daswerdnen dokumentSi (faqtiurad mraval i gvardiel i da j ariskaci iaraRianaT wavidoda saxl Si), aSkara unda iyos.

amnairad, j aris iaraRis da samxedro masal is gadacema revkomisaTvis aramc Tu ar ewinaaRmdegeboda del egaciisTvis dakisrebul amocanas, aramed Tavistavad igul isxmeboda am amocanaSi.

mol aparakebis siZnel e mdgomareobda SemdegSi: mogvexdina faqtiuri SeTanxmeba ise, rom mowinaaRmdegis Zal aufl ebis cnobis sakiTxisaTvis agvexvia gverdi. revkomis cnobis sakiTxis wamoyenebul i iyo winaswar depeSaSi da mol aparakebaSi bol Sevikabis mier. es kiTxva, rogorc stenografiidan scans, pirdapir daayenes bol Sevikabma mol aparakebis dawyebisas da am mTavar kiTxvaSi maT savsebiT daixies ukan. es iyo gr.l orTqifaniZis gamarjveba. kidev meti, CvenTvis mraval i mxriT metaT xel sayrel i SeTanxmebis teqsti miRes da amasTanave iZul ebul i gaxdnen daeSvaT gr.l orTqifaniZis kategoriul i gancxadeba, rom demokratiul i mTavroba mxol od Tavistavs scnobs kanonier mTavrobaT.

ra Tqmaunda, TviT del egaciis gagzavis da mol aparakebis faqti aranormal oba iyo, magram es aranormal oba gamomdinareobda saerTo mdgomareobidan. es yvel asTvis aSkara iyo maSin. am aranormal ur mdgomareobaSi is, rasac del egaciam miaRwia quTaisSi, maqsimumi iyo. es aris Cveni amxanagebis saerTo azri. maT savsebiT moiwones quTaisis mol aparakebis Sedegebi, roca moismines moxseneba baTumSi da Tbil isSi.

saqarTvel oSi SeTanxmebam Cvenebze da sxvebze kargi STabeWdil eba moaxdina. roca xal xma Sei tyo, rom bol Sevikabma Cvens winaSe mTel i rigi gamarjvebul isaTvis (da isic gamarjvebul i bol SevikabisaTvis) srul iad ucveul o val debul eba ikisres, is darwmunda, rom Cveni damarcxeba mxol od fizikuri iyo, rom moral urad Cven viyaviT gamarjvebul ni. SeTanxmebam gaamagra da daamSvi da Cveni amxanagebi, gahfanta panika, gaadvil a maTi Taviant adgil ebze dabruneba da xal xSi gamocena. aman udidesi samsaxuri gauwia Cvens partias da ers. SeTanxmebam SeZl eba mogvca Cven ramodeni me kvira naxevraT l egal uraT gvemuSavna, rasac agreTve udi desi niSvel oba hqonda Cveni partiis wel Si gamarTvis da fexze dadgomi saTvis. j arisa da gvardiis Cven mier daSl asac (raica SegvaZl ebia quTaisis SeTanxmebam) didi mniSvel oba hqonda. j ariskacebsa da gvardiel ebs darCaT STabeWdil eba, rom isini RvTis da bol Sevikabis anabaraT ar davtoveT, gaWirvebis dros Cvenve vupatroneT.

SeiZl eba darwmunebiT iTqvas, rom Cveni partiul i istoria quTaisis SeTanxmebas erT mniSvel ovan faqtorad icnobs partiis prestiJis gadarcenaSi, mis mosul ierebaSi da brZol is unaris dabrunebaSi.

quTaisis mol aparakeba gauqmebul ad gamoacxades bol Sevikabma, rogorc ki gaiges, rom mTavroba sazRvargareT gavi da da Tan waiRo qonebis nawil i. stenogramis teqsti aramc Tu ar gamoaqveynes, SeZl ebac ar mogvces masTan erTad Segvesworebia Zl ier cudaT warmoebul i angariSebi. me movaxerxe l orTqifaniZis sityebis ramodeni med Sesworeba, sanam stenograma bol Sevikabs xel Si CauvardebodaT. bol Sevikabis sityebi ki gausworebel ia da ra Tqmaunda, mec xel i ar mixl ia mistvis.

bol Sevikabi Zl ier gawyrnen, roca Seityves, rom stenograma CvenC mogvxvda xel Si. stenografistebis daWerit emuqrebodnen.

april Si Tu maisSi Tbil isis revkomma miRo depeSa CiCerinidan- saCqaroT gamogzavneT quTaisis mol aparakebis teqstio. rogorc gavige, undodaT am teqstiT esargebl aT Cvens winaaRmdeg evropaSi. es ar moxda, radgan maTTvis xel sayrel i l orTqifaniZis sityebSi da gancxadebaSi araferia. saerTo STabeWdil eba iyo TviT komunistur wreebSi, rom l orTqifaniZem diplomatobiT 'moatyua- bol Sevikabi. es gareSeebTan sTqves ara erTxel da orj er enuqiZem, oraxel aSvil ma da sxvebma.

d.SaraSiZe.

stambol i 27 oqtomberi 1921 w.

## rukebi

ra viyaviT teritoriul ad 1921 wl is Tebervl amde da ra davkargeT gasabWoebis Sedegad.

`eris uZl ureba maSin iwyeba, roca kuTvnil teritorias mowinaaRmdeges nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an Zal momreobiT mitacebulis ukan dabrunebas ar cdil obs!-

napol eon bonaparte.

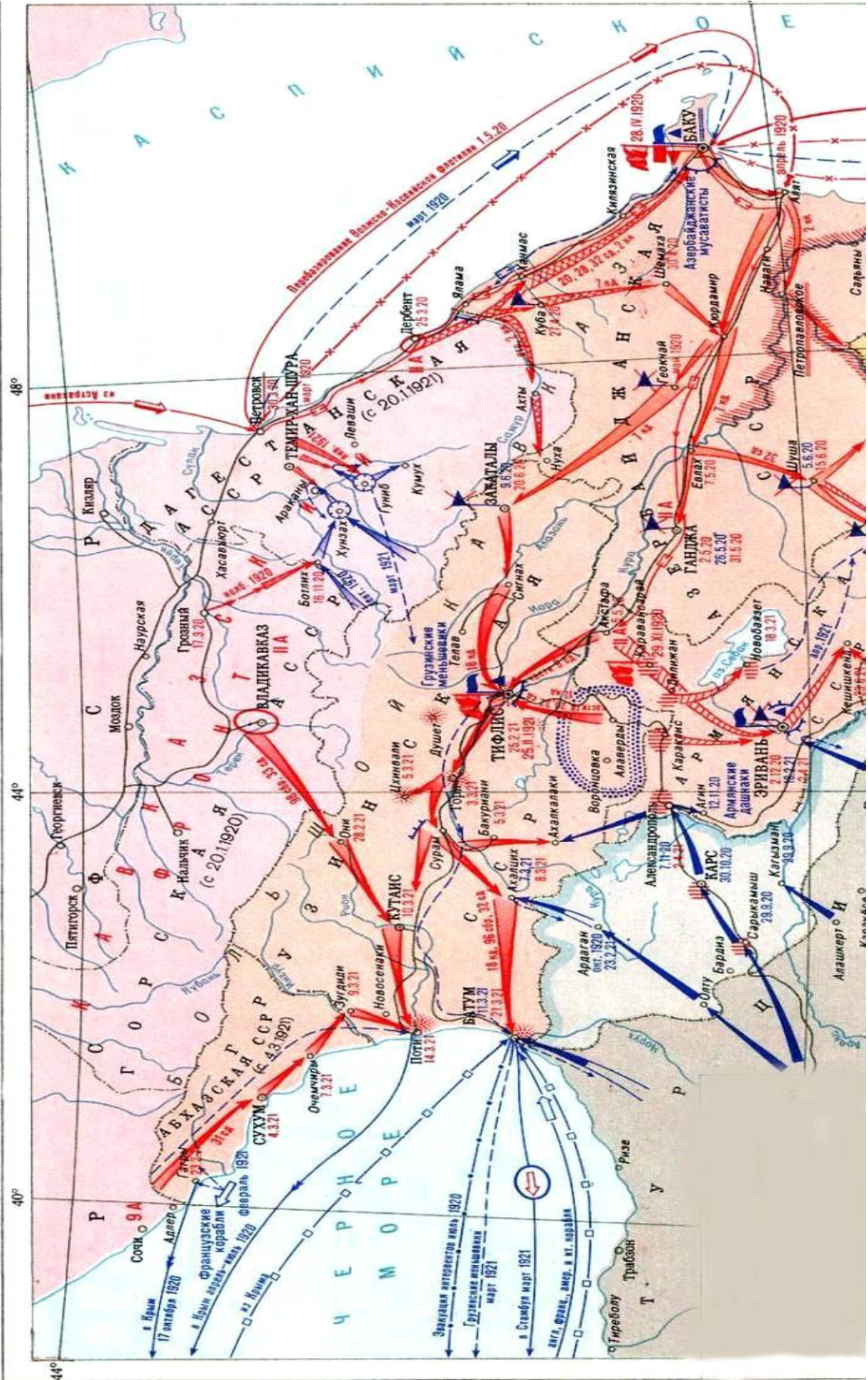
istorikosebo! am Segonebidan da Cveni qveynis dRevandel i yofidan (400,000 devnil i da saqarTvel os teritoriis 20% okupirebul i) gamomdinare, saqarTvel os samive respublikis teritoriul i sazRvrebis SedarebiTi anal izis safuZvel ze gasazRvreT: a)romel ma xel isuflebam ukeT upatrona bedkrul i saqarTvel os qarTul mosaxleobas, b)ucxoeTidan armiRebul i daxmarebis gareSe, 1918- 1920 wl ebSi ramdenjer iqna mogeriebul i sabWoTa ruseTis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Tavdasxmebi da ra doneze gaeca pasuxi sabWoTa ruseTis mier dafinansebul bol Sevikebis aj anyebebs; g)umokles droSi (1028 dRe), vin ukeT SesZl o saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTlianobis istoriul sazRvrebSi ZiriTadad aRdgena. miukerZoebel i poziciidan am fonze gaakeTeT daskvna, Tu romel i xel isufleba imsaxurebs pativiscemas an Zagebas!

saqarTvel os teritoriis #1 rukis sazRvrebSi aRmdgeni mTavrobis mimarT\_ sabWouri istoriografiisa da r.gabaSvil is stil Si augad Semfasebl ebs Sevaxseneb: `politika ganizomebami si SedegebiT! misaRebia mxol od is politikuri kursi, romel ic qveynisTvis saukeTeso nayofis momcemial- (ix. ruka # 1 da ruka # 5) aqedan gamomdinare, Tuki Savis da TeTris garCeva xel gewifebaT, keTil i inebeT da samive respublikis xel isufal Ta mimarT, daskvnebi da Sefasebebi mxol od logikuri kategoriebis umkacresi principis dacvit da aRniSnul i rukebis gaTvaliswinebiT moaxdineT! miTumetes, saqarTvel os teritoriul i sivrcis, 87 wl is manZil ze gazafxulis TovliviT daCqarebul i tempiT dnoba, qarTvel i eris moaxleobul i sikvdil is garduval obaze migvaniSnebs. es realuri saSiSroeba, Cvens winaSe aisbergivita aRmarTul i da daZrul i. misi SeCereba mxol od winaparTa Rvawl is dafasebis kriteriumis aRdgenis safuZvel ze, eris gajansaRebul i da swori azrovnebis Sedegad gaxdeba Sesazl ebel i.

საქართველოს პირველი რესპუბლიკის მთავრობის კონტროლრებადი ტერიტორია 1920 წლის ივლისის მონაცემებით.  
 რუკის ავტორები: გ.გაჩეჩილაძე და ქ.ხაგანია. თბილისი 1920 წელი რუკა №1

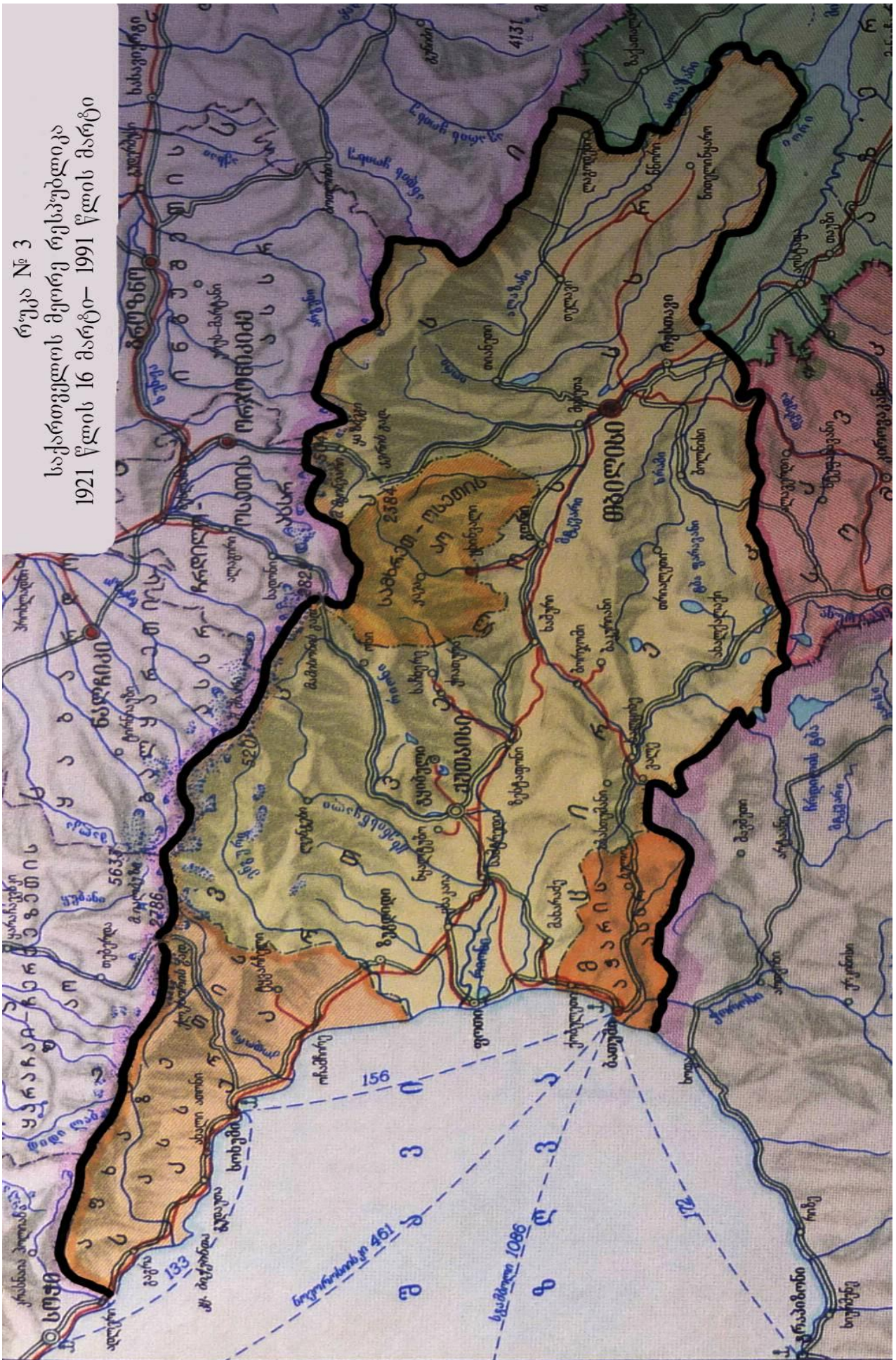


БОЕВЫЕ ДЕЙСТВИЯ В ЗАКАВКАЗЬЕ АПРЕЛЬ 1920 Г. - ФЕВРАЛЬ 1921 Г. 6730 № 2



რუკა № 3

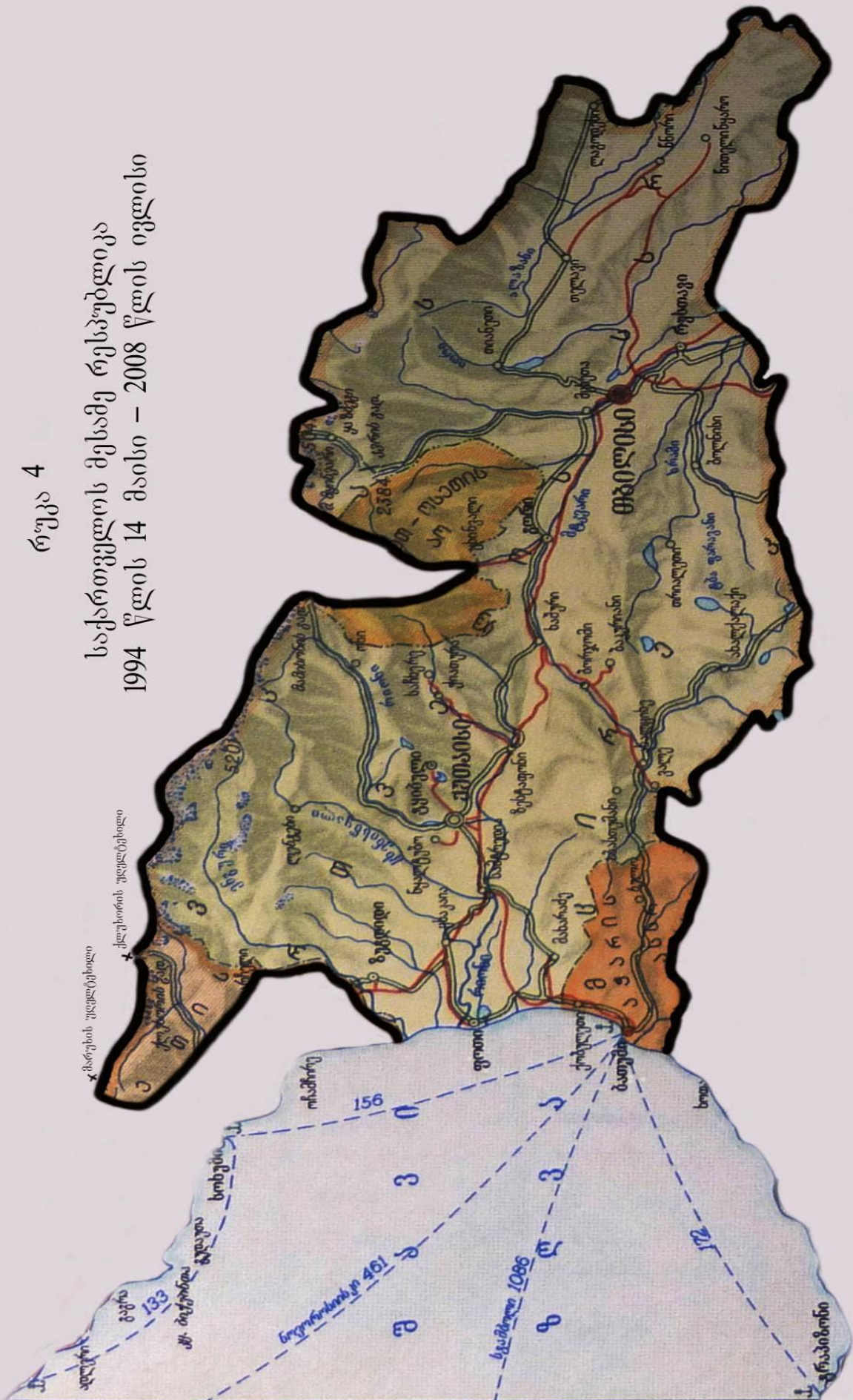
საქართველოს მეორე რესპუბლიკა  
1921 წლის 16 მარტი - 1991 წლის მარტი





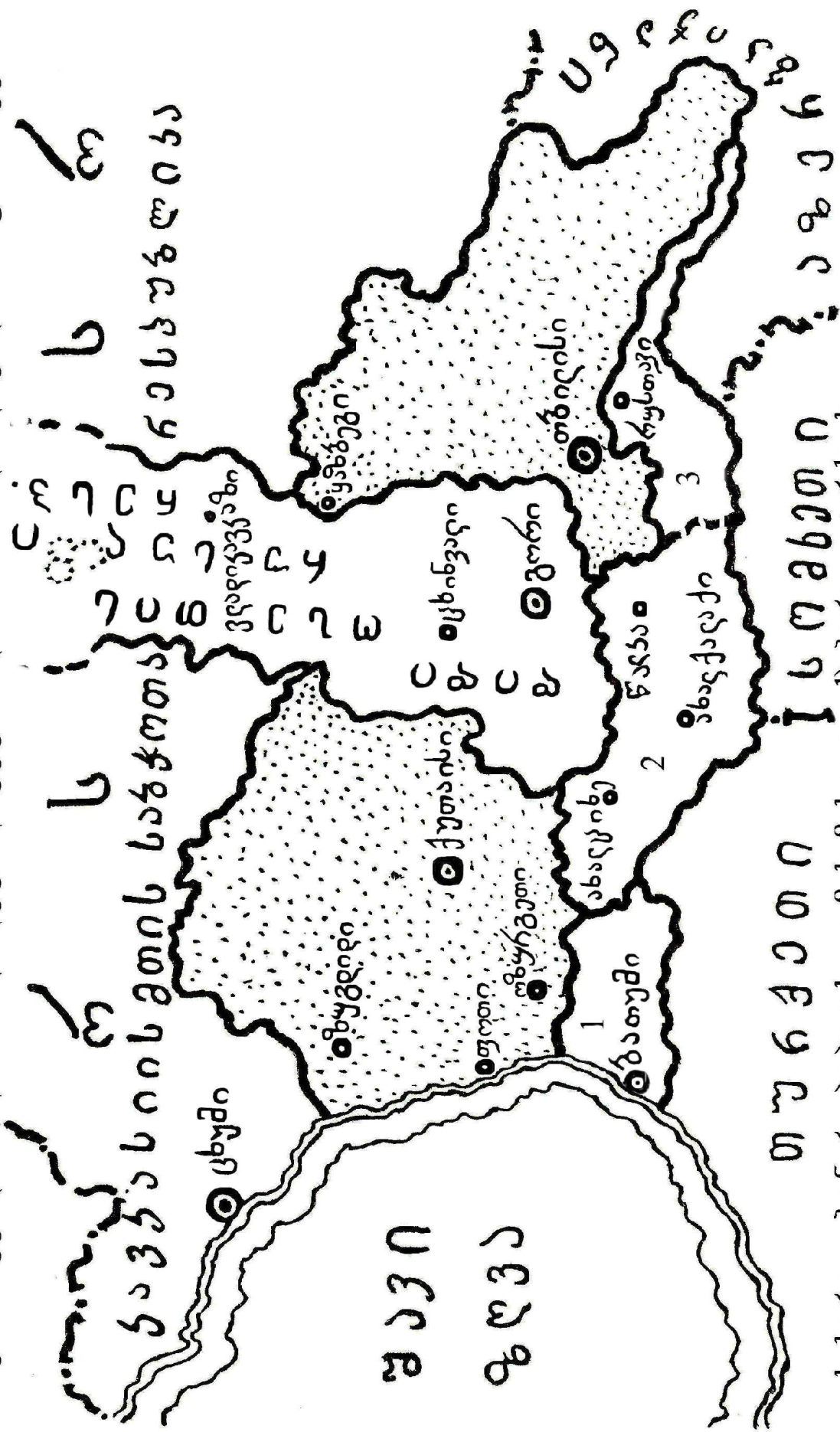
# რუკა 4

საქართველოს მესამე რესპუბლიკა  
1994 წლის 14 მაისი – 2008 წლის ივლისი





საქართველოს წინაღმდეგ დაგეგმილი მოსალოდნელი საფრთხეები:



თ უ რ ქ ე ა თ ი      ო ს თ მ ხ ე თ ი

სახაროგ- ბონერ- პოპოვის გეგმის მიხედვით: 1) აჭარა- თურქეთს;  
 2) მესხეთ- ჯავახეთი- სომხეთს; 3) ქვემო ქართლის და კახეთის ნაწილ- აზერბაიჯანს.

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SoTa il ias Ze vadaWkoria  
sabWoTa ruseTTan saqarTvel os  
damarcxebis qronika (1921 wel i)

Shota Vadachkoria  
Chronicle of Georgia's defeat with  
Soviet Russia (1921)

Tbilisi  
2021  
saaRricxvo-sagamomceml o Tabaxi 22,5