

SoTa vadaWkor i a

osuri miTi  
da  
qarTul i si namdvi l e

(pasuxd os istorikosebs)

Sps `sagamomceml o saxl i qarTul i el ita-  
saqarTvel o  
Tbil isi 2012 wel i

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v\_ 126

dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT, naSromSi dasabuTebul ia:  
1)saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl i kis mTavrobisa da qarTvel i  
erisadmi osi istorikosebis mier wamoyenebul i bral deba\_ oseb-  
is TiTqosda `genocidis- mowyobis Sesaxeb, gamogoniI faqtebs  
emyareba da sicrues war moadgens; 2) sazogadoebis SecdomaSi Sey-  
vanis mizniT, maT mier motaniI i raodenobiTi monacemebi, sabWoTa  
istorikosebis miera SeTxzul i da saarqivo dokumentebiT ar  
dasturdeba. imave saarqivo masal ebidan aRebul i faqtebis anal -  
izis safuZvel ze, winamdebare naSromSi damaj erebl adaa naCvenebi,  
rom osi separatistebis mxridan 1918\_ 1925 wl ebSi Si da qarTI is  
mTiani zonis qarTul mosxl eobasTan mi marTebaSi Cadenil i qmede-  
bebi, eTnowmendis da genocidis tol fas danaSaul s Seicavda.

redaqtor\_ gamomcemeli: nugzar WiaberaSvili

recenzenti: avTandil sonRul asvili.

istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori.

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## pasuxad os istorikosebs osebis `genocidi ~ Tu?!..

weril i l

*`mecni erma unda eZebos WeSmari teba, Tavisi pirad survil ebsa  
da urTierTobaze ufro Zvirad unda afasebdes mas.-  
n.Cerni Sevski.*

cxinval is regionSi Seqmnil i dRevandel i urTul esi politikuri situaciis fonze, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas internet- saitebze qarTvel i eris diskreditaciis mizniT gaCaRebul i sainformacio omis amsaxvel i masal ebi iqcevs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs osi separatistebis mier istoriul i faqtების gayal bebis safuZvel ze, qarTvel i erisadmi wayenebul i usafuZvl obral debebi. am SemTxvevaSi yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis- gazeT `respublikaSi- (2011 wl is 8 ivnisi) dabeWdil I jioevis publikaciaze SevaCereb. am weril is yovel i winadadeba, sinamdvil is falsifikacias Seicavs. istoriul i movlenebis Sefasebis sakiTxSi, utyuari saarqivo masal is nacvl ad, misi avtori XX saukunis sabWoTa periodis 20\_ 30- iani wl ebis bol Sevikuri ideologiis aqtiuri warmomadgenlebis nazrevs eyrdnoba.

I jioevis saxiT, Tu ramdenad maRal i donis araprofessional Tan gvaqvs saqme, amis sailustraciოდ მისივე publikაციიდან oriode faqts movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, imsa-xurebs Tu ara igi ndobis gamocxadebas. 1)udao `aRmoCenad- unda Caetval os I jioevis, roca saqarTvel os damouki debel i saxel mwifos arseboba 1917 wels gadmoitana da am ararsebul i saxel mwifos მTავრობის ტავმჯ დომარედ n.Jordania daasaxel a. `После провозглашения независимого грузинского государства в 1917 году, правительство Ноя Жордания...;- 2)imave I jioevma, osebis 1918 wl is martis pirvel i aj anyebis CamxSobad saqarTvel os xel isu- fl eba mi iCnia. `Первый погром в мятежном регионе грузинские власти устроили в марте 1918 года.-

`mecnierul i mignebebis- miuxedavad, I. jioevs da mis Tanamoazreebs unda Sevaxseno: a)1917 wl is martidan 14 noembris CaTvl iT, amierkavkasiis\_ `amierkavkasiis gansakuTrebul i komiteti (ozakomi)- marTavda; b)imave wl is 15 noembridan amierkavkasiis xel isufi eba amierkavkasiis komisariatis xel Si gadavida, roml is Semadgenl oba qarTvel ebis, azerbaijanel ebis da somxebis warmomadgenl ebiT iyo dakompl eqtebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, regionSi mimdinare politikur procesebTan dakavSirebul yvel a mniSvnel ovan sakiTxs amierkavkasiis komisariati (mTavroba) wyvetda; g)1918 wl is 10 (23) Teberval s, amierkavkasiis komisariatma, amierkavkasiis seimi moiwvia, romel mac imave wl is 13 (26) april s amierkavkasiis mTavroba (qarTvel ebis, azerbaijanel ebis, somxebis Semadgenl obiT) daamtkica; d)amierkavkasiis mTavrobis ufi ebamosil eba 1918 wl is 26 maisamde gagrZel da; e)1918 wl is 26 maiss saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba gamoxadda da imave dResve saqarTvel os pirveli erovnul i mTavroba iqna damtkicebul i, roml is Tavmj domared n.ramiSvili airCies; v)rac Seexeban.Jordaniis, igi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os pirveli mTavrobis Tavmj domared saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos 1918 wl is 24 ivnisis sxdomam daamtkica.

aRniSnul faqtebze ase dawvril ebiT yuradReba imitom SevaCere, rom mkiTxvel isadmi meCvenebina; sayovel TaodaRiarebul da dadasturebul istoriul movlenebs, I. jioevi mistvis sasurveli `SemoqmedebiT- fericval ebiT rom warudgens farTo sazogadoebas. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, advil ad misaxvedri unda iyos, \_ osi separatistebis da maT Soris I. jioevis msgavsi adamianebs mier, osebis TiTqosda genocidSi qarTvel ebis dasadanaSaul ebl ad motanili faqtebi, ramdenad SeiZl eba iyos sando da sinamdvil es Seesabamebodes. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom osi separatistebis mxridan ideologiur frontze 2006 wl idan gansakuTrebuli gaaqtiurebis xel SemwyoberT\_ erT faqtors, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi osebis mier 1918\_ 1925 wl ebSi Cadenil danaSaul ebebze qarTuli mxaris dumili da saerTaSoriso sazogadoebis

saqmis kursSi arCayeneba warmoadgens. arada, saarqivo masa-  
 l ebiT dasturdeba, rom 1918 wl is ianvridan 1925 wl is CaTvl iT,  
 saqarTvel oSi- Sida qarTI is mTis zonaSi mcxovreba saqa-  
 rTvel os moqal aqe osebma, qarTvel ebTan mimarTebsi geno-  
 cidis tol fasi danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi Caidnes. amis erT\_  
 erT dadasturebas 1918 wl is 26 da 28 ianvars safal avandoSi\_  
 sofel bel oTsa da yel eTSi osebis yril obebze mi Rebul i  
 gadawyvetil ebebi warmoadgens. am masal ebis mixedviT, Si da  
 qarTI is qarTvel i Tavad\_ aznaurobisatvis iaraRi unda  
 aeyaraT da ZiriTadi nawil i dedabudianad amoewyvitat.  
 rac Seexeba cocxl ad darCenil ebs, kuTvnil i sacxovri-  
 sidan iZul ebiti meTodebis (cema, sikvdil is muqara) gamo-  
 yenebit gamoedevnat da maTi qoneba miesakuTrebi naT. dasa-  
 xul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, osi separatistebis aqti-  
 uri moqmedeba 1918 wl is ianvris bol o ricxvebidan daiwyo.  
 amis damadasturebel ia Tbil isis guberniis komi sris kj afa-  
 rizis mier saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos, osebis erovnul i  
 sabWos, somxebis erovnul i sabWos, musul imanebis erovnul i  
 sabWos, Tbil isis guberniis aRmasrul ebel i komi tetis, so-  
 cial - demokratiul i muSaTa partiis kavkasiis saol qo  
 komi tetis, muSaTa da j ariskacTa deputatebis kavkasiis  
 samxareo centrisa da amierkavkasiis komi sariatisadmi 1918  
 wl is 3 Teberval s gagzavnil i tel efonograma. am do-  
 kumentSi cvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebit  
 vkiTxul obT: «Сегодня ко мне явились представители помещиков  
 Гомского участка, Горийского уезда, Палавандови, Амираджиби,  
 Цициановы и др. и заявили, что в этом участке, под предводитель-  
 ством некоего Харебашвили, именующего себя прапорщиком, осетина  
 по национальности, образовалась шайка численностью 250- 300  
 человек, вернувшихся с фронта солдат, осетины по национальности.  
 Означенная шайка производит в Гомском участке насилия, грабежи,  
 убийства, вырезая целые семьи помещиков. Третьего дня вырезана  
 вся семья помещика Георгия Николаевича Визирова в сел. Осиаури.  
 Сознательная часть крестьянства протестует против действий  
 означенной шайки, но не может оказать сопротивление, в виду неор-

ганизованности своей и отсутствия на руках оружия.

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

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

Посылать же незначительную силу Горийской уездной милиции нет смысла, так как можно быть заранее уверенным, что милиция эта не сумеет дать должного отпора шайке, и этим будет окончательно дискредитирована, в глазах населения, администрация, и положение помещиков еще ухудшится.» am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom im momentisaTvis, adgil obrivi mil iciis organoebisa da Tbil isis guberniis komisars Seiararebul i osi separati- stebis asal agmad da qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurebis sicocxl is gadasarcenad, damcavi meqanizmis amoqmedebis SesaZl ebl oba ar gaaCnda. mdgomareobas isic arTul ebda, rom osma separati- stebma Tavianti gegmis amoqmedeba saqarTvel osatvis umZimes pol itikur situacias daamTxvies. mxedvel obasi maqvs osmal e- TTan saomari mdgomareoba da yvel a saxeobis samxedro Senae- rTis saqarTvel o\_ osmal eTis frontze gadasrol is faqti. am SemTxvevaSi, ixarebovis 250- 300 kacisagan Semdgar Seiararebul marbiel Ta osur bandas, qarTvel i Tavad- aznaurobis winaaRmdog vandal uri qmedebis daubrkol ebl ad gatarebis SesaZl ebl oba mieca. saarqivo masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom goris mazraSi Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciidan gamomdinare, amierkavkasiis komisariati da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWo iZul ebul i gaxda osmal eTis frontze gasagzavni gvardiidan erTi qvedanayofi Sida qarTI Si osi bandformirebebis asal a- gmad gadaesrol a. aRniSnul i RonisZiebis gatarebamde, osma separatistebma 1918 wl is 25 ianvridan 17 martis CaTvl iT, Tavianti Canafiqris minimumis ganxorciel eba moaswres. mom- xdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT, goris samazro mil iciis ganyofi- l ebaSi Sesul i operatiul i monacemebis mixedviT irkveva,

rom qarTvel Ta moZul e osebma, poruÇik i.xarebovis Seiara-  
Rebul razmTan erTad Sida qarTI is sofl ebis: avl evis,  
aradeTis, abisis, bal Tis, zemo xvedureTis, Tedel eTis, qarel is,  
Tel aT- goris, igoeTis, knol evis, kexij varis, sof. kaspis, l eTis,  
mej vrisxevis, niÇbisis, osiauris, sasxoris, sacixuris, sanebel is,  
yinwisis, yornisis, ceronisis, Zvil eTis, wweris, waRvl is, xodis,  
Tavad- aznauroba gaZarcva, maTi saxl - kari gadawva, didi  
umravl esoba kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gaaZeve, xol o umetesoba  
adgil zeve sikvdil iT dasaj a.

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

*gaZarcves, pirutyvi gai taces, saxl - kari gadauwves  
da sacxovrisidan gaaZeves:* daviT nikol ozis Ze cici-  
Svil i, kote da sandro raJdenis Ze ciciSvil ebi, tano cici-  
Svil i, mixeil daviTis Ze ciciSvil i, tato ciciSvil i,  
nikol oz irakl is Ze ciciSvil i, l uarsab ciciSvil i, daviT  
petres Ze ciciSvil i, grigol ciciSvil i, sandro ciciSvil i,  
iul on amirej ibi, giga amirej ibi, oqro amirej ibi, kote ami-  
rej ibi, gigl a amirej ibi, vaso amirej ibi, nika amirej ibi,  
vaso bagrationi, fal avandiSvil ebis 9 oj axi, kol ia qu-  
rdevaniZe, iSxnel ebi, kal atoziSvil ebi, daTo da giga xerxe-  
ul iZeebi, tatiSvil ebi, gabo gverdwiTel i.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom goris mazris  
zemoT CamoTvl il i mokl ul i, gaZarcvul i da sacxovrisidan  
osebhis mier gaZevebul i Tavad- aznaurTa winaprebis umetesobam,  
Crdil oeTidan Sida qarTI Si tabarukad mosul i osebi xizanis  
statusiT Seifara, arsebobisa da osuri oj axis Seqmnis

SesaZl ebl oba misca. am sikeTisaTvis mis STamomavl ebs osebma madl iereba zemoaRniSnul i RonisZiebiT gadauxades.

rac Seexeba 1918 wl is martis osebis aj anyebas, igi sabWoTa ruseTis mier iyo dafinansebul i da misi xel mZRvanel i poruCiKi i.xarebovi, s.Saumianis miTiTebebiT moqmedebda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom aj anyebul ma osebma 1918 wl is 18 marts cxinval i aiRes da iq macxovrebel i qarTvel i, ebrael i da somexi mosaxl eoba safuZvl ianad gaZarcves. wamebiT mokl es saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos mier cxinval is regionSi sapasuxismgebl o Tanamdebobebze daniSnul i warmomadgenl ebi: giorgi maCabel i, sandro kecxovel i, petre efremiZe, kosta kaziEvi, kote cercvaZe. 140 wiTel gvardiel i tyved aiyvanes. 19 marts `osebis erovnul i sabWos- saxel iT cxinval Si sabWoTa xel isufl eba gamoacxades da daba cxinval is komendatad kul umbekovi daniSnes.

saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobisaTvis mebrZol tyvedCavardnil daWril meomrebs Tu ra formiT awamebdnen osi separatistebi, amis sail ustraci od gazeT `al ionSi- (# 24) d- l i (daviT sul iaSvil i) fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i korespondencia\_ `Sida qarTI Si (nawyvetebi revol ucioneris dRiuridan marti. 1918 w.-) gamodgeba. `StabSi gavige\_ wers d.-l i (daviT sul iaSvil i)\_ veragul ad mokl ul i g.maCabel i, s.kecxovel i da sxva gvardiel ebi Camoasvenes. naxvis nebarTva aviRe da saavadmyofoSi, sadac isini esvenen\_ sanaxavad wavedi. roca meubnebodnen Tu ramdenad iyvnen isini dasaxiCrebul ni, ar mj eroda. megona Zal ian gadametebul ia meTqi. saavadmyofos ufrosi TviT wamomyva, dawvril ebiT amixsna Wril obani. saSinel i, gul Semzaravi suraTi iyo. Cemda mou odnel ad, rac gamegona yvel aferi gamravl ebul i aRmoCnda. g.maCabel i tyviebiT dacxril ul i iyo muxl ebSi. mere xanj l iT daCxvl etil i mTel tanze, safeTql is zeviT xanj l is wveriT Tavis qal a TiTqmis agl ej il i... sxeul is aseTi umsgavso da vel uri damaxinj eba... CemTvis auxsnel ia, adamiანი aseT gamxecebamdis rogor mi va.

s.kecxovel s marj vena mxridan mucel Si tyvia hqonda mo-  
üü



xvedril i, ramaC mas sicocxl e mouspo al baT. Semdeg vel urebs Tavi moeWraT, magram kiserSi ki ara, mkerdidan hqonda akepil i, Tavis qal a damsxvreul i. saxeze wwerebis meti aRaraferi Canda. ambobdnen mokvl is Semdeg sxeul i quCaze egdo da zed fai tonebiT dadi odnen... gabruebul i, dabneul i gamovedi saavadmyofodan.-

Cems mier motanil i amonawerIT dadasturebul i osuri vandal izmis Semzaravi faqtebi, osi separatistebis namoqmedaris Tval saCinoebis erT\_ erT ni muSs warmoadgens da fantaziiT, faSistur sakoncentracio banakebSi adami anTa sawamebl ad da dasasaxiCrebl ad gamoyenebul formebsac ki aRemateba. Tuki aRni Snul faqts miudgomel i poziciidan civi gonebiT SevafasebT, wi na pl anze ori sakiTxi wamoiweva: a) qarTvel Ta mimarT osi separatistebis gansakuTrebul i siZul vil i da b) Sida qarTl is qarTul i mosaxl eobis daSinebis mcdel oba. `osuri ideis- xel SemSl el qarTvel obas aSkarad mi ani Snebdnen, rom wi naaRmdegobis gawevis SemTxvevaSi, isini g.maCabl isa da s.kecxovel is beds gaziarebdnen.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom droebiTi warmatebiT frTaSesxmul ma osma separatistebma sof. j ava, daba cxinval i da misi mimdebare teritoriebi goris mazras TviTneburad Camoacil a da misi mmarTvel oba osebis ero-vnul sabWos dauqvemdebara. es nabiji, saqarTvel os ero-vnul i sabWosa da amierkavkasiis mTavrobisadmi oficial urad daumorcil ebl obas, omis gamocxadebis tol fas qmedebas warmoadgenda.

rac Seexeba osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas da osi separati-stebisadmi qarTul i saxel mwifos mxridan Rirseul i pasuxis gacemas, es faqti, sabWourma istoriografiam farTo sazoga-doebas gaukurmarTebul i formiT warudgina. damouki debel i saqarTvel os xel isufl eba anaTemas gadasca mxol od imisTvis, rom qarTul i mosaxl eoba osuri genocidigan, g.maCabl isa da s.kecxovel is mimarT Catarebul i zemoaRni Snul i wamebiTi sasj el isagan daicva da qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianoba

SeinarCuna. am fonze, maTi mxridan Segnebul ad pasuxgaucemel i  
 rCebeda: aj anyebul i osebis gamarjvebis SemTxvevaSi, ra  
 mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda srul iad saqarTvel o da konkretul  
 ad Sida qarTli is qarTul i mosaxl eoba. miTumetes, `samxreT  
 oseTis- revkomis mier Sedgenil dokumentebSi, osi separatistebis  
 miznebi da amocanebi gamokveTil i formiTaa gamJRavnebul i.  
 am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa  
 da partkomis 1921 wl is 6\_ 8 seqtembris erTobl iv sxdomaze miRebul  
 i dadgenil ebisadmi darTul i `mokl e ganmartebiT baraTi- iqcevs.  
 masSi aRiarebul ia, rom 1919 wl is oqtombridan osebi gamudmebiT  
 ayenebdnen sakiTxs `samxreT oseTis- politikuri TviTgamorkvevisa  
 da Tergis respublikasTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb. imave `samxreT oseTis-  
 revkomis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss  
 gagzavnil moxsenebaSi vkiTxul obT: `1920 wl is zafxul Si...  
 samxreT oseTis mosaxl eobis uRaribesma nawil ma revo- l uci-  
 uri aj anyebis droSa aRmarTa l ozungiT: `gaumarj os sabWoTa  
 xel isufl ebas saqarTvel oSi, Zirs burJuaziul \_ menSevikuri  
 tirania.- sabWoTa da Semdgomi periodis osuri da rusul i  
 istoriografia pasuxgaucemel s tovebda kiTxvebs: 1)osi separatistebis  
 zemoaRniSnul i miswrafebebi ramdenad j deboda samarTl ebriv  
 CarCoSi; 2)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os moqal aqe osebi val  
 debul ni iyvnen Tu ara saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebi  
 daecva; 3)osi separatistebis antisaxel mwifoebri vi aj anye-  
 bebis gamarTl ebis fonze, XIX saukuneSi dapyrobel CeCneTs,  
 imave ruseTis xel isufl ebam, XX saukunis 90- ian wl ebSi  
 ratom ar misca damoukidebl oba da ra mizniT moaxdina am eris  
 genocidi. miTumetes, CeCneTisagan gansxvavebi T, Sida qarTli  
 i, odiTganve saqarTvel os ganuyofel i istoriul i nawil i iyo  
 da iq xiznebis saxiT Casaxl ebul i da damkvidrebul i osebi,  
 rogorc saqarTvel os moqal aqeebi val debul ni iyvnen\_  
 damoukidebel i saqarTvel os aRmSenebl obis samsaxurSi  
 Camdgariyvnen, gareSe mterTan brZol aSi, qarTvel i kacis  
 mxardamxar Tavisi wil i sisxl i daeRvaraT. aseTi nabij is  
 gadadgma osebis mxridan 1917\_ 1921 wl ebis monakveTsi\_

istorias ar axsovs. isini saqarTvel os teritoriaze para-  
zitul cxovrebas eweodnen. damoukidebl i saqarTvel os  
xel isufl eba, ramdenadac qarTvel i erisa da misi saxel mwifos  
interesebs icavda, osi separatistebis aj anyebebsa da anti-  
saxel mwifoebrivi miznebis ganxorciel ebis mcdel obebs,  
bunebrivia, Sesatyvisi RonisZiebebis gatarebiT upasuxebda.  
yovel ive zemoTqmul i da Cems xel T arsebul i saarqivo  
masal ebis safuZvl iani anal izi SesaZl ebl obas maZl evs ga-  
nvaxado: zogierTi Tanamedrove rusi da osi istorikosis  
mier osebis aj anyebebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os pirvel i  
respubl ikis xel isufl ebis damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb gake-  
Tebul i daskvnebi, iseTive yal bi da al ogikuria, rogorc  
sabWoTa periodis qarTvel da os istorikosTa Sefasebebi.  
amis damadasturebl ad Semdegi faqtebi gamodgeba: asurgu-  
l azis azriT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier  
aj anyebul i osebis winaarmddeg gatarebul i RonisZiebebi es  
iyo `oseTis mSromel Ta sastiki dasj a,- `mTel i oseTis saSi-  
nel i awiokeba.- avtori iseT fons qmnis, TiTqos saqarTvel oSi  
marTI ac arsebul iyo `oseTi- da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os  
xel isufl ebas bunebaSi ararsebul i `oseTis- mosaxl eoba  
daesaj os. igi erT sityvasac ar axsenebs, rom osebis mier  
mowyobil i aj anyebebis kerebi, saqarTvel os teritoriis ganu-  
yofel nawil s warmoadgenda da am teritoriaze mcxovrebi  
eTnikuri umciresobebis mxridan misi xel yofa, yovel gavari  
saxis samarTI ebriv normebs scil deboda. istoriis gaya-  
l bebis Tval sazrisiT kidev ufro Sors wavida osi isto-  
rikosi v.abaevi. misi mtkicebiT, `menSevikebis mxecobis Sedegad  
moxda samxreT oseTis meurneobis ekonomikuri safuZvl is  
moSl a, qveyanam dakarga yvel a ZiriTadi piroba Tavisi Semdgomi  
arsebobisaTvis\_ teritoria, saxl - kari, ganicada auracxel i  
tanj va.- am amonaweris mixedviT, ararsebul i `samxreT oseTi-  
(1920 wel zea saubari) cal ke qveynadaa gamocxadebul i, roml is  
ekonomika `menSevikebis- mier osebis aj anyebis `mxecurad-  
Caqrobis Sedegad iqna TiTqos dangreul i. am SemTxvevaSi  
igi sityva\_ sityviT imeorebda `samxreT oseTis- revkomis

mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 12 maiss wardgenil moxsenebaSi gatarebul Tval sazris. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: osebis `Пятое по счету восстание было раздавлено с невероятной жестокостью. Классовый враг трудящихся огнем и мечем прошёл по восставшему району, истребляя население не разбирая ни пола, ни возраста.

Цветущая страна в размере восьми сельских обществ, с количеством населения в сорок тысяч душ жителей (около 4000 дворов) веками взлелеенная упорным трудом трудящейся бедноты превратилась в одни развалины. Потери и убытки причиненные воинствующей «ратью» Жордания ещё пока что не приведены в известность. Цифры, которые будут приводиться- приблизительно. Около 2500 домов и всяких хозяйственных построек совершенно уничтожены огнем со всем домашним скарбом». rogorc vxedavT, siyal beze agebul i da sabWouri ideol ogiiT damZimebul i am amonaweris mixedviT, goris mazris Crdil oeTi nawil i (Sida qarTI is mTiani zona), saqarTvel osgan gaucxoebul qveynadaa miCneul i. rac Seexeba damouki debel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domares da misadmi qvemdebare uwyebebs (`kampanias-), `mSromel Ta kl asobrivi mtrad- da `ayvavebul i ucxo qveynis dampyrobel damqaSebadaa-gamocxadebul i. am siyal bis Semqmnel i avtori\_ ajatievi Segnebul ad uvl ida gverds Semdeg mniSvnel ovan faqtebs: a) saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavroba da misi Tavmj domare n.Jordania, damfuZnebel i krebis mier rom iyo arCeul i; b) damfuZnebel i kreba, srul iad saqarTvel os mSromel i xal xis (maT Soris osebis) umravl esobis nebis gamoxatul ebas wadmoadgenda (g.gagl oevi, k.panievi da a.farnievi damfuZnebel krebaSi social \_ demokratiul i partiis siiT, osebis mier arCeul i deputatebi iyvnen); g) saerTaSoriso samarTI is Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobasa da mis Tavmj domares srul i l egitimacia gaaCnda, raTa goris mazraSi wesrigis aRsadgenad da Sida qarTI Si mSromel i qarTvel i mosaxl eobis interesebis dasacavad, aj anyebul i osebis wi naaRmdeg Sesabamisi RonisZiebebi gaetarebina.

rac Seexeba imave dokumentSi motanil gamonaTqvams; `cecx-

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

miuxedavad amisa, aj atievis zemoaRni Snul i gadaumowmebel i raodenobrivi monacemebi, sabWoTa periodis zogierTma qarTvel ma da osma istorikosma WeSmaritebad aRiara da garkveul i doziT afiSirebac gauwia. sinamdvil is mizanmimarTul ad gayal bebul i da gasul i saukunis 20- ian wl ebSi gamogonil i faqtebi daedo safuZvl ad 2006 wl is oqtomberSi `samxreT oseTis- parl amentisgan miRebul dekl aracias\_ 1918\_ 1920 wl ebSi osi xal xis e.w. genocidis Sesaxeb. am dokumentis er- Tgvar gamoZaxils, `samxreT oseTis- gazeT `republ ikaSi- (2011 wl is 8 ivnisi) dabeWdil i I jioevis publ ikacia warmo- adgens. masSi, saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis xel isu- fl ebis mier osebis farTomasStabiani e.w. genocidis Catarebis Sesaxeb bral deba, yovel gvare dasabuTebis gareSea warmo- dgenil i. I jioevis gancxadebiT, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam 1920 wels TiTqos 5279 osi moakvl evina. aqedan 1375 qal i da 1844 bavSvi (yovel i mesame). qarTvel i eris mimarT wayenebul i es umZimesi bral deba, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier 1920 wl is movl enebis Sesaswavl ad Se- qmnil i komisiebis (1921 wel i) arcerTi daskvniT ar dasturdeba. aseT faqtebs marTl ac rom qonoda adgili, pirvel rigSi

komisiebis daskvnaSi aucil ebl ad aisaxeboda. meore mxriv, osi separatistebis l obisti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os mTavrobis maRal Cinosnebi, kavbiuro da misi xel mZRvanel i s.orj onikiZe mas wina pl anze wamoswevda, droSasaviT aafrial ebda da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mTavrobis gansaqi-gebl ad warmatebul adac gamoiyenebda. saarqivo masal ebis Seswavl idan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis mtkiceba, rom zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis muSaobis damTavrebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da kavbiuros maRal Cinosnebs, osebis ew. genocidTan dakavSirebiT ara Tu raime saxis ganxadeba, aramed miniSnebac ar gaukeTebia. es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas da kavbiuros, dokumenturad dasabuTebul i mtkicebul ebani ar gaaCnda. yovelive es safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan 5279 osis\_ qal ebisa da bavSvebis TiTqosda amowyveta, sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa dakveTiT, sabWouri istoriografiis miera SeTxzul i da ideol ogiur frontze saqarTvel os pirvel i republ ikis mTavrobis diskreditacias isaxavda miznad. am faqtoris qarTvel Ta sawinaaRmdegod gamoyeneba, arsebul i politikuri koniunqTuridan gamomdinare, osma separatistebma saukeTeso saSual ebad miiCnies. sanam qarTvel ebi saRaTas Rma Zil s Tavs daaRwevden da gons moegeboden, manam ierisze gadmosvl a amj obines. Sida qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi 1918\_ 1925 wl ebSi osTa mier Cadenil i barbarosul i qmedebebi\_ eTnowmenda da genocidis tol fasi danaSaul i (qal ebisa da bavSvebis mizanmimarTul ad amowyveta, aseul obiT mamakacis sabZel Si dawwa, arasrul wl ovani (8 wl is) gogonebis gaupatiureba, qarTul i mosaxl eobis kuTvnil i sacxovrisidan gamodevna da a.S.), utyuari saarqivo dokumenturi masal iTaa dadasturebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის მერ Seqmnil i zemoT dasaxel ebul i komisiebis moxsenebebi da daskvnebi. aRniSnul i danaSaul is gadafarvis mizniT, anal ogiuri

bral debebi osebma, qarTvel i eris mimarT gaavr cel es. amit, saerTaSoriso arenaze `ucodvel i- da qarTvel ebisgan `daCa-grul i- eris imij is Seqmnas Seecadnen.

osi separatistebis mier SeTxzul i da qarTvel i erisadmi cil iswamebebiT damZimebul i zemoT dasaxel ebul i tendenci- uri xasiaTis masal is ukritikod miReba da nebismeri isto- rikosis mxridan misi damowmeba, an masSi gatarebul i Sexedu- l ebis TuTiyuSiviT gameoreba, ama Tu im mkvl evaris ara marto upasuxismgebl obaze, aramed gansakuTrebul tendenciurobaze da separatistebis mxridan qarTvel erTan mimarTebaSi Cade- nil i danaSaul is mifuCeCeCebis mcdel obaze miuTiTebis. igive v.abaevi, aj atievis msgavsad arafers ambobs, rom mis mier `sa- mxreT oseTad- gamocxadebul i Sida qarTl i, saqarTvel os ganuyofel i nawil ia da osebis zemoaRniSnul ma aj anyebebma Tu ra ziani miayena damoukidebel i saqarTvel os ekonomika da biuj ets. isini sazogadoebas simarTl es imis Sesaxebac umal aven, rom qarTul i j arisa da gvardiis SeteviTi samxedro operaciebi mxol od ukandaxeul i aj anyebul i SeiaraRebul i osebis moZraobis\_ cxinval i\_ java\_ rokis sasofl o sazo- gadoebebis gavl iT mimdinareobda. rac Seexeba sxva sasofl o sazogadoebebis teritoriebs, maT fargl ebSi mniSvnel ovan saomar moqmedebes adgil i ar qonia. damoukidebel i saqa- rTvel os xel isufl ebis misamarTiT, osi istorikosebis mier gasul saukuneSi gakeTebul zemoaRniSnul absurdul daskvnas, separatistul ad moazrovne osi istorikosebi dResac iziare- ben.

XX da XXI saukunis osuri historiografia am fonze axdenda da axdens damarcxebul i osi aj anyebul ebisa da misi Tanamo- azreebis (20 aTasi) mier saqarTvel os teritoriis iZul ebiT datovebis afiSirebas. Segnebul ad uvl idnen gverds gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komi- sariatTan arsebul i sagangebo komisiis mier Sekrebi l i fa- qtobrivi masal is safuZvel ze momzadebul uaRresad sayuradRebo moxsenebas. am dokumentSi SaviT TeTrzea miTi- Tebul i: 1)damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam osebs

1920 wl amde mowyobil i aj anyebebi apatia; 2)osebis saxl kars qarTul i jaris nawil ebi ki ar wvavda, aramed TviTon osebi ukidebda cecxl s, raTa igi qarTvel ebs ar darCenodaT. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTul obT: `osebs 1918 wl is ...aj anyeba da menSevikebis adgil obrivi lide-rebis\_ skecxovel is da g.maCabel is sikvdil ic ki apaties. araviTari Zal momreoba maTze ar uxmariaT. mxol od aj anyebis gameorebas 1920 wel Si mohyva sastiki zomebi jaris mxridan osebisadmi... Tbil isSi mTavrobas cnoba mouvida, rom jarebi saxl ebs swvaveno. mTavroba SeekiTxax saxl ebs dawvis mizezs. jaris ufrosebma upasuxes: oseTi mTiani adgil ebia, jaris sxvadasxva nawil ebs Soris urTierToba ar arsebobs da rom erTma nawil ma gaigos sad imyofeba meore nawil i, saWiroa cecxl is gaCenao... al zed rom gaigon nawil is adgil samyofel i, amisaTvis sofl is ganapira Zvel s da dangreul s, upatronod mitovebul sabZel s an sxva qoxs wvavT, isic TiToeul sofel Si mxol od TiTos. TviTon osebi ki binis datovebis dros saxl ebs ukideben cecxl s.- osebis saxl kars masobrivad gadawva qarTul i jaris nawil ebs marTI acda miznad rom qonoda dasaxul i, osebis oTxgzis aj anyebebis keras\_ sofel j avas gadawvavdnen da miwasTan gaasworebdnen. samxedro operaciebis maral doneze Catarebis Sedegad, sofel j avis gadawva ramdenadac osebma ver moaswres, am sofl is sacxovrebel i saxl ebisaTvis qarTul i jaris nawil ebs xel i ar uxl ia. amis udao dadasturebas, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil i moxsenebis daskvniTi nawil i warmoadgens. `sof. j avaSi,\_vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariat is mier miRebul i utyuari faqtebiT arcerTi saxl i ar aris damwvari an dangreul i.-

Cven Sorsa varT im azrisagan, rom sabrZolo operaciebis ganxorciel ebis Sedegad ama Tu im sofel Si sacxovrebel i saxl ebisadmi cecxl is gaCena an misi dangreva uarvyoT, magram osebis danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis qarTul i jarisadmi gadabral eba mkrexel obad mimaCnia. miTumetes, Cems mier zemoT



motanil i faqtebi, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatist mieraadadasturebul i. dRevandel i gadasaxedidan, aucil ebl obas warmoadgens, 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebiT Seqmnil i usafuZvl o bral debebis gadafaseba dokumentur masal ebze dayrdnobiT moxdes. miTumetes, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis diskreditacia da osuri separatizmist gafetiSeba mTel i 70 wl is manZil ze istoriis fal sifikaciis xarj ze xdeboda. am saqmeSi ganuzomel i wl il i osuri separatizmist da sabWoTa ideol ogiis erT\_ erTma damcvel ma f.maxaraZem Seitana, magram masityvac ar uTqvams imis Sesaxeb, rom SeiaraRebul ma osebma al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis etapobrivi Seviwroeba, SemdgomSi eTnowmenda da genocidi rom ganaxorciel a. aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, al agiris qarTvel ebis axal Senis rwmunebul is mier saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris egegeWkoris saxel ze gamogzavnil oficial ur mimarTvaSi dasmul i iyo sakiTxi; 1)saqarTvel os xel isuflebas, Crdil oetkavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis mZime mdgomareobis Sesa-swavl ad pasuxismgebel i warmomadgenel i gaegzavna; 2)gaerkviaT is material uri da fizikuri zaral i, romelic SeiaraRebul i osebis Tavdasxmam al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel obas miayena. saqarTvel os xel isuflebam Tu ramdenad SeZl o aRniSnul i Txovnis dakmayofil eba, amis damadasturebel dokumentis jerjerobiT ver miyavil iet. am SemTxvevaSi Semdegi ori faktorია gasaTval iswinebel i: 1)denikinsa da sabWoTa ruseTis xel isuflebas Soris Crdil o kavkasiaSi mimdinare saomari moqmedebebi da 2)saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobis Sesazl ebl obebi, Tu ramdenad miuwvdeboda xel i im etapze ucxo qveynis teritoriaze mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis interesTa dasacavad. ruseTis da maT Soris Crdil o kavkasiaSi Seqmnil i mZime anarqiul i procesebidan gamomdinare, diplomatiuri saSual ebebiT problemiss mowesrigeba SeuZl ebel i iyo. erTaderTi gamosaval i mxol od saqarTvel os sazRvrebamde moRweul i devnil ebis patronobaSi mdgomareobda. am mxriv, saqarTvel os maSindel ma xel isuflebam gansakuTrebul i

yuradReba gamoiCina. amis damadasturebel ia sagareo saqmeTa ministris e.gegeWkorus mier Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.rami-Svil isadmi gagzavnil i oficial uri weril i. `yazbegidan\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ pol kovniki wereTel i depeSiT i uwyeba, rom al agirSi bol Sevikebis damarcxebis dros osebs auwiokebiaT qarTvel ebi, saxl ebi dauwvavT, sarCo da qoneba dautacebiaT. 500 qarTul i oj axi gafantul a da mxol od 60 koml s kavkavamde CamouRwevia, magram iqac myudroeba ver upovnia, radgan am qal aqs gars Semortymian osebi da kazakebi. kavkavis qarTvel ebi c saSinel mdgomareobaSi Cavardnil an... me depeSiT davaval e pol kovnik wereTel s, raTa saswrafo RonisZieba miRos da l tol vil ebs saqarTvel oSi dasabruneb ad xel i Seuwyos. xol o Tqvena gTxovT, saTanado gankargul eba moaxdinoT da l tol vil ebs saswrafod nivTieridaxmareba aRmouCinoT.- saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom al agiridan devnil da kavkavSi Casul qarTvel ebs, osebisgan politiki sababiT devnil i kavkavSi macxovrebel i qarTvel ebi c SeuerTda. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os mTavrobis 1919 wl is 11 Tebervl is sagangebo sxdomis saqmo CanawerebSi vkiTxul obT: **moi smines:** samxedro gzis razmis ufrosis pol k. wereTel is pirdapiri mavTul iT cnoba imis Sesaxeb, rom moxal iseTa mier kavkavis aRebis Semdeg, respublikis sazRvris axl os Tavi mouyriaT qarTvel l tol vil ebs da politikur devnil T 600 kcamde, romel nic sTxoven saqarTvel os mTavrobas neba misceT maT respublikis sazRvrebSi Semosvl isa. **dadgines:** gadaeces pol kovnik wereTel s pirdapiris mavTul iT Semdegi: saqarTvel os mTavroba Tanaxma aris SemouSvas Tavis teritoriaze qarTvel i l tol vil ebi. politikur devnil T mieceT TavSesafari, rogorc es miRebul ia saerTaSoriso ufl ebit. Tu maT Tan aRmoaCndebaT samxedro masal a da sxva raime saxel mwifo qoneba... yovel ive es sazRvarze CamoerTvaT kanonieri mowmebis TandaswrebiT saTanado oqmis SedgeniT. TviT l tol vil ni ki yaraul is qveS gamogzavnil i unda iqnen Tbil isSi sadac maTi vinaoba iqneba garkveul i. es gadaWyvetil eba ecnobos ingl isel ebis misias.-

marTal ia, am dokumentebSi mxol od al agiridan 60 koml is kavkavSi Casvl aze, aq pol itikurad devnil i kavkavel i qarTvel ebis maTTan SeerTebaze da saqarTvel oSi dabrunebis xel Sewyobazea saubari, magram yuradRebis mi Rma ar unda dagvrÇes: a)oseTSi qarTvel ebi pol itikuri niSni Tac rom idevneboda da b)zemoaRni Snul i qarTvel Ta 60 koml i, al agiridan gamodevnil i qarTvel ebis erT mcire Stos rom war moadgenda.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom al agirSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi separatizmis gzas ar dadgomian, osuri mosaxl eobis Zarcva ar dauwyiaT, osebis wi naaRmdeg i araRi ar aRumarTavT da arc saqarTvel osTan teritoriul ad SeerTeba mouTxoviaT. mi uxedavad amisa, qarTvel Ta sizul vil i, maTi qonebis mi tacebisa da osuri mi wa- wyl idan qarTvel Ta masobrivad gamodevnis survil i osebSi imdenad didi iyo, rom 1919 wl is 11 ianvars, zamTris susxian dReebSi RamiT, osebma al agirSi mcxovrebi mSvidobiani qarTvel ebis saSinel i xocva\_ JI eta, maTi genocidi moawyo. (qal ebis gaupati ureba, bavSvebisa da moxucebis cocxl ad cecxl Si dawva, orsul i qal ebis mucel ze dasera). es iyo osebis mxridan qarTvel ebisadmi biol ogiuri sizul vil is demonstrireba. am samarcxvino faqtTan mi marTebaSi sabWouri istoriografia simarTI es aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi mal avda da qarTvel Ta am tragedias gamrudebul sarkeSi danaxul i aramecnieris poziciidan aSuqebda. aRni Snul sakiTxs sagangebo gamokvl eva istorikosma s.rexviaSvil ma miuZRvna. mdidar dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT 1989 wel s dabeWdil vrcel publ ikaciaSi `al agirel qarTvel Ta tragedia,- man mkiTxvel sazogadoebas is Semzaravi obieqturi suraTi gaacno, romel ic qarTvel ebTan mi marTebaSi 1919 wl is ianvarSi osebma Caidines. **osebis vandal uri qmedebidan gamomdinare, cocxl ad gadarÇenil ma al agiris 500 qarTul ma oj axma (2700 kaci) 40 wl is naSromi miatova da 1919 wl is ianvris susxian dReebSi Crdil o kavkasiidan izul ebiT saqarTvel oSi etapobrivad gadmosvl a daiwyo. am faqtTan**

dakavSi rebiT, s.rexviaSvil i savsebiT samarTI i anad wers:  
`al agiris qarTvel Ta tragedia iyo winaswar ganzraxul i  
da mofi qrebul i aqcia, romel ic miznad isaxavda al agirSi  
qarTvel Ta ganadgurebas, sakuTari karmi damoebi dan ayras  
da gandevnas, maTi qonebisa da binebis dasakuTrebas, ramac  
s.orj onikiZis, s.gegeWkorisa da maT Tanamzraxvel Ta  
wayruebis viTarebaSi, osebs Canafiqris gansaxorciel ebl ad  
xel sayrel i pirobebi Seuqmna.-

es daskvna srul WeSmaritebas Seesabameba, radgan imave bo-  
l Sevikemis xel SewyobiT, qarTvel Ta devna da Crdil o ka-  
vkasiidan misi srul i deportacia mizanimarTul ad mimdi-  
nareobda. amis dadasturebas Crdil oET kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi  
qarTvel ebis mier 1920 wl is 5 agvistos armavirSi mowveul i  
konferenciis Sesaxeb arsebul i monacemebi wadmoadgens. ro-  
gorc irkveva, konferencias daswrebia: soWis, tuapses, novoro-  
siiskis, ekaterinodaris, romanovis xutoris, stavropol is, ma-  
ikopis, armaviris qarTvel Ta mier arCeul i deputatebi, rom-  
l ebic 20 aTasi qarTvel is mandatiT iyvnen konferenciaze  
wardgenil i. konferenciaze xazgasmiT iqna aRni Snul i, rom  
sabWourma xel isufli ebam del egatebis gagzavnis ufl eba  
5000 qarTul oj axs ar misca. maTi warmomadgenl ebi Seg-  
nebul ad konferenciis damTavrebamde iqnen dakavebul ni.  
miRebul rezol uciaSi garkveviT iqna miTitebul i: `Crdil-  
l oET kavkasiis sabWoTa mTavroba angariSs ar uwevs ruse-  
Tsa da saqarTvel os Soris dadebul xel Sekrul ebas. qar-  
Tvel i moqal aqeebi bol Sevikemis gan Seviwroebas gani cdi an.-  
aRni Snul i dan gamomdinare, konferenciis mier arCeul del e-  
gacias daeval a, raTa saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis winase  
principul ad daesva sakiTxi: 1)saWi ro pirobebi moemzadebi na  
Crdil o kavkasiidan qarTvel Ta samSobl oSi dasabrunebl ad  
da 2)Crdil oET kavkasiaSi saqarTvel os el Ci dauyovnebl iv  
daeni Sna.

Crdil oET kavkasiaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebisatvis gau-  
saZl isi pirobebis xel onurad Seqmnis zemoaRni Snul i faqti,  
qarTvel ebis gan regionis etnowmendis mosamzadebel i

safexuris STabeWdil ebas tovebs. misi bol omde gatareba, Crdil oeT kavkasiis sabWouri xel isufl ebis winaswargamiznul i pol itikuri kursis erT\_ erT Semadgenel nawil ad unda iqnas miCneul i. mi Tumetes, osebis mier 1919 wl is ianvarSi al agirSi Catarebul i qarTvel Ta genocidisa da eTnomendis gamo, sabWoTa xel isufl ebas damnaSaveebis mi marT aranairi sadamsjel o RonisZieba ar gautarebia. piriqiT, momxdari faqti ara osuri SovinizmiT da qarTvel Ta siZul vil iT ganpirobebul , aramed samoqal aqo omidan gamomdinare kontrrevol ucionerTa namoqmedarad iqna gamocxadebul i. amiT, sabWoTa xel isufl eba osebis mier Cadenil i danaSaul is da farvas da Segnebul ad mifuCeCebas Seecada. osebtan mimarTebaSi saxel mwifoebriv rangSi ayvanil i dausjel obis pol itikuri kursi, os separatistebis mTel i 70 wl is ganmavl obaSi sinamdvil is gayal bebis srul SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. amis saukeTeso nimuSs, 1983 wl is 10 maiss skkp central uri komitetis general uri mdivnis v.i.andropovis saxel ze gagzavnil i saCivari warmoadgens. am dokumentSi motanil i gayal bebul i faqtebis gamoZaxil is dasada-sturebl ad, separatistul ad moazrovne osi istorikosebis mxridan v.l eninis mier vl adi-kavkazis revkomisadmi 1920 wl is 18 dekembers gagzavnil i depeSis teqstis Sinaarsis, mizandasa-xul obis Sesatyvisad `gadakeTeba- gamodgeba. (I .ToiZe. rogor Seiqmna samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qi. Tb. 1991. gv.100-103) es dokumenti, Tanamedrove osma istorikosebma v.l eninis mier gamocemul gankargul ebad gamoacxades da osebis e.w. `VII genocidSi- mkiTxvel sazogadoebas Semdegi formul irebiT miawodes: «Беженцам из Южной Осетии по распоряжению В.И. Ленина в северо-восточной части г. Владикавказа выделили земельные участки и постепенно начали строить дома». sinamdvil eSi, v.l eninis zemoaRniSnul i depeSa ara os l tol vil ebs, aramed 1919 wels al agiridan osebisgan devnil qarTvel obas exeba. amis damadasturebl ad imave dokumentis srul teqsts movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os osi istorikosebis mecnierul i patiosnebis done. «Телеграмма Владикавказскому Ревкому.

Владикавказ, Ревком. Копия члену реввоенсовета Кавфронта Орджоникидзе. По полученным в совнаркоме сведениям, беженцы гражданской войны, бежавшие от контрреволюционных банд в **1919 г. из селения Алагир в количестве**, свыше 300 семей, находятся в станице Ардонской и в городе Владикавказе в чрезвычайно бедственном положении. Несмотря на все наши хлопоты, беженцы до сих пор не могут добиться возвращения в родные места или помощи по переезду и устройству на новых местах. Срочно удовлетворите законные требования беженцев и окажите им действительную помощь по устройству на постоянное жительство. Написано 18 декабря 1920 г. Предсовнаркома Ленин». (В.И. Ленин. Пол. соб. соч. т.52. ст.299- 300) nebi smieri saRad mo azrovne mkiTxvel i dameTanxmeba, rom am depeSaSi saubaria ara `samxreT oseTidan- 1920 wel s gaxiznul osebze, aramed osebis mier 1919 wl is ianvarSi al agiris tragediis Semdeg cocxl ad gadarCenil i da vl adikavkazSi imave wel s Casul i mxol od 300 devnil i qarTul i oj axis Sesaxeb. saarqivo masal ebis mixedvit, aRniSnul i depeSis daweris momentisaTvis, osebis mier deportirebul i qarTul i oj axebi ZiriTadad saqarTvel oSi iyo gadmosul i da masze mzurunvel oba, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros Sesabamis ganyofil ebas hqonda daval ebul i. dokumenturad dadasturebul ia, rom al agiridan osebis mier gmodevnil i qarTul i oj axebis gadasarCenad da qarTul miwaze dasamkvidrebl ad, saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis mTavrobam, I agodexis raionSi 700 heqtari miwis farTobi gamoyo da rac mTavaria, im etapze arsebul i qveynis mwiri biuj etidan maTTvis maqsimal uri daxmareba gaiRo.

arsebul i dokumenturi masal is safuZvl ianma Seswavl am da misma anal izmma daadastura, rom osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebis monawil eebis qmedeba yaCaRis CarCoSi ar j deboda da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis winaarmdog omis gamocxadebis el ementebis Seicavda. miTumetes, osebis 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebi sabWota ruseTis dafinansebas emyareboda da imave qveynis maRal CinosanTa mxridan imarTeboda. Tuki sakiTxs am formatSi ganvixil avT, saqarTvel os

xel isufli ebis dasamxobad osebis mier mowyobil i 1920 wl is aj anyeba, ruseTis mxridan `SefuTul ~ formebsi saqarTvel osadmi omis gamocxadebas warmoadgenda. mizani imaSi mdgomareobda, rom saqarTvel o samoqal aqo omis cecxli Si gaexviaT da misi gasabWoeba ruseTs iol i gziT ganxorci-el ebina. am fonze, damnaSave osebis dasja, sabWoTa ruse-Tisadmi garkveul miniSnebasac warmoadgenda.

momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebit 1920 wl is 21 seqtembers Tbil isSi gamarTul ma osi social \_ demokratebis TaTbirma, 1920 wl is movl enebTan dakavSirebit sagangebod imsj el a. miRebul i rezol uciit, aj anyebis mizezebis ganmapirobel i faqtorebis wina pl anze wamowevis paral el urad, aRni-Snul i aj anyeba TviT osebis mier iqna dagmobili. imave rezol uciis mixedvit, TaTbiris monawil eni imeds gamoTqvamden, rom xel isufli eba borotmomqmedTa winaarmddeg energiul zomebs miRebda, yuradRebas Sida qarTl is mTis osebis mdgomareobas miaqcevda da aj anyebis likvidacias umtkivneul od daasru- l ebda.

saarqivo masal iT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os saxel mwi- fos mmarTvel i wreebi, osebeze SurisZiebas ar apirebdnen, Tuki amis real ur pirobebs isev osebi ar Seqmnidnen. xel isufli ebis mxridan am mimarTul ebit pirvel i praqtikul i nabiji 1920 wl is 28 ivl iss gadaidga. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sinagan saqmeTa ministris n.ramiSvil is, kancel ariis dire- qtoris p.gegel aSvil is da respublikis administraciis inspe- qtoris iv.qarcivaZis gorSi da cxinval Si Casvl is faqtebi. arsebul i dokumenturi masal is mixedvit, cxinval Si Casul ma n.ramiSvil ma sagangebo gankargul eba gasca, ganurCevl ad erovnebis, yovel gvari saxis Zal adobisa da ukanonobis winaarmddeg brZol a gamoecxadebinaT da damnaSaveebi sa- stikad daesaj aT. imave n.ramiSvil is xel moweriT, erobebsa da mil iciis ufrosebs sagangebo cirkul ari\_ gankargul eba daegzavna, sadac xazgasmit iyo mititebul i udanaSaul o osi moqal aqeebis ufl ebebis dacvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, es srul ebitac ar niSnavda,

rom saqarTvel os xel isufli eba momaval Si osebTan raime kompromisze wasvl as apirebda. mTavrobis es Seuval i pozicia qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs efuZneboda da im etapze savsebiT gamarTI ebul i iyo. rac Seexeba osur mosaxl eobas, Tuki saqarTvel oSi cxovreba surda, pirvel rigSi qarTul i saxel mwifos samsaxurSi unda Camdgariyo, misi interesebis Sesatyvisi saqme ekeTebina da ara sabWoTa ruseTis. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi adgil i qarTul miwaze namdvil ad ar iyo. osebTan mimarTebsi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis damokidebul eba mxol od am poziciis gaTval iswinebiT unda iqnas Sefasebul i.

mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom osi separatistebis mier dausabuTebl da gayal bebul faqtebze dafuZnebul i Tovl is gundasaviT agorebul i zemoaRniSnul i bral deba, avadmyofi adamianis mier amoCemebul i cil iswamebis saxes atarebs da saerTaSoriso asparezze qarTvel i eris diskreditaciis mcdel obas Seicavs. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom Tuki genocidis Sesaxeb daismeba sakiTxi, qarTvel istorikosebs utyuari dokumenturi masala gagvaCnia imis dasasabuTebl ad, rom sabWoTa ruseTis daxmarebiT, osebma 1919 wl is ianvarSi al agirSi mcxovrebi udanaSaul o qarTvel ebis eTnowmenda da genocidi marTI ac rom ganaxorciel a. rac Seexeba xizanis statusiT erTdros saqarTvel oSi TavSefarebul osebs, sabWoTa ruseTis daxmarebiT maTi Tavxedoba im donemde gai zar da, rom 1921\_ 1925 wl ebSi Sida qarTI is Crdil oeTi nawil is mTis zonis mkvidri qarTul i mosaxl eobis mimarT faqtobrivi eTnowmendis da genocidis tol fasi danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi Cai dina.



## osebis `genoci di ~ Tu?!...

weril i II

*`sasikvdil odaa ganwirul i is eri, roml is meTaur intel igenci asa da qveynis mmarTvel pol itikur Zal as mter-moyvris garCeva ar Zal uZs, winaparTa Zvl ebiT mofeniI da sisxl iT morwyul kuTvnil mamul Si, gamel eonis wamosasxami T SemomZvral Sxamian qvewarmaval s gul Si ixutebs, RviZl i Zmis rangSi warmosaxavs da mama-papaTagan naanderZevi memkvidreobis mewil ed xdis.-*

*SoTa vadaWkoria*

osi separatistebis da misi damcvel ebis mxridan internet-saitebze ganTavsebul publikaciebSi qarTvel Ta dasadana-Saul ebl ad yovel gvare saxis sabinZure iqna gamogonil i. garegnul ad iseTi ideologiuri foni Seqmnes, Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi osebi TiTqos `rwyil s ar abijebdnen fexs- da Sida qarTI is aborigeni qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg aranair Semawuxebel nabij s ar dgamdnen. rac Seexeba qarTvel obas, maTi mtkicebiT, `umwikvl o- osi mosaxl eobis mimarT Cagvris sxvadasxva formebs iyenebda. aseT siyal beze dafuZnebul i farTomasStabiani propaganda, osuri intel igenci is garkveul i j gufis mxridan saerTaSoriso sazogadoebis Tval is asaxvevad aris gaTvl il i. meore mxriv, igi damoukidebel i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos dasamxobad 1918, 1919, 1920 wl ebSi osebis mier mowyobil i aj anyebebis gamarTI ebas, da rac mTavaria, am aj anyebebis osebis `erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i - moZraobis niRbiT SefuTvas emsaxureba. ai ras wers amasTan dakavSirebiT I jioevi: `Поэтом события 1920 года фактически стали очередным этапом национально- освободительного движения.- Znel i dasaj erebel ia, I jioevs da mis mxardamWerebs rusi swavl ul ebis mier gamocemul i encikl opediis mraval tomeul Si ar Caexedos, sadac SaviT TeTrzea miTitebul i, rom `erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraoba miznad isaxavs ucxo saxel mwifos ba-

tonobis mospobasa da erovnul i damoukidebl obis mopovebas, erovnul - kol oniuri Gagvrisa da eqspl oataciis likvidacias.- am principi Tuki ganvixil avT osur sakiTxs, osebis erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad mxol od Crdil o kavkasiis osebis mier sabWoTa ruseTis winaaRmdeg mowyobil i aj anyeba CaiTvl eboda. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os pirvel i respublikis xel isufl ebis dasamxobad osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas, Tuki mas osuri intel igenciis warmomadgenl ebi erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel moZraobad miicnevs, keTil i inebon da daamtkicon, rom mdinare donisa da mdinare vol gis Sua wel idan rusebis wyal obiT mTaSi amodevnil i da saqarTvel oSi tabarukad gadmoxvewil i osebi a) saqarTvel os (Si da qarTl is) teritoriis aborigen mosaxl eobas warmoadgens; b) qarTvel ebi am teritoriaze mogvianebiT arian Casaxl ebul i, an es teritoria Zal ismieri gziT qarTvel Ta mier iqna dapyrobil i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki osi istorikosebi am siyal beze wavl en da orive sakiTxis maT sasargebl od damtkicebas SeZl eben, maSin maTi mxridan SemoTavazebul i formul ireba\_ osebis 1920 wl is aj anyeba erovnul - ganmaTavisufl ebel i moZraobis axal i etapi iyovo, savsebiT marTebul i iqneba. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, is anbanuri WeSmariteba unda aRiaron, rom saqarTvel os teritoriaze mowyobil i aj anyebebi qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifos dasangrevad, am teritoriis aborigeni mosaxl eobis\_ qarTvel ebis saxel mwifoebrivi interesebis winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i da osebis separatul moZraobas warmoadgenda. im SemTxvevaSi Tuki osi istorikosebi ar dameTanxmebian, keTil i inebon da pasuxi gascen kiTxvas; a) anal ogiuri saxis aj anyeba kanadaSi an brazil iaSi Casaxl ebul osebs rom moewyo, sainteresoa, momxdar faqts ra kvalifikacias miscemda isini; b) kanadisa da brazil iis xel isufl ebas osebis aj anyebisadmi umkacresi damokidebul eba rom gamoeCina, maTi mxridan ra kriteriumiT moxdeboda xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa qmedebis Sefaseba.

qarTvel Ta diskreditaciis mizniT gamogonil i cil iswamebis sisworeSi farTo sazogadoebis dasarwmunebl ad, osma

istorikosebma `mecnierul eSmakobas- mimarTes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gayal bebul faqtebze qarTvel i istorikosebis damowmeba. am SemTxvevaSi isini sazogadoebas pirdapir eubnebian; `Cven arafer SuaSi ar varT, amis Sesaxeb TviT qarTvel i istorikosebi wereno.- am SemTxvevaSi, istoriis cnobil fal sifikators g.xaWapuriZes imowmeben. amasTan dakavSirebiT osebis `VII genocidis- statiis avtori wers: `Вот что пишет об этой страшной трагедии В. Г. Хачапуридзе в своей книге `Восстание осетин в 1920 году.- aq ori siyal bea daSvebul i: 1)istorikos g.xaWapuriZis saxel is da mamis saxel is aRmniSnel i inicial ebia gadaadgil ebul i. unda iyos Г.В. Хачапуридзе. rac Seexeba imave g.xaWapuriZis wigns\_ `osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebas-, aseTi wigni saqarTvel os bibliotekebSi ar moipoveba, arc g.xaWapuriZis Sromebis el eqtronul i versiis bibliografiaSia dadasturebul i. osi istorikosebis mxridan daval ebul i viqnebi, Tuki g.xaWapuriZis aRniSnul i wignis qseroasl s gamomigzavnian. g.xaWapuriZes aseTi wigni marTI ac rom daewera, sxva Sromebis msgavsad, mis wignSi\_ `qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebisaTvis- meoTxe gamocemis im gverdze daimowmebda, sadac osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebis Sesaxeb saubrobs. yuradsaRebia is faqti, rom os istorikosebs aseTi siyal be, mecnierul ad dauzustebel i monacemebis SesaniRbad dasWir da. mkiTxvel sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis mizniT, `VII genocidis- statiis avtors, mokl ul i osebis raodenobis Sesaxeb citatis saxiT amonaweri g.xaWapuriZis ararsebul i wignis `osebis 1920 wl is aj anyebidan moaqvs. `Специальная комиссия обследовала последствия карательной экспедиции в Южной Осетии уже после советизации Грузии, она установила, что в 1920 году здесь было убито 5279 человек. Было сожжено 1588 жилых домов и 2639 хозяйственных построек. Угнано 32400 голов крупного скота (80,36%) и 74485 голов мелкого рогатого скота (82,3%). Материалы комиссии хранятся в музее революции в Тбилиси.- es ci tata, 1936 wel s dabeWdil i g.xaWapuriZis wignis\_ `Борьба за пролетарскую революцию в Грузии- sagangebo Tavi dan\_ `Борьба меньшевиков против национальных меньшинств- unda iyos aRebul i, radgan

aRniSnul i wignisa da `osebis VII genocidis- statiis avtoris teqsti erTmaneTs emTxveva. g.xaWapuriZis es naSromi faqtebis im doneze gayal bebas Seicavs, rom igi 40- iani wl ebis sabWoTa xel isufl ebis maRal CinosnebisTvisac miuRebel i aRmoCnda da sakavSiro presis furcl ebze umkacresi kritika daimsaxura. amitom iyo, rom imave naSromis momdevno gamocemis (saTauris mcireodeni cvl il ebiT) ZiriTadi teqsti avtorma safuZvl i- anad gadaamuSava da WeSmaritebis gayal bebis maqsimumi, mini mu- mamde daiyvana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave naSromis 1957 wl is IV gamocema saTauriT: `qarTvel i xal xis brZol a sabWoTa xel isufl ebis danyarebisaTvis.- zemoaRniSnul Tan SedarebiT, aq gansxvavebul raodenobriv monacemebTan gvaqvs saqme. `saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa xel isufl ebis gamarj vebis Semdeg\_ wers g.xaWapuriZe\_ Seiqmna special uri komisia, romel mac gamoarkvia samxreT oseTSi samoqal aqo omis Sedegebi. aq mokl ul i iqna 4812 mamakaci, qal i da bavSvi. gadamwvari da uvargisad gada- qceul i iyo 1268 nageboba, didi raodenobiT garekes msxvil fexa da wril fexa pirutyvi, ganadgurebul i iqna 1920 wl is mTel i mosaval i 23657 desetinaze. miaxl oebiTi gamoangariSebiT iq miyenebul ma zaral ma Seadgina 3317506 maneTi oqroTi.- am amonaweridan ori uaRresad mniSvnel ovani sakiTxi ikveTeba: 1)mkiTxvel is SecdomaSi Seyvanis mizniT, g.xaWapuriZe iseT fons qmnis, rom 1924 wel s Seqmnil mTavrobis komisas, mxol od 1920 wl is osebis aj anyebasTan dakavSirebul i movl enebis Seswavl a eval eboda. arada, dokumenturi masal iT dadastu- rebul ia, rom aRniSnul i komisiisadmi micemul dakveTas, germanel ebis, ingl isel ebis, aSS- is warmomadgenl ebis mier saqarTvel oSi 1918\_ 1920 wl ebSi gaweul i saqmianobis samxil i dokumentebis Segroveba qonda daval ebul i. am farTomasSta- biani proeqtis erT\_ erT qvesakiTxs, osebn dakavSirebul i masal ebis Segrovebac warmoadgenda. 2)dakvirvebul i mkiTxvel i, `VII genocidis- statiis avtorisa da g.xaWapuriZis wignis uaxl esi gamocemidan motanil raodenobriv monacemebs Soris sxvaobas kargad SeamCnevda. es imas niSnavs, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi dazustebul i ricxvi ar arsebobs da

igi ama Tu im fal sifikatoris TviTneburad Sesworebis da manipulierebis sagani xdeba. Tuki es ase ar aris, maSin 1957 wels gamocemul zemoaRniSnul wignSi g.xaWapuriZe ratom ar imowmebs arqivis im fonds, sadac mis mier motanili raodenobrivi monacemebi iqneboda dadasturebuli? am SemTxvevaSi igi val debuli iyo: a)daesaxel ebina dokumentis saxel wodeba da misi Semdgeneli; b)konkretul ad mietiTebina arqivis fondi, aRwera, saqme da is furceli, saidanac man zemoaRniSnuli monacemebi aiRo. ramdenadac g.xaWapuriZem am metad aucil ebeli da mniSvel ovani samuSaos Sesrul ebas Tavi aarida, es procedura `VII genocidis- statiis avtors unda Caetarebina. siyal bis argamJRavnebisa da mkiTxvelis motyuebis mizniT, manac ioli gza airCia da istoriis cnobili fal sifikatori daimowma.

osebis e.w. `genocidTan- mimarTebaSi g.xaWapuriZis mier motanili raodenobrivi monacemebis damadasturebeli saarqivo dokumenti ramdenadac ar arsebobs, sinamdvilis argamJRavnebis mizniT, igi izuli ebuli gaxda manipulierebis gansxvavebuli forma aerCia da xel isufl ebisaTvis misaRebi siyal be SeenarCunebina. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, misi wignis\_`qarTveli xal xis brZola sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebisatvis- 1957 wl is gamocema. mis mier motanili natyuari raodenobis siworeSi mkiTxvelis dasarwmunebl ad, g.xaWapuriZem isev manipulierebis gzas mimarTa. am SemTxvevaSi igi utiTebs ara saarqivo fonds, aramed 1953 wels gamocemul `saistorio moambes- # 7 (gv.147). mTeli pasuxismgebl obit vacxadeb, rom aq dabeWdili publikacia saarqivo dokumenti ar aris. igi gazeT `zaria vostokaSi- (1924 wl is 14 maisi # 575) mexuTe gverdze korespodent vinme II.JI. avtorobit gamoqveynebuli statiis `Результаты интервенции в Грузии- dublikats warmoadgens. es statia, sxva saarqivo masal ebTan erTad s.maRl akel izem imave krebul Si dabeWda saTauriT: `1924 wl is 14 maisi.\_ cnobebi ingლისელი okupantebisa da samSobl os moRal ate menSevikuri `mTavrobis- mier saqarTvel os sxvadasxva raionebsi Cadenili mxecobisa, ngrevisa

da mtacebl obis Sesaxeb.- (gv.147\_ 149) aseTi qmedebiT, s.maRI akel iZem `zaria vostokas- korespodent vinme И.Л.- s zemoaRniSnul statias saarqivo niRabi Camoafara, riTac mkiTxvel i sazogadoeba SecdomaSi Seiyvana. osebis Sesaxeb am statiaSi motanil ricxobriv monacemebTan dakavSirebiT, zemoaRniSnul komisiis raime damadasturebel i mtkicebul ebebi rom moepovebina da masze saTanado daskvna daewera, sxva masal ebTan erTad Sesabamis fondSi iqneboda ganTavsebul i. aqedan gamomdinare, s.maRI akel iZe am Sanss xel idan ar gauSvebda da `zaria vostokas- korespodentis И.Л.- s statiis nacvl ad, pirvel adi saxis dokuments, an komisiis daskvnas dabelWdavda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Cems mier saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriisa da yofil i partiul i (amJamad Sinagan saqmeTa saministros) arqivebis Sesabamisi fondebis safuZvl i-anad Seswavl is miuxedavad, g.xaWapuriZisa da osebis `VII genocidis- statiis avtoris mier motanil i ricxobriv monacemebis Sesaxeb, komisiis mier Seqmnil dokuments ver mi vakvl ie. aseTi saxis saarqivo masal a arc os istorikosebs gaaCnia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i.n.cxovrebovis mier 1960 wel s gamocemul i dokumentebis krebul i `Борьба трудящихся Юго- Осетии за советскую власть 1917- 1921 гг. (Документы и материалы) издание второе. Сталинири. 1960.- es sqel taniani publ ikacia, sxvadasxva saxis 174 dasaxel ebis masal as Seicavs da 1917- dan 1928 wl is ivni samde ganvl il periods asaxavs. anal ogi uri saxis saarqivo dokumenti, osebis 1918\_ 1920 wl ebis aj anyebebis Sesaxeb daweril i wignis avtorebis\_ z.vaneevsa da p.doguzovisTvisac ucnobia. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, 1957 wl s dabelWdil wignSi `З.Н.Ванеев, П.Р.Догузov. Из истории борьбы трудящихся Юго- Осетии за советскую власть. Сталинири. 1957 г.- mas aucil ebl ad moixseni-ebdnen da daniSnul ebisamebr Sesabamis adgil zedac dai mowmebdnen.

rac Seexeba 1924 wel s Seqmnil i komisiis mier Segrovil maal ebs, misi umetesi nawil i, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os droindel i regionebis yofil i Cinovnikebisadmi imave komisiis mier micemul i SekveTis safuZvel zea daweril i. igi mokl ed

Sedgenil i aRweriT i xasiaTis moxsenebebs da gancxadebebs Seicavs. ramdenadac misi avtorebi Tavis gadarČenis mizniT sabWoTa xel isufl ebasTan TanamSroml obaze wavidnen, bunebrivia, `dokumentebis- garkveul i nawil i dakveTis xasiaTs atarebs da masSi motanil i faqtebi tendenciurobisgan ar aris dazRveul i. miTumetes, komisiis wevrebs aRniSnul i masal ebi sagangebo Seswavl is saganad ar gauxdia. TiToeul i maTganis sandooba ar gaurkvevia da ganmazogadebel i xasiaTis Semaj amebel i daskvnac ar dauweria. am faqtoris gaTval iswi- nebidan gamomdinare, s.maRI akel iZis mier dokumentebis saxel wodebiT dabeWdil i masal ebi garkveul i nawil is sandoobis sakiTxi\_ kiTxviTi niSnis qveS dgeba da saRad mo- azrovne nebismier mkvl evars, misadmi kritikul damo- kidebul ebas aval ebs. rac Seexeba TviT masal is adgil samyofs, umetesi nawil i inaxeboda da dResac inaxeba saqarTvel os central uri arqivis uaxl esi istoriis ganyofil ebi da yofil i partiul i (amJamad Sinagan saqmeTa saministros) arqivis Sesabamis fondebSi da ara `revol uciis muzeumSi,- rogorc `VII genocidis- statiis avtors hgonia. osma kol e- gebma unda icodnen, rom aseTi muzeumi saqarTvel oSi 1921 wl is maisSi daarsda da man 1938 wl amde iarseba. imave wl is 2 ivniss, aRniSnul i muzeumis bazaze I eninis muzeumis Tbi- l isis fil ial i Seiqmna, romel ic 1991 wl idan aRar arsebobs. rac Seexeba `revol uciis muzeumSi- ganTavsebul masal ebs (57 dasaxel ebi fondi), saqarTvel os k.p. (b) central uri komitetis 1928 wl is april is dadgenil ebiT, misi erTi nawil i central uri arqivisadmi daqvemdebarebul saistorio\_ sarevo- l ucio arqivs, xol o meore nawil i, saqarTvel os k.p. (b) ce- ntral uri komitetTan imave wel s daarsebul partiis isto- riis arqivs 1929 wel s gadaeca. amdenad, partiis istoriis Se- mswavl el i komisiis (partisi) mier 1922 wl idan 1928 wl amde Segrovil i da `revol uciis muzeumSi- Tavmoyril i yvel a ma- sal a\_ 4374 saqaral de (maT Soris 1924 wl is komisiis masal ebiC), zemoaRniSnul arqivebSi iqna gadanawil ebul i. aqedan gamo- mdinare; 1)dabej iTebiT SeiZl eba imis Tqma, rom g.xaWapurize

aSkarad tyuis, roca momxdari faqtidan 7 wl is Semdag\_ 1936  
wel s gamocemul i zemoT dasaxel ebul i misi wignis sqol ioSi  
wers, rom 1924 wl is komisiis masal ebi saqarTvel os `revol u  
ciis muzeumSi - inaxebao. (gv.295); 2)zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswi  
nebis safuZvel ze ismeba kiTxva; `revol uciis muzeumis- fo  
ndebSi 1928 wl amde muSaoba da Sesabamisi masal ebis mopoveba,  
`VII genocidis- statiis avtorma, asakobrivi mdgomareobidan  
gamomdinare sainteresoa rodis moaswro. isic angariSgasa  
wevia, rom `VII genocidis- statiis avtori, g.xaWapurizes imaSi  
sayvedurobs, rom mis mier ardaweril wignSi `osebis 1920  
wl is aj anyeba- \_Si arafers ambobs kavkasiis mTavar qedze  
gadasvl is dros, SimSil isgan, sicivisgan da avadmyofobisgan  
1350 devnil i osis daRupvis Sesaxeb. am SemTxvevaSi `VII  
genocidis- statiis avtori, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os  
xel isuflebas adanaSaul ebs. am `dokumentis- Semdgenl i  
imdenad tendenciuri aris, rom misi naazrevi, gonebadabindul i  
da brma adamianis donemdea dayvanil i. igi erTi sityviTac  
ar mianisnebs im danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sesaxeb, romel ic  
sabWoTa ruseTis xel isuflebis mesveurebma Caidina Sida  
qarTl Si mcxovrebi miwismuSa osi gl exkacobis mimarT. mxe  
dvel obaSi maqvs ruseTis kompartiis (b) amierkavkasiis sa  
mxareo komitetis mier `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi 1920  
wl is martSi oqros kursiT 100 aTasi maneTis gadacema, xol o  
imave wl is april Si `samxreT oseTis- revkomisadmi da `sam  
xreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Tavmj domaris v.sanako  
evisadmi oqros kursiT 40 mil ionis maneTis gadagzavnis faqti.  
aRni Snul i ful iT, v.sanakoevsa da mis momxreebs, pirvel rigSi  
Sida qarTl Si mcxovrebi osuri mosaxleoba unda moesyida  
da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os xel isuflebis dasamxobad  
osuri Seiararebul i razmebi Camoeyal ibebina. Tuki sakiTxs  
am kuTxiT ganvixil avT, saqme gvaqvs ruseTis komunisturi  
partiis (b) maRal Cinosnebis mier saqarTvel os pirvel i res  
publikis teritoriaze, arasamarTl ebrivi gziT, ucxo qveynis  
mier Seqmnil daqiravebul osur Seiararebul razmTan. ful ze  
daxarbebul i osebi, gasabWoebul i ruseTis xel isufal Ta ava



nturas advil ad wamoego da Sedegic maT sazi anod Semobrunda. am SemTxvevaSi, mTel i pasuxismgebl oba im adamianebs ekisreba, vinc miwismuSa osebs ful sa da iaraRs xel Si aCeCebda, sabWoTa ful iT osur samxedro nawil ebs qmnida da saqarTvel os kanonieri xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg aj anyebebs afinansebda. miudgomel i poziciidan Tuki ganvixil avT aRniSnul faqts, damnaSavea `samxreT oseTis- revkomi da `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Semadgenl oba da misi Tavmj domare v.sanakoevi, radgan, sabWoTa ruseTis am agentebis upasuxismgebl o qmedebebma, erT dros udanaSaul o osi gl exkaci, ful iT mosyidvis Sedegad kriminal ad da qarTul i saxel mwifos moRal ated aqcia.

qarTvel Ta moZul e `samxreT oseTis- revkomisa da `samxreT oseTis- rkp (b) saol qo komitetis Tavmj domaris danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel ive dRebidanve kidev ufro gamoikveTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samxreT oseTad- moazrebul i Sida qarTI is Crdil oeTi nawil is teritoriaze qarTul i mosaxl eobis mizanimarTul i Seviwroeba, sacxovrisidan gamodevna da misi qonebis mitaceba. gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatits mier Sekrebil i masal ebit dasturdeba, rom wiTel faraj aSi gadacmul i SeiaraRebul i osi mZarcvel ebi, qarTul i sofl ebidan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis Semdeg, adgil ze darCeni qonebas itacebdnen da j aviskan miqondaT. osebis mier Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis dawiokebis Sesaxeb, Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatTan Seqmnil i komisi is erT- erTi wevrisgan wardgenil moxsenebaSi xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i: `cxinval is Crdil oeTIT, l iaxvis marj vena mxares Svidi qarTul i sofel ia: dgvrisi, aCabeTi, TamaraSeni, TamaraSeni meore, monasteri, qurTa da kexvi, roml ebic amJamad ganicdian mware wuTebis da unugeSo mdgomareobas. moxsenebul sofl ebSi TareSoben SeiaraRebul i osebi, roml ebic ar indoben mSvidobian mcxovrebl ebs da yovel i mxridan awiokeben maT.- imave dokumentSi, CamoTvl il i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis mimarT osi mZarcvel ebi sgan Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebebzea aqcenti gakeTe-

bul i. `sofl is gl exkacebs\_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi\_ osi avazakebi saSual ebas ar aZl even gavides da daamuSaos Tavis miwa da amiT saSual eba misces Tavis Tavs mTel i wel iwadi mSieri ar darCes. avazakTa TareSi wres gadasul ia.- Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis fondSi dacul i saarqivo dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom am ukanonobas `samxreT oseTis- revkomis xel mZRvanel obasTan erTad, saol qo komitetis Tavmj domare v.sanakoevi da osuri mol iciis ufrosi jijikaevi mfarvel obda. 1921 wl is maisSi, maTi Zal isxmeviT moxda 18 daWeril i osi yaCaRis ganTavisufi eba. `samxreT oseTis- revkomis TviTnebobidan da gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufi ebis umoqmedobidan gamomdinare, osTa marbiel i SeiaraRebul i razmebi qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobas vandali uri meTodebiT uswordeboda. amis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wel s wardgenil vrcel moxsenebaSi xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i. am dokumentSi dada- sturebul ia, rom wiTel faraj aSi gamowyobil ma Seiara- Rebul ma osebma 1921 wl is ivl isSi sofel Zarwensa da qemertSi macxovrebel i qarTvel ebis 80 saxli dawva, 32 sofl is macxovrebel i daxvrita, zogi maTgani cecxl Si dawva, zogenic cemaSi mokl a. arasrul wl ovani bavSvebidan dawyebul i didebis CaTvl iT qal ebi gaupatiura. Imave moxsenebaSi, osebis mier qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis kidev ufro Semzaravi faqtebia motanil i. sityva- sityviT weria, rom javis xeobidan wamosul qarTul oj axebs `gaborotebul i SeiaraRebul i osebis brbo gzaSi daewia, yvel as al ya Semoartya... da sikvdil is ganaCeni gamoucxada. magram TaTbiris Semdeg, datovebul Ta Soris 41 mamakaci gamoarCies, sabZel Si Serekes, yvel a daxoces, Semdeg sabZel s cecxl i waukides da daxocil ebi Sig gamowves. danarCeni tyvebi srul iad gaaSiSvl es, ganurCevl ad wl ovanebisa qal ebi 8 wl idan dawyebul i yvel a gaupatiures, naZarcviT da nadavl iT Sin dabrundnen.-

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtobrivi monacemebi da citata ara romel ime gadaberebul i revolucioneris an Soridan damnaxvel is mogonebebidan aris aRebul i, aramed, igi osi separatistebis l obisti gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os erT-erTi sapauxismgebl o uwyebis\_ Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის mier Seqmnil i sagangebo komisiis mier daweril daskvnas emyareba. imave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatის fondebSi dacul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom osurma SeiaraRebul ma razmebma 1924 wl is agvistoSi xevsureTis ramdenime sofel i daarbia, gaZarcva da sacxovrebel i saxl ebi gadawva. am barbarosul i qmedebisadmi winaaRmdegobis gawevis gamo, xevsurTa 80 wl is Tavkaci giga gogoWuri osebma cecxl ze cocxl ad dawves.

samwuxarod, gasbWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da kavbiuros maRal Cinosnebi osebis mier Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebebs sagangebod mal avda. maT ar surdaT farTo sazogadoebis winaSe misi gamomzeureba da bunebrivia, samTavrobo doneze aranair reagirebas ar akeTebda. momxdar danaSaul ebriv faqtebtan mimarTebsi mxol od memarcxene social ist\_ federal istTa organom gazeTma `social ist\_ federal istma- aRimaRI a xma. am mxriv gansakuTrebi T mi minos fsevdonimiT dabeWdil i statia `cxinval is raioni safrTxeSia-- gamoirCeva. masSi dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i Si da qarTl is mTiani zol is qarTul i mosaxl eobis autanel i yofa da osebis mier Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi. `ramdenime qarTul i sofel i\_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi\_ gadamwvaria osebisgan, asamde kaci sabZel Sia gamomwvari da mokl ul i, maTi qoneba mTl ianad mitacebul ia, xol o saxl ebi dangreul i... dRes qarTul i mosaxl eoba kvnesis da gminavs. is j oj oxeti, romel ic gamefebul ia am sofl ebSi kargis momaswavebel i ar aris da Tu mas droze wamal i ar daedo... metad mZime Sedegs miviRebT.-

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom osi separatistebis mier 1918 wl idan SemuSavebul i programis\_ cxinval is raionidan qarTvel Ta eTnowmendis ganxorci-

el ebis aRsrul eba, saqarTvel os gasabWoebis pirvel i dRidan daCqarebul i tempiT daiwyo. miTumetes, sabWoTa xel isufli ebam osebs amis xel sayrel i pirobebi Seuqmna. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatis Sesabamisi ganyofili ebis mier Sekrebi i masal ebis mixedviT, 1921 wl is martidan imave wl is 25 april amde, osebis mier 13 qarTul i sofel i (sveri, qemerti, mindiani, yafli ani, kasrani, monasteri, awrisxevi, sacxeneTi, bel oTi, qvemo da zemo niqoza, qvemo da zemo xviTi) iqna qarTvel ebisgan gawmendil i. erTdros Sida qarTI is mkvidri qarTul i mosaxl eoba, gasabWoebul saqarTvel oSi devnil ebad iqca. osi separatistebis mxridan qarTvel Ta oj axebis amowyvetis real uri al baTobidan gamomdinare, devnil i qarTvel ebi saxl ebSi veRar brundeboda. amiT osebi sargebl obdnen, qarTvel Ta mitovebul qonebas itacebdnen, saxl ebs masi urad arRvevden da j avi sken miqondaT. erTdros Sida qarTI is mTiani zol is aRorZinebul i da qarTul i mosaxl eobiT datvirTul i sofl ebi, osma separatistebma namosaxl arebad aqcia. am danaSaul s, gasabWoebul i saqarTvel os xel isufli eba Segnebul ad asaiduml oebda da samTavrobo doneze aranair qmediT reagirebas ar akeTebda. is vinc Sida qarTI is qarTul sofl ebSi darCa da mamapapeul i karmidamosadmi erTgul ebiT piradi sicocxl e sasworze dado, maTi sacxovrebel i, osebis SeiaraRebul yaCaRTa razmebis gamudmebul i Tavdasxmebis obieqtad iqca. zemoT motanil faqtebs Tu ra axsnas uZebnida `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, amis sail ustraci od imave `samxreT oseTis- revkomis mier saqarTvel os revkomisadmi 1921 wl is 5 ivl iss gagzavnil i moxseneba gamodgeba. mas `samxreT oseTis- revkomis Tavmj domaris moadgil e ngadievi awerda xel s. am dokumentis mixedviT; 1)cxinval is raionis sofl ebSi TiTqos SeiaraRebul i osebi ar moqmedebdnen; 2)cxinval isa da `samxreT oseTis- revkomebs aseTi SeiaraRebul i j gufebis Sesaxeb araviTari informacia ar gaaCnda; 3)cxinval is raionSi momxdari darRvevebi TiTqos menSevikebisa da sxva kontrrevol ucionerebis mier Sedgenil i j gufebisgan xel ovnurad mowyobil i provokacia iyo. ngadi-

evis aRni Snul i `argumentebi ~ Tavis marTI ebis ususur formas  
 warmoadgenda da osebisgan Cadenil i danaSaul is menSevike-  
 bisadmi gadabral ebis mcdel obas Seicavda. ise gamodioda,  
 TiTqos qarTvel Ta qonebis datacebas, qarTul sofl ebSi  
 mitovebul i saxl ebis daSl as da datvirTul i urmebiT j avaSi  
 waRebas, qarTvel ebis daxvretas da cecxl Si dawvas, qarTvel i  
 mandil osnebis gaupatiurebas, Sida qarTI is qarTul i  
 sofl ebidan qarTvel Ta masobrivad gamodevnas da a.S. Turme  
 menSevikebi eweodnen. `samxreT oseTis- revkomi, misadmi daqve-  
 mdebarebul i uwyebebi, osuri mil icia da TviT osi separati-  
 stebi arafer SuaSi yofil an. am tyuil ze, maSindel i saqar-  
 Tvel os revkomis xel mZRvanel obas samwuxarod aranairi admi-  
 nistraciul i xasiaTis reagireba ar gaukeTebia. saqarTvel os  
 xel isufl ebis mxridan qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi aseTma  
 usul gul o damokidebul ebam osi separatistebi kidev ufro  
 gaaTamama. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Sida qarTI Si mcxovrebi qar-  
 Tvel ebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol i osuri Seiararebul i razmebis  
 gaaqtiureba. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT osi erovnebis petre  
 gogeSvil is razmi gamoirCeoda. **dokumenturi masal iT**  
**dasturdeba, rom isini 13- dan 17 dekembris CaTvl iT**  
**Zarcvavda da arbevda qarTul sofl ebs. arasrul wl o-**  
**vanidan didebis CaTvl iT aupatiurebda qarTvel qal ebs.**  
**oj axis Rirsebis dacvis SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel mamakacebs**  
**wamebiT kl avda. am Semzaravi faqtebidan gamomdinare,**  
**qarTul i mosaxl eoba xel isufl ebisgan daxmarebas iTxovda.**  
**imis nacvl ad, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas sagangaSo**  
**zarebi daerisxebina, osebis arweinebis motiviT, dumil is**  
**gza airCia da qarTvel Ta es gasaWiri uyuradRebod datova.**  
 Sida qarTI is qarTul i mosaxl eobis safuZvl ianad  
 gaZarcvisa da dawiokebis osuri programis proeqts, maRal  
 doneze j atin kokoevis 15 kaciani Seiararebul i bandfo-  
 rmireba asrul ebda. Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatisa  
 da duSeTis mazris mil iciis sammarTvel os operatiul i  
 monacemebis mixedviT, cxinval is raionis qarTul i sofl ebis  
 safuZvl ianad gaZarcvis Semdeg, man duSeTis mazraSi

**gadai nacvl a.** mosaxl eobis ukeT gaZarcvisa da damorCil ebis mizniT, j.kokoevma duSeTis mazris Temebis adgil obrivi xel isufl ebis moxel eebi gadaayena da mis mier SerCeul i pirovnebebi daniSna. aRniSnul i qmedebiT igi arsebul xel isufl ebas daupirispirda. mxol od am faqtma da ara qarTul i mosaxl eobis darbeva\_ awiokebam, qveynis Zal ovani struqturabis maRal Cinosnebi izul ebul i gaxada mis winaaRmdeg sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi gaetarebina. imave Sinagan saqmeTa saxal xo komisariatSi Sesul i masal ebis (samazro policiis sammarTvel os operatiul i monacemebi, moxsenebebi) mixedviT, duSeTis mazraSi aqtiurad moqmedebda dianoza Zaxoevis os marbiel Ta SeiaraRebul i razmi, romelic qarTul i mosaxl eobis Seurigebel da dauZinebel mters warmoadgenda. iqvea dasaxel ebul i meore yaCaRi gurgena gul araSvil i. `duSeTis mazris mSromel gl exkacobas\_ vkiTxul obT moxsenebaSi\_ Tavzari hqonda dacemul i cnobil i yaCaRebis dianoza Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is mxecuri moqmedebebiT. xsenebul ma yaCaRebma duSeTis mazraSi ramdenime wel iwads (1921 wl is dekembridan 1924 wl is noemberi S.v.) iTareSes.~ rogorc dokumenturi masal iTirkveva, es ramdenime wel iwadi TiTqmis sam wel s moicavda. ismeba kiTxva; qarTul i mosaxl eobis amomgdebi osuri bandformirebebis xel mZRvanel Ta mimarT umkacresi operatiul i zomebi ratom 1921, 1922, 1923 wl ebSi, an 1924 wl is dasawyisSi ar iqna gatarebul i da maTi likvidaciis sakiTxi mxol od 1924 wl is noemberSi daisva? am SemTxvevaSi pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebel i: a)1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis monawil eTa da maT TanamgrZnobTa winaaRmdeg dawyebul i umkacresi represiebi; b)arsebul i xel isufl ebisadmi duSeTis mazris mcxovrebaTa Sinaganad mtrul i damokidebul eba. aseT fonze, Sesabamis samTavrobo uwyebes mosaxl eobisaTvis unda eCvene bina, rom igi ara marto sabWoTa xel isufl ebis mowinaaRmdegeebis, aramed, adgil obrivi gl exkacobis mZarcvel os yaCaRebsac ebrZoda. am mimarTul ebiT duSeTis mazris Sesabamisi Zal ovani uwyebis mier miRebul i gadawyvetil eba,

iZul ebiTi pol itikuri da ideol ogiuri faqtorebiT iyo ganpirobebul i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi zemoaRniSnul i yaCaRebis neitral izebas Sesabamisi operaciebis Catarebis SemTxvevaSi 1922 an 1923 wel s moaxdendnen. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom dianoza Zaxoevisa da gurgena gul araSvil is likvidacia, arsebul i xel isuflebiT ukmayofil o duSeTis gl exkacobis gul ismosageb kampaniaze iyo gaTvl il i.

saarqivo dokumentebze dayrdnobiT Cems mier zemoT CamoTvl il i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi os separatistebis evropis an amerikis nebis mier saxel mwifoSi rom Caedina, maT winaaRmdeg ara Tu umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZieba gatardeboda, aramed im saxel mwifodan osebis deportaciasac ganaxorciel ebdnen. umadur osebs pirvandel sabudars daabrunebdnen. dedamiwis zurgze al bad erTaderTi qveyana saqarTvel oa, sadac yvel aferia dasaSvebi. guSindel i stumari maspinZi obas Cemul obs, xol o WeSmarit maspinZel s, kuTvnil i saxl idan aZevebs da devnil ad xdis. Si da qarTl is qarTul mosaxl eobasTan mimarTebaSi osebis danaSaul is tol fasi qmedeba qarTvel ebs, osebTan mimarTebaSi rom Caedina da amis damadasturebel i dokumenturi masala osebis xel Si aRmoCenil iyo, `samxreT oseTis- xel isufal ni qveyanas SeZravda, os istorikosebs saukeTeso pi robebs Seuqmni da, misi wignad momzadebisa da dabeWdvis mizniT maRal donezedac daafinansebda. imavdroul ad, am publ ikaciis evropul enebze Targmnas da saerTaSoriso organizaciebi sadmi gadacemas dauyovnebl iv ganaxorciel ebda.

osi separatisti `istorikosebis- mier internet- saitebze ganTavsebul i publ ikaciebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, `samxreT oseTis- Sesabamisi samTavrobo uwyebebis maqsimal uri xel Sewyobidan da qarTul i mxar-is inertul obidan gamomdinre, saerTaSoriso ideol ogiur frontze osebi aqtiurad moqmedeben da sapropagando saSual ebebis yvel a saxeobas warmatebiT iyeneben. maT mier Setxzul siyal bes WeSmaritebad asaReban da am tyuil Si saerTaSoriso organizaciebsac arwmuneben.

osuri intel igenciis mier Rrmad gaazrebul i osuri se-  
separatistul i programiT ideol ogiur frontze  
xel SeuSI el ad navardi, mitacebul i teritoriis  
samarTI ebrivad dasakanonebl ad myari safexuris  
momzadebazea gaTvl il i. ideol ogiuri frontis ase  
uyuradRebod migdeba, Sesabamisi uwebebis didi  
upasuxismgebl obis an eris uZI urebis erT- erTi gamo-  
vl inebis faqtoria. `eris uZI ureba maSin iwyeba\_ brZanebda  
napol eon bonaparti,\_ roca sakuTar teritorias mowia-  
aRmdegas nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an kidev, Zal momreobiT  
mitacebul is ukan dabrunebas ar cdil obs.~ uZI urebis am  
mourCenel i seniT, qarTvel i eri didi xania komaSia da am  
mdgomareobidan misi gamoyvana mxol od mamul ze uzomod  
Seyvarebul adami nebs xel ewi feba.



## Sinaarsi

1. osebis `genocidi~ Tu?... (weri I i I) \_\_\_\_\_ 3
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SoTa il iasZe vadaWkoria

osuri miTi da qarTul i sinamdviI e

sabeWdi qaRal di 84 X 108 1/ 16

Tbil isi 2012