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The Voice of Free

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EDITORIAL

At a time when the civilized world is threatened as never before by a tyranny more ruthless and more insidious than any known in the previous history of mankind, it is essential for every citizen of the free democracies to understand the nature and basis of Soviet power. The Soviet Union is not a nation as this concept is understood in the democratic world. It is essentially an imperialist system, based on the territorial acquisitions of old Russian Tsarism, but animated by a new and even more oppressive ideology.

So it is a cardinal error to consider the peoples of the Soviet Union as synonymous with the Russian nation. The power of the Kremlin extends over a great range of national minorities to whom it is even more abhorrent than to the Russians themselves. The Soviet oligarchs now rule over a vast dominion which embraces peoples of Slavonic blood, such as the Ukrainians and White Russians, the peoples of the Baltic lands, the Turkic populations of Central Asia, and finally the many and diverse peoples of the Caucasus. Most of these have a proud and glorious national history, and are only waiting for an opportunity of throwing off the hated yoke of Soviet imperialism and reasserting their free existence.

The Bolshevist hierarchy makes every effort to conceal this fact behind an ideological smokescreen of blustering propaganda. As a result, many are unaware that the often-used phrase "Peoples of Russia" is an empty one. Even today most Americans have no idea that the apparently monolithic Soviet Union is in fact a confederation through force of various lands that have little or nothing in common with the Russian people in speech, religion, culture or history. The more we know about the lands and peoples who are today engulfed by Communist despotism, the better equipped we are to prepare the downfall of their false leaders and destroy the myth of their "invincible solidarity."

Georgia is such a land. Because of its ancient culture and long Christian tradition, its vital position between the Black and Caspian Seas, its century and a half long resistance to Russian domination, and especially because of the fierceness of its opposition to the Soviets since 1921, it is eminently worthy of the attention and sympathy of the free world.

The upheavals resulting from the 1917 revolution enabled many of the non-Russian peoples of the old Tsarist Empire to reassert their independence. But as soon as the Bolsheviks were firmly established in power, they proceeded with cynical brutality to bring these lands once more under Russian domination. The free states of the Caucasus were the first non-Russian victims of Bolshevik aggression and Soviet diplomatic double-dealing. In 1920, Soviet Russia was engaged in a struggle with Poland and the Baltic States, and signed a treaty of friendship with the Republic of

Georgia, which had been established under the democratic constitution in 1918. But the following year, Soviet armies moved into the Caucasian states of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and North Caucasia. The Allied Powers, which had recognized the Georgian Republic de jure, proved powerless to defend her. The Georgian people have many times since taken up arms against the tyranny of Moscow. Popular uprisings and partisan warfare have been a constant source of trouble to the occupying power.

Today, Soviet repression prevents Georgia from playing the full active role to which she aspires in the world struggle for freedom. Again this year in 1952, the Soviets have started yet another purge of potential "deviationists" in Georgia. But the patriotic people of Georgia, both at home and in exile, continue to strive towards the common goal, encouraged by the hope that Georgia too will one day be freed from bondage and enabled to take her legitimate place in the community of democratic nations.

Georgia is prevented from playing the full active role to which she aspires in the world struggle for freedom. But she will continue to play a part, and she hopes it will soon be an active one.

This publication will endeavor to acquaint its readers with accurate and impartial facts on Georgian history, culture, religion, literature, economics, and on the present struggles of the Georgian people. We shall also endeavor to acquaint American readers with the thoughts and activities of the Georgian people, in the hope that this small country, with its rich and glorious past, will interest that half of the world that is fighting for jusitce. All Georgians, abroad as well as in Georgia, are following the world struggle between the Soviet Union and the free nations led by the United States. All Georgians know that only in the victory of the latter lies their hope of again living under the free institutions that the Soviet destroyed in 1921. For the Georgians there can be no compromise, no "getting along with" the Soviet Union. They tried that once, and the answer was bullets, bayonets, and thirty years of secret-police terror. They are just as prepared to resist that terror now as they were thirty years ago.

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THE GEORGIAN CAUSE

By Alexander Tsomaia

Georgia is situated in Transcaucasia between the Black and the Caspian Seas. It is separated from the North Caucasus by the Caucasian mountain chain, which extends a thousand miles from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and rises in some places — as do the peaks of the Elbruz and Kasbek — to a height of 18,000 feet.

The frontiers of Georgia are: in the north, the Caucasian mountain chain; in the east, Azerbaijan; in the south, Armenia and Turkey, and in the west the Black Sea.

The climate is similar to that of Italy and Spain, and the landscape as a whole is varied and beautiful.

The population numbers about 4,000,000. The capital city, Tbilisi (Tiflis), which was founded in the fifth century by King Vakhtang, now has more than 500,000 inhabitants. Georgia is a country of virtually complete literacy.

Along the Black Sea, the principal ports are Batumi, Poti, and Sukhumi. The port of Batumi is the terminus of the Transcaucasian railway line and also of the petroleum pipe-line from Baku to Batumi.

Agricultural products include wheat, barley, corn, rice, tobacco, tea, oranges, lemons, and olives. Silk and wine making are among the ancient occupations. The land is rich in oil, manganese, coal, molybdenum, mercury, wolfram, and arsenic, and the mountainous terrain favors the development of hydroelectric power.

Because of the fine natural conditions, Georgia is an important resort and tourist center.

HISTORIC ROLE

Georgia is one of the oldest civilized countries of the ancient world.

Statements concerning the Georgians are to be found in the Old Testament and in Assyrian and Greek classics, and scholars and students of the ancient cultures of mankind refer to the Georgian tribes or clans as having made great contributions to those civilizations. In Assyria and Greece, for instance, the discovery of the processes of fabricating iron and other metals was attributed to the Georgians, as were the selective breeding of horses and improved methods of vine-dressing.

In their political life and social order the ancient Georgians were equally advanced. There were twenty-four political divisions or "kingdoms," each autonomous but joined in a communal military alliance for the purpose of resisting outside aggression.

During the period of the Greek Argonaut raids, the western part of Georgia — Colchis — was already a well organized state with laws of its own. In the fifth century B.C., Georgia was composed of two civilized states, Colchis and Iberia, which occupied a noteworthy position in the Hellenic cultural circle. The invention of the Georgian national script — unique in character and underived from Armenian, Syriac, Greek, or Latin — dates from the fourth century B.C.

After long wars against Persia and Rome in the first century, Georgia succeeded in entering into an agreement with the Roman Empire which assured its independent statehood. Henceforth the development of Georgian national culture proceeded unhindered within the confines of the Graeco-Roman world, and Georgia became one of the most important centers of European civilization in the Near East. Relations with Rome became so intimate that the Georgian kings exercised a considerable influence on Roman foreign policy. The Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) erected an equestrian statue of the Georgian King Pharsman II, on Mars Field in Rome, and Iberian kings were known to take part in the imperial Roman council.

After the decline of Rome, Georgia had even closer relations with the Byzantine Empire, which carried on the Hellenic-Roman tradition. In A. D. 337, almost simultaneously with Constantine the Great, King Mirian of Georgia declared Christianity the state religion and thereby associated his kingdom forever, spiritually and culturally, with Christian Europe.

The acceptance of Christianity made Georgian relations with Persia more difficult and complicated, and gave rise to long, intermittent warfare with that country. From the fourth century to our own times the freedom of Georgia has been constantly endangered by reason of the nation's fidelity to Christianity. Despite frequent Persian attacks, Georgia remained an important political factor in the Near East until the first Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the Byzantine emperors called upon the Georgian nobles for aid when their thrones were threatened. In 918, for example, the overlord of southwest Georgia, David Kuropalates, defeated the renegade Bardas Skleros at Pankalia, and thus saved the throne of the Emperor Basil II.

The eleventh to the thirteenth centuries were the golden era of Georgian history. Georgia then comprised the entire Caucasus region between the Black and the Caspian Seas, and between the Caucasian mountain range and the southern border of Armenia. Judging from archaeological and cultural relics, Georgian literature, painting, architecture, and other arts of this period were fully comparable to those of western Europe.

During the Crusades, Georgia independently carried on a long and arduous fight against the foes of Christianity. At the battle of Didgori in 1121, King David of Georgia defeated the invading Islamic coalition, and thereby defended the western European knights against further infringement of their power in Syria and Palestine.

European scholars have established the fact that the concept of the free individual, the equality of the sexes from the political aspect

and other such ideals gained headway in Georgia long before their acceptance in Western Europe. At the time of Queen Thamar (1183-1213) a group headed by Finance Minister Kuthlu Arslan, set up a reform program whereby legislative and executive powers were entrusted to a kind of parliament, leaving the monarch only the rights of veto and confirmation. The entire humanitarian movement in politics and philosophy which characterized this era in Georgia was almost a century ahead of similar movements in Western Europe.

In the thirteenth century Georgia suffered its first invasion by the Mongols. The country was devastated, the population decimated, the most valuable cultural monuments laid in ruin, and the political unity of the kingdom annihilated. Georgia would nevertheless have been able to rebuild its political, economic, and spiritual life, had it not suffered further Mongol invasions, ending in a domination that lasted two hundred years, until the fifteenth century.

The savage Tamerlane destroyed, burned, and demolished everything which he deemed necessary in order to subjugate the Georgian race. The cruelty with which Tamerlane treated conquered peoples is unparalleled in history. In the market-place of Ispahan, for example, he erected a pyramid of 70,000 heads and, astride his horse, climbed upon it and watched coldbloodedly the execution of the remainder of the population.

Not only did Tamerlane's hordes level cities and villages, they felled fruit trees, uprooted vineyards, killed the cattle, and destroyed what they could not consume. They burned the churches, and with them old men, women, and children, who had sought refuge within.

These Mongol depradations were the greatest catastrophe ever suffered by the Georgian people, their political institutions, and their culture. But even the Mongols were unable to wipe out Georgia, and after their departure in the fifteenth century the people began to recover and rebuild.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Georgia was again beset by enemies: Persia, mighty once more, and the Turkish Empire, revived their old warfare for the possession of Georgia and the entire Caucasus. Their forays continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Worst of all the Persian invasions were those of Shah Abbas I in the course of which more than 100,000 Georgians were deported to Persia and forcibly moslemized. The descendants of these Georgians still inhabit the Persian province of Fereidan, and they still speak their mother tongue. In the same period Turkey ravaged Western Georgia, annihilating the Christian culture of southwest Georgia, and imposing Islam upon the population.

The Mongol, Persian, and Turkish attacks forced the Georgian kings and nobles to seek assistance from the Christian sovereigns of Western Europe. Georgian ambassadors were sent to the Pope, the kings of France, of Spain, and later

to the Holy Roman emperor, endeavoring to bring about eventual joint action by European and Georgian forces against the common Islamic foes. The help so sorely needed was never forthcoming from the West, and so Georgia was forced to turn to Russia, which shared a common religion — the Greek Orthodox.

In 1783 Heraklius II, King of East Georgia, concluded a protective treaty with the Russian empress, Catherine II. This treaty forced Georgia to accept the Russian protectorate and to agree to form no pact with any other state. In return Russia guaranteed the absolute security of the Bagratid dynasty and of all the national institutions, the autonomy of the church, and military protection against all enemies.

Persia protested vehemently against the treaty of 1783 and demanded its immediate repudiation by the Georgian king. Heraklius refused. Thereupon the Persian shah, Agha-Mohammed-Khan, in 1796 invaded East Georgia, capturing and burning Tbilisi. Russia sent no troops to aid Georgia — the first of many violations of the 1783 treaty. Shortly thereafter, in 1798, Heraklius II died.

International law experts maintain that by ignoring the obligation she had undertaken Russia violated the treaty, which thereby lost its validity. Leading Georgian political circles of the time took the same position and turned away from Russia. Russia, however, faced with the danger of losing its influence, now sent troops to Georgia, as if to make amends for past faults and as though prepared to fight against any new danger of enemy invasion. But the commanders of the Russian troops carried other orders—simply to take over the entire country. Utilizing the situation resulting from the death of the last Georgian king, George XII, son of Heraklius in 1801, Russia annexed East Georgia. In accordance with manifestos issued by Emperors Paul I and Alexander I, she deposed the royal dynasty and deported its members and the leading political figures to Russia. In 1811 Russia abolished the autocephaly of the old Iberian Church and placed it under the Russian Synod. Then, gradually, she destroyed all other Georgian national institutions.

Thus Russia, having come to Georgia ostensibly as an ally and protector, annihilated the political freedom of an ancient civilization that had for centuries been defending its national independence against countless foes, and transformed it into two Russian provinces.

THE FIRST STRUGGLE WITH RUSSIA

A fighting people with the proud past of the Georgians could not easily accept the loss of political and national freedom. From 1801 until the first World War, more than twenty-eight armed revolts took place in Georgia. With equal energy other Caucasian peoples fought against Russian domination. For sixty years Russia had to make war upon the Caucasian peoples before she finally succeeded in dominating them. In this unequal

battle Georgia, having to rely solely upon its own resources, was finally forced to bear the yoke of czarist despotism.

At the end of the First World war, Georgia, taking advantage of the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, re-established the autocephaly of her church and subsequently on May 26, 1918, her political independence, thus finally rejoining the community of free peoples.

The Independence of Georgia was recognized de facto and de jure by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers — Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium — and subsequently by other powers. The independence of Georgia was recognized by Soviet Russia in 1920. On May 7 of that year it concluded a non-aggression and friendship pact with the Georgian government with the following provisions:

Article I: Russia recognizes without reservations the independence and sovereignty of the Georgian State, and voluntarily renounces all sovereign rights which belong to Russia with respect to the Georgian people and territory

Article II: Based on the principles proclaimed in the foregoing Article I, Russia agrees to renounce all intervention in the internal affairs of Georgia.

Eight months after the signing of this agreement. Soviet Russia attacked Georgia without declaration of war and, after a hard fight against the small nation, which valiantly defended its new liberty, conquered it. In 1921 Georgia was again incorporated into Russia.

Thus, for the second time in the period from 1801 to 1921, Russia destroyed Georgian independence by deceit, by treaty violation, and by force.

The Russian-Bolshevik reign of terror began in Georgia immediately after the conquest of 1921. Members of the government and of the legislative body and a great many of the intelligentsia left Georgia and took up residence in western Europe. The reign of terror in Georgia (and in the entire Caucasus) has now lasted for more than thirty years. While the Bolsheviks have apparently accorded political autonomy to the oppressed countries and taken them into the Soviet Union as "free states," in reality their entire life is dependent on Moscow; while proclaiming the advantages of socialist production methods, the Bolsheviks plunder the people economically, and by abrogation of private ownership, ruin the national economy, in particular farming, through the "Kolkoz" or collective farm. The population is forced to adapt the entire economic system to the needs of Moscow's eternal war aims.

While the Soviet leaders appear to encourage art and science, they kill the human soul, undermine the spirit and the mind, and vitiate the bodily strength of the nation. While proclaiming "freedom of religion," they spread atheistic teachings among the people, kill every religious feeling in the hearts of thousands of naturally right thinking people, burn and blow up churches, and murder priests. By such methods they have created a wholly new type of "Soviet being," whose soul, spirit, morale, and viewpoint, are totally incomprehensible to the rest of the free world.

THIRTY YEARS OF TERROR

Georgia is no more reconciled to the second Russian domination than to the first. Only a small number of Georgian revolutionaries adopted the Bolshevik teachings, among them Joseph Jugashvili (Stalin), Orjonikidze, Beria, etc. Several attempts by the Bolsheviks to seize power during the period of Georgian independence were easily suppressed due to the energy of the national government and the militantly independent attitude of the people. Thereupon the active Georgian Bolsheviks went to Russia, joining their chief, Jugashvili, and organized the Russian attack on their own land, leading the Russian troops into Georgia. After the capture, the betrayers formed the first "Georgia Bolshevik Government." The people did not recognize this government, Bolshevism, or its domination. Within the country secret organizations were formed, led by veteran combatants. In 1924 a great uprising broke out, but in the unequal struggle it was suppressed with over ten thousand Georgians executed. The Bolshevik terror was stepped up; Georgian resistance became even more bitter, and our people sacrificed their finest sons in this desperate self-defense which is still being carried on. The entire Georgian nation could never be bolshevized and denationalized by the terror.

The free world supported Georgia in its endeavor to free itself from the Russian-Bolshevik yoke, but unfortunately only morally. It protested against the destruction of independent Georgia but without being able to proceed actively against the Bolsheviks. Resolutions by the League of Nations, the Workers International, and the governments of various countries expressed sympathy. Indeed, the reservations which Great Britain and France included in their recognition of Soviet Russia demonstrated that these powers were most reluctant to countenance the destruction of independent Georgia.

The British act of recognition of Soviet Russia contains the following clause:

"The Government of His Britannic Majesty, recognizes the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics as the dejure rulers of those territories of the old Russian Empire which acknowledge their authority."

The same reservation is found in the French act of recognition:

"The Government of the Republic of France recognizes de jure, dating from today, the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, as the Government of the old Russian Empire where its authority is accepted by the inhabitants."

The Georgian question was frequently the subject of League of Nations discussions. Thus the Third General Assembly of this organization adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"The Assembly of the League of Nations, having considered the situation of Georgia, invites the council to follow attentively events in that part of the world, so that it can seize on occasions which may present themselves, to help by pacific means and in conformity with the rules of international law, to restore this country to a normal condition."

The same resolution was adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League, which expressed the greatest sympathy for the Georgian people who were so valiantly fighting for freedom. The signatures of the English, French, and Belgian delegates headed this declaration. This was after the great Georgian uprising against Bolshevism in 1924.

In 1926, the House of Representatives of the United States, at the suggestion of Mr. R. Walton Moore of Virginia, moved for the appointment of a special committee to examine the Georgian question. By decision of the House, the data compiled were published in Washington in book form. The final decision of the committee was to empower the President of the United States to name a diplomatic representative to the Georgian Government in Paris at such time as he might deem advisable.

Thus was the Georgian question seen in Europe and America. The Georgian Legation in Paris functioned as the official representative of independent Georgia until January 1933, proof of the western powers' refusal to recognize Russian-Bolshevist might in Georgia.

Unfortunately, n e i t h e r the bloody battles and sacrifices of Georgian patriots, nor the sympathy of the civilized world were able to save Georgia from the bolshevist hell. The country clearly recognized that only some colossal world event capable of destroying the Bolshevik regime could lead to its deliverance. The establishment of the Georgian State at the end of the first World War was only made possible because a foreign power—Germany—had conquered Russia.

The Georgian people and the political emigrants in Europe had always known that Russia would at some time again be involved in war with one — possibly with a coalition — of western powers. There was hope that, at the end of the second World War, the same objective might be reached as had been attained at the end of the first—that Georgia might re-establish representative democratic government according to her own enlightened constitution

The hope of the Georgians of re-establishing their lost freedom and independence has, unhappily, not yet been fulfilled. The second World War has long since ended, and still Georgians, Ukrainians, Armenians, and countless others, remain in subjection. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has by force attached to itself Eastern Europe and a large portion of Asia. Instead of disintegrating, it has become stronger.

It is said that every pressure has a counter-pressure, and so it is. The Soviet Union has grown, but the resistance and hatred of the subjugated people have likewise grown. It is known that the anti-Communist organizations which increased during the second World War are now very active. But it is also known that the Soviet Union has directed particular attention towards Georgia and is intent on building up its southern frontier. Unbelievable t e r r o r reigns in Georgia. The MVD and MGB prisons are daily filled with more Georgians. Despite this, Georgians hope that their country's independence will presently arise out of the ruins of Soviet tyranny. The Georgians cherish the words sent them by the Secretary of State of the United States through the "Voice of America" on May 26, 1951 — the Georgian Independence Day:

> "The world remembers how often you Georgians have fought for this principle of freedom, how valiantly throughout your glorious thousand-years-old history you have defended your ancient culture and Christian civilization. You have been often conquered, but never subdued. You have been able throughout the ages to preserve your national personality, and you have never lost the will to stand up for your human rights. We Americans admire you for this enduring spirit . . . The ultimate goal of the American people and their government is a peaceful world in which there is no strong and no weak, no master and no slave, but where all men can live and work freely and happily without want or fear and with the right to worship God in their own way. This is our vision of the future; we invite you to share it."

We are firmly convinced that America's hope will be fulfilled, and we are prepared to fight for it. In the battle against Communism we shall work together with all those who are prepared to recognize without compromise Georgia's sovereign rights.

During the past centuries, and most recently on May 26, 1918, the Georgian nation has clearly demonstrated its will to be free and independent. It is the sacred duty of all Georgians to serve the will of their people.

THE GEORGIAN CHURCH

By P. Kutateli

The Georgian church is one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. For sixteen hundred years, in the face of unheard-of persecution, it has succeeded in maintaining the Christian faith in the face of repeated onslaughts by the heathen hordes of the Huns, the fire-worshipping Zoroastrians and the Muslim armies of the Arabs, Turks, Mongols and Persians.

The introduction of Christianity is attributed by venerable tradition to St. Nino, a holy virgin who came to Georgia from Byzantium early in the fourth century. By her miracles and persuasive preaching, she won over the Queen of Georgia and the royal family. In 334. the old idols were thrown down, and the people hastened to embrace the new faith. Under King Vakhtang Gorgaslan, in the year 458, the Archbishop of Mtskheta, the Georgian capital, was elevated to the dignity of Catholicos, the title of the heads of national churches within the Eastern Orthodox communion. At this time, however, the Catholicos was not a Georgian, but a Greek, the Church remaining under the nominal jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of Antioch. In 553, a Catholicos was elected for the first time from the ranks of the Georgian clergy. A General Council of the Church of Antioch, presided over by the Patriarch Theophilactus, recognized the autocephaly of the Georgian Church. Subsequently the Georgian Church took part as an equal in the common deliberations of all Christian Churches, including the Council of Basle, the Council of Florence and the Council of Moscow in 1666.

While the crusading knights strove to expel the Saracens from the Holy Places and the whole of the Near East, the Georgians also entered into the struggle and launched an effective 'Second Front' in the Saracens' rear. The Crusaders were fully conscious of the value of these operations to the Christian cause. Among other testimonies to the Georgians' pious and chivalrous qualities, we may quote the eloquent words of Jacques de Vitry, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, who wrote:

> "There is also in the East another Christian people, who are very warlike and valiant in battle, being strong in body and powerful in the countless number of their warriors. They are much dreaded by the Saracens and have often by their invasions done great damage to the Persians, Medes and Assyrians on whose borders they dwell, being entirely surrounded by infidel nations. These men are called Georgians. They especially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fight with the infidels, and honor him above all other saints. . . . Whenever they come on pilgrimage to the Lord's Sepulchre, they march into the Holy City with banners unfurled, without paying tribute to anyone; for the Saracens in no wise dare to molest them, lest on their return they should revenge themselves on other Saracens, their neighbors."

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Georgian church was in close touch with the Christian communities of the West. Friendly relations were always maintained with Rome, and French and Italian missionaries brought humanist culture to Georgia in the course of their evangelical missions to the Near East.

The fall of Byzantium in the fifteenth century dealt a great blow to Georgia. The Turks cut Transcaucasia off from all but the most scanty contact with the West. Repeated efforts to enter into the Mediterranean and Western European orbit having failed, Georgia was eventually forced to turn in self-defense to her great northern neighbor, Russia. After repeatedly failing to honor her obligations under the Russo-Georgian treaty of alliance and protection, signed in 1783, the Russian government unilaterally abolished the Eastern Georgian monarchy and in 1801 annexed its territory to the Russian crown.

The autocephaly and internal freedom of the Georgian church had been several times guaranteed by the rulers of Russia, from Catherine the Great to Alexander I. In defiance of solemn undertakings, the Patriarchal See of the Georgian Church at Mtskheta was abolished ten years after the annexation. The Catholicos Antoni II was removed to forced residence in Russia, and the Georgian church placed under the authority of the Russian Synod. An Exarch was appointed from St. Petersburg. Being aware of the Church's role as upholder of the country's national traditions. every effort was made to undermine the national character of the religious life of Georgia. Thus the abolition of the Georgian Patriarchate, which neither the Mongols nor the Persians had effected, was finally carried out by an Orthodox Christian power.

During the nineteenth century, the Tsarist government continued its policy of Russification. The property of the Georgian church was confiscated and the Georgian language was replaced in church services by the Slavonic, which the local people naturally found unintelligible. The ancient church music of Georgia was replaced by Slavonic chants. Ikons, books and manuscripts were removed to Russian private and museum collections. Those Georgian bishops who raised the voice of protest were sent into exile.

Despite all of these events, the Georgian clergy, while continuing to deny the right of the Russian synod to usurp the prerogatives of their church, went on giving their fullest energies to common action with the Russians in all that could serve to extend and strengthen orthodoxy in the Caucasus, where so many different religions and confessional interests clash.

In 1906 and again in 1912, the Georgian clergy attempted protests to Russia against the persecution of their church, but only the overthrow of the Czarist government in February, 1917 enabled the Georgian Church to regain its autocephaly. Differences with the Russian synod remained, but the Georgian Church was well on its way toward successful re-establish-

ment when the Bolsheviks marched into Georgia in 1921.

As the bloody Communist occupation began, the Catholicos Patriarch Leonidas I, like the good shepherd who leaves not his flock, remained in Tiflis, where he died in the summer of 1921, allegedly the victim of a cholera epidemic. The Catholicos Patriarch Ambrosi I, elected to succed him by the Council of the Georgian Church, seeing that the only salvation of his people lay in their liberation from foreign military rule, fearlessly addressed an appeal to the International Church Conference in Genoa in February, 1922. Apparently he knowingly sacrificed his life. After publication of his letter in Genoa, he was immediately arrested and imprisoned by the Soviets, and spent more than a year in the damp dungeons of a Cheka prison. When the prison doctors told them that Ambrosi was near death, the Communist authorities decided to hold a public trial.

But in this they miscalculated. Sick and exhausted, the venerable Head of the Georgian Church demonstrated such will power and spiritual fortitude that the Georgians avidly followed every step of the trial, feeling the exultation of a people watching a particularly momentous national moral victory. During the trial, Catholicos Ambrosi behaved contemptuously toward his inquisitors. His last words were: **"My soul belongs to God, my heart to my country: you, my executioners, do what you will with my body."** The Communists could not let such a man live, but Catholicos Ambrosi left an imperishable memory, and his last words, uttered on the threshold of death, are whispered to the present time in Georgia.

After the death of Catholicos Ambrosi, the Bolsheviks hastened the destruction of the Georgian Church and the confiscation of its properties. Churches and monasteries were torn down and their sites levelled. All church schools and seminaries were closed, and many thousands of clergymen, monks and nuns were shot or deported to Siberian concentration camps.

In his memorandum of 1922 to the International Peace Conference in Genoa, Catholicos Ambrosi lamented the fact that there were only 1500 churches left in Georgia. In 1951, Catholicos Calistrate, in a conversation in Tiflis with Harrison E. Salisbury of the New York Times, mentioned that there were only one hundred churches in Georgia, figures that clearly show the present position of this ancient Christian community.

Catholicos Calistrate, who, during his conversation with Salisbury also stressed the fact that the Georgian people were anxious to have friendly relations with the American people, was subsequently arrested, and after having been extensively tortured, died in prison in February, 1952. Catholicos Calistrate thus became the most recent of the thousands of Georgians who have been tortured and sacrificed for their Christianity.

Shortly before being martyred by the Bolsheviks, the Catholicos Ambrosi described the Church as

the "principal factor in the power and glory of the Georgian nation." Indeed, its history presents a proud record as one of the most sturdy bastions of Christianity in the East. It reveals an incredible story of survival against the onslaughts of the hordes from Central Asia, the domination of the Tsars and now against the repressions of the Bolsheviks. During the past thirty years, it has carried on a vital struggle to defend its existence and the spiritual values of its communicants against materialism and militant atheism. Two heads of the Georgian Church have perished as they tried to speak out for their faith against the Soviet New Order. The Christians of Georgia look forward to a better time, when the religion of Christ can once more be openly professed among them without fear of persecution. The prayers of free believers everywhere should go out on their behalf at this time of ordeal and trial.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CAUCASIAN PEOPLES FOR INDEPENDENCE

By A. GUGUSHVILI

Caucasia lies between two continents—Europe and Asia. Separated from the former by the Black Sea and from the latter by the Caspian Sea, Caucasia represents a border of each of these two continents and is therefore a country of Eastern Europe as well as of Western Asia.

Politically Caucasia is divided into two parts — North Caucasia and South Caucasia, or Transcaucasia, the dividing line being the crest of the main chain or the water-shed of the Great Caucasus range. Actually, however, Transcaucasia in the political sense extends in places beyond this dividing line, as Eastern Georgia in the North and Azerbaijan in the North East.

Caucasia has an area of about 380,000 sq. klm.[2] and is twice as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

When speaking of the contemporary history of Caucasia we have to consider separately four groups of Caucasian peoples: the North Caucasians, the Azerbaijanians, the Georgians, and the Armenians.

These four countries have together a population of about 11,000,000 (1939 census), distributted as follows:

	Popul.	*Popul.*
North Caucasia	2,800,288	
Capital Dzaudzikhau[3])		127,172.
Azerbaijan	3,209,727	
Capital Baku		809,347.
Armenia	1,281,599	
Capital Erevan		200,038.
Georgia	3,524,289	
Capital Tbilisi		519,175.

Before World War I (1914-1918) Caucasia was part of the Russian

[1]Excerpts from an article by *A. Gugushvili*. Originally published in the "Eastern Quarterly." Vol. IV No. 4, Ocotber, 1952. (32, Bolton Gardens, London S.W. 5), and reprinted in pamphlet form (off print).

[2]Geographical and not political area is to be understood.

[3]Formerly Vegdikavkas.

[4]Parliament.

Empire, and constituted a separate administrative unit, the Vice-Royalty of Caucasia, which had its centre at Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia.

As a result of the First World War, part of the territory of Transcaucasia went to Turkey and as a result of the Revolution of February 1917, Caucasia regained her independence. North Caucasia convoked her first all North Caucasian Assembly in Vladikavkaz (now Dzaudzhikau) in March 1917, the deliberations of which resulted in the formation of the Union of the peoples of North Caucasia and Daghestan, which later, in December of the same year, was proclaimed a Republic — the Republic of the Union of North Caucasia and Daghestan, or the North Caucasian Republic.

The advent to power of the Bolsheviks in Russia was followed by the breaking off of all relations by the nationalities of all Caucasia with the Central Government in Petrograd. On the 11th May 1918 the independence of North Caucasia was declared formally and notified to all Powers. Soon after that it was recognized de jure by Turkey and de facto by Germany.

In Transcaucasia the Extraordinary Transcaucasian Commissariat, appointed by the Provisional Government of Petrograd, was dissolved, and on the 11th November 1917 the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian leading political parties formed a Joint Provisional Government — the Transcaucasian Commissariat (President E. Gueguetchkori). In February 1918 the Transcaucasian Seym was convened, which elected C. Tcheidze as its President, and which in April 1918 was transformed into the Federal Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia. The independence of this Republic was formally proclaimed on April 22nd and it was recognized by Turkey on April 28.

The next step to be taken was to effect the unification of the two Republics — the North Caucasian and the Transcaucasian — into one federative or confederative republic, to create a kind of Caucasian Switzerland. The respective negotiations were started at Batumi at the beginning of May 1918. However, they soon broke down, owing to external circumstances which proved to be not only the obstacle to the unification of all Caucasia, but also even a cause of the disintegration of the already established Federal Republic of Transcausia.

Two months before the proclamation of the Federal Republic of Transcaucasia, Moscow had by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty ceded to Turkey the Provinces of Batumi, Ardahan and Kars. This naturally aroused great indignation throughout the country and the Transcaucasian Seym protested against this decision before the Powers. In spite of the fact that already in December 1917 the Transcaucasian Commissariat had concluded an armistice with Turkey, the Turks continued their military operations, exploiting the retreat of the gradually disintegrating Russian Armies. There remained only one slender hope for the Transcaucasian Seym — namely straightening out the matter by direct negotiations with Turkey. And indeed the Turks agreed to a conference at Trebizond, which they had occupied. But this conference, which lasted the whole month of March 1918, did not prevent Turkey from occupying these provinces by force, owing to the fact that the Seym failed to agree on the question of war or peace with Turkey. In the circumstances the Transcaucasian Seym saw itself forced to dissolve, and on the 26th May 1918 the Federal Republic of Transcaucasia broke up into component national states, each of which formally declared its own independence on the same day.

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The independent life of the four Caucasian Republics was, however, short. Soon Moscow armies invaded and occupied them one by one. The first victim was naturally the North Caucasian Republic which, although exhausted by the incessant wars with the White Armies of General Denikin, put up a valiant defense for her independence. It was conducted by a Committee for Defense specially formed for the purpose in September 1919 and headed by Sheik Ali Haji of Akusha. Next Azerbaijan fell in April 1920, and then Armenia at the end of the same year. Finally Georgia was invaded without even a formal declaration of war. on the 11th February 1921, in violation of the Treaty of Peace of May 1920 and of the Treaty of Commerce of the 14th November 1920.

With the final occupation of the whole of Caucasia by the Soviet Moscow armies, the leading members of the National Governments

of the Caucasian Nations and many leaders of their political parties, as well as members of their national armies and a considerable number of the intellectuals, left Caucasia and sought refuge in exile. Colonies of such emigrés are found at present in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Italy, France, Western Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Argentine, the U.S.A., etc. Before the last war such colonies existed also in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

The dissolution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia in May 1918 was regarded by the Caucasian peoples as a temporary separation. On the day of the declaration of the independence of Georgia, 26th May 1918, Mr. N. Jordania, then President of the Georgian National Council, defined the basis of the Georgian Policy towards her neighbors as follows:

". . . although the critical situation in which we find ourselves obliges us to separate, we shall do everything to re-establish the Union of Caucasia under the form of a Confederation. Our road and our ideal lead us to the organization of the Union. The Confederative State will gather all our forces and all our will in face of the external enemy against whom we will know how to defend ourselves."

As a first step towards the realization of this policy Georgia concluded Treaties of Defensive Alliance with Azerbaijan on the 16th June 1919, and with Armenia on November 3rd of the same year, by virtue of which all disputes were to be resolved by means of agree-

საქართველოს პარლამენტის
ეროვნული ბიბლიოთეკა

ment or arbitration.

Unfortunately this work of the political consolidation of Caucasia and the realization by these means of close unity between her peoples was shattered by the grave blow which the Russian Bolsheviks dealt Caucasia in invading and occupying the territories of the Caucasian Republics.

The unification of North and South Caucasia, which in spite of the endeavors of their respective Governments proved difficult to accomplish during the short period of their independence because of external circumstances was, however, realized abroad by the political emigration from these countries. In 1921 the leading members of the National Governments and Delegations of the four Caucasian Republics began in exile a long campaign to regain the independence of their respective countries.

The Future of Caucasia. The political and economic union of the four Republics of Caucasia will ensure the basis for their economic prosperity and their political evolution, because the wealth and variety of the natural resources of Caucasia promise brilliant prospects for the development of all kinds of economic activity of the population. The extraordinary diversity of the soil and climatic conditions present possibilities of the extensive development of the most diverse cultures of rural economy.

The Caucasian Black Sea coast, with warm and humid climate, offers excellent conditions for the development of subtropical cultivation (orange, lemon, mandarin, banana, tea, bamboo, cork, palm tree, eucalyptus, etc. etc.) and the tobacco industry. The Alazan valley in Eastern Georgia with its Mediterranean climate represents a region extremely suitable for viticulture. The Erevan plain in Armenia with its dry continental climate and particularly warm summer, yields, as recognized by specialists, peaches of the best quality in the world, a very sweet sort of grape, and cotton and rice. The Alpine meadows along the slopes of the Caucasian mountains, with a temperature exceeding that of the Swiss meadows, promise extensive development of the dairy industry. The Caspian Sea with its rich reserves of fish opens up immense possibilities for the extensive development of fisheries. Other regions of Caucasia offer other no less priceless resources which will serve as a sure foundation for the prosperity of the people.

Caucasia possesses an immense variety of mineral wealth: oil (estimated reserves over 1,200,000,000 tons), manganese (the best in the world; estimated reserves 161,500,000 tons), coal, copper, argentiferous lead, iron, rock salt, glauber's salt, etc., etc.

The extraordinary abundance and variety of mineral springs, and climatic curative places for which North Caucasia is particularly famous, offer a wide development for health resorts.

The immense energy of the river system of Caucasia (the so-called "white coal"), estimated at 70,000,000 hp., if turned to industrial uses, will provide a powerful impetus for the speedy economic development of the country.

The international or political significance of Caucasia lies not only in its oil reserves, but also in its geographical position. Long before the Caucasian oil was exploited, Caucasia was considered of paramount strategic importance by the powers to the South of the Great Caucasus range, who had to preserve themselves from marauding northern hordes, and also by the Imperial Powers who sought to extend their empires (the Achaemenian, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, Turkish).

Caucasia's position as a bridgehead and a jumping off ground for the invasion of Hither Asia was recognized by Russia as early as the 18th century. Russia's encroachments upon Caucasia in the 18th and 19th centuries were opposed not only by Turkey and Persia but also by Great Britain.

This key position of Caucasia, particularly of Transcaucasia, was recognized also by the Germans during the last two world wars. It was towards the end of the First World War that the Germans established themselves temporarily in this region (June — November 1918). German formulas "P.P.P." (Potsdam, Poti, Pekin) and "B.B.B." (Berlin, Batum, Bombay) indicate the importance which the German geo-military thinkers attached to the Caucasian bridgehead.

As long as Russia occupies Caucasia no lasting peace can be established in Hither Asia (Near and Middle East). Just as Tsarist Russia used Caucasia as a military base for imperial aims in Persia and Turkey, so to-day the Red Moscow imperialism is trying to extend its influence to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean through this region. Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Syria, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt will never be safe as long as Caucasia remains under the Muscovite heel.

The free, independent and sovereign Caucasian Confederation on the other hand represents for these States, and consequently for Europe as well, safety, tranquillity, peace and prosperity.

The Russian People and the Subjugated Nations. The many different nations which composed the Tsarist Empire joined forces during the two revolutions of 1905 and 1917. They were all working towards one political end, that of overthrowing the Tsarist autocracy. The basis served as a starting point for the peoples liberated by the Revolution of 1917 in their task of organizing their national and economic life.

However, the October Coup d'état caused a rift in this common front of so many different nationalities. Bolshevism carried away one of its members — the Russian people. This de facto isolation found its official confirmation in the slogan of the Soviet Government in Moscow—the right of the peoples to self-determination. It claimed for all the peoples of Russia the right to choose the form of their own government, which meant the non-intervention of the non-Russian peoples in Russian affairs and of the Russians in the affairs of the non-Russian peoples.

Having thus isolated the Russian

nation, Bolshevism imposed upon the latter the tyrannical Soviet system, whereas the other nations composing the empire organized themselves according to democratic principles. It was very soon apparent, however, that the principle of national self-determination, of National Freedom so solemnly proclaimed by Red Moscow, was merely a maneuver. It held good only as long as Moscow had to contend with internal difficulties, but once the regime was well established in Russia and the Government disposed of a sufficiently large military force, they immediately embarked upon the reconquest of the peoples formerly within the Russian Empire. Wars which broke out in consequence raged upon the whole front from Finland to Turkistan, and in Siberia. Some of the nations, as the Finns, the Baltic peoples and the Poles, emerged successfully from the strife and set up their independent States, but others, as the Cossacks, the Caucasian peoples, Ukrainians, the Byelorussians, the Turkestanians and the Tartars were unsuccessful and reverted to subjection.

The Russian people, first by isolating themselves from non-Russian peoples and then by identifying themselves with the Bolshevik aggression against these peoples, created an unbridgeable gulf between themselves and the non-Russian peoples. This gulf widened continually as Moscow endeavored to force its political and economic system on the latter. The non-Russian peoples tended towards the democratic ideal for their system of government, in which creative activity, private as well as social initiative, is one of the main factors, but in which the state is less to the fore. However, under Moscow pressure they came under the same old, specifically Russian system, in force prior to the reign of Peter the Great, which consisted of a despotic Government exploiting man and his goods to the utmost limit, tying down the individual and suppressing any initiative in thought or deed. This essentially local system affected only the Russian people, the boundaries of whose country extend to Poland, the Baltic countries and Finland in the West, to the Ukraine and river Don in the South and the Urals in the East. The regime in force in this territory was characteristically Russian, having no affinity of any kind with the regimes of the peoples outside these boundaries. Therefore the main objective of these peoples was and is to get away from Moscow. This centrifugal movement was justified and intensified by the development of the Soviet reign of terror.

The four principal points d'appui of the terrorist regime — Communist Party, bureaucracy, Tcheka — GPU — MVD and Army, who use inhuman and barbaric methods to enforce its plans, are subject to fatal deviations which determine the ruthless repression of the Kremlin. The continual purges disorganize the administrative machine and keep up a psychosis of fear among the executives and the rank and file alike. This bloody terrorism has created

around the dictatorship inefficiency, poverty of spirit and lack of social initiative. The faults and mistakes of executive bodies, according to the Kremlin, arise not from the system itself, but from the inefficiency, unhelpfulness and disloyalty of individuals. On the testimony of no less an authority than Ivan Markin — who as an engineer has worked on the toughest assignments in the remotest areas of Russia, and as a diplomat has been an instrument of Kremlin policy — the wastefulness of modern Russia is shocking. Much of it is due — says Markin (The Daily Express — 11th December 1950)—to party spite, to the backbiting secret informers, and to ignorant officials who interfere in all manner of projects they do not understand. Brilliant technicians with years of experience are browbeaten and overruled, then penalized for mistakes.

The whole Soviet population with the exception of the immediate circle of the Kremlin can see the evil within itself and looks for an opportunity to get rid of it. The antagonism of the peoples of the Soviet Union to the Bolshevik system found its expression in the fact that in 1941 when Hitler invaded the Union entire armies refused to fight, and surrendered as prisoners of war to the Germans. Moreover, the bulk of the population of the invaded territories hailed the advancing German troops as liberators, for they regarded Hitler as a saviour who would rescue them from the tyranny of the secret political police and the collective system. A more favorable psychological situation could hardly have met the forces of any invader of the Soviet Union. But profound political blunders and errors on the part of Hitler saved the Bolshevik regime. It may quite boldly be asserted that even under the conditions of terrorism at present prevailing in the Soviet Union the political and psychological factors for a successful revolution at an opportune moment are more favorable there today than ever before. The victorious end of the war has not brought to the peoples improved living conditions or any prospect of a better future, for no social, political or national reforms can ever be expected. New armaments and rebuilding and a vast premature expansion of industries impose new intolerable strain and sacrifices. As a result the terror is intensified, concentration and forced labor camps grow in size and number.

The Soviet regime, sustained by oppression and violence, is profoundly tyrannical and is hated most in the countries where it has prevailed the longest. With its supposed or apparent enormous strength the Soviet system possesses a deeply rooted intrinsic weakness.

If World War III ever broke out the Western Allied Powers would have to use every means within their grasp to win it quickly with the least possible sacrifice if they are to save European civilization from complete destruction and from Moscow domination. It is therefore felt that the Western Democratic Powers will in the event of a new world war use every

possible auxiliary and will give heed to the psychological factors and other strong potential weapons which political co-operation with the different nations of the Soviet Union will open up to them. For it is from among the ranks of these people that force will appear which is capable of tipping decisively and speedily the international scales in favor of Western Democracy. It is natural and proper that such a force should come from the peoples who, having rejected Bolshevism, have kept intact their morale and their prestige, remained faithful to their democratic ideals and energetically resisted the Red Moscow tyranny.

It should be noted that while the masses of the Russian people in their struggle may be pursuing the liquidation of Bolshevism, the non-Russian peoples are definitely fighting not only for the liquidation of Bolshevism, but also for the recovery of national liberty. The Russian political leaders differ from the Russian masses in this, that they aspire to the inheritance of the former Russian Empire, some of them even to that of Stalin's dominions. It is evident that once the enemy has been overcome this ambition would take hold again and so start a civil conflict, at the end of which a new form of tyranny would probably appear.

The subjected nations are fighting the Bolsheviks not only because they are Communists. For them the struggle is against Russian domination in general. The restoration of democracy in what is the Soviet Union to-day is inseparably bound up with that of national liberty, as they were both suppressed at the same time and by the same foreign Power — Moscow. Russian hegemony being untenable it will be the non-Russian peoples who will take charge and who will set up in the place of the Soviet Union a decent new order based on national and political liberty, and who will help the Russians to rid themselves of the Bolshevik regime in order that they may live in peace and friendship with all other democratic peoples.

As can be seen, the border countries which represent the incorporated peoples, that is, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Caucasian States, the Cossack Republics, Turkistan, etc., appear as a very real force in the process of liquidating the Soviet regime. Their line of action is set by the bitter experience of the past and the vital interests of the future. They have come to realize that the final victory is to be determined by the union and co-operation of their efforts and the help they can give each other. A single front of 100,000,000 people united under one fighting banner would be a determining factor in establishing a new order within and consolidating peace outside.

RECOGNITION OF GEORGIA

APPENDIX No. 1

The Sovereignty of Georgia was recognized **de jure by:**

the Turkish Goverment	June 3, 1918
the Argentine Government	September 13, 1919
the Soviet Government	May 7, 1920
the German Government	September 24, 1920

On January 27, 1921, the Sovereign Independence of Georgia was recognized DE JURE BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE ALLIED POWERS **(Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium).**

Soon after followed recognition by many other states:

Poland	January 28, 1921
Rumania	February 18, 1921
Austria	February 17, 1921
Luxembourg	Feb. 23, 1921
Haiti	March 9, 1921
Liberia	March 28, 1921
Mexico	April 14, 1921
Panama	August 26, 1921
Siam	November 20, 1921
Czechoslovakia	April 8, 1921

The Georgian question was discussed in the Congress of the USA on April 1, 1926, and the following resolution was passed:

"JOINT RESOLUTION Providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia.

Whereas the Kingdom of Georgia for many centuries maintained its independent existence, its racial identity, and the integrity of its language, institutions, and laws against the almost constant aggression and frequent invasion to which it was subjected, and its territory has been since the fourth century, and is, occupied by people of the Christian faith; and

Whereas the kingdom was succeeded by the National Republic of Georgia, which was regularly and freely established, with a written constitution. on May 26, 1918; and

Whereas the existence of the Republic has been generally recognized by the nations of the world, except the United States; and

Whereas notwithstanding such express recognition by the Russian Government in 1920 that Government has since invaded and now exercises control of the territory of the Republic, which has been compelled to transfer its governmental activities from Tiflis, and then from Batum to France, where its officials now function; and

Whereas it is the sense of Congress that the Government of the United States should express its disapproval of the unwarranted action of the Russian Government and its sympathy with the people

of the Republic; Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congres assembled, That provision should be made by law for defraying the expenses incident to the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF GEORGIA

APPENDIX No. 2

1802	General uprising in Eastern Georgia.
1804	Rising in eastern Georgia.
1809-1810	Forced annexation of western Georgia and renaming into Russian provinces. Uprising in western Georgia.
1812	Insurrection in eastern Georgia with support from emigrés in Persia, provoked by the suppression of the autocephaly of the Georgian Orthodox Church.
1819-1820	Revolt in eastern and western Georgia.
1824	Insurrection in Abkhazia.
1829	Uprising in Guria after the abolition of the Principality.
1829	Uprising in Tiflis.
1832	Plot against the Russian regime organized by representatives of all provinces.
1841	Insurrection in western Georgia.
1856	Rising in Svanethia. Murder of Governor General Gagarin by Prince Dadeshkeliani. Abolition of the Principality of Svanethy.
1857	Insurrection in Mingrelia and abolition of the Principality of Mingrelia.
1875-1876	Insurrection in Svanethia.
1877	Rising in Abkhazia. Expulsion of Abkhazians to Turkey and abolition of the Principality.
1878	Peasant revolt in eastern Georgia.
1887	A national youth movement. Assassination of the dean of Chudeski seminary.
1905-1906	Insurrection in eastern and western Georgia.
1921	Insurrection in Svanethia.

1922	Insurrection in Kevsurethi.
1924	The great insurrection of all Georgia against the Soviet regime, followed by mass executions and deportations.
1927	Revolt in Lethchumy and Svanethia quelled by the Red Army and the Soviet Air Force.
1931-1933	Resistance movement of farmers against collectivisation.
1937	Plot to separate Georgia from the Soviet Union stopped by mass executions and deportations.
1942-1943	A strong organized anti-Soviet movement for separation and independence.
1952	The struggle continues.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY IN GEORGIA

APPENDIX No. 3

Shortly before the Bolshevik occupation of Georgia in 1921, the country's free constituent assembly ratified a constitution for the young state that can today still be considered a model basis for progressive, democratic legislation. It is well worth comparing with both the Constitution of the United States and the subsequent, much-ballyhooed but seldom-invoked Soviet "Constitution."

The Georgian Constitution provided, among other things, for freedom of speech and conscience, the right of petition, the right of workers to strike, the right of political asylum, the right of initiative and referendum, the political equality of the sexes. It provided that the legislative assembly would be elected by "universal, equal, direct, secret, proportional voting."

It abolished all titles of rank, capital punishment, and child labor. It decreed the complete separation of Church and State. It guaranteed universal, free, public education, while fully protecting the rights of minority racial and religious groups.

Finally, the Georgian Constitution made provisions for a complete system of Social Security, which, if fully implemented, would have been the equal of any operating today in western Europe or the Western Hemisphere.

THE CONSTITUTION OF GEORGIA

Adopted by the Constituent Assembly
February 2, 1921

The act of independence was proclaimed by the Georgian National Council at Tiflis on May 26, 1918, and was confirmed by the constituent assembly elected by equal, universal, secret, and proportional suffrage of the citizens of both sexes at its first session of March 12, 1919.

At the same session the constituent assembly intrusted a commission with the task of working out the plan of the constitution of the Republic, giving a judicial form to the political organization which existed already, de facto, in the institutions and constitutional practice followed in Georgia. This commission achieved its objective and finished its work toward the end of 1920.

The definite text of the constitution was voted on by the constituent assembly on February 22, 1921.

The constituent assembly of Georgia, elected by citizens of both sexes, according to the direct, equal, universal, secret, and proportional electoral system, at its first sitting of March 12, 1919, proclaims before the world and history, that it fully confirms and approves the act of the independence of Georgia, declared at Tiflis by the Georgian National Council, May 26, 1918.

First Chapter — General Basis

First Article Georgia is a state; free, independent, and indivisible. The permanent and unchangeable form of its political constitution is the democratic Republic.

2. The capital of Georgia is Tiflis.

3. The official language of Georgia is the Georgian language.

4. The flag of the Georgian Republic is of carmoisine color (dyed dogberry) with one black and one white stripe. The seal of the Georgian Republic is the effigy of Georges LeBlanc mounted on a horse, surmounted by seven stars.

5. The laws and decrees only enter into force after they have been published in the regular manner

6. The territory of the state may neither be ceded, divided, nor sold. The enlargement of the territory, or the rectifications of the frontiers which may be contested, is only possible by virtue of a law.

7. The administrative division and the appointing or the alteration of the autonomous boundaries (limits) can only be done by legislative law.

8. The constitution is the supreme law of the state. Any law, any decree, any ordinance, or decision, which is in contradiction with the principles or the spirit of the constitution cannot be promulgated. All the powers of the state are held to fulfill the constitution and to apply its principles, as well in the legislative domain as in the administration.

9. The laws and decrees previous to the constitution remain in force, if they are not in contradiction to the constitution and its principles.

10. The present constitution remains in force permanently and uninterruptedly except in cases provided for in the constitution itself.

11. After the adoption of the constitution the constituent assembly shall publish it with the signature of its members.

Second Chapter — Of the Right of the Indigenes

12. The Georgian nationality is acquired by birth, by marriage, or by naturalization.

13 A Georgian citizen can not be at the same time a citizen of any other state.

14. A Georgian citizen cannot renounce his nationality except after having fulfilled all his obligations to the state.

15. The detailed conditions of the acquisition and the loss of the rights of the indigenes are determined by law.

Third Chapter—Rights of Citizens

16. All citizens are equal before the law.

17. There is no distinction of class.

18. No titles, except degrees of universities, shall be conferred. Decorations are abolished; distinctive marks may be conferred by reason of war.

19. Capital punishment is abolished.

20. Nobody can be condemned except by way of the judiciary, with the exception of disciplinary punishments provided for by law.

21 All citizens are judged by the same

form of procedure.

22. Every person enjoys individual inviolability. Nobody can be arrested or deprived of his liberty in any other manner, nor submitted to search, except by warrant of a court of justice or by the medium of inquiry.

23. The administration can only proceed with the arrest on its own initiative in the following cases:

(a) When the guilty person is surprised in the very act.
(b) When the guilty person is indicted on the place of the crime by the victim or by a witness.
(c) When any object establishing the guilt of the prisoner is found upon his person, or when incontestable signs or traces of the crime are found upon his person or his domicile.

24. The arrest of culprits by private individuals are lawful when they surprise him in the very act of crime and when there is cause of fear of escape before the arrival of the agents of the public forces.

25 Any person arrested by order of the iudiciary or administrative forces must be brought before the nearest court within 24 hours; in cases where the court is too far away in order to bring a culprit before it within that period, it may be prolonged, without, however, exceeding 48 hours.

26. The court must proceed immediately, in no case later than 24 hours, to interrogate the prisoner. After this it may ordain, by written order, either the further detention of the culprit or his immediate release.

27. The judicial authorities are obliged, in cases where it happens that a person has been arrested in violation of the abovementioned rules, to look immediately into the case and to give immediate orders either for his release or to keep him in custody.

28. The domicile of a citizen is inviolable, and searches are only authorized in cases provided by law.

29. Private correspondence is inviolable and can only be seized and examined in pursuance of a judgment of the court.

30. Every citizen has the right of moving and selecting his own residence; there is no restriction of this right except by order of the court of justice.

31. Every citizens enjoys full liberty of conscience. He can not be prosecuted nor have restrictions brought upon his political or civil rights for reason of his religion or convictions. Everybody has the right to profess his own religion, to change same, or not to have any religious creed. No person has the right to evade his political or civil obligations by calling upon his religion or convictions except in case provided by law. Actions of a religious character modify in no way the civil rights or position of anybody.

32. Every citizen has the right to express his opinions to propagate them verbally, by the public press, or by any other means, without previous authority of the government. In this case he is only responsible to the court of justice for any crime committed.

33. The citizens of Georgia have the right of public assembly without arms, either indoors or in the open air.

34. The administration has the right to close any meeting if it becomes unlawful.

35. The citizens of the Georgian Republic have the right to form professional or other societies without previous authority of the government, provided that their object is not forbidden by law. The dissolution of such societies is only possible by order of a court of law.

36. The free development of the intellectual professions, commercial, industrial, and agricultural pursuits, is guaranteed by the Republic.

37 The right of individual or collective petition is assured.

38. Workmen have the right to strike.

39. The citizens of both sexes enjoy equal political, civil, economic, and family rights.

40. Marriage is based on equal rights and upon mutual consent of husband and wife. The form and rules of marriage are determined by law. Children born in or out of wedlock have the same rights and duties. The mother has the right to seek and prove the paternity of a natural child by way of the courts, and this child has the same right to seek and prove his paternity.

41. No fugitive for political reason and who takes refuge in this Republic can be extradited.

42 All official and private persons guilty of infractions of the above laws aimed at the rights of the citizens will be prosecuted according to the penal code.

43. In cases of sedition within the country or in case of war, parliament has the right to suspend temporarily the constitutional guarantees contained in articles 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, and 38; in case of war the guarantees contained in article 21 may also be suspended, provided the accused be not amenable to justice of a council of war in the military zone.

44. When parliament is not in session the government has the right on its own responsibility to suspend the constitutional guarantees above mentioned. But in this case it is obliged to convoke parliament immediately and to submit its decision.

45. In case of serious epidemics the government has the right to suspend temporarily the constitutional guarantees in articles 22, 25, 26, and 30, in so far as this act is necessary to fight the epidemic.

46. The rights and guarantees enumerated in the constitution do not exclude other rights and guarantees, although not yet formulated, but nevertheless accord with the principles established by the constitution.

Fourth Chapter — Parliament

47. The representative body of the Georgian Republic is the parliament of Georgia, composed of deputies elected by universal, equal, direct, secret, and proportional voting. Every citizen, without distinction of sex, enjoying all his rights and being over 20 years old has the right to take part in the elections. The parliament is elected for three years.

48. The rules of a legislative election are laid down by a special law.

49. Members of parliament are not held responsible for opinions expressed by them during the term of their office. The person of a member of parliament is inviolable. He can neither be arrested nor indicted without consent of parliament. An exception is made in the case "Flagrante delictu," which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the parliament. A member arrested or indicted must be released immediately if parliament so desires.

50. Members of parliament may refuse to bear witness about facts which may have been entrusted to them in their quality of deputies. This right may be invoked even after the expiration of their own term of office.

51. Members of parliament receive an indemnity fixed by law.

52. The cases of incompatibility between the office of deputy and the exercise of a public office or whatsoever profession shall be determined by law.

53. The sovereignty belongs to the entire nation. Parliament exercises this sovereignty within the limits fixed by the constitution.

54. Parliament votes on the laws, decrees, and decisions; the manner of their publication shall be fixed by a special law.

55. The powers of parliament are the following:

(a) Legislation.
(b) Supreme direction of the army of the Republic and in general of all the armed forces.
(c) Declaration of war.
(d) Ratification of treaties of peace, commerce, or other treaties with foreign powers.
(e) The right of amnesty.
(f) Making of the budget.
(g) The right to make interior or foreign loans.
(h) Appointment of officials as provided by the constitution.
(i) General control of the executive power.

56. The sessions of parliament are public; but parliament has the right by special decision to hold entire or partial sessions behind closed doors.

57. Parliament itself decides the validity of the election of its members and resolves on all questions relative thereto.

58. All decisions of parliament are made by a simple majority of votes, unless another modus has been adopted by law or by regulation.

59. The openings of parliamentary sessions necessitates the presence of at least half of the total number of deputies.

60. Parliament has the right to interpellate the Government and to question it. Interpellations and questions are subject to rules determined by law or by regulation. Parliament has the right to nominate commissions of inquiry.

61. The parliament itself fixes by regulation the procedure of its discussions.

62. The annual sessions of the parliament begin on the first Sunday of November. The elections for the renewal of the parliament take place in the autumn, simultaneously in the entire Republic, and in time to permit the newly elected members to be present at the opening of parliament.

63. The operations of the parliament can only be suspended by parliament itself. During the interruptions in the work of the parliament the right to assemble this latter in extraordinary cases belongs to the Government or to the bureau of the parliament.

The assembly of the parliament is obligatory if one quarter of the number of deputies desires it.

64. The right of initiative belongs to:
(a) Any members of parliament.
(b) Any group of 5,000 electors.

65. Parliament is obliged to submit any new law to a popular referendum if 30,000 electors require it in writing. The rules of a referendum are determined by law.

66. Parliament elects its bureau yearly.

Fifth Chapter — Executive Power

67. The executive power belongs to the Government of the Republic.

68. The President of the Government is elected by parliament for the period of one year. The same President can only be re-elected once.

69. The other ministers, members of the Government, are appointed by the President from among the citizens who have the right to take part in parliamentary elections.

70 Members of the government may not fill any other office or profession. They may only be members of parliament or of the councils of self-government.

71. The President of the government is the supreme representative of the Republic. He appoints the representatives of Georgia to other powers, and it is to him that the representatives of foreign powers are accredited. In the absence of a government decision which may find itself obstructed, the president may by exceptional right have recourse to the armed forces of the Republic, but he must inform parliament immediately. The ordinances of laws and by laws relative thereto emanate from the president of the government, who, however, does not have the right to arrest the action of the laws or to hinder its execution. The president of the government has the right to order the extraordinary control of public or local administrations, or the revision of particular cases, according to the rules determined by law. The president has no other rights except those conferred on him by the constitution.

72. The president of the government has a lieutenant. In the absence of the president his attributes devolve upon lieutenant.

73. The general rights and duties of government are:

(a) To assure the supreme direction of the affairs of the Republic according to its laws.
(b) To watch over the application of the Republic and the execution of its laws.
(c) To put before parliament its plans for laws, as well as its conclusions about plans of laws emanating from the parliament or from the people.
(d) To defend the external interests of the Republic.
(e) To safeguard the Republic from external dangers and to deefnd its independence.
(f) To insure security and order in the interior of the country. If unforeseen circumstances require it, to mobilize the armed forces of the country, but not for any period longer than 21 days. This period can only be prolonged by consent of parliament.
(g) To manage the finances, to issue money according to law, and to submit annually to parliament any special reports if desired.
(h) To give an account to parliament of its work and to submit once a year a report about the internal and external situation of Georgia. To present also to parliament any special reports if desired.
(i) To acquit itself of all obligations imposed by parliament or law.
(a) To watch over the strict enforcement of the law.

74. The members of the goverment share in the direction of the affairs of the Republic, which do not depend directly on the president. Each member of the government directs independently, and under sole, personal responsibility to parliament, the department confided to him. He must resign as soon as he loses the confidence of parliament. A minister has the right to vote in parliament only if he is a member. The president of the government is responsible to parliament for the general politics. He is obliged to submit to the decisions of parliament and to execute the same, if necessary to change the ministers or even to reform the entire cabinet.

75. Every member of government has the right to be present at the sessions of parliament and at the meetings of special commissions. Parliament, as well as the commissions, are obliged to listen to the minister if he requires it. On his part, the minister is also obliged to present himself, if required, before parliament or commissions, and to furnish explanations.

76. The president and the government are responsible under penalties, for any violation of the constitution, but only the president may indict them before a court of law. Members of the government are judged as provided for by the common law.

Sixth Chapter — Justice

77. The supreme court of Georgia is the senate elected by parliament and it has the following functions:
(a) To watch over the strict enforcement of the law.
(b) To find out justice in the capacity of a court of cassation.

78 Civil and criminal matters and administrative debatable matters belong to the department of permanent tribunals. The organization, jurisdiction, and competence of these tribunals are determined by law.

79. The judiciary power is independent and only obeys the law. Justice is rendered in the name of the democratic Republic of Georgia.

80. The verdicts pronounced by the tribunals cannot be annulled, modified, or suspended, by any legislative, administrative. or executive body.

81. The hearings of the courts are public; in certain cases, where the morale or public security requires it, courts can be held behind closed doors.

82. All serious matters belong to the penal jurisdiction, as well as political matters, and offenses of the press are submitted to a jury.

83 Judges are elected for a fixed period. The rules of such elections as well as the conditions to which the judges have to submit are determined by law.

84. Except by determination of the court, judges cannot be the object of any change contrary to their wishes. They can only

be temporarily dismissed, if they are arraigned by justice or if their case is under consideration. Their definite dismissal can only take place by judgment of the courts.

Seventh Chapter — Finances of the State

85 No tax can be instituted or levied if not previously sanctioned by parliament.

86. Nobody can be exempted from the taxes of the state if not sanctioned by law.

87. No sum for retiring pensions, compensations, or whatsoever expense may be deducted from the treasury of the state except in conformance with the law.

88. No loans of State nor any other financial obligation may be contracted without the authorization of parliament.

89. All revenues and all expenses of the state must appear in the budget. The budget must be presented every year to parliament for its approval.

90. If parliament does not get to voting the budget for the commencement of the budget year, the government can be authorized by parliament until the approval of the budget, to cover the expenses of the state on the basis of the previous year.

91. No transfer of expenses from one chapter of the budget to another may be made without authority of parliament.

Chapter Eight — Control of the State

92. The control of the state is performed as follows:

(b) To find our justice in the capacity of a court of cessation.

(a) Rigorous execution of the budget of the state.

(b) All revenues and expenses of the state.

(c). The accounts and balance sheets of the different ministerial departments.

(d) The finances of the bodies of the local self-government.

93. The controller of the state is elected by parliament. He is not in the cabinet, but has all rights of a minister of state and is responsible only to parliament. He gives an account of his office every year.

94. The organization of the control and the rules of its application are determined by law.

Ninth Chapter — National Defense

95. Every citizen is compelled to do military service according to the law.

96. The object of the military organization is to defend the Republic and its territory.

97. The duration of military service and the organization of the forces is determined by law.

98. The effective force of the recruiting contingent is fixed every year by parliament.

Tenth Chapter — Self-Government

99 The institutions of self-government being at the same time local administrative bodies are charged with the direction of economic and educational affairs within the limits of their territory.

100 The organization of self-government, its rights and duties as well as the manner of their administration are fixed by law.

101. The institutions of self-government have the right to make by-laws for public administration conforming to the law.

102. The self-government is elected by secret, proportional, equal, and universal suffrage.

103. The by-laws and orders of the self-government can be changed only in legal manner.

104 The central bodies of the government have the right to suspend the by-laws and orders of self-government when they are contrary to law, but such matters must immediately be brought before a legal power. The manner and conditions of such suspensions are determined by law.

105. The self-government depends on the central bodies of government for the direction of its general administration.

106. The cases where the resolutions of self-government must be approved by Government are determined by law.

107. The institutions of self-government have their own budget according to a special law.

Eleventh Chapter — Autonomous Administration

108. Abkhasie (district of Soukhoum), Moslem Georgia (district of Batoum) and Zakhatala (district of Zakhatala), which are integral parts of the Georgian Republic, enjoy an autonomy in the administration of their affairs.

109. The statute concerning the autonomy of the districts mentioned in the previous article will be the object of special legislation.

Twelfth Chapter — Public Instruction and Schools

110 The arts and sciences and their instruction are free, and it is the duty of the Stateto protect them and to help in their development.

111. Elementary instruction is gratuitous, general, and obligatory. The scholastic system is an organic whole where primary education serves as basis for secondary and for superior teaching. The teaching is in all its aspects laical.

112 The state must see to it that indigent children have free schooling, food, clothing, and school materials. The government and the bodies of self-government must set aside yearly from their resources a certain sum for the defrayal of these expenses.

113. Private schools are subject to the general school laws.

114. The Republic sees to it that all its citizens have dignified existence.

Thirteenth Chapter — Social and Economic Rights

115. Forced exproporation or restriction of private enterprise can only take place in virtue of a special law, which determines their manner, and only for the needs of the state and for public utility. The owners of property which has been expropriated will be indemnified, provided there are no dispositions to the contrary made by law.

116. The Republic has its own commercial and industrial organization. Its principal object is to develop this organization and to create a single and complete system of social economy. The Republic will aid the bodies of self-government in the development and strengthening of similar economic organizations. The government has the right to socialize by legislature the commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises which may be suitable for this purpose.

117. The State guards particularly against the private exploitation of the work of small producers, of the agricultural, the workmen, and the home-worker. The Republic will also give its special attention to the prosperity of agriculture. The proprietor of land has a duty toward society to cultivate the same to get the best possible results.

118. The existence of the State is based on work, and it is therefore a particular duty of same to protect same.

119 The laws of the Republic intrust the bodies of self-government with the work of establishing labor exchanges, employment agencies, and similar institutions which shall keep statistics of unemployed persons and assist them to obtain work. The representatives of workers' unions to the extent of half, at least, shall take part in the central direction of these institutions.

120. Citizens who are out of work shall have the assistance of insurance and of help to procure work for them.

121. Any citizen who is incapacitated from work by age, sickness, or other causes and having neither by law nor custom a claim of support from his heir, curator, or any private or public institution, and being without means of existence, has the right to have assistance from the State by way of insurance or other methods. This assistance is also given by the State in cases where the heir or curator are not in a position to care for the invalid.

122. Any citizen incapacitated from work by age, mutilation, or other causes, will receive in the way of insurance an assistance proportionate to his salary. The insurance capital will be raised by means of a tax levied on the employer.

123. Besides the tax mentioned in the preceding article, a certain part of the receipts of the Republic shall be annually set aside for the same object.

124 The normal duration of working time of hired help shall not be more than 48 hours per week. The worker must at the same time have a weekly respite from work of at least 42 uninterrupted hours per week. The exception to the weekly hours of work are determined by law. The fixing of the normal time of work for agricultural laborers and seasonal workers necessitating special working conditions are fixed by law.

125 The employment of minors under 16 years in establishments is forbidden; the working hours for minors between the ages of 16 and 18 is fixed at 6 hours per day; minors under 18 and women may not be employed in night work.

126. The Republic fixes the minimum rate of wages and establishes normal working conditions. It creates a special inspection of work and sanitary control independent of the employers.

127. The protection of female labor will be the oject of a special law. The employment of women at work detrimental to maternity is forbidden. During the time of confinement the female worker is excused from her work for at least two months without suspension of salary. It is the duty of an employer to permit his female workers to give the necessary time to their nurslings.

128. Any infraction of the laws giving protection to labor comes within the penal code.

129. It is incumbent on the Republic and the bodies of self-government to insure the protection of mothers and children.

Fourteenth Chapter — Rights of Ethnical Minorities

130 It is forbidden to bring any obstacle to the free social development, economic and cultural, of the ethnical minorities of Georgia, especially to the teaching in their mother language and the interior management of their affairs concerning their own culture. Everybody has the right to his mother tongue in writing, printing, and speaking.

131. All local ethnical minorities formed into united administration enjoy the right to group themselves and form national unions for organizing and directing their cultural matters within the limits of the constitution and the law. The local ethni-

cal minorities which do not belong to united administrations may constitute themselves independently into an ethnical union, enjoying the competencies mentioned in this article. One is under the jurisdiction of an ethnical union by reason of the language one speaks. The cultural needs of the ethnical minorities are met by sums levied on the budget of self-government in proportion to the number interested.

132. Nobody shall be restricted in his rights, civil or political, for the reason of belonging to an ethnical minority.

133. Any ethnical union may bring before a court of justice any matter in violation of the rights conferred on the minorities by the constitution or by law.

134. Any citizen of the Georgian Republic has equal rights concerning the admission to the civil or military service of the state as well as to the service of towns and communities.

135. In localities of mixed population the bodies of self-government are obliged, with the funds at their disposal, to create a sufficient number of schools and establishments of instruction and general education in proportion to the ethnical composition of its population.

136 Instruction in all schools belonging to an ethical minority shall be given in the language which its pupils speak.

137. In a circumscription submitted to a body of self-government where the proportion of the ethnical minority exceeds 20 percent of the whole of the citizens and where the administration of command and state affairs run concurrently, the official language, if the minority desires it, shall be the language of said minority.

138 Any deputy of non-Georgian origin, not knowing the official language sufficiently for expressing his opinions in parliament may use his mother tongue, on condition that he has previously submitted to the bureau of parliament an exact translation of his speech. The application of this article shall be regulated by law.

Fifteenth Chapter — Officials of the State

139 Any Georgian citizen has access to all of the offices if he satisfies the requirements of the law.

140. An officer may be relieved of his office or incur disciplinary punishment by order of the institution of the chief. The rules as to his definite suspension are fixed by law.

141. Every officer has the right of a pension. The terms under which an officer or his family have the benefit of a pension are fixed by law.

142. Every officer is responsible to justice according to the principles of the common law. Any citizen has the privilege of arraigning any officer who may be guilty. Any citizen has the right to be reimbursed for any loss or damage caused by an officer in the exercise of the functions of his office. The proceedings and conditions of indemnification are fixed by law.

Sixteenth Chapter — Relations of State and Church

140. The state and the church are separate and independent one from the other.

144. No confession or creed enjoys special privileges.

145. It is forbidden to make any levies on resources of the state or the bodies of self-government for the needs of any religious order.

Seventeenth Chapter — Revision of the Constitution

146. The complete or partial revision of the constitution may be demanded—

(a) By at least one-half of the members of parliament.

(b) By a group of 50,000 electors.

147. A proposal for the revisal of the constitution can only be heard in parliament six months after the deposition of such proposal.

148. A proposal or plan for the partial or entire revisal of the constitution can be adopted only by a majority of two-thirds of the members of parliament. This proposal comes into force only after it has received the approval of the people.

149. The alteration of the form of government of the democratic Republic of Georgia can not be made the object of the proposal of a revisal of the constitution.

150 Until the meeting of parliament the constitutent assembly will act in its place.

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