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Editorial Board: 1. L. Arveladze
2. W. Abashidze
3. S. Gashonia

Articles submitted, Books for Review and letters to the editorial board should be addressed:
507 East 81st Street
New York 28, N. Y.
c/o L. Arveladze

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EDITORIAL

GEORGIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

Every year on May 26 Georgians over the entire world celebrate their Independence Day.

In the free countries this celebration is an open event accompanied by expressions of sympathy from all followers of liberty. In their own land the Georgians are forced, because of Soviet occupation, to repress their festivities despite the fact that the Independence Day of May 1918 has never been forgotten.

Fear grows among the Georgians that the tragedy of the Georgian people becomes less known to the Free World because the witnesses of this tragedy, which started 40 years ago, are passing away, and because the new generation is too busy with new problems to study the history of nations oppressed by Soviet power.

It is for this reason that we were delighted to receive last year, on the occasion of Georgia's Independence Day, the following message from Senator J. F. Kennedy:

"THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR SENDING TO ME RECENTLY YOUR EXPOSE ON THE PROBLEM OF AN INDEPENDENT GEORGIA. THIS WILL BE MOST HELPFUL IN THE EVENT THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY HERE OR IN WORLD COUNCILS TO CONSIDER THIS QUESTION."

With great pleasure and hope we salute the President of the U.S.A., J. F. Kennedy on Georgia's Independence Day. We are sure that his New Frontier Program will include the support of the efforts to liberate the Georgian people.

American Council for
Independent Georgia Inc.

THE INFAMOUS JUBILEE

By A. Papava

As early as January 1960 Moscow requested and ordered the Georgian SSR to observe with particular pomposity the 40th anniversary of the Sovietization of Georgia. Georgian writers, graciously permitted to attend the meeting of Soviet writers, were given "the suggestion" to start composing proper panegyrics. Orders were given through the medium of the so-called "community organs" and the Party that the anniversary of the conquest of Georgia be turned into a magnificent "national" celebration. The first signals came from the Moscow "Pravda" and they were solemnly copied in the Georgian newspapers of Tbilisi. The date of this "celebration" is set by the Kremlin at February 25, commemorating the fall of the capital of Georgia on February 21, 1921.

This date, however, requires a certain historical correction. Although Tbilisi was abandoned by the Georgian armed forces during the night of February 24, the Red Army stood at the gates of the city in fear lest this be a trick or maneuver. They suspected the Georgian command of setting an ambush to trap the unsuspecting enemy within the walls of the old citadel. The withdrawal of the Georgian forces was quite unexpected and followed after they had defeated the Red Army numerous times, inflicting great losses in the vicinity of Tbilisi.

The young Georgian Army valiantly defended the march on the capital and, in spite of the pressure of an enemy whose numbers were many times greater, in spite of inadequate equipment and insufficient arms, it was heroically repelling the invasion of Tbilisi, just as the famed, courageous King Irakli had done many times on the same spot, particularly when he routed the huge army of Aga-Mahommed-Khan in September 1795. Another characteristic parallel: the Persian Shah, after heavy losses believed that he had fallen into a trap and decided to lift the siege of Tbilisi and withdraw. During the night of September 11, however, a traitor informed the Shah that Irakli had no reserves left and could not withstand another attack. As a result of these reports the Shah changed his mind, attacked the city with fresh forces from two sides, defeated the defenders, took the city of Tbilisi and put it to the sword and fire.

In the same way, after many defeats, the suffering and morally weakened Red Army was ready to withdraw from Tbilisi on February 25. Informed of the impending disaster, Lenin, in a rage, ordered the immediate return of the 11th Army, denying at the same time, rumors that Soviet armed units had attacked Georgia with whom a treaty of friendship had been signed only eight months before (May 7, 1920). Lenin's special emissary Enukidze was dispatched to the front to have the adventure immediately liquidated and to call to Moscow its instigator, S. Ordzhonikidze. The miracle of Georgia's rescue was taking place. Then an unexpected stab in the back to wounded Georgia changed the situation: On February 23, 1921 pre-Kemalist Turkey sent an ultimatum demanding the cessation of large areas of age-old Georgian lands. Thus, instead of the help which Georgia had been expecting from Turkey as a buffer state, she was given a mortal blow. The spirit of resistance within the Georgian Army began to fall. On the other hand, all appeals to the governments of the democratic countries on whom the juridically recognized Georgia had relied so much, remained as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Neither the promised arms nor any other real help was forthcoming. The exhausted army was forced to abandon Tbilisi, hoping to take up defensive positions in more strategic sites. And, as the renegade Ordzhonikidze later admitted at meetings in Tbilisi, neither he nor the Red Army believed in their luck. They stood at the gates of Tbilisi for a long time, afraid of an ambush. Only after three days, after many reports from traitors that no reserves of any kind had been left in Tbilisi, and that Georgian troops had quit the city, the traitor Ordzhonikidze, together with other renegades of the so-called Shulaversk Revkom, entered the city under the protection of the Red Army and celebrated their Pyrrhic victory.

The old, many-times-disproved and drowned-in-the-blood-of Georgian-uprisings legend of the tsars alleging the "voluntary union of Georgia and Russia" is being resurrected in a new dress: Moscow informs the whole world of the "uprising of the workers of Georgia" who in the end summoned the Russian Red Army to help in the struggle for world communism. The young republic was enslaved by Moscow's boot and the freedom-loving people was chained to a Russian communism alien to its entire nature.

All this happened 40 years ago in February-March 1921. The country which fell victim to Red imperialism resisted Moscow with arms in hand for a long time. There was a continuous series of national and popular uprisings against colonization, Russification and ruthless suppression of basic human and civil rights by the occupation forces of Moscow. All these uprisings, in 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1929 and so on, were suppressed and are being suppressed (the last time in 1956 in Tbilisi) with unheard of brutality, executions without trial and mass deportations. There is no end to the torment of the people. Still, Georgia does not surrender. Bound in chains she does not falter in spirit; instead, she gathers fresh forces for the last and final battle with the perfidious ruthless Russian imperialism, draped vainly in the peaceful toga of an "elder brother" and "defender of the freedom of all enslaved peoples of the world."

Georgia has known for a long time that this "liberation of the world" is a perpetuation of most horrible forms of slavery under the hegemony of Moscow. Georgia knows and sees how the world sobers, how the wave of dissatisfaction grows with each new communistic victory that covers the free nations with tears, misery, blood and slavery. She knows that the awakening of all peoples oppressed by communism is at hand, and that a close unity among the peoples enslaved by the Kremlin is a guarantee of the liberation of Georgia from a tyranny which has engulfed her for 40 years.

With this faith in the invincible power of an alliance of the oppressed nations, Georgia enters into the 41st year of a struggle for her sacred sovereign rights, rights gained by thousands of years of the existence of her culture and state, and recognized by all civilized lands.

Entering into the 41st year of the struggle, Georgia proudly lifts her banner bearing the motto: "People of all lands oppressed by the Kremlin—unite." The people of Georgia, with "cold lead in the breast and a curse on their lips" today face the hangmen of Moscow who order her to dance and sing praises in these days of the anniversary of the conquest of their land, who command her to laud "liberator Moscow," to compose dithyrambs praising the Russian Red Army and all the traitors of Georgia who sold her freedom to Moscow "for a mess of pottage" as well as the cursed betrayers, the Shulaversk men headed by Ordzhonikidze, Eliava, Orakhelashvili, Mdivani and others long since, unfortunately, executed by the Kremlin. They, like the "Moor who had done his work" did not want to depart.

In this, the 40th year under the awful terror, Georgia will be forced to repeat to the hangmen the "mottoes" dictated by Moscow, but her whole being and soul will

be full of vengeful fire toward those who, 40 years ago, pierced her heart with Kremlin bayonets. Georgia knows that she is not alone, that millions of sons of all enslaved nations are bound by sacred oaths to fight until complete victory is achieved over the enemy of all mankind—tyrannical Moscow. This is the pledge of the civilized West under the leadership of the democracy of mighty America.

All these Moscow jubilees and praise-singings, these "observances"—yesterday in Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Armenia; today in Georgia, and so on, will not dim nor stop the sunrise. The dawn of liberation is already aglow. "Caveant Consules."

RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IN GEORGIA

By L. Arveladse

This second half of the twentieth century is a period of lethal blows inflicted upon colonialism. Each day we hear news that one nation or tribe after another, in Asia, Africa, in the Near and Far East, is throwing off the colonial yoke. This movement which has embraced our entire planet receives the unequivocal support from the enlightened West, and in particular the United States who offers help to these nations in their struggle to remove foreign rule. The movement is also favored by the official international organization of the United Nations located in the freedom-loving United States. The U.N. spares no effort to make it possible for the newly independent nations to acquire culture and civilization, to become politically strong and economically sound, and to prove themselves worthy of the pursuit of an independent life. The democratic world, headed by the U.S., Great Britain, France, Italy, and other civilized nations, has realized within the past twenty years what mankind had been unable to realize in centuries. Taking all this into account, however, the democratic nations should not lose sight of the fact that running a dangerous parallel to them there is a totalitarian state in the form of the Soviet Union, under whose colonial yoke languish millions of people of numerous nations and tribes, long recognized as bearers of culture within the universal meaning of the word. Among them is Georgia, beauty of the East, possessor of a history thousands of years old. In Africa and Asia the right to independence has been acquired by nations and tribes which not only did not have any independence of their own in the past, but which did not even have the beginning of any culture. The nation of Georgia and the Georgian people manifested their highly developed culture during the course of centuries of history, leading in science, literature, the recording of political and social history, and a firmly established state order. All this is told by Greek and Roman historians and geographers, as, for example, Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny and many others who saw the highly-cultured Georgia with their own eyes. The Greeks named our country "Georgia" which means "the land of landowners" in Hellenic; hence the various designations of our name in different languages. The present name "Sakartvelo" originated in biblical times and confirms our origin from the ancient "Kartlosa" according to the Bible, and proves the antiquity of the Georgian nation. The recorders of biblical stories designate Georgia as an independent state structure which formed part of the chain of state structures of that period. And now, this country, the bearer of a venerable ancient culture, a country which created its own

exemplary state organization, literature and architecture exclusively by its own genius, a country which grew in power by the invincibility of its kings and military leaders—Vakhtang Gorgasan, David Kuropalat, Bagrat III, David the Renovator, the brilliant and wise queen Tamara, the eagle among military leaders, King Irakli II—and by the genius of the written word as epitomized by Shata Rustaveli—a country reaching from the Caucasian heights to Erzerum and from the Caspian Sea to the Trabizond area of the Black Sea in the 12th century, the golden age of its growth—a country which became Christian in the year of the First Universal Council of Nicea and which made Christianity the official national religion—a country weakened by the uninterrupted pressure of numerous Moslem enemies has been conquered by the Russian Empire. The conquest was accomplished in violation of the Treaty of 1783 which specified that Georgia came under the protection of the Russian state retaining its full national sovereignty and an indiginous government established over a period of centuries. The 13 articles of this Treaty clearly define the rights and duties of both contracting parties. One of the secret clauses provides that "The Emperor of All Russia assumes the obligation, in conducting war and in concluding peace treaties, to do everything possible to help Georgia get back all the regions and provinces which had been taken away from her by southern neighbors in the past. On her part, in foreign relations, Georgia would follow the advice of the Imperial authorities." Following the death of Irakli II in 1798, his eldest son Georgy XII ascended the throne of Georgia. He died late in 1800. After this, on the initiative of the State Council in Petersburg, it was decided not to let Prince David take over the throne, and on September 12, 1801 a manifesto from Emperor Alexander I was made public, proclaiming the abolition of the kingdom of Georgia. With this unilateral and illegal act, Georgia was made an integral part of the Russian Empire under the name "Georgian Gubernia." Did the Georgian people consent to the new turn of events? Frequent subsequent uprisings indicate their unceasing struggle for the restoration of independence. The imperial power fell in 1917. The nations subjected by it took advantage of the appropriate moment to emerge from the alien yoke. The Georgian people were in the forefront. The struggle for freedom which they began was crowned with the declaration made public to the whole world on May 26, 1918 which stated that the Georgian nation was independent. The announcement of the independence of ancient Iberia and Colchis was greeted with unconcealed joy by most other nations who immediately recognized the Georgian state de jure, and Georgian initiative proved to be a stimulus to those nationalities which aspired toward their own liberation. Alas, the happy period of an independent Georgia proved to be short-lived. In the third year of her rebirth, that same Russia now garbed in red communist costume, attacked her in a treacherous manner. On February 21, 1921, Red troops, having subdued other countries of the Caucasus, invaded Georgia. In the bloody and unequal struggle, Georgia was exhausted and fell. However, the great misfortune does not by any means signify that the Georgian people hung their heads and abandoned their age-old ideals. The struggle against the insatiable and strong enemy continues and never ceases. The losses suffered in the general uprising of 1924 which took tens of thousands of victims will not interfere with its continuance. Georgia is producing new fighters for the honor and glory of ancient Iberia and Kolchis. Sooner or later the Russian communist fire will die in ashes! Georgia will rise again to glory and happiness!

FRENCH STATESMAN ABOUT GEORGIA

By MAURICE SCHUMANN

Mr. Schumann is the Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Parliament of France. This is a translation of his article in the magazine "Le droit du People," Paris, February 1961.

While Mr. Khrushchev took off his shoe to shake it at the General Assembly of the U.N., the Soviet delegate, who, either to follow the general party line, or just to get into the spirit of the day had come to harm France, drew at the meeting of the Tutelle Commision, the following response from our representative: "I request, Mr. President"—said Michel de Camuret, participant in the Liberation—"to remind the emissary of the USSR that the Hungarian Students sang the Marseillaise while being riddled by Soviet bullets."

This incident would not have called for any comment if the insulting party had not been a certain Kuchava, who calls himself Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

It is quite to the point to recall the particular titles which authorize this important person to speak of "colonial yoke" and of the "imperialistic tyranny." *The Georgian Republic was, in fact, according to chronological order, the first victim of the communist neo-colonialisme, evocation* of which alone makes Mr. Khrushchev's feet jump out of his shoes.

As of May 26, 1918, Georgia profited from the Revolution by proclaiming its independence. On May 7, 1920 Moscow recognized the Government of the Georgian Republic and signed a pact of non-agression. In February 1921, without a declaration of war, Soviet troupes invaded the Georgian territory. After 6 weeks of uneven battle, Georgia succumbed.

The National Government of President Noe Jordania, which had been recognized by the Allies, and which had sent a Minister plenipotentiary to Paris, implored the Western European Democrates to defend the rights of an oppressed people. The first voice to speak in their behalf was Edouard Herriot, and Raymond Poincare, President of the Senate replied to him on April 1, 1922 at a Senate meeting: "The honorable Mr. Herriot has expressed exactly the thoughts of the (French) Government, a position which we have maintained on various previous occasions to the Government of Georgia. The Government of Georgia by the way, has a representative in Paris who has access to the Department of Foreign Affairs."

Socialists of international standing became interested at this point. Pierre Renaudel and Emile Vandervelde tried in vain on April 2 and 5, 1922 to negotiate in Berlin with Karl Radek, the representative of the III International, for the organization of a plebiscite under the supervision of a mixed commission in Georgia. That attempt failed: Radek, who had a flair for being cynical, explained to the socialist leaders that "*Georgia was, very important because it leads to the Caucasian oil-wells.*" The League of Nations twice requested its committee: "to follow the events in Georgia with special care."

The Congress of the II International Socialist Workers in Hamburg demanded "the evacuation of the Soviet troupes from Georgia and the re-establishment of the Georgian people to its sovereignty." However, these appeals did not create an echo. Meanwhile the Georgian Nation did not resign itself. A national insurrection broke out on August 28, 1924. It drowned in blood. Subsequently, democrats and socialists of free countries would recall the Georgian martyrs with sad indignation.

At an opportune occasion, these memories could be recalled to Mr. Kuchava, who is probably just as much qualified to speak in the name of Georgia as Mr. Kadar is to speak in the name of Hungary, and who will, without doubt, propose the organization in Algeria of a referendum placed under the supervision of an international commission. Why not reply to him that if such a procedure had been arranged in Georgia in 1922 there would not even be the front of a minister of Foreign Affaires? But it is never too late to do good.

What does the courageous Mr. Rishikesh Saha think of that—he who on October 10 during the General Assembly of the U.N. made truth live when exclaiming on the stand: "Gentlemen, delegates, how many of you would be here if there were free election in your country?"

BLOODSHED IN TBILISI IN 1956

5th Anniversary

By X X X

The tragic riots staged by Georgian students in March 1956 in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, went almost unnoticed by the press in the free world, and even when scantily reported, the analysis of facts and background was usually erroneous.

It is a fact that numerous correspondents who were present in the city of Tbilisi during early March 1956, did not pay serious attention to the waves of unrest which passed through the streets of the city. Quite a few correspondents were then residing at a large hotel right in the center of Tbilisi. It should be noted that these events took place before the unrests of Poland and particularly before Budapest.

Georgian youths, led by university students, demonstrated in Tbilisi in a very peaceful manner, knowing quite well that it was a wasted effort to try and fight the armed might of the USSR.

Since this was a time of the downgrading of the Stalin "personality cult" the object of the students was quite simple: to stage a general protest against communist Russian occupation using as a guise a union with the general debasement of Stalin. Such marches and demonstrations led by thousands of students and youths proceeded in peaceful order throughout March 6 and 7, 1956. However, March 8, 1956 became a tragic day of bloodshed in Georgia.

The demonstrators on that day became somewhat boisterous, shouted slogans against Khrushchev and Bulganin and demanded that "Russians—Get Out of Georgia—And Stay Out."

One of the eye-witnesses of the demonstration states that the Soviet security armed forces units were placed at strategic points throughout the city of Tbilisi. The local Militia (Police) were not trusted by the Moscow Government and were disarmed. In addition to the security forces, only one section of the regular armed force was used on this day: these were loyal troops, well trained and organized, consisting mostly of orphans who had been raised by the communist Party. It was this armed unit which was the first to open fire upon the demonstrators in "Lenin Memorial." The salvo was not a warning shot into the

air, but aimed straight at the demonstrators. In order to prevent the groups of student demonstrators from reaching the Post Office & Telegraph Building and Radio and Television buildings they were machine-gunned as they rushed toward these buildings to inform the U.N. and free world what was going on in Georgia. These facts were never properly reported to the outside world, and it is very essential that the West and the United Nations should know what occured in Georgia and what is still taking place there.

How many were killed on that day of bloodshed, only officers of the Russian security guard know, some people say it was anywhere between 500 and 1,000, or possibly more.

By March 9, 1956, it was all over. The only thing that continued was a search for demonstrators and their leaders, which went on for a long time. The events had repercussions in other Georgian cities; there were demonstrations at Koutaisi, Batoumi, Sukhoumi and other places where the people tried to tell the communist government to get out and stay out. The central point, however, was Tbilisi, and this is the city which alone will decide the fate of all Georgia.

Following the students' defeat, security guards occupied all universities and issued orders that hospitals and physicians were to report cases of gunshot wounds in the face and chest. The purpose of this order was to enable the communists to say that they aimed at attacking demonstrators, and that students were not shot from behind.

The terror did not stop the Georgian students. They posted placards over the city which read "Long live May 26" or merely "May 26," a reminder to the people of Georgian Independence Day.

The Tbilisi demonstrations caused a considerable shake-up among top officials both in Moscow and in Georgia. The Georgian Minister of the Interior, Museridze, started a campaign of propaganda about the behavior of Georgian youth, but he never mentioned the causes and purposes of the riots, the demonstrations, and their bloody outcome. He referred to all outbursts of Georgian patriotism as "banditry sponsored by hooligans" instead of a political struggle involving the whole country. He turned over all authority to deal with the domestic affairs in Georgia to General Fediun, the commander of the Soviet Army in Caucasia.

On March 27, 1956 the newspaper "Komunist" mentioned that Georgian youths were to be reeducated, but it did not say anything about the student revolts and clashes with the government forces. Again, the reference is to some nebulous "hooliganism" in order to describe mass absenteeism from government political training centers. If, however, simple hooliganism were the case, the Militia could deal with it, and the presence of the commander of the Caukacian Armed forces, General Fediun, would not have been required. This instance of Georgian unrest and national movement is significant for the entire Soviet Union. The Georgian national movement has a long history. Its purpose is not what propaganda describes as "counter-revolution," and "Bourgeois Nationalism" but to regain the liberty and independence of the Georgian nation.

Communism has not brought the promised happiness to the people of Georgia; on the contrary: it has produced darkness, prejudice, hunger, poverty and bloodshed.

The aim and purpose of all Georgian uprisings, whether those of 1922-1923, the general uprising of 1924, group uprisings in 1930 or demonstrations in 1956 is one: to remove the aggressor and to establish a free and independent Georgia, with real happiness and human justice for all.

The tragic defeat of 1956 is merely another milestone in the Georgian struggle for independence.

THE REBELLION IN GEORGIA IN 1924

By CHAGNELI

In August 1924 little Georgia proceeded for the third time to break her Bolshevik chains. For the third and strongest time, the wave of revolt embraced all corners of the land; men and women, old and young, regardless of their state and ideological convictions, took up arms to remove the hangman's noose from the necks of their children. "Let us all perish, large and small; death is a thousand times better than such life. A curse and perdition on the Bolsheviks." This was the motto of the rebels. The common fight for freedom was joined by everyone. Four million people declared war on the Russian Communist Party which had the entire state apparatus at its disposal. Moscow sent several well-armed divisions against the Georgians; the entire Party and Secret Police apparatus was especially ordered from Moscow because the Kremlin government did not trust the local Georgian administration. Blood of those who loved freedom flowed, their homes and property went up in flames. Suffering, pain and despair took over the country. It was not a "government of workers and peasants" as Lenin called the handful of usurpers that destroyed the Georgian people and their freedom, rather it seemed to an outside observer that it was a repetition of the times of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. "Don't spare the people, don't spare bullets" were the words of secret orders from the Kremlin. If it had not been for the heavy Russian garrisons in all the cities and junction points of Georgia, there would have been time for an accounting with the Communist authorities; but how could a nation which was armed with sticks, hatchets and sickles, hope for victory against Russian regular troops?

The uprising in Georgia was suppressed. The divisions of the Russian army and troops of the Cheka conquered the unarmed people. The Red Kremlin bathed in the Georgians' blood, like Arpaslan who, however, was left far behind by the Kremlin because he had ordered only one thousand throats to be cut in the conquered country. The Kremlin cut the throats of many thousands of Georgians and many more were sent to Siberia, to a certain death. How many courageous sons of Georgia died in the unequal battle against the Russian conquerors, and how many in Siberia, no one knows, except the Cheka. Nevertheless the country keeps their memory sacred and will never forget the names of those who offered their lives for the liberation of their native land.

"Another man's misfortune is just like a twig out of a fence" says an adage. But there is also another adage: "When the neighbor has a bellyache, you should rub your belly, too." The pains and sufferings of the Georgians at one time were not comprehended. Now similar tribulations make others understand that the red sword of communist barbarity threatens the whole world.

The Georgian insurgents to a man, faced death without fear, courageous in the knowledge that their beloved country will hold their memory sacred and that their sacrifice will benefit future Georgian generations.

FOLK MUSIC AND ART OF GEORGIA
(Brief Outline)

By S. GASHONIA

The Georgians by origin belong to one of the most ancient peoples of Asia Minor, itself a region that has done much to advance man's progress in the world. Here, in Western Asia, at the start of the 2nd millenium B.C. emerge the Hittite and the Subary, highly civilized and sturdy people who were even then so conspicuous by their indiginous qualities that their virtues were attested to by Babylonian letters and legislative seals. . . . These, the Subary, then were the ancestors of the Kartvelli—Georgians who had come out of the Chaldean and Mesopotamian plains into the hills. Apart from their vicariously recorded physical attributes, the quality of their culture was historical fact as early as the 3rd millenium B.C. but inasmuch as they contested each other's hegemony over the East for years, it was not until the end of the 18th century B.C. that the Subary emerge as indisputable victors and, having established themselves firmly, turned to peacetime pursuits, created a unified sovereignty, powerful in both the economic and the cultural sense. Metallurgy was perfected to a remarkable degree; iron and bronze wares appeared which were not only functional but highly decorative; designs evolved in this period have lasted through centuries.

As in all strife for achievement, the finest aspirations of the Subary appear in their religion, in the artifacts associated with their temples and feasts . . . their music and dance. Music always played an integral part in the life of the Georgians, ancient or modern: music mirrored their ideals, hopes, expectations; music fixed historical events in the memory; music accompanied them in work, sports and wars . . . and the very antiquity of this love for melody is affirmed by the discovery of instruments and masks in archeological expeditions around Dmanisi, Samtavisi, Mtskheta, Armazi, Trialeti, etc. Georgian folk songs, created out of the spontaneous need to recite the glory of diurnal life, were appreciated as early as the first millenium B.C. by the hapless Assyrian King Sargon. The Georgians, he said "accompanied their labor with joyful songs." And that most famous of all classic historians, Xenephon, reports in the 4th century B.C.: "Soldiers were drawn up facing each other in the formation of choruses; then one would intone and all the others would sing and follow in a rythmic march." He refers, also, to the Georgian custom of using music to mark the occasion of victory over an enemy: "the Georgians danced and sang songs with a peculiar melody," says this peripatetic Greek accustomed to flutes and paid entertainers who found strange the Georgian folk antiphony but who, to his credit, commented on a language and music that has remained unique in all the world.

However historically important, these comments by outlanders so to speak, shed little light on Georgian music as a reflection of a life culture. Prince Vakhushti, himself a Georgian historian and geographer, describes a *veneration of idols* this way: "The king himself would appear and the higher and lower ranks with trumpets and drums and all kinds of musical groups performed ceremonies and after paying homage they feasted and made merry, treating each other to food and wine, and this was accompanied by dancing in a ring and music and lasted for three days."

Choral song, a ritual long established in Georgia, was easily transposed to a more secular music when Christianity was officially adopted in 318 A.D. The war ring was

replaced by the church choir, but unlike other countries where the super-imposition of Christian ethic reached down into music and song to emasculate it, the Georgians maintained their own rythms in a natural purity uncontaminated by *plain song* or Georgian chant. That this should happen is not difficult to explain: at the time when St. Nino brought to Georgia a Christian culture, the Georgians already had advanced universities, schools where even the highly civilized Greeks came to receive liberal educations . . . the Academy at Colchis had turned out venerated scholars before Rome fell to the barbarians and continued to do so while Byzantium feuded with the Persians. Therefore when Christianity was introduced into Georgia, the converts of St. Nino insisted that divine services be read in their native tongue . . . they shunned all foreign speech, they shunned the uniformity of Latin, and came thereby to translate the entire extant Christian literature into Georgian. As early as 400 A.D. Georgian literature itself already shows an aesthetically beautiful and ancient skill: out of the numerous translations of Greek, one writer was so exact that he translated the philosophical terms *syllable by syllable*, giving Georgia a metaphysical terminology unparalleled in the world."

Music and religion often run contiguously: despite the influence of Christian belief on Georgian song composition, there have most fortunately survived to this day native songs that originated in the past: "Dideba" (Glory), "Mze Shina" (Sun, Enter the Home, "Sabodisho" "Iav Nana," "Batonebo" (three forms of appealing to the spirits), "Naduri" (Song of the Land Workers), "Aguna" (New Years' Song) and numerous dance songs in which the dance is joined with the song.

Inasmuch as the Georgians are an old people, their history has its high points and low spots. It can be said almost unequivocally however that Georgia's golden age occured under Queen Tamara in the 12th century. Two educational academies, one in Ikalto and the other in Gelati, produced scientists, philosophers and poets . . . among them the universally renowned Shota Rustaveli whose poem "The Knight in the Tiger's Skin" by its own merit, has found a solid spot in world literature.

It was in this age, while the West struggled out of its darkness, while Byzantium fought for its life against invaders, that Georgia blossomed artistically. The dramatic arts flourished; theatres and hippodromes were constructed; professional singers and dancers made appearances before an appreciative public as well as the courts of the feudal lords, and the legend of Georgian creative art asserted itself in a land that was like one small light in a diminished world. The importance of dance to the Georgians can be evinced from the fact that the names of their finest dancers are preserved in song and adage. Just one list of folk dances speaks of the multilateral aspects of Georgian folk art: "Kartuli" "Mtivluri" "Mkhedruli" "Perkhuli" "Davluri" "Bagdaduri" "Tsartmevia" "Khandzluri" "Salkhino" "Saarshiko" "Sashairo" "Satamasho" etc.

Treasurers and originators of a magnificent history of choral and choreographic culture, the Georgians recently took advantage of a crack in the Iron Curtain to send abroad a group of professional dancers under the management of Iliko Sukhishvili and Nino Ramishvili. These dancers, welded together by two superb artists, have made successful debuts in countless countries of the free world; including U.S.A. they have received the well-deserved praise of a public who for the first time had an opportunity to see the high technique of the Georgian dance, completely unencumbered by communistic influence, totally and brilliantly indiginous. Art is long and endures beyond vicissitude. The Georgian art evolved out of a people who love freedom; it belongs to a people who preserve their nationality and national culture with dignity, waiting for the moment when they will again become masters of their own land.

(Will be continued in our next issue)

ARGONAUT TO ASTRONAUT

By AGRIPPINA

A young man stared into space, his eyes fixed on distant lights that beckoned irresistably. The youth, we are told, was Jason . . . who, pursuing the symbolic Golden Fleece, dropped anchor in Colchis and there remained, appeased, enthralled, intrigued, for ten years. Here, as legend puts it, he married Medea, daughter of king Aeetes and when he finally left his sanctuary, Jason sailed off to an obscure doom. Not so, however, Medea. For centuries this enigmatic, passionate woman has fascinated artists and poets of many nations . . . and inasmuch as any individual is the product of his culture, and inasmuch as artists bear the interpretation of this culture, it can justifiably be inferred that the land producing a Medea must indeed have been fair and wonderful. In fact, unique. What kind of city was Colchis? Who were these ancient Georgians? What were they like? The men were strong; the women beautiful; the songs were joyous. No wonder Jason could not bear to tear himself away. Today, when the dimensions of our life are expanded, when old prejudices are cast down, we realize that behind every legend lurks a fact: we admit that before history was written, the gracious city of Colchis must have presented a fabulous haven of culture to a restless wanderer . . . and indeed, Colchis has born her tradition well. Xenephon tarried there to explore the delights of the climate and to shake off the depressions of a major war. In the fourth century, when the world was ripped asunder by a newly-imposed Christianity, when the *beauty that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome* alike were buried under a new faith, once again the young men traveled toward Colchis to partake of her wisdom. Fortunately, because of the efforts of men like Themistes and the neo-Platonic metaphysicist, Prince Bakour, the raw and often cruel Christianity came to be infused with a more kindly, ancient idealism. It is fortunate, also, that at a time when the civilized world collapsed under invasions of Goth and Arab, tiny Georgia managed to preserve Christian ethic for post generations. The Dark Ages were traumatic and impenetrable. Yet the twelfth century which was a fallow era for European culture, projected out of Georgia one of the world's great poets: Shota Rusthaveli, who, like Medea, has since become universal property.

What more can be said of Georgia-on-the-Black Sea? Its young people travel the earth and bring us a dance whose vigor has not yet been paralleled, a music that is incomparable . . . bold, haunting, triumphant . . . a culture so durable that it gives us assurance. Civilization seems to exist in eternal crisis. Now, in the age of the atom, once again the young men stare into space and seek new conquests. Perhaps before bungling off to the sun, or the moon, or to Mars, they might, like Jason and Xenophon, linger and refresh themselves with the kind of food for spirit that Colchis has offered weary travelers for almost four thousand years.

GEORGIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY IN 1960

In connection with Georgian Independence Day, May 26th, 1960 the American Council for Independent Georgia published a brochure which was sent to political leaders, statesmen and various prominent organizations.

The following are extracts from some of the replies received in response to the distribution of the brochure:

Mr. R. E. Cushman Jr., Executive Assistant to the Vice President of the U.S.A.:

"The friendship of the American and Georgian peoples, which has endured for many years, is founded upon a common respect for the worth and dignity of the individual. The many contributions to the cultural and scientific life of the world which have been made by Georgians should be a source of gratification to people of Georgian ancestry wherever they live."

Senator Kenneth B. Keating, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.:

"Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on the excellent presentation made in the brochure. And I agree wholeheartedly with your affirmation that 'it will not be for ever. . .' "

Senator J. W. Fulbright, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Your thoughtfulness . . . is appreciated."

Senator Stuart Symington, U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services:

"I appreciate this . . . and look forward to reading your pamphlet with interest."

Mr. W. J. Ronan, State of New York Executive Chamber, Albany:

"On behalf of Governor Rockefeller I wish to thank you for sending him the material on Georgia's Independence Day."

Mr. Stephen Lancaster, U.S. Mission to the U.N.:

"Mr. Lodge has asked me to thank you . . . We appreciate having the views of the American Council for Independent Georgia, Inc."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

"I have long been an admirer of the spirit and independence of the Georgian people."

Senator Paul H. Douglas, Congress of the United States, Joint Economic Committee:

"I am glad to have this material for my information."

Mr. B. E. Kuniholm, American Committee for Liberation:

"May I share with you the fervent hope that, one day, we may live to witness the day when Georgians . . . presently suffering under the Communist yoke will live to be free men."

A LETTER FROM MILANO

Dear brother Vladimir,

A group of scientists arrived in Milano from the Soviet Union a week ago.

There were two Georgian women; one was my neighbor from my village. In childhood we were inseparable friends; we played together, studied together in High School. At present she is a surgeon. I ran to where she was staying, because I was anxious to see her, as it was thirty-six years since I had left my native country. I wanted to hear a lot about my family. But, alas, what a disappointment.

As soon as she saw me, my old friend, and neighbor suddenly became pale from fear and whispered with pleading eyes: "Don't come near me, don't kiss me, don't say anything in Georgian."

I had only spoken a couple of words to her in Russian. She was surrounded by spies, I ran home and cried very much.

My poor Georgian country and Georgian people! Russian chauvinism is oppressing us now. During Czarism, Russia had been pressing us too, we were not allowed to speak in our native tongue.

Imagine it: if here, in a strange country, Georgians are not permitted to use their native tongue, what is happening in Georgia itself, where a million Russian chauvinists were sent from the Kremlin in order to deprive us of our national freedom! And this is supposed to be a relief after Stalin's regime!

As your sister, lovingly,
Sophia

ENCOUNTER OF INTERNATIONAL REFUGEES

By SIMONIDSE

The hospital employees went out on the big porch to spend the rest of their lunch hour.

"Neve"—said a Puerto Rican pointing to the thick cover of snow on the ground.

"Neve"—answered an Italian. At that moment the Puerto Rican turned to me and asked how would "neve" be in my language.

"Tovli"—I answered.

"Is this Russian?"—came back his second question.

I answered that it was nothing of the sort, that "tovli" was the Georgian word for snow, that although I came from the Soviet Union, I was not a Russian. I added that people in the West would not take the trouble to realize that the Soviet Union was not Russia, and that it had more than 100 nationalities under the yoke of Moscow, including such great historical nations as Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Mongolia and many others. They all had their independence and a highly developed culture at a time when the Muscovite people were backward and primitive and had not even heard of Christianity. I had hardly finished my explanation when a pleasant, elderly man came toward me with a smile, greeting me like a long-lost brother, firmly pressed my hand, "You are a Georgian? Then we are brothers," he said.

I asked him politely who he was, whereupon he introduced himself as a Ukrainian from Kharkiv, engineer by profession, and added: "You Georgians and we Ukrainians are friends."

"This is the absolute truth" I answered with emotion. Then he continued: "We are brothers; Moscow took away our freedom, and it does not matter which Moscow, tsarist or communist. The fight for freedom has united us forever. It was the great Georgian, Karlo Chkheydze, who addressed the tsarist State Duma (parliament) in 1905 with the following words: 'What right have you, gentlemen, to claim a population of 170 million? There are at least 30 million Ukrainians, and do you think that they regard themselves as Muscovites or Russians?' Hearing this, the Muscovites shouted from all sides that the Muscovites should be included with the Russians. And Chkheydze gave them a sarcastic answer: 'The Muscovites are not Ukrainians, and the Ukrainians are not Muscovites, and you must realize it.' Do you think that the Ukrainians will ever forget this speech?"

I welcomed him to brotherhood among the Georgians and in doing so I was happy because now I was no longer alone. There were many Ukrainian friends around me who, like us Georgians, are an old, civilized nation. We are also alike in character: freedom-loving, courageous, respectful of our old traditions and hospitable. Like the Georgians, the Ukrainians never close the door in the face of a stranger.

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BOOK REVIEW

Le droit du People (People's Right). Quarterly magazine published in France. N1, No. 2.

The editors of this magazine—Georgian Patriots living in Paris introduce themselves to the reader by applying the old French saying: "Everybody has two—parties—his own and France." As Georgians they are fighting for Liberation and Restoration of Georgia's Independence, for free development of Georgian culture; as adherents of France—they are anti-bolshevist, anti-fascist, anti-racist and strongly democratic.

The publication reflects an impressive harmony of Georgian and French approach to the tragic problem of suppression and sovietization of the Georgian Nation. With eloquence and rationalism usual to the French art of presentations of history and current events, the editors give the readers the profound analysis of the Georgian case and Georgian expectations. Trying to justify the dignity of a people with a famous past and its 3000 years old history, the editors put the Georgian problem in a perspective of international events and a struggle between freedom and oppression, between national self-determination in the Western sense and colonial enslavement under the Soviet Star.

We are sure the publication will be successful in its enlightening idea of People's Right to exist free and independently.

* * *

The current issue of the Georgian periodical "Chveni Drosha" (Our Banner) has made its appearance in Paris. Among other articles, special attention merits the memorandum, in French, addressed to General Charles De Gaulle, President of the French Republic, in behalf of the Georgian Government-in-Exile.

* * *

The talented poet Georgi Gamkrelidze made a contribution to the treasury of Georgian émigré literature with his collection of verses. The collection contains a considerable number of verses and poems. This is a great joy to the Georgians living in isolation from their homeland who do not have an opportunity to benefit from their own language expressed in art. The author deserves the gratitude of all Georgian émigrés.

IN SHORT . . .

By SIGNIA

Soviet Premier N. Khrushchev choose conspicuously the month of May to visit Georgia and celebrate her 40 years of Sovietisation, although the official date of that happening was the 25th of February. The reason for this is little known in the free World. The month of May is the month when the Georgians celebrate their Independence Day (May 26th) underground and there were signs that this celebration might come in the open this year, because of great discontent of the Georgian People. Mr. Khrushchev came to prevent that, and tried to convince the people that Soviet Liberation has to be celebrated, and not the "bourgois" Independence. This proof, however, was obviously not strong enough, even for the party members, because he had to fire the Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party.

* * *

Appearing on the T.V. Program "Open End"—the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita S. Khrushchev, stated: "Georgia is an independent country."

We wish to remind Mr. Khrushchev that Georgia was an independent country. It had been recognized by the great powers both de facto and dejure, including communist Russia with whom a non-aggression pact had been concluded. This, however, did not prevent the communist Russians from conquering Georgia by force of arms, with Mr. Khrushchev himself taking part in the invasion.

There is on file in Moscow a telegram from Georgia dated March 11, 1921, of the following content: "Moscow, The Kremlin, attention Comrade Stalin. The Government of Noe Jordania has been driven from Georgia. The Red Banner is flying over Georgia."

Stalin reported this to Lenin, and in reply, Lenin mumbled: "Then there was a war down there." But Lenin forgot to add that in the long run they had lost.

This is the kind of independence Khrushchev has in mind.

* * *

Chairman Khrushchev called the problems of the enslavement of nations and the aspirations of these nations to be independent "garbage," which, he Khrushchev himself would "toss into the garbage pail" if the free world would let him do it.

* * *

During his New York visit, Khrushchev drank Borzhom mineral water and said "very good water," but he somehow forgot to add that this water was from Georgia, from mineral springs in the city of Borzhom, and that Red Russia was exploiting and depleting its reserves.

* * *

Brazil made an offer to sell coffee to the USSR, but the latter refused the offer, saying that the Soviets would rather drink tea. "Ours is a high quality tea, better than Ceylon."

Of course they don't want coffee from Brazil for which they would have to pay if they can have Georgian tea for free.

* * *

Last summer the famous pianist van Cliburn made guest appearances in Tbilisi.

The Georgians presented him with a Georgian national costume "chokha-akhalukhi." He was very happy at the reception given him in Georgia, he liked the natural beauty of the country and the city of Tbilisi.

During his short visit he learned some Georgian words and often used them, such as: "me momtzons Tbilisi" (I Like Tbilisi) and "Tbilisi lamasia" (Tbilisi is beautiful). He played and sang Georgian songs, "Suliko," "Simhera Tbilisze," "Tsytsinatela" and others. In his farewell letter he wished the Georgian people the best of everything, and added in Georgian "nahvamdis." (I'll be seeing you).

* * *

There were twenty Georgian athletes taking part in last year's Olympics. They proved to be sportsmen of world championship stock. Out of the twenty, two won gold medals, (and titles of world champions), 5 won silver medals and 3 bronze. The other ten also took satisfactory places. Once, in ancient times, the Georgians gained fame and honors for their independent Georgia; now little Georgia is hardly noticed by anyone, and all honors and achievements of the Georgians are appropriated by Red Russia.

The Editorial Board wishes to express its thanks to all those friends and well wishers, Americans, Georgians and others, whose voluntary and generous contributions have made the publication of the *Chveni Gza Our Path* possible.

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