

**DESHRIBES THE STRUGGLE OF THE ANTI - PARTIES AGAINST THE  
BOLSHEVIK AUTHORITIES IN ADJARA IN 1921 YEAR**

**БОРЬБА АНТИСОВЕТСКИХ ПАРТИЙ ПРОТИВ БОЛЬШЕВИТСКОЙ  
ВЛАСТИ В АДЖАРИИ В 1921 Г.**

**1921'DE ACARA'DA SOVYET KARŞITI PARTİLERİN BOLŞEVİK  
İKTİDARINA KARŞI MÜCADELELERİ**

**Otar GOGOLISHVILI\***

**ABSTRACT**

The present paper describes the struggle of the anti-Soviet parties against the Bolshevik authorities in Adjara in 1921. Amid the background of anti-government protests, it discusses the ruthless measures taken by the Bolsheviks against the parties, which resulted in their liquidation.

On 25<sup>th</sup> of February of 1921, Revolutionary Committees of Georgia issued the special decree, which indicated that “Hereafter, an Amnesty is declared for every political party, particular bodies and groups which actively stood out against the Soviet Government and Soviet Party of Georgia” Soviet Government of Georgia have thereby addressed to the former Democrat Government of Georgia: “You should obey the Soviet Government of Georgia, which will forget the past and crimes of all of its enemies and which is willing treat you similarly”.

Similar announcements were made by the Communists of Adjara, but Anti-Soviet Parties and the former Government of Georgia never considered this seriously. They did not have recognized the Soviet Government, never collaborated with them and therefore went on a state of disobedience. They have chosen the path of sabotage and the counterrevolution. Thus, the Soviet Government was using harsh measures against them. On April 29<sup>th</sup>, the Presidium of Communist Party District Committee of Batumi came to a decision that stated following: “Every single person, whoever had profaned and blackened the name of Georgia and Adjara during the Rule of Menshevik Government, should be eliminated.” The Special Commission had been formed in the purpose of banishing counterrevolutionaries from Soviet organizations, factories, and cultural and educational institutions.

First of all, the aforementioned decision was aimed against the Multi-party system and the democracy itself, and at the same time, it supported the forming of a Single-Party dictatorship. The Special Commission consisted of the following people: a member of the

---

\* ORCID: [0000-0002-5196-4155](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5196-4155), Prof. Dr. Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, Batumi, Georgia, otargogolishvili@gmail.com

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

Communist Party District Committee Bureau of Adjara - I. Pevtsov, member of Revolutionary Committee - K. Sajaia, and the representative of Presidium of Central Council of Labor Unions of Adjara. The Commission was directly managing the repressions and banishment of the members of Anti-Soviet parties and groups from factories and establishments, implemented by the "Emergency Commission". There were several Anti-Soviet political organizations and groups at the time in Adjara. Amongst them, formations of Social-Democrat (Menshevik), National-Democrat, Socialist-Federalist, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Kemalists and other parties were considered as the most influential ones. All of the above-mentioned parties except the Kemalists Party, have been formed at the beginning of the 20th Century. In spite of Communist and Kemalists Parties, all of them were fighting for the independence of Georgia, recovery its statehood, democracy, and bourgeois order. In the circumstances of the antagonist class society, their activities were targeted to establish national consolidation and global values. Therefore, it's natural that they were against, and they led a ferocious fight against the Socialist Ideology and Socialist principles. There was not an essential difference between the programs of National-Democrats and Socialist-Federalists. They were unified in one Socialist-Federalists party. At the early times, a vast majority of members of aforesaid parties did not demand the independence of Georgia directly and decidedly, but they have pursued national autonomy within the rule of the Russian Empire. Radicals have appeared in the party since its creation

**Keywords:** *Adjara, Party, anti-Soviet, Revolutionary Committee, Central Council of Labor Unions of Adjara, Social-Democrat (Menshevik), National-Democrat, Kemalists Party.*

### **АННОТАЦИЯ**

В статье проанализирована борьба антисоветских партий против большевистской власти 1921 года. На фоне антиправительственных выступлений рассмотрены осуществленные большевиками карательные операции против различных партий, что проявилось в их ликвидации.

25 февраля 1921 г. революционный комитет Грузии рассмотрел специальный декрет, который утвердил: "С этого дня объявлена амнистия для всех политических партий и группировок, которые активно и четко противостояли советской власти и Грузинской советской партии". Связи с этим грузинское советское правительство обратилось к бывшему правительству Грузинской демократической республики: "Лучше соглашаться правительству советской Грузии, которое забудет прошлое и соответственно будет с вами в отношениях".

Аналогичное объявление было сделано коммунистами Аджарии, но анти-советские партии и бывшая правительственная Грузия это всерьез не принимала. Они не признали советское правительство и отказались с ним сотрудничать. Они избрали путь саботажа и контрреволюции поэтому советская правительственная Грузия против них избрала резкие действия.

29 апреля президиум Батумского окружного комитета решил и установил следующее: "каждый человек, который во время правления меньшевиков оскорбил Грузию и Аджарию должен быть уничтожен."

Было создано специальная комиссия целью которой было изгнание контрреволюционеров из советских организаций: заводов, культурных учреждений, из образовательных институтов.

В первую очередь принятое решение было направлено против мульти-партийной системы и демократии и в тоже время оно способствовало созданию одно-партийной

диктатуры. Специальная комиссия было укомплектовано следующими лицами: член Батумского окружного комитета Коммунистической партии Певцов, член революционного комитета Саджая и представитель объединения трудящихся Аджарии. Комиссия непосредственно направлена было против анти-советских партий и групп и изгнанию людей из заводов и учреждений. В это время в Аджарии существовало несколько анти-советских политических организации, среди них: формирование социал-демократов, национал-демократы, социал-федералисты, кемалисты и др. Все выше названные партии, кроме кемалистов были созданы в начале XX века. Все партии кроме коммунистов и кемалистов боролись за независимость Грузии и за восстановление государственности и демократию.

В условиях антагонистического классового общества, целью их действий было национальная консолидация и глобальные ценности. Естественно они противостояли и объявляли жестокую борьбу социалистическим принципам и идеологии. Между национал-демократами и социал-федералистами не было никакой разницы, они были объединены в одну социал-федералистскую партию. Раньше выше названные члены партии не требовали независимость Грузии, хотя они боролись за автономную независимость в Российской империи. Радикалы появились сразу же после создания партии.

**Ключевые слова:** *Аджария, партия, антисоветский, революционный комитет, социал-демократы (меншевики), партия кемалистов.*

## ÖZ

Makalede 1921'de Sovyet karşıtı partilerin Bolşevik Hükümeti'ne karşı yapılan mücadeleler ele alınmıştır. Hükümet karşıtı protestoların arka planında, Bolşeviklerin çeşitli partilere karşı yürüttükleri cezai operasyonlar üzerine durulmuş ve bu partilerin ortadan kaldırılmaları sebepleri incelenmiştir.

25 Şubat 1921'de Gürcistan Devrim Komitesi tarafından özel bir kararname çıkarıldı. Buna göre, o günden itibaren Sovyet Hükümeti'ne ve Gürcü Sovyet Partisi'ne aktif ve açıkça karşı çıkan tüm siyasi partiler ve gruplar için bir af ilan edildi. Bu bağlamda, Gürcü Sovyet hükümeti eski Gürcistan Demokratik Cumhuriyeti hükümetine başvurdu ve Gürcistan'ın yeni hükümetinin kabul etmesini teklif etti ve karşılıklı olarak da yeni hükümet tarafından geçmişin unutulacağını vaat etti.

Acara Komünistleri de benzer bir açıklama yaptı, ancak Sovyet karşıtı partiler ve eski Gürcistan Hükümeti bunu ciddiye almadı. Kendileri Sovyet hükümetini tanımadılar ve onlarla işbirliği yapmayı kabul etmediler. Sabotaj yapıp devrime karşı çıktıkları için Sovyet Hükümeti bunlara karşı katı davranışlara başvurdu.

29 Nisan'da, Batum Bölge Komitesi Başkanlığı tarafından "Menşeviklerin yönetimi sırasında Gürcistan ve Acara'ya karşı hakaret eden herkes imha edilmelidir" gibi bir karar alındı.

Fabrikalar, kültür kurumları ve eğitim kurumları gibi Sovyetleşen müesseselerden Sovyet karşıtı bireylerin görevden uzaklaştırılması için özel bir komisyon kuruldu.

Her şeyden önce alınan karar çok partili bir sisteme ve demokrasiye karşı yönelikti ve aynı zaman da tek partili bir diktatörlüğün oluşturulmasına yol açıyordu. Özel komisyonda şu kişiler görev aldı: Komünist Partisi'nin Batum bölge komitesi üyesi Pevtsov, Devrimci Komitesi üyesi Sadjaia ve Acara işçi derneğinden bir temsilci. Komisyon doğrudan Sovyet karşıtı partilere ve gruplara karşı kuruldu ve insanların fabrikalardan atılmasına yönlendirildi. O zaman, Acara'da Sosyal-Demokratlar, Milli-Demokratlar, Sosyal-Federalistler, Kemalistler vb. gibi Sovyet karşıtı siyasi örgütler vardı. Kemalistler dışında

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

yukarıdaki tüm partiler 20. yüzyılın başında kuruldu. Komünistler ve Kemalistler dışındaki tüm partiler Gürcistan'ın bağımsızlığı, devlet ve demokrasinin yeniden kurulması için mücadele ediyorlardı.

Karşıt olarak hareket eden bir toplumunun koşulları altında, eylemlerin amacı ulusal direnç ve küresel değerlerdi. Yukarıda adı geçen partiler, doğal olarak, sosyalist ilkelere ve ideolojiye karşı sert bir mücadele başlattılar. Milli-Demokratlar ve Sosyal-Federalistler arasında hiçbir fark yoktu, bunların hepsi Sosyal-Federalist partiye mensuptular. Daha önce, yukarıdaki parti üyeleri Rus İmparatorluğu'nda özerk bağımsızlık için savaşsalar da Gürcistan'ın bağımsızlığını talep etmiyorlardı. Radikaller partinin kurulmasından hemen sonra ortaya çıktılar.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Acara, parti, Sovyet karşıtı, Devrimci Komitesi, Sosyal Demokratlar (Menşevikler), Kemalistler.*

### **Introduction**

The article notes that after violent sovietization of Georgia, Revolutionary Committees of Georgia issued the special decree, which indicated that “Hereafter, an Amnesty is declared for every political party, particular bodies and groups which actively stood out against the Soviet Government and Soviet Party of Georgia.”

There were several Anti-Soviet political organizations and groups at the time in Adjara. Amongst them, formations of Social-Democrat (Menshevik), National-Democrat, Socialist-Federalist, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Kemalists and other parties were considered as the most influential ones. All of the above-mentioned parties except the Kemalist Party, have been formed at the beginning of the 20th Century. In spite of Communist and Kemalist Parties,

all of them were fighting for the independence of Georgia, recovery its statehood, democracy,

and bourgeois order. In the circumstances of the antagonist class society, their activities were

targeted to establish national consolidation and global values. Therefore, it's natural that they

were against, and they led a ferocious fight against the Socialist Ideology and Socialist principles. There was not an essential difference between the programs of National-Democrats

and Socialist-Federalists. They were unified in one Socialist-Federalists party. At the early times, a vast majority of members of aforesaid parties did not demand the independence of Georgia directly and decidedly, but they have pursued national autonomy within the rule of the Russian Empire. Radicals have appeared in the party since its creation. They left the federalist party in the beginning of century and created National-Democratic party, which unequivocally declared that their aim was to fight for independence and sovereignty of Georgia. National-Democratic party was actively supported by Ilia Chavchavadze, who wrote the first program of this party himself. Memed Abashidze disagreed with idea of Socialist-Federalist party about status of autonomy of Georgia in the borders of Russian Empire and he left party in 1908. His generalist ideas were beyond a narrow

frameworks of party. His activities aimed to independence and territorial integrity of Georgia. This was a reason of that he was elected as a member of inter-party/above-party/ council created on April 9, 1917, which served as the first parliament of Georgia. He participated in the national congress, held November 19-24, 1917, as a representative of Muslim Georgia. Memed Abashidze was elected to the national council/parliament/ and in the 15-member presidium.

### **Research Methods:**

The article uses not only empirical but pure theoretical methodology, such as analysis, comparison, systematic approach. Comparative-historical method and research links, used in the research process incorporates all forms of the aforementioned theoretical methodology.

### **Results**

The work discusses the struggle of political parties in Adjara against soviet occupation on the basis of archive documents, some of these documents are new in a scientific circulation.

Moreover, the work interestingly represents activities of soviet government in the deliberate activities to liquidate anti-Soviet parties and steps made in this direction.

### **Discussion**

**On 25<sup>th</sup> of February of 1921**, Revolutionary Committees of Georgia issued the special decree, which indicated that “Hereafter, an Amnesty is declared for every political party, particular bodies and groups which actively stood out against the Soviet Government and Soviet Party of Georgia” (Kacharava, 1958:182) Soviet Government of Georgia have thereby addressed to the former Democrat Government of Georgia: “You should obey the Soviet Government of Georgia, which will forget the past and crimes of all of its enemies and which is willing treat you similarly” (Kacharava, 1958:191).

Similar announcements were made by the Communists of Adjara, but Anti-Soviet Parties and the former Government of Georgia never considered this seriously. They did not have recognized the Soviet Government, never collaborated with them and therefore went on a state of disobedience. They have chosen the path of sabotage and the counterrevolution. Thus, the Soviet Government was using harsh measures against them. On April 29th, the Presidium of Communist Party District Committee of Batumi came to a decision that stated following: “Every single person, whoever had profaned and blackened the name of Georgia and Adjara during the Rule of Menshevik Government, should be eliminated” (Adjaris tsentraluri saxelmsipo Arkivi (Semoklebit ACSA), partiuli pondi 1, agtsera 1, sakme 52, purtseli 11). The Special Commission had been formed in the purpose of banishing counterrevolutionaries from Soviet organizations, factories, and cultural and educational institutions.

First of all, the aforementioned decision was aimed against the Multi-party system and the democracy itself, and at the same time, it supported the forming of

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

a Single-Party dictatorship. The Special Commission consisted of the following people: a member of the Communist Party District Committee Bureau of Adjara - I. Pevtsov, member of Revolutionary Committee - K. Sajaia, and the representative of Presidium of Central Council of Labor Unions of Adjara. The Commission was directly managing the repressions and banishment of the members of Anti-Soviet parties and groups from factories and establishments, implemented by the "Emergency Commission" (CHK). There were several Anti-Soviet political organizations and groups at the time in Adjara. Amongst them, formations of Social-Democrat (Menshevik), National-Democrat, Socialist-Federalist, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Kemalists and other parties were considered as the most influential ones. All of the above-mentioned parties except the Kemalist Party, have been formed at the beginning of the 20th Century. In spite of Communist and Kemalist Parties, all of them were fighting for the independence of Georgia, recovery its statehood, democracy, and bourgeois order. In the circumstances of the antagonist class society, their activities were targeted to establish national consolidation and global values. Therefore, it's natural that they were against, and they led a ferocious fight against the Socialist Ideology and Socialist principles. There was not an essential difference between the programs of National-Democrats and Socialist-Federalists. They were unified in one Socialist-Federalists party. At the early times, a vast majority of members of aforesaid parties did not demand the independence of Georgia directly and decidedly, but they have pursued national autonomy within the rule of the Russian Empire. Radicals have appeared in the party since its creation. They have left the Federalist Party since the beginning of the 20th Century and formed the National-Democrat party, which unequivocally declared the fight for independence and sovereignty of Georgia as its major objective. National-Democrat party is eagerly supported by Ilia Chavchavadze, who himself wrote the very first program of the party. Memed Abashidze did not share the idea of the Socialist-Federalist party, which implied granting Georgia national autonomy while leaving it under the rule of the Russian Empire, thus he left the party in 1908. His global ideas exceeded the narrow Party framework significantly. His activity was targeted towards the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia. Exactly in consequence of the fact mentioned above, he was elected in Inter-Party (or Super-Party) Council. Formed on the 9th of April, 1917, it had played a role of the first Parliament of Georgia. He was actively involved in the work of the first national rally, as a representative of the Muslim people of Georgia. Memed Abashidze was also selected to be a member of the National Council and Presidium which consisted of 15 members in total (ACSA, Partiuili pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 104, purts. 34).

At the beginning and the first years of establishing the Soviet governance, organizations of the National-Democrat and the Socialist-Federalist Parties were significantly outnumbered by the structures of Social-Democrat (Menshevik) Party. In general, they were congregated in educational institutions, factories, establishments, Railway and the Sea Port Division of Batumi. The Socialist-Federalist organization unified up to 300 and the National-Democrat

organization had up to 330 members within their ranks, but there was no unity between those. They have quickly divided into left and right wings. Both parties had possessed their own printing houses, specifically, Gazette “Sakartvelo” (“Georgia”) belonged to national-Democrats and Gazette “Socialist-Federalist” needless to say, was owned by Socialist-Federalists (ACSA, Partiuli pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 210, purts. 112).

Despite the Rightists, which met the establishment of the Soviet governance with hostility and which categorically demanded the reinstatement of the Independent Democratic Republic of Georgia, Left-Wing politicians expressed their loyal attitude with the Russian Empire. They’ve chosen a path of compromise towards the Soviet State, provided it would recognize the independence and democratic principles of Georgia, and would never allow the dictatorship of the proletariat, repressions against landlords and capitalists and would never initiate a class conflict. Leftists fiercely opposed the unification of the Soviet Republic of Georgia with other Transcaucasian countries in any form as well as they objected granting Adjara, Abkhazia and South Ossetia with the autonomy. At this time there were quite a small number of Anarchists in Adjara, thus they did not represent any power. Around 50 Anarchists scattered in Batumi, negatively met to the Soviet Government, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the standards of Socialism, Transcaucasian Federation, USSR and the formation of Autonomous Republic of Adjara (ACSA, partiuli fondi 1, agts. 1, s. 210, furts. 442).

There were relatively more Georgian Socialist-Revolutionaries (Essers) In Adjara, who were part of Russia's left-wing Esser Party. Above-mentioned party as in Russia, so in Georgia was formed from the Populist Movement in 1902, at the turn of the century. That is why they embraced the views Populists and apparently repeated their mistakes, which were ultimately fateful to this ideology.

The rejection of Capitalism as a Social-political formation, entering in socialism without passing through it, proclaiming peasants as a revolutionary class, The organization of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, rejecting the laborer class as a major force, recognizing the need for individual territory for establishing socialism and so on – this is the incomplete list of views, which were accepted by the Social-revolutionary Party. The Socialist-Revolutionaries, along with the Mensheviks, opposed the take over both central and local governance in the early days of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

According to their ideology, Right-wing Essers met with hostility to the establishment of Soviet power. The leftists were relatively restrained about Soviet Russia and agreed to join the government. The Bolsheviks of Georgia refused to cooperate with Essers. They did not take any practical steps to strengthen relations with Essers or other opposition parties.

In Adjara, like other anti-Soviet parties, Essers were in a semi-legal state. They were mainly in factories and military units in Batumi (Their number reached up to 400 individuals) where they used Anti-Soviet propaganda, opposed the creation of the Transcaucasian Federation, the formation of USSR and granting Adjara of autonomy. They were especially criticizing the dictatorship of the

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

Proletariat. In the years of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Essers alongside the Mensheviks fought a fierce struggle against the Communists. Georgian Essers have claimed that Georgia's entry into the Transcaucasian Federation and the USSR would lead the country to its national and political demise (ACSA, Partiuili fondi 1, agts. 1, sak. 283, purts. 5).

At the time, the Pro-Turkish Kemalist Party, which had been formed in 1919, was considered as the strongest political organization in Adjara. It was named after the first president of the Republic of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk. With representatives of the Turkish National Bourgeoisie, Pro-Turkish Adjarian Nobility and Muslim clergy had been joined in it as well. The Kemalist organization became most active after the establishment of the Soviet government. Unlike other political organizations, the Adjarian organization of the Kemalist Party, with its center in Batumi, had its own groups and individuals not only in the borderline village of Merisi but almost every village, all acting with legal and illegal manner. The chairman of the Adjara Emergency Commission (Cheka) had been writing on February 21, 1922, that in only one village, in Dgvani, the Kemalists brought 1500 Russian and Turkish rifles to the local population. The Kemalists were especially numerous in the villages of Didachara, Skhalta, and Riketi Valley, and in Adjara as a whole, they numbered more than 3,000 members (Sakartvelos tsentraluri sakhelmtsipo istoriuli arkivi (shemoklebit SCSIA) Pondi 976, agts. 1, s. 545, purts. 36).

Kemalists were foretelling Adjarian peasants that Bolsheviks would take away all of their values and confiscate the mosque and that Kemalist troops, which would save the whole population from the yoke of the Bolsheviks, were expected to arrive in Adjara in the nearest future. They called on the peasants to boycott the Soviet government. The Adjarian organization of the Kemalist Party opposed the creation of the Transcaucasian Federation and the USSR, and was willing to give Adjara autonomy, but within Turkey. Agents of the aforementioned organization were eagerly trying to penetrate the revolutionary committees of the villages, the militia, and other Soviet institutions by various means. They succeeded in recruiting part of the villagers to their side. In 1922, As a result of the extraordinary measures taken by the Soviet authorities against the Kemalists (Arrest of its leaders and other activists), their Adjarian organization has been weakened. Later in 1924, The Kemalists, convinced that they could neither join Adjara with Turkey nor overthrow the Soviet authorities in Adjara, ceased to exist (SCSIA, f. 1, agts. 1, s. 541, purts. 67).

Amongst the other political parties and organizations in Georgia, the most numerous and organized was the Social-Democratic (Menshevik) party. It is known that the background of this party and its Georgian organization, similarly to the Russian Social Democratic Bolshevik Party and its Georgian organization, begins in the summer of 1903 with the second meeting of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Therefore, before 1912, prior to the Bolshevik Conference in Prague, there were two wings of one party in one organization - Menshevik and Bolshevik, including Georgian organizations. At the time the Georgian



organization of the Bolshevik Party (including Adjara), despite the formal creation of the Georgian Communist Party in May 1920, remains one of the branches of the Russian Communist Party, the Georgian Mensheviks along with the National Democratic, Socialist-Federalist and other parties were fighting for Georgia's independence. After the October Revolution, the Georgian Mensheviks ultimately left the Russian Social-Democratic Menshevik Party and formed the Social-Democratic (Menshevik) Party of Independent Georgia, where they outnumbered the Bolsheviks almost ten times. In May 1924 the third assembly of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Georgia was held. The report of one of the leaders of this party, B. Lominadze states: "Prior the establishment of the Soviet power, the Menshevik Party reportedly had 130 000 men, while other two reports informed about 80 000 and 60 000 men (SCSIA, Pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 976, purts. 88) It was the largest party at the time.

At the same time, the Georgian Social-Democratic (Menshevik) Party had such strong, theoretically well-trained political figures as: Karlo Chkheidze - Chairman of Labor MPs Petrograd Council which was founded in the days of the Bourgeois-democratic revolution in February; Akaki Tsereteli - Minister of the Provisional Government; Evgeni Gegechkori - Chairman of Transcaucasian Commissariat; Noe Zhordania - Head of the Democratic Republic of Independent Georgia; Akaki Chkhenkeli and many others.

On March 17, 1921, prominent public and political figures of the Menshevik Party, generals, scientists, members of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the Constituent Assembly, Heads of other Anti-Soviet personnel departed for Batumi by night with 16 loaded vessels. In 1921, the national parties were taken over by new leaders, whose activity was based on the instructions and directives of leaders abroad. National parties took the course of internal "Blast" of the Soviet authorities. In the latest issue of the Menshevik Party newspaper „Ertoba“, members of the party were instructed to stay in Georgia, return to their jobs, try to get a foot in the door of all Soviet institutions, the Georgian Red Army and preparation of the "Blast" of the Soviet government by the time of the return of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia.

Noe Zhordania, the leader of Social Democratic (Menshevik) party of Georgia, was reporting that the Government was forced to quit. He urged all Georgians not to recognize a new government, not to abide by its ordinances, and to consider that the real government was temporarily absent from Georgia.

The Mensheviks took a course of hostility towards the Soviet Authority as soon as it was established in Georgia. Under the slogan of Restoration of State Independence of Georgia, the Mensheviks sought to unite against the Bolsheviks and form a coalition with anti-Soviet parties. In June of 1921 Noe Zhordania was writing to his associates from abroad: "Forget about all the party disagreements, whatever sets us apart from the rest of the parties, it is essential to expel the Bolsheviks, We will follow up to talk about party disagreements later" (Tskvitaria, 1963:25). According to the instructions of its leader, Noe Zhordania, In early 1922

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

the Mensheviks began negotiations with the rest of the anti-Soviet parties about formation of a structure that would coordinate the actions of individual parties, especially since all these parties were pursuing the same goal - To restore the independence of bourgeois Georgia.

In August 1922 all anti-Soviet parties except the Kemalists negotiated and drafted a five-article agreement:

- “1. The parties unite in order to fight for independence of Georgia.
2. In case Georgia's independence is restored, a constituent assembly will be convened, to which both Government abroad and the one formed during the transitory period should report on their activities .
3. At the Constituent Assembly a new government is formed based on the principle of coalition, However no party will have the right to occupy more than one-third of the seats.
4. A parity commission will be set up to deal with the previous government's actions that have led the country to collapse.
5. Since the moment of signing present agreement, the "Independence Committee of Georgia" will be elected on a parity basis” (ACSA, Partuli pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 210, purts. 498).

After the above-mentioned treaty was signed, the “Georgian Independence Committee” had been trying to overthrow the Soviet government for exactly two years, furthermore, members of the former government of Georgia, ministers, and Leaders of anti-Soviet parties were exhorted to achieve the same goal abroad. The Mensheviks established Assistance Committees in Paris, London, Geneva and other cities. Their leaders delivered reports on Georgia in various European countries. One of the leaders of the Menshevik party – K. Chkheidze advised England during a speech in Geneva, not to give the Bolsheviks any loans. One of the leaders of the right wing of the French Socialist Party, Director of the newspaper "L'Humanité t" between 1915-1918 - Pierre Renodelli wrote to one of the prominent Menshevik leaders – Ak. Tsereteli that the French Socialists will make an effort to interfere in Georgia's affair and support the Georgian Social Democrats in case of success or misfortune (Tskvitaria, 1963:32).

In Adjara, as in the whole of Georgia, the Adjarian organization of the Social Democratic (Menshevik) Party of Georgia was the most numerous one among the other anti-Soviet organizations, Which brought together about five thousand people. In June and July 1921 alone, more than 700 Mensheviks were identified by the Adjara Emergency Commission. All of them served in Soviet institutions and engaged in anti-Soviet activities (Agitation, sabotage, provocation). These people had connections with the Mensheviks, who were in the deep underground, and were performing their tasks. The Mensheviks were embedded in almost all factories, factories, and establishments. The biggest part of the Mensheviks worked at the Batumi Sea Trade Port, Post and Telegraph, Customs, People's Council of Agriculture and its local structures. The Mensheviks were also in the militia and in some of the District RemComs. Their main center in Adjara was positioned in the Batumi Railway Depot. Well-organized Menshevik organizations were located in

the ‘Chaobi’ (Batumi district), Souksu, Bartskhana, as well as in several other villages (Makhinjauri, Green Cape, Chakvi, Tsikhisdziri, Kobuleti).

The Mensheviks encouraged the facility and factory workers to fight against the Soviet authorities. They brought disorganization in the work of factories and called on the workers to revolt. On November 14, 1921, the Deputy Chairman of the Kintrich Regional Committee and the head of the Housing Department of the same District Revolutionary Committee were arrested for such agitation but they had gotten away with the accompanying Militia Officer (Tskvitaria, 1963:46).

Most of the emigrated Mensheviks were concentrated in Trabzon, a Turkish town located 250 kilometers away from Batumi. The Mensheviks in Turkey had everyday contact with the Mensheviks of Adjara, helping them conduct anti-Soviet work. The Mensheviks were trying to make Adjara a connecting point between the former Menshevik government of Georgia abroad and the Mensheviks remaining in Georgia, but the union between them appeared to be absent within their party as well. Even before the Soviet power was established, one part of the Social-Democrats broke away from the Mensheviks and declared themselves in opposition. This formation declared itself an independent Social Democratic Party at the conference of the Georgian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1920. Oppositionists titled themselves the "Skhivists" (Followers of the Beam), naming their printing house as the " Skhivi" (“Beam”). The Skhivists, as well as in remaining parts of Georgia, possessed their own organization in Adjara too. For the sake of a joint struggle against the Soviet authorities, the Skivists re-joined the Mensheviks. They, along with the Mensheviks, were fierce opponents of the Transcaucasian Federation and the USSR, but they had never opposed the creation of autonomy for Adjara and Abkhazia (ACSA, Partiuli pondi 1, agts.1, s. 168, purts. 68-71).

The Mensheviks and other anti-Soviet parties who were on the counter-revolutionary side continued their anti-Soviet activity in April-May 1921. At the same time the Bolsheviks continued their fight against them. First, it was decided to prohibit underground organizations. The Presidium of the Batumi District Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia has devoted a number of sessions to this issue, devising specific measures. In December of the same year, the Adjara Bolshevik District Committee decided to launch a large-scale campaign against the Mensheviks. Bolsheviks banished Menshevik and other anti-Soviet organizations in factories and facilities, military units, establishments, district centers and elsewhere (ACSA, Partiuli pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 168, purts. 68-71).

On February 11, 1922, the Mensheviks organized a student demonstration in Batumi. In this regard, the Bolsheviks Conducted Meetings of Workers, Peasants, Servants and Red Army soldiers and warned the Mensheviks and other anti-Soviet parties that they would not allow protests against the Soviet authorities. Nevertheless, in May the Mensheviks still attempted to organize a demonstration of workers and servants in Batumi.

Adjarian Bolsheviks proposal to conduct repressions against Mensheviks and other anti-Soviet parties who stood in the way of the counter-revolution, was

## **Describes The Struggle Of The Anti - Parties Against The Bolshevik Authorities...**

not supported by the so called "National-Deviator" segment of the Communist Party/Central Committee of Georgia. Only since March 1923, after the second congress of the Communist Party of Georgia, where the new composition of the Central Committee were elected, the irreconcilable fight against the anti-Soviet parties began. The second congress of the Georgian Communist Party adopted the following resolution: "It is necessary to wage a ruthless struggle with counter-revolutionary parties, in particular the Menshevik Party" (Tskvitaria, 1963:67). In turn, the Central Committee, elected by the congress, issued the following directive: "Repressions against the Mensheviks and other anti-Soviet parties should be increased unless they stop their agitation against our party on national issues." [Tskvitaria, 1963: 68]

The Bolsheviks of Georgia, including Adjara, as they were instructed by the 12th Conference of the Russian Communist Party, decided to give anti-Soviet parties a proposal to self-liquidate party organizations, before going through their repressions, and those who would express their will, should be accepted to join the ranks of the Communist Party. Group announcements of withdrawal from anti-Soviet parties have begun. In a statement published by the Mensheviks of Batumi on April 13, 1923 in the newspaper "Trudavoy Batumi" we read: „We, the undersigned members of the Menshevik Party of Georgia, consider this (Communist) party as the only defender of the working masses, we believed that the Menshevik Party would not deviate from the principles of socialism. After the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia, we were convinced that the Bolshevik Party was the only defender of the working masses. The Menshevik Party, however, has proved in the years of its rule that it was defending the interests of the exploiter classes. Therefore, we finally cut off ties with the Menshevik party". The statement is signed by the former Mensheviks: A. Tsotsonava; A. Topuria, S. Chkhaidze, N. Tavartkiladze, K. Moistsrapishvili, A. Kinkladze, B. Zamoroko et al (ACSA, Partiuili pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 168, purz. 121-128).

Such letters and statements were often published on press sheets, as a result of the apparent pressure from the Communists, of course. But in turn, neither the Mensheviks nor other anti-Soviet parties were easy to deceive. They made such statements formally, to rid themselves of the Bolshevik repression. Actually, they were going deep underground and to prepare for an armed uprising against the Soviet authorities.

In August 1923, under the pressure of the Bolsheviks, a meeting of the former Mensheviks took place in Batumi which came to decision of the disbandment of the party (Including Adjara Menshevik organization). The youth union of the Adjara Menshevik organization – "The Young Marxists" was also disbanded. In 1923, other anti-Soviet parties and their local youth organizations announced the dissolution in Georgia as well as in Adjara.

The leadership of the "Georgian Independence Committee" and the now gone underground anti-Soviet parties were guided by the instructions of the abroad organizations of the emigrated government and political parties of the former Democratic Republic of Georgia. They received money, plans, recommendations,

and directives from them about the preparation of the uprising. The third congress of the Georgian Communist Party held in May 1924 stated: "The greatest achievement of the Communist Party during the reporting period should be that the liquidation of the entire anti-Soviet front was achieved. The Menshevik Party suffered a definitive defeat last year. Old cadres of the Menshevik party, even the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, on which the Menshevik underground was trying to rely, were cut off from illegal organizations and turned to the Soviet authorities on a broad front" (SCSIA, pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 976, purts. 584).

Given such false and erroneous views, the congress referred to the party's central committee and all local party organizations: "Now that major political problems have been successfully resolved, all forces must be directed to rebuilding the economy and recovery of Agricultural works" (SCSIA, pondi 1, agts. 1, s. 976, purts. 586). Three months after the congress ended, armed rebellion took place in Georgia under the leadership of the Menshevik and other anti-Soviet parties. Along with princes, nobles, former officers, merchants, clergymen, the peasants also took up arms, what even was admitted by I. B. Stalin himself. At the meeting he stated that in Georgia, "In some places, even because of their poor association with the masses, the Mensheviks were able to drag some of the peasants into rebellion" (Stalin, 1951:308)

Because of the fact that two months before the uprising in Adjara, the Bolsheviks began repressions and leaders of the anti-Soviet parties, activists, leaders of the "Independence Committee of Georgia" and his military organization in Batumi was arrested, the anti-Soviet parties in Adjara failed to organize an revolt.

After the anti-Soviet armed uprising that was crushed in blood in August 1924, In Georgia, including Adjara, all anti-Soviet parties and organizations were liquidated by the Bolsheviks.

## REFERENCES

### a) Monographs

Kacharava, I., (1958), *sabchoata sakartvelo sakhalkho meurneobis aghdgenis reriidshi*, Tbilisi.

Stalin, I., (1951), *tkhzulebata tomi*, 6, Tbilisi.

Tskvitaria, P., (1963), *acharashi revolutsiuri modzraobis narkvevebi, natsili meore*, Batumi.

### b) Arcival materials

Acharis tsentraluri sakhelmtsifo arkivi (ACTSA), I, aghtsera I, sakmeebi 13, 104, 168, 448.

Sakartvelos tsentraluri sakhelmtsipo istoriuli arkivi (SSTSIA), Pondi I, adhtsera I, sakmeebi 541, 976.