

**Title VIII Research Scholar Program  
Title VIII Combined Research and Language Training Program**

**Final Report**

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*Restoring the Prism: Piecing Together a Caucasian Narrative 1917-1921*

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**Research Abstract:** The period 1917-1921 in the Caucasus is represented in the literature only through works focusing on the distinct national histories of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia or various North Caucasian ethno-national groups, or which discuss the interface between socialism and nationalism. My previous research on the 1921-WWII émigré movement for a politically united Caucasus, based on analysis of the two main émigré journals *Prometheus* and *Kavkaz* led me to the hypothesis that politically active Caucasians must also have been promoting the idea of a regional arrangement back home between the February Revolution and Bolshevik takeover of the Caucasus in early 1921. Considering the literature on this earlier period is dominated by national narratives—which focus primarily on the national experience without providing a clear regional context, and the only book to attempt a semi-regional narrative, Firuz Kazemzadeh’s *Struggle for Transcaucasia*, makes for a fragmented read as it jumps back and forth between various national experiences—it is difficult for a student or researcher to get a clear overarching grasp of what was happening in the Caucasus during this time and how each nation’s experience fit into the bigger picture. The research question driving my project was thus the following: *Can a synthesized, regional narrative can be generated for 1917-1921 by using Caucasian leaders’ attitudes for and against the vision of a unified Caucasus as an integrative thread?*

**Research Goals:** The primary goal of this research was to search for documents in the Georgian National Archives and find period newspapers and other relevant literature in the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia that would help me determine to what extent the regional idea permeated the consciousness of Caucasian political figures 1917-1921. While I knew from my previous research that the idea existed and was promoted on at least some occasions, I wanted to find out if it was just a notion promoted by a few but mostly ignored for more popular conceptions of potential political arrangements for the region like several nation-states, some sort of internationalist Socialist order or even a Muslim union? Politics aside, did Caucasian people even think in regional terms at all? Or were their perceptions limited to their ethno-national, local or religious affiliations? To the contrary, could it be that Caucasians were thinking in terms of Russian or global belonging instead? I hypothesized that once the primary goal was met of finding documents to determine the extent to which the regional idea permeated political discourse and consciousness of the period, I would then be able to determine if it would indeed be logical, i.e., true to reality, and feasible to use these sources to reconstruct a regional narrative for the period using arguments for and against the regional idea as a synthesizing thread.

The secondary goal of this research was to search for documents and other sources which would help me determine the nature of the relationship between Georgians and North Caucasians 1917-1921, and the relationships between various Caucasus nations and their attitudes towards each other. Of particular interest was the relationship between Georgian National Democrats (nationalists) and the North Caucasian secular leadership of the so-called Mountain Republic and the attitude of the Georgian National Democrats towards the idea of regional cooperation and political unity—because these groups formed the core of the Kavkaz group. Most of the literature on the period 1917-1921 focuses on dominant political parties and leaders such as the Georgian Social Democrats (socialists) in Georgia or Mehmed Emin Resulzade (Musavatist from Baku) in Azerbaijan, glossing over the contributions or views of other parties or figures like the Georgian National Democrats or Azerbaijani Musavatists who were from Ganja not Baku. And I wanted to know if the more nationalistic elements like the Georgian National Democrats and Ganja Musavatists were more, or less, interested in regional unity than their socialistic counterparts (Georgian Social Democrats and, roughly characterized, Baku Musavatists). Considering popular opinion holds that the “nationalists” were chauvinistic and wanted their territorial rights to the detriment of other “nations” and it seemed somewhat counter-intuitive that they were arguing for regional unity in emigration, especially after Georgia’s “petty imperialism” and other national strife such as Armenian-Azerbaijani massacres largely contributed to the inability of Caucasians to form stable republics and resist the Bolshevik army, I wanted to see what, if anything, the “nationalists” were saying about the possibility of regional unity when back home in the Caucasus 1917-1921, in comparison with “socialists” who were then passionately promoting class solidarity over national loyalty.

For the documents I would need to answer these questions, I intended to look at the fonds in the Georgian National Historical Archives related to the OZAKOM, Transcaucasian Federation and Democratic Republic of Georgia. I also expected to search period newspapers held at the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia and visit the Georgian Emigration Museum at Tbilisi State University, which houses the personal archives of many of the key figures being researched as part of this project. I also hoped to meet personally with Levan Urushadze, Senior Research Fellow at the Georgian National Museum, and read his works on the nationalist segment of Georgian society 1917-1921 and in emigration.

The tertiary goal of this research was to bring my Georgian language skills to a point where I could read historical materials (printed archival documents, newspaper articles and literature) without the aid of a teacher.

**Research Activities:** The first stage of my research activities involved exploring the holdings at the Central Historical Archive located at the National Archives of Georgia on Vazha Pshavela Avenue in Tbilisi. For any information related to interactions between the Caucasian nations, attempts to organize on a regional basis and administrative or other activity that provides an indication of how people conceptualized the Caucasus as a region, I searched through documents in the following fonds: Fond 1818 “Transcaucasia’s Temporary Government”; Fond 1819 “Transcaucasian Seim”; Fond 1861 “Management of Government Affairs” (in reference to the Democratic Republic of Georgia); Fond 1969 “Defense Ministry” (of the Democratic Republic of Georgia); and Fond 2113 “Noe Jordania”. These fonds had materials mostly in Russian so I

was able to process them at the initial stage of my research. I also read through the descriptions of the following fonds, which were primarily in Georgian, and indicated files of interest: Fond 1833 “Founding Assembly”; Fond 1970 “Chief Headquarters of the People’s Guard”; and Fond 1864 “Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (of the Democratic Republic of Georgia).

I created a list of documents in these fonds related to my research questions, and I will discuss the relevant data discovered in them in the following section on research findings. Overall, there was a lot of material, in the Russian alone, in the archives useful to my research. By the time I started reading Georgian more confidently I had moved from digging through archival materials to translating period newspapers. Originally, I made this switch because I wanted to cover both archival and periodical sources during the course of my research project and there was so much archival material to sift through, especially in Georgian (which took a lot longer to read/translate), that I needed to take stock of what I had already found in Russian and make note of what was left for further investigation in Georgian while making sure to get at least an overview of the type of data which could be found in newspapers during my time here. Another reason was that however interesting the archival documents might be, for the most part they only state that something happened, giving no indication as to why it happened or what opinions might have been held at the time about it. In other words, archival research was a very labor intensive process yielding some dry bones with which to begin a reconstruction process, but where was the meat?

Throughout the grant period I searched for secondary literature in Russian and Georgian related to this research topic. I found a number of books and articles in Russian, some of which were available online, but the most important ones will have to be purchased in Russia. I also revisited works in the English secondary literature such as Stephen Jones’s *Socialism in Georgian Colors* and Ronald Suny’s *Baku Commune*. Judging from the bibliography in Nikolas Javakhishvili’s doctoral dissertation “Struggle for the Freedom of the Caucasus (From the History of Military-Political Cooperation Between Georgia and the North Caucasians in the First Half of the Twentieth Century)” there are few books in Georgian treating my research topic. And the ones I found which did were each only about 50 pages long, containing reprints of documents I had already found in the archives and little or no analysis. Despite its promising title, Javakhishvili’s dissertation was especially useless. He bases an argument that the Georgians (in his interpretation, all Georgians without distinction between Social Democrats and National Democrats) and Mountaineers were sympathetic towards each other in 1917 on two articles from the newspaper *sakartvelo*. The fact that a dissertation by a Georgian historian on this topic only used only two articles as source material led me to initially believe there would indeed be very few sources on this subject. On the contrary, this historian overlooked dozens of articles in *sakartvelo* on this theme and failed to provide even the most cursory analysis of the actual contours of relationships between Georgians and Mountaineers during 1917, possibly out of a desire to gloss over any seeming contradictions. Alongside a visit to the Museum of the National Emigration at Tbilisi State University, I also visited the director of the Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology, Dr. Vazha Kiknadze, to see if his institute held a copy of Levan Urushadze’s dissertation and to arrange a meeting with this preeminent expert on Georgian nationalists. Sadly, Dr. Urushadze had been killed in an automobile accident. I found a number of his books in the national library, but these too were surprisingly short.

My operating assumption thus continued to be that I would need to sift through mountains of material to find small pieces of data that would enable me to piece together a regional narrative. But as I began exploring the contents of the period journals, this challenge was completely flipped on its head. Suddenly there was a great volume of information to process, for example, the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan or Armenia was mentioned in nearly every issue of *sakartvelo*, the Georgian National Democrats' mouthpiece. The journals I began examining included the following: *sakartvelo*, *ertoba*, *sakartvelos respublika*, *saxalxo furceli*, *shroma*, *Volny Gorets*, *Nezavisimiy Kavkaz*, *Kavkaz*, *Izvestia*, *Molot*, and *Armenian Vestnik*. Since there was so much relevant material to work with in all of these journals, I had to narrow my focus to one journal, and I chose *sakartvelo* in 1917 because it was associated with the Georgian National Democrats. On its own it turned out to a goldmine of information, and with help of my Georgian teachers, I fully translated or carefully read through at least 60 articles (there were more, but this is approximately the number I used in my "Works-in-Progress" presentation on 10 May), which I selected from the entire year's contents of this journal as most relevant to my research. The information which I found in *sakartvelo* is described in further detail in the research findings section.

As part of the language study element to this grant, I studied the Georgian language with private teachers from Nana Shavtvaladze's Language School. We worked through all three of Dr. Shavtvaladze's published Biliki books (Biliki I, II, III), and she has asked me to do all the exercises in her workbook for the third book this summer so she has more feedback before she sends it to the printers. I found Dr. Shavtvaladze's first and second book rather helpful, but by the third book her presentation of the Georgian verb becomes chaotic and the lack of a real communicative approach begins to show through. I recommend continued investment in the development of quality learning materials for students of Georgian.

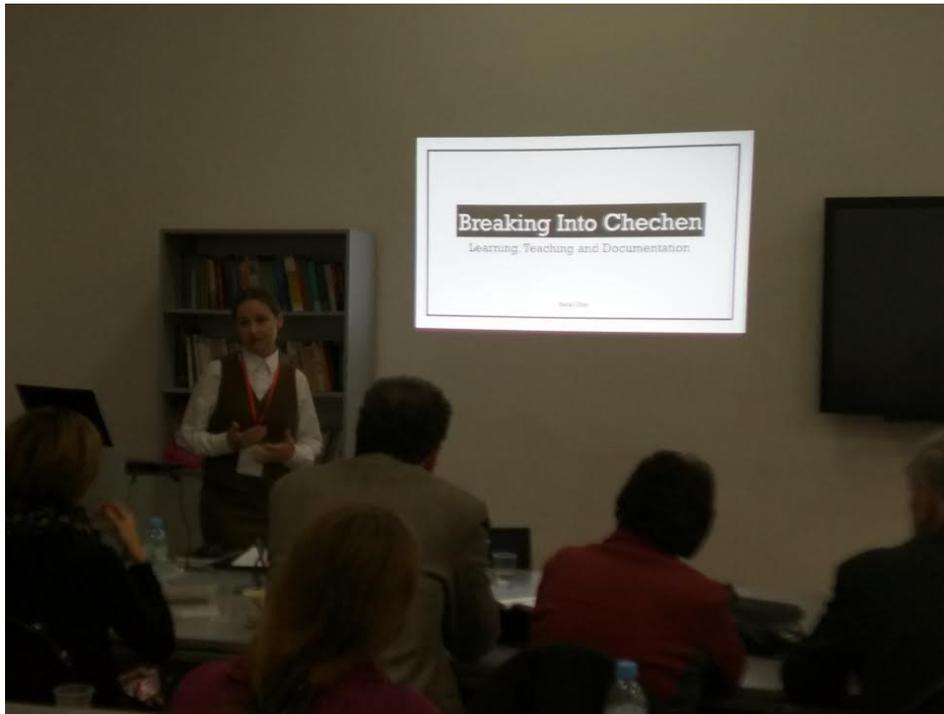
Back to the research element, since I realized in late fall there was a virtual mountain of material to process and that I had a good grasp of what sources existed—and because I was informed that there were now scholars working on Caucasian history in England—I decided it was the right time to apply to PhD programs there (I hadn't been able to find an advisor in the United States for several years already.) so I could continue my research after the end of my Title VIII Research and Language Study grant. Although this took some time out of my schedule, it helped me to very clearly define the scope of my developing research and articulate my future research goals. Fortunately, this effort resulted in success as I was accepted into a good PhD program.

Meanwhile, I also developed a new transliteration system for Chechen in preparation for a presentation on linguistics I was invited to deliver. This system is a clear improvement over the Nichols-Vagapov system currently used in the international literature on the Chechen language. I have yet to meet a linguist specializing on North Caucasian languages that approves of the Nichols-Vagapov system, and native speakers consistently complain that it is incomprehensible. There is always room for further improvement to my own system, of course. While this activity was not directly related to my historical research, I consider it an important research activity related to North Caucasian history since without access to the Chechen language, the American and international scientific communities cannot possibly hope to understand Chechens or their history—and Chechens are the most populous and most famous of the North Caucasus peoples.

Cyrillic	Khamidova Transcription	Nichols / Vagapov	Slye
А а (short, narrow)	А а	А а	À à
А а (short, wide)	Â â	А а	А а
А а (long)	А: а:	Аа аа	Á á
Аь аь	Аь аь	Ае ае	Ä ä
О о	О о	О о	О о
О о (long)	О: о:	Оо оо	Ó ó
О о (diphthong)	Уо уо	Уо уо	Ó σ
О о (diphthong long)	Уо: уо:	Уо уо	Ó ó
О о (diphthong rise)		Оа оа	Q q
Оь оь	Оь оь	Ое ое	Ö ö
Оь оь (long)	Оь: оь:	Ое ое	Õ õ
У у	У у	У у	У у
У у (long)	У: у:	Уу уу	Ú ú
Уь уь	Уь уь	Уу уу	Û ü
Уьй уьй	Уь: уь:	Уу уу	Û ü
И и	И и	И и	И и
Ий ий	И: и:	И и	Í í
И и (г1, кь, кх, х, хь, 1 + и)	Ы ы	И и	ı ı
И и (г1, кь, кх, х, хь, 1 + и)(long)	Ы: ы:	И и	Í í
Е е	Е е	Е е (ia, ie)	Е е
Е е (long)	Е: е:	Ее ее	É é
Е е (w/ “y”)	Йе йе	Je je	Ye ye
Е е (long w/ “y”)	Йе: йе:	Jee jee	Yé yé
Е е (diphthong)	Иэ иэ (old - Ие ие)	Ie ie / Ia, ia	Е е
Е е (diphthong long)	Иэ: иэ: (old-Ие: ие:)	Ie ie / Ia ia	É é
Е е (diphthong w/ “y”)	Йиэ йиэ	Jie jie / Jia jia	Ye ye

Е е (diphthong long w/ “y”)	Йиэ: йиэ:	Jie jie / Jia jia	Yé yé
Е е (г1, къ, кх, х, хь, 1 + е)	Ыэ ыэ		Ʒe Ʒe
Е е (г1, къ, кх, х, хь, 1 + е)(long)	Ыэ: ыэ:		Ʒé Ʒé
Э э	Ээ ээ (old-Иэ иэ)	E e	Ʒe Ʒe
Э э (long)	Ээ: ээ: (old-Иэ: иэ:)	Ee ee	Ʒé Ʒé
Э э (diphthong)	Эиэ эиэ (old-Иэ иэ)	Ie ie / Ia ia	Ʒe Ʒe
Э э (diphthong long)	Эиэ: эиэ: (old-Иэ: иэ:)	Ie ie / Ia ia	Ʒé Ʒé
Я я	Йа йа	Ja ja	Ya ya
Я я (long)	Йа: йа:	Jaa jaa	Yá yá
Яь яь	Йаь йаь	Jae jae	Yä yä
Ю ю	Ю ю	Ju ju	Yu yu
Ю ю (long)	Ю: ю:	Juu juu	Yú yú
Юь юь	Юь юь	Jy jy	Yü yü
Юь юь (long)	Юь :юь:	Jy jy	Yũ yũ
[Ë ë] Йо йо	Йо йо	Yo yo	Yo yo
[Ë ë] Йо йо (long)	Йо: йо:	Yo yo	Yó yó
Й й	Й й	J j	Y y
авь, ев	овь	eu	äw, ew
эв	овь (эовь)	eu	ew
ов	ов	ou	ow
ай	ай	ai	ai, ay
эй	эй	ei	ei, ey
ой	ой	oi	oi, oy
Ъ ъ (glottal stop)	Ә ә	'	.
1 1 (epiglottal stop)	1 1	W w	ɮ ɮ
Б б	Б б	B b	B b
В в	В в	V v, U u	V v, W w

Г г	Г г	G g	G g
Г1 г1	Г1 г1	Gg gh	Ğ ğ
Д д	Д д	D d	D d
З з	З з	Z z	Z z
Ж ж	Ж ж	Zh zh	Ẓ ẓ
К к	К к	K k	K k
К1 к1	К1 к1	K' k'	Ḳ ḳ
Кх кх	Кх кх	Q q	Q q
Къ къ	Къ къ	Q' q'	Ḷ ḷ
Л л	Л л	L l	L l
М м	М м	M m	M m
Н н	Н н	N n	N n
н (nasal ending)	н	~, n	ŋ
П п	П п	P p	P p
П1 п1	П1 п1	P' p'	Ṗ ṗ
Р р	Р р	R r	R r
С с	С с	S s	S s
Т т	Т т	T t	T t
Т1 т1	Т1 т1	T' t'	Ṭ ṭ
Х х	Х х	X x	X x
Х1 х1	Х1 х1	H h	H h
Хь хь	Хь хь	Hw hw	Ḥ ḥ
Ц ц	Ц ц	C c	C c
Ц1 ц1	Ц1 ц1	C' c'	Ḷ ḷ
Ч ч	Ч ч	Ch ch	Ç ç
Ч1 ч1	Ч1 ч1	Ch' ch'	Ḷ ḷ
Ш ш	Ш ш	Sh sh	Ş ş
Ш ш	Ш ш	Sh sh	Ş ş or Ş ş
Ш ш (not Chechen)	Ш ш	Sh sh	Ş ş or Ş ş
Ф ф (not Chechen)	Ф ф	F f	F f



“BREAKING INTO CHECHEN: LEARNING, TEACHING AND DOCUMENTATION,” GIORGI AKHVLEDIANI SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTICS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ENDANGERED LANGUAGES. TBILISI, GEORGIA, 20–24 OCTOBER 2016.

Finally, I lived up to my contractual obligation to reach out to U.S Embassy officers to see if they could find any practical benefit in my research. Based on my discussions with embassy employees, I determined they were less interested in my historical research than the current situation in Georgia’s Pankisi Gorge, inhabited primarily by Kists and Chechens. Damian Wampler, the current Cultural Attaché here in Tbilisi invited me to give a presentation to USAID and help them understand the situation there. He expected that I would have that knowledge based on the fact that prior to this grant period, I had been preparing the Chechen lesson materials at American Councils, I used to live with Kist elder Khasu Khangoshvili’s family and the Dudaev family (widow and son of former Chechen president Dzhokhar Dudaev), and I am married to a Chechen. I informed Mr. Wampler that at the time I could not prepare a presentation on this topic since I should focus on my historical research. However, as soon as the grant period ended on 12 May I took it upon myself to prepare an analysis of the socio-political situation in Pankisi. Thus, I spent from 13 May to 2 June preparing this analysis alongside developing a proposal on how to go about resolving the issue related to Salafism’s growing prominence there, which I will discuss in more detail in the co-curricular section below.

**Important Research Findings:** I found a number of interesting sources in the archives and period newspapers on how Caucasians viewed the Caucasus as a geographical, political and administrative space. There was considerable variation in views, from the Transcaucasus “as a country” being little more than a creation of the Russian imagination (*Molot* N21, 27 October 1917) to the Caucasus being the homeland of historically intertwined and interdependent peoples with common cultures and traditions. Most of these views were explicitly presented in the press, but important clues are also found in government records:

1. In a letter from the Chairman of the Tbilisi Committee on Press Affairs to the Transcaucasian Commissariat of the Provisional Government (OZAKOM) dated 1 May 1917, the chairman recommended that a special organ be established in Tbilisi for the oversight and registration of all press in the Caucasus, based on the entire territory of the former viceroyalty of the Caucasus (*namestnik*, 1905-1917) excepting the Kuban Oblast and Black Sea Governorate because he thought these did not fit into the regional scope [Fond 1818\_1\_7, files 3-5]. In a copy of a draft law for the temporary provision of a Caucasus Book Chamber in Tbilisi dated soon after, the same administrative divisions recommended by the chairman were listed in its sphere of competence: Tiflis, Baku, Kutaisi, Yerevan and Elizavetpol Governorates, Batumi, Kars, Daghestan and Terek Oblasts, and Sukhumi and Zakatalsk Okrugs (all the divisions of the viceroyalty minus the Kuban Oblast and Black Sea Governorate).
2. The OZAKOM (Special Transcaucasian Commission) officially considered Daghestan Oblast and Zakatalsk Okrug within its sphere of competence during spring 1917, which is confirmed by numerous police reports on these areas submitted to the OZAKOM [1818\_1\_11, 1818\_1\_20].
3. It is also clear from documents related to agricultural affairs and the Caucasus Educational District that relations in these spheres were continued between the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia after the revolution. For example, a document from the Chancellery of the TC Commissariat discusses Mountaineer teachers receiving stipends, and another document records the switching of Daghestan Oblast Agronom D.P. Gedevanov with the Kutaisi Agronom [1818\_1\_56, 1818\_1\_203, 1818\_1\_119].
4. In affairs of state governance, relations also continued between the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia. This is evidenced by the fact that when the Transcaucasian Seim decided to convene a general assembly, the TC Seim Commissariat sent out invitations to delegates throughout Transcaucasia as well as to the North Caucasus Mountaineer government representative Alikhan Kantemir [1818\_1\_223].
5. Even after the establishment of the independent democratic republics, the Caucasian nations remained interdependent, especially in the financial sphere. The archives thus yield a copy of the treaty of 6 September 1918 between Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan on bonds, and of the protocol of the financial-economic commission of the Caucasus Conference held in May 1919 which discussed economic relations, credits and trade [1818\_1\_3, 1862\_2\_11].

In the historical archives, I also found a number of interesting documents on relations between the Georgians and North Caucasians, as well as the transcripts of the all-Caucasus conferences, which are mentioned in the secondary literature without any critical analysis and are extremely important to my research. Some of the notable documents are a 19 July 1918 certification that Mistery Lordkipanidze, Makharadze and Djugeli were vested to negotiate with the government of the Terek Republic [1861\_2\_13, files 7-8] and a 19 July 1918 certification that Djugeli was vested negotiate on everything related to movement of Georgian troops towards Daryal [1861\_2\_13, files 9-10]; an excerpt from the Journal of Sessions of the Government of the Georgian Republic from 27 Feb. 1919 confirming the Mountain Republic should be given 3 million rubles in credit (in Terek Rep. bonds) [1861\_2\_13 dd. 11-12]; a 17 March 1919 report

from the Head of the General Staff to the Defense Minister about releasing to the Mountaineer representatives two completely useless airplanes, two lorries and two automobiles; several documents related to the transfer of one radio station and mast to the Mountaineer Government at a normal price [1861\_2\_13, files 13-20, 25-26]; and a letter from the Commander of All the Shariat Forces of the Mountain Peoples (primarily Daghestan) dated 1 February 1921 to the Georgian government describing the Mountaineers' valor in fighting the Bolsheviks over the previous 5-6 months and asking for material support, especially in the form of cartridges [1861\_2\_13, files 5-6].

Alongside documents related to the arrest of Mountain Republic representative Pshemako Kotsev and a scandal surrounding horse confiscation by Djugeli's People's Guard, the most intriguing document was a report dated 14 February 1920 and apparently prepared in Tbilisi. The addressor was Chief Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of the Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and the addressee was Chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia Noe Zhordania. The report asked Chairman Zhordania to see to the immediate delivery of the required sum of money to the Liquidating Commission since all officers and soldiers were in an extremely bad situation due to severe need. Although such a request would not be out of the ordinary, the signatures belonged not to Mountaineer officers but General Leo Kereselidze (of the Georgian Legion) and Gulisashvili (presumably Colonel Elizbar Gulisashvili). Other documents confirm that the Kereselidze had received provisions for an expedition to Ingushetia in August of the previous year, but based on my conversations with the director of the history institute, who consulted with an expert on the Georgian Legion, there currently exists no information in the Georgian secondary literature to explain why Georgian officers were sending requests to the Georgian government on the letterhead of the Chief Commander of the Armed Forces of the Mountain Republic. Importantly, this document suggests cooperation between the Mountaineer and Georgian militaries against the Bolsheviks. I also found evidence in the secondary literature of Georgian-Mountaineer cooperation in the anti-Bolshevik uprisings.

#### The newspaper *sakartvelo* in 1917

*Sakartvelo* is a good source of information on Georgian nationalists' ideas regarding Georgia's relationship with democratic Russia and whether a regional arrangement with other Caucasians was desirable. Crucially to my research, the information in this journal also proves that the mutual sympathy displayed by the Georgian National Democrats and North Caucasus Mountaineers in emigration was already clearly evident in 1917. Furthermore, it sheds considerable light on events in the North Caucasus and the activities of the Mountaineer secular leadership—until now a black hole in the literature on the Russian Revolutionary and Civil War period in the Caucasus. Since there was so much material to process, I honed in on this journal and the year 1917.

Regarding the Georgian National Democrats' intended relationship with democratic Russia, I found that immediately after the February Revolution, they declared their main goal was securing territorial autonomy for Georgia as part of a federal relationship with the new, democratic Russia. This attitude is embodied in the slogan printed on the top of *sakartvelo* between 24 March and 9 April 1917: "Long Live Free Georgia Within Free Russia"; echoed in articles published in the newspaper around that time; and enshrined in the "Program of the

Georgian National Democratic Party.” By early summer, the Georgian National Democrats were proposing an alternative where less advanced nations, like the other Caucasians (sic), could join with the politically advanced nations, like Georgia, which would then make up the new Russian federation—the less advanced Caucasians (sic) apparently having expressed their desire to be close and united with Georgia [A. Toradze, “Autonomy and Federalism I-III” 9,10,11 June 1917].

During summer and fall, however, any hope the National Democrats may have had for a carefully defined and strictly limited federal relationship with Russia faded. An editorial article was published on 14 June that asserted it was naïve to continue discussing whether the Russian government would allow freedom to the nations [“Autonomy and the Russian Government,” N127, 14 June 1917]. In late August, another article was published by D. Kasradze, who claimed it was naïve to expect any gains from the repeatedly postponed Constituent Assembly, Russia’s so-called liberals were closet imperialists, and Russia was already a forge in which new chains were being prepared for Georgians’ slavery [“Our Hopes and the Russian Reality,” N189, 27 August 1917]. By early winter, the National Democrats had given up all hope of ever seeing the Constituent Assembly convene [“Fate of the Constituent Assembly,” November 1917].

The arrangement of sections in the newspaper and how they changed over time also gives insight into Georgian nationalists’ geographical perceptions. They appear to have classified Russia as almost a foreign country since the news bulletin section of the paper is divided into two parts: 1) “Russia and Foreign Countries” and 2) “Chronicle,” which listed various cities and provinces in the Caucasus individually, such as Tbilisi, Kavkav (Vladikavkaz), Baku and Yerevan. Interestingly, on 28 October, the division “Russia and Foreign Countries” was renamed “The Russian Republic” and on 5 November “The Bolshevik Dictatorship. Also curious was the newspaper’s reporting of the harvest in July 1917, where the author conceptualized the Caucasus as consisting of the following four regions: North Caucasus, West Transcaucasia, Tbilisi Governorate, South Transcaucasia, East Transcaucasia. [“Harvest in the Caucasus,” N151, 10 July 1917]

Regarding the Georgian National Democrats’ ideas concerning a Caucasus regional federation, I found that in spring 1917 they thought it would benefit Georgia if the Caucasus were an independent federative state. On the other hand, if the Caucasus were a regional autonomy within an all-Russian federation, Georgia would lose most of its autonomy to the federal and regional levels of governance, so this would be undesirable unless the federal arrangement was primarily symbolic. [“The Autonomy of Georgia, III: The Issue of Autonomy for the Caucasus,” N84, 20 April 1917]. In short, the National Democrats approved of regional solidarity and thought “the Caucasus nations were united by conditions of historical development, racial characteristics, and customs and traditions” but that their relationships had suffered due to the tsarist divide-and-rule policy [“Congress of Caucasus Mountaineers,” 5 May 1917 N50; “Georgian-Muslim Relations,” N223, 11 October 1917; “Project on Governing Transcaucasia, N91, 28 April 1917; “National Congress,” N148, 9 July 1917]. At the same time, they did not think work on developing a coherent regional program should start until after the Georgians came to a clearly defined consensus as to what their own national goals were [“National Congress,” N148, 9 July 1917]. From a practical standpoint, in fall 1917 they began expressing concern about the North

Caucasians' desire to "separate" from Transcaucasia since the population of Transcaucasia would starve without wheat from there ["The North Caucasus and Transcaucasia," N215, 1 October 1917, also 2 December]. And by December, the Georgian National Democrats were directly calling on Caucasians to form a united military front [N270, 12 December 1917].

Regarding the attitude of the Georgian National Democrats towards the North Caucasian Mountaineer political leadership specifically, I found dozens of articles expressing great sympathy and high regard for the Mountaineers and their organizational activities. For example, in "Hazy Future" [5 March 1917] the Georgian nationalists were one of the first to recognize the Mountaineers' *de facto* implementation of self-government. Other articles praising the Mountaineers include "Little Feuilleton 'Ertoba,'" [N83 April 1917], "Congress of Caucasus Mountaineers," [5 May 1917], and "Mountaineers' Autonomy," [N270, 12 December 1917]. Moreover, *sakartvelo* willingly served as a mouthpiece for the Mountaineers in the Georgian press, which otherwise largely ignored their activities. Some examples of this are the following: 1) the reprinting of a telephonogram sent by Haidar Bammate entitled "Situation in the North Caucasus"; 2) the reprinting of M.M. Dalgat's protest against the disarmament order (July 1917); 3) the publishing of the announcement of the United Mountaineers' Central Committee inviting representatives of the Georgian parties, with no distinction, to attend the Mountaineer Congress to be held on 10 August in Andi, Daghestan and declaring that among the 7 issues to be discussed at the congress was to be "eternal union with the Georgian people and elimination of any misunderstandings existing between the Georgians and Mountaineers"; 4) a reprinting of the Mountaineers' economic and land reform policy; and 5) a presentation of the territorial composition of the Mountain autonomy.

Notwithstanding their high opinion of the Mountaineer leadership, the Georgian National Democrats were still very concerned about the disorder in the North Caucasus and published many articles on this theme, including "State of Emergency in Vladikavkaz," "Measures Because of the Occurrence in Vladikavkaz," "What Khevi (Stepantsminda) Needs: Rapaciousness of the Kists," "Chronicle. Vladikavkaz. Attack on a Postal Train," "In the North Caucasus Bread is Rotting," "North Caucasus Cossacks," "Anarchy in the North Caucasus," "Because of the Events in the North Caucasus," "In the North Caucasus," "Ataman Karaulov killed," "Daryal Pass Captured," and "Civil War in the North Caucasus: Bolsheviks' Demonstration in Ekaterinodar." This last report is telling. It reads: "Terrible calamities are expected; if the Bolsheviks do not abate, there will be a financial crisis, the Black Death will return, people will starve, etc."

Although several of these articles address Chechen, Ingush or Kist brigandage, the newspaper's contributors remain overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Mountaineers—usually referring to them as victims of provocation or Cossack or Russian aggression—and the Mountaineer leadership, reprinting their declarations on the state of affairs in the North Caucasus, reporting on the measures they had taken to put an end to the disorder, and reprinting speeches given by North Caucasians to Russian generals ["Chechen Militia," "Ingush and Russians," N170, 4 August 1917].

Part and parcel with the "growing disorder" in the North Caucasus was the deteriorating relationship between the Mountaineers and Cossack-Russians. As noted above, when reporting

on the increasing clashes between the Mountaineers and Cossack-Russians, *sakartvelo* consistently depicted the Mountaineers as victims of despicable rumors [“Mountaineer and Cossack Clash,” N133, 21 June 1917; “Provocation in Vladikavkaz,” N159, 22 July 1917] or as being antagonized by the aggression and insulting behavior of Russian soldiers [“In the North Caucasus,” N272, 25 October 1917; “Ingush and Russians,” N170, 4 August 1917]. Moreover, they characterized the Mountaineers positively while depicting the Cossacks as an imperialistic non-nation bent on supplanting natives of the Caucasus, and seemed almost pleased that the Mountaineers’ attempts to unite politically with the Cossacks ultimately failed. [“Because of the Events in the North Caucasus,” N266, 2 December 1917].

Regarding other parties’ attitudes towards regional unity and solidarity during 1917, I also discovered a great deal of information. To summarize, the idea of regional autonomy appears to have been the predominant idea during 1917, as evidenced in “The Autonomy of Georgia, III: The Issue of Autonomy for the Caucasus,” which states, The autonomy of the Caucasus is often spoken of. We should take this into account,” and the reprinted report of OZAKOM Chairman V. A. Kharlamov to the Russian State Duma, which reflects the mood in Transcaucasia that summer and asserts that all the leading parties consider Transcaucasia their shared country and want regional autonomy within Russia, showing no signs of nation-based separatism. Meanwhile, the Social Federalists had been actively encouraging the Caucasian Muslims to form a democratic republic with Georgians based on federative principles [“Congress of Muslims of the Caucasus. 17 April Session,” 26 April 1917]. Data about how North Caucasian leaders cooperated with Transcaucasian leaders in the latter’s official efforts at establishing regional administrative control is found in *sakartvelo* as well as *ertoba* and *Izvestia*.

One of the first things I began to realize in my research this past year was that the Mountaineer leadership opposed joining any regional autonomy in 1917, and even the future editor of *Kavkaz*, Haidar Bammate, then insisted the North Caucasus be conceptualized as an entirely separate region from Transcaucasia. Although this appears to belie the Mountaineers’ later insistence regional unity was the only hope for the Caucasian peoples, clues in *sakartvelo* suggest their disinclination to submit to Tbilisi may have had less to do with antipathy for Caucasian solidarity and more to do with the nature of the Transcaucasian government (OZAKOM), which was essentially a Russian state body dominated by Georgian Social Democrats, who displayed a dismissive attitude towards the Mountaineers and made attempts to bring the North Caucasus under their regionalist administrative control without taking into account the Mountaineers’ demonstrated competence managing their own affairs and general rejection of socialist ideology. The data shows that the North Caucasian secular leadership repeatedly expressed its desire to cooperate with the Azerbaijani Muslims and Georgian National Democrats while demonstrating resistance to the official regional center’s attempts to control the Mountaineer population by forcing disarmament upon them or displacing the Mountaineer leadership with its own socialist regional governance [“The North Caucasus and Transcaucasia,” N215, 1 October 1917, “Bolsheviks and North Caucasus Representatives’ Separation” N283, 30 December 1917, “Declaration of the Terek-Daghestan Temporary Government” N273, 15 December 1917].



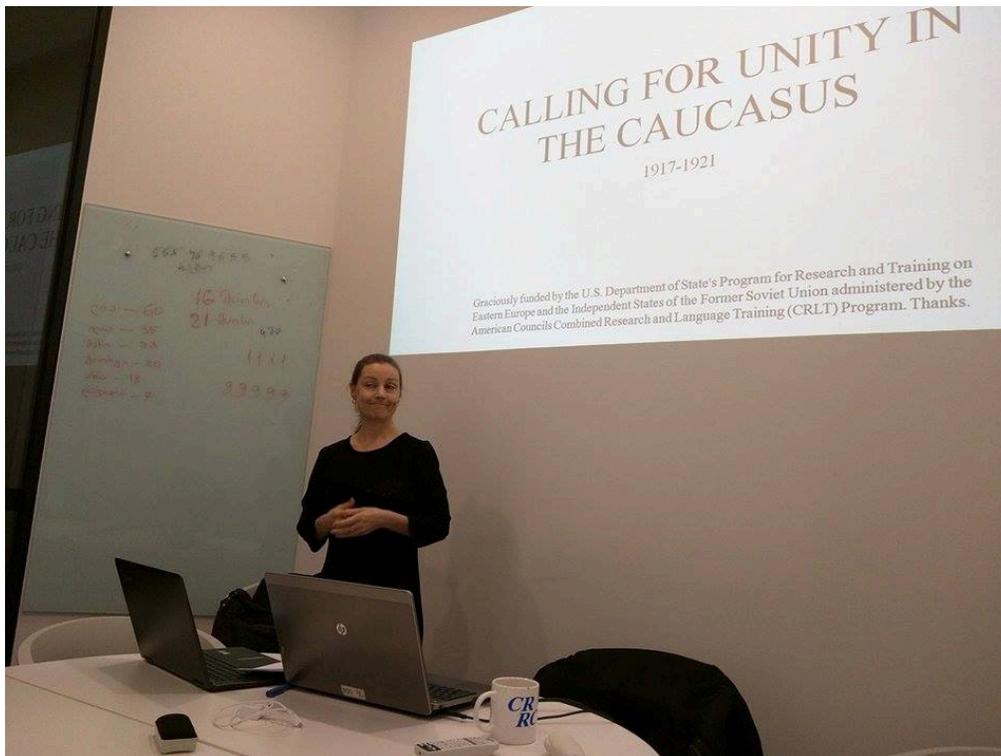
“Long live free Georgia in free Russia!”

**Co-Curricular Activity:** I regularly met with the Oliver Reisner and Timothy Blauvelt of Ilia State University, who are highly respected historians in the field of Caucasus Studies. During the grant period, I also met with Giorgi Mamoulia of the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences in Paris, France—one of the main scholars writing in Russian on the émigré movement for a united Caucasus; Stephen Jones of Mt. Holyoke College and the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian at Harvard University—perhaps the foremost expert on the Georgian Social Democrats; and Hubertus Jahn of Cambridge University—an expert on Russian history through WWI, who is currently researching late 19<sup>th</sup> century perceptions of imperial rule in the Caucasus. I also met Ronald Suny of the Universities of Michigan and Chicago a week or so after the end of the grant period. Furthermore, I established contact with Giuletta Meskhidze at the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg. She generously sent me her co-authored book on the North Caucasus republic, but it never reached my address. All of these scholars are key figures in the nascent field of Caucasus Studies, and it was very important to establish contact with them.

As noted above, I also established contact with Cultural Affairs Officer Damian Wampler from the U.S. Embassy in Tbilisi, meeting with him and Educational / Professional Programs Coordinator Giorgi Gabunia on 2 September 2016 and again with Mr. Gabunia on 9 September 2016. Moreover, I established professional ties with John Morrisroe, who left his post as Deputy Regional Chief of Security just before my grant period began and is now working at a different embassy. The main concern of these officers is the current situation related to the Kist and Chechen populations in the Pankisi Gorge—not particularly my historical research. Seeing as the Pankisi Gorge is a primary concern to the State Department in Georgia, I have done several things within my power to help. First, I set up a non-profit organization with the capacity to promote future cultural activities in Pankisi called the Caucasos Society (although I have not yet implemented any such activities because I have been focused on my historical research and language studies). Second, I forwarded these officers important articles by Kist journalists related to the situation in Pankisi published throughout the year. Third, I introduced Officer Wampler to a Chechen-English interpreter he could use for several trips to Duisi and Akhmeta. Fourth, as soon as the grant period ended, I set up an organization called the Pankisi

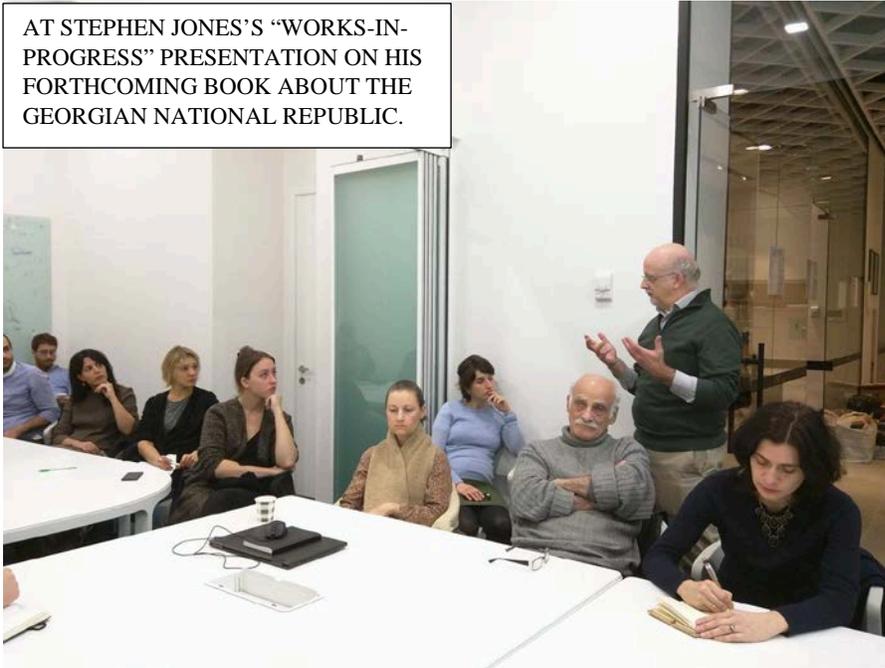
Development Foundation, which can be most effectively used to promote economic development and peaceable social relations in Pankisi since its founding members include three well-known Kist activists and a number of Georgian and international (American, Georgian, Chechen, Polish) experts on Pankisi. I also prepared a preliminary plan for promoting peacebuilding and economic, educational and cultural development among the Kists, which I shared in a meeting with Damian Wampler on 8 June 2017. The Cultural Attaché plans to arrange a meeting with the new Deputy Chief of Mission and Public Affairs Officer arriving this summer—provided they are interested—so that I can present my analysis of the situation in Pankisi to them and recommend our organization’s cooperation in developing a strategic development and “terrorist prevention” plan for Pankisi. Moreover, I have maintained e-mail contact with John Morrisroe, who wants to be kept abreast of any developments. It must be noted that these officers did not ask me to do these things. I simply realized that this was an area of strategic importance in which I have the expertise and the capability to act, so I considered it my duty to do something. It must also be emphasized that I waited until after my grant period ended on 12 May to set up this organization and prepare a preliminary development plan for Pankisi. This was possible since I live in Tbilisi normally.

I also gave a presentation entitled “Calling for Unity in the Caucasus 1917-1921” on 10 May at the Works-in-Progress series sponsored by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers, American Councils for International Education, and the American Institute for Research in the Caucasus.



LOOKING BEMUSED AND GIVING CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE AT “WORKS-IN-PROGRESS” PRESENTATION

AT STEPHEN JONES'S "WORKS-IN-PROGRESS" PRESENTATION ON HIS FORTHCOMING BOOK ABOUT THE GEORGIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC.



**Policy Implications and Recommendations:** I have three policy recommendations. First, as I wrote in my original policy relevance statement, the United States lost an opportunity to develop strong alliances with the Caucasus peoples after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when it concentrated its efforts on the Middle East instead of the Caucasus-Eurasian belt, considering this area part of Russia's sphere of influence. If the United States had instead built up these strong alliances, it would then have had far less trouble managing affairs in the Middle East. Case in point, as an indirect result of America's failing to render serious aid to Chechen moderates in their struggle against Russia, we now have Chechen and Kist young men joining ISIS. Thus, I recommend the State Department and other federal agencies take immediate steps to win the confidence of North Caucasians and other Caucasus peoples. Second, I think that the United States can benefit from a strong presence in the Caucasus as this area is a potentially pro-American area located right above the Middle East. The US will not, however, benefit from being present in a Caucasus torn apart by internal feuds as this would only drain American resources and provoke a Russia that a) benefits from keeping the Caucasian peoples divided and b) itself wants to dominate the Middle East. Therefore, I recommend that US decision-makers resurrect exploration of the history of regional cooperation between the Caucasus peoples and nations—not as a pseudo-intellectual propaganda effort like the one promoted by Mairbek Vatchagaev when he ran the website "Prometheus" (which appeared to be backed by the Jamestown Foundation) but as a scientific endeavor enlisting only the brightest and most intellectually honest minds in Caucasian and international academic circles. Only on the basis of sound scientific research can a successful campaign be launched to promote regional unity. Thirdly, if action is not taken in the Pankisi Gorge, the current crisis of authority is likely to end with the Salafi religious leaders supplanting the traditional Council of Elders, which has always served as a moderate force linking the local Kist population to the Georgian government and Western world. This action should take on the form of promoting the economic development of

the area in a way that social inequalities are not created, most especially while preventing Arab investments from becoming a dominant source of capital, providing youth with pathways to professional success in life and the tools to think critically, and providing moderate Salafis and elders with incentives to find a mutually satisfactory shared power arrangement. Meanwhile, traditional culture and moderate religious scholarship should be promoted in Pankisi, as the elders recommend, since this will help to erode the current Arabization taking place and gradually diminish the role of the Salafi religious leaders.

**Conclusions:** The research supported by this grant has uncovered many sources to support my initial hypothesis that politically active Caucasians were promoting the idea of a regional arrangement between the February Revolution and the early 1921 Bolshevik takeover of the Caucasus. Since the regional idea was far more influential than currently recognized in the literature, my confidence has exponentially increased that a synthesized, regional narrative for the Caucasus 1917-1921 can be generated using Caucasian leaders' attitudes for and against the vision of a unified Caucasus as an integrative thread. I also benefitted greatly from the language training. I speak Georgian more confidently, and I can read 90-95% of historical texts independently (whereas before it was more like 40%).

**Plans for Future Research Agenda/Presentations and Publications:** I consider my presentation at the "Works-in-Progress" series on 10 May as a trial run for my upcoming presentations this June. I am scheduled to give a presentation on 23 June at a weekly Cultural Studies colloquium for gifted Georgian PhD students hosted by Associate Professor Ketiv Gurchiani of Ilia State University. I am also preparing a presentation for the Joint ESCAS-CESS Conference being held in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, on 29 June-2 July 2017. I have already written a working paper for this conference, and as I am satisfied with its potential, after feedback I will be submitting it to a journal (possibly *Caucasus Survey*) for publication. This article will focus on the Georgian National Democrats' attitude towards democratic Russia, regionalism and the North Caucasus Mountaineers during 1917 based on materials published in the journal *sakartvelo*. My future research will involve analysis of the contents of the journal *sakartvelo* during 1918-1921 and all of the other period journals 1917-1921 mentioned above in the activities section, as well as continued archival research and evaluation of the material found in the émigré journals 1921-WWII. I will be doing this as a PhD student in Faculty of History at the University of Cambridge.