

REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF
GEORGIA (1919-1921)*

ეროვნული უმცირესობების წარმომადგენლები საქართველოს დამფუძნებელ კრებაში
(1919-1921) **

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Abstract

The article deals with the activities of the representatives of national minorities in the Constituent Assembly of Georgia based on the analysis of the documents reflecting the elections of the Constituent Assembly (1919), stenographic records of the sessions of the Constituent Assembly (1919-1921) and those-days Georgian press and archival materials.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia granted a wide-range of rights to national minorities and tried to integrate them into the newly created state. In this respect the activities of the ruling political party – the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Georgia – had a

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tremendous significance, which, through its party list guaranteed representation of almost all national minorities in the Constituent Assembly of Georgia. On the bases of analysis of biographies their future fate in the emigration or under the Bolshevik repressions is highlighted.

Keywords: Georgia; the Constituent Assembly of Georgia; National Minorities; Parliamentarianism; Political Parties; Elections.

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აბსტრაქტი

სტატიაში საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრების არჩევნების (1919) ამსახველი დოკუმენტების, დამფუძნებელი კრების სხდომების სტენოგრაფიული ანგარიშების (1919-1921), იმდროინდელი ქართული პრესის და საარქივო მასალების ანალიზის საფუძველზე განხილულია ეროვნული უმცირესობების წარმომადგენელთა საქმიანობა საქართველოს დამფუძნებელ კრებაში (1919-1921).

საქართველოს დემოკრატიული რესპუბლიკის ხელისუფლება ფართო უფლებებს ანიჭებდა ეროვნულ უმცირესობებს და ცდილობდა მათ ინტეგრაციას ახლადშექმნილი სახელმწიფოს ცხოვრებაში. ამ მხრივ გადამწყვეტი მნიშვნელობა ჰქონდა მმართველი პოლიტიკური ძალის - საქართველოს სოციალ-დემოკრატიული მუშათა პარტიის საქმიანობას, რომელმაც თავისი პარტიული სიით უზრუნველყო დამფუძნებელ კრებაში საქართველოში მცხოვრები თითქმის ყველა ძირითადი ეთნიკური უმცირესობის წარმომადგენლის ყოფნა. სტატიაში განხილულია ეთნიკური უმცირესობების წარმომადგენელთა საქმიანობა დამფუძნებელ კრებაში. ბიოგრაფიული ანალიზის საფუძველზე კი ნაჩვენებია მათი შემდგომი ბედი ემიგრაციაში ან ბოლშევიკური რეპრესიების პირობებში.

საკვანძო სიტყვები: საქართველო, საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება, ეროვნული უმცირესობები, პარლამენტარიზმი, პოლიტიკური პარტიები, არჩევნები.

Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921), in spite of its short life-span, played an important role in the contemporary history of Georgia. During the Soviet occupation it was the symbol of an independent, democratic Georgia. After restoration of independence, on April 9, 1991, Georgia considered itself to be the successor of the Democratic Republic of Georgia.

In the Democratic Republic of Georgia, which was established on May 26, 1918, around 20 per cent of the population were national minorities: Armenians, Turkish-speaking Muslims (in those-days documents they were designated as the “Tatars” and later were called as Azerbaijanis), Russians, Greeks, Abkhazians, Ossetians, Germans. A portion of them were integrated into the Georgian society, whereas another portion became alienated from the newly re-established Georgian state and demonstrated tendencies of separatism. A great portion of national minorities became gradually accustomed to their new life within the framework of the newly created state.

The leading political parties of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (Social-Democrats, Social-Federalists, National-Democrats, Social-Revolutionaries) had a common opinion regarding granting significant rights to the national minorities and paid special attention to the inclusion of national minorities into the political life of Georgia. This holds true for the Social-Democratic Party, which was the governing party at that time: “Our national politics towards national minorities was based on our political doctrine, on our past political activities,” – later on Noe Jordania recalled in his *Commemorations* (ქორდანია, 1990).

The concept “People of Georgia” denoted the integrationist politics of ethnic minorities and implied all citizens of Georgia, irrespective of their ethnic or religious belonging. This term was used by the ruling Social-Democratic Party and by the representatives of the government of Georgia. The session of April 30, 1920 of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia is quite significant, as it discussed the Sovietization of Azerbaijan and possible incursion of the Red Army in Georgia. The representatives of opposition parties called to the “Georgian Nation” for the mobilization of national soul, whereas the delegates of the Social-Democratic Party called to the “Georgian Nation” for the defense of the motherland.

On September 13, 1918, after the declaration of independence, the National Council of Georgia, which served the legislative function of the new state, endorsed the law on the representation of national minorities into the National Council of Georgia. Armenians were allocated 10 seats, Tatars – 4, Abkhazians – 3, Russians – 2, Ossetians – 2, the Georgian Jews – 2, Jews – 1, Greeks – 1 and

Germans – 1. The delegates of national minorities should be sent by the national councils of those nations, which were elected by the citizens of Georgia and lawfully acted within the framework for the Republic of Georgia. If there was no such National Council, the delegate could be sent to the National Council of Georgia by the representatives of those nations, which were elected in different democratic institutions of Georgia.

The representative of national minority, which did not know the state language (Georgian) could make a speech on its native language. Later on a detailed regulation was endorsed, which granted the right to the representative of national minority to make a speech on the language of other national minority, if at least one member of the presidium mastered this language.¹

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia (1919-1921) was the first representative institution in the history of Georgia elected according to the universal suffrage. Elections were held according to the party list, proportional representation and under the zero barrier/threshold.² Such system created a good precondition for the representation of any political, religious and ethnic minority. Participation of national and religious minorities in the elections of the Constituent Assembly was one of the forms of their integration in the Georgian society.

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia were comprised of 130 members, elected according to proportional representation. The elections of the Constituent Assembly were held on February 14-16, 1919. In those parts of Georgia, where elections could not be organized at that time, the two additional elections were held in the Summer, 1919 and in the Spring, 1920.

Due to additional elections, death of deputies or some other reasons the constituency of the Constituent Assembly changed several times. The status of deputies was entitled to 145 persons, among them 23 were representatives of the National Minorities.

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia worked for 3 years. The first session was held on March 12, 1919 and the last one on March 17, 1921, in Batumi, before the emigration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. The Constituent Assembly of Georgia served its main function in its best – elaborated and approved the first constitution of Georgia on February 21, 1921.

Methods

The Constituent Assembly of Georgia was not the subject of scientific inquiry during the Soviet times. This was simply impossible. In the post-Soviet period numerous works appeared on different activities of the Constituent Assembly, although the issue of representation of national minorities into the Constituent Assembly has not become the topic of specific research. The analysis of activities of the Constituent Assembly became high on the agenda with its 100th anniversary. The present paper is concentrated on the analysis of the collection of documents “The Constituent Assembly of Georgia - 1919” (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება 1919, 2016), which incorporates biographies of the members of the Constituent Assembly; “The First Democratic Elections in the Independent Georgia” (პირველი საყოველთაო დემოკრატიული არჩევნები დამოუკიდებელ საქართველოში, 2017), which incorporates electoral lists, results of elections and other documentary materials. In 2019, the stenographic account of the Constituent Assembly was prepared and published in 8 volumes. The

¹ Such “minority language” was Russian

² After the primary elections held in February, 1919 election threshold was 3759 votes. In Spring, 1920 after the second additional elections election threshold was 4643 votes (see. პირველი საყოველთაო დემოკრატიული არჩევნები დამოუკიდებელ საქართველოში, 2017, გვ. 89)

above-mentioned publications, as well as those-time Georgian press and archival materials comprised the analytical foundations of the present paper.

Results

The status of the member of the Constituent Assembly was entitled to 145 persons. Among them 28 were representatives of national minorities. The member of the Constituent Assembly became: 8 Armenians, 3 Abkhazians, 4 Russians, 2 Germans, 2 Jews, 2 Ossetians, 1 Turkish-speaking Muslim, 1 Greek. Out of the 23 representatives of the national minorities elected in the Constituent Assembly, 4 ethnic Armenian deputies were elected from the Dashnaksutun Party.³ All other members represented the Social-Democratic Party. Representatives of all major ethnic minorities residing in Georgia were included in the electoral party list of the Social-Democratic Party and they became the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The representatives of national minorities became the members of the Constituent Assembly not for their nationalities, but for their qualifications. Out of 23 representatives of national minorities elected in the Constituent Assembly, 12 had higher education (Avetisian Tigran, Aushtov Ruben, Bershtein Erik, Biul Pavle, Giorgi Gagloev, Davarashvili Mose, Davitkhanian Davit, Eligulashvili Joseph, Zakharov Dimitri, Faniants Konstantine, Fashalidis Ioanis, Shervashidze Varlam), 2 of them had Gimnasium level education (Zoriantsi Zori, Ter-Farsegova Eleonora), 1 had completed spiritual seminary (Emukhvari Arzakhan), 1 had graduated from the Agrarian Institution (Gorjua Vasil) and only 5 of them had just primary education (Vardoaints, Loskutov, Shevchuk, Farniev and Mamedov).

It was not the main task of the members of the Constituent Assembly from the Social-Democratic Party to deliver speeches at the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, but making connections and launching relations with the representatives of the respective national minorities. They often visited villages, populated by national minorities and had firm connections with them.⁴

The Dashnaks, ethnic Armenians, who became members of the Constituent Assembly and their electorate in general, were alienated from the Georgian society. The Armenian deputies elected through the list of the Social Democratic Party were integrated in the Georgian society. The emigrated ethnic Armenian members of the Constituent Assembly worked for the foreign organizations established by the Social Democratic Party of Georgia and were buried near Paris, on the Georgian Cemetery of Levil (R. Aushtrov, M. Vardoaints).

³ The Dashnak Party gained 3 seats in the Constituent Assembly of Georgia. On November 7, 1919, Davit Davitkhanian denied its membership in the Constituent Assembly and he was substituted from the party list by the next candidate - Garegin Ter-Stepanian.

⁴ For example news from the newspaper of 1921: January 12 - On the name of the Constituent Assembly and the government the members of the Constituent Assembly - Vardoian, Chkheidze, Shevchuk and Kovaliov, which were in the Georgian military units dislocated at the borders of Georgia, under the request of the militarys stationed in the districts of Jalal-Oghli and Vornoitsovi, sent warm greetings to the Constituent Assembly and expressed their readiness to defend their motherland till the last drop of their blood (ეროთბა, 1921, გვ. 3). January 21 - the presidium of the Constituent Assembly got a telegram from the residents of the neutral zone (Russian, Armenians and Muslims), who after the hearings of statements of Kovaliov and Chkheidze, at the village convention took a decision to demand their unification with Georgia (ეროთბა, 1921, გვ. 3).

Discussion

Elections as a Form of Integration of National Minorities

After 9 months from the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Georgia the first elections of the Constituent Assembly was held in February, 1919. Integration of national minorities was one of the major problems of the newly established state. Participation in the elections of the representative body of the country was one of the forms of integration.

During elections the integration of representatives of national minorities took several forms. Firstly, voting in the elections meant subsuming oneself as the citizen of Georgia and supporting one of the political parties. The other form was listing the representative of national minority in the electoral party list. In the latter case the following two forms could be differentiated: a). Participation of the representative of national minority through the electoral list of the Georgian party and b). Through the electoral political subject of a particular national minority.

The presence of representatives of national minorities in the country-wide political parties designates high degree of their political integration and highlights their full inclusion in the political life of the country.

The presence of a separate political party representing national minority designates its alienation, although at the same time their participation in the elections is a kind of integration in the political life of the country.

In the 1919 elections of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia 15 political subjects were running altogether, which could be differentiated into the following categories:

- Political parties of Georgia and political groups separated from them - 7;
- Political organizations created by the Georgian intelligence just before the elections – 3;
- Political unions of national minorities – 3 (4);
- Foreign political parties – 2.

The Representatives of National Minorities in the Electoral Lists of the Traditional Political Parties

The traditional political parties of Georgia are those political subjects which were not created just before the elections of the Constituent Assembly and had pre-history of their existence and activities.

The following parties could be categorized into this section: the Social-Democratic Worker's Party of Georgia; the Social-Revolutionary party; the Social-Federalist Party of Georgia; the National-Democratic Party. The left-wing was separated from the Socialist-Federalist Party and independently participated in the elections under the name of the Socialist Federalist Worker's Party of Georgia; the Radical-Democratic Party of Georgia and the National Party of Georgia were split with the National-Democratic Party and participated in the elections independently.

Did the national minorities appear in the pre-election lists of these parties? Among the political parties acting in Georgia, the presence of national minorities was expected in the subjects, split from parties acting in the former Russian Empire. The Social-Democratic Worker's Party of Georgia was one of them, which was split with the Social Democratic Worker's Party of Russia (Mensheviks) and the Socialist-Revolutionary Party of Georgia, which separated from the Social-Revolutionary Party of Russia. Although, as the data presented in table N1 demonstrates, such an expectation turned out to become reality in respect with the Social-Democratic Party.

In some other Georgian political parties, the representatives of national minorities were either totally excluded or in case of their presence only representatives of those ethnic groups appeared, which were highly integrated in the Georgian society.

As Noe Jordania mentioned, the Social-Democratic Party was an International Party from its very beginning. “Social Democracy was influential in Georgia as it protected the interests of all nations equally” (ჯორჯანია, 1990). After the declaration of independence of Georgia and with the creation of independent Social Democratic Party, the party maintained its influence among the representatives of national minorities. This was testified during the elections of the Constituent Assembly in 1919. The Social Democratic Party of Georgia gained majority seats in Tbilisi, which was the residence of a significant number of national minorities, whereas in the district of Akhalkhalakhi, which was mainly settled by Armenians, the “Armenian Nationalist Party Dashnak got less votes than the Social Democratic Party of Georgia” (ჯორჯანია, 1990).

Table 1

The Presence of Representatives of National Minorities in the Traditional Political Parties of Georgia and in their Branches (საქართველოს რესპუბლიკა, 1919).

Party	Total Number of Candidate in the Electoral List	Number of Representatives of National Minorities	Number of seats of Representatives of National Minorities in the Party Electoral List
1.The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Georgia	130	20	19, 22, 26, 30, 32, 36, 40, 44, 49, 51, 63, 65, 69, 90, 92, 93, 98, 99, 117, 121
2. The National Democratic Party of Georgia	96	2	10, 21
3. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party of Georgia	73	4	14, 42, 72, 73
5. The Socialist-Federalist Party of Georgia	120	1	107
7. The Radical Democratic Party of Georgia	50	-	
8. The National Party of Georgia	25	1	20
9. The Socialist-Federalist Poor Workers' Party of Georgia	38	-	

Political Parties of National Minorities

Several political parties acting in the name of national minorities were created before the elections of the Constituent Assembly. In the main elections of 1919 two political subjects acting in the name of Muslims and one political party acting in the name of Greeks participated in the elections; whereas in the additional elections of 1920 the Abkhazian National Party also participated in the competition (the 15 participant subjects of the elections were added to the list N16).

The activities of the newly created political parties of national minorities were not successful. Neither in the main nor in the additional elections they accumulated sufficient votes to gain even one seat in the Constituent Assembly.

Table 2

Political Parties acting in the Name of National Minorities (საქართველოს რესპუბლიკა, 1919)

Party	Number of Persons in the Party List	Number of Allocated Votes (In the primary and additional elections)
The National Council of the Muslims of Georgia (N 6)	5	105
The Muslim Union of the Borchalo District (N 12)	5	224
The Democratic Union of the Helens of Georgia (N 15)	10	553
The National Party of Abkhazians (N 16)		1404

Foreign Political Parties

The two political parties, representing political forces of other countries, were allowed to participate in the elections of the Constituent Assembly. These parties were the Armenian Revolutionary Party “Dashnaktsutun” (N4) and the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party (N 13).

The Dashnak Party was the ruling political force in the neighboring country of Georgia - Armenia. In the Autumn-Winter of 1918, the territorial pretensions of the Dashnaks were followed by the military conflict between the two countries. In spite of this fact, the Dashnak Party of Georgia was allowed to participate in the elections of the Constituent Assembly.

The Georgian Social-Democrats remained as the part of the Russian Social Democratic Party for some period of time following the declaration of independence of Georgia. The Social Democratic Worker’s Party of Georgia was created in the Autumn 1918, when it officially split with the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party (Menshevik Branch). It was subsumed as the Social Democratic Party of all nationalities residing on the territory of Georgia, although a group of Russian-speaking minorities residing in Tbilisi denied their membership into the Social Democratic Party of Georgia and took a negative position towards the Social Democracy of Georgia, as well as towards the idea of independence of Georgia. Exactly these groups represented the Russian Social Democratic Worker’s Party, which was allowed to participate in the elections of the Constituent Assembly.

The Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Russia did not manage to secure seat in the Constituent Assembly for its representative. As for the Dashnak Party, it allocated 2353 votes in the main elections and did not manage to secure a seat in the Constituent Assembly.⁵ The Armenian political forces were irritated by the failure of the Dashnaks. The newspaper of the Armenian

⁵ In the primary elections Dashnaks accumulated a great majority of votes in Tbilisi (786) and in the Tbilisi District (433) (პირველი საყოველთაო დემოკრატიული არჩევნები დამოუკიდებელ საქართველოში. 2017, გვ. 89).

“People’s Party” “Joghovort Dzain” wrote the following on the opening day of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia: “We, national minorities, the inhabitants of Georgia, are not allowed to participate in the legislative organ of Georgia” and demanded dissolution of the existing Constituent Assembly and asked for the arrangement of the new one, which would “secure the rights of national minorities” („ერთობა“, 1919). As a response to this statement, the main newspaper of the Social Democratic Party “Ertoba” (Unity) stressed that “several representatives of various national minorities were already elected in the Constituent Assembly”, although it was a separate issue whether they shared with the political line of the “Joghovort Dzain” or not („ერთობა“, 1919).

The Dashnaks managed to secure seat in the Constituent Assembly after the additional elections held during the end of August, 1919, when elections took place in the South Georgia - Samtskhe Javakheti. As a result of these elections, the Dashnaks gained 13.583 votes and secured 3 seats in the Constituent Assembly (პირველი საყოველთაო დემოკრატიული არჩევნები დამოუკიდებელ საქართველოში, 2017, გვ. 91)

Table 3. National Minorities in Foreign Political Parties (პირველი საყოველთაო დემოკრატიული არჩევნები დამოუკიდებელ საქართველოში., 2017, გვ. 96).

Party	Number of Persons	Nation Composition	Number of Total Votes Gained	Member of the Constituent Assembly
The Revolutionary Party of Armenians „Dashnaktsutiun“ (N4)	19	All Armenians	16.891	3
The Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Russia (N13)	12	The first four members of the list were Armenians, altogether 5 Armenians in the list.	839	-

Representatives of National Minorities in the Constituent Assembly

The national minority deputies of the Constituent Assembly were active members of one of the committees created by the Constituent Assembly. As for the delivering speeches at the sessions of the Constituent Assembly, the fraction of Dashnaks participated in the discussion of those issues, which were considered as crucial by them. One of the first speeches of the representative of the Dashnak Party at the Constituent Assembly, on November 14, 1919, dealt with the ratification of the treaty between Georgia and Armenia. Ter Stepaniants welcomed the agreement and expressed his hopes that this treaty would make “solidarity between the democracies of Georgia and Armenia” (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება. პლენარული სხდომის ოქმები, ტომი IV, 2019, გვ. 24).

On December 3, 1919 the fraction of Dashnak, together with other fractions, opposed to the Social Democratic fraction which defended the position of the government regarding the treaty signed with one of the foreign companies. According to the opinion of the fraction the treaty was not

beneficial for “our republic from financial point of view” (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება. პლენარული სხდომის ოქმები, ტომი IV, 2019, გვ, 186).

On the session of the Constituent Assembly of February 15, 1921, which discussed the existing situation under conditions of the incursion of the Soviet Russia (at that time Georgian government thought that this was an attack of the Soviet Armenia) the fraction of Dashnak was found in an uneasy situation. Its representative tried to explain the reasons of attack: “as the head of the government informed us, the Soviet Armenia attacked Georgia on February 11. I do not know the particular reasons of its actions, although I could say with a confidence that the Revkom of Armenia demanded Georgia to withdraw its army units from the neutral zone. and it seems an attack has its links to this fact“ (სახალხო საქმე, 1921).

The representatives of national minorities elected through the Social Democratic party-list were not included among the major orators of the fraction of this party, although they participated in the discussion of various issues. The speech of Gurjua, on the August 2, 1919 session of the Constituent Assembly should be mentioned in particular. He was also the member of the Council of Abkhazia. He denied the blames of the fraction of National-Democratic party regarding separatism and mentioned: “One Democratic Republic and one state law for every part of Georgia (applaud). Abkhazia, as an autonomous unit, but part of Georgia would be independent in its internal affairs only” (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება. პლენარული სხდომის ოქმები, ტომი III, 2019, გვ, 142).

The table below provides more or less clear picture regarding the activities of representatives of national minorities in the Constituent Assembly:

Table N4

Participation of Representatives of National Minorities at the 2nd Sessions of the Constituent Assembly (March 19 - July 6, 1920) (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება. სხდომის ოქმები, ტომი VI, 2019).

Session of the Constituent Assembly	Participation of Representatives of National Minorities
II Session (19 March IV Session (23 March), V Session (26 March)	I.Eligulashvili made a report on the lawful act on abolition of a special tariff on the Chiatura line of the railway. He also participated in the 2 nd hearing of the same issue and in the endorsement of the law.
V Session (28 March, 1920)	Gagloev (S-D.) issued the decree on increase of the daily remuneration for the servicemen of the units for road management.
VIII Session (6 April, 1920)	G.Gagloev issued decree on the increase of financing of the Railway Station of Kutaisi.
X Special Session (8 April, 1920)	Ter Stepaniants (Dashnak) made a statement on the hearing of the Resolution of the Parliament of Azerbaijan Republic issued on March 9, 1920. The resolution dealt with the oppression of Mislms by Armenians in the districts of Khars and Erevan.
XIV Session (30 April, 1920)	Ter Stepaniants (Dashnak) made a statement during the discussion on the incursion of Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan.
XXIV Session (15 June 1920)	Discussed the request of Er. Bershtein (Social Democrat) on the exemption from the sessions for a month, as he would be sent

	to Europe by the Ministry of Provisions.
XXX Session (6 June 1920)	Declaration of the fraction of Social Democrats on nomination of V.Tevzadze as the member of the Road Commission by G.Gagloev.

After the Soviet Occupation: The Fate of the Ethnic Minority Members of the Constituent Assembly

The last session of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia was held in Batumi on March 17, 1921. The session unequivocally supported the idea of emigration of the Government of Georgia and endowed it with special rights.

Out of the 145 acting or former members of the Constituent Assembly 6 died before 1921, out of the remaining 139 31 emigrated due to occupation. 108 deputies stayed in Georgia. Out of them 93 were repressed by the Soviet government: 51 were sentenced to death, 5 died either in prison or in exile, whereas 37 were either arrested or exiled. Only 8 members of the Constituent Assembly remaining in Georgia were not affected by repressions, whereas the fate of 7 is unknown (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება 1919, 2016, გვ. 45).

The fate of representatives of national minorities, which were members of the Constituent Assembly were no exception from the general fate of its other members. In 1921, after the Sovietization of Georgia, 7 members of the Constituent Assembly, representatives of national minorities, emigrated as well (Aushtov Ruben, Bernshtein Erik, Davitkhanian Davit, Eligulashvili Joseph, Emukhuari Arzakhan, Fashalidis Ioanis, Vardoiants – was sent into exile abroad in 1922).

A great majority of those members of the Constituent Assembly, who stayed in Georgia, were affected by different repressions, whereas 5 of them were shoot by the Soviet regime: Avetisian Tigran (1938), Gurjua Vasil (1924), Gagloevi Giorgi (1938), Luskutovi Andrei (1937). Considering the fact that the fate of the 6 members (Ter-Stepanian, Faniants, Kovalov, Zakharov, Farniev, Mamedov) of the Constituent Assembly representing national minorities is unknown, the number of repressed national minorities might be twice as much.

Abkhazian Vasil Gurjua was shot in 1924 under charges of participation in the rebellion against the Soviet regime. As according to the Bolshevik propaganda this was the “Rebellion of Georgians”, the members of Cheka changed his nationality in the list and mentioned him as ethnic Georgian.

The fate of the Dashnak members of the Constituent Assembly after the occupation of Georgia should be mentioned separately. The Dashnak Party took the side of the occupants as they hoped that the Bolsheviks would hand over the portion of the territory of Georgia to Armenia. The following passage, the quote from the non-Bolshevik newspaper of the time, highlights the position of Dashnaks in its best: The Revkom of Akhaltsikhe, headed by the former Dashnak member of the Constituent Assembly Zorian, arrested entire Georgian intelligentsia of Akhaltsikhe under the charges of counterrevolutions. 60 prisoners were sent to Tbilisi from Akhaltkiskhe and were forced to walk till they reached Khashuri. One of the commissars of the Communist Party, ethnic Russian, noticed that all imprisoned persons were ethnic Georgians and they were liberated, except four of them; those who were liberated had been claimed to be imprisoned on false accusations. This is how communist turned-Dashnaks understand Communism („სოციალისტ-ფედერალისტი“, 1921).

In 1922, Akhmed Jemal Fasha was killed in Tbilisi, the military and political actor of the Ottoman Empire, which was considered as one of the authors of the massacre of Armenians. Under

charges of organizing his murder, the Soviet government launched arrests, imprisoning members of the Dashnak-Tsutun Party, including the deputies of the Constituent Assembly, who stayed in Georgia - Garegin Ter-Stepanyan and Zori Zoriants.

Table 5

Representatives of National Minorities, Members of the Constituent Assembly (საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება. სხდომის ოქმები, ტომი I, 2019, გვ. 154-155; საქართველოს დამფუძნებელი კრება 1919, 2016).

Name, Surname	Nationality	Party	Activities in the Constituent Assembly	Fate after the 1921 Occupation of Georgia
Vardoiansi Mkrtych (1876-1955)	Armenian	Social Democratic Party		In 1922 was deported by the Soviet government to the foreign country. Kept working in the Social Democratic Party branch of Paris. Died in 1955 in France. He is buried on the Levil Cemetery.
Ter-Farsegova eleonora (1875-?)	Armenian	Social Democratic Party	Member of Work, Pension and Public Health Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. Was an active participant of the resistance movement. Was arrested in 1926 and deported from the Transcaucasia. In 1930s was back to Tbilisi, to his home.
Aushtrovi Ruben (1887-1937)	Armenian	Social Democratic Party	Member of the Military Commission	In 1921 emigrated from Georgia, Died in Paris in 1937. Is buried on the cemetery of Levil
Pabniansi Konstantine (1890 - ?)	Armenian	Social Democratic Party	Member of Self-Government and Financial-Budgetary Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia and became active member of the resistance movement. Was arrested several times. In 1935 was won over by the Cheka of Georgia. In 1937 was blamed for being the dual agent and was sent into exile for 10 years. His future fate is unknown.
Avetisian Tigran (1891-1938)	Armenian	Dashnak sutun	Member of the Constitutional Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. Was arrested several times. Was shot in 1938.
Davitkhanian Davit (1888-1957)	Armenian	Dashnak sutun	Rejected his mandate on November 7, 1919	Emigrated in 1921. Lived in Turkey, Germany, France and Argentine.
Zoroiansi Zori (1885-1943)	Armenian	Dashnak sutun	Member of Self-Government Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia and immediately took the side of the Soviet government. In 1922 was briefly detained under charges of the murder of Jemal

				Pasha. Worked in Tbilisi and Akhaltsikhe. Was arrested in 1937 as the member of Dashnak Party and was sent to exile for 10 years. He was set free in 3 years and was back to Tbilisi. Died in 1943 in a car accident.
Ter-Stepanina Garegin (1876-?)	Armenian	Dashnaksutun	Member of Economic-Planning, Technical and Pension Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia, Became loyal to the Soviet government. Was arrested on June 21, 1921 under charges of killing Jemal Fasha. His future fate is unknown.
Kovaliov Mikheil (1879 -?)	Russian	Social Democratic Party	Member of Road and Technical Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia, his future fate is unknown.
Loskutov Andrei (1892-1937)	Russian, Malakan	Social Democratic Party	Member of Commission of Work	In 1921 stayed in Georgia and stopped his political activities. In 1923 he was briefly detained, while re-arrested in 1937 and shot under charges of participation in 'counterevolutionary right-wing' activities.
Shevchuk Gerasime (1884 -?)	Russian	Social Democratic Party	Member of Commission of Work	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. His future fate is unknown.
Zakharov Dimitri	Russian	Social Democratic Party		In 1921 stayed in Georgia. In 1921-1922 worked in Tbilisi. His future fate is unknown.
Shervashidze Varlam (1888-1957)	Abkhazian	Social Democratic Party	Member of the Public Health Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia, He was arrested in 1921, 1923 and 1953. Died in 1957.
Gurjua Vasil (1885-1924)	Abkhazian	Social-Democratic Party		Stayed in Georgia and waged struggle against the Bolshevik regime. He was shot in 1924 for participation in the rebellion.
Emukhvar Arzakhan (1881-1939)	Abkhazian	Social-Democratic Party	Head of the Government of Autonomy of Abkhazia since 1919	Emigrated in 1921. Died in Paris, in 1939. He is buried on the cemetery of Levil.
Bershtein Erik (1866-1932)	German	Social-Democratic Party	Member of Committee of Provisions; Member of Financial-	Emigrated in 1921 and died in 1932 in Berlin.

			Budgetary Commission	
Biul Pavel (1878-1938)	German	Social-Democratic Party	Member of Agrarian, Public Education and Library Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. He was arrested several times in 1921 and 1923. Was shot in 1938.
Farniev Alekhsandre (1883 -	Ossetian	Social-Democratic Party		In 1921 stayed in Georgia. He was affected by the Bolshevik repressions in 1921 and 1923. Afterwards actively cooperated with the Bolshevik regime and became member of the movement of "Former Mensheviks" which declared the dissolution of the Social Democratic Party in 1923. In 1925-1927 worked in Tbilisi. His future fate is unknown.
Gagloevi Giorgi (1883-1937)	Ossetian	Social-Democratic Party	Member of Roads Commission	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. Collaborated with the Communist government. In 1930 became the member of the Communist Party. In 1937 was arrested and shot.
Davarashvili Mose (1893-1980)	Jew	Social-Democratic Party	Member of Roads and Public Education Commissions	In 1921 stayed in Georgia. In 1970 moved to Israel. Died in 1980.
Eligulashvili Joseph (1890-1952)	Jew	Social-Democratic Party	Member of the Financial-Budgetary and Worker's Commissions	Emigrated to France in 1921. Died in 1952.
Mamedov Husein (1875 - ?)	Turkish Muslim	Social-Democratic Party	Member of different commissions working on the issues of Muslims	Stayed in Georgia in 1921. His fate is unknown.
Fashalidisi Ioanis (1885-1968)	Greek	Social-Democratic Party		Emigrated in 1921. In 1922, criticized the Soviet Russia for the occupation of Georgia at the pan-European conference of Socialist Parties. In 1923 moved to Greece and became the active member of the Socialist Party of Greece and became

				the MP of the Parliament of Greece. He was arrested by Nazis during the II World War. In 1967 was kept in custody by Khunta. Died in 1968, in Greece.
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Conclusion

The Democratic Republic of Georgia pursued the politics of integration of national minorities in the political life of the country. The lawful mechanisms for the protection of the rights of national minorities were designated to achieve this goal and they were included in the Constitution of February 21, 1921. The elections of the Constituent Assembly of 1919 were held according to the proportional representation, under the zero threshold, which created fruitful bases for the representation of national minorities in the legislative organ.

Some representatives of national minorities (Muslims, Greeks) had created their political unions just before elections (The National Council of the Muslims of Georgia, The Muslims' Union of Borchalo, the Union of Helens of Georgia) which did not succeed in securing their representatives in the Constituent Assembly. The Armenian minority participate in the elections of the Constituent Assembly through the Party of Dashnaks and through the party list of the Social Democratic Workers Party of Russia. Although, only the Dashnak Party was successful to secure representative in the Constituent Assembly

The national minorities were also presented in the party list of the Georgian political parties. The Social Democratic Party of Georgia had a particular policy in this respect: representatives of almost all major ethnic groups residing in Georgia were included in its party list and they became the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The integration politics of national minorities had only partial success. The short time-span of the life of the Democratic Republic of Georgia could be considered as one of its reasons. In 1921, after the occupation and Sovietization of Georgia a portion of national minorities were used against Georgia by the conquerors.

The Communist repressions were directed against the representatives of national minorities, which were included in the Constituent Assembly. The Soviet government repressed even those, who have collaborated with them previously. The representatives of national minorities, elected through the party list of the Social Democratic Party, emigrated after Sovietization of the country and remained as defenders of the interests of Georgia.

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