**qarTuli nacionalizmis axali etapi: saqarTvelo 1988-1992 wlebSi**

**araformaluri moZraobidan xelisuflebamde (1988-1990)**

1985 wels sabWoTa kavSiris xelisuflebaSi mixeil gorbaCovi movida, romelmac saxelmwifos marTvis gansxvavebuli politika airCia. 1987 wlis ianvarSi, skkp centraluri komitetis plenumze, gorbaCovma “gardaqmnisa” (“perestroika”) da “sajaroobis” (“glastnosti”) kursi gamoacxada, rac sabWoTa saxelmwifosTvis sruliad axali movlena iyo. pirvelad sabWoTa kavSiris istoriaSi, partiisa da qveynis lideri mouwodebda mosaxleobas, sajarod eTqvaT simarTle da gamoexataT sakuTari azri yvela mtkivneul sakiTxze, Tundac is absoluturad sawinaaRmdego yofiliyo komunisturi ideologiisa (daviTaSvili 2003: 391). dasawyisSi “perestroika” xmaurian da droebiT kampaniad iqna miCneuli. mokavSire respublikebSi axal politikur kurss skeptikurad uyurebdnen da pirveli Tveebis ganmavlobaSi yvelaferi Zveleburad darCa. Tumca droTa ganmavlobaSi naTeli gaxda, rom procesi Seuqcevad xasiaTs iRebda. jini boTlidan amouSves da misi ukan Cabruneba SeuZlebeli gaxda.

qarTuli disidenturi moZraoba, romelic nel-nela aralegaluri mdgomareobidan gamodioda, 1987 wlidan viwro wres gascda da komunisturi reJimis sawinaaRmdego propaganda mosaxleobis farTo fenebSi daiwyo. amave wels pirveli mitingi gaimarTa Tbilisis saxelmwifo universitetTan, sadac, erovnuli moZraobis liderTa mxardaWeriT, studentebma transkavkasiuri magistralis mSenebloba da daviT garejis samonastro kompleqsis siaxloves samxedro poligonis arseboba gaaprotestes. “saukunis mSeneblobad” monaTlul kavkasiis samTo rkinigzas saqarTvelo moskovTan pirdapiri gziT unda daekavSirebina. rkinigzas unda gadaevlo kavkasionis qedi 11 gvirabiT, 15 derefniT da 85 xidiT. ramdenime Tvianma kampaniam, romelsac qarTveli inteleqtualebi awarmoebdnen, aiZula komunisturi xelisufleba, gadaedo mSenebloba. rkinigza, romelic gamiznuli iyo samxreT kavkasiis respublikebis ekonomikis gansaviTareblad da regionSi ruseTis samxedro Zalebis SeRwevis gasaioleblad, opoziciis gancxadebiT, gamousworebel zians miayenebda saqarTvelos mTianeTs, gamoiwvevda mTaSi mcxovrebi Temebis depopulacias da Secvlida eTnikur suraTs. amave periodSi mZafri kritikis saganis gaxda svaneTSi xudonis hidroeleqtrosadgurisa da aragvis xeobaSi gazsadenis mSenebloba (jonsi 2013: 41).

qarTvelebisTvis hesebis, kaSxlebis, poligonebisa da wyalsacavebis dabinZurebis winaaRmdeg mimarTuli garemosdacviTi kampaniebi iseve iyo dakavSirebuli istoriasTan, demografiul situaciasTan da ucxo jarebis maT teritoriaze yofnasTan, rogorc sufTa haerTan da xeluxlebel tyeebTan (jonsi 2013: 42). amave periodSi Camoyalibda saqarTvelos mwvaneTa partia. garemosa da kulturuli memkvidreobis dacvisken mimarTulma RonisZiebebma imTaviTve gansazRvra qarTuli nacionalizmis, rogorc kulturuli nacionalizmis forma. amave dros, warmatebulma quCis saprotesto aqciebma qarTul sazogadoebaSi gamarjvebulis sindromis gaCena gamoiwvia. erovnuli moZraobis sadaveebi mTlianad aRmoCnda radikalurad ganwyobuli liderebis xelSi, romelTaTvis politikuri miznis miRwevis umTavresi saSualeba Seurigebloba, manifestaciebi, SimSilobebi da msgavsi saxis aqtivobebi gaxda. 1980-iani wlebis miwuruls qarTul erovnuli moZraoba emociur fenomenad iqca, romelic quCidan imarTeboda. radikali liderebis ritorikas, midgomebsa da gadawyvetilebebs didwilad gansazRvravda ara racionalizmi, aramed quCebSi da mitingebze arsebuli emociuri foni.

1987 wlis Semodgomaze TbilisSi dafuZnda pirveli araformaluri organizacia “ilia WavWavaZis sazogadoeba”, sadac gaerTiandnen merab kostava, Tamar CxeiZe, irakli wereTeli da sxva disidentebi. amave periodSi Seiqmna “rusTavelis sazogadoeba”, romelsac saTaveSi akaki baqraZe Caudga da masSi bevri cnobili pirovneba gaerTianda. zurab daviTaSvilis azriT, am sazogadoebis Camoyalibebas komunisturma xelisuflebam Seuwyo xeli, romelsac surda, TviTon ekontrolebina erovnuli moZraobis procesi (daviTaSvili 2003: 391). “rusTavelis sazogadoebis” saxiT saqarTvelos komunisturma xelisuflebam xalxs radikaluri erovnuli moZraobis erTgvari alternativa SesTavaza, Tumca mizani ver ganxorcielda da wamyvani poziciebi radikalebs darCaT.

1980-iani wlebis bolodan qarTuli nacionalizmis gaZlierebam da erovnuli moZraobis aRmavlobam, sabWoTa kavSirSi mimdinare gardaqmnisa da demokratizaciis procesis fonze, mniSvnelovnad gansazRvra swrafi nabijebiT svla saqarTvelos damoukideblobisken. komunisturi xelisufleba TandaTan kargavda realur Zalauflebas da gadawyvetilebebs erovnuli moZraobis karnaxiT iRebda. nacionalizmis mkveTrma aRmasvlam da nacionalisturi ritorikis gabatonebam saqarTvelos mmarTvel politikur elitas moqmedebis areali didwilad SeuzRuda. 1988 wlis martSi saqarTvelos umaRlesi sabWos prezidiumma dauSva SezRuduli sazogadoebrivi demonstraciebi, xolo seqtemberSi Tbilisis saqalaqo sabWom dauSva sazogadoebrivi mitingebi ipodromis teritoriaze (jonsi 2013: 42).

sayuradReboa saqarTvelos ssr uzenaesi sabWos mier 1990 wlis 9 marts miRebuli dadgenileba saqarTvelos saxelmwifos suverenitetis dacvis garantiebis Sesaxeb. SeiZleba iTqvas, rom am dadgenilebiT saqarTvelos ssr uzenaesi sabWo daupirispirda sabWoTa kavSiris xelisuflebas, rodesac gaakritika kanonproeqti ssr kavSiris prezidentis postis dawesebisa da konstituciaSi Sesabamisi cvlilebis Setanis Sesaxeb. dadgenilebis mixedviT, ssr kavSiris konstitituciis Sesabamisi muxlebis Tanaxmad, “mokavSire respublikebi suverenuli saxelmwifoebi arian. maSasadame, prezidentis mmarTvelobis pirobebSi saqarTvelos, rogorc suverenul saxelmwifos, Tavisi prezidenti unda hyavdes... ssr kavSiris prezidenti ar unda iyos sabWoTa moqalaqeebis uflebaTa da TavisuflebaTa dacvis garanti, radganac am movaleobas unda asrulebdes Sesabamisi suverenuli saxelmwifos – mokavSire respublikis meTauri” (saluaSvili 1996: 14).

aRniSnuli da sxva mizezebidan gamomdinare, romlebic, ZiriTadad, saqarTvelos suverenitetis SezRudviT iyo ganpirobebuli, saqarTvelos ssr uzenaes sabWos miuReblad miaCnda misi monawileoba am kanonproeqtis miRebaSi. ssr uzenaesma sabWom aRiara, rom 1921 wels saqarTveloSi ruseTis jarebis SemoWra samarTlebrivi TvalsazrisiT warmoadgenda samxedro Carevas da okupacias arsebuli politikuri wyobis damxobs mizniT, xolo politikuri TvalsazrisiT – faqtobriv aneqsias. uzenaesi sabWo ukanonod gamoacxada da baTilad scno 1921 wlis 21 maisis da 1922 wlis 12 martis samokavSireo xelSekrulebebi da mizanSewonilad miiCnia molaparakebebis dawyeba saqarTvelos damoukidebeli saxelmwifos aRdgenis Sesaxeb. dadgenilebas xels awerdnen saqarTvelos ssr uzenaesi sabWos prezidiumis Tavjdomare g. gumbariZe da mdivani v. kvaracxelia (saluaSvili 1996: 15). rogorc vxedavT, jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris arsebobis pirobebSi, saqarTvelos mmarTveli komunisturi xelisufleba mkacrad akritikebda centrs da saqarTvelos damoukideblobis aRdgenis Sesaxeb molaparakebebis dawyebis survils gamoTqvamda.

1988 weli saqarTveloSi mitingebisa da demonstraciebis wlad iqca, romelTa didi nawili arasanqcirebuli iyo. am wels 35 saprotesto demonstracia Catarda da maTgan mxolod oTxi iyo oficialurad daSvebuli (mWedliZe 1999: 148). erT-erTi mniSvnelovani manifestacia gaimarTa 26 maiss, 1918-1921 wlebis saqarTvelos demokratiuli respublikis Seqmnis aRsaniSnavad. am dRes pirvelad gaiSala damoukidebeli saqarTvelos samferovani droSa da gaisma damoukideblobis mowodebebi. damoukideblobis dRis aRniSvnamde ramdenime dRiT adre erovnuli moZraobis erT-erTma liderma merab kostavam damoukidebeli saqarTvelos droSa sakuTari saxlis saxuravze aRmarTa. am faqtma dedaqalaqSi didi rezonansi gamoiwvia.[[1]](#footnote-1)

1988 wels naTlad gamoCnda qarTuli nacionalizmis eqskluziuri buneba da, garkveulwilad, konfrontaciuli xasiaTi, rac, vfiqrobT, gasagebia, Tu gaviTvaliswinebT, erTi mxriv, sabWoTa memkvidreobas da, meore mxriv, erovnuli moZraobis aRmavlobisas arsebul emociur fons. isic unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvelo, am TvalsazrisiT, gamonaklisi ar iyo da, ganviTarebis adreul safexurze, eqskluziuri nacionalizmi damaxasiaTebeli gaxldaT TiTqmis yvela mravaleTnikuri qveynisaTvis evropaSi da postsabWoTa sivrceSi (ix. rojers brubeikeris, toni klarkis, ian bremeris da sxvaTa Sromebi). maisSi studentebma gaaprotestes gardabnisa da Telavis raionebSi azerbajanelebis mier miwis SeZena, rasac “ukanono” aqtad afasebdnen. amave periodSi “araformalebma” mwvaved gaaprotestes azerbaijanelis mier qarTveli gogonas savaraudo gaupatiurebis faqti (jonsi 2013: 43).

gansakuTrebiT mRelvare iyo Semodgoma, rodesac, sakavSiro xelisuflebis mier SemoTavazebuli sakonstitucio cvlilebebis sapasuxod, TbilisSi masobrivi saprotesto aqciebis talRa agorda. aRniSnuli cvlilebebi maqsimalurad zRudavda mokavSire respublikebis mier sabWoTa kavSiris datovebis uflebas. gardaqmnisa da demokratizaciis procesis paralelurad dawyebuli saxalxo mRelvarebisa da moukideblobisken swrafvis SezRudvas sabWoTa kavSiris xelisufleba sakanonmdeblo cvlilebebiT gegmavda. 12 noembers ipodromze gaimarTa didi mitingi, romlis mTavar simbolos damoukidebeli saqarTvelos samferovani droSa warmoadgenda. 22 noembers erovnul-demokratiuli partiis wevrebma umaRlesi sabWos Senobis kibeebze erTkviriani SimSiloba gamoacxades. ramdenime dReSi moSimSileTa raodenobam 500 adamians gadaaWarba, 23 noembers umaRlesma sabWom, romlis sxdoma masStaburi mitingis fonze mimdinareobda, uaryo centris mier SemoTavazebuli sakonstitucio cvlilebebi.[[2]](#footnote-2) 1 dekembers sabWoTa kavSiris umaRlesi sabWos sesiam sakonstitucio cvlilebebi miiRo. is muxli, romelic yvelaze metad aRelvebda qarTul sazogadoebas, kremlSi marTlac Secvales da mokavSire respublikebs sabWoTa kavSiridan gasvlis ufleba SeunarCunes.[[3]](#footnote-3) erTi mxriv, saprotesto moZraobis gaZliereba da, meore mxriv, sakavSiro da adgilobrivi xelisuflebebis damTmobi politika naTel signals iZleoda, rom saqarTvelos damoukidebloba male iqceoda erovnuli moZraobis ZiriTad moTxovnad.

imave periodSi, saqarTvelos komunisturi xelisuflebis iniciativiT, SemuSavda qarTuli enis saxelmwifo programis proeqti, romelSic CarTuli iyvnen enaTmecnierebis institutis TanamSromlebi. programis mizani iyo saxelmwifo da kulturuli dawesebulebebis gaqarTuleba, araqarTvelTaTvis qarTuli enis Semswavleli kursebis gaxsna da zogi sxva nabijis gadadgma. programa 1988 wlis 3 noembers gamoqveynda gazeT “komunistSi”.

miuxedavad nacionalisturi diskursis gabatonebisa, romelmac, rogorc davinaxeT, saqarTvelos komunistur xelisuflebaSic moikida fexi, komunisturi partia mainc axerxebda situaciis kontrols. Tumca male procesebi tragikuli scenariT ganviTarda, ramac sabolood daukarga legitimuroba saqarTvelos komunistur xelisuflebas.

**eTnosTaSorisi dapirispirebis gaRviveba. 1989 wlis 9 aprili.** erovnuli moZraobis aRmavlobisa da quCis aqciebis gaaqtiurebis paralelurad, safrTxis qveS dadga saqarTvelos, rogorc mravaleTnikuri qveynis mSvidobiani arseboba. erovnuli umciresobebis separatistulad ganwyobili warmomadgenlebi qarTuli eTnikuri nacionalizmis aRzevebas uaryofiTad Sexvdnen da mas aseve radikaluri separatistuli moZraobebi daupirispires. am periodSi Camoyalibda afxazuri „aidgilara“, osuri „adamon nixasi“. somxuri „krunqi“ da „javaxqi“, azerbaijanuli „geiraTi“ da a.S. isini miuTiTebdnen qarTvelTa mier eTnikur umciresobaTa uflebebis SezRudvaze da maT Seviwrovebaze. 1988 wlis noembris aqciebis Semdeg gansakuTrebiT daiZaba viTareba afxazeTSi. separatistebi, tradiciulad, moskovsa da Tbiliss Soris viTarebis garTulebis kvaldakval amoqmeddnen da sakuTari moTxovnebi wamoayenes.

erovnuli moZraobis radikaluri nawilis liderTa ritorikaSic ar iyo erTgvarovneba eTnikur umciresobebTan, gansakuTrebiT, afxazebTan mimarTebaSi. magaliTad, zviad gamsaxurdias da misi mxardamWerebisgan gansxvavebiT, “ilia WavWavaZis sazogadoebis” liderTa pozicia SedarebiT zomieri iyo. 1988 wlis 3 dekembers soxumSi, “ilia WavWavaZis sazogadoebis” iniciativiT, gaimarTa masStaburi demonstracia. mitingis monawileebs qarTul da afxazur enebze mimarTa da erTianobisken mouwoda sazogadoebis erT-erTma liderma zurab WavWavaZem. man garTulebul urTierTobebze pasuxismgebloba mTlianad moskovs daakisra da qarTuli da afxazuri sazogadoebebis dialogis aucileblobaze isaubra. misi sityviT, dialogs alternativa ar hqonda da problemebi mxolod erTmaneTis interesebis gaTvaliswinebiT da molaparakebebiT mogvardeboda.[[4]](#footnote-4) erT-erT interviuSi zurab WavWavaZe acxadebda, rom man SesTavaza daxmareba afxazebs afxazuri saSualo skolis daarsebaSi da aRuTqva, rom moiTxovda xelisuflebisgan saxsrebs V-XI klasebisTvis saxelmZRvaneloebis afxazur enaze gamosacemad. amis mizani is iyo, rom afxaz bavSvebs hqonodaT mSobliur enaze srulfasovani saSualo ganaTlebis miRebis SesaZlebloba. amave interviuSi zurab WavWavaZe ambobda, rom afxazuri sazogadoebis warmomadgenlebma am SeTavazebaze uari Tqves da ganacxades, rom maT urCevniaT ganaTleba rusul enaze miiRon. WavWavaZis azriT, am faqtidanac naTlad Canda, rom antiqarTul moZraobas afxazeTSi ar SeiZleba darqmeoda afxazuri erovnuli moZraoba da igi, faqtobrivad, antiafxazuric iyo. zurab WavWavaZis SexedulebiT, 1988 wlis 3 dekembris mitingi soxumSi, albaT, xalxTa Zmobisa da erTobisadmi miZRvnili pirveli mitingi iyo istoriaSi, romelic xelisuflebam akrZala da arasanqcirebulad Catarda.[[5]](#footnote-5)

zurab WavWavaZisgan gansxvavebiT, afxazeTTan da afxazebTan dakavSirebiT gacilebiT radikaluri iyo zviad gasaxurdias pozicia. am periodSi gamarTul erT-erT saprotesto aqciaze gamaxurdiam ganacxada, rom “afxazi eri istoriulad ar arsebobda. afxazeTi iyo saxelwodeba dasavleT saqarTvelosi da afxazebi iyvnen dasavleT qarTvelebi. ase rom, afxazi eri iyo igive qarTveli eri, dasavleT qarTveli eri. xolo, is Zveli, qristiani afxazebi, qarTveli afxazebi dRes aRar arseboben. saxelwodeba afxazi dRes arasworad ixmareba am absuas tomTan dakavSirebiT, absua, anu absarni, es aris CrdiloeT kavkasiuri, adiReuri modgmis tomi. Cven arc erTi tomis, jgufis TviTgamorkvevis winaaRmdegni ar varT, Tu is erad qcevas lamobs. miTumetes, Tu mas aqvs eris garkveuli niSnebi dRes, oRond, mis istoriul teritoriaze, CrdiloeT kavkasiaSi. Tu es tomi Tu tomebi amas Seigneben, Cven maT amovudgebiT mxarSi, oRond im pirobiT, rom maT unda aRadginon istoriuli samarTlianoba, dagviTmon Cveni miwa-wyali da damkvidrdnen iq, saidanac mobrZandnen.”[[6]](#footnote-6)

miuxedavad sxvaobebisa, romelic aRniSnuli liderebis poziciasa Tu damokidebulebebSi SeiniSneba, politikuri Sexedulebebis gamoxatvis (protesti, dialogisken mowodeba an raime sxva) ZiriTad asparezad mainc quCa rCeboda. procesebi, erovnuli Tu separatistuli moZraobebis liderTa mxridan, mTlianad quCaSi iyo gadatanili. es faqti xels uwyobda emociuri fonis ukidures daZabvas da xelsayrel sivrces qmnida konfrontaciisTvis.

qarTul-afxazuri dapirispireba gansakuTrebiT gamwvavda 1989 wlis gazafxulze. 18 marts, gudauTis raionis sofel lixnSi afxazTa saxalxo kreba gaimarTa. lixns afxazeTis istoriul centrs uwodeben, sadac, tradiciulad, ikribeboda afxazuri sazogadoeba da wyvetda umniSvnelovanes sakiTxebs. amjerad sofel lixnSi aTasobiT afxazma (sxvadasxva monacemis mixedviT, 50-60 aTasi adamiani) moiyara Tavi da Seadgina peticia sabWoTa kavSiris xelisuflebis saxelze. peticiis xelmomwerebi kremlisgan afxazeTis saqarTvelos sabWoTa socialisturi respublikidan gamoyofas moiTxovdnen.[[7]](#footnote-7) afxaz separatistTa moTxovnam TbilisSi mRelvareba gamoiwvia. 2 aprils “ilia WavWavaZis sazogadoebis” organizebiT soxumSi gaimarTa didi manifestacia, romelSic Tbilisidan Casuli erovnuli moZraobis liderebi, maT Soris, merab kostava da zurab WavWavaZe monawileobdnen. avtonomiur respublikaSi mdgomareoba ukiduresad daiZaba. leseliZidan soxumis mimarTulebiT mimavali qarTveli momitingeebis avtobusebi gudauTaSi afxazebma SeaCeres da mgzavrebs fizikuri Seuracxyofa miayenes. 4 aprilidan aqciebi TbilisSi, mTavrobis saxlis win gagrZelda. studentebma daikaves mTavrobis saxlis farTo kibe, moamzades saZile tomrebi da SimSiloba gamoacxades. mitings maleve SeuerTdnen erovnuli moZraobis liderebi zviad gamsaxurdia, gia Wanturia, irakli wereTeli da sxvebi. Tavdapirvelad, aqciis ZiriTadi moTxovna afxazeTis xelisuflebis im warmomadgenelTa dasja iyo, romlebmac xeli Seuwyves lixnis krebis organizebas, Tumca, sul oriode dReSi, afxazeTis sakiTxma ukana planze gadaiwia da demontrantebma saqarTvelos sruli damoukidebloba moiTxoves.[[8]](#footnote-8) momitingeebi nakadebad Camodiodnen saqarTvelos regionebidan, mitingebma mTeli dedaqalaqi moicva. 7 aprils saqarTvelos komunisturi partiis centraluri komitetis pirvelma mdivanma jumber patiaSvilma moskovSi gagzavna depeSa, romelSic brals sdebda eqstremistul jgufebs qaosis SeqmnaSi, partiisa da saxelmwifo insitutebis SeuracxyofaSi da moiTxovda sagangebo RonisZiebaTa gatarebas (jonsi 2013: 46). 8 aprils moskovSi Catarda politbiuros sxdoma, romelmac miiRo gadawyvetileba TbilisSi, momitingeTa daSlisa da viTarebis stabilizaciis mizniT, samxedro SenaerTebis gagzavnis Sesaxeb. 8 aprilsve TbilisSi Catarda partiuli aqtivis kreba, sadac partiulma xelmZRvanelobam radikalebTan dialogi gamoricxa. amave dRes TbilisSi Sedga saqarTvelos Tavdacvis sabWos sxdoma, romelsac eswrebodnen amierkavkasiis samxedro olqis meTauri, generali igor rodionovi da ssrk Tavdacvis ministris moadgile konstantin koCetovi. am pirebs uSualod evalebodaT, zedamxedveloba gaewiaT mitingis daSlisTvis. yvelaferi sisxlisRvrisken midioda, Tumca, SesaZloa, saqarTvelos xelmZRvaneloba msgavs sisastikes ar eloda. stiven jonsi wers, rom darbevamde naxevari saaTiT adre patiaSvilma daureka rodionovs da igi daarwmunes, rom msxverpli ar iqneboda. iyo mowodebebi demonstrantebis mimarT, rom daSliliyvnen. 9 aprils, Ramis 3 saaTze, aqciaze saqarTvelos kaTalikos-patriarqi ilia meore mivida da erovnuli moZraobis liderebi gaafrTxila mosalodneli safrTxis Sesaxeb, aseve mouwoda maT, rom momitingeebs qaSueTis taZris ezoSi gadaenacvlebinaT, Tumca misi Txovna ar gaiTvaliswines.

9 aprils, dilis 4 saaTze sabWoTa jarebma mitingis darbeva daiwyes. demonstrantebis dasaSlelad jariskacebma orlesuli niCbebi, momwavleli airi da xelketebi gamoiyenes. daiRupa 21 adamiani, sxeulis sxvadasxva dazianeba aTobiT moqalaqem miiRo. TiTqmis yvela momitinge mowamluli iyo. 9 aprilis dilas daapatimres merab kostava, zviad gamsaxurdia, giorgi Wanturia, vano xuxunaiSvili, irina sariSvili da irakli wereTeli. erovnuli moZraobis liderebi cixidan maisSi gaaTavisufles.[[9]](#footnote-9)

1989 wlis 9 aprilis movlenebma sabolood gautexa saxeli sabWoTa xelisuflebas qarTuli sazogadoebis TvalSi. am faqtis Semdeg komunisturi mTavroba mxolod formalurad arsebobda saqarTveloSi. naTeli gaxda, rom “perestroikisa” da “glastnostis” mimzidveli ideebis qveS kvlav arsebobda namdvili, policiuri sabWoTa saxelmwifo, romelic sastikad gausworda mSvidobian demonstrantebs. am dRis Semdeg damoukideblobis moTxovna saerTo saxalxo moTxovnad iqca. umaRlesi sabWos sagamoZiebo komisiam Zalis gamoyeneba ukanonod cno da masze pasuxismgebloba sabWoTa xelisuflebasa da saqarTvelos partiul xelmZRvanelobas daakisra. komisiis daskvniT, operacias sadamsjelo xasiaTi hqonda, maSin, rodesac arsebobda alternatiuli zomebis gatarebis SesaZlebloba.

moqalaqeebis sastikma daxocvam saqarTvelos mosaxleobis sayovelTao aRSfoTeba gamoiwvia. mTeli qveyana quCaSi iyo gamosuli da daRupulebs glovobda. radioSi samgloviaro musika JRerda, qarxnebma Sewyvites muSaoba, 15 aprils Catarda tragediis msxverplTa masobrivi dakrZalva, romelic televiziiT gadaicemoda. mTavrobis saxlis kibeebi pativis migebis adgilad iqca, sadac daRupulTa fotoebi iyo gamofenili (jonsi 2013: 47-48). 1989 wlis 9 aprilis tragediam imdenad didi mniSvneloba SeiZina, rom saqarTvelos damoukidebloba, 2 wlis Semdeg, swored am dRes gamocxadda.

am movlenebis Semdeg politikuri procesebi srulad gadavida erovnuli moZraobis radikali liderebis xelSi, qarTuli nacionalizmi ki sabolood Camoyalibda radikaluri formiT, romlis umTavresi iaraRs quCis aqciebi da manifestaciebi warmoadgenda. 9 aprilis tragediam, erTi mxriv, gamoiwvia saqarTvelos mosaxleobis mobilizeba damoukideblobis ideis garSemo, xolo meore mxriv, am dRis Semdeg erovnuli moZraoba sabolood gaixliCa. mis liderebs ar hqondaT Camoyalibebuli da gaziarebuli pozicia, Tu ra gziT unda ebrZolaT saqarTvelos damoukideblobisTvis. dapirispirebaSi didi roli iTamaSa emociurma fonma da liderTa Soris pirovnulma gaugebrobebma, ris safuZveli erovnuli moZraobis Camoyalibebis adreul etapze unda veZeboT.

**gaxleCili erovnuli moZraoba**. 1988 wlidan, mas Semdeg, rac saqarTvelos erovnuli moZraoba aqtiur fazaSi gadavida, naTeli gaxda winaaRmdegobebi Tavad moZraobis SigniT. liderebs Soris gaugebrobebi da, xSirad, mwvave dapirispireba arTulebda konsesusze damyarebuli nacionaluri proeqtisa da qveynis ganviTarebis saerTo xedvis Camoyalibebas. erovnuli moZraobis winaaRmdegobrivi safuZvlebis gasaanalizeblad saintereso faqtia e.w. “Rirsebis sasamarTlo”, videomasala, romelic araformali liderebis mwvave dapirispirebas asaxavs.[[10]](#footnote-10) erovnuli moZraobis warmomadgenlebs Soris Sexvedra, romelic zviad gamsaxurdias winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTuli, “ilia WavWavaZis sazogadoebis” erT-erTi damfuZneblis, zurab WavWavaZis moTxovniT gaimarTa erovnuli moZraobis erT-erTi wevris saxlSi. es video, romlis gavrcelebis mizani erovnuli moZraobis liderTa diskreditacia iyo, saqarTvelos televiziiT gadaica 1989 wlis 26 Tebervals, wina dRes araformalebis mier Catarebuli saprotesto mitingis sapasuxod. zviad gamsaxurdiam kategoriulad mosTxova zurab WavWavaZes, warmoedgina sabuTi, romelic mis mimarT wayenebul braldebas daasabuTebda da Tavad WavWavaZes dasdo brali “kagebes” agentobaSi. gamsaxurdias pozicias iziarebdnen irakli wereTeli, giorgi Wanturia, irina sariSvili da sxva liderebi, zurab WavWavaZis gverdiT ki disidenturi moZraobis kidev erTi wevri Tamar CxeiZe idga. Sexvedras eswrebian neitraluri mxaris warmomadgenlebi – gasamxedroebuli gaerTianeba “mxedrionis” lideri jaba ioseliani da literatori akaki baqraZe. sainteresoa, rom “Rirsebis sasamarTlos” neitraluri monawileebi gmobdnen siZulvilis enas da dapirispirebul mxareebs Soris arsebul mwvave antagonizms. gansakuTrebiT sayuradReboa akaki baqraZis sityvebi: “me davrwmundi imaSi, rom Cvens urTierTobas siZulvili marTavs da es aris yovlad Tavzardamcemi ambavi. Cemze aman damTrgunveli STabeWdileba moaxdina. me gamanadgura im siZulvilma, romelic davinaxe, Tundac, sxvadasxva Sexedulebebs, sxvadasxva jgufs, sxvadasxva sazogadoebasa Tu partias Soris.” misi azriT, urTierTbraldebebi emociuri fonis brali iyo da maTi seriozulad ganxilva ar SeiZleboda. baqraZis SexedulebiT, orive mxare Sexvedraze ukiduresad moumzadebeli movida da erTmaneTs didi Seuracxyofa miayena. aseTi Seurigeblobis pirobebSi, SeuZlebeli iyo saerTo miznisTvis SeTanxmebuli da gaazrebuli brZola. baqraZe ambobda, rom dadgeboda dro, rodesac “Cven erTmaneTs davWirdebiT da am droisTvis siZulviliT ar unda viyoT ise dabrmavebuli, rom erTmaneTs xeli ver gavuwodoT.” aqve aRvniSnavT, rom winaaRmdegobrioba, emociuroba da moumzadebloba 1980-1990-iani wlebis qarTuli nacionalizmis erT-erTi ZiriTadi maxasiaTebeli iyo, rasac, xSirad, sazogadoeba gauazrebel Sedegebamde mihyavda.

Sexvedridan, romelic ukiduresad daZabul reJimSi mimdinareobs, naTlad Cans qarTuli nacionalizmis ideologebs Soris momavali Seurigeblobis konturebi. erovnuli moZraobis radikaluri frTis warmomadgenlebi erTmaneTsac radikalurad upirispirdebian, uapelaciod sdeben brals RalatSi da specsamsaxurebTan TanamSromlobaSi. vfiqrobT, viTarebis dasaxasiaTeblad, yvelaze metad, irina sariSvilis sityvebi gamodgeba, romelic man, Sexvedris dasasruls, zurab WavWavaZis misamarTiT warmoTqva: “nervebis siwynare patiosnebas ar niSnavs. piriqiT, Cvens droSi, nervebis siwynare upatiosnobas niSnavs.”

“Rirsebis sasamarTlo” dasturia imisa, rom sabWoTa memkvidreobam gavlena saqarTveloSi komunisturi ideologiis mTavar mowinaaRmdegeebzec moaxdina. naTelia, rom sazogadoebis polarizaciis, “mtrebad” da “megobrebad” dayofis, Seurigeblobis sabWoTa tradicias qarTvel disidentebSic Rrmad hqonda fexi mokidebuli. “Rirsebis samarTlo” 1990-iani wlebis dasawyisSi saqarTveloSi ganviTarebuli procesebis erTgvari modelirebuli suraTia.

erovnul moZraobaSi konsesusis miRwevas is faqtic arTulebda, rom 1989 wlisaTvis saqarTveloSi ormocdaaTamde politikuri organizacia Tu araformaluri dajgufeba arsebobda (SveliZe 2008: 19). erTpartiul, totalitarul sistemaSi cxovrebis xangrZlivi gamocdilebis Semdeg, aseTi mravalferovani politikuri sivrcis Seqmnam TavisTavad Seuwyo xeli sazogadoebis daqsaqsvas da SeuZlebeli gaxada SeTanxmebuli moqmedebis strategiis SemuSaveba.

qarTul sazogadoebaSi arsebul dapirispirebebze saubrisas, unda gavixsenoT “saxalxo frontis” yriloba, romelic 1989 wlis ivnisSi gaimarTa. saxalxo frontis Seqmnis idea filolog nodar naTaZes ekuTvnoda da saqarTveloSi baltiispireTidan Semovida. iq amgvari organizaciebi farTo, masobriv moZraobebs warmoadgendnen, romlebSic gaerTianebuli iyvnen sxvadasxva politikuri partiebi, jgufebi, sazogadoebebi (SveliZe 2008: 46). saqarTvelos “saxalxo frontic” gaxleCili erovnuli moZraobis gaerTianebis mizniT Seiqmna, Tumca misi damfuZnebeli yriloba Tavad iqca dapirispirebis asparezad da kidev ufro naTlad warmoaCina qarTul sazogadoebaSi arsebuli problemebi.

“saxalxo frontis” yriloba TbilisSi, filarmoniis did sakoncerto darbazSi 1989 wlis 21-25 ivniss mimdinareobda. yrilobaze ganviTarebuli movlenebis gasaanalizeblad mniSvnelovani wyaroa istorikos dimitri SveliZis mogonebebi, romelic Sexvedras delegatis statusiT eswreboda. aseve SemorCenilia fragmentuli xasiaTis videomasala, romelic calkeuli monawileebis, magaliTad, zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvlas asaxavs. yrilobas oriaTasamde monawile eswreboda, romelTa umravlesoba masSi aqtiur monawileobas cdilobda. bevri maTgani scenaze asvlas da mikrofonTan miaxlovebas ver axerxebda da adgilidan, xSirad yviriliT, cdilobda sakuTari poziciis gamoxatvas. sxdomebis Tavmjdomareebi yoveldRiurad icvlebodnen, Tumca verc erTi maTgani axerxebda auditoriis dawynarebas, ris gamoc yrilobis muSaoba ganuwyvetel xmaurSi mimdinareobda. TiTqmis yvela sakiTxi, romelic sxdomaze irCeoda – xmis damTvleli Tu samandato komisiis arCeva, saTaTbirosa Tu gamgeobis Camoyalibeba, wesdebis miReba da sxva – mZafri polemikisa da dapirispirebis fonze mimdinareobda (SveliZe 2008: 47-48). saxalxo frontis yrilobis monawileebi, ZiriTadad, or – radikalur da SedarebiT zomier nawilebad gaiyvnen. erovnuli moZraobis radikalurad ganwyobili liderebi, zviad gamsaxurdias meTaurobiT, ukompromiso poziciaze idgnen, maSin rodesac Sexvedris sxva monawileebi, magaliTad, merab mamardaSvili, zomier, racionalur midgomebs emxrobodnen. am Sexvedris monawileTa or nawilad gayofam kargad aCvena qarTul sazogadoebaSi arsebuli problemebi, polarizacia da, miuxedavad mravalricxovani politikuri Tu sazogadoebrivi organizaciebis arsebobisa, ori dapirispirebuli banakis arseboba. sazogadoebis didi nawili erovnuli moZraobis radikaluri mimarTulebis mxares iyo. es naTlad gamoCnda yrilobaze, romelic radikalebis karnaxiT mimdinareobda. SemdgomSi dapirispireba kidev ufro gaRrmavda, ramac didi wvlili Seitana samoqalaqo omSi.

CvenTvis saintereso epoqis qarTuli nacionalizmis gasaanalizeblad sainteresoa yrilobaze zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla,[[11]](#footnote-11) romelic “saxalxo frontis” mesveurTa mier SemuSavebul programas imis gamo iwunebda, rom masSi saTanadod ar iyo daculi eTnikuri qarTvelebis uflebebi. gamsaxurdia yuradRebas amaxvilebda saqarTvelos avtonomiur erTeulebze da maT “ukanono warmonaqmnebs” uwodebda, romlebic aucileblad unda gauqmebuliyo. igi ewinaaRmdegeboda programis im punqts, sadac saubari iyo iseTi konstituciis SemuSavebaze, romelic srulad gamoxatavda qarTveli erisa da respublikaSi mcxovrebi sxva erebis warmomadgenelTa interesebs: “kvlav gaTanabrebaa, megobrebo. saqarTvelo aris qarTvelebis qveyana, es aqsioma unda iyos warmodgenili da areklili am programaSi, konstitucia unda gamoxatavdes qarTveli eris interesebs da, amave dros, yvela pirovnebis interesebs, ra erovnebisac ar unda iyos is da ara sxva erebis interesebs, Cven aq azerbaijanis interesebisTvis ar vibrZviT, megobrebo, da Tu vinme ibrZvis, is damarcxdeba...” naTelia, rom zviad gamsaxurdiasTvis eri konkretul eTnikur jgufs niSnavda da igi qarTvel erSi mxolod eTnikur qarTvelebs gulisxmobda. Tumca, amave dros, saqarTveloSi mcxovreb eTnikur umciresobebs erebad ar moixseniebda da maTi, am SemTxvevaSi, azerbaijanelebis uflebebis dacvas azerbaijanis interesebisTvis brZolad Tvlida. gamsaxurdia Seexo agreTve afxazebis da osebis sakiTxs. igi aRniSnavda, rom saxalxo frontis programaSi Canda afxazebisa da osebis privilegirebis kremliseul politika da, rom saxalxo fronti ibrZoda am eTnikuri jgufebis interesebis dacvisTvis. misi SexedulebiT, afxazebs da osebs kargi damcveli hyavdaT kremlis saxiT da qarTvelebisTvis mTavari sakuTari interesebis dacva unda yofiliyo. msgavsi winaaRmdegobrioba, bundovaneba da radikalizmi 1980-iani wlebis qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis eqskluziurobasa da Caketilobaze miuTiTebs. gamsaxurdia akritikebda programis im nawils, sadac miwaTsargeblobaze iyo saubari da Tvlida, rom iq naTlad ar Canda qarTveli eris erovnuli interesebi miwasTan dakavSirebiT, rac qarTvelebs sxva jgufebTan Tanabar mdgomareobaSi ayenebda. saqarTvelos erovnul moZraobaSi arsebuli tradiciidan gamomdinare, gamsaxurdia yuradRebas amaxvilebda ekologiur safrTxeebze, giganturi hesebis mSeneblobaze, saqarTvelos winaaRmdeg kremlis “demografiuli eqspansiis” politikaze, rac, misi azriT, calsaxad unda yofiliyo dafiqsirebuli programaSi. aqve aRvniSnavT, rom xelisuflebaSi mosvlis Semdeg gamsaxurdias damokidebuleba rigi sakiTxebisadmi mniSvnelovnad Seicvala, meti inkluziuroba da samoqalaqo maxasiaTeblebi SeiZina, Tumca winaaRmdegobrioba da ekleqturoba mas mmarTvelobis dasrulebamde axasiaTebda.

miuxedavad imisa, rom am periodis qarTuli nacionalizmi calsaxad eTnikuri xasiaTisaa, igi mainc ufro qarTvelebis interesebis dacvisken aris mimarTuli, vidre sxva jgufebis winaaRmdeg. Sexeduleba qarTuli nacionalizmis damangreveli Zalis Sesaxeb, Tu stiven jonss davesesxebiT, ufro miTia, vidre realoba (jonsi 2013: 303). dimitri SveliZis azriT, gamsaxurdias nacionalizmisgan ise ar wvimda, rogorc quxda. mis mTavar mizans erovnuli damoukideblobis aRdgena warmoadgenda da am mizans yvela sxva “kulturuli, socialuri da demokratiuli” mizandasaxulobebi unda daqvemdebareboda. man gamoTqva survili, rom saxalxo fronts erovnuli fronti darqmeoda. am nabijiT kidev ufro gamoikveTeboda frontis erovnuli prioriteti (SveliZe 2008: 50).

saqarTvelos saxalxo frontma ver Seasrula is misia, romelic daekisra. man ver SesZlo erovnuli moZraobis erT Zalad gaerTianeba, aseve ver uzrunvelyo damoukideblobis ideis garSemo saqarTvelos mravaleTnikuri mosaxleobis mobilizeba. saqarTvelos saxalxo frontis yrilobis pirveli dRis Semdeg, TbilisSi stumrad myofma latviis saxalxo frontis erT-erTma damaarsebelma inc caletisma naklad Seafasa is, rom qarTvelebma saxalxo frontis programa rusulad ar Targmnes da araqarTvel mosaxleobas ar miawodes. rusulad programisa da wesdebis Targnma erT-erTi aucilebeli piroba iyo latviaSi, raTa saxalxo frontis idea mosaxleobis im nawilamde misuliyo, romelic ar flobda latviur enas (SveliZe 2008: 51). gamsaxurdia ki piriqiT, akritikebda saxalxo frontis gazeTs, romelic orenovani iyo da qarTul da rusul enebze gamodioda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, darbazSi polemika gaimarTa massa da jansuR Carkvians Soris.

saxalxo frontis oTxdRianma yrilobam Sedegi ver gamoiRo. saqarTvelos sazogadoebis daqsaqsuloba da misi liderebis Seurigebloba kidev ufro naTlad gamoCnda. am Sexvedram aseve aCvena, rom 1980-iani wlebis miwuruls qarTuli sazogadoebis did nawils emociuroba, impulsuroba, ukompromisoba da radikalizmi ufro xiblavda, vidre racionalizmi, zomiereba da inteleqtualuri brZola. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla darbazma mravalgzis Seawyvetina mquxare aplodismentebiT, maSin rodesac filosofosi merab mamardaSvili, mas Semdeg, rac warmoTqva cnobili fraza – WeSmariteba samSobloze maRla dgas – auditoriis protestis gamo, iZulebuli gaxda scenidan Camosuliyo.

aTwleulebis ganmavlobaSi represirebulma da CarCoebSi moqceulma qarTulma nacionalizmma 1980-ian wlebSi mTeli ZaliT ifeTqa. identobis krizisis, damoukideblobisken swrafvisa da sakuTari Tavis Ziebi epoqaSi procesebis radikalizacia, garkveulwilad, obieqturi realobaa, romelic, rogorc zemoT aRvniSneT, araerT postsocialistur qveyanaSi arsebobda. radikalizmi da Seurigebloba srulad asaxavda sazogadoebis did nawilSi arsebul ganwyobebs. qarTuli sazogadoeba nacionalizmis ZiriTad mizans, damoukideblobas uaxlovdeboda da srul mxardaWeras ucxadebda am ideis mTavar da yvelaze ukompromiso mxardamWerebs. es sul male dadasturda 1990 wlis 28 oqtombris pirveli mravalpartiuli arCevnebiT, rodesac saqarTveloSi komunisturi partiis 70 wliani mmarTveloba dasrulda da xelisuflebaSi zviad gamsaxurdias politikuri gundi movida.

1. gazeTi “24 saaTi”, 2010 wlis 30 maisi <http://www.24hours.ge/weekend/story/6911-shavlego> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. saqarTvelos sabWoTa socialisturi respublikis uzenaesi sabWos uwyebebi, #11, 1988. gv. 11-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. <http://www.24hours.ge/weekend/story/6911-shavlego> (gazeTi “24 saaTi”, 2010 wlis 30 maisi) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. zurab WavWavaZis gamosvla ix. bmulze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLkaCNjennI> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. vrceli amonaridi interviudan ix. bmulze: <http://geoindependence.net/2014/11/22/%E1%83%A8%E1%83%9D%E1%83%A0%E1%83%A1%E1%83%9B%E1%83%AD%E1%83%95%E1%83%A0%E1%83%94%E1%83%A2%E1%83%94%E1%83%9A%E1%83%98-%E1%83%9A%E1%83%98%E1%83%93%E1%83%94%E1%83%A0%E1%83%98-%E1%83%96%E1%83%A3/> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla ix. bmulze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wq_LTL9CcxM> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. informacia lixnis Sekrebis Sesaxeb ix. bmulze: <http://experti.ge/kartuli7.htm> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. <http://www.24hours.ge/weekend/story/6911-shavlego> (gazeTi “24 saaTi”, 2010 wlis 30 maisi) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. detaluri informaciisTvis 9 aprilis Sesaxeb ix.: statiebis krebuli “9 aprili”, Semdg. g. gverdwiTeli, Tb., “merani”, 1990; sonRulaSvili avTandil. “9 aprilis sisxliani tragedia”. Tb., “mecniereba”, 1999; agreTve Toma CageliSvilis dokumenturi filmi “9 aprilis saidumlo”. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. videos sruli versia ix. bmulze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A7v6zHKQ3bc> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. gamosvlis sruli teqsti ix. linkze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFrs6iBDmlA> [↑](#footnote-ref-11)