**erovnuli moZraoba xelisuflebis saTaveSi – winaaRmdegobrivi nacionaluri proeqtis maxasiaTeblebi (1990-1992)**

1989 wlis 9 aprilis tragediis Semdeg saqarTvelo, damoukideblobisTvis mebrZol socialistur respublikebs Soris, baltiispireTis qveynebTan erTad, mowinave poziciaze aRmoCnda. amave wlis maisSi cixidan gaTavisuflebuli erovnuli moZraobis radikaluri frTis liderebi popularobis zenitSi aRmoCndnen. sabWoTa kavSiris xelmZRvanelobam, viTarebis stabilizaciis mizniT, saqarTveloSi saxelisuflebo cvlilebebi ganaxorciela – diskreditebuli jumber patiaSvilis nacvlad, saqarTvelos pirveli piri uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmjdomare givi gumbariZe gaxda.

uSiSroebis kadris dawinaurebiT, xelisuflebam situaciaze kontrolis aRdgena tradiciulad mkacri meTodebiT da “Zlieri xelis” saSualebiT scada, Tumca komunistur partias sazogadoebis TvalSi legitimuroba ukve TiTqmis srulad hqonda dakarguli. Tavis mxriv, givi gumbariZec iZulebuli gaxda, damorCileboda qyveynaSi gabatonebul nacionalistur ganwyobebs da erovnuli moZraobis mimarT loiluri pozicia daekavebina. mravalaTasiani mitingebis mowyoba, sabWoTa ideologiis, vladimer leninis, sakavSiro Tu adgilobrivi xelisuflebebis lanZRa yoveldRiur movlenad iqca. 9 aprilis Semdeg gamarTul erT-erT saprotesto aqciaze sityviT gamosvlisas zviad gamsaxurdiam Riad gamoacxada sabWoTa reJimi danaSaulebrivad: “sisxlismsmeli jalaTi, sisxlismsmeli imperiis Semqmneli, gulagis pirveli Semqmneli, wiTeli teororis fuZemdebeli, bavSvebis damxvreti, mefi ojaxis amomwyveti, samRvdeloebis gamanadgurebeli, eklesiebis damqcevi antiprogresuli Zala, kacobriobis winaaRmdeg mebrZoli Zala aris aRmarTuli Cvens centralur moedanze (saubaria Tavisuflebis (yofili leninis) moedanze aRmarTul leninis monumentze i. C.) da gveubnebian – midiT, iloceTo...”[[1]](#footnote-1)

sabWoTa ideologiasTan Riad dapirispirebisa da misi amoralurad gamocxadebis paralelurad, Tavad erovnuli moZraoba gaexvia romantikis, maRali moraluri da zneobrivi idealebis saburvelSi. politikur ritorikaSi Rrmad Semovida qristianuli Tematika. 1989 wlis 26 maiss gamarTul masStabur mitingze zviad gamsaxurdiam warmoTqva sityvebi – “gaumarjos damoukidebel, Tavisufal, qristianul, uZlevel saqarTvelos!”.[[2]](#footnote-2) Tavad fraza – gaumarjos qristianul saqarTvelos – rodesac saqme gvaqvs mravalreligiur qveyanasTan, qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis eqskluziurobaze miuTiTebs. es faqti, albaT, samocdaaTwliani aTeizmis Semdeg religiuri grZnobebis gamoRviZebiTa da eklesiisaken masobrivi mibrunebiT aixsneba, rodesac religiuri ritorika politikis nawili gaxda. postsabWoTa periodis gariJraJze, qarTuli nacionalizmis erT-erTi ZiriTadi maxasiaTebeli iyo erTgvari sakraluroba, mistiuroba, rac xels uwyobda procesebis radikalizacias. es gansakuTrebiT TvalSisacemi 9 aprilis tragediis Semgom periodSi gaxda. am movlenam damoukideblobisTvis ukompromiso brZola qarTuli sazogadoebis didi nawilisTvis wmindaTawminda movaleobad aqcia. giorgi Wanturias sityviT, 9 aprili ganwmendis da ganbanis dRe iyo.[[3]](#footnote-3) am dRis Semdeg sabWoTa reJimTan nebismieri kompromisi qveynis Ralats niSnavda.

damoukideblobisTvis brZolis sakralizacias xels uwyobda Tavad zviad gamsaxurdias figura da misi piradi damokidebuleba saqarTvelos momaval funqciasa da rolTan. am TvalsazrisiT, sainteresoa mis mier TbilisSi, “idriatis” festivalze 1990 wlis 2 maiss Catarebuli leqcia “saqarTvelos sulieri misia”, romelic imave wels daibeWda. zviad gamsaxurdias Sexedulebebi mkveTrad primordialisturia. misi azriT, Teoria imis Sesaxeb, rom Turme qarTveli eri erad me-19 saukuneSi Camoyalibda da manamde ar arsebobda, marqsizm-leninizmis klasikosebma Seqmnes, raTa qarTveli xalxisTvis arasrulfasovnebis kompleqsi CaenergaT. qarTveli eris eTnogenezze da “genetikur Zirebze” saubrisas, gamsaxurdia eyrdnoba niko maris iafetur Teorias, aseve vilheml humboldtis Sexedulebebs da ambobs, rom samxreT evropis avtoqtoni mosaxleoba iyo iberiuli mosaxleoba, protoiberebi, romelTagan momdinareoben gviandeli evropelebi. mcire aziis mosaxleobis didi nawili – mesxebi anu mosxebi, kabadokielebi, kolxebi, taoxebi da sxvani am modgmas miekuTvnebodnen. “rogorc vxedavT, es aris sxvadasxva ganStoebebi erTi da imave modgmisa, romelsac mecnierebaSi qarTveluri anu protoiberuli modgma ewodeba,” – ambobda gamsaxurdia (gamsaxurdia 1990: 8-9). ig miiCnevda, rom iberiuls aqvs mravali ganStoeba da dResdReobiT SemorCenilia mxolod ori – pireneul-iberiuli anu baskuri da kavkasiur-iberiuli anu qarTuli. danarCeni ukve asimilirebulia indoevropuli samyaros mier. am modgmis daknineba da mosuli indoevropelebis mier asimilireba daiwyo Zv.w. mesame aTaswleulSi da mxolod amis Semdeg wamovida wina planze xeTuri da elinuri samyaroebi (gamsaxurdia 1990: 10). zviad gamsaxurdia saqarTvelos sulier misias misi istoriuli funqciis aRorZinebaSi xedavda, rac dasavluri da aRmosavluri samyaroebis dakavSirebas, maT sinTezirebas gulisxmobs. igi aRniSnavda, rom “vefxistyaosani” iseve SegviZlia miviCnioT dasavluri kulturis kuTvnilebad, rogorc aRmosavluris. aq gayofa da gaTiSva SeuZlebelia” (gamsaxurdia 1990: 28)

saqarTvelos sulier misiaze saubrisas, gamsaxurdia gansakuTrebul yuradRebas uTmobda religiis sakiTxs. misi SexedulebiT, qristianobis ganviTarebaSi qarTveluri modgmis xalxebi ZiriTad rols TamaSobdnen. “sakuTriv qristianobaSi, qristianobis ganviTarebaSi qarTveluri da indoevropuli modgmis xalxebi asrulebdnen ZiriTad rols” (gamsaxurdia 1990: 31).

zviad gasaxurdia ufro Sorsac midioda da Tvlida, rom me-10 saukuneSi moRvawe qarTveli himnografis ioane-zosimes Txzuleba “qebai da didebai qarTulisa enisai” exeba ara mxolod qarTul enas, rogorc aseTs, aramed “qarTvel ers, qarTul eTnoss, mis kulturul-istoriul misias” (gamsaxurdia 1990: 43). “lazares aRdgineba ioane zosimesTan niSnavs aRdginebas qarTveli erisas, qarTveluri modgmisas, marto qarTveli erisas ki ara, mTeli qarTveluri modgmisas im ganfenilobiT, rogorc is iyo warmodgenili preistoriul xanaSi, anu lazares daZinebamde, anu mesame aTaswleulamde. mesame aTaswleulSi es modgma Semcirda, ganadgurda indoevropelebis mier da darCa mxolod pireneebze, mcire aziaSi, kavkasiaSi. xolo aRdgoma iqneba isev aRorZineba am modgmisa, isev imave pozicias daibrunebs es modgma da es eri, romelic mas gaaCnda preistoriul xanaSi, e.i. wamyvani modgmis pozicias, kacobriobis sulieri moZRvris pozicias. ai, es igulisxmeba swored imaSi, rom meored mosvlis dros RmerTman unda amxilos yvela ena amiT eniTao, rogorc ambobs ioane-zosime. es ki imas niSnavs, rom es modgma iqneba mTavari matarebeli sulierebisa, qristianobisa da is amxels danarCen codvil kacobriobas” (gamsaxurdia 1990: 33).

1980-iani wlebis bolos zviad gamsaxurdia saqarTvelos erovnuli moZraobis yvelaze popularuli lideri iyo da seriozuli mxardaWeriT sargeblobda. Sesabamisad, mis mier gamoTqmuli Sexedulebebi did gavlenas axdenda sazogadoebaSi arsebul molodinebsa da ganwyobebze. gamsaxurdias mosazrebebi, romlis magaliTi zemoT vnaxeT, namdvilad iwvevda saqarTveloSi politikis iracionalizacias da qarTul sazogadoebas damoukideblobasTan dakavSirebiT gadaWarbebul molodinebs uCenda. postsabWoTa periodis qarTulma nacionalurma proeqtma, Camoyalibebis sawyis stadiaze, erTgvari sakraluri aspeqti SeiZina. am miTologizebuli, didebuli warsulis dabrunebis survili damoukideblobis mopovebis Semdgom gaCenili sirTuleebis garkveul winapirobad iqca. miuxedavad imisa, rom saqarTvelos momavali politikuri elita, ZiriTadad, qarTveli eTnosis gandidebiT iyo dakavebuli da naklebad upirispirdeboda sxva eTnikur jgufebs, naTlad Cans nacionaluri proeqtis Caketiloba da eqskluziuroba. es tendencia safrTxes uqmnida mravaleTnikuri qveynis stabilur arsebobas. 1990 wlis 2 maiss, rodesac aRniSnuli leqcia waikiTxa, gamsaxurdia ukve saqarTvelos uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare iyo. moqmedi politikuri lideris mxridan saqarTvelos funqciisa da rolis gansasazRvrad me-10 saukuneSi dawerili Txzulebis gamoyeneba da saubari imaze, rom qarTveli eri imave pozicias daibrunebs, romelic mas preistoriul xanaSi hqonda, bundovans xdida qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis ganxorcielebis gzebsa da SesaZleblobebs.

erovnuli moZraobis erT-erTi wevri, ekonomisti roman gociriZe ambobs, rom “am periodSi iyo sruli deficiti im jansaRi azrisa, romelsac saerTaSoriso normebiT damkvidrebuli politikis keTeba qvia. maSin Zalian seriozulad msjelobdnen imis Sesaxeb, rom xval Tu zeg saingilos SemovierTebT. TurqeTs rom teritoriebs wavarTmevT da yofili qarTuli teritoriebi Cveni gaxdeba, amaze sakamaTo politikur wreebSi ar iyo, Tumca zogi amas xmamaRla ambobda, radikaluri moZraobis zogierTi warmomadgeneli, zogi ki Cumad vambobdiT, kuluarebSi, rom ki, es viciT, ase moxdeba, magram jer damoukidebloba gvaqvs misaRwevi, jer TurqeTi ar unda gavaRizianoT da mtrebi ar unda gaviCinoT. zogs undoda, rom saqarTvelos teritoria soWamde yofiliyo da aseTi sakiTxebi ixileboda sakmaod seriozul doneze, uamravi disputebi gamarTula saqarTvelos momavali teritoriuli mowyobis Sesaxeb.”[[4]](#footnote-4)

roman gociriZis am sityvebidan, vfiqrobT, naTlad Cans qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis ararealuri, utopiuri ganzomileba. sainteresoa, rom Tavad gociriZe sakuTar Tavs erovnuli moZraobis e.w. zomier, araradikalur wres miakuTvnebs. rogorc vxedavT, es zomiereba namdvilad pirobiTi iyo da imaSi gamoixateboda, rom, radikalebisgan gansxvavebiT, xmamaRla ar ambobdnen imas, rasac fiqrobdnen.

1989 wlis Semodgomidan saqarTvelos komunisturma xelisuflebam ganaxleba gadawyvita da TviTonac, garkveulwilad, erovnuli moZraobis gverdiT aRmoCnda. irakli wereTlis sityviT, erovnuli moZraobis winaSe iyo ori amocana – damoukideblobis mopoveba da saqarTvelos mTlianobis SenarCuneba. saqarTvelos kompartiis ck pirvelma mdivanma givi gumbariZem, wereTlis azriT, “orive am amocanas, Tavis mxriv, Tavi kargad gaarTva – xeli ar SeuSala saqarTvelos damoukideblobisken mimaval procesebs da xeli Seuwyo saqarTvelos mTlianobis SenarCunebas. mas hqonda Zalian loialuri, demokratiuli damokidebuleba opoziciis mimarT da, sxvaTa Soris, igi politikis adamianur, araagresiul urTierTobebze agebis klasikuri nimuSia.”[[5]](#footnote-5)

1989 wlis Semodgomaze saqarTvelos ssr umaRlesma sabWom konstituciaSi Seitana cvlilebebi, respublikis mTeli qoneba “gaaqarTula” da Camoayaliba saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobis uzenaesoba sakavSiro kanonmdeblobasTan mimarTebaSi. cvlilebebi ganamtkicebda saqarTvelos sabWoTa kavSiridan gamosvlis uflebas, xels uwyobda damoukidebeli sasamarTlos arsebobas da saqarTvelos umaRles sabWos aniWebda srul uflebas, gaekontrolebina sakuTari sazRvrebi da administraciuli erTeulebi. axali saarCevno kanoni uzrunvelyofda konkurentul pirdapir arCevnebs. 1990 wlis martSi umaRlesma sabWom Tavis deklaraciSi saTauriT “saqarTvelos saxelmwifo suverenitetis dacvis garantiebi” moiTxova yvela im SemoTavazebuli sabWoTa saprezidento uflebamosilebis gauqmeba, romelic arRvevda respublikis suverenitets. saqarTveloSi sabWoTa armiis SemoWra 1921 wlis TebervalSi gamocxadda “de faqto aneqsiad” da “saerTaSoriso danaSaulad”. umaRlesma sabWom 1921 wlis 21 maisis samokavSireo xelSekruleba saqarTvelosa da ruseTis sabWoTa federaciul socialistur respublikas Soris gamoacxada Zaladakargulad da moiTxova molaparakebebis dawyeba damoukidebeli saqarTvelos saxelmwifos aRsadgenad. 1990 wlis ivnisSi Tavis sagangebo sxdomaze daamtkica kanonebis Semdgomi paketi ekonomikuri suverenitetis, alternatiuli samxedro samsaxurisa da damoukidebeli politikuri partiebis formirebis uflebis Sesaxeb. Camoyalibda komisia, romlis mizani saqarTvelos damoukideblobis aRsadgenad sasamarTlo meqanizmis SemuSaveba iyo. saqarTvelos kompartiam dagmo sabWoTa kavSiris mier litvis blokada damoukideblobis gamocxadebis Semdeg (jonsi 2013: 50-51).

miuxedavad uprecedento gadawyvetilebebisa, es sazogadoebis ganwyobebze arsebiT gavlenas ver axdenda. saqarTvelos komunisturi partia xelisuflebaSi yofnis ukanasknel Tveebs iTvlida. stiven jonsi Tvlis, rom, miuxedavad reformebisa, gumbariZem ver SeZlo daemala Tavisi kavSirebi sabWoTa kavSiris komunistur partiasTan. 1990 wels igi airCies sabWoTa politbiuros wevrad. sabWoTa kavSirisadmi misma Sefarulma erTgulebam Ziri gamouTxara gancxadebebs moskovisgan damoukidebolobis Sesaxeb.

dimitri SveliZis SexedulebiT, komunisturi xelisuflebis mier gamoqveynebuli “saqarTvelos ssr erovnuli ganviTarebis koncefcia” ormagi standartis maCvenebeli tipuri dokumenti iyo. “gamoucdeli mkiTxvelisTvis, SesaZloa, Tval-yuris momWrelic ki yofiliyo koncefciis “didmniSvnelovani” pasuxebi, sadac saubari gaxldaT “sruli suverenitetis miRwevis” aucileblobaze; “samarTlebriv saxelmwifod gardaqmnaze”. marTlac, ra unda yofiliyo imaze momajadoebeli qarTveli sazogadoebisTvis, roca komunisturi partiis koncefcia mas hpirdeboda erovnuli Tavisuflebisa da saxelmwifoebrivi damoukideblobisken swrafvas, rom misi mizani iyo respublikis sruli suverenitetis mopoveba”. d. SveliZe Tvlis, rom koncefcia, “ugvano sicruesTan erTad, sasacilo Tezisebsac Seicavda”, rodesac xazs usvamda saqarTvelos saSinao saqmeebSi gareSe Zalis Caurevlobis aucileblobas da saqarTvelos SemadgenlobaSi myofi avtonomiuri erTeulebis interesebis dacvas. “ra Tqma unda, givi gumbariZis xelisuflebas erTi wuTiTac ar gauvlia fiqrad saqarTvelos sabWoTa kavSiridan, ufro sworad, ruseTis sabWoTa imperiidan gamosvla-gamoyofis SesaZlebloba”. koncefcia kvlavindeburad saqarTvelos warmoidgenda sakavSiro saxelmwifoSi. sruli suverenitetis mopoveba unda gamoxatuliyo realuri federalizmidan saxelmwifoebriobis ufro maRal, srulyofil formebze etapobrivad gadasvlaSi. maSin ukve mimdinareobda rRvevadi imperiis axali formiT SeniRbva-aRorZinebis procesi” (SveliZe 2008: 68-69).

vfiqrobT, rTulia imis gansazRvra, ra gaivlo fiqrad da ra ara saqarTvelos komunisturma xelisuflebam. faqtia, rom miRebuli sakanonmdeblo cvlilebebi saqarTvelos damoukideblobas garkveul iuridiul safuZvels uqmnida. miT umetes, rom am dros ukve daniSnuli iyo saqarTvelos ssr umaRlesi sabWos 1990 wlis 25 martis arCevnebi. savaraudoa, rom saqarTvelos komunisturi partia, msgavsi nabijebiT, Tundac sakavSiro xelisuflebasTan winaaRmdegobis xarjze, Zalauflebis SenarCunebas cdilobda.

1990 wlis gazafxulze, erovnuli moZraobis radikaluri frTis mier dafuZnda “erovnuli forumi”. misi mizani iyo, xeli Seewyo opoziciuri partiebis koordinirebuli moqmedebisTvis, moemzadebina saqarTvelos momavali damoukidebloba, aerCia gardamavali, alternatiuli parlamenti da mTavroba. “umaRlesi sabWo ar aris gamomxatveli qarTveli eris nebisa, ar aris arCeuli qarTveli xalxis mier. amitom Cven mas unda davupirispiroT qarTveli eris mier arCeuli alternatiuli parlamenti. Cven sxva gamosavali ar gvaqvs,” – ganacxada zviad gamsaxurdiam erovnuli forumis damfuZnebel krebaze.[[6]](#footnote-6) erovnul forums unda moemzadebiba sayovelTao arCevnebi, romelic airCevda erovnul kongress, “qarTvel eris nebis gamomxatvel warmomadgenlobiT organos, romelsac unda daemtkicebina gardamavali periodis erovnuli mTavroba, romelic saqarTvelos miiyvanda damoukideblobamde.”[[7]](#footnote-7)

erovnuli forumi iyo ara marto saqarTvelos komunisturi partiis opozicia, aramed misi warmomadgelebi sakuTar Tavs erovnuli moZraobis e. w. zomieri frTis alternativadac ganixilavdnen. imave periodSi, “rusTavelis sazogadoebam” gamoaqveyna saqarTvelos ekonomikuri ganviTarebis koncefcia, romelic aqcents ekonomikuri damoukideblobis mniSvnelobaze akeTebda da mas saqarTvelos damoukideblobis mopovebis saqmeSi ganmsazRvrel mniSvnelobas aniWebda. roman gociriZe ambobs, rom “saxalxo fronti” da “rusTavelis sazogadoeba” is organizaciebi iyo, sadac ekonomikur sakiTxebsac ganixilavdnen da iqmneboda ekonomikuri xasiaTis dokumentebi. rac Seexeba radikalur organizaciebs, isini, zomier mimarTulebasTan konkurenciis pirobebSi, ekonomikur sakiTxebs sruliad ugulebelyofdnen. “ekonomikuri Tema zomierebasTan asocirdeboda.”[[8]](#footnote-8) radikalebi am gziT xazs usvamdnen sakuTar ukompromisobas, Seurigeblobas da maRal idealebs, sadac iseTi praqtikuli sakiTxisTvis, rogoricaa ekonomika, adgili ar iyo.

1990 wlis 25 marts daniSnul umaRlesi sabWos arCevnebSi monawileobaze Tanxmoba ganacxada “saxalxo frontma” da araradikaluri mimarTulebis bevrma organizaciam. am faqtma saqarTvelos erovnul moZraobaSi arsebuli dapirispirebis kidev ufro gaRrmaveba gamoiwvia. erovnuli forumis warmomadgenlebi sabWoTa xelisuflebis mier daniSnul arCevnebs kategoriulad emijnebodnen da sazogadoebasac amisken mouwodebnen: “saWiroa ara marto erovnuli yrilobis mowveva, aramed, paralelurad, saWiroa Cven daviwyoT sabWoTa struqturebis ngreva. aq ukve yovelgvari dasma sakiTxisa – miviRoT Tu ara arCevnebSi monawileoba – unda moixsnas. ar unda miviRoT, ra Tqma unda, arCevnebSi monawileoba,” – ganacxada gia Wanturiam.[[9]](#footnote-9)

imave periodSi, 1990 wlis 13-15 marts, saqarTvelos erovnul-gamaTavisuflebeli moZraobis sagangebo konferenciaze miiRes dadgenileba, romlis mixedviT, erovnuli moZraoba “kanonieri mosaxleobis” saxeliT srul boikots ucxadebda saqarTvelos ssr erovnuli sabWos 1990 wlis 25 martis arCevnebs da iwyebda mzadebas gardamavali opoziciuri xelisuflebis arCevisTvis, romelic iqneboda oficialuri iuridiuli piri da saqarTvelos kanonieri mosaxleobis nebis gamomxatveli (saluaSvili 1996: 14). erovnuli moZraobis did gavlenas is faqtic adasturebs, rom boikotis Semdeg saqarTvelos xelisuflebam uari Tqva gazafxulze gaemarTa arCevnebi da igi SemodgomisTvis gadado. aRniSnul dadgenilebaSi araerTxel aris gamoyenebuli fraza “saqarTvelos kanonieri mosaxleoba”, rac migvaniSnebs, rom erovnuli moZraobis wamomadgenlebi mosaxleobis garkveul nawils ukanonod miiCnevdnen da arCevnebSi misi monawileoba-armonawileobis sakiTxi mniSvnelovnad ar miaCdaT. es faqti naTlad miuTiTebs qarTuli nacionalizmisa da erovnuli moZraobis wiaRSi formirebuli nacionaluri proeqtis eqskluziur xasiaTze. sainteresoa, Tu ra kriteriumebis safuZvelze xdeboda mosaxleobis ama Tu im nawilis saqarTvelos teritoriaze cxovrebis kanonierebis Tu ukanonobis gansazRvra. am sakiTxs exeba zviad gamsaxurdia ukve uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomaris rangSi mis mier micemul erT-erT interviuSi, romelzec ufro vrclad SemdgomSi visaubrebT.

saxalxo frontis lideris, nodar naTaZis azriT, “meboikoteebi imetebdnen saqarTvelos momavali oTxi wlis komunisturi batonobisaTvis, Tanac, kanonieri formis mqone batonobisaTvis. ra sjobs: mteri, romelic batonobs kanonieri formiT, Tu mteri, romelic batonobs xuntis formiT? ra Tqma unda, sjobs mteri, romelic batonobs xuntis formiT, imitom, rom mas susti iuridiuli pozicia aqvs...”[[10]](#footnote-10)

erovnuli moZraobis radikalur mimarTulebas imdenad didi gavlena hqonda rogorc sazogadoebaze, ise saqarTvelos komunistur xelisuflebaze, rom 1990 wlis 25 martis umaRlesi sabWos arCevnebi maTi boikotis Sedegad CaiSala. roman gociriZis SexedulebiT, “am arCevnebis CaSliT, saqarTvelom uari Tqva im gzaze, romelic SemdgomSi aRmoCnda warmatebuli da romelsac baltiis gzas uwodeben xolme. anu baltiis respublikebSi, faqtiurad, Catarebulma arCevnebma xelisuflebaSi moiyvana is adamianebi, romlebmac uzrunvelyves am qveynebis gamoyofa sabWoTa kavSiridan. maT Cven gagvaswres ara marto droSi, aramed maT Cven gagvaswres xarisxSic”.[[11]](#footnote-11) Tavad radikaluri moZraobis liderebi baltiispireTis respublikebis mier arCeul gzas araswors uwodebdnen. 1990 wlis 8 aprils gamarTul mitingze gia Wanturiam ganacxada, rom “Cveni brZolis gza erTaderTia da WeSmariti, romelic nimuSad unda daisaxon. litvam gamoacxada damoukidebloba, deklarireba advilia Tavisuflebis, Cvenc SegviZlia gamovacxadoT, magram sanam saokupacio jarebi saqarTvelos teritoriaze imyofebian, faqtobrivad, es Tavisufleba ar iqneba, amitom saqarTvelo iqneba Tavisufali, magram es iqneba ara uzenaesi viTom sabWos monapovari, Tqveni, mTeli qarTveli eris monapovari. ai, es aris erovnuli moZraobis namdvili gza.”[[12]](#footnote-12)

is faqti, rom Wanturia brZolis erTaderT, WeSmarit da sanimuSo gzad radikalebis mier arCeul mimarTulebas asaxelebda, niSandoblivia saqarTvelos erovnuli moZraobisTvis. gansxvavebuli azrisadmi Seurigebloba da sakuTari damokidebulebebis ualternativoba, rac radikalebs axasiaTebdaT, laitmotivad gasdevda saqarTveloSi 1980-1990-iani wlebis mijnaze ganviTarebul procesebs, ramac mniSvnelovanwilad ganapiroba qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis marcxi.

sabolood, erovnuli moZraoba saqarTvelos xelisuflebaSi swored arCevnebis gziT movida, rac gvaZlevs imis Tqmis safuZvels, rom saqarTveloSi mainc, e. w. “baltiispireTis gzam” gaamarTla. Tumca erovnuli moZraobis gaTiSulobam SeuZlebeli gaxada gardamavali periodis mSvidobiani daZleva.

erovnuli forumis Camoyalibebidan maleve, 1990 wlis gazafxulze, masSi Semaval organizaciebs Soris ganxeTqileba moxda. forumi datova yvelaze popularulma liderma zviad gamsaxurdiam da axali politikuri organizacia “mrgvali magida” Camoayaliba. ganxeTqilebis mizezebTan dakavSirebiT sxvadasxva mosazreba arsebobs. sainteresoa jaba ioselianis Tvalsazrisi. misi sityviT, 1990 wlis 9 aprils cxvinvalis regionSi mcxovrebi osebis garkveul jgufs surda TbilisSi Camosvla erTi wliT adre daRupuli adamianebisTvis pativis misagebad, rasac Tavad ioseliani didi sixaruliT Sexvda. osebis TbilisSi vizitze kategoriuli uari ganacxada zviad gamsaxurdiam, romelmac cxinvalidan gamogzavnili delegacia arc ki miiRo. im Ramesve gamsaxurdiam dareka cxinvalSi da mouwoda regionis qarTul mosaxleobas, daetovebinaT sacxovrebelia adgili, radgan, TiTqos, osebi maT darbevas apirebdnen. jaba ioseliani ambobs, rom man es faqti gaaprotesta, ramac gamsaxurdias gaRizianeba da mis mier forumis datoveba gamoiwvia. erovnuli forumis Sekrebazeve moxda dapirispireba jaba ioselianisa da zviad gamsaxurdias dacvis wevrebs Soris.[[13]](#footnote-13)

irakli wereTlis SexedulebiT, dapirispirebis mizezi iyo erovnul forumSi gaCenili azri imis Sesaxeb, rom mTavaria erovnuli moZraobis xelisuflebaSi mosvla da mniSvneloba ar aqvs imas, Tu ra gziT, romeli kanonis safuZvelze da vis mier daniSnuli arCevnebis Sedegad moxdeba es. wereTeli ambobs, rom aseve iyo pirovnuli gaugebrobebi massa da zviad gamsaxurdias Soris, ramac xeli Seuwyo konfliqtis gaRrmavebas.

zviad gamsaxurdias “mrgvalma magidam”, romelSic Sevidnen “merab kostavas sazogadoeba”, “monarqistuli partia”, “wm. ilia marTlis sazogadoeba”, “helsinkis kavSiri”, “TeTri giorgis kavSiri” da “erovnul-qristianuli kavSiri”, Tanxmoba ganacxada uzenaesi sabWos arCevnebSi monawileobaze. “erovnulma forumma” ki, romlis SemadgenlobaSic “erovnul-demokratiuli partia”, “erovnuli damoukideblobis partia” da “mxedrioni” Sediodnen, alternatiuli, erovnuli kongresis arCevnebis propaganda daiwyo. am periodSi ukve naTelia zviad gamsaxurdias poziciis garkveuli cvlileba: igi ufro Semrigebluria da mis damokidebulebas garkveuli racionalizmi axasiaTebs: “Cveni kursi gulisxmobs erTaderTi arCevnebis ideas. paraleluri arCevnebis ideas uaryofs da moiTxovs arCevas iseTi organosi, romelic iqneba qarTveli eris neba-survilis gamomxatveli da, amave dros, samarTlebrivi subieqti, romelsac aRiarebs saerTaSoriso samarTali. amisTvis, vimeoreb, aucilebelia igi iyos erTaderTi, iyos oficialuri da iyos mTeli qarTveli eris ndobis mandatis mqone.”[[14]](#footnote-14)

1990 wlis 12 maiss mrgvalma magidam miiRo mniSvnelovani dokumenti – “mrgvali magidis politikuri koncefcia”.[[15]](#footnote-15) es dokumenti, rogorc maSindel saqarTveloSi yvelaze popularuli politikuri gaerTianebis faqtobrivad winasaarCevno ganacxadi, sayuradReboa, erTi mxriv, qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis ZiriTadi aspeqtebis Sesaswavlad, xolo meore mxriv, imis gasaanalizeblad, Tu ra cvlileba ganicada zviad gamsaxurdias da misi politikuri gundis damokidebulebebma mcire droSi. dokumentidan naTlad Cans qarTuli nacionalizmis eTnikuri xasiaTi da eqskluziuroba, Tumca, amave dros, qarTul nacionalur proeqts ukve aqvs SeZenili garkveuli samoqalaqo maxasiaTeblebi. “mrgvali magida” “qarTvel ers, saqarTvelos kanonier mosaxleobas” mouwodebda, aerCia is gza, romelic saqarTvelos miiyvanda saxelmwifoebrivi damoukideblobis aRdgenamde. “dRes saqarTvelos damoukidebeli demokratiuli respublikis erTaderTi kanonieri memkvidre aris qarTveli eri, saqarTvelos kanonieri mosaxleoba. amitom aucilebelia swored qarTvelma erma, saqarTvelos kanonierma mosaxleobam gaakeTos arCevani im gzisa, romliTac saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebrivi damoukidebloba unda aRdges.” am dokumentSi, msgavsad “erovnuli forumis” mier martSi miRebuli wesdebisa, kvlav aris naxsenebi “saqarTvelos kanonieri mosaxleoba”, rac TavisTavad gulisxmobs mosaxleobis garkveuli nawilis ukanonobas. aseve naTelia, rom qarTveli eris cnebas calsaxad eTnikuri Sinaarsi aqvs da masSi mxolod eTnikuri qarTvelebi igulisxmebian.

“mrgval magidaSi” Semavali politikuri organizaciebi damoukideblobis mopovebis or SesaZleblobas asaxelebdnen: 1. sayovelTao erovnuli daumorCilebloba (erovnuli forumis mier arCeuli gza). 2. okupaciisa da aneqsiis pirobebSi, SeZlebisdagvarad, maqsimalurad eris nebis gamomxatveli droebiTi umaRlesi xelisuflebis sayovelTao arCevnebi. koncefciis avtorebi iwunebdnen daumorCileblobis ideas. sainteresoa am gzis uaryofis erT-erTi mizezi, saidanac Cans, rom am periodSi qarTul nacionalur proeqts ukve axasiaTebs garkveuli inkluziuroba. koncefciis avtorTa azriT, daumorCileblobis idea ganuxorcielebeli iyo saqarTvelos mosaxleobis mravaleTnikuri Semadgenlobis gamo – mas mxars ar dauWerda qveynis araqarTveli mosaxleoba. koncefciis avtorebi araqarTul mosaxleobas “damoukideblobis aramosurnes” uwodebdnen. racionaluri Cans sxva mizezebic – qarTuli sazogadoebis mZime moraluri mdgomareoba, rac daumorCileblobis ideis masobriv gatarebas gaarTulebda, jer kidev Zlieri sabWoTa saxelmwifo da saokupacio jarebis saqarTveloSi yofna, rac aseve gaaZnelebda oficialur struqturebTan Ria dapirispirebas. “sayovelTao erovnuli daumorCilebloba, im masStabiTa da vadiT, romelic ukiduresi gaWirvebis, didi riskisa da, iqneb, sisxlis fasadac ers saxelmwifoebriv damoukideblobamde miiyvans, mxolod ukiduresad eqstremaluri situaciisas aris SesaZlebeli.” koncefciis avtorebi Tvlidnen, rom mocemul momentSi ar arsebobda msgavsi estremaluri viTareba, amitom sayovelTao daumorCilebloba SeuZlebeli iyo. “mrgvali magidis” wevr organizaciebs erTaderT gamosavlad arCevnebi miaCniaT. “imisaTvis, rom saqarTveloSi arCeul iqnas WeSmaritad eris nebis gamomxatveli da misi interesebis damcveli organo, romelic mxolod arsebuli obieqturi realobis gaTvaliswinebiT imoqmedebs da ara centraluri saokupacio xelisuflebis diqtatiTa da misadmi kompromisebiT, aucilebelia arCevnebSi monawileoba miiRos saqarTvelos erovnul-gamaTavisuflebeli moZraobis radikalurma opoziciam.” es imisTvis iyo saWiro, rom umaRles arCeviT organoSi moskovisadmi daqvemdebarebuli politkuri Zalebi umciresobaSi aRmoCeniliyvnen da gardamavali periodis simZime axal politikur Zalas etvirTa. “saqarTvelos ukiduresad mZime geopolitikuri, politikuri, ekonomikuri, demografiuli, ekologiuri mdgomareobis gamo, yovlad dauSvebelia saocrad dinamiur gardamaval periodSi iseTi moqmedebebi, romelic erisa da qveynis interesebidan ar gamomdinareobs.”

dokumentidan aSkaraa, rom am droisTvis erovnuli moZraobis warmmarTvel ZalaSi emociuri foni da iracionalizmi met-naklebad ganeitralebulia, yuradReba ufro pragmatul, iuridiul sakiTxebs eqceva. dokumentSi naxsenebia 1920 wlis 7 maisis xelSekruleba saqarTvelos demokratiul respublikasa da sabWoTa ruseTs Soris, rogorc umniSvnelovanesi samarTlebriv-politikuri saerTaSoriso aqti. am aqtiT sabWoTa ruseTma aRiara saqarTvelos damoukidebloba da Semdeg es SeTanxmeba Tavadve daarRvia 1921 wels, rodesac ganaxorciela saqarTvelos okupacia. koncefciis avtorTa SexedulebiT, 1921 wlis 17 martis (am dRes saqarTvelos demokratiuli respublikis damfuZnebelma krebam droebiT SeaCera saqarTvelos konstitucia) Semdeg ar miRebula arc erTi kanonieri saxelmwifoebrivi aqti, rasac Tavad saqarTvelos imJamindeli komunisturi xelisuflebac aRiarebda,

sainteresoa, rom koncefciis avtorebi imowmeben da eyrdnobian saqarTvelos komunisturi xelisuflebis mier miRebul gadawyvetilebebs. es faqti adasturebs Cvens mosazrebas, rom am periodSi Tavad komunisturi xelisuflebac “nacionalistur relsebze” iyo damdgari da iRebda gadawyvetilebebs, romliTac saqarTvelos momaval damoukideblobas mniSvnelovan iuridiul safuZvels uqmnida. “mrgvali magidis” wevrebi da qarTveli komunistebi, am SemTxvevaSi, erTgvar Tanamoazreebad gvevlinebian.

dokumentSi xazgasmulia gardamavali periodis kanonierad dawyebis da damoukideblobis samarTlebrivi meqanizmebiT miRwevis aucilebloba. “kanonierebidan yovelgvari gadaxveva gardamavali periodis sawyis etapze mxolod gaarTulebs Cvens isedac ukiduresad mZime mdgomareobas, rac saboloo jamSi kargs arafers mogvitans,” – naTqvamia koncefciaSi. amitom, avtorTa SexedulebiT, aucilebelia amosaval wertilad iqces 1920 wlis 7 maisis xelSekruleba da 1921 wlis 27 ianvris erTa ligis gadawyvetileba saqarTvelos demokratiuli respublikis saerTaSoriso suverenad cnobis Sesaxeb, da ara sakavSiro da respublikuri konstituciebis “kargi” da “cudi” muxlebi.

koncefciaSi naxsenebia “litvuri precendentis” dadebiTi mxareebi, romelic, marTalia, “naCqarevad” Seiqmna, magram sayuradRebo iyo imitom, rom metropoliasTan molaparakebas ara sabWour konstituciaTa, aramed saerTaSoriso samarTlis gaTvaliswinebiT gulisxmobda.

qarTvel mkvlevarTa nawilSi gavrcelebulia azri, rom saqarTveloSi damoukideblobis baltiispirulma gzam kraxi ganicada. warmodgenili dokumentis da Semdgom ganviTarebuli procesebis analizis safuZvelze, SegviZlia vTqvaT, rom saqarTvelos damoukidebloba mainc konstituciuri meqanizmebiT, racionaluri damokidebulebebiT da komunistur xelisuflebasTan samarTlebrivi brZoliT gaxda SesaZlebeli. es faqti gvaCvenebs, rom saqarTvelos saboloo warmateba mainc baltiispirulma gzam moutana, Tumca, erovnuli moZraobis aRmavlobaSi da politikur sivrceSi mis srul gabatonebaSi, sxva faqtorebTan erTad, didi roli radikaluri frTis ukompromisobam da Seurigebelma damokidebulebebma iTamaSa.

“mrgvali magidis” politikuri koncefciis avtorebs miaCndaT, rom “msoflio politikaSi xalxis nebis gamomxatveli samarTlebrivi subieqtis Seqmnis yvelaze misaRebi forma sayovelTao demokratiuli arCevnebia, romlis drosac xdeba garkveuli vadiT ndobis mandatis gadacema kanonier umaRles xelisuflebaze. saqarTveloSi umokles vadaSi unda Catardes sayovelTao, mravalpartiuli, SeuzRudavi, demokratiuli arCevnebi...” msgavsi arCevnebis Catarebis ori gza arsebobda – oficialuri da araoficialuri. mrgvali magidis warmomadgenelTa azriT, marTalia, araoficialuri arCvnebi imTaviTve moixsnida sabWouris iarliys, magram waawydeboda mniSvnelovan problemas \_ arCevnebis sayovelTaoobas da masSi saqarTvelos mosaxleobis umravlesobis monawileobas. araoficialuri arCevnebi ar iqneboda erTaderTi da qveynis araqarTveli (da ara mxolod) macxovreblebi oficialur, sabWoTa arCevnebs daelodebodnen. mosalodneli iyo iseTi kuriozuli SemTxvevac, rom amomrCevlis garkveul nawils orive arCevnebSi mieRo monawileoba. problemebi Seiqmneboda araoficialuri arCevnebis organizebasTan dakavSirebiTac. komunisturi xelisufleba yvelanairad Seecdeboda, xeli SeeSala misi CatarebisTvis. aseve problema iyo araoficialuri arCevnebis sarTaSoriso aRiareba, radgan im periodisTvis jer kidev arsebobda sabWoTa kavSiri. Sesabamisad, saqarTvelos ss respublikaSi Catarebul araoficialur arCevnebs saerTaSoriso asparezze aravin aRiarebda.

aRniSnuli mizezebidan gamomdinare, mrgvali magidis politikuri koncefcia emxroboda oficialur arCevvnebSi erovnuli moZraobis monawileobas, Tumca, amisTvis garkveul pirobebs ayenebda:

1. saqarTvelos unda SeeiZina Tavisi realuri politikuri mdgomareobis Sesabamisi politikuri statusi. amisTvis saqarTvelos unda Secvloda SeiaraRebuli agresiisa da aneqsiis Sedegad Tavsmoxveuli ukanono saxeli – saqarTvelos sabWoTa socialisturi respublika.
2. unda SeCerebuliyo sabWoTa kavSiris antihumanuri, arademokratiuli konstituciis moqmedeba saqarTvelos mTel teritoriaze.
3. saqarTvelos sabWoTa konstituciis moqmedebis SeCereba, droebiTi konstituciis SemuSaveba, 1921 wlis konstituciis dabruneba Tu sakanonmdeblo aqtebiT qveynis marTva, gardamavali periodis droebiTi mTavrobis prerogativad unda CaTvliliyo.

“mrgvali magidis” mesveurebi miiCnevdnen, rom arsebuli xelisuflebisgan am pirobebis Sesruleba realisturi iyo, radgan isini logikurad ar ewinaaRmdegebodnen xelisuflebis mierve miRebul gadawyvetilebebs. koncefcias xels awerdnen “saqarTvelos helsinkis kavSiris”, “wm. ilia marTlis sazogadoebis”, “saqarTvelos monarqistuli partiis”, “merab kostavas sazogadoebis”, “mrCevelTa jgufebis sakoordinacio kolegiis” warmomadgenlebi.

miuxedavad imisa, rom aRniSnuli moTxovnebi ar dakmayofilda, politikurma gaerTianeba “mrgvalma magidam” mainc miiRo monawileoba 1990 wlis 28 oqtombers saqarTvelos sabWoTa xelisuflebis mier daniSnul uzenaesi sabWos arCevnebSi. “erovnulma forumma” kvlav ukompromiso pozicia daikava, kategoriulad uaryo arCevnebis idea da scada mieRo sazogadoebis mxardaWera, Tumca sazogadoebri azri aSkarad “mrgvali magidis” mxares ixreboda.

1990 wlis 26 maiss dainiSna ori paraleluri Sekreba. “mrgvalma magidam” mitingi lokomotivis, xolo “erovnulma forumma” erovnul stadionze daniSna. “mrgvali magidis” mitingze gacilebiT meti adamiani mivida, ramac naTeli gaxada, rom mosaxleobis simpaTia aSkarad zviad gamsaxurdias mxares iyo. am mitingze zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvlas aqvs garkveuli religiuri Seferiloba. igi im gzas, romelsac misi politikuri gaerTianeba emxroba, “qristes gzas” uwodebs, xolo, misi mowinaaRmdegeebis mier arCeul kurss – “barabas gzas”[[16]](#footnote-16). gamsaxurdias sityvaSi, amave periodSi micemuli interviuebisagan gansxvavebiT, kvlav igrZnoba radikalizmi da gansxvavebuli poziciebisadmi sruli Seurigebloba. es, albaT, ganpirobebulia mitingze arsebuli emociuri atmosferoTi da im faqtiT, rom man TvalnaTliv dainaxa misadmi sazogadoebis didi nawilis simpaTia.

gamsaxurdias reitingis mkveTrma zrdam mis mowinaaRmdegeebSi misadmi Seurigeblobis gazrdac gamoiwvia. gamsaxurdias winaaRmdeg koaliciis Seqmna iseTma, TiTqos, erTmaneTTan radikalurad dapirispirebulma jgufebmac ki gadawyvites, rogorebic iyvnen “erovnuli forumi” da saqarTvelos komunisturi xelisufleba. jaba ioselianis sityviT, isini apirebdnen eTanamSromlaT zomieri mimarTulebis warmomadgenlebTanac. am gaerTianebis mTavari mizani givi gumbariZis xelisuflebidan Camocileba iyo, romelic, ioselianis azriT, xels uwyobda gamsaxurdias aRzevebas. es ukanaskneli ki, Tavisi arakompetenturobiT, avtoritaruli miswrafebebiT, avantiuruli politikiT da Sovinisturi kursiT saqarTvelos daRupvis piramde miiyvanda. jaba ioselianma gadawyvita ganexorcielebina gegma, romelic iTvaliswinebda “sabWoTa kavSiris ngrevis pirobebSi damoukideblobis gzaze saqarTvelos TandaTanobiT gamoyvanas”. ioselians am gegmis ganxorcieleba SesaZleblad miaCnda “rusTavelis sazogadoebasTan”, “saxalxo frontTan” da zogierT “erovnuli suliskveTebiT gamorCeul” komunistTan TanamSromlobiT. misi ganxorcielebisTvis aucilebeli iyo zviad gamsaxurdias neitralizeba, magram amisTvis, pirvel rigSi, givi gumbariZe unda gadaeyenebinaT. Tavdapirvelad am mizniT sabWoTa kavSiris sagareo saqmeTa ministr eduard SevardnaZis gamoyeneba scades, Tumca misgan uari miiRes, radgan gumbariZe misi rekomendaciiT iyo daniSnuli ck pirveli mdivnis postze. amis Semdeg jaba ioselianis saxlSi Seikribnen ck biuros wevri guram mgelaZe, respublikis generaluri prokurori vaxtang razmaZe, edp lideri gia Wanturia da erovnuli damoukideblobis partiis lideri irakli wereTeli. miRebul iqna gadawyvetileba, rom biuris sxdomaze wevrebs gumbariZisTvis undobloba unda gamoecxadebinaT da am gziT CamoecilebinaT xelisuflebidan. miuxedavad SeTanxmebisa, biuros wevrebma gumbariZisTvis undoblobis gamocxadeba ver gabedes (ioseliani 2013: 21-22).

rogorc vxedavT, zviad gamsaxurdias imTaviTve, xelisuflebaSi mosvlamde hyavda radikaluri opozicia sxvadasxva jgufis saxiT, romlebic, miuxedavad erTmaneTisadmi dapirispirebuli poziciebisa, gamsaxurdias winaaRmdeg gaerTianebas ar eridebodnen.

givi gumbariZisa da zviad gamsaxurdias winaaRmdeg mimarTuli gegmis CaSlis Semdeg, “erovnulma forumma” erovnuli kongresis arCevnebi daniSna 1990 wlis 30 seqtembrisTvis. arCvenebi Catarda, Tumca masze misuli adamianebis raodenoba ar iyo STambeWdavi. gaugebari iyo, Tu ra funqcia ekisreboda erovnul kongress. SeiZleba iTqvas, rom “erovnuli forumis” erTaderT mizans gamsaxurdiasTan dapirispireba warmoadgenda. mis wevrebs ar hqondaT Camoyalibebuli gegma, Tu ra gziT unda ganviTarebuliyo saqarTvelos momavali. nodar naTaZe, romelic xSirad eswreboda “erovnuli forumis” Sekrebebs, ambobs, rom “iq ar iyo aranairi konstruqciuli garemo. Tu adamiani galanZRavda zviads (gamsaxurdias), ukravdnen taSs, Tu ar galanZRavda, ar ukravdnen.”[[17]](#footnote-17) xalxi 1990 wlis 28 oqtombris arCevnebs eloda, romelsac umaRlesi sabWo unda daekompleqtebina. saqarTvelos ssr Sinagan saqmeTa yofili ministri SoTa gorgoZe acxadebs, rom komunisturma partiam, faqtobrivad, winaswari kapitulacia gamoacxada da winasaarCevno procesi TviTdinebaze miuSva. komunistebis indiferentuli damokidebulisgan gansxvavebiT, aqtiurobda “mrgvali magida”, romlis warmomadgenlebic dadiodnen mosaxleobaSi da erovnuli ideebis propagandas eweodnen. mosaxleobaSi arsebuli nacionalisturi ganwyobebis gaTvaliswinebiT, naTeli iyo, rom erovnul Zalebs gamarjvebis didi Sansi hqondaT. “komunisturi partia absoluturad arafers ar akeTebda da me ukve vxedavdi, rom arCevnebi wagebuli iyo”, – ambobs SoTa gorgoZe.[[18]](#footnote-18)

winasaarCevno kampaniis dros zviad gamsaxurdia da “mrgvali magidis” sxva mesveurebi gansakuTrebiT aqtiurobdnen. maT saqarTvelos sxvadasxva qalaqSi aTeulobiT mitingi Caatares. sayuradReboa gamsaxurdias gamosvla winasaarCevno procesis dasasruls TbilisSi organizebul erT-erT mitingze, romelic mosaxleobaSi arsebul ganwyobebs exeba: “namdvilad saqarTvelos arCevnebia, namdvilad qarTveli eris arCevnebia... gansakuTrebiT grandiozuli mitingi iyo soxumSi, sadac mTeli soxumis qarTveloba movida stadionze. yvelgan xalxi amJRavnebs “mrgvali magidis” arnaxul mxardaWeras. samaCabloSi osebi imuqrebian CaSliT, kerZod cxinvalSi. azerbaijanelebi gvTxoven, depeSebs gvigzavnian, CagvitareT demokratiuli arCevnebi. ZiriTadi, 90% qarTuli mosaxleobisa, SeiZleba iTqvas, gviWers mxars. araqarTuli mosaxleobis nawilic, albaT. bogdanovka-axalqalaqSi, albaT, somxuri mosaxleoba Cvensken gadmoixreba. vinc somxeTis patriotia, dRes unda ifiqros momavalze. sxvaTa Soris, somxeTs didi imedi aqvs CvenTan kargi urTierTobisa da unda Segviwyos xeli.”[[19]](#footnote-19) rogorc vxedavT, “mrgvali magida” gamarjvebas, ZiriTadad, qarTvelebis eTnikuri mobilizaciis xarjze gegmavda, Tumca zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvlidan Cans, rom mas araqarTveli mosaxleobis mxardaWeris imedic aqvs da tolerantulia im araqarTvelebis mimarT, romlebic “demokratul arCevnebSi” erovnul Zalas da, Sesabamisad, saqarTvelos damoukideblobas dauWeren mxars.

sabolood, arCevnebSi “mrgvalma magidam” damajerebeli gamarjveba moipova. mas amomrCevelTa 53%-ma dauWira mxari. komunistebi opoziciaSi aRmoCndnen. uzenaes sabWoSi aseve moxvda zomieri opoziciis ramdenime warmomadgeneli.[[20]](#footnote-20) aseT Sedegs TviTon “mrgvali magidis” warmomadgenlebic ar elodnen. miuxedavad sazogadoebis ganwyobisa, komunisturi partiis samocdaaTwliani mmarTvelobis pirobebSi aseTi gamarjveba daujerebeli Canda. zviad gamsaxurdias TanamebrZoli Temur qoriZe ambobs: “zviad gamsaxurdia fiqrobda, rom brZola gadaetana parlamentis SenobaSi. igi varaudobda, Tavis droze, rom “saxalxo frontTan” da sxva arCevnebSi monawile opoziciur ZalebTan erTad miiRebda xmebis daaxloebiT ocdaaT procents da viqnebodiT saparlamento opozicia.”[[21]](#footnote-21) “mrgvali magidis” aseT warmatebas ar eloda arc sabWoTa kavSiris xelisufleba. momdevno periodSi, ukve uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomaris modgilis rangSi moskovSi Casulma “mrgvali magidis” wevrma akaki asaTianma naxa, rom kremlis mxridan mowveva givi gumbariZis saxelze iyo gamowerili.[[22]](#footnote-22)

1990 wlis 28 oqtombris arCevnebiT saqarTveloSi komunisturi partiis 70 wliani mmarTveloba dasrulda. saqarTvelos xelisuflebaSi aTwleulebis ganmavlobaSi sabWoTa ideologiis erT-erTi yvelaze didi mowinaaRmdege, yofili disidenti zviad gamsaxurdia da misi politikuri gaerTianeba movida. gamsaxurdia erTxmad airCies uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomared. viTareba rTuli da winaaRmdegobrivi iyo – jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris SemadgenlobaSi myofi saqarTvelos marTvas erovnuli xelisufleba iwyebda. saqarTvelos damoukideblobisTvis brZola axal etapze gadavida. axlad arCeul uzenaes sabWos unda Seeqmna saqarTvelos sabWoTa kavSiris Semadgenlobidan gamosvlis konstituciuri safuZveli. erTi mxriv, centrTan, xolo meore mxriv, erovnuli moZraobis opoziciur nawilTan dapirispirebul xelisuflebas win mZime gardamavali periodi eloda, rac xelisuflebis warmomadgenlebis mxridan erovnuli moZraobis liderTa rolidan gamosvlas, nakleb radikalizms da met racionalizms saWiroebda. saqarTveloSi procesebi dramatulad ganviTarda da sabolood samoqalaqo omSi gadaizarda.

**erovnuli moZraoba xelisuflebis saTaveSi**. politikuri gaerTianeba “mrgvali magidis” saqarTvelos xelisuflebaSi yofna xanmokle, Tumca movlenebiT datvirTuli aRmoCnda. am periodSi gamocxadda saqarTvelos damoukidebloba, qveyanam airCia pirveli prezidenti, gamwvavda da SeiaraRebul dapirispirebaSi gadaizarda konfliqti cxinvalis regionSi, dapirispireba Tbilisis centrSi e. w. “Tbilisis omsa” da, Semdeg, samoqalaqo omSi gadaizarda, romelsac Sedegad erovnuli xelisuflebis damxoba da prezidentis qveynidan gaqceva mohyva.

“mrgvalis magidis” xelisuflebisa da zviad gamsaxurdias prezidentobis dros SeiniSneba garkveuli cvlilebebi qarTul nacionalur proeqtSi, romelmac samoqalaqo maxasiaTeblebi SeiZina da metad inkluziuri gaxda. es zemoT ganxiluli “mrgvali magidis” politikuri koncefciidanc Cans, romelic jer kidev 1990 wlis maisSi miiRes. miuxedavad amisa, zviad gamsaxurdias gauWirda erovnuli moZraobis lideris rolidan gamosvla, rasac aucilebad gulisxmobda damoukidebeli qveynis politikuri lideroba. xelisuflebaSi yofnis dros mas kvlav axasiaTebda impulsuroba, mudmivad mtrebis Zieba da gansxvavebul azrTan Seurigebloba. es tendencia, isedac ukiduresad daZabul politikur viTarebaSi, safrTxes uqmnida qveynis stabilur ganviTarebas. am epoqis saqarTveloSi ar arsebobda damoukidebeli qveynis marTvis gamocdileba. amas emateboda is, rom saqarTvelos xelisuflebis mniSvnelovani nawili, gansakuTrebiT, misi lideri wlebis ganmavlobaSi oficialur struqturebTan mwvave dapirispirebaSi imyofebodnen. amis Semdeg, faqtobrivad moumzadeblad, es adamianebi xelisuflebis saTaveSi aRmoCndnen da Tavad mouxdaT saxelmwifo struqturebis marTva/Seneba. vfiqrobT, rom damoukideblobis gariJraJze saqarTveloSi arsebuli sirTuleebi didwilad obieqturi realobis Sedegia, Tumca am periodis qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis marcxs da samoqalaqo dapirispirebas subieqturma faqtorebmac mniSvnelovnad Seuwyo xeli. qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis winaaRmdegobrioba obieqturi da subieqturi garemoebebis zemoqmedebis Sedegia.

1990 wlis 8 noembers, arCevnebis Catarebidan sul mcire xanSi, gamoqveynda zviad gamsaxurdias mimarTva aWaris mosaxleobisadmi.[[23]](#footnote-23) aWaraSi mrgvali magida damarcxda da arCevnebSi xmaTa umravlesoba (56 procenti) komunisturma partiam miiRo. aseT Sedegs gamsaxurdia abralebda “provokatorebs”, romlebic dadiodnen aWaris mosaxleobaSi, avrcelebdnen erovnuli moZraobis makomprometirebel Worebs da “mrgval magidas” saxels utexdnen. xelisuflebaSi mosuli zviad gamsaxurdia loialuri iyo mowinaaRmdegeebis mimarT, mouwodebda maT warsulis daviwyebisa da momavali TanamSromlobisken: “daviviwyoT warsuli codvebi, am wuTisofelSi erTmaneTs nuRar vawyeninebT, nuRar gavwiravT...” msgavsi Semwynarebloba da Semrigebluri toni, ukve xelisuflebaSi mosuli erovnuli Zalis mxridan, mis erTgvar gaxsnilobasa da loialurobaze miuTiTebs, Tumca am werilSi gamsaxurdia kvlav saubrobda qarTveli eris gansakuTrebul misiaze, romelic mas kacobriobis winaSe akisria. arCevnebSi gamarjvebas igi ara obieqtur realobas da racionalur faqtorebs, aramed gangebas miawerda, radgan “imperiis mier danawevrebul, damonebul” saqarTvelos am misiis Sesruleba ar SeeZlo. gamsaxurdia xazs usvamda aWaris mkvidrTa gansakuTrebul rols saqarTvelos istoriaSi, Tumca erTxelac ar uxsenebia aWaris mosaxleobis gansxvavebuli religiuri mikuTvnebuloba. piriqiT, igi aqcents imaze akeTebda, rom “aWara iyo is pirveli kuTxe, romelmac pirvelma, jer kidev pirvel saukuneebSi, miiRo qristianoba da safuZveli daudo qarTul xalxur qristianobas – giorgobasTan Serwymul qristianobas.”

zviad gamsaxurdia avtonomiis sakiTxsac Seexo da aRniSna, rom saqarTveloSi avtonomia SeiZleba hqondes mxolod araqarTul mosaxleobas; qarTvelTa avtonomia saqarTveloSi didi Seusabamobaa da gasauqmebelia. Tu erovnuli moZraobis liderobis periodSi gamsaxurdias dauSveblad miaCnda saqarTveloSi avtonomiebis arseboba da maT saswrafod gauqmebas moiTxovda, am SemTxvevaSi igi araqarTuli mosaxleobisTvis avtonomiuri warmonaqmnebis arsebobas dasaSvebad Tvlida, Tumca aWarasTan mimarTebaSi misi toni Seuvali iyo.

imave dReebSi, 13 noembers, gamoqveynda interviu zviad gamsaxurdiasTan, romelic arCevnebis Sedegebs exeba.[[24]](#footnote-24) am interviuSi “mrgvali magidis” lideri kvlav daubrunda araqarTuli mosaxleobis sakiTxs da aRniSna, rom arCevnebamde es mosaxleoba dezinformaciis msxverpli iyo. maT eubnebodnen, rom, TiTqos, xelisuflebaSi mosvlis SemTxvevaSi “mrgvali magida” maT qveynidan gaasaxlebda, mouwyobda genocids da a. S. es, ra Tqma unda, simarTles ar Seesabameboda.

1990 wlis 14 noembris uzenaesi sabWos sxdomaze miRebul iqna “kanoni saqarTvelos respublikaSi gardamavali periodis gamocxadebis Sesaxeb”.[[25]](#footnote-25) gardamavali periodis gamocxadebis mizani saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebrivi damoukideblobis aRdgenis safuZvlebis momzadeba iyo.

saqarTvelos respublikis uzenaesma sabWom ukanonod gamoacxada sabWoTa kavSiris SemadgenlobaSi saqarTvelos yofnis mTeli periodi. am kanonis mixedviT, saqarTvelos respublika 1918-1921 wlebis demokratiuli respublikis samarTalmemkvidred iqna aRiarebuli: “saqarTvelos respublika aris suverenuli saqarTvelos demokratiuli respublikis memkvidre saxelmwifo. igi ZaladobiT aris Seyvanili ssr kavSiris SemadgenlobaSi.” miuxedavad amisa, uzenaesma sabWom, axali konstituciis SemuSavebamde, saTanado cvlilebebiTa da damatebebiT, ZalaSi datova saqarTvelos ssr konstitucia. konstituciis dasaxelebasa da teqstSi sityvebi “saqarTvelos sabWoTa socialisturi respublika”, “saqarTvelos ss respublika”, “saqarTvelos ssr” Seicvala sityvebiT “saqarTvelos respublika”. saqarTvelos respublikis uzenaesi sabWo iTvaliswinebda im garemoebas, rom saqarTvelo jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris SemadgelobaSi iyo da cnobda sakavSiro kanonmdeblobas, Tumca mxolod im SemTxvevaSi, Tu igi ar ewinaaRmdegeboda saqarTvelos respublikis kanonebs. saqarTvelos respublikis teritoriaze upiratesoba eniWeboda adgilobriv kanonmdeblobas. aqvea cvlilebebi saqarTvelos saxelmwifo gerbis, droSisa da himnis Sesaxeb, romelic amtkicebda axal saxelmwifo simbolikas.

imave dRes saqarTvelos respublikis uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomared airCies zviad gamsaxurdia. sainteresoa sxdomaze wakiTxuli gamsaxurdias mimarTva[[26]](#footnote-26) uzanaesi sabWos deputatebisa da sazogadoebisadmi. igi sayuradReboa imdenad, ramdenadac gamsaxurdiam, rogorc saqarTvelos axlad arCeulma xelisufalma, oficialurad pirvelad mimarTa sazogadoebas. uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare saqarTveloSi Catarebul mravalpartiul arCevnebs erovnuli moZraobis Zalisxmevis Sedegad miiCnevda, romelSic sazogadoebam mxardaWera gamoucxada erovnul-gamaTavisuflebeli moZraobis avangards – blok “mrgval magidas”. misi sityviT, es gamarjveba iyo ara erTi da ori wlis muSaobis Sedegi, aramed dagvirgvineba im politikuri brZolisa, romelsac erovnuli moZraoba jer kidev 1950-iani wlebidan awarmoebda. Tumca, uzenaesi sabWo jerjerobiT Tavs ikavebda damoukideblobis gamocxadebisgan, radgan iTvaliswinebda saqarTvelosa da msoflioSi arsebul politikur realiebs. “Cven gvsurs realuri damoukidebloba, rasac sWirdeba safuZvliani Semzadeba iuridiul-samarTlebrivi, politikuri da ekonomikuri TvalsazrisiT”. gamsaxurdias sityva Seicavs racionalizmis niSnebs; uzenaesma sabWom, miuxedavad imisa, rom saqarTvelos respublikas 1918-1921 wlebis respublikis memkvidred acxadebda, uari Tqva 1921 wlis konstituciis moqmedebis aRdgenaze, radgan gaWirdeboda misi SesabamisobaSi moyvana Tanamedrove realobasTan. swored amitom, kanoni gardamavali periodis Sesaxeb efuZneboda ukve arsebul saqarTvelos ssr konstitucias.

axlad arCeuli uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare acxadebda, rom erovnuli xelisufleba ibrZolebda adamianis uflebaTa dacvisa da samarTlebrivi saxelmwifos CamoyalibebisTvis, romelic unda damyareboda saerTaSoriso samarTlis sayovelTaod aRiarebul normebs. am SemTxvevaSic, erovnuli moZraobis liderobis periodis msgavsad, gamsaxurdia aqcents qarTvelebis Selaxul uflebebze akeTebs, romelic sabWoTa periodSi gansakuTrebiT uxeSad irRveoda. misi sityviT, qarTvelTa Seviwroebam da diskriminaciam piks gansakuTrebiT iseT raionebSi miaRwia, sadac komunisturma xelisuflebam araqarTuli mosaxleobis eTnokratiebi daamyara. mimarTvaSi yuradReba gamaxvilebulia qarTuli enis savalalo mdgomareobaze, romlis sistematuri devna autanel pirobebSi ayenebda qarTulenovan mosaxleobas. qarTuli enis daknineba da rusulis gabatoneba iwvevda qarTvelTa diskriminacias da araqarTuli mosaxleobis privilegirebas. gamsaxurdia acxadebda, rom sabWoTa periodSi saqarTvelo oficialurad iqca “erovnebaTa Serwymisa da difuziis Tvisebriv laboratoriad, rasac hqonda erTaderTi mizani: qarTveli eris sruli asimilacia mezobeli erebis xelovnurad daCqarebuli demografiuli eqspansiis gziT... ukanasknel wlebSi, saqarTvelos mTel rig raionebSi araqarTveli mosaxleobis xelSi aRmoCnda aTasobiT heqtari saukeTeso savargulebi.” gamsaxurdia eyrdnoboda erTa Soris Tanasworuflebianobis saerTaSorisod aRiarebul princips da acxadebda, rom qarTveli eris amgvari Seviwroeba sakuTar miwa-wyalze iyo saerTaSoriso samarTlis yvela aRiarebuli normis darRveva da saerTaSoriso danaSauli. “amis gamo saqarTvelos parlamentma Tavis umTavres miznad unda daisaxos saqarTveloSi qarTuli mosaxleobis uflebrivi garantiebis dakanoneba, qarTuli enis saxelmwifoebrivi statusis realuri da ara moCvenebiTi ganxorcieleba, qarTul enaze unda gadavides saqmis warmoeba yvela sawarmosa da dawesebulebaSi...”, – acxadebda gamsaxurdia. igi moiTxovda saqarTvelos moqalaqis statusis SemoRebis daCqarebas, rac, misi azriT, xels Seuwyobda qarTuli mosaxleobis uflebebis dacvas da zRvars daudebda ucxoelebis demografiul eqspansias saqarTveloSi. gamsaxurdia ambobda, rom qarTvelTa uflebebis dacvis paralelurad, uzenaesi sabWo izrunebda erovnul umciresobaTa uflebebis dacvaze: “Cven ar ugulebelvyofT erovnul umciresobaTa uflebebs, romelnic kanonierad mkvidroben Cvens miwa-wyalze da xels uwyoben qarTveli eris brZolas Tavisuflebisa da damoukideblobisTvis. amasTan dakavSirebiT, ganzraxuli gvaqvs saqarTveloSi SevinarCunoT erovnul umciresobaTa arsebuli avtonomiebi, cxadia, ufro myar konstituciur samarTlebriv safuZvlebze, qarTuli mosaxleobis konstituciuri uflebebis gaTvaliswinebiT, xolo aWaris avtonomiis sakiTxi referendumis gziT unda gadawydes.” – ganacxada uzenaesi sabWos Tavjdomarem

rogorc vxedavT, gamsaxurdias ZiriTadi mizani eTnikuri qarTvelebis uflebebis dacva iyo, rac, zogadad, jdeba mis msoflmxedvelobaSi, romlis mixedviT, qarTvelebi saukuneebis ganmavlobaSi iCagrebodnen da axla dadga dro, rodesac maT sakuTari uflebebi unda aRidginon da is misia ganaxorcielon, romelic istoriam da gangebam daakisra. gamsaxurdias ritorika pirdapir ar aris mimarTuli erovnul umciresobaTa Cagvrisken, Tumca qarTveli eTnosis uflebebis darRvevaze da araqarTvelebis privilegirebaze xazgasmiT saubari, vfiqrobT, qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis eTnikur Sinaarsze miuTiTebs. miuxedavad imisa, rom gamsaxurdia aqcents erovnuli umciresobebis uflebebis dacvazec akeTebs da arsebuli avtonomiebis SenarCunebazec saubrobs, savarudoa, rom misi mimarTvis ZiriTadi gzavnilebi saqarTveloSi mcxovreb eTnikur umciresobebSi garkveul SiSs da daucvelobis SegrZnebas dabadebda.

zviad gamsaxurdias sityvaSi Warbad aris religiuri ritorika, Cans mWidro kavSiri am periodis qarTul nacionalizmsa da eklesias Soris: “Cveni moZraoba, upirveles yovlisa, religiuri moZraobaa, rameTu religiis gareSe ar arsebobs WeSmariti erovnuli aRorZineba. amitomac aris dRes erTad Cveni eri da Cveni eklesia. Cven vebrZviT uRmerTobisa da usamarTlobis ukuneT Rames, Cvens marTal saqmes gangeba mfarvelobs da amitomac davamarcxeT mteri. qarTveli eri ar wava barabas gziT, uRmerTobis, avazakobis, terorizmis gziT, qarTveli eris gza saTnoebis gzaa, siqvelis gzaa, siyvarulis gzaa, qristes gzaa, aw da maradis ukuniTi ukunisamde. kurTxeul iyos RvTismSoblis wilxvedri saqarTvelo!”

xelisuflebaSi mosvlis DSemdeg, gamsaxurdias radikaluri damokidebulebebi da eTnikuri qarTvelebis daCagrul mdgomareobaze xazgasmiT saubari, erTgvarad, gazavda erovnuli umciresobebis uflebebze zrunvis da Semwynareblobis ritorikiT. am tendenciam misi Sexedulebebis winaaRmdegobrioba kidev ufro TvalsaCino gaxada, aseve gviCvena, rom drois mcire monakveTSi qarTulma nacionalurma proeqtma garkveuli transformacia ganicada.

aRniSnul winaaRmdegobriobaze miuTiTebs amerikeli Jurnalisti edmund stivensi interviuSi, romelic man saqarTvelos respublikis uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomarisgan 1990 wlis 7 dekembers aiRo.[[27]](#footnote-27) Jurnalistis azriT, winaaRmdegobrivi iyo zviad gamsaxurdias nabijebi, rodesac man jer boikoti gamoucxada 1990 wlis 25 marts daniSnul uzenaesi sabWos arCevnebs da moiTxova, rom ar organos TviTlikvidacia gamoecxadebina, xolo Semdeg, maleve, gamsaxurdias blokma araTu monawileoba miiRo arCevnebSi, aramed Tavad gamsaxurdia im uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare gaxda, romlis likvidaciasac sul ramdenime Tvis win moiTxovda.

amerikeli Jurnalistis SexedulebiT, winaaRmdegobrivi iyo erovnuli sakiTxisadmi gamsaxurdias damokidebulebac. 1988 wlis 1 noembers mweralTa kavSirSi gamarTul krebaze zviad gamsaxurdiam ganacxada, rom man miiRo cnobebi, TiTqos, saqarTvelos mTavrobas aRmosavleT saqarTvelos azerbaijanisTvis gadacema hqonda ganzraxuli da daayena sakiTxi, azerbaijanelebi gasaxlebuliyvnen im miwa-wylidan, romelic maT ukanonod hqondaT miTvisebuli. imave wlis 11 noembers gamsaxurdiam mouwoda osebs, wasuliyvnen saqarTvelodan, Tu ar surdaT qarTvelebTan mSvidobiani Tanacxovreba. aseve, 1989 wels zviad gamsaxurdia saubrobda aWareli separatistebis alagmvaze da mesxeTeli Turqebis saqarTveloSi Camosaxlebis dauSveblobaze. misi gancxadebiT, erovnuli moZraoba ar dauSvebda arc erTi Turqis an Turquli erovnuli cnobierebis matarebeli adamianis saqarTveloSi Casaxlebas. ufro metic, qarTveli xalxi ibrZolebda aseTebis TurqeTSi repatriaciisTvis.

edmund stivensi miuTiTebda, rom axla, oficialuri presisTvis gakeTebul gancxadebebSi, gamsaxurdia ambobda, rom qarTveli xalxisTvis ucxoa eTnikuri siZulvili da rom aucilebelia helsinkis SeTanxmebisadmi erTguleba. Jurnalistma hkiTxa gamsaxurdias, Tu rogor axsnida esoden polarul gamonaTqvamebs. pasuxad, uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomarem ganacxada, rom misi damokidebulebebi aranair winaaRmdegobebs ar Seicavda. Tumca gamsaxurdia kvlav radikaluri formiT saubrobda, rom azerbaijanidan da oseTidan “CamosaxlebulTa garkveuli nawili da sxva gadamTielebi agresiulad iqcevian da fexqveS Telaven mkvidri qarTveli mosaxleobis uflebebs, diskriminacias uweven mas;” isini aseve cdiloben, xelyon saqarTvelos respublikis teritoriuli mTlianoba da moqalaqeTa sicocxle. sakuTar miwa-wyalze qarTvelebis Seviwroeba saerTaSoriso danaSaulia. rogorc vxedavT, gamsaxurdia eTnikuri umciresobebis warmomadgenlebs kvlav gadamTielebad moixseniebs da maT saqarTvelos mkvidr mosaxleobad ar miiCnevs, Tumca iqve aRniSnavs, rom saqarTveloSi eTnikuri problemebis gaRvivebaSi damnaSave gare Zalebia da, rogorc ki maTi Careva Sewydeba, problemebi TavisTavad mogvardeba. amis dasturad mas saqarTvelos istoria mohyavs da acxadebs, rom “CvenSi odiTgan, mravali saukunis manZilze tradiciulad damkvidrda sxvadasxva eTnikuri jgufebis warmomadgenelTa mSvidobiani, Tanasworuflebiani Tanacxovreba.”

marTalia, zviad gasaxurdias damokidebulebebi winaaRmdegobrivia, magram SeiZleba iTqvas, rom winaaRmdegobebi ganpirobebuli iyo imiT, rom saqarTvelos saxelmwifo damoukideblad arsebobis pirvel nabijebs dgamda. winaaRmdegobrivi iyo rogorc saqarTveloSi, aseve mis garSemo arsebuli viTarebac – qveynis xelisuflebaSi erovnuli Zala movida, romelsac urTierToba uxdeboda centrTan, sabWoTa kavSiris xelisuflebasTan, romlis SemadgenlobaSic jer kidev imyofeboda saqarTvelo. es faqti xelsayrel fons qmnida im radikaluri ritorikisTvis, romelic gamsaxurdiam wlebis ganmavlobaSi aTvisa da ar eTmoboda. amave dros, igi iZulebuli iyo, nawilobriv mainc damorCileboda koniunqturas, romelsac xelisuflebaSi yofna gulisxmobda. qarTulma nacionalurma proeqtma 1990 wlis 28 oqtobris arCevnebis Semdeg namdvilad SeiZina samoqalaqo maxasiaTeblebi, Tumca ar daukargavs is eTnikuri sawyisebi, romelsac 1980-ian wlebSi daefuZna. Sesabamisad, saqarTvelos sazogadoebisa da saxelmwifos momavali ganviTarebis modeli ekleqturi, bundovani da winaaRmdegobrivi iyo.

xelisuflebaSi mosvlis Semdeg Seicvala gamsaxurdias damokidebulebebi saqarTvelos moqalaqis statusis miniWebasTan dakavSirebiT. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSic SeiniSneba garkveuli dinamika: 1991 wlis 31 martis referendumis win, rodesac wydeboda saqarTvelos damoukideblobis gamocxadeba/argamocxadebis bedi, gamsaxurdiam ganacxada, rom moqalaqeobas miiRebdnen saqarTvelos mxolod is mcxovreblebi, romlebic mxars qveynis damoukideblobas dauWerdnen. intervius mimdinareobisas, Jurnalistma scada gaerkvia, Tu ra kavSiri iyo referendumSi xmis micemasa da saqarTvelos moqalaqeobas Soris, ramdenad iyo garantia, rom xmis micema iqneboda saidumlo da misi Sedegebi ar imoqmedebda pirovnebis Semdgom cxovrebaze. uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomaris pasuxi kategoriuli iyo: misi SexedulebiT, arc erT qveyanaSi ar aZleven moqalaqeobas im pirebs, romlebic mtrulad arian ganwyobilni saxelmwifosadmi, erisadmi, cud miznebs isaxaven da pativs ar scemen enas, suverenitets, “ase rom, nuravis ukvirs, Tu Cven aseT gadawyvetilebas miviRebT.”[[28]](#footnote-28) rTulia imaze saubari, ra meqanizmebiT apirebda saqarTvelos xelisufleba imis garkvevas, Tu vin dauWira mxari qveynis damoukideblobad da vin – ara.

momdevno periodSi gamsaxurdias gancxadebebi gacilebiT loialuria, igi emxroba saqarTvelos mcxovrebTa umravlesobisTvis moqalaqeobis miniWebas. 1991 wlis 28 ivniss micemul interviuSi gamsaxurdiam ganacxada, rom saqarTveloSi mudmivad mcxovrebi yvela piri, erovnebis miuxedavad, miiRebda saqarTvelos moqalaqeobas, momavalSi ki SemoRebuli iqneboda garkveuli vada, daaxloebiT 5 weli, romlis saqarTveloSi gatarebis Semdeg pirs mieniWeboda qveynis moqalaqeoba. am SemTxvevaSi, gamsaxurdia, savsebiT marTebulad, xelmZRvanelobda demokratiul qveynebSi miRebuli standartiT.[[29]](#footnote-29) imave wlis zafxulSi zviad gamsaxurdiam kidev erTxel ganacxada, rom “respublikis yoveli mudmivi mcxovrebi saqarTvelos moqalaqe iqneba.”[[30]](#footnote-30)

sabolood, 1991 wlis ivlisSi mTavrobam miiRo kanoni moqalaqeobis Sesaxeb, romelic, saqarTveloSi cxovrebis xangrZlivobis miuxedavad, moqalaqeobas aniWebda respublikis yvela macxovrebels. stiven jonsis sityviT, es kanoni, Tavisi loalurobiT, aRemateboda latviasa da estoneTSi miRebuli kanonebs. saqarTvelos teritoriaze dabadebul, saqarTvelos moqalaqeobis armqone pirTa Svilebs aseve eniWebodaT saqarTvelos moqalaqeoba (jonsi 2013: 92).

**1991 wlis 31 martis referendumi da saqarTvelos damoukideblobis aRdgena.** qveyanaSi mimdinare winaaRmdegobrivi procesebis paralelurad, xelisufleba amzadebda saqarTvelos damoukideblobas. damoukideblobisTvis samarTlebrivi safuZvlis Seqmna xelisuflebam saerTo-saxalxo referendumiT gadawyvita, romelzec xalxs mxari unda daeWira qveynis damoukideblobis gamocxadebisTvis. referendumis Catarebis win mTavrobis ritorika, romelsac Wirdeboda erovnuli umcirebebis mxardaWera, kidev ufro inkluziuri da samoqalaqo maxasiaTebelTa matarebeli gaxda. amis dasturia zviad gamsaxurdias mimarTva samcxe-javaxeTis somexi mosaxleobisadmi, romelic 1991 wlis 30 marts, referendumis wina dRes gamoqveynda.[[31]](#footnote-31)

mimarTvis dasawyisSi gamsaxurdia xotbas asxams saqarTveloSi mcxovreb somxebs da maT mTel qveyanaSi unikaluri SromismoyvareobiT ganTqmul Tanamoqalaqeebs uwodebs, romlebic umZimes pirobebSi Tavdadebuli SromiT amravlebdnen qveynis simdidres. gamsaxurdias sityviT, referendumSi sityva “diax” niSnavs imas, rom saqarTvelom moipovos saxelmwifoebrivi damoukidebloba, aqedan gamomdinare yvela SedegiTurT. ““diax” – niSnavs mivceT xma yvela moqalaqis Tanaswor moqalaqeobriv uflebebs, erovnebisa da sarwmunoebis miuxedavad.” gamsaxurdia umciresobebis warmomadgenlebs hpirdeba, rom, totalitaruli saxelmwifosgan gansxvavebiT, maTTvis garantirebuli iqneba gacilebiT meti Tavisufleba da usafrTxoeba politikur da ekonomikur cxovrebaSi. igi mouwodebs somex mosaxleobas, rom gamoiCinos moTmineba da gadadgas gonivruli nabijebi saerTo miznisken mimaval gzaze. “mxolod Cven, erTad Tu gamovavlenT solidarobas, survils, gavugoT erTmaneTs dialogis gziT, SevZlebT avaSenoT Cveni demokratiuli, damoukidebeli saqarTvelo.”

mimarTvaSi zviad gamsaxurdia exeba mis mier adre gamoTqmul mosazrebas imis Sesaxeb, rom saqarTvelos moqalaqeobis miReba dakavSirebulia referdumSi monawileobasa da qveynis damoukideblobis mxardaWerasTan. igi ar uaryofs sakuTar naTqvams da am mosazrebis saintereso axsnas gvTavazobs, romelic, vfiqrobT, Seesabameba samoqalaqo nacionalizmis principebs: “civilizebul msoflioSi moqalaqeobas iReben maSin, rodesac aris urTierTvaldebulebebisadmi mzadyofna: potenciuri moqalaqisa – saxelmwifos winaSe da saxelmwifosi – moqalaqis winaSe. yvela demokratiul qveyanaSi moqalaqeobis miReba gulisxmobs qveynis enisa da suverenitetisadmi pativiscemas. es is balansia, romelic saWiroa imisTvis, rom moqalaqeoba formaluri ar iyos. Tanasworoba uflebebSi SeuZlebelia movaleobebSi Tanasworobis gareSe.” es midgoma namdvilad pasuxobs pirovnebasa da saxelmwifos Soris urTierdamokidebulebis Tanamedrove princips, romelic dasavluri samoqalaqo nacionalizmis erT-erT fundamentur maxasiaTeblad miiCneva.

saqarTvelos respublikis uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare, am SemTxvevaSi, somxebs “Cven” jgufis wevrebad ganixilavs da maTze, rogorc ucxoelebze saubari kategoriulad miuReblad miaCnia.

zviad gamsaxurdia exeba prefeqtebis (adgilobrivis xelisuflebis xelmZRvanelebi) sakiTxs. erovnuli umciresobebiT dasaxlebul regionebSi prefeqtebad eTnikurad qarTvelebi iniSnebodnen, rac adgilobrivi mosaxleobis ukmayofilebas iwvevda. gamsaxurdias SexedulebiT, es ar unda iyos ukmayofilebis safuZveli. sakuTari mosazrebis dasadastureblad, igi saqarTvelos istorias iSveliebs, rodesac saqarTveloSi romelime qalaqis meTaurad, sadac umravlesobas qarTvelebi Seadgendnen, eTnikurad somexi iniSneboda, es ar iyo qarTuli mosaxleobis ukmayofilebis safuZveli. “mTavaria, rom es xelmZRvanelebi iyvnen kompetenturi, wminda, patiosani adamianebi.” gaamsaxurdia Tvlis, rom yvelaferi ise gadaiWreba, rogorc xalxs surs – urTierTgagebisa da dialogis gziT.

“Tu iqneba damoukidebeli, demokratiuli saqarTvelo, socialurad daculi iqneba Cveni mravalerovani ojaxis TiToeuli wevri”, – acxadebda gamsaxurdia. igi mouwodebda saqarTvelos somex macxovreblebs, erTxmad miecaT xma saqarTvelos damoukideblobisTvis. “rogorc Cveni mravalsaukunovani istoriidan aris cnobili, saqarTveloSi mcxovrebi somxebi, gaWirvebis Jams, mudam iaraRiT xelSi qarTvelebTan erTad icavdnen Cvens qveyanas. axla Tqveni mxardaWera gvWirdeba. darwmunebulebi varT, rom mxars dagviWerT”.

imave periodSi gamoqveynda gamsaxurdias mimarTva afxazi xalxisadmi, romelic, adrindeli damokidebulebebisagan gansxvavebiT, gacilebiT tolerantulia.[[32]](#footnote-32) gamsaxurdia aRiarebs afxazi xalxis “erovnul da kulturul uflebebs, saxelmwifoebriobas, enas, kulturas, afxazur skolas, Teatrs” da yvela gaugebrobas afxazeTis separatistulad ganwyobil xelisuflebas abralebs, romelsac ar surs TbilisTan arsebuli problemebis mSvidobiani gziT gadawyveta. aqve, radgan afxazeTTan dakavSirebiT vsaubrobT, mcirediT gavuswroT movlenebs da SevexoT saqarTvelos uzenaesi sabWos xelSewyobiT 1991 wlis 9 ivliss miRebul kanons “afxazeTis assr konstituciaSi cvlilebebisa da damatebebis Setanis Sesaxeb”[[33]](#footnote-33). am kanonis mixedviT, afxazeTis avtonomiuri respublikis umaRles sabWoSi eTnikurad afxazebs daeTmoT 28 adgili, xolo qarTvelebs – 26, maSin, rodesac qarTvelebi mosaxleobis saerTo raodenobis 46%, afxazebi ki 17% Seadgendnen. es faqti, SeiZleba iTqvas, samoqalaqo midgomis ukiduresi gamovlinebaa, romelmac gamsaxurdiasadmi damokidebulebebis paradoqsulobac ganapiroba. magaliTad, Tu jaba ioseliani, erTi mxriv, gamsaxurdias primitiul nacionalizmsa da faSizmSi adanaSaulebs, meore mxriv, aRniSnul kanons “aparteiduls” uwodebs da zviad gamsaxurdias brals sdebs eTnikuri qarTvelebis uflebaTa ugulebelyofaSi (ioseliani 2013: 19, 129).

1991 wlis 31 marts saqarTvelos masStabiT moewyo saerTo-saxalxo referendumi, romlis monawileebs unda epasuxaT kiTxvaze: “Tanaxma xarT Tu ara, aRdges saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebrivi damoukidebloba 1918 wlis 26 maisis damoukideblobis aqtis safuZvelze?” referdumSi monawileoba sami milion samasiaTasze metma amomrCevelma miiRo. gamokiTxulTa 98 procentma SekiTxvas dadebiTi pasuxi gasca. saqarTvelos damoukideblobas mxari dauWira respublis araqarTveli mosaxleobis umravlesobam (janeliZe 2009: 20). rogorc Cans, gamsaxurdias Semwynareblurma ritorikam da mowodebebma, romelsac damoukideblobis moaxloebiT gamowveuli eiforia emateboda, gavlena erovnul umciresobebzec moaxdina. referndumis Sedegebis gamocxadebis Semdeg gadawyda, rom saqarTvelos damoukidebloba gamocxadebuliyo 1991 wlis 9 aprils. xelisuflebam es gadawyvetileba ori wliT adre, mitingis darbevis Sedegad daRupuli adamianebis xsovnis pativsacemad miiRo.

referendumis warmatebiT Catarebidan ramdenime dReSi, savaraudod, maRali emociuri fonis da gamarjvebiT gamowveuli eiforiis gavleniT, saqarTvelos xelisuflebam ukiduresad araracionaluri gadawyvetileba miiRo – ekonomikuri blokada gamoucxada sabWoTa kavSirs. uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomare imuqreboda, rom am nabijiT ruseTs daaCoqebda. misi ganmartebiT, es sabWoTa kavSiris mier osuri separatizmis mxardaWeris sawinaaRmdego nabiji iyo. roman gociriZis sityviT, saqarTvelos xelisuflebas ar hqonda gaazrebuli, Tu ra ekonomikuri potenciali hqonda maSindel saqarTvelos – ra gahqonda ruseTsa da sxva mokavSire respublikebSi da ra Semohqonda sapasuxod, ra Sedegs gamoiRebda ekonomikuri blokada, Cven davzaraldebodiT ufro Tu sabWoTa kavSiri. “aseTi gadawyvetilebebi, ZiriTadad, nakarnaxevi iyo politikuri mizanSewonilobiT. im dros politika gansazRvravda Cvens ekonomikur cxovrebas, magram im dros saqarTveloSi ar arsebobda politika.” daaxloebiT 25 dReSi, romlis ganmavlobaSic es blokada grZeldeboda, saqarTvelom oTxasi milioni maneTis zarali naxa, ramac qveyana umZimes ekonomikur da socialur mdgomareobaSi Caayena.[[34]](#footnote-34)

amrigad, saqarTvelo damoukideblobas ukiduresad mZime viTarebaSi Sexvda, Tumca amas ar umoqmedia im sazeimo ganwyobaze, romelic qveyanaSi sufevda. 1991 wlis 9 aprils, uzenaesi sabWos sagangebo sesiaze, zviad gamsaxurdiam saqarTvelos damoukidebloba aRdgenilad gamoacxada. saqarTvelos uzenaesi sabWo daeyrdno 1991 wlis 31 marts referendumiT gamoxatul saqarTvelos mosaxleobis uzenaes nebas da aRadgina saqarTvelos damoukidebloba 1918 wlis 26 maisis damoukideblobis aqtis safuZvelze.

zviad gamsaxurdiam, sakuTari gamosvlis dros, saqarTvelos damoukideblobis gamocxadeba uSualod daakavSira 1989 wlis 9 aprils ganviTarebul movlenebTan: “simboluria saqarTvelos damoukideblobis aRdgenis gamocxadeba 9 aprils, vinaidan am dRes gadawyda saqarTvelos bedi. 9 aprils wamebulTa sulebi dagvcqerian Cven da xaroben zeciur naTelSi, rameTu aRsrulda neba maTi, aRsrulda neba qarTveli erisa. gaumarjos damoukidebel saqarTvelos!”

damoukideblobis aqtSi calke abzaci eTmoba umciresobaTa uflebebs: “saqarTvelos respublika, iswrafvis ra daikavos Rirseuli adgili msoflios xalxTa TanamegobrobaSi, aRiarebs da Tanabrad uzrunvelyofs saerTaSoriso samarTliT gaTvaliswinebul adamianis, erovnuli, eTnikuri, religiuri da enobrivi jgufebis yvela ZiriTad uflebasa da Tavisuflebas, rogorc amas moiTxovs gaerTianebuli erebis organizaciis wesdeba, adamianis uflebaTa sayovelTao deklaracia, saerTaSoriso paqtebi da konvenciebi.”[[35]](#footnote-35)

damoukideblobis gamocxadebis Semdeg, damoukideblobis aqtis praqtikuli ganxorcielebis mizniT, xelisuflebam gadawyvita saqarTvelos prezidentis postis SemoReba. 1991 wlis 14 aprils uzenaesi sabWos sesiam zviad gamsaxurdia saqarTvelos prezidentad airCia, uzenaesi sabWos Tavmjdomareoba ki akaki asaTians daekisra. imave sesiis gadawyvetilebiT, 1991 wlis 26 maiss dainiSna saqarTvelos prezidentis arCevnebi miuxedavad sxva kandidatebis arsebobisa, naTeli iyo, rom saxelisuflebo kandidati zviad gamsaxurdia ualternativo gaxldaT.

1991 wlis 22 maiss gamoqveynda prezidentobis kandidat zviad gamsaxurdias saarCevno programa, sadac mocemulia is ZiriTadi prioritetebi, romelic mas eqneboda prezidentad arCevis SemTxvevaSi.[[36]](#footnote-36) programis Sesaval nawilSi kvlav aris saubari imaze, rom saqarTvelo saukuneebis ganmavlobaSi dakninebul, daCagrul mdgomareobaSi iyo da dRes unda aRidginos sakuTari istoriuli misia, romelic gamoixateba “dasavleTisa da aRmosavleTis zogadsakacobrio integraciuli procesebisaTvis xelis Sewyobasa da regionSi stabiluri viTarebis uzrunvelyofaSi.” saqarTvelos unda ganaxorcielos am ori samyaros sinTezi da aseve ikisros kavkasiis xalxTa gamaerTianeblis roli, romelic mas aseve istoriulad ჰქოnda.

zviad gamsaxurdia politikuri reformis erT-erT ZiriTad mimarTulebad “saqarTvelos moqalaqeTa da erovnul umciresobaTa erovnul-kulturuli uflebebis dacvas” acxadebda. aqve saubari iyo saqarTvelos moqalaqeobis Sesaxeb kanonze, romelic, kandidatis azriT, saerTaSoriso gamocdilebis safuZvelze unda SemuSavebuliyo (es asec moxda, rogorc zemoT ukve visaubreT).

saarCevno programaSi calke qveTavi aqvs daTmobili saqarTvelos moqalaqeTa erovnul-kulturuli uflebebis dacvas, sadac vkiTxulobT: “saprezidento xelisuflebam urTierTpativiscemis safuZvelze unda uzrunvelyos respublikis teritoriaze mcxovreb erovnul umciresobaTa ganviTarebis SesaZlebloba. miiReba kanoni erovnul umciresobaTa Sesaxeb, romlis mixedviTac saqarTvelos moqalaqeebisaTvis garantirebuli iqneba: mSobliur enaze ganaTlebis miRebis, erovnuli kulturis ganviTarebis, kulturul-saganmanaTleblo mizniT saTvistomoebisa da sxva sazogadoebriv organizaciebad gaerTianebis, mSobliur enaze beWdvisa da sainformacio saSualebebis gamoyenebis uflebebi. saqarTvelos moqalaqeTa ufleba - miiRon monawileoba qveynis politikur, ekonomikur da sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi - ar SeizRudeba maTi erovnuli kuTvnilebis gamo. amasTan, yoveli moqalaqe da, maT Soris erovnuli umciresobis warmomadgeneli, valdebuli iqneba, pativi sces da daicvas saqarTvelos respublikis kanonebi da interesebi.”

aseT winasaarCevno gzavnils wuns ver dadebdnen yvelaze ganviTarebuli dasavluri demokratiebis warmomadgenlebic. rogorc vxedavT, saprezidento mmarTvelobis dasawyisSi zviad gamsaxurdiam mkveTri transformacia ganicada da misi ritorika (yovel SemTxvevaSi, oficialuri) ukve gamoxatulad samoqalaqo xasiaTs atarebda. amave dros, gamsaxurdia kvlav mWidrod akavSirebda erovnul moZraobas da religias. qveTavSi “saxelmwifo da eklesia” saubaria, rom erovnuli moZraoba, Tavisi sawyisebiT, mWidrod aris dakavSirebuli religiur cnobierebasTan da eklesiis wiaRTan. “Tavisi Sinagani arsiT, es religiur-erovnuli moZraobaa, ramdenadac igi gulisxmobs ara marto gankerZoebuli erovnul-politikuri miznebis ganxorcielebas, aramed iTvaliswinebs zneobriv aRorZinebas religiur rwmenasa da cnobierebaze damyarebiT... erovnuli xelisuflebis avtoriteti, misi Zalaufleba unda daemyaros ara mxolod xelisuflebis socialur-politikur gansazRvrulobas, aramed, umeteswilad, religiur-zneobriv sawyisebs.” zviad gamsaxurdia miznad isaxavda erisa da sazogadoebis konsolidacias, Tumca amas safuZvlad unda dadeboda ara politikuri, aramed erovnuli da sulieri motivebi. programis es pasaJi calsaxad miuTiTebs qarTuli nacionalizmis eTnikur xasiaTze, radgan igi uaryofs samoqalaqo nacionalizmis erT-erT ZiriTad postulats – politikuri eris cnebas da eris konsolidaciis politikur safuZvels srulad emijneba.

amave dros, saarCevno programaSi aRniSnulia, rom es prioriteti ar xelyofs sxva religiebis aRmsarebelTa, agreTve aTeistTa moqalaqeobriv uflebebs. saxelmwifos mier garantirebuli unda yofiliyo sindisis Tavisufleba da TiToeul pirovnebas miscemoda SesaZlebloba, yofiliyo aRmsarebeli im sarwmunoebisa, romelsac Tavad aRiarebda. “moqalaqeTa politikuri, ekonomikuri Tu socialuri uflebebi ar SeizRudeba religiuri niSniT. qarTuli saxelmwifo kvlavac erTguli darCeba tradiciuli religiuri Semwynareblobisa.”

1991 wlis 26 maiss gaimarTa saqarTvelos prezidentis arCevnebi, romelSic zviad gamsaxurdiam xmaTa absoluturi umravlesoba moipova. mas amomrCevelTa 87 procentma dauWira mxari. 7 ivniss gaimarTa saqarTvelos prezidentis inauguracia. saintereso gzavnilebs Seicavda gamsaxurdias mier inauguraciaze warmoTqmuli sityva.

sityviT gamosvlisas saqarTvelos axlad arCeulma prezidentma aRiara, rom 1990 wlis 28 oqtombris Semdeg ganvlili periodi urTulesi iyo saqarTvelos erovnuli xelisuflebisTvis da qveynis marTva gacilebiT rTulia, vidre erovnuli moZraobis lideroba. “unda vaRiaroT, rom ocneba Tavisuflebaze, stiqiuri moqmedeba misi saxeliT, Seudareblad ufro advili iyo, vidre saxelmwifo politikis rangSi ayvanili, realur samuSaod qceuli erovnuli aRorZineba” (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 15)

zviad gamsaxurdias sainauguracio sityva, erTi mxriv, Warbad Seicavs religiur motivebs, mimarTulia eTnikuri qarTvelebis gandidebisken, xolo meore mxriv, prezidenti saubrobs erovnuli umciresobebis uflebebis dacvaze da maT rolze saxelmwifos Senebis procesSi. stiven jonsis sityviT, mgznebare revolucioneridan Tvalis daxamxamebaSi prezidentad gardaqmnili gamsaxurdia araqarTvelebs srul kulturul dacvas hpirdeboda (jonsi 2013: 92).

gamsaxurdia, nawilobriv, kvlav Tavisi msoflmxedvelobis erTgulia, ambobs ra, rom mniSvnelovania ara amqveyniuri, fizikuri keTildReoba, aramed “sulismieri erovnuli aRorZineba”, rac “sakuTari WeSmariti meobisken mibrunebas niSnavs.” rogorc winasaarCvno programaSi, am SemTxvevaSic, zviad gamsaxurdia mWidrod akavSirebs religias da qarTul nacionalizms. misTvis erovnuli moZraoba religiuri moZraobacaa (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 22). prezidentis sityviT, saxelmwifoebrivi damoukideblobis aRdgenasTan erTad, marTlmadidebloba saxelmwifo religiad unda iqces. am pricipebidan gamomdinare, qarTulma saxelmwifom unda uzrunvelyos eklesiis ufleba, iyos saero cxovrebis aqtiuri monawile. amave dros, gamsaxurdia aRniSnavs, rom marTlmadideblobis saxelmwifo religiad gamocxadeba ar xelyofs sxva religiebis aRmsarebelTa, agreTve aTeistebis uflebebs. TiToeul pirovnebas miecema ufleba, iyos aRmsarebeli im religiisa, romelsac Tavad aRiarebs. moqalaqeTa uflebebi ar SeizRudeba religiuri niSniT (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 23).

prezidentisTvis qarTvel ers isev mxolod eTnikuri qarTvelebi warmoadgenen, Tumca igi kmayofilia saprezidento arCevnebSi araqarTveli mosaxleobis uprecedento mxardaWeriT. “antiqarTuli propagandis pirobebSi Catarebulma arCevnebma msoflios winaSe daamtkica, rom saqarTveloSi mcxovreb yvela erovnebis warmomadgenels aqvs ara mxolod saerTaSoriso samarTliT aRiarebuli yvela ufleba, aramed arsebobisTvis esoden aucilebeli kulturuli sivrcec, romlis gareSec verc erTi erovnuli umciresoba ver iarsebebs da romlis garantirebac ar SeuZlia arc erT daweril kanons.” prezidentis sityviT, arCevnebma gamoxata “qarTveli eris, saqarTvelos mTeli mosaxleobis nebisa da erovnuli xelisuflebis politikuri gezis WeSmariti erTianoba” (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 16).

sainauguracio sityvidan mkafiod Cans gamsaxurdias Secvlili damokidebuleba afxazebis mimarT. igi afxazebis, rogorc saqarTvelos mkvidri eris poltikuri uflebebis aRiarebas erovnul-saxelmwifoebrivi mowyobis erT-erT aucilebel safuZvlad miiCnevs. “saqarTvelos respublikis mier konstituciiT garantirebuli iqneba afxazeTis politikuri avtonomia da afxazTa erovnuli uflebebis xelSeuxebloba.” prezidenti aseve saubrobs aWaris avtonomiaze da Tvlis, rom avtonomiuri statusis bedi Tavad aWaris mosaxleobam unda gadawyvitos (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 20).

sainauguracio sityvis dasasruls, gamsaxurdia, ukve tradiciulad, saqarTvelos gzas sarwmunoebis da TavisuflebisTvis brZolis mowameobriv gzas uwodebs, qristes gzas. igi gamoTqvams mzadyofnas, daubrunos saqarTvelos Tavisi kuTvnili adgili msoflios erTa TanamegobrobaSi (saqarTvelos prezidentebis sainauguracio sityvebi 2007: 28).

rogorc aRvniSneT, am periodSi gamsaxurdias Sexedulebebi ukve Seicavs samoqalaqo nacionalizmis mniSvnelovan elementebs, Tumca maTi winaaRmdegobrivi xasiaTi kvlav aSkaraa. saprezidento mmarTvelobis dasawyisSi, romelic, amave dros, misi xelisuflebis dasasrulis dasawyisic iyo, saqme ukve saxeSecvlil liderTan gvaqvs.

qarTuli nacionaluri proeqtis garegnuli transformaciisa da zviad gamsaxurdias samoqalaqo ritorikis zrdis proporciulad, izrdeboda qveyanaSi samoqalaqo dapirispirebis safrTxe. opozicia prezident zviad gamsaxurdias brals sdebda gansxvavebuli azris SeuwynareblobaSi, demokratiis ugulebelyofasa da diqtatorul miswrafebebSi, mcdar sakadro politikaSi, rac maRal, sapasuxismgeblo Tanamdebobebze pirovnebaTa piradi erTgulebis da ara profesionalizmis niSniT daniSvnaSi gamoixateboda. xelisuflebis mowinaaRmdegeTa banakSi, politikuri organizaciebis garda, Tavs iyridnen yofili biurokratiis warmomadgenlebi, gasamxedroebuli gaerTianebebi (magaliTad, “mxedrioni”), inteligenciis warmomadgenlebi da sxvani. xelisuflebasTan Ria konfrontaciaSi iyvnen misi yofili mokavSireebi erovnuli kongresidan. gansakuTrebiT gamoirCeodnen erovnul-demokratiuli partia da erovnuli damoukideblobis partia (janeliZe 2009: 207).

1991 wels ganxeTqileba moxda Tavad umaRles sabWoSi. daSla daiwyo mmarTvelma umravlesobam – blokma “mrgvali magida – Tavisufali saqarTvelo”. gaerTianebas gamoeyo “merab kostavas sazogadoeba”. opoziciur fraqciad Camoyalibda deputatTa jgufi, romelsac “qartia 91” ewoda.

mdgomareoba gansakuTrebiT 1991 wlis zafxulSi, sabWoTa kavSirSi mimdinare rTuli procesebis fonze daiZaba. 1991 wlis 19 agvistos sabWoTa kavSiris xelisuflebaSi ganxeTqileba moxda, romelic “agvistos putCis” saxeliTaa cnobili. 22 agvistos sabWoTa kavSiris prezidenti mixeil gorbaCovi apirebda mokavSire respublikebTan axali samokavSireo xelSekrulebis gaformebas, romelic mniSvnelovnad zRudavda centris uflebamosilebas. kavSiris Zveli saxiT SenarCunebis momxre konservatulma Zalebma gadatrialebis mowyoba scades, gorbaCovs Zalaufleba CamoarTves da Seqmnes sagangebo mdgomareobis saxelmwifo komiteti (gkCp). komitetma respublikebisgan morCileba moiTxova da maT garkveuli moTxovnebi wauyena. saqarTvelos xelisuflebam angariSi gauwia sagangebo komitetis moTxovnas da ramdenime kompromisuli gadawyvetileba miiRo, magaliTad, erovnul gvardias statusi Seucvala da is Sinagan saqmeTa saministros daqvemdebarebaSi gadaiyvana. aman erovnuli gvardiis sardali Tengiz kitovani gaanawyena. man uari ganacxada prezidentis brZanebis Sesrulebaze, Tavis momxre nawilebTan erTad rkonis xeobaSi dabanakda da daumorCilebloba gamoacxada. Tanamdebobidan gadadga da opozicias SeuerTda premier-ministri Tengiz sigua. sabolood, moskovis “agvistos putCi” damarcxda, saqarTveloSi ki konfrontaciulma procesebma Seuqcevadi saxe miiRo. zviad gamsaxurdias nabijebis winaaRmdegobrivi xasiaTi kidev erTxel maSin gamoCnda, rodesac man jer angariSi gauwia putCis organizatorebs, misi damarcxebis Semdeg ki, ruseTis reaqciuli Zalebis mxardaWeris motiviT, sarTod akrZala saqarTvelos komunisturi partia da kompartiis siiT umaRles sabWoSi arCeul deputatebs uflebamosileba SeuCera (janeliZe 2009: 208).

procesebis eskalacia 1991 wlis seqtembridan daiwyo. 2 seqtembers kinos saxlTan gamarTuli erovnul-demokratiuli partiis saprotesto mitingi xelisuflebam Zalis gamoyenebiT daSala, rasac masobrivi sapotesto talRis agoreba mohyva. opozicia gamsaxurdias gadadgomas da prezidentis institutis gauqmebas moiTxovda. daiwyo rusTavelis gamzirze barikadebis ageba, rasac gamsaxurdiam da misma momxreebma nacadi xerxiT, sawinaaRmdego saprotesto mitingebiT upasuxes.

Tengiz kitovanma misi erTguli erovnuli gvardiis nawilebi qalaqSi Semoiyvana da opoziciis dacva ikisra. prezidentma ki Tavis mxardamWerebs mTel saqarTveloSi mouwoda, TbilisSi moeyaraT Tavi. orive mxare gamalebiT iaraRdeboda da yvelaferi sisxlisRvrisken midioda. xelisufleba mTavrobis sasaxleSi gamagrda, xolo opoziciurma Zalebma bina sastumro “TbilisSi” (dRevandeli “Tbilisi merioti”) daides. 1991 wlis 22 dekembers daiwyo “Tbilisis omi”, romelic 1991 wlis 6 ianvars gamsaxurdias da misi momxreebis mier Tbilisis datovebiT dasrulda. saomar dapirispirebaSi gadamwyveti roli cixidan gaTavisuflebulma “mxdrionis” liderma jaba ioselianma da misi gaerTianebis wevrebma iTamaSes. daiRupa 100-ze meti da daiWra 600-mde adamiani (janeliZe 2009: 209). bedis ironiiT, TbilisSi SeiaraRebul dapirispirebas droSi daemTxva sabWoTa kavSiris daSla – 1991 wlis 8 dekembers ruseTis, ukrainisa da belorusis liderebma sabWoTa kavSiris daSlisa da damoukidebel saxelmwifoTa Tanamegobrobis (dsT) Seqmnis Sesaxem gamoacxades. am SeTanxmebas ukve 21 dekembers kidev 8 yofili sabWoTa respublika SeuerTda. sabWoTa kavSirma arseboba oficialurad Sewyvita.

pozitiuri da tragikuli movlenebiT, winaaRdegobebiTa da dinamikiT savse gamsaxurdias epoqa samoqalaqo omiT dasrulda, rac safuZvels gvaZlevs vTqvaT, rom damoukideblobis gariJraJze arsebulma qarTulma nacionalurma proeqtma marcxi ganicada. saqarTvelos erovnulma moZraobam, politikurma da inteleqtualurma elitam ver SeZlo rTuli gardamavali periodis mSvidobianad, sisxlisRvris gareSe dasruleba da qveynis ganviTarebis axal etapze gadasvla.

**zviad gamsaxurdia da qarTuli nacionalizmi. “saqarTvelo qarTvelebisTvis?”** 1992 wlis ianvarSi Sunday Times-is redaqtori meTiu kempbeli baqoSi daukavSirda Jurnalist Tomas golcs da zviad gamsaxurdiasTan eqskluziuri intervius Casawerad saqarTveloSi, kerZod, zugdidSi Casvla daavala. Jurnalists prezidentisTvis unda ekiTxa, Tu ras grZnobda postidan gadayenebis Semdeg. redaqtorsa da korespondents Soris dialogs Tomas golci ase ixsenebs:

* “unda waxvide da is kaci moZebno... ra qvia? – ikiTxa savarZelSi mokalaTebulma meTium londonidan.
* vis? – kiTxva Sevubrune odnav dabneulma.
* faSisti rom hyavdaT... axlaxan rom moiSores, – amixsna man, – Sen ar Tqvi, azerbaijanSi iyo Camosulio? BBC**-**ze gismendiT” (golci 2014: 3).

Tomas golcs BBC-dan im moaruli xmebis gadasamowmeblad daurekes, romelic zviad gamsaxurdias Camogdebas exeboda. am xmebis Tanaxmad, Tbilisidan gaqceuli gamsaxurdia azerbaijanSi gadasula da Tan wauRia saxelmwifo xazinidan gatacebuli didZali oqro. mogvianebiT gairkva, rom xmebi oqros gatacebis Sesaxeb dezinformacia yofila da mizanmimarTulad vrceldeboda gamsaxurdias diskreditaciis mizniT (golci 2014: 3). zviad gamsaxurdia marTlac gadavida azerbaijanSi da ramdenime saaTis Semdeg gezi somxeTisken aiRo. Tomas golcma saqarTvelos prezidentis Sesaxeb mxolod es icoda, Tumca dasavlur mediaSi imdenad mwiri iyo informacia saqarTvelosTan dakavSirebiT, rom, rogorc Tavad ironiulad aRniSnavs, umal moipova “msoflio aRiareba”, rogorc saqarTvelos Sesaxeb yvelaze informirebulma adamianma. BBC-Tan intervius dasrulebis Semdeg gadacemis wamyvanma golci ase moixsenia: “es iyo Tomas golci baqodan, eqsperti saqarTvelos sakiTxebSi” (golci 2014: 4). is, rac gadmoica popularuli britanuli sainformacio saagentos saSualebiT, umal aitaca msofliom. es faqti aris klasikuri magaliTi imisa, Tu rogori zedapiruli da stereotipuli iyo im periodis dasavleTSi informacia saqarTveloSi mimdinare procesebis Sesaxeb.

1991 wlis Semodgomaze gamsaxurdia yuradRebis centrSi moeqca, Tumca es iyo metwilad negatiuri informaciebi. “avtoritari”, “diqtatori”, “SeSlili” – es is terminebia, romliTac maSin gamsaxurdias dasavleTSi moixseniebdnen. es Sefasebebi radikalurad gansxvavdeboda mis mimarT sabWoTa periodSi arsebuli damokidebulebebisgan: im periodSi gamsaxurdias, rogorc Tavdadebul disidents, lamis vaclav havelis gverdiT ayenebdnen (golci 2014: 6).

Sexedulebam “faSist” gamsaxurdiasa da damangrevel qarTul nacionalizmze dasavlur politikur, Jurnalistur da akademiur wreebSi fexi Rrmad moikida. amas xels uwyobda kremli, Tavisi propagandistuli manqaniT, saqarTveloSi arsebuli prezidentis opozicia da Tavad saqarTvelos lideric, Tavisi winaaRmdegobrivi ritorikiT.

stiven jonss motanili aqvs amerikis yofili saxelmwifo mdivnis stroub talbotis Sexeduleba kavkasiis da saqarTvelos Sesaxeb, romelic man 1998 wels buqarestSi sityviT gamosvlisas warmoTqva. talbotis mosazrebiT, bevr postkomunistur qveyanaSi adgili aqvs Suasaukuneobriv brZolebs warmoSobisa da kulturisTvis. jonsi ar eTanxmeba am Sexedulebas da Tvlis, rom es sakiTxis gamartivebuli da stereoripuli xedvaa. veTanxmebiT ra amerikel mkvlevars, migvaCnia, rom gamsaxurdias calsaxad radikal nacionalistad, miT umetes, faSistad da diqtatorad monaTvla nakleb akademiuria da mTlianad ugulebelyofs im uaRresad rTul da winaaRmdegobriv procesebs, romlebic gamsaxurdias epoqis saqarTveloSi mimdinareobda. msgavsi Sexedulebebis gavlenas saqarTveloSic ganicdis sazogadoebisa da akademiuri wreebis warmomadgenelTa nawili. magaliTad, zviad gamsaxurdias miewereba lozungi “saqarTvelo qarTvelebisTvis”, Tumca ar arsebobs faqti, Tu sad da rodis Tqva man es fraza.

1991 wels qvemo qarTlis mosaxleobasTan Sexvedrisas, romelTa umravlesobas eTnikuri azerbaijanelebi Seadgendnen, zviad gamsaxurdiam Tavad uaryo lozungi “saqarTvelo qarTvelebisTvis” da Tqva, rom msgavsi araferi uTqvams. vfiqrobT, am SemTxvevaSi prezidentma sakuTar damokidebulebebs swori axsna mouZebna: “is, rom miyvars Cemi xalxi, ar niSnavs imas, rom me mZuls sxva xalxebi.”[[37]](#footnote-37)

zemoT Cven ganvixileT 1989 wlis ivnisSi gamarTuli “saxalxo frontis” yriloba. am yrolobaze sityviT gamosvlisas gamsaxurdiam warmoTqva fraza “saqarTvelo aris qarTvelebis qveyana”, Tumca am frazis konteqstidan amoglejiT ganxilva da misi lozungad – “saqarTvelo qarTvelebisTvis” – gasaReba aramarTebulia. es iyo radikaluri erovnuli moZraobis kulminacia, sul oriode Tve iyo gasuli 9 aprilis sisxliani movlenebidan, sazogadoeba da misi ukompromiso liderebi ganicdidnen damoukideblobasTan miaxloebiT gamowveul Zlier emocias. amas emateboda zviad gamsaxurdias gansakuTrebuli zrunva qarTvelebis uflebebze, romlebic, misi azriT, saukuneebis ganmavlobaSi iCagrebodnen. misTvis prioritetuli iyo qarTvel eri, am terminis eTnikuri gagebiT. marTalia, es damokidebuleba calsaxad eTnikuri nacinalizmis maxasiaTebelia, magram, rogorc davinaxeT, mogviano periodSi misi Sexedulebebi Seicvala, meti loialuroba da inkluziuroba SeiZina. rodesac vswavlobT periods, romelic ukiduresi cvalebadobiT gamoirCeoda, aucilebelia procesebis dinamikaSi gaanalizeba. sxva SemTxvevaSi epoqis srulyofili suraTis aRdgena SeuZlebeli iqneba.

zviad gamsaxurdias gadaWarbebulad negatiur Sefasebebs ar eTanxmeba misi zogierTi mowinaaRmdege. magaliTad, profesori revaz gaCeCilaZe, romelic, rogorc Tavad ambobs, gamsaxurdias mowinaaRmdegeTa rigebSi iyo, 2011 wels gamocemul naSromSi cdilobs droiTi distanciidan, civi gonebiT Seafasos ganvlili epoqa. misi SexedulebiT, saqarTvelos pirveli prezidentis diqtatorad da faSistad monaTvla namdvilad gazviadebulia (gaCeCilaZe 2011: 330-332).

1. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvlis sruli teqsti ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. interviu roman gociriZesTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. interviu irakli wereTelTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. interviu irakli wereTelTan ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. interviu roman gociriZesTan ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. gia Wanturias gamosvla erovnuli forumis krebaze ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. interviu nodar naTaZesTan ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. interviu roman gociriZesTan ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. giorgi Wanturias gamosvla mitingze ix. iqve. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. interviu jaba ioselianTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. am sakiTxze aseve ix. jaba ioselianis memuaruli naSromi “sami ganzomileba”. Tb. 2013, gv. 17 da interviu “mxedrionis” wevr giga arvelaZesTan sofo mosiZis saavtori gadacemaSi “mowyvite wami” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mVvTq4Cq84o> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. interviu zviad gamsaxurdiasTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur fulmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. saqarTvelos erovnul-ganmaTavisuflebeli moZraobis politikur partiaTa da organizaciaTa mrgvali magidis politikuri koncefcia. gaz. “axalgazrda iverieli”. 15 maisi. 1990. #52. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla 1990 wlis 26 maisis mitingze ix.: Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde” [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. interviu nodar naTaZesTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. interviu SoTa gorgoZesTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis fulmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla ix. Toma CageliSvilis filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. arCevnebis Sedegebi ix. saqarTvelos centraluri saarCevno komisiis veb-gverdze: <http://www.cesko.ge/files/TEA/archevnebisistoria/geohistory.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. interviu Temur qoriZesTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis fulmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. interviu akaki asaTianTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis fulmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde” [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. gaz. “axalgazrda iverieli”. 1990, # 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
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34. masalebi ekonomikuri blokadis Sesaxeb ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “9 aprilidan 9 aprilamde”. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
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37. zviad gamsaxurdias gamosvla ix. bmulze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=72KuwEHRF7s> [↑](#footnote-ref-37)