**ivane rostomaSvili, aRzrda erisa, sazogadoebisa, urTierTobis grZnobis**

**gaxsna erSi**

“mogzauri”, 1903, # 11

Cven daCveulebi varT, rom marto baRanebs unda swavla-aRzrda da amitom mozrdilebisa da colSvilianebis anu sxvanairad xalxisa da sazogadoebis aRzrdisaTvis friad mcireds vzrunavT, maSin rodesac amaTs aRzrdasac iseTive didi mniSvneloba aqvs, rogorc mozardi Taobisas, Tu ar meti. mkiTxvels eWvi ar aris xSiraT eqneba gagonili: “saqarTvelo davardnilia, saqarTvelo dacemulia!” – da imas ki ar kiTxuloben, Tu risgan aris igi dacemuli da davardnili, Tumca bunebis simdidriT bevri mxare ar Seedreba Cvens qveyanas. ZiriTadi mizezi ki Cvenis turfa samSoblos ase dacemisa da davardnis iyo da aris sruli uzrunveloba Cvenis mxriT TviTon xalxisa da sazogadoebis aRzrdisaTvis! bevrnairad auxsniaT Cvens meTaurebs Cvenis qveynis dacemis mizezi. Amis da gvarad bevrnairadac scdilan malamo daedoT imis WrilobebisaTvis, magram Wrilobis wyluls uaresoba Tu ara, arc saimiso sikeTe etyoba.Amis mizezi, Cvenis azriT, is cru safuZvlebia, romlebzedac amyareben Cvenis qveynis dacemas da mis aRorZinebas da amitom aq Cven vecdebiT aRvnusxoT da ganvmartoT is utyuari pirobebi, romlebic saWiroa xalxis yovelmxrivi warmatebisaTvis, misis keTil-dReobis aRdgenisaTvis. es sagani iseT Zvirfas sagnad migvaCnia Cvenis TanamemamuleebisaTvis, rom imedi gvaqvs ar gvisayvedureben, Tu cota ar iyos gavagrZelebT werilebs amis Sesaxeb. upirveles yovlisa ki saWiroa, rom Cvenma xalxma **erTi garkveuli da naTeli azri da Sexeduleba Tavisi yofa-cxovrebis gaukeTesebis pirobebze da saSualebebze,** raTa Cveni yoveli sazogado moqmedeba am mxraT iyos erT sul da erT xorc.

rogorc sxva yvela cxoveli, adamianic saWiroebs saWmel-sasmelsa, samoselsa, Zilsa da sxv. magram, rogorc ambobs erTi mecnieri, mis upirveles da umTavres TviT bunebiTs saWiroebas da moTxovnilebas Seadgens **sxvebTan erTad cxovreba**. es imitoma, rom adamiani ibadeba qveyanazed sxva yvela cxovelebzed ufro uRono da umweo. is pataraobiTve saWiroebs umetes mzrunvelobas da movlasa, maSin rodesac frinvelebze da sxva cxovelebze mravals raSime zrunavs TviT maTi buneba.

 marTalia, adamiani ibadeba imisTana niWebiT, rom SeuZlian miaRwios umaRles ganviTarebas da swavlasa, magram dabadebiT ki is iseTi susti ibadeba, rom moklebulia im alRosac (instiqtebs), romlebic futkarsa da obobas, frinvelsa aswavlian TavianTvis sadgomebis aSenebas da sazrdos mopovebasa. erTi sityviT, aucilebelni saWiroebani aiZuleben adamians \_ eltvodes igi sxva adamianebsa da es aris mizezi, rom yvela sxva cxovelebzed, adamianSi ufroa ganviTarebuli midrekileba urTierTobisadmi, e. i. sxvebTan erTad cxovrebasa da moqmedebisadmi. daniSnuleba adamianisa am qveynad imaSi mdgomareobs, rom roca da rogorc unda, ise moixmaros bunebis Zalni saerTo sakeTildReod da saerTo sasargeblod. xolo, dasaZlevad bunebis ZalTa da Cvens gonier nebazed am ZalTa mosaxmareblad aucileblad saWiroa **urTierToba**, radganac saTiTaod sruliad veras gavxdebiT bunebis Zlierebis winaaRmdeg. gnebavT mohfinoT qveyana arxebiT, gzebiT, xidebiT? – saWiroa didi urTierToba dasaZlevad bunebis yovel dabrkolebaTa – mTaTa, RreTa, mdinareTa, udabnoTa, zRvaTa... gnebavT aagoT palatni, eklesiani, skolani? – isev saWiroa urTierToba...

maS egre, pirveli piroba qveynis warmatebisaTvis yofila gaxsna da ganviTareba xalxSi im midrekilebisa, romelsac mecnierni eZaxian midrekilebas urTierTTadmi. aucileblad saWiroa kargad SevignoT es, radganac romels xalxSiac gaxsnilia es midrekileba urTierTobisadmi, iq keTildReobac am xalxisa saaTobiT izrdeba, xolo, sadac naklebad an sruliad mcired aris gaxsnili xalxSi es Tviseba, igi xalxi dacemulia, igi xalxi sikvdils aris miaxlovebuli...

axla, ra hklavs da ra aRorZinebs xalxSi am aucilebels pirobas mis warmatebisas?

TviT-marTveloba anu Temoba aris dasabami piroba urTierTobisadmi midrekilebis gaxsnisaTvis xalxSi.

“Tavisufleba, Sen xar kacTa nav-sayudari,

Sen xar Cagrulis, wvalebulis wminda safari,

Sen xar mSvidoba da simarTle ama qveynisa,

Sen xar aRmzrdeli RvTaebamde kacT-bunebisa...”

*“deda da Svili” ilia WavWavaZisa*.

bunebaSi arsebobs erTi ucvleli da sayovelTao kanoni: **didi sxeuli izidavs Taviszed ufro mciresa, xolo es mcire Taviszed mciresa.**

es kanoni yvelazed ukeT warmosadgeni da dasanaxia caTa mnaTobTa da sxeulTa wes-wyobilebis gacnobiTgan. mogexsenebaT, rom mzis samflobeloSi (sistemaSi), erTis, warmoudgenlad uSvelebelis sxeulis, mzis, garSemo, mimoivlian mravalni, maszed da erTi-erTmaneTzed ufro did-mciredni. yvela es sxeulni mimoivlian cis sivrceSi yovlis fex-moukideblad razedme nivTierzed SesaniSnavis wesiTa da Znelad momxdara, rom romelime maTgans emtyunosMmTelis saukunoebiT daCemebulis gzisaTvis.

mizezi amis mizidulobis is Zalaa, romelic ase Sesaferad mizomili aqvs qveyanazed yvela dids da patara sxeulebs, rom mzis samflobeloSi, garda meore xarisxovan sxeulebsa, ar yofiliyvnen sxva, amaTzed ufro momcro sxeulni, maSin moxdeboda Semdegi ambavi: yvela es meore xarisxovani sxeulni mizidul iqnebodnen mzisagan. eseve daemarTeboda mesame da meoTxe xarisxis mnaTobebsa; da Tumca amiT mze erT aTasad ufro uSvelebeli da Zlieri Seiqmneboda, vidre igi axla aris, magram mis samflobeloSi ki sruliad Seswydeboda moZraoba, Seswydeboda sicocxle da gul-saklavi wyvdiadi moefineboda qveynis sivrcesa!..

swored eseve wesi da kanoni swarmoebs xalxTa cxovrebaSi da, rogorc qvemoT davinaxavT, romels xalxSiac aris an yofila es wesi urTi-erTis damokidebulobisa, iq cxovrebac xalxisa gazrdila saaTobiTa, xolo sadac arseboben an arsebulan uSvelebelni centrni xalxTa mosaxlobisa da xelisuflebisa, meore da mesame xarisxis ucentrebod, iq igive cxovreba ukuRmarTad warmarTula.

udidesi centrebi xalxTa mosaxlobisa Cvens droSi arian: londoni, pariJi, berlini, vena, niu-iorki da sxvani. amdeni centrebis magier rom mxolod erTi an ori qalaqi yofiliyo, maSin am ukanasknelebs imisTana didi mizidulobis Zala eqneboda, rom, rac exla ass da aTs qalaqs awydeba xalxi, maSin mxolod am ors qalaqs miawydeboda Tvisi gonebiTi da nivTieri nawarmoebebis sacvlelad da kanonebis misaRebad. Tumca amiT es ori qalaqi warmoudgenelis Zlierebis buded Seiqmneboda, magram amiT moxdeboda swored igive usicocxloba, igive sikvdili maT garemo qveynebSi, rac moxdeboda msoflios sivrceSi, rom mxolod mzes miezidna yvela danarCeni mnaTobni Cvenis miwiTurT!

cxadia aqedam, Tu ramdenad mavnebelia qveynisaTvis am gvari uSvelebeli da srulis ZaliT aRWurvili centri, radganac amiT mas eZleva yovlad SemZlebeli Zala mizidulobisa, romelic spobs midamoTa centrebSi sakuTari mizidulobis Zalasa da miT amcirebs xalxSi urTierTdami midrekilebas, romelic, rogorc es zemoTaca vsTqviT, aris umTavresi piroba sazogadoebis warmatebisaTvis.

 cxadia agreTve, Tu ramdenad sasargeblo da saprogresoa xalxisTvis is wes-wyobileba, roca erTi saerTo centris garda (rogorc mzis samflobeloSi mze) aris kidev sxva uTvalavi centrebi adgilobriv, romlebic nebas ar aZleven dids saerTo centrsa sruliad miizidos adgilobrivi centrebi da miT frTas akvecen mis sruls mZlavrobas...

moxsenebulis WeSmaritebas naTlad gvimtkicebs Zveli da axali istoriaca. moviyvanoT zogierTi magaliTi iqidam.

am gvari adgilobrivi centrebi arsebobdnen saberZneTis TiTqmis yvela provinciebSi da kunZulebzed. adgilobrivi urTierToba mivida iq iseT ganviTarebamdis, rogorc im dromde arsad ar yofila mTels xmeleTzed. adgilobriv urTierTobasTan erTad iq gamocxadda **midrekileba sakavSiro urTierTobisadmi,** daarsebiT istmiis, nemeanis da, ufro ganTqmulis, olimpiis TamaSobebisa, romlebzedac, rogorc vuwyiT, ikrifeboda rac ki gamoCenili iyo fizikurisa da gonebiTis ZaliT, ara Tu saberZneTis yvela respublikebSi da qalaqebSi, aramed italiasa da TviT uSores afrikasa da aziaSic. samwuxaroa mxolod is, rom es idea, e. i. idea saerTo da adgilobriv centrebis urTierTSoris harmoniulad ganwyobisa da damokidebulobisa, ver gamocxadda iq sakmaod Zlierad: mimzidvelobis Zalam am wes-wyobilebis mzisam ver SesZlo dacva wesierebisa adgilobriv centrebs Soris.

wesieri da Seuryeveli moZraoba ciurTa mnaTobTa aixsneba im gvaris Zalebis arsebobiT maTSi, romlebic moqmedoben erTi-erTmaneTis winaaRmdeg mimarTulebiT, magram Tanasworis Zalis-xmeviTa, Tanasworis cdiTa. xolo am gvars weswyobilebazed aSenebul saxelmwifos unda umadlodes Crdilo amerikis Statebi, rom misi istoriiT ar warmogvidgens gamudmebuls samoqalaqo omebs.

mospeviT iq TviT-marTveloba kerZo Statebisa da Tavi mouyareT maT mxolo sakavSiro vaSingtonSi da amisi aucilebeli Sedegi is iqneba, rom maSinac metad Semcirdeba midrekileba Tavisufal urTierTobebisadmi mSvidobianis moqmedebisaTvis. mospeviT imav dros Statebis saerTo centri \_ vaSingtoni, e.i sruliad gawyviteT maT Soris kavSiri, mianebeT yvela maTgani sruls TviTnebobazed da Sejaxeba maT Soris aucilebeli Seiqmneba.

gaixseneT Cvenis qveynis istoriac. gana zemod moxsenebulis wes-wyobilebiT ar unda aixsnas gamudmebuli omebi Cvenis qveynis Tavisufal \_ kaxeTsa, qarTlsa, imereTsa da danarCen nawilebs Soris?! es nawilebi, moklebulni sakavSiro centrsa, gansageblad qveynis saerTo saqmeebisa, da Tavminebebulni TviT-nebobaze yvela saqmeSi, TavianT Zalas mxolod imaSi Zlevdnen, rom erTmaneTs arbevdnen, erTmaneTs asustebdnen. sad iyo maTSi midrekileba uerTierTTadmi mSvidobianis moqmedebisaTvis? saberZneTic savse iyo adgilobrivi Tavisufali centrebiTa, xolo ar iyo iqac saerTo Zlieri centri, romelsac SesZleboda daecva Svidobianoba da samarTliani ganwyobileba kerZoTa Soris. amis Semdegi iyo gamudgmebuli omebi nawilTa Soris, xolo am omebs SedegaT \_ qveynis saerTo gaTaxsireba da dacema...

axali italia, mravali saukunoebis ganmavlobaSi, warmogvidgens friad SesaniSnav kavSiris adgilobrivis mizidulobis Zalisas da Tavisufal asociaciisadmi midrekilebas Soris. milani, henua, venecia, florencia, romi, neapoli, piza, [...] padua da verona iyvnen imisTanave centrebi mizidulobisa, rogorebic arsebobdnen saberZneTSi, magram uqonlobisa gamo mzisa (e.i. saerTo centrisa), romelsac hqonoda sakmao mizidulobiTi Zala raRac daecva wesi da mSvidoba mTelis qveynis agebulebaSi, iyvnen mudmiv omebSi erTmaneTTan, sanam dasasrul avstriam da franciam ar Caigdes xelSi TavianT klanWebSi mTeli apeninis naxevarkunZuli da sanam masTan erTad SesamCnevad ar moispo mis mcxovrebTa Soris midrekileba urTierTadmi.

germania iTvleba midamoTa centrebis (decentralizaciis) samSoblod, igi mudam cudis TvaliT uyurebda centris gaZlierebas, da mudamve imas eltvoda, rom daecva adgilobrivi uflebani.

germania, saberZneTis msavsaT, mudam TiTqos moklebuliyo mzesa (saerTo centrsa), romlis garSemo mSvidaT unda emoqmednaT mraval meore xarisxovans centrebsa, ris gamo, rogorc saberZneTSi, Zalebi damoukidebelni mTels wes-wyobilebaze, advilad miesevodnen xolme erTmanerTs da miT friad aferxebdnen civilizacias Tavis qveyenaSi. germaniaSi mravlad iyo adgilobrivi Tavisufali centrebi, ar iyo mxolod erTi saerTo, saxelmwifo centri, rom iqidam saerTod ganegoT saerTove azri da moqmedeba. am ukanasknels xanebSi (1870 w.) dafuZnda iq es centrica – prusiis meTaurobiT, Tumca amiTac jer kidev bevri aklia germanias mzis sistemis wes-wyobilebis msgavsebamde.

magram arsad mTels qveyanazed, midamoTa da saerTo centrebi ise SeTanxmebulad ar aris SekavSirebuli, rogorc Crdilo amerikis StatebSi. es aris mizezi, rom iq friad aRorZinebulia adgilobrivi moqmedeba, romelic naTlad gamoixateba auarebel skolebis daarsebiT, gzebis gayvaniT, sazogado cxovrebis ganviTarebiT, SeZlebis momatebiT da yovelnairi asociaciebis daarsebiT. swored zRapari warmogidgebaT, rodesac gazeTebSi kiTxulobT, rom Crdilo amerikis respublikaSi, mxolod erTs TveSi, Semdgara Svidasi sxvadasxva associacia orasi milionis maneTis TanxiTao...

**iakob gogebaSvili, didi varmis Sesaxeb**

“iveria”, 1905, # 64

SevikribeT tfiliseli pedagogebi bzobis wina dRes da vinatreT Tavisufals ruseTSi Tavisufali skola. xom umanko da simpatiuri natvraa? magram krebas daeswro mxolod qarTvelebi da sxvebma ki ver gabedes mosvla. ar daeswrnen saSualo saswavleblebis maswavlebelni, garda saTavad-aznauro skolisa. mxolod iyo oriod-sami, magram ismendnen sxvis nalaparakevs, TviTon ki munjad idgnen da, roca xelis moweraze midga saqme, gaiparnen, raTa meore dRes moxseneba warudginon Tavis momavlinebelT. rusTagani Tavidan bolomde mxolo erTi iyo, magram niWieri, friad ganviTarebuli da gabeduli b-n cvetnickis mier wakiTxuli daxasiaTeba ruseTis skolisa dawerili iyo Rrma codniT, namdvili niWiTa da iSiviaTis gulwrfelobiT.

diaR, ar daeswrnen rusebi, qarTvelebTan erTad ar isurves ganTavisuflebuls ruseTSi ganTavisuflebuli skola. ratom? gana maTTvisac sasargeblo ar iqneba es Tavisufleba? rasakvirvelia, iqmneba. maS rad moeridnen krebasa? albad Tavisi principalebis, batonebis SiSma Caukla maT gulSi natvra yurmoWrili ymobisagan ganTavisuflebisa. magram im pedagogebs raRam dauSala, vinc pirdapir ar eqvemdebareba am vaJbatonebs, romelTac sruliad uSiSrad SeeZloT sazogado natvris momxreoba? ratom krebas ar daeswrnen is somexTa pedagogebi, romelnic tfilisis TviTmmarTvelobis xelqveiTni arian? somexTa Sorisac gamoklebas Seadgenda b-n cvetnickisaviT, b-ni babovi. am orma pirma gadaarCina dids sircxvilsa da saxelis gatexas orive erovneba.

am saxiT Tu ruseTis skola eRirseba Tavisuflebas, qarTvelobas SeuZlian Tamamad sTqvas: ganaxlebul skolis mopoebis saqmeSi Cemi werilic ureviao.

did Secdomad unda CaeTvaloT imaT, vinc ganze gadgnen da sazogado ferxulSi ar Caerivnen. Tavisufali skola ruseTSi aucilebeli garemoebaa, usaWiroesi piroba Tavisufali skolisa kavkasiaSi. Tu ruseTSi skola darCeba awindels monobaSic, CvenSic igive monoba Seuryeveli darCeba. Tu ruseTma ver aicila Tavidan es momakvdinebeli seni, CvenSiac imZvinvarebs. iqneba somxebi fiqrobdnen: eklesiis mamulebs davibrunebT, gavxsniT ise samrevlo da kerZo skolebs da Cvens Wkuaze vawarmoebTo, rac unda moxdes ruseTSiao. amao fiqria, fuWi imedia. Tu ruseTis skolaSi awindeli reJimi darCeba swavla-aRzrdisa, mTavroba imave reJims daamyarebs somxurs samrevlo da kerZo skolebSiac. yvela ruseTis Wiri Cvenc gvedeba, Cvens senadac iqceva xolme. amis gamo mowinave ruseTs yovelTvis mxari unda mivceT, roca igi scdilobs aicdinos Tavidan romelime seni, romelime ukuRmarTi wes-wyobileba. amas moiTxovs Cveni sikeTe, Cveni momavali bedniereba.

ai, risTvis yoveli keTil-gonieri kavkasieli pedagogi uTuod unda daswreboda xsenebul krebas, bani mieca mobaaseTaTvis, xeli moewera gadawyvetilebaze da amiT eTqva: mec monaturi var Tavisufalis skolisa Taviufals ruseTSio.

magram damswreT SevasruleT mxolod erTi naxevari Cveni movaleobisa. meore misi naxevari dRemdis kiserze gvawevs da Txoulobs sisruleSi moyvanasa.

raSi mdgomareobs es meore naxevari Cvenis movaleobisa?

mogaxseneT, rom yoveli seni ruseTisa Cvens uTuod gadmogvedeba xolme. magram, Cvenda saubedurod, igive ar iTqmis sikeTis Sesaxeb. bevri sikeTe ruseTisa Cven sikeTed ar gadaqceula, bevri reforma kavkasionis qeds ver gadmoscilebia. es qedi, advili gadmosalaxavi yoveli cudisaTvis, gadmouval sazRvrad Seiqmneba xolme sikeTis gadmonergisaTvis. ruseTma miiRo eroba, naficTa samarTali, daaarsa saglexo bankebi da sxvani. Cven ki arc erTi es dawesebuleba ar gvaRirsa. skolis Sesaxebac SeiZleba eseve moxdes. ruseTSi skolam SeiZleba moipovos Tavisufleba, Cveneburi skola ki isev monobis uRel qveS darCes.

Cven agreTve movisurveT, guliT vinatreT parlamentis daweseba ruseTSi. oRondac rom parlamenti didi RvTis wyalobaa ruseTisaTvis, didad xels Seuwyobs mis winsvla-warmatebas, ganviTarebas, aayvavebs. magram am sikeTes Cvenc mogvitans ruseTis parlamenti?

CavixedoT istoriaSi.

Tavisufals ingliss Tavisufali parlamenti aqvs ager ramdenime saukunis ganmavlobaSi da am parlamentma keTildReobiT aavso TviT inglisi. magram irlandia ki imdenad Seborka, im zomamde Seaviwrova parlamentma, rom mcxovrebTa ricxvma erTi-orad iklo masukan, rac am, esred wodebul, “zurmuxtis kunZulze” gabatonda inglisis parlamenti. uaresic daemarTeboda sawyal irlandias da bednier dReze veRarc iocnebebda, Tu amerikaSi gadasaxlebuls da gaZlierebuls irlandielebs mxari ar miecaT Tavisi daCagruli moZmeebisaTvis da medgari, Seupovari da Seuwyveteli brZola ar gamoecxadebinaT inglisisaTvis, aRsadgenad irlandiis TviT-marTvelobisa, avtonomiisa.

gadmovabijoT inglisidan prusiaSi da kidev ufro udiers gabatonebas vixilavT mTavaris erisa damorCilebuls erze parlamentis saSualebiT. prusias, rogorc mogrxsenebaT, sakuTari parlamenti aqvs, romlis wevrebad iTvlebian ganTqmulni mecnierni, politikurni radikalni. da es palamenti **radikalurad** miwasTanasworebs poznanis polonelebs, romelic Seadgens aRmosavleTis nawils prusiis samefoisas, marTalia, am parlamentSi poznanel polonelebsac hyavT Tavisi deputatebi, magram isini verafers awyoben, radgan TiTo as sul nemencze modis mxolod oriode poloneli.

vengria ar Seadgens sakuTar saxelmwifos; magram mas aqvs sakuTari parlamenti. da es parlamenti iseve aviwroebs masTan SeerTebul xorvatebs, rogorc prusielebi poznanel polonelebs.

erTi sityviT, warsuli da awmdgomi saxelmwifoebisa mWermetyvelurad gvamcnebs: yovels parlamentSi gamefebulia mTavaris eris egoisturi mimarTuleba, viwro nacionalizmi, da is eri sargeblobs Tavisi deputatebis siWarbiT, raTa Seaviwrovos, Seborkos, Seasustos, daamciros da miwasTan gaasworos SemoerTebulni, ricxviT mcireni erni da samagierod gaaZlieros Tavisi Tavi, aaRorZinos SemoerTebuli erebis avladideba TviTon daisakuTros da simsuqniT aivsos.

am mxriv yoveli parlamenti, metad sasargeblo dawesebuleba mTavari erisaTvis, gamodis mavnebel salaybod (govorilniad, dobroliubovisa ar iyos) SekavSirebulis mcire erebisaTvis, \_ salaybod, sadac sofisturad amarTleben mTavaris eris warmomadgenelTa mier mcire erebis Zarcva-glejas, Tavis nacionalurs razboinikobas, avazakobasa.

es mimarTuleba centraluris parlamentisa sulTamxuTav majlajunasaviT awveba metadremcire erTa skolasa. am skolaSi centraluri parlamenti amefebs mTavaris eris enasa, sdevnis da saSinlad aviwroebs qveSevrdomis eris enasa, skolas hxdis politikanurs dawesebulebad, sadac mcire eris mozard Taobas, ucxo gaugebar enaze swavlebis wyalobiT gonebas uxSobs, usustebs, sCagravs, ukargavs mxneobas, uklavs unarsa da amzadebs sabolood mTavaris enis farfaSobas mcire ricxovanis eris teritoriaze, miwa-wyalze.

ra gvar monobasic amyofebs prusiis parlamenti polonelTa skolas poznanSi, yvelas gagebuli gvaqvs. ra gvarad sCagravda da sCagravs TviT safrangeTis respublikis demokratiuli parlamenti arabuls enasa da arabuls skolasa, esec yvelam uwyis. magram iqneba zogma mainc ar icodes, rom es demokratiuli parlamenti, maRiarebeli Tanasworobisa, Zmobisa da Tavisuflebisa, nebas ar aZlevda da arc aZlevs bretonelebs, Tavis dasavleTis moZmeebs, romelnic laparakoben kelturs enaze, hqondeT Tavisi erovnuli skola. da Tumca am erovnulis skolis da enis uaryofa TviTon safrangeTsac sjida im mxriv, rom uvici bretoni agzavnida umetes nawilad deputatebad retrogradebs safrangeTis parlamentSi, romelnic uSlidnen amiT winsvlelobas mTel safrangeTsa.. mainc erovnuli skola safrangeTis parlamentma ar mianiWa bretonsa.

Tu evropidan amerikaSi gadavalT, iqac vixilavT saSinels egoizms respublikis kongresisas. am kongresma miwasTan gaaswora da TiTqmis aRmofxvra adgilobrivi wiTel-kaniani xalxebi, romelnic usaTuod Taviseburs wvlils Seitandnen sakacobrio kulturis salaroSi, Tu maT samarTlianobiT mohqceoda SeerTebulis Statebis kongresi da mieca SeZleba daubrkolebeli ganviTarebisa...

me ufro mets WeSmaritebasac mogaxsenebT. TviTmpyrobeli xelmwife SeiZleba iyos kacTmoyvare, magram centraluri parlamenti ki yovelTvis yofila da arisgamomxatveli da warmomadgeneli mTavaris eris egoizmisa. gamsWvaluli mTavaris eris sikeTiT, xsenebuli parlamenti iCens usulgulobas mcire qveSevrdom erebis Sesaxeb, Seuwynarebel, ukidures usamarTlobasa. da am usamarTlobisa arc ki rcxvenian, radganac saparlamento kolektivizmi sruliad spobs pirad zneobrivs pasuxisgebasa. uguloba da usircxviloba yovelgvari centraluri parlamentisa mcire erTa Sesaxeb namdvili faqtia, \_ faqti sayovelTao samwuxaro da metad sagulisxmiero.

Tu aseTs nacionalurs egoizmsa da Seuwynareblobas iCens centraluri parlamenti ganaTlebuls evropasa da amerikaSi, miT umetesad unda movelodeT amasa ruseTis centraluri parlamentisagan, sadac didi umravlesoba depitatebisa kuTvnileba iqneba mTavari erisa da sadac suvorinebs, kruSevanebs, katkovebsa da sxva retrogradebs bans miscemen Cvenis garusebis Sesaxeb. is rusebis gaiZaxian: Zirs patara erTa nacionalizmi da avtonomiao.

es centraluri tuseTis parlamenti Cven Sesaxeb aramc Tu ar Seasustebs im sulTamxuTav reJims, romelic gaabatona ruseTis biurokratiam, aramed kidec gaaZlierebs: skolaSi gamefebuli darCeba rusuli ena da gandevnili deda-ena. qarTvelebs arc sasamrtloSi da arc administraciaSi jerovani adgilis daWeras ar aRiarebs da ganaZLierebs im politikas, romelsac ruseTidgan gadmosaxlebulis rusis muJikebis saSualebiT miznad aqvT garuseba saqarTvelosi. saqarTvelosi-meTqi imitom mogaxsenebT, rom es politika qarTvelebs ki ar arusebs, aramed swadian garuseba teritoriisa, miwa-wylisa, qarTvelT mesakuTreTa Semcireba da bolos gaqrobac. amgvars politikas adgia prusiis parlamenti poznanis Sesaxeb da bavSvoba iqneba vimedovnoT, rom ruseTis parlamenti ar ikadrebs Cvens Sesaxeb amisTanave udierobasao. gansxvavebuli mxolod is iqneba, rom Cven ver gauwevT medgars winaaRmdegobas saqarTvelos garusebis Sesaxeb, romelsac uweven prusias poznanis polonelni, Cvenze ufro ganaTlebulni, Zlieri nacionalizmiT gamsWvalulni da aRfrTovanebulni da samagaliTo erTobiT SekavSirebulni...

sad unda veZioT xsna? am sakiTxze misca jerovani pasuxi Tavadaznaurobam aRmosavleTisa da dasavleTis saqarTvelosam da qarTulma pressam, garda erTis qarTuli gazeTisa. amaT daasaxeles uebar wamlad avtonomia saqarTvelosi.

aq unda aRvniSnoT, rom am terminma bevri ganacvifra, gaakapasa da saomars fexze Turme daayena Cven winaaRmdeg. avtonomia xom politikurs gancalkevebas, ruseTis CamoSorebas, separatisms moaswavebso, gaiZaxian sityviTac da kalmiTac, gaiZaxian gareulni da Sinaurni. es an ususuris gaugebrobis nayofia, ab borot-ganxraxulobisa. avtonomia aramc Tu separatisms ar moaswavbes, aramed Zirian-fesvianad sTxris da spobs separatizmsa. separatizmi aris pirmSo Svili centralizaciisa, romelic suls uxuTavs erovnebas da sul imas anatrulebs, rodis iqmneba am Cems mtarvals saxelmwifos Tavi davaxwio da calke vicxovrovo. avtonomia ki xalxs aniWebs Sinaur Tavisuflebas da ukvlevs farTo gzas kulturulis ganviTarebisaTvis.

Cven, qarTvelebma, kargad vicodiT da viciT, rom patara eri varT, romelsac calke saxelmwifos gaZRola da Senaxva mZime tvirTad dagvawva kiserze. ubeduri serbiis bedi CvenSi aravis saxarbielod ar miaCnia. CvenSi yvela Segnebuli qarTveli darwmunebulia, rom patara saxelmwifoebis xanam gaiara, da dadga dro didi federaciebisa. avtonomiurs proncipze mowyobili qveyana sargeblobs yvela im sikeTiT, romelic aqvs calke TviT mdgomare saxelmwifosa, da imave dros moSorebulia bevrs im mZime zrunvas, mousvenrobas, naklsa, romelsac Tavidan ver icilebs verc erTi TviTmdgomare saxelmwifo. amis gamo avtonomiur nawils, erTeuls, meti Tavisufali dro d SeZleba aqvs Tavisi kulturuli zrda aaRorZinos, daaCqaros.

saqarTvelos avtonomiis damyarebis Semdeg bevri ram darCeba kidev centraluris mTavrobis xelSi. saxelmwifos ZiriTadi sakonstitucio kanonebi, centralur parlamentSi dadgenilni, savaldebulo iqmnebian CvenTvisac. saerTo iqmneba: jari, floti, finansebis nawili, damoJna, sagareo politika, saerTo vali da zogi sxva saqmeca. TviT saqarTvelos mieniWeba sakuTari kanonmdeblobiTi dawesebuleba, adgilobrivi parlamenti. romelic arCeul iqmneba sayovelTao, pirdapiri, sazogado da farulis kenWis yriT. es adgilobrivi parlamenti SeimuSavebs, daadgens da gamoscems yovelgvar kanons Sesaxeb saqarTvelosa. skola gveqneba qarTuli, qarTuli iqmneba agreTve administracia da sammarTvelo; Cvens eklesias mieniWeba sruli avtokefalia, sakuTari kaTolikozi. erTi sityviT, Sinauri marTebloba iqmneba savsebiT qarTuli.

amgvar avtonomias iTxovs daJinebiT, ara marto awmdgomisa da momavlis sikeTe, ara marto daubrkolebeli win msvleloba da kulturuli ganviTareba Cvenis qveynisa, aramed warsulis xmac, istoriuli simarTlec. warsulis saukunis dasawyisSi saqarTvelo SeuerTda ruseTsa im pirobiT, rom igi darCeniliyo avtonomiur nawilad saerTo saxelmwifosi da hqonoda sruli Sinauri TviTmmarTveloba, nacionaluri Tavisufleba da yofiliyo Tavis Tavis batoni. droa, rom es piroba savsebiT iqmnas Sesrulebuli da moispos mTelis saukunis usamarTloba. magram SeiZleba sTqvan da zogni kidec amboben: Tumca quTaisis gubernia TiTqmis marto qarTvelebiT aris dasaxlebuli, magram samagierod, tfilisis guberniaSi blomad arian somxebi, da vai Tu qarTvelobam isargeblos avtonomiiTa da maT Seviwroeba miayenso. amis Sesaxeb unda mogaxsenoT, rom dedamiwis zurgze Znelad moipoveba qveyana, sadac scxovrobdes mxolod erTad-erTi eri; yvelgan mTavar-erTan scxovroben sxva erebic da, Tu avtonomiis aucilebel priobad yofiliyo erToba, verc erTi qveyana TviTmarTvelobas ver eRirseboda. magram maT aras dros ar mosvliaT gonebaSi. warsuls saukunoebSi qarTvelebs hqonodaT Tavisi sakuTari saxelmwifo; magram maT aras dros ar mosvliaT gonebaSi Seviwroeba somxebisa, TaTrebisa da ueriebisa. somxebi sruliad gaTanasworebulni iyvenen qarTvelebTan yovel mxriv da, ase gasinjeT, zogi maRali saxelmwifo adgili CamomavlobiT eWiraT. sruli TavisuflebiT sargeblobdnen agreTve TaTrebi, romelnic madlieri iyvnen saqarTvelosi, rom Semoseuls TaTrebs ebrZodnen srulis Tav-ganwirviT. moSorebulni iyvnen agreTve devnasa uriebi. warsulSi qarTvelebi TiTqmis sarwmunoebrivi fanatikosebi iyvnen; magram istorias ar axsovs, rom ebraelebi, Semoxiznulni saqarTveloSi, Cvenebs ewvalebinaT, edevnaT da ewvalebinaT, edevnaT da eJlitaT, Tumca es Jleta maSin evropaSi xSiri iyo da axlac xSiria ruseTSi... friad SesaniSnavia, rom es xaTri-jamoba qarTvelebisa miT ufro meti iyos dasaxelebul erTa Sesaxeb, ramdenadac ufro Zlieri iyo saqarTvelo, magaliTad, daviT aRmaSeneblis da Tamar mefis drosa... amitom sruls WeSmaritebas vaRiarebT, Tu vityviT, rom avtonomiurs saqarTveloSi yvelas sazogadod da kerZod somxebs miniWebuli eqmnebaT sruli Tavisufleba eklesiisa, skolisa, literaturisa, Tavisi erovnulis kulturis ganviTarebisa, jerovani adgili eWirebaT administraciaSi, samsaxurSi da parlamentSi.

axla vikiTxoT: ra gavlena eqmneba avtonomiis damyarebas saqarTveloSi socialuri sakiTxis gadawyvetaze? muSaTa da glexTa bedi ufro swrafad gadaswydeba sasurvelad, Tu avtonomia daagvianebs, SeaCerebs sanatrels socialurs cvlilebasa? zogni im azrisani arian, rom avtonomia daaSorebs qarTul mSromel klass ruseTis mSromels xalxsa, Seasustebs maTs Zalasa da socialurs cvlilebasao. es azri yovlad usafuZvuloa. demokratiul avtonomias arsad ar Seusustebia mSromeli xalxis solidaroba da verc CvenSi Seasustebs. rac arian amerikis SeerTebuli Statebi, Sveicariis kantonebi, germaniis imperiis samefoni, Tuara sruli avtonomiuri nawilni saerTo saxelmwifosi. magram aq mSromelTa xalxis erToba bevrad ufro mtkicea, vidre unitaruls – centralurs safrangeTSi, da socialur-radikalurs cvlilebas SesaZlebelia ufro adre moeswrnen amerikelebi, Sveicarielebi da germanelebi, vidre centralizmis mimdevarni francuzebi – Cven Rrmada varT darwmunebulni, rom avtonomia saqarTvelosi bevrad daaCqarebs socialurs cvlilebas qarTvelTa Soris da daexmareba mis droianad ganxorcielebas TviT ruseTSi, da, ai, amisi sabuTebic.

qarTveli xalxi ufro cocxali, ufro moZravi, axalis sasikeTo cvlilebis ufro advilad SemTvisebulia, vidre rusi xalxi.

saqarTvelo patara qveyanaa da erTs kuTxis moZraoba swrafad ifineba sxva kuTxeebze an sul ar vrceldeba da, Tu vrceldeba metad gvian.

socialur cvlilebis winaaRmdegni elementni saqarTveloSi bevrad sustni arian, vidre ruseTSi, CvenSi am cvlilebas ewinaaRmdegeba umTavresad msxvili Tavadoba, da amis ricxvi ki TiTebze daiTvleba. qarTveli wvrilfexa aznauroba glexisagan arafriT ganirCeva da socialuri cvlilebiT igi moigebs da ar waagebs. burJuazia Cven jer ara gvyavs da, Tu TiTo-orola vaWars simsuqne etyoba, es angariSSi Casagdebi ar aris. TviT Tavadaznaurobis krebaze socialuris cvlilebis momxreni bevrni iyvnen da xiStis Carevis msurvelni- erT muWa dass Seadgendnen, romelic dagmobili iqmna Tavad-aznauris umravlesobisagan. exla gaviTvaliswinoT ruseTis elementebi. iqauri muSa xalxi da metadre glexoba Cvenebur muSa-xalxze da glexobaze, ueWvelia, dabla dgas ganviTarebiT da, maSasadame, ise mtkiced ver ibrZolebs socialuris cvlilebis gansaxorcieleblad, rogorc ibrZoleben Cveneburni. burJuazia ruseTisa sakmaod mraval ricxovania da socialurs cvlilebas dids wiinaaRmdegobas gauwevs. mraval-ricxovani aznauroba ruseTisa mdidaria mamuliT da didZals jars gamoiyvans Tavisi interesebis dasacvelad, romelnic ewinaaRmdegebian mSromeli xalxis interesebs. ruseTis biurokratia mraval-ricxovania, gavleniani, gawvrTnili da dResac did Zalas warmoadgens, da es Zala ki winaaRmdegi iyo, aris da iqneba awindelis socialuris wesrigis Secvlisa saasrod... erTi sityviT, xalxi bevraT ufro advilad da adre gamefdeba saqarTveloSi, vidre ruseTSi, da amitom Cveni “daselebi”, romelnic ewinaaRmdegebian avtonomias, Zirs uTxrian ganxorcielebas Tavisave moZRvrebisas da mogagoneben im adamianebs, romelzedac jvarcmulma qristem sTqva: ara uwyian, rasac iqmen...

marto socialuri cvlileba ar aris sakmarisi Cvenis qveynis ayvavebisaTvis, friad saWirod migvaCnia agreTve erovnuli Tavisufleba, farTo nacionalizmi, erovnuli principis gareSe, uZluria aaRorZinos qveyana. agreTve uZluria, nacionalizmi usocializmod. didi xania naTqvamia: “ara erTi puriTa cocxal ars kacio.” saWiroa sruli dakmayofileba sulisac. suli ki, rogorc xorci, yvela adamianisa, erovnulia, nacionaluria. nacionalizmi koleqtiuri pirovnobis, koleqtiuri Tavisuflebaa. da rogorc kerZo ver ganviTardeba, ver gaifurCqneba, Tu mis pirovnebas da Taviseburobas farTo gza ar eqmneba gaxsnili, is eri ise daiCaqreba, Tu mis erovnebas ar mieniWeba sruli Tavisufleba, Tu ar mieniWeba: erovnuli samarTali, erovnuli skola, sruli gamgeoba, erovnuli TviT-marTveloba. amitom, vinc gaiZaxis: Zirs nacionalizmi da Zirs avtonomia da gaumarjos marto socializmisac, aclis xalxs keTildReobis erTs mTavars boZsa da stovebs mas mxolod meore mTavris boZis amara. meore mxriv, vinc ambobs, gaumarjos marto nacionalizms da xid qveS socializmio, sCadis imave cal-mxriobas, ukuRmarTobas, Wkua-mokleobas. jer kacobrioba ar moswrebia imisTana magaliTs, rom ers eRalatebinos erovnuli gzisaTvis, gadascdenodes mas da ar wasuliyos ukan, ar gadaSenebuliyos. nacionalizmi, xelixel Cakidebuli socializmTan, gaxlavT orpiri iaraRi, romelic erTi piriTac ukafavs xalxs gzas bednierebisaken da meore piriTc.

am nacional-socialur mimarTulebas TanaugrZnobs dRes didi umravlesoba qarTvel Segnebul sazogadoebisa da didi umravlesoba qarTvel Segnebul sazogadoebisa da didi umravlesoba TviT mdabio xalxisa, zogi instiqtiurad da zogi SegnebiT.

mxolod am farTo mimarTulebas, moklebuls viwro doqtrinis calmxriobas, SeuZlian Tavi mouyaros mTels qarTvelobas erTis droSis qveS, daayenos kulturis farTo gzaze, ganaviTaros nivTieradac, gonebrivad da zneobrivad da momavalSi mianiWos keTildReoba.