გარდა ქვემოთ მოცემული ტექსტისა, სასემინაროდ ნახეთ დოკუმენტური ფილმები „საბჭოური მეტამორფოზები“ და „მარქსისტები და ეროვნულობა“ იხ. ბმულები: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXyhz7AvFBA&t=148s> (საბჭოური მეტამორფოზები)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xuu5FpRCTNs&t=29s> (მარქსისტები და ეროვნულობა)

**ლექცია 9**

**disidenturi moZraobidan erovnul moZraobamde – saqarTvelo**

**1970-1980-ian wlebSi**

erovnuli moZraobis morigi etapi saqarTveloSi 1980-iani wlebis bolodan, mixeil gorbaCovis mier sabWoTa kavSirSi gardaqmnisa da sajaroobis politikis gamocxadebis Semdeg iRebs saTaves. 1988 wlidan qveyanaSi masobrivi aqciebis talRa agorda da dafiqsirda Ria protesti sabWoTa xelisuflebis mimarT. Tumca erovnul moZraobas da reJimis winaaRmdeg brZolas safuZveli ufro adre, 1970-ian wlebSi Caeyara.

1975 wels helsinkSi (fineTi) gaformda fundamenturi dokumenti, romelsac evropis 35 qveyana, amerikis SeerTebuli Statebi, kanada da sabWoTa kavSiric SeuerTda. xelSekrulebis Tanaxmad, sabWoTa kavSirs nedleulis da navTobproduqtebis dasavleTis bazarze gatanis ufleba eZleoda, Tumca, amave dros, igi iRebda saxelmwifoSi adamianis uflebebis dacvis valdebulebas. helsinkis SeTanxmebis gaformebas saqarTveloSi da sxva sabWoTa respublikebSi disidenturi moZraobis gaaqtiureba da araformaluri gaerTianebebis Camoyalibeba mohyva. “saqarTvelos helsinkis jgufs”, romelsac 1989 wlidan “helsinkis kavSiri” ewoda, saTaveSi Caudgnen zviad gamsaxurdia, merab kostava, viqtor rcxilaZe da sxva disidentebi. gamsaxurdia da kostava aralegalur saqmianobas jer kidev 1954 wlidan eweodnen, rodesac Seqmnes iatakqveSa patriotuli organizacia “gorgasliani”, romelic sabWoTa ideologiis sawinaaRmdego, erovnuli Sinaarsis proklamaciebs avrcelebda. “gorgaslianis” liderebi maleve, 1956 wels daapatimres. 1975 wlidan gaaqtiurebuli disidenturi moZraoba ar iyo mravalricxovani da imdenad mZlavri, rom seriozuli problemebi Seeqmna jer kidev didebis zenitSi myofi sabWoTa saxelmwifosTvis. miuxedavad amisa, moZraobis wevrebi cdilobdnen, xelisuflebisTvis usiamovno siurprizebi moewyoT. daarsda aralegaluri gamocemebi; literaturuli Jurnali “oqros sawmisi”, politikuri Sinaarsis gamocema “saqarTvelos moambe”, romelTa gavrceleba aralegaluri gzebiT xorcieldeboda. “samocdaaTianelebis” saxeliT cnobili qarTveli araformalebi, helsinkis SeTanxmebis Sesabamisad, ZiriTad yuradRebas adamianis uflebebis dacvas uTmobdnen, Tumca disidenturi moZraobis erT-erTi wevris, levan berZeniSvilis SexedulebiT, erovnuli aqcenti dasawyisidanve naTeli iyo. moZraobis wevrebi fiqrobdnen politikur damoukideblobaze da avrcelebdnen politikuri Sinaarsis proklamaciebs.[[1]](#footnote-1) es kidev ufro naTeli gaxda mas Semdeg, rac daapatimres moZraobis liderebi – gamsaxurdia, kostava da rcxilaZe. ukve 1977-1978 wlidan arsdeba aralegaluri politikuri organizaciebi, romelTa mizani naTlad Cans maTi dasaxelebebidan: “respublikuri partia”, “saqarTvelos ganTavisuflebisaTvis brZolis kavSiri”, “saqarTvelos erovnuli ganTavisuflebis organizacia”. araformalur gaerTianebaTa wevrebi aqtiurad cdilobdnen disonansi SeetanaT xalxTa Zmobisa da sayovelTao bednierebis sabWoTa modelSi, romlis demonstrirebac, xSirad, sayovelTao zeimebisa da aRlumebis gziT xdeboda. qarTveli disidentebi cdilobdnen, rom swored aseTi masStaburi zeimebis dros SeeqmnaT problemebi sabWoTa xelisuflebisTvis. magaliTad, 1977 wlis 7 noembers, didi oqtombris revoluciis me-60 wlisTavTan dakavSirebiT gamarTuli saxalxo zeimis dros, disidentebma antisabWoTa proklamaciebi gaavrceles, romlis Sinaarsi saqarTvelos momaval damoukideblobas exeboda. aseve unda aRiniSnos 1983 wels, georgievskis traqtatis 200 wlis iubilis winaaRmdeg mimarTuli protesti, ris gamoc daapatimres disidenti irakli wereTeli[[2]](#footnote-2).

aRsaniSnavia, rom 1970-ian wlebSi aqtiurad moqmedi disidentebis nawili mogviano periodSi aRorZinebuli erovnuli moZraobis saTaveSi aRmoCnda, Sesabamisad, vfiqrobT, rom 1988 wlidan ganviTarebuli procesebis saTaveebi helsinkis SeTanxmebis Semdeg saqarTveloSi gaaqtiurebul araformalur moZraobaSi unda veZeboT.

amerikeli mkvlevari ronald grigor suni (Suny) 1970-iani wlebis saqarTveloSi dawyebul am moZrobas disidentur/”araorTodoqsul” nacionalizms uwodebs. misi SexedulebiT, miuxedavad imisa, rom disidenturi nacionalizmi farTod ar gavrcelebula da xelisufleba advilad axerxebda qarTveli disidentebis izolacias, maTi aqtivobebi naTlad aCvenebda qarTuli sazogadoebis nawilSi ganviTarebul tendenciebs (Suny 1994: 314)

sabWoTa kavSiris istoriaSi 1970-iani wlebis bolo da 80-iani wlebis dasawyisi uZraobis (“zastoi”) xanad moixsenieba. miuxedavad amisa, Tu Tvals mivadevnebT am dros saqarTveloSi ganviTarebul procesebs, naTlad davinaxavT, rom es periodi qarTuli kulturis da sportis gansakuTrebuli aRmavlobis xanaa. xelovnebis esa Tu is sfero (Teatri, kino), qarTuli mwerloba, sportis saxeobebi (fexburTi, Widaoba da sxva.) did warmatebebs aRwevs. ideologiuri wnexis pirobebSi, rodesac nacionalizmis yovelgvari politikuri gamovlineba mkacrad iyo SezRuduli, qarTveli xalxis nacionaluri ganwyobebi swored aRniSnul sferoebSi vlindeboda. magaliTisTvis gavixsenoT 1981 wlis 13 maisi, rodesac safexburTo klubma Tbilisis “dinamom” evropis Tasebis mflobelTa Tasi moipova. es gamarjveba saqarTveloSi namdvil erovnul dResaswaulad iqca. sportul komentator kote maxaraZes, romelic matCis reportaJs gadmoscemda, swored erovnuli grZobebis gaRvivebaSi dasdes brali da germaniidan saqarTvelosken momavali, garkveuli periodis ganmavlobaSi moskovSi, dakiTxvaze SeaCeres.

fexburTi sportis masobrivi saxeobaa. tribunebze xSiria nacionaluri ganwyobebis afeTqeba, gansakuTrebiT maSin, Tu qveyana kolonizebulia, dakarguli aqvs damoukidebloba da nacionalizmis gamovlenisTvis sajaro sivrce SezRudulia. amis kargia magaliTia 1970-1980-iani wlebis Tbilisis “dinamo”, romelic, erovnuli nakrebi gundis ararsebobis pirobebSi, saqarTvelo mosaxlebis erovnul siamayed iqca. sabWoTa kavSirisa Tu evropis wamyvan klubebTan warmatebulad Catarebuli matCebi saerTo erovnuli masStabis movlenebad iqceoda xolme. marTalia, es safexburTo gundi oficialurad ar iwodeboda “erovnulad”, magram ufro metad erovnuli iyo, vidre romelime dRevandeli evropuli safexburTo klubi (jonsi 2013: 11).

fexburTis da nacionalizmis mWidro kavSirs is faqtic adasturebs, rom jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris arsebobis pirobebSi, saqarTvelos fexburTis federacia iyo erT-erTi pirveli institucia, romelic sakavSiro federacias gamoeyo da damoukidebloba gamoacxada. 1990 wlis 30 marts, erovnuli Cempionatis gaxsnis dRes, boris paiWaZis saxelobis stadionze Sekrebil mosaxleobas erovnuli moZraobis liderma, zviad gamsaxurdiam mimarTa. man mWidrod daakavSira erTmaneTTan erovnuli moZraoba da qarTuli fexburTi. gamsaxurdias sityviT, sakavSiro federaciisgan damoukideblobis gamocxadebiT qarTuli fexburTi SemouerTda saqarTvelos erovnul moZraobas da masTan erTad ibrZvis saqarTvelos Tavisuflebisa da damoukideblobisTvis. “imperiuli Zalebis winaaRmdegobis miuxedavad, Cven gavimarjveT da mivaRwieT saqarTvelos fexburTis damoukidebeli federaciis gamoyofas imperiuli federaciisgan. gamoumarjos damoukidebel qarTul fexburTs, gaumarjos damoukidebel saqarTvelos!” – ganacxada zviad gamsaxurdiam.[[3]](#footnote-3)

xelovnebis, literaturis, sportis Tu sxva sferoebSi mniSvnelovani warmatebebi ganixileboda, rogorc qarTuli sazogadoebis erovnuli miRwevebi, rasac xels Tavad saqarTvelos komunisturi xelisufleba uwyobda. SeiZleba iTqvas, rom,am periodSi saxelmwifos mier institucionalizebuli “oficialuri” nacionalizmi da radikaluri disidenturi moZraoba erTmaneTis paralelurad arsebobda da zogjer harmoniuladac moqmedebda.

aRniSnulis sailustraciod SevexoT 1978 wels qarTul enasTan dakavSirebul movlenebs, rodesac, Tu ronald sunis davesesxebiT, naTlad gamoCnda qarTuli nacionalizmis potenciali. saqarTvelos sabWoTa socialisturi respublikis axali konstituciis proeqtidan amoiRes muxli, romelic qarTulis, rogorc saxelmwifo enis statuss gansazRvravda. saqarTvelos mosaxleobis da inteleqtualuri elitis didma nawilma CaTvala, rom es faqti qarTuli enis rusulTan da sxva enebTan gaTanabrebas gulisxmobda. 1978 wlis 14 aprils moewyo sabWoTa realobisTvis uCveulo masobrivi demonstracia, romelSic aTiaTasobiT adamiani monawileobda. demonstrantTa mniSvnelovan nawils universitetis studentebi da profesor-maswavleblebi Seadgendnen. sabWoTa kavSiris xelisufleba daTmobaze wavida da konstituciis proeqtSi sakamaTo muxli aRadgina. aseTi daTmoba qarTuli sazogadoebis did gamarjvebad moinaTla, 14 aprili ki “dedaenis” dRed gamocxadda. 14 aprilis saprotesto manifestaciaSi aqtiurad monawileobnen qarTveli disidentebi, romelTa gverdiT aRmoCnda qarTuli sazogadoebis didi nawili.[[4]](#footnote-4)

amave periodSi adgili hqonda universitetSi swavlebis enad rusuli enis danergvis mcdelobas, ramac aseve didi vnebaTaRelva gamoiwvia da am ideis ganxorcieleba ver moxerxda. SevardnaZisa da breJnevisadmi gagzavnil peticiaSi, romelsac xels inteligenciis 365 warmomadgeneli awerda (Suny 1994: 313) aRniSnuli iyo, rom msgavsi iniciativa amcirebs qarTuli enis rolsa da mniSvnelobas da arRvevs xalxTa Tanasworobis sabWoTa ideas. unda aRiniSnos, rom am iniciativis winaaRmdeg erTsulovnad gamodiodnen rogorc radikaluri, disidenturi jgufebi, aseve sabWoTa ideologiisadmi loialurad ganwyobili inteleqtualuri elitis didi nawili, rac naTlad miuTiTebs, rom nacionalisturi ganwyobebi TandaTan da safuZvlianad ikidebda fexs qarTul sazogadoebaSi.

sabWoTa saqarTvelos hqonda Tavisi himni, droSa, gerbi. stiven jonsis SexedulebiT, es nacionaluri simbolizmi sulac ar iyo fasaduri. saqarTvelos poltikur institutebs standartuli sabWouri wesebiTac rom emuSavaT, qarTuli politikuri elita, gansakuTrebiT, Tbiliss gareT, mainc axerxebda, rom sakuTari samsaxuri naxevrad damoukideblad emarTa. is sargeblobda eTnofederaluri institutebiT, romelmac xeli Seuwyo sabWoTa kavSiris ngrevas. 1970-iani wlebisTvis moskovi mamuls gareT mcxovreb memamules hgavda. saqarTvelos politikuri institutebi ki formiT sabWoTa, magram SinaarsiT qarTuli iyო (jonsi 2013: 11). jonsis sityviT, postsabWoTa saqarTvelos ZiriTadi problemebi da misi uunaroba, moexdina erovnuli umciresobebis integracia, swored sabWoTa warsuls ukavSirdeba. msgavs mosazrebas aviTarebs ronald suni, romelic Tvlis, rom sabWoTa kavSiris arsebobis bolo wlebSi saqarTvelos eTnikurad monoliTuri politikuri elita xels uSlida sakavSiro xelisuflebis Ria Carevas respublikis Sida saqmeebSi. elitis eTnikuri Seferiloba da solidaruloba karg safuZvels qmnida eTnosTaSorisi dapirispirebisTvis. saxelmwifos “oficialuri” nacionalizmi xazs usvamda eTnikuri qarTvelebis upiratesobas sxva eTnikur jgufebTan SedarebiT. xalxTa Zmobis da Tanasworobis sabWoTa models TandaTan safuZveli ecleboda da erovnuli diskursi mkafio antikomunistur elfers iZenda (Suny 1994: 318-319).

1960-iani wlebis meore naxevridan qarTveli inteligenciis SemoqmedebaSi sul ufro ikveTeboda erovnul-patriotuli Tematika. qarTul literaturaSi, Teatralur da kinoxelovnebaSi gaZlierda erovnuli motivi (janeliZe 2009: 192). “uZraobis” xanaSi qveyndeboda da didi popularobiT sargeblobda istoriul-patriotuli xasiaTis literatura: magaliTad, xelidan xelSi gadadioda muxran maWavarianis leqsebis krebuli “1832 weli”. aseve, am periodSi ekranebze gamoCnda rezo TabukaSvilis dokumenturi filmebi, romlebic ucxoeTSi moRvawe qarTvelebs da maT damsaxurebas exeba. qarTuli saxelmwifo wignebSi, filmebsa da Sua saukuneebis warsulSi cxovrobda da ara politikur struqturebSi. sabWoTa saqarTveloSi me-12 saukunis mefe daviT aRmaSenebeli da me-19 saukunis ganmanaTlebeli ilia WavWavaZe warmoadgendnen eris damakavSireblebs diad warsulTan (jonsi 2013: 21).

ronald suni qarTul sazogadoebaSi nacionalizmis gaRvivebis ramdenime mizezs asaxelebs, rac, vfiqrobT, sainteresoa imis gasaazreblad, Tu ratom Camoyalibda 1980-iani wlebis bolos saqarTveloSi erovnuli moZraoba radikaluri formiT.

stalinuri teroris Semdeg sistemis Serbilebam da “daTbobis” epoqis dadgomam didi xnis ganmavlobaSi miZinebuli erovnuli grZnobebi gaaRviZa da mas mcire gasaqani misca. miuxedavad imisa, rom nacionalizmis politikuri gamovlineba mkacrad iyo SezRuduli, saxelmwifo inteleqtualur, kulturul da ekonomikur sferoebSi garkveul daTmobebze wavida.

saqarTvelos nacionalur elitas adgilobrivi Zalauflebis eTnizaciisa da konsolidaciis SesaZlebloba mieca, rasac is kargad iyenebda sazogadoebis (gansakuTrebiT e.w. inteligenciis) mxardaWeris uzrunvelsayofad. eTnikuroba warmatebis miRwevis mniSvnelovan kriteriumad iqca. 1970 wlisTvis partiuli nomenklaturis srul umravlesobas (76%) eTnikuri qarTvelebi Seadgendnen. rogorc mosaxleobis, aseve mmarTveli institutebis eTnikuri konsolidacia mniSvnelovnad uwyobda xels nacionaluri identifikaciis procesis gaZlierebas.

nacionalisturi ganwyobebis gaZliereba aseve gamoiwvia mcire eris sindromma, romelsac, gansakuTrebiT sxva did erTan daqvemdebarebul mdgomareobaSi yofnisas, sakuTari enis, kulturuli memkvidreobis, tradiciebis, cxovrebis wesis dakargvis eSinia. am tendenciis gaZlierebam sabWoTa identobis alternatiuli da misi sawinaaRmdego modeli Seqmna.

da bolos, nacionalisturi ganwyobebis gaZlierebis erT-erTi safuZvelia marqsistuli ideologiis erozia, romelic gansakuTrebiT naTlad sabWoTa kavSiris arsebobis bolo aTwleulebSi gamoCnda. internacionalisturi ideologiisadmi nihilizmma erovnuli ganwyobebis gaRviveba da marqsizmis nacionalizmiT Canacvleba gamoiwvia (Suny 1994: 314). nacionalizms marqsizmis erozias uwodebs benediqts andersonic, romelic Tvlis, rom swored nacionalizmi iyo is fenomeni, romelmac mTavari wvlili Seitana marqsistuli ideologiis marcxsa da socialisturi sistemis kraxSi.

nacionalizmi Tanamedrove mkvlevari jon haTCinsoni erTmaneTisgan mijnavs politikur da kulturul nacionalizmebs. misi SexedulebiT, politikuri nacionalizmis umTavresi mizani damoukidebeli saxelmwifos formirebaa, maSin rodesac kulturuli nacionalizmi erovnuli sazogadoebebis Camoyalibebas emsaxureba. haTCinsoni Tvlis, rom kulturuli nacionalizmi, romelic eTnoistoriuli gamoRviZebiT, mSobliur enaze zrunviT, literaturuli, sportuli Tu sxva saxis aqtivobebiT xasiaTdeba, rogorc wesi, win uswrebs politikur nacionalizms. kulturuli nacionalizmis mizani, umTavresad, ara politikuri, aramed moraluri sazogadoebis (moral community) formirebaa. haTCinsonis msgavsad, stiven jonsic Tvlis, rom 1991 wels qarTveli xalxi kulturul fenomens warmoadgenda da ara samoqalaqo an politikur erTobas, Tumca, avtoris azriT, upiratesobis SegrZnebasTan da folkloruli tradiciebis gafetiSebasTan mibmuli kulturuli nacionalizmi abrkolebda institutebis asagebad saWiro SesaZleblobebis ganviTarebas. istorikosebis, dramaturgebis, reJisorebis, filosofosebis rolma, umravlesobis uflebebisa da eTnikuri privilegiebis gauazrebelma interpretaciam 1980-iani wlebis saqarTveloSi “moralis politikis” periodi moitana. emociam, dramam da Teatralurma simbolizmma gamodevna pragmatizmi, dialogi da TanamSromloba (jonsi 2013: 36).

1970-ian wlebSi saqarTveloSi da, zogadad, sabWoTa kavSirSi aRmocenebuli disidenturi moZraobis umTavresi mizani swored moraluri sazogadoebis Camoyalibeba iyo. disidentebs, maT mierve gacxadebuli poziciis mixedviT, sicruesTan, usamarTlobasTan, ZalmomreobasTan da, upirveles yovlisa, adamianis uflebaTa dacva-aRiarebisTvis brZola akavSirebdaT. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTveloSi disidenturi moZraobas mainc hqonda garkveuli erovnuli elferi. vfiqrobT, istorikosi oTar janeliZe marTebulad SeniSnavs, rom ruseTisagan gansxvavebiT, saqarTveloSi adamianis uflebebs erovnuli uflebebic emateboda. qarTvelma disidentebma wina planze erovnuli idealebi, rusifikaciasTan brZolis, kulturuli memkvidreobis dacvis, ekologiuri usafrTxoebis da sxva sakiTxebi wamoswies. SemTxveviTi ar yofila, rom “perestroikis” wlebSi, gansakuTrebiT mas Semdeg, rac akademikosma saxarovma saqarTvelos “mcire imperia” uwoda, rusi da qarTveli disidentebis gzebi sabolood gaiyara (janeliZe 2009: 197).

miuxedavad imisa, rom kulturul nacionalizms ar aqvs mkafiod gamoxatuli politikuri mizani, misi formirebisas yalibdeba politikuri nacionalizmis gaRvivebisTvis saWiro safuZveli, isaxeba damoukideblobis miRwevis gzebi da iqmneba politikuri moTxovnebis legitimaciisTvis aucilebeli argumentebi.

1970-iani wlebidan 1980-iani wlebis miwurulamde saqarTveloSi ganviTarebuli procesebi adasturebs haTCinsonis modelis marTebulobas. sabWoTa saxelmwifos dasustebis da gardaqmnis (“perestroika”) procesis dawyebis Semdeg, kulturuli nacionalizmis gaRvivebas damoukideblobis moTxovnebis gaCena moyva da qarTulma nacionalizmma mkafio politikuri forma SeiZina.

1. interviu levan berZeniSvilTan ix. Toma CageliSvilis filmSi “samocdaaTianelebi”. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. iqve [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. zviad gamsaxurdias mimarTva ix. bmulze: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gG4ZNR5hgLI> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. informacia 1978 wlis 14 aprilis movlenebTan dakavSirebiT ix. Toma CageliSvilis dokumentur filmSi “samocdaaTianelebi” [↑](#footnote-ref-4)