



შობა ვადაჭკორია

კოდორის ხეობის
დილაგა და ქართული
საზოგადოებრივ-
პოლიტიკური ეზრი
(1993 - 2010)

emzar kvicianis weril i
eduard SevardnaZis xel isuflebis
maRal Cinosnebi sadmi

Aravis egonos, rom am teritoriis dacva mxol od
svanebis saqmea. afxazetis dabrunebande dal is
(kodoris) xeobis Senarcuneba, yvel afers Tavi dav-
anebot, erovnul i Tavmoyvareobis sakiTxia. Tu esec
davkargeT, maSin saerTod xma aRar amogveReba. ise-
dac sakmarisad damcrobili, Sercxvenili varT Cveni
saxel ovani winaprebis winase. saqveynod lacari
eris saxel sun davi mkvidrebt_ dal is xeobis Sesa-
narcunebl ad darazmul i unda iyos mteli saqartve-
li o. es unda iyos yovel driuri safiqrali yovel i
qartvelisa. am saqmeSi cartuli unda iyos yvel a
mxaris gubernatori, yvel a raionis gamgebeli, ye-
li a saminstro da uwyeba. xeobaSi myof gmir xal xs
zrunvaswirdeba, mat yvel a piroba unda SevuqmnaT
imisa, rom momxdursac dauxdnen da cxovrebis
pirobebic hqondeT. dal is xeobisken Wuberi dan gza
arasodes ar unda Caiketos, xoli o Sveul mfreni
regul arul ad frendes, sursat_ sanovagiT uzrun-
vel yofil i unda iyos mosaxleoba. sazRvris am
monakvetze gansakutrebuli sifxizle gvmartebs,
Torem ra garantiagvaqvs, didTovlobis dros afx-
azur_ rusuli edelvaisi~ ar dagvesxas Tavs da
ubedureba ar datrial des...~

gaz. `saqartvelos respublika- 2002 wl is 31 dekemberi.

Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology

Shota Vadachkoria

**The Dilemma
of Kodori Gorge and
Georgian Socio-Political
Thought (1993-2010)**

ქვემოთხატული ისტორიისა და ეთნოლოგიის ინსტიტუტი

სოციალური

კოდორის ხეობის დიდი
და კართლის საზოგადოებრივი
პოლიტიკური
(1993_2010)

UDC(uak) 94(479.222.4)

v_126

dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobi T naSromSi naCvenebla batal ion `monadires- da misi sardi is- ekvicianis damsaxureba zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da qI uxoris uRel texil ebis SenarCunebaSi. dasbuTebul ia, rom m.saakaSvil is xel isufI ebis mier ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- wevrebi sadi wayenebul i bral debebis piarkampania, cil iswamebaze iyo dafuZnebul i da samSobl os damcvel Ta diskreditacias isaxavda mi znad. naSromSi safuZvl iani eWvia gamoTqmuli: 1)zemo kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul i samxedro operacia (2006 w. lvi lsi), m.saakaSvil is, l.oqruaSvil is da l.merabiSvil is mxridan, ruseTis Sesabamis uwyebebTan winaswar iyo SeTanxmebul i; 2)aRniSnul i gapiarebul i RonisZieba, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis sawinaaRmdegod, ruseTis uSiSroebis maRal CinosanTa kabinetebSi Sedgenil i gegmis erTi nawil is ganxorciel ebas warmoadgenda. didZal i faqtobrivi masal is anal izis safuZvel ze naCvenebla: a)ruseT_ saqarTvel os urTierTobis mi zanmarTul ad da safexurebrivad gauaresebis ganmapirobebel i mi zezebi; b)dasabuTebul ia, rom 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebi, ruseTisa da saqarTvel os xel isufI ebis maRal CinosanTa viwro wris saicuml o garigebis el ementebS Selcavda. qveynis winaSe Cadeni l i am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis kl asikur gamovl inebas, zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da qI uxoris uRel texil ebis Tofis gasrol is gareSe mtrisadmi Cabareba da momxdari faqtis, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis mxridan `gamarjvebis- zeaRmatebul formebsi warmocena warmoadgenda. naSroms darTul i aqvs Cems mier momzadebul i 9 ruka, romel ic dokumenturad adasturebs, afxazeTSi Tu ra strategiul i mniSvnel obis monakveTs unarCunebda qveyanas batal ion `monadires- wevrebi da misi meTauri.

redaqtori avTandil sonRul aSvil i
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori

recenzentebi: zviad kviciani
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori
igor kveselava
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori

wigni dai beWda kvicianebis sagvareul osa da
marl en guj eji anis oj axis dafinansebi T

© `georgika-

Tbilisi

2014

ISBN 978_ 9941- 0- 6538- 5

Sesaval i

XX- saukunis 90- iani wl ebis saqarTvel osadmi Tavsmox-veul i afxazuri da osuri separatizmi, qveynis mmarTvel i wreebis winaSe or mniSvnel ovan sakiTxs ayenebda: 1) iseTi meqanizmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl obas, romel ic separatiste- bisadmi adeqvaturi pasuxis gacemis SesaZl ebl obas Seqmnida da 2) teritoriul i mTI ianobis SesanarCunebl ad mtkice safex- urs moamzadebda. saqarTvel oSi provocirebul i separatizmi, ramdenadac Crdil oeTis mezobel i saxel mwifos mfarvel o- bis Sedegs warmoadgenda, misadmi Zal ismieri gziT dapiri- spireba nakl ebad efeqtis momtani iyo. Seqmnil i umZimesi situacia, wina wl ebSi daSvebul i Secdomebis ganmapirobebe- l i mizezebis siRmiseul i anal izis safuZvel ze, mecnieru- l ad dasabuTebul i daskvnebis momzadebas saWi roebda. am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os sinamdvil isa da kavkasiuri fenom- enis maqsimal uri gaTval iswineba unda momxdariyo. qveynis winaSe mdgari teritoriul i gamTI ianebis amocana, mxol od sibrZneze da gonivrul obaze dafuZnebul i samoqmedo pro- grammiT SeiZl eboda adgil idan daZrul iyo. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i nebis mieri nabiji, mowinaaRmdegis mxridan daS- vebul i Secdomebis maqsimal urad gamoyenebaze yofil iyo gaTvl il i da Sesabamisi gadawyvetil ebis miReba, gasaidum- l oebul formebsi (yovel gvარი აქიოთაჯის გარეშე) momxdariyo. aseTi moqmedebiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i, arsebul i mdgo- mareobis ara mar to SenarCuneba, aramed safexurebrivad ukeTe- sobisken Semobruneba. miTumetes, sakiTxi saqarTvel os um- niSvnel ovanes sasazRvro monakveTs exeboda.

nebis mieri qveyana, romel sac eTnokonfliqtebi awuxebis, sa- zRvrispira zolis aborigeni mosaxl eobit gamagrebas cdi- l obs. es anbanuri WeSmaritebaa da misi maqsimal urad amo- qomedebiT, mxol od erovnul i cnobierebit moazrovne xel isu- fl ebis wevrebs SeuZl ia dainteresdes. qarTul istoriog- rafiaSi dadasturebul ia, rom saqarTvel os pirvel i respub- l ikis mmarTvel pol itikur el itas, am sakiTxis gansakuTre- bul i mniSvnel oba maRal doneze qondaT gacnobierebul i

da misi mogvarebis aucil ebl oba pirvel xarixxovan amocanad miaCnda. maT kargad esmodaT, rom saqarTvel os faqtiuri sazRvari, kompaqturad dasaxl ebul i, eTnukurad qarTul i mosaxl eobidan iwyeboda. am real obis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, qveynis SigniT gasatarebel i yovel gvare saxis reformisaTvis arsebul i mdgomareobis maqsimal urad gamosaworebel i mimarTul ebis micemas, Sesabamisi sakanonmdeb- l o bazis SeqmniT cdil obdnen. amis erT- erT saukeTeso nimuSs, agrarul i reformis gatarebis ZiriTadi mimarTul e- bebi warmoadgens. `saqarTvel os respubl ikis ganapira sasazRvro adgil ebi_ ambobda noe xomeriki_ TiTqmis ukl e- bl ivadaa dasaxl ebul i ara qarTul i el ementebiT, romel nic... xSirad mtrul damokidebul ebas iCenen respubl ikisadmi. dawyebul i mexadiridan respubl ika rkal iviT garSemor- tymul ia an ucxo tomis xal xiT, an kidev iseTebiT, romel nic SegnebiT qarTvel ni ar arian da arc mainca da mainc did siyvarul s iCenen Cveni kul turisa da saxel mwifosadmi. ami- tom, saqarTvel os karebi,... mudam Riaa momxdurTaTvis. ganax- l ebul i saqarTvel os 2 wl is arsebobam Cven amaSi dagvarw- muna. ara erTi da ori fronti gagviCina swored imitom, rom Cven bWeebs ara saimedo xal xi edga. patara respubl ikisaTvis aseTi mdgomareoba metad mZime da autanel ia... gadasaxl ebis pol itika saSual ebas gvaZl evs es mdgomareoba cotaTi... gam- ovasworoT da saxel mwifos sazRvarze daraj i davayenoT. es miT ufro saWiroa movimoqmedoT, radgan amisaTvis ar dagvWirdeba Zvel i wyobil ebis pol itika vawarmooT, adgi- l obrivi xal xi vdevnoT da Sevaviwroot.... Tavisufal i miwe- bi sakmaodaa am adgil ebSi. ruseTis mTavrobam Cvenda sabed- nierod ver moaswro savsebiT am raionebis ucxo tomis xal xiT avseba. axl a saWiroa am xal xis iq Casaxl eba Sewydes da maT magier qarTvel umiwawyl o gl exs mieces mamul i Tavis qvey- anaSi. amiT Cven or saqmes gavakeTebT: ekonomiuraT gavaR- onierebT qveyanas da pol itikurad ganvamtkicebT norC res- publ ikas.~

es vrcel i amonaweri Segnebul ad movitane, raTa mkiTxvel i- l isadmi meCvenebi na, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mTavro-

bis warmomadgenl ebi ra did mniSvnel obas aniWebdnen qvey-
nis sazRvrispira adgil ebSi qarTul i el ementis damkvidrebis
aucil ebl obas. saqarTvel os Zal datanebiTi gasabWoebis
Semdeg, es dadebiTi tendencia, sawinaaRmdego mimarTul ebiT
warimarTa. saqarTvel os damcavi cixe- simagreebi (sasazRvro
zol ze sauRel texil o gadasavl el ebi) mizanimarTul ad
mters miatacebines da qveyanas samosi SemoZarcves. sergo
orj onikiZieul i es pol itikuri kursi, mixeil saakaSvil is
xel i-sufl ebis mier warmatebul i formiT gagrZel da. aRniS-
nul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sazRvrispira bunebrivi
bWeni_ mongreul ia da igi damcavi cixe- simagreebis gareSea
datovebul i. 2008 wl is agvistos omis Semdeg, saqarTvel o
gaSI il tramal s daemgvana da mtrisadmi saj ij gnad advil ad
xel misawvdomi gaxda. am SemTxvevaSi, afxazeTis xel isufl e-
baze zemoqmedebisa da regionis dabrunebis sayrdeni funda-
mentis moSI a, zemo kodoris xeobis im doneze `mosufTaveba-
(2006 _2007 ww.) maqvs mxedvel obaSi, rusebi da afxazebi zemo
kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebs, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel -
texil ebs Tofis gausrol el ad rom dapaTronebodnen.

winamdebare naSromSi ZiriTadi yuradReba swored am mimar-
Tul ebiTaa gadatanil i. uamravi faqtobrivi masal is gaanal iz-
ebis safuZvel ze, srul adaa warmoceni i zemo kodoris xeo-
bis garSemo mimdinare pol itikuri procesebi, kerZod: 1) batal -
ion `monadires- da misi meTaurebis (emzar kviciani, zurab
gerl iani) mier 13 wl is ganmavl obaSi saqarTvel osaTvis ze-
moaRniSnul i orive xeobis (zemo kodori, Cxal Ta) da sauRe-
l texil o gadasavl el ebis (maruxi, ql uxori) SenarCunebaSi
gaweul i damsaxureba; 2)mTel i rigi faqtobrivi masal is gaan-
al izebis safuZvel ze gamoTqmul ia mosazreba, rom 2006 we-
l is ivl isSi zemo kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul i samxedro
operacia, ruseTis Sesabamis uwyebebTan winaswar iyo SeT-
anxmebul i; 3)aRniSnul i RonisZiebis gapiareba, sazogadoeba-
ze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis erT nawil s warmoadgenda, igi
Cadenil i danaSaul is gadafarvas da saqarTvel os teritoriis
mTI ianobis sawinaaRmdegod ruseTis specsamsaxurebSi Sedgen-
il i gegmis argamJRavnebas isaxavda miznad; 4)samxedro eqspe-

rtebis mier gakeTebul anal izze dayrdnobiT, gamoTqmul ia mosazreba, rom 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebi, ruseTisa da saarTvel os maRal Cinosnebis viwro wris saiduml o garigebis el ementebis da qveynis winaSe Cadenil i Ral atis tol fas qmedebebs Seicavda.

naSromSi warmodgenil i zogierTi debul eba, SeiZl eba sakamaTo iyos, magram es srul ebiTac ar niSnavs imas, rom ama Tu im mkvl evarTa mxridan dasabuTebul i formiT gamoTqmul mosazrebas pativi ar vce. piriqiT, mimacnia, rom srul i WeSmariteba mxol od akademiur doneze mimdinare kamaTSi i badeba. Cemi azrit, sakvl ev Temastan mimarTebaSi wamoWril i mTel i rigi pasuxgaucemel i kiTxvebisa da arsebul probl emebTan dakavSirebul i sakiTxebis srul fasovani saxiT sazogadoebisadmi miwodeba, mxol od maSin gaxdeba Sesazl ebel i, roca 2006- dan _ 2008 wl is CaTvl iT, parl amentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis, qveynis uSiSroebis sabWos sxdomebis oqmebs grifIT saiduml o moexsneba da mkvl evarTaTvis xel misawvdomi gaxdeba. imave masal ebze dayrdnobT, Sesabamisma uwyebebma miukerZoebel i gamoZieba unda Caataros, yvel as da yvel afers Tavisi saxel i daarqvas, damnaSvaveebis kuTvnil i adgil i miucinos. Tuki es droul ad ar ganxorciel deba, samSobl os winaSe Ral atis CamdenTa msurvel ebi, xel isuflebis rigebSi ufro moimatebs. arada, 2008 wl is agvistos tragikul i movl enebis dros, samSobl osadmi Sewirul i adamianebis xsovnisadmi pativiscema, Tavzel afdasxmul i qarTvel - Ta ojaxebisadmi sircxvil is mowmendisa da dakargul i teritoriebis organizatorTa gansasjel is skamze dasma, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan pirvel xarixovan amocanas warmoadgens. napol eon bonaparte brZanebda: `eris sikvdil i maSin iwyeba, roca kuTvnil teritorias mowinaaRmdeges nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an Zal momreobiT mitacebul is ukan dabrunebas arcdil obs.- nebismieri xel isuflebis maRal Cinosanma kargad unda gaacnobieros; rac 2008 wl is agvistosSi zemo kodoris xeobastan mimarTebaSi moxda, eris winaSe Cadenil i Ral atis daskvniT nawil s warmoadgenda. am fonze, dResac Zal aSia da gamafrTxil ebel i zariviT rekavs konstantine gamsaxurdias

mier 1921 wl is Teberval Si naTqvami sityvebi: `nuravin nu daabral ebs am katastrofas martooden mezobl ebs... qarTvel ma intel igenciam ver moaxerxa qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i Zal ebis srul i da mwyobri mobil izacia erovnul i saxel m-wifos asaSenebl ad_ qarTvel ma intel igenciam ver moaxerxa swori orientacia Tanamedrove pol itikur garemoSi... gada-vaWarbeT Cveni real uri Zal ebis SefasebaSi, Cven gadavaWar-beT im faqtorebis SefasebaSiac, romel nic amoZraveben dRevand-eli evropis pol itikur cxovrebas... qarTvel ebis ukanasknel pol itikur ekzamenSi Cven davinaxeT, rom qarTvel i xal xi, rogorc saxel mwifo aRmSenebl obis masal a, Zl ier kargia, magram misi meTauri intel igencia bevr SemTxvevaSi uRirsi aRmoCnda eris

bel adobisa.- es gafrTxil eba, zombirebul i da gonebrivad dayruebul i qarTul i pol itikuri speqtrisa da intel i-genciis mxridan dRemde Seusmenel i rCeba. amis naTel i da-dasturebaa, kal iforniis saTburebSi gamoyvanil okeaned-al eul da samSobl os moRal ate maRal CinosnebTan, amnis-tiis formiT ganxorciel ebul i `siRmiseul i koabitacia.- pol itikuri damnaSaveebisadmi aseTi l oial uri damokid-ebul ebis gamo, gasxvisebul i teritoriebis dabrunebaze fiqri, eris miurwevel ocnebad darCeba. rac Seexeba n.sarkoz- m.saakaSvil - d.medvedevis 2008 wl is 12 agvistos xel moweril i dokumentiT gaTval iswinebul i teritoriis fargl ebSi, saqarTvel os `natoSi- gawevrianebis mcdel o-bas, qarTvel i eris winaSe Casadeni Ral atis tol fas qmede-bas warmoadgens.

dasarul s, madl oba minda gadavuxado wignis redaqtors, romel mac zogierTi sayuradRebo SeniSvniT, xel i Seuwyo Cems mier gamoTqmul i ramdenime debul ebisadmi srul yofil i saxis micemas.

Tavi I

Kodori's xeobis strategiul i mniSvnel oba da rusebis mxridan misi xel Si Cagdebis mcdel obis asaxva qarTul pol itikur azrovnebaSi

saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis erT- erT umZimes periods 1992_ 1993 wl ebi warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs e. SevardnaZis xel isufl ebis mier saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis dasarRvevad ganxorciel ebul i mizanmimarTul i pol itikuri kursi, romel ic afxazeTSi saomari moqmedebebis dawyebas daedo safuZvl ad. amj erad aRniSnul sakiTxze sagangebod ar Sevcerdebi, radgan igi qarTul istoriografiaSi safuZv- l ianadaa Seswavl il i. dasabuTebul i formiTaa warmodgeni- l i is Secdomebi, romel ic saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxrid- an iqna daSvebul i da afxazeTis dakargvis safuZvel Ta- saf- uZvel i gaxda.

im periodis Sesaxeb arsebul i dokumenturi masal ebiT da- dasturebul ia, rom afxazeTis adgil obrivi qarTvel i mo- saxl eobis wamebiT mkvl el oba, cocxl ad darCenil ebis kuTv- nil i sacxovrisidan gamodevna, afxazebis prioritetul amocanas warmoadgenda. regionSi qarTvel Ta eTnowmendis ganxorciel ebisaTvis mxardamWer Zal ad, afxazebma ruseTis xel isufl eba gamoiyena. am SemTxvevaSi isini ar Semcdaran, Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom ruseTis maRal - Cinosnebsi qarTvel Ta sizul vil i safuZvl ianad iyo Cakiru- l i. meore mxriv, evropis yofil i `social isturi- qveyne- bidan gamoyvanil i samxedro Cinovnikebis_ afxazeTSi mcx- ovreb qarTvel Ta samkvidrebel ze Casaxl eba hqondaT miznad dasaxul i. afxa-zeTis qarTvel Ta winaaRmddeg moqmedebis dasaw- yebad, afsuebisa da ruseTis xel isufal Ta pozicia Tanx- vedri iyo. rogorc cnobil ia, maTi erTobl ivi Zal isxmeviT afxazeTidan 300 aTasze meti qarTvel is deportacia ganxor- ciel da. momxdar faqts, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba Zal au- fl ebis SesanarCunebl ad, ideol ogiuri propagandis doneze piarkampaniisTvis iyenebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, devnil Ta pir-

vandel sacxovrisSi `Rirseul i- dabrunebisa da afxazeTSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis iurisdicciis uaxl oes period-Si aRdgenis dapirebebi, romelic aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi grZel deboda. igi iseTi formiT mimdinareobda, rom devnil i da ganawamebi qarTul i mosaxl eobisTvis imedis msgavs satyuar saSual ebas warmoadgenda. amitom iyo, rom am adami-anTa did nawil s marTI ac sjeroda, rom erT mSvenier dRes e.SevardnaZis xel isufli eba afxazeTSi daabrunebda. saxel isufli ebo doneze gacemul i es tyul i, or ZiriTad faqtors emyareboda: 1)saerTasoris organizaciebis mier miRebul rezoluciebsa da da-dgenil ebebs; 2)zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi arsebobas. am monakvetS, gansakuTrebul i strategiul i mniSvel oba eniWeboda, radgan igi soxums damokl es maxviliviT dahyurebda zemodan. imavdroul ad mowinaaRmdegisaTvis mi uval cixes-imagres warmoadgenda.

kodoris (dalis) xeoba, 2008 wl is agvistomde mdinare kodoris sanapiros gaswriw iyo dasaxl ebul i. saavtomobil o gza, mdinaresa da mosaxl eobas Soris gadioda. rogorc cnobil ia, aRniSnul i xeobis sigrZe sofel sakenidan_ sofel qvabCaramide 60 kil ometrs Seadgens. samegrel os regionidan, jvari_xaisis gavliT xeobaSi Sesvl amxol od Wuberis uRel texilit (zRvis donidan 2678 metri) aris Sesazl ebul i. rac Seexeba sofl ebs, igi Semdegi TanmimdevrobiTaa ganl agebul i: sakeni, omariSara, zemo genwvisi, qvemo genwvisi, qvemo ajara, zemo ajara, Cxal Ta, zemo laTa, kadari, laTa, amtyeli, qvabCararogorc special istebi aRniSnaven, am xeobis umZimesi bunebrivi reliefi da misi geografiul i mdebareoba afxazetis separatul xel isufli ebaze zemoqmedebis Tval sazrisiT, ganuzoml ad didi iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs xeobis strategiul i mniSvel oba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit z.papaskiri, s.cincaZe, gxaindrava da sxvebi erTxmad miuTitebdnen, rom kodori saqarTvel osTvis forpostia. igive pozicia eWira rusetis xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwyebis warmomadgenl ebsac. amis erT- erT nimuSs `nezavisimaa gazetaSi- dabelWd- il i publ ikaciebi warmoadgens. `eqsper tebis Sefasebit_ vkiTx-

ul obT gazeTis saredaqcio weril Si, samxedro Tval - sazrisiT, kodoris xeoba sakmaod mosaxerxebel i saxmel eTo moedania, iqedan qarTul mxares afxazeTSi SeWra SeuZl ia im pirobiT, rom am operacias zRviTac dauWeren mxars.-¹ es imis damadasturebel ia, rom zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobe- biT, faqtiurad afxazeTi kontrol deboda da masze mniS- vnel ovani pol itikuri zemoqmedebis moxdena SeiZl eboda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom imave xeobis meSveobiT, saqarTvel o afxazeTSi statusqvos inarCunebda. amis Sesa- Zl ebl obas kodoris xeobis afxazeTis teritoriis Suagul - Si sol iviT SeWra da soxumze mi bj ena warmoadgenda. am safrTxes afxazebi kargad acnobi erebdnen, radgan kodor- is samxreTiT mdebare bol o sofel qvabCaradan_ soxumam- de 3 saaTis saval i iyo da misi gamoyenebis SesaZl ebl oba qarTul mxares upirates mdgomareobaSi ayenebda. miTu- metes, Tuki saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas afxazeTis dab- runeba iaraRis gziT mouwevda, gadamwyveti rol i kodor- is xeobas unda Seesrul ebina. yovel ive aRniSnul is gaTval - iswinebidan gamomdinare, savsebiT marTebul ad mimaCnia a.margianis gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom `Tuki kodoris xe- obas davkargavT, CaTval eT rom afxazeTi arasodes dabrun- deba saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi.- aseTi gancxadebis safuZ- vel s im etapze afxazeTSi mimdinare rTul i pol itikuri procesebi, saqa- rTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis sawinaaRm- degod gaeros mier miRebul i rezol uciebi da separatistu- l i regionebis sasargebl od qarTul i mxaris mxridan mosk- ovSi xel moweril i dokumentebi iZl eva. am mxriv, gansakuTre- bul yuradRebas 1994 wl is 4 april s xel moweril i_ `gancxa- deba qarTvel _ afxazTa konfl iqtis pol itikuri mowesrige- bis RonisZiebaTa Sesaxeb-_ iqcevs. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mima- rTebaSi igi qarTul i dipl omatiis katastroful i marcxis saukeTeso nimuSs warmoadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mesame da meeqvse muxl ebi, romel ic dapirispirebul mxareeb; 1)Zal is gamoyenebas ukrZal avs da qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenas, mxol od mSvidobiani mol aparakebisa da afxazTa dayol iebis gziT iTval iswinebs; 2)afxazeTis konstituci-

isa da kanonmdebl obis samarTl ebrivad aRiarebis paral e-
l urad, meeqvse muxl i, afxazuri saxel mwifo atributikis (himni,
gerbi, droSa) dakanonebas uWers mxars. es imas niSnavs, rom
am dokumentze xel momweri qarTul i mxare, afxazeTis
damoukidebl obis aRiarebis demonstrirebas axdens. aqedan
gamomdinare, damoukidebel i afxazeTisaTvis saqarTvel os
Semadgenl obaSi mSvidobiani mol aparekebis gziT dabruneba-
ze daTanxmebis ideol ogiuri fonis Seqmna, mizanimarTul
propagandas wadmoadgenda. igi sazogadoebis farTo fenebi-
sa da afxazeTidan 300 aTasze meti devnil is motyuebaze iyo
gaTvl il i. yuradReba unda mivaqciot im garemoebas, rom
qarTul ma mxarem, 1994 wl is 14 maiss, meore samarcxvino doku-
mentze _`SeTanxmeba cecxl is Sewyvetisa da Zal Ta daSoriSo-
rebis Sesaxeb- moawera xel i (j .iosel iani, sj inj ol ia). am
dokumentiT, separatul regionSi moqmedebis mTel i sadavee-
bi `samSvidoboebis- mandatis wamosasxamSi SefuTul ruse-
Tis SeiaraRebul Zal ebs gadaeca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)usa-
frTxoebis zonis Seqmnis mizniT mxareTa daSoriSorebis
gansazRvra. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Sedgenil i rukis mixed-
viT, samSvidoboebis moqmedebis areal i enguris orive sana-
piros gaswvriw 24_ 24 kil ometriT iqna dakanonebul i; 2)kon-
fliqtis zonidan dauyovnebl iv unda momxdariyo samxedro
teqniki gatana (saartil erio qvemexebi da 80 milimetrze
meti kal ibris naRmtyorcnebi), yvel a saxeobis j avSantrans-
portiori; 3)saqarTvel os j arebis gayvana unda momxdariyo
kodoris xeobidan afxazeTis fargl ebs gareT; 4)kodoris
xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul iyo samSvidobo Zal ebisa da saer-
TaSoriso meTval yureTa regul arul i patrul ireba; 5)afx-
azeTis fargl ebs garedan Semosul i pirovnebebiT dako-
mpl eqtebul i moxalise samxedro formirebebi, dauyovnebl iv
unda daSl il iyo da mis wevrebs kodoris xeoba daetovebina.
am dokumentTan mimarTebaSi, qarTvel i pol itol ogebis um-
ravl esoba erT Tval sazrisze idga da saqarTvel osTan mi-
marTebaSi mis kabal ur xasiaTze usvamda xazs. rac Seexeba
dokumentis denonsirebas, amis mcdel obas adgil i 1996 wel s
hqonda. amasTan dakavSirebiT, erT- erT interviuSi pol ito-

l o g i r a m a z k l i m i a S v i l i x a z g a s m i T m i u T i T e b d a : ` 1 9 9 6 w e l s
s a a k a S v i l i a x a l i d a n i S n u l i i y o i u r i d i u l i k o m i t e t i s T a v m j -
d o m a r e d , r o c a m o v i d a C e m T a n d a v s a u b r o b d i T , r o g o r m e g a -
k e T e b u l i y o a m d o k u m e n t i s d e n o n s a c i a . S e m d e g w a v i d a S e -
v a r d n a Z e s T a n d a g a T a v d a a m T e m a z e s a u b a r i . S e v a r d n a Z e m s a s -
t i k i u a r i u T x r a , r a R a c s a i d u m l o S e T a n x m e b a a q v s d a d e b u l i
d a i m i t o m . m i z e z i s a a k a S v i l s C e m T v i s a r u T q v a m s . - 2
r . k l i m i a S v i l i s a m v a r a u d i s s i s w o r i s s a f u Z v e l s s a q a r T v e -
l o s x e l i s u f l e b i s m x r i d a n m o m d e v n o w l e b S i x e l m o w e r i l i
x e l S e k r u l e b e b i i Z l e v a . m x e d v e l o b a S i m a q v s s o f . W u b u r x i n -
j S i 2 0 0 2 w l i s 1 7 i a n v a r s x e l m o w e r i l i (m . k a k a b a Z e , r . x a j i n b a ,
d . b o d e n i , a . e v t e e v i) S e T a n x m e b a . a m d o k u m e n t i s p i r v e l i d a m e -
o r e m u x l e b i , q a r T u l m x a r e s k o d o r i s x e o b i d a n j a r i s g a m o y -
v a n a s a v a l d e b u l e b d a . r a c S e e x e b a x e o b i s p a t r u l i r e b a s , i g i
s a m S v i d o b o Z a l e b s a d a s a e r T a S o r i s o m e T v a l y u r e e b s r e g u -
l a r u l a d u n d a C a e t a r e b i n a . a m d o k u m e n t z e d a y r d n o b i T , g a e r o s
u S i S r o e b i s s a b W o s 2 0 0 2 w l i s 3 1 i a n v a r s m i R e b u l i r e z o l u c i i s
m e o T x e m u x l i , s a q a r T v e l o s T a n m i m a r T e b a S i m b r Z a n e b l u r
f o r m a s a t a r e b d a d a a f x a z e T i s t e r i t o r i a z e u k a n o n o
s a m x e d r o f o r m i r e b e b i s s a q m i a n o b i s a k r Z a l v a s m o i T x o v d a .
T u k i a m d o k u m e n t s s k r u p l o z u r i s i z u s t i T g a n v i x i l a v T ,
i g i q a r T u l m x a r e s w a m g e b i a n p o z i c i a S i a y e n e b d a . m x e d -
v e l o b a S i m a q v s s a x e l m w i f o s t r u q t u r e b s d a q v e m d e b a r e b u -
l i a r a m a r t o s a m x e d r o d a j g u f e b e b i s , a r a m e d p a r t i z a n u -
l i S e n a e r T e b i s a k r Z a l v a c k i . e s i m a s n i S n a v s , r o m a f x -
a z e T i d a n d e v n i l m o s a x l e o b a s , v i s a c i a r a R i s t a r e b i s S e s a -
Z l e b l o b a d a b r Z o l i s u n a r i g a a C n d a , m a m a p a p e u l i a d g -
i l e b i d a n g a m o Z e v e b a s S e g u e b o d a d a m i s i d a b r u n e b a _ a r -
d a b r u n e b i s s a k i T x i s g a d a w y v e t a , p o l i t i k u r a d m e Z a v i d a
a r a f r i s m a q n i s i s a e r T a S o r i s o o r g a n i z a c i e b i s a T v i s m i e n -
d o . a R n i S n u l i f a q t i , a r s e b u l i m d g o m a r e o b i s a d m i s a x e l i s u -
f l e b o d o n e z e S e g u e b i s m o w o d e b a s a d a k o d o r i s x e o b i s _
a m u m n i S v n e l o v a n e s i p l a c d a r m i s m o w i n a a R m d e g i s a d m i C a s a -
b a r e b e l i w i n a p i r o b i s S e q m n a s n i S n a v d a . T u k i a R n i S n u l
s a k i T x T a n d a k a v S i r e b i T i m p e r i o d i s s a x e l i s u f l e b o w r e e -
b i s m x r i d a n g a m o T q m u l S e x e d u l e b e b s S e v a j a m e b T , a S k a r a d

warmoCndeba: 1)es SeTanxmeba mesame Zal is mier iyo momzadbul i; 2)garkveul i berketebis amoqmedebiT, pol itikuri zewol is Sedegad, qarTul mxares igi xel moweriT daadasturebines. amis Sesaxeb erT- erT interviuSi, gansakuTrebul saqmeTa ministri m.kakabaZe garkveviT miuTitebda. misi TqmiT, aRniSnul i oqmi, gaerosa da Tanamegobrobis saxel mwi-fos warmomadgenel Ta zewol iT momzadda. anal ogiuri xasiaTis ganxadeba sagareo saqmeTa ministrma imenaRariSvil mac gaakeTa. rac Seexeba qveynis sakanonmdebl o organos Tavmj-domares- n.burjanaZes, man simarTl is Tqmas Tavi aarida da sazogadoebis Tval is asaxvevad mikibul - mokibul formas mimarTa. `Tavidan mec megona_ ambobda igi_ rom am oqmze xel mowera wamgebiani iyo, magram, rodesac konsul taciebi gaviare dipl omatebTan da xel isuflebis warmomadgenel ebTan, pozicia Sevicval e.³ mis momdevno interviuebSi arsad ar aris axsnil i, Sexedul ebis cval obadobis konkretul i mizezebi. Tuki im etapze presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul masal ebs safuZvl ianad gavecnobiT, qarTul i politikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta waj eq _ukuj eqis ganmapirobebel i faqtorebic naTel i gaxdeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs m.saakaSvil is mier gaeros umaRl esi eSel onebisa da ruseTis xel isufal - Ta warmomadgenel ebis dadanaSaul eba saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis sawinaaRmdegod erTobl iv moqmedebaSi. `gaeros damkvirvebel Ta misia_ acxadebda m.saakaSvil i_ rusul i operaciaa, roml is Sesaxeb garigeba 1994 wel s ruseTsa da gaeros Soris gaformda. maTi mizani afxazeTis konfliqtis mowesrigeba ar aris. piradad mqonda Sexvedra gaeros yofil general ur mdivanTan butros gal isTan, romel sac CemTvis ar daumal avs, rom SeTanxmeba marTl ac iyo da amaSi is cuds verafers xedavs.-

es amonaweri aSkarad migvaniSnebs, rom gaero, saqarTvel oSi eTnokonfliqtetebis daregul irebiT ar iyo dainteresebul i. miTumetes, ruseTis prezidentsa da gaeros general ur mdivans Soris arsebul i saiduml o SeTanxmeba, saqarTvel os sasargebl od mcireodeni nabij is gadadgmasac ki saTaveSive gamoricxavda. am saqmeSi gadamwyvet rol s,

saqarTvel oSi arsebul i gaeros warmomadgenl oba asrul eb-
da. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, l onder caava erT- erT
interviuSi acxadebda, rom gaeros TanamSroml ebi `saTavo
ofiss saqarTvel os Sesaxeb araswor informacias awvdi-
da.~ yovel ive aRniSnul idan gamomdinare Seqmnil umZimes
situacias, qarTul i politikuri azris garkveul i nawil i
sworad acnobierebda da Tavis pozicias mxol od `mokrZa-
l ebul i- formiT gamoTqvamda. am mxriv yuradRebas k.daviTa-
Svil is gancxadeba iqcevs. misi mtkicebiT, gaeros general uri
mdivnis, SevardnaZis da putinis poziciebi erTmaneTs emTxve-
oda. `saqarTvel os prezidenti_ ambobda k.daviTaSvil i_ ukve
real urad CamoSorda prodasavl ur tal Rebs da rusul i
politikis gavlenis qveS moeqca. rac Seexeba gaeros ge-
neral ur mdivans, mas saqarTvel oze ufro prioritetad avRa-
nuri probl emis mogvareba miaCnia. am SemTxvevaSi miSTvis
putini sakmaod strategiul i partnioria.-

m.saakaSvil isa da k.daviTaSvil is mier gaerosa da dasav-
l eTis mimarTbral debis formiT gamoTqmul ma zemoaRniS-
nul ma seriozul ma pretenziebma, qarTul politikur speqtr-
Si saWiroebis Sesatyvisi gamoZaxil i ver hpova. miTumetes,
saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi, gaerosa da dasavl eTis in-
diferentul i damokidebul ebidan gamomdinare, garkveul i
formiT sayveduri e.SevardnaZemac gamoTqva. mxedvel oba-
Si maqvs gazeT `jorjian Taimsis~ korespondentisadmi
micemul i intervui, sadac e.SevardnaZes wamocda: `gaeros
saqarTvel osatvis jerjerobiT ar calia.- ramdenadac
qarTul i politikuri speqtri gaerosadmi sayvedurs ara
principul i, aramed `morcxvi politikosisadmi~ damaxasi-
atebel i formiT gamoTqvamda, arsebul i faqti, saqarTvel oSi
movl enil gaeros misias Tavxeduri moqmedebis met Sesa-
Zl ebl obas aZl evda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os ter-
itoriul i mTlianobis saziano da ruseTis sasargebl o
debul ebebis Semcvl el i dokumentebis misaRebad, qarTul
mxareze Sesabamisi zewol is formebs gamoyeneba.

yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebas, rom saqarTvel os
mTavrobis warmomadgenl is mier 2002 wl is 17 ianvris oqmze

xel moweram, samecniero da pol itikur wreebSi udidesi ukmayofil eba gamoiwvia. saerTaSoriso sakiTxebSi saqarTvel - os prezidentis mrCevel ma l .al eqsiZem oficial urad gana-cxada, rom `saqarTvel os mTavroba araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar dauSvebs qarTul i sajariso formirebebis gayvanas konf-l iqtis zonidan. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, es faqtobrivad kodoris xeobis dakargvas niSnavs.- am real obis winaSe myo-fi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba iZul ebul i gaxda, oficial u-rad kodoris xeobis dacvis al ternatul i da gauXmaurebe-l i gegmis Sesaxebl al aparakebul iyo. saxel isufl ebo Stoe-bidan momdinare aseTi pozicia, SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo gan-pirobebul i. igi kodoris xeobis dakargvis SiSiT aRel vebu-l i masis dawynarebas iTval iswinebda. im periodis presis masal ebs Tuki gadavxedavT, kodoris xeobidan sajariso Se-naerTebis gamoyvanis sawinaaRmdego aqcia mimdinareobda. es procesi imdenad daZabul formas atarebda, rom e.SevardnaZe iZul ebul i gaxda pirvandel i Sexedul eba Seecval a da xal xis dasaSoSminebl ad oficial urad ganecxadebina: `kodoriSi mainc darCeba Zal a, romel sac SeeZl eba uzrunvel yos adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis absol uturi dacva.-⁴

saqarTvel os pirvel i piris aseTi gancxadebis miuxedav-ad, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtri ar cxreboda da e.SevardnaZesTan erTad kritikis umwvaves maxvil s gaeros war-momadgenel d.bodenis winaaRmdeg mimarTavda. am mxriv yu-radRebas m.kakabaZis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba iqcevs. man gaero umoqmedobaSi, samarTI ianobisadmi zurgSeqceva-Si da ruseTTan neutral uri poziciis daWeraSi daadana-Saul a. imavdroul ad d.bodens qarTul _ afixazuri konf-l iqtis mizanmimarTul ad gaWianurebaSi dasdo bral i. amasTan dakavSirebiT m.kakabaZe acxadebda: `sazogadoeba-Si gaCnda mosazrebebi, rom diter bodens qarTul _ afixa-zuri konf-l iqtis gaWianureba awyobs kidec, radgan igi konf-l iqtis viTomda daregul irebis saqmeSi sakmaod did Tanxas iRebs xel fasis saxiT.- marTal ia, am bral debasTan mimar-TebaSi d.bodenma dumil is forma airCi a, magram probl emisadmi mi dgomis pirvandel damokidebul ebas ar cvl -

ida. akeTebda imas, rac ruseTisaTvis iyo xel sayrel i. am Se-mTxvevaSi, orpirovani ianysis rol i Sesani Snavad moir-go da konfl iqtis regiunSi arsebul umZimes situacias, sazogadoebas iseTi SeniRbul i formiT acnobda, rogorc es gaeros umaRI esi eSel onebisgan qonda nabrZanebi.

d.bodenisadmi undobl oba da risxva, kancel ariis win gamarTul i saprotesto aqciis monawil eebma oficial urad daafiqsires. gansakuTrebiT studenti axal gazrdoba aqtiuribda. isini muqaranarevi toniT acxadebdnen; Tu xel isufl eba kodoridan jaris gamoyvanas gabedavda, radikal ur RonisZiebebs mimarTavdnen. am fonze, konfl iqturi regionisadmi gaeros sasxvaTaSoriso damoki debul ebas da d.bodenis antiqarTul saqmianobas, umkacresi kritikis qarcecxl Si atarebdnen. ganrisxebul i studentoba, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas Seaxsenebda: `yovel ma qarTvel ma unda icodes, rom Tu xel i ar gavanZriet, bodeni Cvens sasikeTod arafers gaakeTebis. magas Tu rames gakeTeba undoda, aqamde gaakeTebda. piriqit, SeiZl eba Cvensa da afxazebis Soris konfl iqtic gamoiwvios.⁵

anal ogiur pozicias icavda `tyis Znebis- meTauri d.Sengel ia, `TeTri giorgis- wevrebi da zogierTi parlamentari. rac Seexeba Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmj domares g.baramiZes, man waj eq- ukuj eqis gza airCia da d.bodenTan Ria dapirespirebas Tavi aarida. TiTqmis anal ogiur poziciaze idga qarTul i politikuri speqtris umetesoba. isini d.bodenis saqmianobis srul yofil Sefasebas da politikuri daskvnebis gakeTebas Segnebul ad gaurbodnen. aseTi qmedebiT, saqarTvel oSi d.bodenis Savbnel iT mocul i saqmianobis ZiriTadi Strixebi sazogadoebas daumal es (misi xel fasis raodenobac gaasaiduml es) da yvel aferi movardisfro ferebSi datoves. es faqti, maSindel i saparl amento da arasaparl amento opoziciis ususurobaze metyvel ebs. aseTma politikurma fonma, e.SevardnaZes umZimesi situacidan `gamoZromis- gzebis Ziebis Sesazl ebl oba misca. ful ze daxarbebul i politikurad meZavi opoziciis mosyidviT, ruseT_ saqarTvel os urTierTobis saWadrako dafaze man

figuraTa gadaTamaSebis miseburi varianti SesTavaza dabe-
 Cavebul politikur speqtrs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `samSvidoboebis-
 mandatis gagrZel eba_ argagrZel ebis sakiTxis politikurad
 gadaTamaSebis formiT dasma. cnobili faqtia, rom devnil ebTan
 Sexvedraze e.SevardnaZem `cisferCafxutianebis- saqarTvel
 odan gayvanis piroba dado. es danapirebi man oriode TveSi
 Secvala da qveynis meTauris am samarcxvino qmedebis gasamarTi
 eblad, qarTul _afxazuri konfliqtis mosalodneli qarTul eba
 daasaxel a. isic angariSgasawevia, rom aRniSnul sakiTxTan
 mimarTebaSi, e.SevardnaZe_ vputins Soris satel efono saubrebi
 mimdinareobda. amas TviT e.SevardnaZec adasturebda. es faqti
 imaze miuTitebs, rom rusi `samSvidoboebis- sakiTxi or
 prezidents Soris politikurikul uarul i vaWrobis sagnad
 gadaiqca. jer- jeroBIT SeuZi ebeli xdeba imis garkveva,
 Tu ra xasiaTis moTxovnebs uyenebdnen isini erTmaneTs.
 erTiram cxadia_afxazetidan `samSvidobo- j aris gayvana,
 ruseTis interesebs ewina-aRmdegeboda, radgan momxdari
 faqti afxazetze ruseTis gavl enis garkveuli doziT
 dakargvas ganapirobebda. es elementarul i WeSmariteba
 ruseTis xel isufi ebas kargad qonda gacnobierebuli
 da winaswar SemuSavebuli uamravi meqanizmidan, arsebuli
 probl emisadmi erT- erTis morgebas cdil obda. misigamoyenebiT,
 saqarTvel os mTavrobaze garkveul zemoqmedebasac
 axdenda. maT kargad qondaT gacnobierebuli, rom
 afxazetis regionSi rusi `samSvidoboebis- TavaSvebul
 moqmedebas, araoficial urad saerTasoris organizaciebi,
 gansakuTrebit gaeros maRal Cinosnebi uWerda mxars.
 am faqtorma, gansakuTrebuli stimulatoris roli iTamaSa
 im Tval sazrisiT, rom qarTul _afxazuri konfliktis
 zonaSi dsT- s kol eqtiuri Zal ebis xel mZRvanel s
 general maior sergei Cabans atqmevina: `rusi mSvidobis
 myofel ebi afxazetSi uvadod rCebian.~ am gancxadebidan
 meordRes, (11 dekemberi) misive brZanebit afxazetisa
 da saqarTvel os Soris arsebuli pirobiti sazRvari
 engurze Cai keta. rusi `cisferCafxutianebis- mxridan
 dakisrebuli funqciis arSesrul ebam da konfliqtis
 monawile m xaris roli

maTma warmocenam, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris winaSe principul ad dasva sakiTxi_ `samSvidoboebisadmi- damokidebul ebis gadaxedvis Sesaxeb. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas saqarTvel os parl amentis 2002 wl is 9 oqtombris sxdoma iqcevs. stenografiul i angariSebidan irkveva, rom agasvianma da gyaryaraSvil ma principul ad daayenes sakiTxi `samSvidoboebis- mandatis gadaxedvisa da misi internacional izaciis Sesaxeb. `konfliqti afxazeTSi_ ambobda gyaryaraSvil i_ saSiS tendencias iRebs, vinaidan konfliqtis subieqtebad Cndebian rusebi da Crdil o kavkasiel ebi da ara qarTvel ebi da afxazebi. anu konfliqtis monawil e xdeba is Zal a, romel - sac samSvidobo Zal ebis misia akisria... droa, dadges sakiTxi amJamad arsebul i samSvidobo Zal ebis misiis amowurvis Sesaxeb da es misia internacional uri gaxdes.- marTalia, sakiTxi sworadiyo dasmul i, magram misi srul fasovnad ganxorciel ebisatvis pirvel rigSi gaero unda yofil iyo dainteresebul i. im etapze gavr cel ebul i kul uarul i informaciis mixedviT, kofi ananis da putinis saiduml o mool aparakebebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os konfliqtur regionebsi mdgomareoba qarTul da. sazogadoebis Tval is axvevisa da sinamdvil is argamJRavnebis mizniT, gaero da dasavl eT evropis Sesabamisi organizaciebi saqarTvel oSi disl o-cirebul i rusi `cisferCafxutianebs- mandatis gagrZel ebis formiT spekul irebda. sinamdvil eSi, konfliqtis dasaregul irebl ad pragmatul i nabijis gadadgmas ar apirebda. moqmedebda ise, rac ruseTisaTvis iyo misaRebi da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTlianobis saziانو. yuradReba unda miვაqციოT im garemoebas, rom imave ruseTis waqezebiTa da gaeros warmomadgenl ebis mxardaWeriT, afxazebi gansakuTrebul pretenziebs qarTvel Ta mimarT ayenebdnen. maT amocanas, afxazeTis Suagul Si _ `soxumis Tavze- damokl es maxvili iT Camokidebul i kodoris xeobis xel Si Cagdeba warmoadgenda. es ruseTis xel isufal Ta ocnebac iyo. am SemTxvevaSi isini afxazebiT manipuli rebas da saerTaSoriso organizaciebis zewol iT dasaxul i miznis miRwevas cdil obdnen. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan qarTvel Ta erovnul i

interesebis sawinaaRmdego qmedebebis (daugegmavi da gaubedavi formiT Catarebul i samxedro operaciebi, rusebisadmi ndobaze damyarebul xel Sekrul ebebze xel ismowera) Sedegad, kodoris xeoba 1992 wl idan real uri safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. mimdinare politurma procesebma, aRniSnul i xeobis damcavi meqanizmis SemuSavebis aucil ebl oba daayena dRis wesrigSi. im mi zniT rom xeoba afxazebisa da rusebis SeiaraRebul i daj gufebebis Tavdasxmisan yofil iyo dacul i, j er ki dev 1991 wel s kodorel Ta bazaze mcire SeiaraRebul i razmi Sei qmna. igi SemdegSi kodorel Ta samxedro SenaerTis_`Seficul Ta razmis- dafuZnebis (1992 wl is 3 agvisto) sayrdeni baza gaxda. masSi pirvel etapze 80 kaci iqna gaerTianebul i, roml ebic ekvicianma xatze daafica, rom afxazeTis ganTavisufl ebande iaraRs ar dadebdnen. afxazeTSi warumatebel i saomari moqmedebebis periodSi, aRniSnul i razmi qveynis Zal ovan struqturabs daeqvemdebara, Sesabamisi statusi miRo da mis wevrebs xel fasci daeniSna. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT erT- erT interviusi ekviciani xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `afxazeTSi roca agebdnen oms, gvTxoves SemodiT (Tavdacvis saministro) CvenTano. SevediT, gaformda xal xi batal ionSi da xel fasebsac Rebul obda. momxdari faqtidan or kviraSi, vl adisl av arZinbam tel eviziiT Cveni batal ionis sia waikiTxa, Tanac dasZina, rom es xal xi arasodes afxazeTSi ar icxovrebo.- es imas niSnavda, rom batal ionis yovel i wevri da TiToeul i maTganis oj axi, afsua separatistebis samizne iyo. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, eSevardnaZis xel isufl ebas ekviciani aRar endoboda. anal ogiuri pozicia eWira Tavdacvis uwyebis mima rTac, radgan am sistemaSi informaciis gasaiduml oeba ar xdeboda. zogierTi samxedro maRal Cinosanis Zal isxmeviT, samxedro saiduml oebas daqvemdebarebul i informacia mowinaaRmdegas miwodeboda.

imasac Tu gaviTval iswinebT, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier xel moweril i antisaxel mwifoebri vi xel Sekrul ebebi, zemo kodoris xeobas real uri safrTxis qveS ayenebda, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis bazaze SeiaraRebul i formireb-

is Seamna aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. igi im etapze xeobisa da misi mosaxl eobis usafrTxoebis dacvis garanti unda gamxdariyo. am faqforma gansakuTrebul i rol i Seasrul a e.kvicianis xel mZRvanel obiT moqmedi zemoaRniSnul i batalionis oficial urad gaformebis (1994 wel i) daCqarebis saqmeSi.

rogorc cnobil ia, Tavdapi rvel ad batal ionSi 350 kaci iyo gaerTianebul i. misi disl okaci is adgil ad sof. aJara gamocxadda. imave wel s batal ions `monadires- saxel wodeba da Sesabami si statusic mi eni Wa. mis ZiriTad funqcias, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi moZal adeebisgan xeobis dacva warmoadgenda. aRniSnul i samxedro SenaerTis kodorSi funqcionirebis mniSvnel obis srul ad gaazreba, mxol od mas Semdeg xdeba Sesazl ebel i, roca 1994 wl is 14 maisis moskovis SeTanxmebas safuZvl ianad gaecnoba adamiani. am dokumentis mixedviT, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebuli i, mezobel i regionebi dan kodorSi Casul i samxedro pirebisa da SenaerTebis yofna sastikad ikrZal eboda. am fonze, xeobis erTaderT damcav cocxal meqanizms batalioni `monadires- warmoadgenda. rac Seexeba `monadires- Sesaxeb e.SevardnaZis pozicias, 2006 wel is ivl isSi gazeT `asaval - dasaval i--sadmi micemul erT- erT interviuSi, kodoris xeobis SenarCunebaSi am batalionis wevrebis ganuzoml ad did damsaxurebas usvamda xazs da dasZenda: `magari biWebi iyvnen!..-

im periodis presaSi gamoqveynebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi, aRniSnul i batalionis 1000 kacemde gazrda SeiZl eboda. isic sayuradReboa, rom kodoris xeobis samxedro topografiul i Tval - sa-zrisiT Seswavi is Semdeg, Tavdacvis saministros mier aRniSnul i xeobis TiToeul i goj i miwis dacvis konkretul i gegma iqna SemuSavebul i. am sqemis mixedviT, or kodorel s ufro meti produqtul i moqmedeba SeeZl o, vinem 200 kaciani mowinaaRmdegis qvedanayofs. es upiratesoba imiTaciyo ganpirobebul i, rom isini xeobas safuZvl ianad icnobden da meorec, TiToeul i maTgani imave xeobis l a-

ndSaftisaTvis Sesatyvisi aRWurvil obiT iyvnen uzrunvel yofil ni. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: tanksawinaarmdego yubarmt-yorcnebi, haersawinaarmdego sazeni to danadgarebi, `strel as- tipis raketebi, naRmebi, snai perul i SaSxanebi da a.S.

roca batal ion `monadires- aseTi SeiaraRebis Sesaxeb vsaub-robT, ismeba kiTxva: vin axdenda am batal ionis SeiaraRebas? es iaraRi ekvicianis xel mZRvanel obiT ukanonod iqna SeZen- il i Tu, igi saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saministros maRal Cino- snebis gankargul ebiT Seitanes kodoris xeobaSi? **Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mi xedvi T, 1999_ 2004 wl ebSi batal i- on `monadires- SeiaraReba Tavdacvis da Sinagan saqmeTa ministrebis xel Sewyobi T ganxorciel da.** amasTan dakavSire- biT saxal xo partiis Tavmj domare m.giorgaZe xazgasmi T werda: `es iaraRi xeobaSi TargamaZis ministrobis dros Sevida... es yvel am icis. ramdenime milioni Segrovda am iaraRis Sesa- Zenad.-

xel isufl ebis mxridan aseTi nabijis gadadgma nebayofl o- bit ar momxdara. aq gadamwyveti rol i sazogadoebisa da po- litikuri partiebis aqtiurobam, maTi mxridan xel isufl eba- ze garkveul i formiT zewol am Seasrul a. ramdenadac kodor- is xeobis gadarCenis erTaderT gamosaval s, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis SeiaraReba warmoadgenda, am sakiTxTan dakav- SirebiT giorgi burjanaZe werda: `Cven maSin seriozul ze- wol as vaxdendiT SevardnaZeze, rom mas mosaxl eoba Seeiar- aRebina, Tumca amis didi survil i ar hqonda, svanebis Seiar- aReba kodoris xeobaSi sazogadoebis zewol iT gadawyda, imisaTvis rom kodoris xeoba ar dakargul iyo.⁶

xeobis dacvis mizniT, misi mkvidri mosaxl eobis Seiar- aRebis procesi Semdeg wl ebSi ac gagrZel da. gansakuTre- biT intensiuri saxe g.baramiZis ministrobis dros mi iRo. amis Sesaxeb goCa fifia wers: `batal ionis wevrebi Tav- is droze swored Tavdacvis saministrom SeiaraRa maSin, roca mis saTaveSi gia baramiZe imyofeboda.~ am faqtis si swores ekvicianis da dal i kvicianic adasturebs. `rusul i iara- Ri_ wers igi- maSin Semoitanes sami `kamaziT,~ roca gia

baramiZe ministri iyo. TviTmfrinavebis Camosagdebi nebis-
 mieri kategoriis iaraRi iyo Setanil i.~ imave faqtTan
 dakavSirebiT, gazeT `saqarTvel o da msopl io-- sadmi
 micemul interviuSi nora kviciani acxadebda: `gia barami-
 Ze 2004 wl is Semodgomaze imyofeboda kodoris xeobaSi.
 Caatara mcire yril oba da dagvpirda, rom yovel nairad
 gverdiT dagvidgeboda. uSgul is uRel texil idan iaraRi
 Semozides, batal ion marTI ac kargad aRiWurva.~ am faq-
 tis siswores `saxal xo forumis- erT- erTi l ideri irak-
 l i mel aSvil ic adasturebs. gazeT `axal i Taobisadmi-
 micemul interviuSi igi gul iswyromiT ambobda: `Zal ian
 gamakvirva gia baramiZis gamosvl am. magan mainc xom icis
 vin aitana xeobaSi iaraRi?- korespodentis SekiTxvaze_
 Tu vin aitana, imave i.mel aSvil ma upasuxa: `TviTon misi
 atanil ia... rom ukvirT, ratom iyo `strel ebi- da `igl e-
 bio~, imi tom iyo, rom farTomasStabiani Setevis dros adg-
 il obriv mosaxl eobas mteri moegeriebi na.~ g.baramiZis mier
 kodoris xeobaSi iaraRis Setanis faqts T.ki tovanic adas-
 turebs. kodorel Ta SeiaraRebis aucil ebl obas, e.SevardnaZe
 im etapze mimdinare rTul i politikuri procesebidan
 gamomdinare xsnida. `rac Seexeba moxal iseebis Seiar-
 aRebas_ acxadebda igi_ Tavis droze gamarTI ebul i iyo
 da TavSdeboda im moTxovnebsi roml ebsac 1994 wl is xe-
 l Sekrul eba iTval iswinebda.~

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadas-
 turebaa, rom batal ion `monadires- SeiaraReba da xeobaSi
 Sesabamisi teqniki aRWurvil obis Setana, e.SevardnaZisa
 da m.saakaSvil is nebarTviT, qveynis Zal ovani struqtur-
 ebs maRal CinosanTa uSual o xel mZRvanel obiT mimdinare-
 obda. am fonze, al ogikurad moCans `samarTal damcvel Ta-
 mxridan 2006 wels ekvicianisadmi wayenebul i bral deba, rom
 kodoris xeobaSi ukanono formireba Camoayal iba da misi
 SeiaraReba ruseTidan Semotanil i iaraRiT moaxdina. upa-
 suxismgebl obisa da cinizmis kl asikur nimuSs prezidentis
 aparatis ufrosis garvel aZis mier `rusTavi 2-- is eTeriT
 gakeTebul i gancxadeba war moadgens. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mis

mier gansakuTrebul i paTosiT warmotqmul i sityvebi: `kodoris xeobaSi 30 milioni dolaris Rirebul ebis rusul i warmoSobis iaraRi aRmoCnda.- anal ogiuri saxis cinikuri gancxadeba maSindel ma Tavdacvis ministrma i.oqruaSvil mac gaakeTa. `aseTi iaraRebi- ganacxada man_ ori wl is win saqarTvel os Seiararebul Zal ebsac ki ar hqoniaT.-

m.saakaSvil is xelisuflebis maRal CinosanTa politikuri meZavoba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom 2004 wl is Semodgomaze g.baramiZis mier sami `kamaziT- kodoris xeobaSi Setanili iaraRis faqti, daviwyebas misces da amneziaqnil i moxel eebis mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndnen. samwuxarod, siyal beze damyarebul maT ideol ogiur propagandas, `miSizmis- seniT daavadebul i sazogadoebisa da mecniertagarkveul wreebSi gasavali qonda. saxel isuflebo doneze momzadebul i da `rustavi 2-- is meSveobit ideol ogiuri formiT gaxmaurebul i es antisaxel mwi foebrivi piari, kodoris xeobis damcvel Ta winaarmdeg uaryofiti sazogadoebrivi azris Seqmnaze iyo gatvili. meore mxriv, xelisuflebis Sesabamisi uwyebis mier momzadebul i veragul i gegmis gadafarvas isaxavda miznad. amis safuzvel s, a)saxel isuflebo Stos warmomadgenel Ta mxridan gakeTebul i zemoarNiSnuli gancxadebebi iZi eva; b)prokuratura erTxel ac ar dainteresebul a, rom qveynisTvis aseT mniSvel ovan sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, g.baramiZis dakiTxva moexdina da gaerkvia_ 2004 wl is Semodgomaze kodorsi iaraRi marTla Seitana Tu ara. es faqti, farTo sazogadoebisTvis cnobili unda yofil iyo. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi opoziciur partiebs, e.w. `arasamTavrobo organizaciebs,- `Tavisuflebis instituts,- `axal gazrda iurista asociacias- da a.S. simarTlis dasadgenad g.baramiZis dakiTxva ar mouTxoviat. maTi mxridan aseTi umoqmedoba, m.saakaSvil is xelisuflebas ideol ogiur frontze Tavisufle ad navardis saSual ebas aZi evda.

zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi xelisuflebis warmomadgenel Ta saagitacio- propagandistuli saqmianoba da maT mier gakeTebul i gancxadebebi, winaswar SemuSavebul i da ruseTTan Setanxmebul i gegmis arsebobis STabeWdilebas

tovebs. aseTi mosazrebis safuZvel s kodorel Ta mier 1993 wl idan 2004 wl is CaTvl iT TavdacviTi da Seupovari brZol eb is amsaxvel i faqtebi izl eva.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom zemo kodoris xeobis xel Si Cagdebis ramdenime gegma qonda rusebs SemuSavebul i. misi amoqmedebis pirvel mcdel obas 1993 wl is 2 da 4 oqtomers hqonda adgil i. am SemTxvevaSi e.kvicianis batal ionis wevrebma imarj ves, sofl ebSi Sesasvl el i gvirabi droul ad Caketes da rusul i tankebi xeobaSi ar SeuSves. am marcxisadmi Seguebas rusebi ar apirebdnen da xeobis aRebis axal i gegma SeimuSaves. Cems xel T arsebul i monacemebis mixedvi T, am saqmis Sesrul eba qarTvel Ta moZul es, afxazeTis qarTvel Ta wamebasa da genocidSi saxel moxveWil bagramianis saxel obis somxur batal ions daeval a. 1993 wl is 23 noembers, giorgobis saekl esio dResaswaul is dRes, 2500 kaciani (somxebi, kazakebi, Crdil - okavkasiel ebi) bagramianis saxel obis batal ionis moulnadnel ad daesxa Tavs saekl esio ritual iT qarTul omari Sarasa da sakenis mosaxl eobas. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval _ dasaval is- korespondent dito CubiniZisadmi micemul interviuSi robizon margvel ani ambobda: `me, baton zviadTan erTad sofel il orSi vimyofebodi. iq CemTan gamocxaddnen afxazebi, kerZod rusl an qiSmaria da gvTxova, iqneb wamogvyveT, rom es sisxl isRvra SevaCeroTo! CvenTan erTad iyo dmanisis yofil i pefeqti l eri girgvl iani, roml is Tanakursel ic gaxl da qiSmaria. me Tavistavad ver wavedi kodorSi, radgan prezidentis gverdiT viyavi. Zal ian magari omi iyo maSin kodoris xeobaSi. qarTvel ebma, Cvenma biWebma emzar kvicianis meTaurobiT gmirul ad daicves xeoba da bagramianis batal ionis mTl ianad gaanadgures.- maSin del i monacemebis mixedvi T, Seupovari brZol ebi 5 dRe gagrZel da. 27 noemberi brZol is dasrul ebis bol o dRe iyo. samSobl osaTvis Tavdadebul ma kodorel ma vaJkacebma_ batal ion `monadires- wevrebma, qarTvel Ta moZul e bagramianis batal ionis 250 kaci xeobaSi Caxoces. aRni Snul saki iTxTan dakavSirebiT cnobil i poeti erekl e saRl iani wers:

`saqarTvel os dRevandel i xel isufli ebis umaRI es j in-
 j il osanTagan romel s moubrundeba ena, ar aRiaros, rom
 swored emzar kvicianma gadaarCina soxumis dacemis Sem-
 deg kodoris xeoba da swored kviciania is meomari, rom-
 l is meTaurobiTac afxazeTis omSi qarTvel ebis sisxl iT
 gaumaZRari... bagramianis somxuri batal ionis dedabudi-
 anad amoJl ites amayma svanebma! dRes afxazeTis svaneTis
 misadgomebi im boroti batal ionis jariskacTa Zvl ebiT
 aris savse, roml is saxsenebel ic qarTvel ma patriotebma
 gaaqres.~7 am uTanasworo brZol as Seewira kodoris xeobis
 batal ion `monadires- gmiri mebrZol ebi: omar arRv-
 l iani, giorgi rezeniZe, avTandil stefl iani, ta-riel pake-
 l iani, Tamaz j aWvl iani, uCa kviciani, goderZi guj ej iani,
 ermine guj ej iani...

bagramianis batal ionis marcxma, rusi okupantebi da arZin-
 bas xel isufal ni SokSi Caagdo. miuxedavad amisa, xeobaze
 kontrol is dawesebis survil i avadmyofuri formiT qondaT
 Camoyal ibebul i da dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad yovel gvri
 saxis saSual ebebis gamoyenebas cdil obdnen. am mxriv, arCe-
 vani CeCen mebrZol ebze gaakeTes da kodoris xeobis aRebis
 Sesabamisi gegmac SeimuSaves. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT is-
 torikosi zurab papaskiri gazeT `versiasadmi- micemul erT-
 erT interviuSi swored am gegmis Sesaxeb amaxvil ebda yura-
 dRebas. misi TqmiT, 1993 wl is Semodgomaze kodoris xeobis
 dakavebas afxazebi Samil basaevis daxmarebiT cdil obdnen.
 `arZinbas mxridan- ambobda z.papaskiri_ sakmaod eSmakurad
 iyo mofiqrebul i. Tu galmarj vebdnen xom kargi da Tu ara,
 CeCnebi daiRupebodnen da ara afxazebi. bol os basaevma uari
 Tqva, afxazebma ki marto ierisi ver gabedes.~ samwuxarod
 z.papaskirs is ZiriTadi mizezebi ar daukonkretebia, ramac
 basaevs kodoris xeobaze gasal aSqrebl ad uari aTqmevina. am
 SemTxvevaSi ukandaxevis da afxazebisadmi micemul i pirobis
 darRvevis ZiriTad faqtorad kodorel Ta maRal i brZol isu-
 narianoba da Seupovroba unda miviCni oT. meore mxriv, basae-
 vi yvel aze saSiS faqtors _ svanebis gadakidebas da maTgan
 garduval SurisZiebas ganerida.

zemo kodoris xeobaze Tavdasxmis rusul i gegmis ramde-
 nime variantis Cavardnis miuxedavad, xeobis aTvi sebis sa-
 kiTxi ruseTis xel isuflebis maRal Cinosnebs mosvenebas
 ar aZi evda. dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad, yovel gvari sax-
 is saSual ebebs mimarTavdnen. amis erT- erT dadasturebas,
 mol aparakebis inscenirebis gamarTvis fonze, sofel
 laTaze rusi samxedroebis moulo odnel i da veragul i
 Tavdasxmis (1994 wl is marti) faqti warmoadgens. sofel
 laTas mosaxleoba maTi mxridan safuZvl ianad iqna gaZ-
 arcvul i, xolo sacxovrebel i saxlebi gadamwvari. miuxe-
 davad amisa, SurisZiebiT anTebul i afxazi separatistebi
 da rusi dampyrobl ebi ar isvenebden. imave wl is 26 maiis,
 saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dResTan dakavSirebiT,
 kodoris xeobaze erTobl ivi Seteva ganaxorciel es. amj erad
 batalioni `monadire- Tavdamsxmels momzadebul i Sexvda
 da misma yovel ma wevrma mters saarako gmiroba ucvena,
 didi zarali miayena da izul ebul i gaxada ukan gaqceul iyo.⁸
 aseTi warmatebul i Tavdacviti brZolebi, mowinaaRmdegis
 SesaCerebl ad arasakmarisi aRmoCnda. am SemTxvevaSi rusebi
 da afxazebi zemo kodoris xeobis monakvetis sahaero sivrcis
 maqsimal urad gamoyenebas cdil obda. afxazetsi dis-
 locirebul i `samSvidoboebis- sardli obam SesaniSnavad icoda,
 rom saqarTvel os Tavdacvis uwyebas kodoris xeobis sa-
 haero sivrcis gasakontrol ebl ad saWiro zusti teqno-
 logiebiT aRWurvil i saradaro sistema ar gaaCnda. qarTul i
 mxaris Tavdacvis sistemaSi arsebul i am xarveziT, mowinaaRm-
 degem SesaniSnavad isargebl a da survil isamebr zemo kodoris
 xeobaze Sveul mfrenebiT Tavdasxmebi ramdenjerme ganaxor-
 ciel a. am mxriv 2001 wl i gamoirCeoda. im Znel bedobis Jams,
 adgil obrivi Zal ebi mowodebis simaRleze aRmoCnda da
 kodoris xeobaSi 2 rusul i samxedro Sveul mfreni Camoag-
 do. es faqti rusul ma mxarem kodorel ebs ar apatia da imave
 wl is 9 oqtombers gamTeniisas 6 saatSa da 10 wuTze rusul -
 ma Sveul mfrenebma omariSarasa da laTas midamoebi dabom-
 ba. martal ia, am Tavdasxmas msxverpli ar moyolia, magram
 erTi ram dadasturda; 1) saqarTvel os sadazvervo uwyebis

ususuroba da 2) sazენიტო არაუარსებოდა კოდორის ბათონის
 შეიარაღებული ოპერაციის მომხდარ ფაქტთან მიმართებაში, საერთაშორისო
 უსიძრეობის საბჭოს სხდომამ საგანგებოდ იმსჯელა რაც შეეხება
 კოდორის ხეობის დაცვასთან მიმართებაში დამატებითი რონი-
 ზიებების გათვალისწინებით დაფიქსირებას, იკრებულ ბათონის
 მონადირე-საფუძვლიანად შეიარაღებული ძალების დამატებითი
 საბრძოლო ტექნიკის შეტანა და იგი უსმობდეს. ამ ვარაუდის
 გამოტყობის შესაძლებლობას მაშინდელი თავდაცვის მინისტრი
 დ. თევზაძის განცხადება იქნა. ზომები აუცილებელი იქნება
 მიზეზების და ამის შემდეგ ჰერსაინარმდებოდა ზღვირების
 საერთაშორისო ტერიტორიაზე ტიტოული ტიტონის ფრინავს
 გამოგდებენ. ამ შემთხვევაში დ. თევზაძის არ დაუკონკრეტებია
 თუ რა სასაქონლო ებიტი მოხდებოდა კოდორის ხეობაზე თავდასხმის
 საფრენი აპარატების გამოგდება. იმ პერიოდში გავრცელებული
 ინფორმაციის თანახმად, თავდაცვის სამინისტროს გაანდა უახლესი
 ტექნიკის ისეთი საბრძოლო სასაქონლო ებები, რომელიც კოდორის
 ხეობის რელიეფს მისადაგებოდა და საერთო თავდასხმის მოსაგერიებლად
 იყო გატანილი ისინი. იმდენად ოპერაციის მაკვს ანაღვრის
 და შესაბამისი ტვირთის განაწილება. როგორც ჩანს, თავდაცვის
 სამინისტრომ ეს იარაღი კოდორის ხეობაში შეიტანა. ამ რონი-
 ზიების მიუხედავად, ესეარდნაძის ხელისუფლებამ იკრებულ
 სახაერო სივრცის დაცვაზე ეფიქრა და ამ მიმართებით პირველი
 კომუნიკაციები გადამდგა. საყმეხება უსიძრეობის საბჭოს მერ
 საერთაშორისო სივრცის დაცვის კონფერენციის განხილვის
 (2001 წლის 13 ნოემბერი) დაწყებას. მიმდინარე პოლიტიკური
 პროცესების ფონზე იგი დავიანებული გადამწყვეტილების
 სტაბილიზაციის თემა. ამ საკითხის წინა პლანზე წამოიწყო
 ოპერაციის მაკვს ამერიკის რესპუბლიკის და, ასევე შეიარაღებული
 ძალების ევროპული საბჭოს დასაქმების საერთაშორისო
 სივრცის (1998 წლის 1 თებერვალი) ფაქტი. იმავდროულად,
 იგი ნატოს საერთო თავდაცვის კომიტეტის ურადების ცენტრის
 მომართვა, რადგან პარტნიორობის მსვდობისათვის პროგრამის
 საერთაშორისო აკტიური მონაწილეობის სურვილი გამოტყვა.
 როგორც ნიშნავს, ნატოს ხელმძღვანელებმა

anel oba sahaero Tavdacvis sakiTxebSi garkveul daxmarebas uwevda. am SesaZl ebl obis droul ad gamoyenebasTan mimarTe- baSi, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam indiferentul i damokide- bul eba gamoicna. igi mxol od sami wl is Semdeg gaaxsenda, roca ruseTidan sahaero agresii ramdenime Tavdasxma dafiq- sirda da afxazeTis dabrunebis pl acdarmi_ kodoris xeoba dakargvis real uri safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. sanam qarTu- li mxare qveynis sahaero sivrcis srul ad gakontrol ebis sakiTxs Tavs moabamda, ruseTis dazverva winaswar dagegmil saqmes akeTebda da kodoris xeobis droul ad xel Si Cagde- baze muSaobda. am mizniT, moskovidan soxumSi ramdenime ka- ciani sadazvervo jgufi iqna gagzavnili. aseTi pragmatul i nabij is gadasadgmel ad garkveul i rol i anri j ergenias mier moskovSi gakeTebul ma ganxadebamac Sesarul a. igi ruseTis xel isufl ebas afrTxil ebda: `amerikel i samxedroebis saqarTvel oSi gamoCena, soxumze samxedro operaciis ganx- orciel ebis Sesaxeb winaswar SemuSavebul gegmas emsaxure- bao- da am fonze moskovs daxmarebas sTxovda.

warsul is gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, zemo kodoris dasa- kavebl ad Sesabamisi operaciis ganxorciel ebisaTvis rusi samxedroebi gansakuTrebul sifrTxil es icendnen. amis dam- adasturebl ad, sadazvervo samuSaoebis Catarebis mizniT kodorSi Segzavnili sami rusi oficeris saqmianobis faqti gamodgeba. am SemTxvevaSi, qarTul ma mxarem eSmakur formas mimarTa da miamituri pozicia daiWira. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, genwvisel i Temur Cofliani `j orjian Taim- sis- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi garkveviT miu- TiTebda, rom zemo kodorSi asul ma rusma oficrebma qarTvel i mesazRvreebi, saj ariso nawil ebi da saguSagoze myofi jariska- cebi moinaxul a. maT mizans, zemo kodorSi arsebul i samxed- ro nawil ebis raodenobis, misi SeiaraRebisa da disl okaci- is adgil mdebareobis Sesaxeb zusti informaciis Segroveba da ruseTis samxedro dazvervisaTvis miwodeba warmoadgen- da. am informaciaze dayrdnobiT unda momxdariyo kodoris aRebis morigi rusul i gegmis SemuSaveba. imave Temur Cofl i- anis mtkicebiT, qarTul ma dazvervam droul ad gaarkvia rusi

oficrebis kodorSi mosal odnel i vizitis ZiriTadi miznebi da Tavdacvis saminstro amis Sesaxeb saqmis kursSi droul ad Caayena. am informaciaze dayrdnobiT qarTul ma mxarem, Seiararebuli razmebi tyeSi gadamal a da saguSagoebze mxolod ramdenime rigiTi jariskaci datova. `Cven davmal eT jariskacebi_ ambobda T.Cofliani, rusebi movidnen, daaTvalieres saguSagoebi, dislokaciis adgili da darwmundnen, rom jari ar gvyavs, ris Sedegadac savaraudod informacia sul raRac erT saatSi Taviant Stabs miawodes.-

am informaciaze dayrdnobiT, 2002 wl is 12 april s, dil is 9 saatSa da 30 wuTze rusul ma vertmfrenebma 80 Seiararebuli rusi samxedrio zemo kodoris xeobaSi sofel aJarasTan gadmosxa. desantis wevrebma TavdacviTi saomari poziciebi maSinve daikaves. rac Seexeba `mi- 24- da `mi- 8-, tipis samxedro vertmfrenebs, kodoris xeobaSi 12 reisi gaakeTes da desantis dislokaciis adgil ze didZali sabrZolo masal a_ 2000 kaciანი desantisaTvis samyofi tyviawamal i Seitanes. rogorc SemdgomSi gairkva, rus medesantees xel T qondaT biologiuri da radiaciuli saxisi araRi, generatorebi, xerxebi, xuT tonamde sawwavi, 1000- ze meti uaxlesi tipis avtomati. es faqti imaze metyvel ebs, rom batalion `monadires- meTaurebis el viseburi reagireba rom ara, `samSvidobobis- sardli obis mxridan, rusuli desantis ramdenime dReSi safexurebrivi zrda_ 1000 kacamde iyo navaraudebi.

Cems mier motanili masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, rusuli desanti maRal doneze iyo Seiararebuli da aRWurvil obac xangrZiliv brZolaze hqondaT gaTvilili. momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebit, sagangebo saqmeTa ministrma mal xaz kakabaZem Tavisi poziciis dafiqsirebis paral el urad, rusuli desantis zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadmosxmis ZiriTad mizezad Semdegi argumentebi daasaxela: 1)rusebma garkveul i eqsperimenti Caatares_ qarTuli mxare momxdar faqts Seegueboda Tu umkacres reagirebas maSinve moaxdenda. wayruebis SemTxvevaSi imis maRali al baToba arsebobda, rom desantis ricxobrivi raodenoba maqsimal urad gazrdil iyo; 2)ruse-

bis amocanas, zemo kodoris xeobaSi qarTvel Ta Zal is gamov-
 lineba da maTi SesaZl ebl obebis warmocena warmoadgenda;
 3)rusebs surda, saerTaSoriso arenaze saqarTvel os xel isu-
 fl eba aRebul i val debul ebebis _kodoris xeobidan jaris
 gamoyvanis- Seusrul ebl obaSi emxil ebina. mi Tumetes, 2002 wl is
 17 ianvris Wuburxinj is SeTanxmebis oqmi_ kodoridan jaris
 gayvanas iTval iswinebda. am SemTxvevaSi, rusebi provokaciaze
 midiodnen im Tval sazrisiT, rom Wuberis uRel texil is gavl -
 iT, kodoridan jaris gamoyvana april is TveSiac SeuZl ebe-
 li iyo. maT kargad icodnen, rom Tovl isgan uRel texil is
 Caketvis gamo, am gziT gadasvl a mxol od Txil amurebiT iyo
 SesaZl ebel i. aqedan gamomdinare, dRis wesrigSi meoTxe saki-
 Txi dgeboda; 4)rusebis mizani_ srol is provocireba. Tuki
 es moxdeboda, afxazeTSi ganl agebul i rusul divizias xel -
 flexi gaexsneboda da aqtiuri moqmedebis SesaZl ebl oba miece-
 moda. aseTi operaciis dasawyebad gudauTis baza sagangebod
 iyo momzadebul i. es garemoeba unda hqonoda mxedvel obaSi
 el guj a meZmariaSvil s, roca oficial urad ganacxada: `gan-
 viTarebul i movl enebi es aris Semogdebul i naRmi saqarTv-
 el oze zemoqmedebisaTvis da erTobl ivi Zal isxmeviT da saer-
 TaSoriso institutebis meSveobiT yovel i Rone unda vixma-
 roT, rom es naRmi ar afeTqdes.- erTi ram cxadia, saerTa-
 Soriso organizaciebze dayrdnoba im etapze pol itikur
 sibriyves warmoadgenda, radgan sanam isini `gamofxizl de-
 bodnen- da val ismoxdis mi zniT raime saxis `aRmaSfoTebel ~
 gancxadebas gaakeTebden, rusebs Cafiqrebul i sawadel i
 Sesrul ebul i eqneboda. pol itikuri situacia arsebul i
 probl emis saRi gonebiT Sefasebas da pragmatul i xasia-
 Tis gadawyvetil ebis miRebas saWiroebda. am Tval sazrisiT
 Tuki mi vudgebiT sakiTxs, e.SevardnaZis pozicia _Tavdacvis
 ministris d.TevzaZisaTvis Tavisufal i moqmedebis micemis
 Sesaxeb, savsebiT gamarTI ebul i iyo. Tavdacvis ministris
 aseTi ufl ebebiT aRWurvam, mas gabedul i moqmedebis Sesa-
 Zl ebl oba mi sca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mobil izaciis gamocx-
 adeba da rusul i desantis xel mZRvanel obisadmi ul tima-
 tumis wayeneba_ Tu saRamonde xeobi dan ar gavi dodnen, maT

yovel moqmedebas qarTul i mxare cecxli iT upasuxebda. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mi xedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, d.TevzaZis moTxovnis Sesrul eba rusul i desantis wevrebs ar SeeZl oT erTi garemoebis gamo_ isini zemo kodoris xeobis batal ion `monadires- wevrebis mier al yaSi iyvnen moqceul ni. maTi nebismeri amoZraveba desantis srul i ganadgurebiT damTavrdeboda. aRni Snul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `j orj ian Taimsis- korespondentebi nyifSiZe da i.korZaia werdnen: `rusebi gamouval mdgomareobaSi Cavardnen. emzar kvicianisa da `monadires- wyal obiT, isini al yaSi iyvnen. im dros mTel ma msofliom naxa, Tu rogor surdaT rusebs afxaz separatistebTan erTad kodoris xeobis mitaceba... msoflios wamyvani arxebi ki iuwyebodnen, rom saqarTvel los xel isufli ebam xeobis agresorebisgan dacva SeZl o da es yvel aze metad `monadires-, maT Soris emzar kvicianisa da zurab gerlianis damsaxurebac iyo.- miTumetes, am adamianta Zal isxmevit, zemo kodoris xeobis srul i mobilizacia operatiul ad ganxorciel da. es imas niSnavda, rom kodoris xeobis yvel a mcxovrebi, visac iaraRis tareba SeeZl o, mamapapeul i miwis damcvel TarigebSi Camdgariyo. konkretul ad Tu ra Zal asTan gveqneboda saqme, amis Sesaxeb genwviss razmis asmeTauri daviT arRvliani `j orj ian Taimsis- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi ambobda: `aq aTasze meti svani meomari SevikribebiT. me mgoni es Zal a sakmarisi unda iyos. Cven yvel a mzad varT wavideT da viomoT afxazetis dasabrunebi ad.- am aTaskaciani Seiararebul i Zal is zemo kodoris xeobaSi Sekreba saTnaxevris ganmavl obaSi gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i. es imas niSnavs, rom kodorel ebs xeobis dacvis organizaciul i sistema maRal doneze qonda mowyobil i.

aRni Snul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi im periodis masal ebis mi xedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, mdgomareoba zemo kodorSi imdenad daZabul i iyo, rom mcireodeni provokaciac sakmarisi aRmoCndeboda mxareebis Soris sisxl isRvris dasawyebad. am umZimes situaciaSi e.SevardnaZem swori gadawyvetil eba mi iRo, roca 12 april s, dRis 4 saatze kodorSi gafrena gadawyvita da `esenges- samSvidobo operaciis dasrul ebis aucil -

ebl obis Sesaxeb gancxadeba gaakeTa. im periodis presis fu-
 rcl ebze gamoqveynebul i informaciis Tanaxmad, kodorSi
 Casul i e.SevardnaZe da mTavrobis wevrebis ganrisxebul i kod-
 orel ebis pirispir aRmoCndnen. arsebul i mdgomareobis gan-
 uxtvisa da moarul i Worebis gafantvis mizniT, e.SevardnaZe
 iZul ebul i gaxda rusi samSvidoboebis sardl obas mkacri
 toniT dal aparakeboda. qveynis pirvel i piris radikal urma
 poziciam da ruseTis samSvidobo Zal ebis konfl iqtis zoni dan
 gayvanis muqaram, rusi samSvidoboebis warmomadgenl ebi iZu-
 l ebul i gaxada ukan daexia. `samwuxaroa rom moxda gaugeb-
 roba, yvel a Rones vixmarT imisaTvis_ ganacxada samSvi do-
 boebis sardal ma,_ rom incidenti dauyovnebl iv aRmoifx-
 vras da umokl es vadaSi Sevasrul oT saqarTvel os prezide-
 ntis brZaneba.-⁹ aseTi gancxadebis miuxedavad, iqve dasZina,
 rom mas hyavs ufrosoba da amis Sesaxeb unda dael aparakos
 Tavdacvis ministrs. es imas niSnavs, rom zemo kodoris rusul i
 operacia ruseTis Tavdacvis saministros mier iyo dagegmi-
 l i da zemo kodoris xeobis datoveba- ardatovebis sakiTxi
 moskovs unda gadaewyvita. dokumenturi masal iT dasturde-
 ba, rom e.SevardnaZisadmi micemul i pirobis miuxedavad, ruse-
 bi zemo kodoris datovebas maqsimal urad aWianurebdnen. amas
 TviT e.SevardnaZec adasturebda parl amentis 13 april is sxdo-
 maze gakeTebul i gancxadebiT. `am dil iT ruseTis samSvi do-
 bo Zal ebis nawil ebis gasasvl el ad dawyebul i moZraoba mogvi-
 anebiT SeCerda. iZul ebul i gavxdi_ ambobda igi,_ kodoris
 xeobaSi gamegzavna saxel mwifo ministri avTandil j orbenaZe
 da ramdenime deputati, raTa gagverkvia ra xdeba iq. informa-
 cia aseTia: gasasvl el ad moZraoba dawyebul ia, magram j er-
 j erobiT ver vadastureb, sabol ood rod is gaiwmi ndeba iqaur-
 oba.-¹⁰ rusebis es moqmedeba zemo kodorel Ta nervebze Tama-
 Sis formas iRebda da mdgomareobas ki dev ufro amZimebda.
 amitom, zemoaRniSnul i gadawyvetil eba_ saxel mwifo minis-
 tris xeobaSi gagzavna, aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am qmedeb-
 iT, batal ion `monadires- wevrTa nervebis mosaTokavad da
 rusebis mier momzadebul axal gauTvl el provokaciaze
 arwamoebisgan dazRvevis SesaZI ebl oba iqmneboda.

batalion`monadires- meTaurTa simtkicem da Seupovrobam, al yaSi moqceul i rusi desantnikebis sicocxl e kiTxviTi niSnis qveS daayena. Seqmnil ma umZimesma si tuaciam da rusi `medesante samSvidoboebis- srul ad ganadgurebis didma al baTobam, rusi general i iZul ebul i gaxada ukan daexia da `desantnikebis- zemo kodori dan gayvanis brZaneba gae- ca. marTal ia, desantis didma nawil ma 13 april s gvian RamiT disl okaciis adgil i datova, magram, darCa 50 rusi jariskaci, roml ebmac gasvl a ver moaswres. ramdenadac maTi Caxocvis al baToba didi iyo, mosal odnel i ubedurebis acil ebis mizniT ramdenime kodorel ma svanma, rus jariskacebTan banakSi Rame gaaTia. marTal ia, darCenil i rusi desantni- kebis ganadgurebaze svanebma im etapze uari ganacxades, magram fici dades, rom `rusebi Tu kvl av moawyobdnen anal ogiur operacias, arcerT rus medesantes xeobidan cocxal sar gauSvebdnen. metic, rodesac desantis meTau- rTan... emzar kvicians qonda Sexvedra, adgil obrivebis TqmiT, kvicianma... rus oficrebs uSveri si tyvebiT mi marTa da Tu svanebs davuj erebT, kargadac moi qca.~ mi Tumetes, im rus oficrebs Soris kvicianma kodoris xeobaSi wina dReebSi amosul i mzveravebi Seicno.

im etapze presis furcl ebiT gavrcel ebul i oficial - uri informaciis Tanaxmad, zemo kodoris xeobaSi_ disl - okaciis adgize, rusul ma desantma radiaciul i gamosxive- bis xel sawyoebi da biol ogiuri i araRisTvis gankuTvni- l i narCenebi datova. am SemTxvevaSi, rusma `mSvidobis myo- fel ebma- samarTI ebrivi Tval sazrisiT ormagi danaSau- l i Caidines: 1)zemo kodoris xeobis dal aSqvrisa da xel - Si Cagdebis mcdel oba; 2)zemo kodoris xeobis mosaxl eob- is jarimTel obis ganadgurebisa da misi amowyvetis mizniT, xeobaSi biol ogiuri da radiaciul i araRis Setana. saerT- aSoriso konvenciebis Tanaxmad, aseTi saxis i araRiT sargeb- l oba `samSvidoboebis- ekrZal ebaT. orive SemTxvevaSi saer- TaSoriso samarTI is normebi iqna darRveul i. aseT faqte- bze gaero da evropis saerTaSoriso organizaciebi ruse- Tis arwyeninebis mizniT nakl eb reagirebas akeTebdnen.

rac Seexeba kodoridan gasul rusul desants, Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebiT irkveva, rom igi kodorTan axl os dabanakda da misi sardl oba muqaranarevi tonis gancxadebebs akeTebda. `Tu saqarTvel o or kviraSi kodoridan j ars ar gaiyvans, kodoris siaxl oves afxazeTis regul arul i armia Camwkrivdebao.- am SemTxvevaSi rusebisaTvis afxazeTis jari safarvel niRabs warmoadgenda da maTgan SurisZiebase damyarebul i agresia gamoricxul i ar iyo. aqedan gamomdinare, zemo kodoris xeobis mosaxl eoba rusul i agresiiisagan Tavdasacavad safuZvl ianad emzadeboda. imavdroul ad gamkacrebul i formiT xeobis patrul irebasac eweoda. aRniSnul sak iTxTan dakavSirebiT `j orjian Taimsis- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi daviT arRvl ianma ganacxada: `patruli irebas exl a gaaTmagebul i Zal iT ganvagrZobT. es Cveni iniciativaa. yovel xuT dReSi sofl ebidan modis aTi kaci da dgas sofel Cxal Tas iqeT, raTa afxazebis mxridan vinme ar Semovides da raRac diversiebi ar moawyon. Cven maTTan gvaqvs kontaqti da Tu raime moxda, isini operatiul ad gvacnobeben da daiwyeba gangaSi. mTavaria sahaero Tavdasxmebi ar daiwyo da nebismier doneze momzadebul i desants gavumkl avdebiT. Cven didi upiratesoba gvaqvs, ucxoze ufro metad viciT aqauri adgil ebi, mTebi, gzebi da isic Tu saidan rodis dava-rtyaT mters.-¹¹

am amonaweridan kargad Cans kodorel i svanebis sabrZol o SemarTeba da TiToeul i goji miwis dacvisaTvis Tavdadeba. maT mxol od mowinaaRmdegis mxridan mosal odnel i sahaero Tavdasxmebis SiSi hqondaT. igi ori ZiriTadi faqtoriT iyo ganpirobebul i: 1)radiol okaciuri aparatis arqona. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, sahaero Zal ebis sardal i val eri nayofia acxadebda: `kodoris xeobaSi... Cven verafers vizamT. afxazeTis cas foTisa da kopitnaris radiol okaciuri saSual ebebidan uTval Tval eben... araferia gasakviri, Tu sahaero Tavdacvis l okatorebma veraferi SeniSnes. saamisod ramde-nime faqtori arsebobs: isini Tavis droze rusebma gaZarcves da Tanac sakmaod moZvel ebul ia. garda amisa, el eqtromagnituri tal Rebi mTebis gadaRma ver arWevs da amitom radiol okaci-

uri saSual ebebi mTian adgil ebs cudad akontrol ebs. kodoris xeoba ki daaxl oebiT 3 aTasi kil ometris simaRI ezea. dabombvisas aviacia rogorc wesi xeobaSi dabal simaRI eze dafrinavs. amis gamo Sveul mfrenebis aRmoCena ukiduresad rTul deba, maSin roca TviTmfrinavebis danaxvis Sansi mxol od mTebis mwverval ebze gadafrenisas aris.- 2)safreni aparatis Camosagdebi saSual ebebis srul yofil i saxiT arqona. Semdgom etapze es xarvezi uaxl esi sazenito danadgarebiT `strel as- kompl eqsiT Seivso.

zemoaRniSnul i faqtebi imis dadasturebaa, rom radiol kaciuiri aparaturis uvargisobidan gamomdinare, zemo kodoris xeobis sahaero sivrcis gakontrol eba da mosal odnel i saf-rTxis Sesaxeb kodorel Ta droul i gafrTxil eba Tavdacvis saministros ar SeeZl o. es udidesi xarvezi TiToeul i kodorel is gansakuTrebul i simamaciT unda Sevsebul iyo. swored am Tavdadebam da SemarTebam ixсна zemo kodoris xeoba 2002 wl is april Si rusebis okupaciisagan da iq samudamod damkvidrebisagan. rac Seexeba momxdar faqtTan mimarTebaSi qveyinis sakanonmdebl o organos damokidebul ebas, mis mier miRebul i nebismieri dadgenil eba da mimarTva mxol od pol itikur da ideol ogiur datvirTvas izenda. sanam saerTaSoriso organizaciebi raike saxis pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebis Sesaxeb SeTanxmdebodnen, rusebi kodorSi safuZvl ianad `Casaxl debodnen- da iqedan maTi gamoyvana veranairi samarTI ebrivi aqtebis moSvel ioebiTa da xmamaRal i gancxadebebiT ver ganxorciel deboda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom imdroindel i saqarTvel os parl amenti `pol itikur sal aybos- warmo- adgenda da pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis droul ad miRebaSi sakmaod moikoWl ebda. amis SesaniSnav dadasturebas imave parl amentis 2002 wl is 12 april is sagangebo sxdoma warmo- adgens. marTal ia, igi parl amentarTa emociebiT iyo datvirTul i, magram konkretul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi_ rusi `samSvidoboebis- mxridan zemo kodorSi desantis gadasxmis pol itikuri da samarTI ebrivi Sefasebis sakiTxSi i.kril ovis igavarakis_ `gedi, qariyl apia da kibo- gmirebis msgavsad sxvadasxva mimarTul ebiT `uberavdnen-. amis damadasturebl ad

parl amentarTa gamosvl idan ramdenime faqts movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, Seqmnil pol itikur situaciasTan mimarTebaSi, Tu ramdenad adeqvaturi iyo TiToeul i maTgani gancxadebebi. v.rCeul iSvil is `mtkicebiT-, ramdenadac ruseTi `Cveni mezobel i da megobari qveyanaa- masTan mimarTebaSi radikal uri gancxadebebis gakeTebisagan parl aments Tavi unda Seekavebina. anal ogiur pozicias icavda fraqcia `aRorZinebis- deputatebic. rogorc Cans, arcerT maTgans gacnobierebul i ar qonda, Tu ra moxda zemo kodoris xeobaSi da am xeobis dakargvis ra real uri safrTxeebi arsebobda. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, parl amentis vice-spikeri g.wereTel i iZul ebul i gaxda orTavesTvis Seexsenebina, sakanonmdebl o organo im etapze ra konkretul i amocanis winaSe idga. imave sxdomis stenografiul i angariSidan irkveva, rom `aRorZinebis- deputatebs damaj erebel i pasuxi z.Jvaniam gasca da ZiriTadad xel isufl ebis pozicias dauWira mxari. SedarebiT ufro radikal uri iyo k.daviTaSvil is gancxadeba. misi mtkicebiT, saerTaSoriso xel Sekrul ebis Sesaxeb, parl aments kanonSi cvl il ebebi dauyovnebl iv unda Seetana da dRis wesrigSi ruseTTan dadebul i xel Sekrul ebis denonsireba moexdina. rac Seexeba ir.baTiaSvil s, `afxazeTidan rusi samSvidoboebis gayvanis- Sesaxeb parl amentis mier adre miRebul i dadgenil ebis amoqmedeba moiTxova. miuxedavad imisa, rom deputatTa didi nawil i radikal uri gancxadebebiT gamoirCeoda, gadamwyvet momentSi parl amentis sagareo urTierTobaTa komitetis mier SemuSavebul i dokumentis proeqts dauWira mxari. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 2002 wl is 12 april is mimarTva gaeros, euTos, evrosabWos, evroparl amentsa da dsT_ sadmi. momaqvs am dokumentis srul i teqsti. `dRes, 2002 wl is 12 april s, ruseTma daiwyo samxedro operacia saqarTvel os teritoriaze. mimdinareobs samxedro Zal isa da teqnkis Semoyvana kodoris xeobaSi, rac qveynis suverenitetis xel yofa da saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg mimarTul i aSkara agresiaa. es xdeba mas Semdeg, rac saqarTvel om saerTaSoriso organizaciebis rekomendaciis safuZvel ze saj ariso formirebebis kodoris xeobidan gamoyvana daiwyo

da xel Sekrul ebis yvel a piroba im imediT daicva, rom uSiS-roebis garanti saerTaSoriso organizaciebi iqnebodnen.

saqarTvel os parl amenti aRniSnavs, rom saqarTvel o yvel a Rones xmarobs sakuTari damoukidebl obisa da suverenite-tis dasacavad, kategoriul ad moiTxovs, rom ruseTma samxedro SenaerTebi dauyovnebl iv gaiyvanos kodoris xeobidan da mi-marTavs msofl io gaerTianebas, gamoiyenos mis xel T arsebul i yvel a saSual eba ruseTis agresiiis aRsakveTad.- **marTa- l ia, aRniSnul i mimarTvis teqsti samarTI ebrivi da pol i- tikuri normebis Tval sazrisiT gamarTul i iyo da saer- TaSoriso organizaciebs nakisr val debul ebebsac Seax- senebda, magram, zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i operaci iT rusebs rom warmateba moepovebina, zemoT CamoTv- l il i organizaciebis `ganrixebaSezavebul i- gancxade- bebi mxol od faratina qaral dis funqcias Seasrul ebda da zemo kodoridan rusebs fexs veravin moacvl evinebda. qarTvel ebma erTxel da samudamod unda viswavl oT, rom saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis sakiTxs, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mxridan gakeTebul i gancxadebebi ki ar wyvets, aramed, igi qveynis xel isufli ebis droul da gonivrul moqmedebazea damokidebul i.**

mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT minda ganvacxado, rom batal - ion `monadires- sardl obis sazriani da misi wevrebis meomrul i SemarTeba rom ara, parl amentis Tavmj domares n.burj anaZes, rusebTan mimarTebaSi SeteviTi da muqarana- revi gancxadebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl oba namdvil ad ar mi ecemoda. `vimedovneb_ ambobda igi, _ rom sabol ood mox- erxdeba situaciis garkveva da mSvidobiani gziT gavl en is jariskacebi, roml ebic kodoris xeobaSi aRmoCndnen. Cven araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar davuSvebT, rom is nawil ebi, roml - ebic dRes kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis dau- kiTxavad Sevidnen, ise mimodiodnen, rogorc Tavis sakuTar teritoriaze.- imave n.burj anaZem, parl amentis saxel iT kat- egoriul ad moiTxova yvel a rusi samxedro nawil isa da vertm- frenis kodoridan dauyovnebl iv gayvana. misi gancxadebis am paToss parl amentis deputatebic daeTanxma. am SemTxvevaSi,

საქართველოს პარლამენტი გამარჯვებული და `wel სიგარტული- პოზიციიდან უყენებდა პრეტენზიას ოკუპანტ სახელმწიფოსა და უმაჟნის მდგომარეობასი მყოფ საერთაშორისო ორგანიზაციებს.

რაც შეეხება საქართველოს პარლამენტის ზემოაღნიშნული მიმართვისადმი გამოხმაურებას, მხოლოდ გაერომ მოახდინა რეაგირება. ისიც, საქართველოს წარმომადგენელის პეტრე ცხეიჯის და საქართველოს დელეგაციის დაქვინებულ მოტხოვნის შემდეგ. იმ პერიოდის სამთავრობო პრესის ფურცლებზე ამ საკითხთან მიმართებაში გამოკვეთებულ ინფორმაციას მასალებში შეხედვით, გაეროს უსივრცის საბჭოს დახურული სხდომა 12 აპრილს გაიმართა. კოდორის მოვლენების შესახებ ინფორმაცია გაეროს გენერალური მდივნის თანაშემწემ ხედი ანაბიმ გააკეთა. მან `სამსვიდობო- ჯალბის მხრიდან შეთანხმების უხეშ დარღვევაზე გაამახვილა ყურადღება და რუსი სამხედრო სენატების კოდორიდან დაუყოვნებლივ გაყვანა მოითხოვა. გაეროს უსივრცის საბჭოს 12 აპრილის საგანგებო სხდომა, რამდენადაც კოდორის ხეობასთან დაკავშირებით შესაბამისი დადგენილება ოფიციალური განცხადება არ გაუკეთებია, ისეტი სტაბილიზაცია იკმნება, რომ ხედი ანაბიმ, ზემოაღნიშნული პოზიცია მხოლოდ მოვალეობის მოხდის მიზნით დააფიქსირა. მიტუმრების, მან კარგად იცოდა, რომ ალყასი მოკეულ რუსულ დესანტს კოდორის ხეობაში დროულად ტუკი არ დატოვებდა, გარდუღალი განადგურება ემუკრებოდა. იმავ სხდომაზე გადაწყდა, რომ გაეროს სამსვიდობო ოპერაციების დეპარტამენტის დირექტორი ჯან- მარი გინო, 14 აპრილს (კვირას) კონსულტაციებისათვის მოსკოვში გაემგზავრებოდა, ხოლო 18 აპრილს ტბილისს ეწვეოდა. რამდენადაც გაეროს უსივრცის საბჭოს სხდომის საკმანობა მხოლოდ ჯიდაკუღალი უარული განცხადებებით ამოივურა, ეს ფაქტი, გამაფრთხილებელი ფორმით ცვენს უნაშეპრინციპულად სვამს კითხვას: კვეყნის ტერიტორიული მტლიანობისა და მისი სასიცოცხლო ინტერესების დაცვის საკითხის მხოლოდ გაეროსადმი მიმდობა_ არის თუ არა მიზანშეწონილი?

ზემო კოდორის ხეობის დაპატრონების მძღობის რუსული გეგმის ცავარდნის ფაქტი, იმ პერიოდის კართული პოლიტიკური სპეკ-

tris msjel obis sagnad iqca. zogierTi maTgani d.TevzaZis mier gakeTebul gancxadebas `kodorSi Citic ver Sefrindebao- aqil ikebda, radgan e.SevardnaZis droindal i mTavrobis mesveurT, xeoba bedis anabarad qondaT mitovebul i. Tbil isSi `dakosebul ma- afxazeTis umaqnisma l egitimur- ma xel isufl ebam da qarTvel ma parl amentarebma es Sesani-Snavad icodnen, magram droul ad xmas ar iRebden da arwyeninebis mdore dinebas miyvebodnen. roca zemo kodoris xeoba gansacdel is winaSe aRmoCnda da misi dakargvis real uri safrTxe Seiqmna, mxol od maSin axmaurdnen. batal - oin `monadires- wevrTa gmiroba rom ara, pol itikurad gameZavebul i afxazeTis uzenaesi sabWos da saqarTvel os parl amentis umetesobis mxridan muStis mkerdze braguni saqmes ver usvel ida. Seqmnil ma umZimesma viTarebam aiZul a isini simarTi e eRiarebina da wina pl anze is adami- nebi wamoewia, visi xel mZRvanel obiTac zemo kodoris xeoba saqarTvel os Seunarcunda. aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Tuki im periodis sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta Sexedul ebebs safuZvl ianad gavec- nobiT, davrwundebiT, rom umetesoba emzar kvicianis dam- saxurebaze miuTitebs.

zviad gamsaxurdias dacvis yofil i ufrosis robizon mar- gvel anis mtkicebiT, afxazeTSi 1989 wel s ganvitarebul i mo- vl enebis dros, `emzari Tavis biWebTan erTad aqtiurobda... igi bunebiT meomari, mebrZol i kacia. kodoris xeobas rom dRes saqarTvel os xel isufl eba akontrol ebs da iq rusebi da afxazi separatistebi dRemde ar gaaWaWanes, amaSi emzaris damsaxureba udidesia.- **yuradsaRebia is faqtic, rom e.kvicianis es damsaxureba, SemTxveviTobiT ar iyo gan- pirobebul i. bedkrul i saqarTvel os Tavze datexil i ube- durebebi gul Tan miqonda da umZimesi situaciidan gamo- saval i gzis ZebnaSi iyo.** amis damadasturebl ad gazeT `saqarTvel os republ ikis- korespondentisadmi 2002 wl is 31 dekembers e.kvicianis mier micemul i interviu gamodgeba. ramdenadac masSi, kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi e.kvicianis damokidebul eba srul yofil i formiTaa warmodgenil i, aRni-

Snul teqsts ucvl el i saxiT SevTavazeb mkiTxvel sazogad-
oebas da Tavad gansaj os, Tu ramdenad awuxebda e.kvicians
saqarTvel os da kerZod kodoris xeobis satkivari. `aravis
egonos, rom am teritoriis dacva_ ambobda e.kviciani_ mx-
ol od svanebis saqmea. afxazeTis dabrunebande dal is
(kodoris) xeobis SenarCuneba, yvel afers Tavi davaneboT,
erovnul i Tavmoyvareobis sakiTxia. Tu esec davkargeT,
maSin saerTod xma aRar amogveReba. isedac sakmarisad
damcrobil i, Sercxvenil i varT Cveni saxel ovani winapre-
bis winaSe. saqveynod l aCari eris saxel s nu davimkvi-
drebT_ dal is xeobis SesanarCunebl ad darazmul i unda
iyos mTel i saqarTvel o. es unda iyos yovel dRiuri safiqra-
l i yovel i qarTvel isa. am saqmeSi CarTul i unda iyos
yvel a mxaris gubernatori, yvel a rai onis gamgebel i, yvel a
saministro da uwyeba. xeobaSi myof gmir xal xs zrunva
sWirdeba, maT yvel a piroba unda SevuqmnaT imisa, rom momx-
dursac dauxdnen da cxovrebis pirobebic hqondeT. da-
l is xeobisken Wuberidan gza arasodes ar unda Cai ketos,
xol o Sveul mfreni regul arul ad frendes, sursaT_
sanovagiT uzrunvel yofil i unda iyos mosaxl eoba.
sazRvris am monakveTze gansakuTrebul i sifxizl e gv-
marTebS, Torem ra garantia gvaqvs, didTovl obis dros
afxazur_ rusul i `edel vaisi- ar dagvesxas Tavs da ube-
dureba ar datrial des.~ Tuki aRniSnul teqsts safuZv-
l ian anal izs gavukeTebT, nebismieri saRad moazrovne adami-
ani masSi sam ZiriTad faqtors gamoyofs: 1)afxazeTis dab-
runebaSi kodoris xeobis strategiul i mniSvnel obis sru-
l ad warmocenaze gansakuTrebul i aqcentis gakeTebas; 2)kodor-
is (dal is) xeobis mosaxl eobisadmi saqarTvel os mTavro-
bisgan da saxel isufl ebo regional uri Cinovnikebisgan yura-
dRebis gamocenas, mosaxl eobis social _ ekonomikuri mdgo-
mareobis gasaumj obesebel i RonisZiebebis gatarebas da xe-
obis infrastruqturis mowyobas; 3)samSobl osadmi, winaprebis
xsovnisadmi da gansakuTrebiT kodoris xeobisadmi e.kvicianis
uzomo siyvarul s.

Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebi srul Sesazl ebl obas ma-

ZI evs ganvacxado, rom maSindel ma xel isufli ebam pol i-
tikuri sibriye gamoiCina da xeoba isev bedisanabarad
miagdo. aseT situaciaSi xeobas Tavkaci sWirdeboda da
kodorel Ta mxardaWeris Sedegad es mZime tvirTi e.kvicianma
Tavis- Tavze aiRo. kodorel ebma SesaniSnavad icoda, rom
e.kviciani maT ar uRal atebda. misi Seupovari da mebrZo-
l i xasiaTidan gamomdinare, dal is xeobis yovel goj mi-
was, momxduri mtrisgan sisxl is fasad dai cavda. amis Sesani-
Snav dadasturebas e.kvicianisa da rusi `samSvidobo- j aris
sardl is general iakuSevis 1994 wl is 28 ivl isis Sexvedris
faqti waroadgens. rusma general ma e.kvicians 1994 wl is 14
maisis moskovis SeTanxmehis xel moweril i dokumenti aCvena
da iqve ganucxada: `Senma xel isufli ebam kapitul acia gamo-
acxada, am dokuments xel i moawera da moSordi aqaurobas.-
am faqtTan dakavSirebiT e.kvicianma general iakuSevs mkacr-
ad ganucxada: `arc Tbil iss veqvemdebarebi, arc soxums da
arc moskovs, me Cems miwa- wyal s vicav. me Tqvens xe-l Sek-
rul ebaze xel i ar momiwera da ar veTanxmehi mag xel Sek-
rul ebas.- am SemTxvevaSi e.kviciani kodorel i svanebis
saxel iT l aparakobda da okupant general s garkveiT
mi aniSnebda, rom zemo kodoris xeobis datovebas da mowi-
naaRmdegisadmi Cabarebas ar apirebda. arsebul i dokumen-
turi masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, 1992 wl idan 2006
wl amde e.SevardnaZisa da m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis
maRal CinosanTa mxridan xel moweril i SeTanxmehibisa da
xel Sekrul ebebis umetesoba, qarTvel i eris zurgsukan
garigebis da Ral atis saxes atarebs. ase iyo kodoris
xeobasTan mimarTebaSi moskovis, Wuburxinj isa da sxvaTa
SeTanxmehibi.

zemo kodorel i svanebis gansakuTrebul i principul o-
ba da Tavdadeba rom ara, e.SevardnaZe tragikul i speqtak-
l is dadgmis fonze, afxazeTis msgavsad aRni Snul xeobas
rusebsa da afxaz separatistebis Caabarebda. am sakiTxTan
dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba gazeT `axal TaobaSi- dabelWd-
il ma giorgi burjanaZis intervium miiqcia. kodoris xeobis
garSemo mimdinare procesebis anal izidan gamomdinare igi

dasZenda: `SevardnaZes arasodes ar ucdia kodoris... gadar-
Cena. piriqIT, man Caabara ruseTis marionetul rejims afx-
azeTis xel isufI ebis saxiT kodoris xeoba da xel i moaw-
era danaSaul ebriv aqtze. rom ar evajkaca im biWebs, rom-
l ebic (m.saakaSvil is xel isufI ebis mier S.v.) banditebis saxiT
arian warmodgenil i, pol itikurad kodoris xeoba Cabarebu-
l i iyo, me es karg-ad vici.-¹²

dokumenturi masal idan (SeTanxmebebi da xel Sekrul e-
bebi) dasturdeba, rom zemo kodoris xeoba e.SevardnaZes
yel Si qonda `gaCxeril i- da mis mocil ebas yovel mxriv
cdil obda. ami tom iyo, rom e.kviciani ar endoboda e.Seva-
rdnaZes. es e.SevardnaZemac kargad icoda da igi Sinaga-
nad ezizReboda. miuxedavad amisa, oficial urad misadmi
gar-kveul moridebas iCenda da daZabul obis ganmuxtvas
maqsim-al urad cdil obda. mas kargad esmoda, rom Tuki
procesebi daZabul formatSi warimarTeboda, mis moRal a-
tur da sazogadoebis mosatyuebl ad gaTamaSebul speqtak-
l ebs niRabi Camoexsneboda. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia
e.SevardnaZem SesaniSnavad gamoiyena misi personis samSob-
l osadmi Tavdadebul is rangSi warmosaCenad. am mxriv gan-
sakuTrebul yuradRebas respubl ikis studenti axal gazr-
dobis 13 april is forumze mis mier warmoTqmul i sityva
iqcevs. `guSin gauTval iswinebel i ram moxda, ramac SeaSfo-
Ta Cveni xal xi_ ganacxada e.SevardnaZem._ SeSfoTebul i viyavi
mec... Tqven iciT, kodoris mosaxl eoba urTul es pirobebSi
cxovrobs da erTgul ad emsaxureba umniSvnel ovanes saqmes_
saqarTvel os erTianobas. guSin miviRe gadawyvetil eba, rom
Cems TanamebrZol ebTan erTad gavfrenil iyavi kodoris xe-
obaSi, Sevvedrodi mosaxl eobas da meTqva, rom isini marto-
ni ar arian, rom maTTan aris saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba, misi
xel isufI eba.- dokumenturi masal iT ar dasturdeba, rom
e.SevardnaZis xel isufI eba kodorel ebs gverdSi dadgo-
moda da maTi social uri da ekonomikuri mdgomareoba
gaeumj obesebina. am SemTxvevaSi igi studentTa gul is
mosagebad `kodorel ebisadmi mxarSidgomis- tyuil ze
dafuZnebul piars eweoda.

rac Seexeba ruseTis maRal CinosanTa gancxadebebs, tyuil ze iyo agebul i da Tavis marTI ebis ususus formas Seicavda. am mxriv yuradRebas ruseTis saxel mwifo saTaTbiros deputatis boris pastuxovis gancxadeba iqcevs. marTal ia, igi ruseTis `samSvidobo- Zal ebis sardl obis mxridan daSvebul Secdomas aRiarebda, magram imavdroul ad aSkarad tyu-oda, roca ambobda rom kodoris movl enebTan dakavSirebiT saqmis kursSi ar iyo. anal ogiuri saxis tyuil i ikadra gaeros general uri mdivnis special urma warmomadgenel ma qarTul _ afxazuri konfliqtis mowesrigebaSi diter bodenma. misi `mtkicebiT- `igi winaswar ar iyo informirebul i, rom kodorsi raime aqciis ganxorciel eba igegmeboda.-

kodoris movl enebTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os winaaRmd-eg rusul presaSi saocari kampania mimdinareobda. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT gazeT `izvestiaSi- dabeWdili publikaciebi gamoirCeva. TiToeul i maTgani afxazebis interesebis gaTval- iswinebiTaa dawerili da ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi damoukidebel i demokratiul i afxazetis Seqmnis propagandazea agebul i. aRniSnuli gazetis korespodentebi am fonze axdendnen ruseTis saTaTbiros deputatebis poziciis afiSirebas. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi dimitri ragozinisa da mixeil emelianovs pozicia iqcevs. dragozinis azrit, ruseTis mimarT saqarTvel o mtrul ad iqceoda, radgan misi xel isufl eba situacias ver akontrol ebda. rac Seexeba memelianovs, misi `mtkicebiT- `saqarTvel os moqmedebas safuZvl ad gonivrul oba ki ara, emociebi udevs, swored aman migviyvana amJamindel mdgomareobamde.- saqme imaSia, rom orive deputati mxol od saqarTvel os adanaSaul ebs da erT sityvasac ar ambobs Tu ramdenad samarTI ebrivi iyo ruseTis moqmedeba afxazetSi da kerZod zemo kodororis xeobasTan mimarTebaSi. **xazgasmit unda iTqvas, rom rusi politikebis aseTi pozicia, imis dasturebaa, rom afxazeti da kodoris xeoba gaTavisebul i qondaT da ruseTis Semadgenel nawil ad miacndaT. aqedan gamomdinare, zemo kodorsi miRweul i gamarjveba, maTTvis sadResaswaul o ganwyobis Semqmnel i iqneboda. rusi poli-**

tikosebisadmi aseTi sixarul is mimniWebel i arteria, kodorel ebma droul ad da safuZvl ianad gadaWres. am saqmis xel mZRvanel i da sul isCamdgmel i ekviciani iyo. rom es asea, amas Tavis droze mestiis raionis deputati viqtor jafarizec adasturebda. `xeobaSi_ ambobda igi_ kviciani yovel Tvis avtoriteti iyo. kodori praqtikul ad kvicianma da misma biWebma SeinarCunes. SevardnaZis dros saxel m-wifom kodori miatova da xeoba Tavad kodorel ebma dai-cves.- anal ogiuri Sexedul eba gamoTqva adamiანis ufl eba-Ta damcvel ma g.l aRiZem gazeT `axal i Taobisadmi- micemul interviuSi. misi TqmiT, `kodoris xeobis mcxovrebl e-bi gmi rebi arian. maT Tavis droze kodoris xeoba Seinar-Cunes da dai-cves separatistebisagan.-

qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ politikuri azris mesveurTa umravl esobas, kargad hqonda gacnobierebul i kodoris xeobis, afxazeTSi am strategiul i monakvetis SesanarCu-nebl ad ekvicianis xel mZRvanel obiT Catarebul i Tavdacviti brZol ebis mniSvel oba. aqedan gamomdinare, m.saaka-Svil is xel isufl ebas, ekvicianisa da kodorel Ta damsaxurebas Seaxsenebdnen. am mxriv Cemi yuradReba mareSiZis mier gazeT `xval indel i dRes- korespondentisadmi micemul ma intervium miqcia. `kviciani- ambobda mareSiZe- aris adamiანი, romel mac samSobl os mimarT Tavisi moqal aqeobrivi da patriotul i val i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi Seasrul a da im biWebma xom miT umetes, vinc misi TanamebrZol ebi arian.- isic angariSgasawevia, rom 2002 wl is movl enebis Semdeg, rusi `samSvidoboebi- iZul ebul i gaxdnen aJa-raSi arsebul i saguSago moexsnaT da l aTaSi gadaetanaT. momxdari faqtiT, kodoris xeobaSi rusebis kontrol s daqvemdebarebul i zona safuZvl ianad Semcirda. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom aRniSnul i marcxis sakompensaci od, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal i rangis saxel mwifo moxel eebTan garigebiT, ruseT- saqarTvel os sasazRvro zol i, rusebma 25 kil ometriT gadmoswies da maruxis uRel texilis dapaTronebas Seecadnen. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespondent ani mirotazi sa-

dmi micemul interviuSi (2009 wl is 24 marti) emzar kviciani xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `2002 wl is agvistos dasawyisSi, roca isev xel isufli ebis maRal CinosnebTan SeTanxmebiT, maruxis uRel texil Tan daaxl oebiT 25- 30 kil ometris teritoriis daTmoba moxda, me da Cemma xal xma, Tavdacvis saminstros warmomadgenl ebTan erTad 2002 wl is 13 agvistos gavanTavisufli eT da aRvadgineT kontrol i mTel teritoriaze.~ es da sxva faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa, rom zemo kodoris xeobis batalioni `monadire,~ saqarTvel o _ruseTis sazRvris dacvis myar garants warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, am perimetrze or umTavres sauRel texil o (maruxi, ql uxori) gadmosasvl el ebTan erTad, kodoris xeobaSi l aTas zemoTa nawil s, Cxal Tas qedsa da mdinare Cxal Tas xeobas srul ad akontrol ebda. es imas niSnavs, rom saqarTvel os xel isufli eba, kavkasionis qedis samxreTis mTiswineTis udides strategiul monakveTze myarad iyo fexmokidebul i. igi faqtobrivad mTel afxazeTs akontrol ebda. imavdroul ad, dasaZravad SemarTul i aisbergiviT, afxazeTis zRvispireTsa da soxums zemodan mrisxaned dahyurebda. yovel ive amas afxazebi itandnen ara kodorel Ta siyarul iT, aramed SiSis gamo. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT giorgi burjanaZe dasZenda: `kvicians da afxazebS Tavdausxmeli obis `paqti~ unda qonoda dadebul i kacuri urTierTobidan gamomdinare.. afxazebS sakmaod eSiniaT am daj gufebis. darwmunebul i var, kviciani rom afxazebma Caigdon xel Si, mas Zal ian seriozul i probl emebi Seeqmneba afxazebisgan.~

yuradReba unda mi vaqci oT im garemoebas, rom kodoris xeobis SesanarCunebl ad gaweul i Tavdauzogavi Sroma da brZol la, msaakaSvil is xel isufli ebis mesveurT da maT mier 30 vercxl ad daqiravebul i Jurnal istebis (presa, radio, tel evizia) did nawil s_ arafraad miaCnda. isini erT dadebiT sityvasac ver imetebdnen e.kvicianisa da misi TanamebrZol ebis damsaxurebis warmosaCenad. anal ogiuri mdgomareoba iyo pol itikur partiebSi ac. maTi l iderebis didi nawil i xel isufli ebis garkveul i uwyebebisgan iyo mosyidul i. wi naaRmdeg

SemTxvevaSi warmoudgenel ia, pol itikosis pretenzia gagaCn-
des da Sav- TeTris garCeVa ar SegeZl os. am fonze, sazoga-
doebis mxridan gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis centrSi im pol-
itikuri partiebis l iderebi moeqcnen, roml ebic xel isu-
fl ebis dakrul ze ar acekvdnen, saRi gonebiT Seafases is
umZimesi pol itikuri procesebi, romel ic zemo kodoris gmirma
mosaxl eobam 13 wl is manZil ze gadaitana. am mxriv Tavisi
radikal izmiT S.naTel aSvil is gancxadebebi gamoirCeva. **mi si
samarTI iani mtkicebiT, kodoris mosaxl eobam SeuZl ebe-
l i gaakeTa da `SeunarCuna saqarTvel os strategiul i
pl acdarmi afxazeTSi. dai kaves afxazeTis gul i sakuTari
xarj iT, sakuTari sicocxl iT, amtanobiT da dRes es uka-
nasknel i Suqura saakaSvil is avadmyofuri moqmedebis ms-
xverpl i gaxda... saakaSvil ma fexebze dai kida eg mxare.
Cvengan warTmeul i TanxebiT mTel i msofl io moiara da
erTxel iq ar ineba CabrZaneba. erTi mosaferebel i sityva
ar uTxra da erTi madl oba ar gamoucxada.~ e.kvicianisa
da saerTod kodorel ebisadmi am umadurobis ZiriTadi
ganmapirobebel i mizezi im gadagvarebul qarTvel ebSi
unda veZioT, roml ebic ful is SovniT daxarbebul ni, bed-
krul i saqarTvel os gadarCenaze arcki fiqrobdnen. yo-
fil saxel mwifo ministrs g.xaindravas Tuki davuj erebT, am
antiqarTvel Ta `kutokis- mSvenebas **giga bokeria, givi Tar-
gamaZe, ivane merabiSvil i da iraki oqruaSvil i** warmoad-
gendnen. `es kutoki- ganacxada g.xaindravam_ iciT vis dau-
pirispirda dRes? im adamianebs, roml ebic kodoris xeobas
wl ebis ganmavl obaSi icavda afxazebsgan.⁻¹³ **eseni iyvnen: emzar
kviciani, zurab gerl iani, Tamaz devdariani, romar margve-
l iani, merab devdariani, Temur Cofl iani, paata devdariani,
daviT arRvl iani, Tengiz korZaia.** es is adamianebia, rom-
l ebic kodoris xeobis mkvidrTa bazaze Seqmnil razmebs me-
Taurobdnen, afxaz separatistebsa da rus okupantebs SiSis
zarsscemdnen da xeobaSi ar aWaWanebdnen.**

amrigad, naSromSi motanil i masal is anal izi Semdegi
daskvnebis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva: 1) dokumenturi
masal iT dasturdeba, rom gaero da sxva saerTaSoriso

organizaciebi, qarTul _ afxazuri konfl iqtis saqarTvel os sasargebl od mowesrigebiT ar iyvnen daiinteresebul ni. maTi zewol iT xel moweril i SeTanxmebebi (1994 wl is 4 april i, 14 maisi, 2002 wl is 17 ianvari), ruseTis samomavl o gegmis interesebSi j deboda da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis saziانو debul ebebs Seicavda. 2)m.saaka-Svil is oficial uri gancxadebis mixedviT, gaeros general ur mdivansa da putins Soris dadebul i saiduml o Se-Tanxmeba, konfl iqturi regionebl saqarTvel odan Camocil ebas iTval iswinebda. am mavnebl uri Canafiqris siswores, saqarTvel oSi gaeros warmomadgenel is diter bode-nis mier ruseTis sasargebl od gaweul i praqtikul i saqmi-anobac adasturebs; 3)zemo kodoris xeobis damcav meqani zms, kodorel i axal gazrdebisgan 1992 wel s Seqmnil i `Seficul Ta razmi- da mis bazaze 1993 wl idan oficial uri st-atusiT `monadires- saxel wodebiT arsebul i 350 kaciani batal ionis warmoadgenda. dokumenturi masal iT dadas-turebul ia, rom 1999_ 2004 wl ebSi mis Seiararebas qvey-nis Tavdacvis uwyeba axdenda. zemo kodoris xeobis xel Si Cagdeb-is afxazur- rusul i marcxil, batal ion `monadires- maRal i brZol isunarianobiT iyo ganpirobepul i. (mxed-vel obaSi maqvs: 1993 wl is 2 _4 oqtombers rusul _ afxa-zuri samxedro SenaerTebis Tavdasxma zemo kodorze, imave wl is 23 noembers bagramianis batal ionis Tavdasxma omar-i Sarasa da sakenis mosaxl eobaze. 1994 wl is martsa da maisSi rusul _ afxazuri samxedro SenaerTebis Tavdasxma zemo kodoris xeobaze, 2001 wl is 9 oqtombers rusebis mier zemo kodoris xeobis dabombva, 2002 wl is april Si rusul i desantis gadmosxma sofel aJaraSi...). e.kvicianis sardl obiT batal ion `monadires- simtkicem da maRal ma brZo-l isunarianobam gadaurCina maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi, zemo kodoris da Cxal Tas xeobebl saqarTve- l os. Cvens qveyanas afxazeTis dasabrunebel i strategiul i pl acdarmi da regionSi statuskvo Seunarcuna.

Tavi II

batal ion `monadires- gauqmeba, kodoris samxedro operacia da qarTul i pol itikuri azri

`vardebis revol uciis- Sedegad xel isufli ebaSi fsevdo reformatorebis wamosasxamiT mosul i axal gazrdebis j gufis erT- erT gadaudebel amocanas, zemo kodoris xeobis damcvel i batal ionis `monadires- da misi xel mZRvanel is mocil eba warmoadgenda. am danaSaul ebrivi saqmis gakeTeba maSindel ma Tavdacvis ministrma irakl i oqruaSvil ma aiRo Tavis Tavze. batal ion `monadires- ganiaraRebis motiviT, 2005 wl is april is brZanebiT, batal ion gauqmebul ad gamoacxada. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Jurnal istebTan Sexvedrisas igi xazgasmiT ambobda: `me am gadawyvetil ebas ver Semacvl evineben. Tu am xal xs unda jarSi imsaxuros, maSin gaanebos Tavi iq pl anis wevas da kubdaris Wamas 24 saaTi, imsaxuros jarSi Cveul ebrivad da ki batono.- WeSmariti qarTul i sisxl is mqone da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgeniT dainteresebul i nebismieri Tavdacvis ministri, aseTi saxis damamcirebel gancxadebas namdvil ad ar gaakeTebda. i.oqruaSvil is (voskaniani) es `naazrevi-, zemo kodorel i svanebis udi des Seuracyofas da xeobis SenarCunebi saTvis gaweul i damsaxurebis sanagve yuTSi mosrol as warmoadgenda. ki dev ufro meti cinizmiTa da tyuil iT gamoirCeoda genStabis ufrosis l evan nikol eiSvil is gancxadeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs presisadmi micemul i interviu, sadac batal ion `monadires- daSl is gadawyvetil ebas uaryofda da misi wevrebis gadamzadebaze akeTebda apel irebas. `araviTar daSl aze saubari ar aris, es batal ion i funcionirebs. ubral od StatSi Seva cvl il ebebi. amis garda Cven gvaqvs ganzraxul i, rom maT iseve mouwioT gadamzadebis gavl a, rogorc danarCen qvedanayofebs.- arsebul i monacemebis mixedviT, l .nikol eiSvil is dapireba_ batal ionis wevrTa gadamzadebis Sesaxeb tyuil i aRmoCnda. **isic cnobil ia, rom `monadires- arseboba, maSindel i Sinagan saqmeTa ministris iv-**

ane merabi Svili stvisac (merabovi) miuRebeli iyo. m.saakaSvili (saakovi) xelisuflebismaRal Cinosnebisatvis batalioni `monadire,- funqciadakargul danamat organod iqca da misi dauyovnebliv mokveTa gadawyvites. im etapze batalioni `monadire- 350 kacs aerTianebeda.

batalion `monadires- gauqmebasTan mimarTebaSi qarTuli sazogadoebriv_ politikuri azri orad gaiyo. 1) batalion `monadires- gamauqmebl ebi da maTi qmedebis gamarTlebisTvis mosyiduli sazogadoebriv_ politikuri jgufebi; 2) batalionis arDgenis mxardamWerebi. vinc saxel mwi foebrivad azrovnebeda da afxazetis dasabrunebl ad zemo kodoris xeobis strategiuli mniSvneloba qonda gazrebuli, batalion `monadires- gauqmebis winaarmdeg gamodioda. maT kargad esmodaT, rom 1993 wl idan 2005 wl amde ganvli periodSi zemo kodoris xeoba da batalioni `monadire- erTmaneTisagan ganuyofeli iyo. es faqtebi qonda mxedvelobaSi irakli al asanias, roca batalion `monadires- gauqmebas gauazrebeli, ugunuri da gauTveli politikuri gadawyvetileba uwoda. i.oqruaSvili sapasuxo gancxadeba nacional ebisatvis damaxasiaTebeli dausabuTebeli da urcxvibral debiT_ `Cems winaarmdeg svanebs irakli al asania amxedrebso- Semoifargla.

xelisuflebaSi mosuli gamoucdeli da mTel rig umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxebSi Cauxedavi umwifari ministrebi, dasvebuli Secdomebis aRiarebas ukadrisobdnen da qveynistvis mirebul saziანo gadawyvetilebas Zalasi tovebdnen. Tavi vunderkindebaT moqondaT da mcireoden swavl ebasac ar kadrul - obdnen. sazogadoebriv- politikur azrs angariSs ar uwevden, umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxebs TviTneburad, guneba- ganwyobis mixedvit wyvetdnen. Tuki im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul masal ebs safuzvliანad gavecnobiT, davrwundebit, rom sazogadoebriv- politikuri speqtris umravlesoba, batalion `monadires- Senarcunebaze akeTebda aqcentirebas. magaliTad, a.margianis azrit, `monadire- ki ar unda gauqmebinaT, aramed mistvis gansakutrebuli statusi miecaT. `ewodebinaT monadiresatvis Sinagani jaris specialuri Se-

naerTi... an SeiZl eba saxal xo l aSqari yofil iyo.- imavdroul - ad igi xel isufli ebi winaSe svamda kiTxvas: batal ion `monadires- wevrebis 2 wl is saxel faso daval ianebis anazRaurebis Sesaxeb, sasamarTi os mier miRebul gadawyvetil ebas ratom ar asrul ebda mTavrobis Sesabamisi uwebebi? aRniSnul i kiTxva im etapze da SemdgomSiac pasuxgaucemel i darCa.

imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, afxazeTis uzenaesi sabWos deputatma **germane facaciam**, imave sabWos 28 ivl isis sxdomaze ganacxada: **`winaaRmdegi viyavi batal ion `monadires-gauqmebisa**. Tu batal ions kriminal ebi mietmasna, misi gamox-Sirva sxvanairad SeiZl eboda. aranairad ar SeiZl eboda am batal ionis gauqmeba... Tu Cven vambobT, rom Cveni iurisdiccia vrcel deba kodoris xeobaSi_ afxazeTis am fragmentSi, es swored xeobel ebis SenarCunebul ia da ara Cveni, wina xel isufli ebis an amJamindel i xel isufli ebis. amgvar situaciaSi ar minda xel isufli ebis oponireba, magram amis Tqmis ufl eba TviT ufal ma miboza. vidre pirSi sul i midgas am azrs verc veravin Semacvl evinebs.- am SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas, g.facaciam ganaCeni gamoutana da im ugunur gadawyvetil ebaze mianisna, romel ic batal ion `monadires- gauqmebasTan mimarTebaSi iqna Cadenili.

batal ion `monadires- Sesaxeb Tavisi kompententuri mosazreba saxal xo frontis Tavmj domarem n.naTaZemac gamoTqva. `batal ion `monadires- daSal a_ ambobda igi_ saxel mwifo danaSaul i iyo... adamianis Tavdacvis ufl ebaSi Sedis ar marto Tavisi sicocxl isa da oj axis dacva, aramed misi erovnuli teritoriis dacva. roca vxedav, rom Cemi saxel mwifo, teritorias ar icavs, maSin me maqvs ufl eba da val debul ic var, iaraRi aviRo xel Si da teritoria me TviTon davicva. ase rom, arc iuridiuli, arc moral uri da arc strategiuli ufl eba am xal xis ganiaraRebisa saxel mwifos ar hqonda da ar aqvs. saxel mwifo val debul ia batal ionis `monadires-aRadginos da Tavisi oficial uri struqturebis SemadgenlobaSi Seiyanos.¹

am SemTxvevaSi, n.naTaZe zemo kodoris xeobis dacvis saqmeSi batal ion `monadires- ara marto rol sa da daniSnu-

I ebaze miuTitebs, aramed, xel isufli ebis mxridan xeobis mitovebis faqtzec amaxvil ebs yuradRebas. arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, 2 wl is manZil ze xel fasmuRebel i `monadires- wevrebi, separatistebisa da rusi okupantebisagan kodoris xeobasa da afxazetis svaneTis sazRvars, Sinagani val debul ebidan gamomdinare, sakuTari oj axis sabiuj eto xarj eb iT icavda. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi e. SevardnaZes, roca a.sanebl iZisadmi micemul interviuSi acxadebda: `es xal xiq arafers aSavebda. piriq iT, sazRvris sadaraj oze idga uaRresad rTul kl imatur da social ur pirobebSi.-

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtების anal izidan gamomdinare, dabej iTebiT SeiZi eba iTqvas: 1) social urad mZime mdgomareobaSi myofi zemo kodoris xeobis adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba, batal ion `monadires- gauqmebiT umZimes pirobebSi aRmoCnda; 2) batal ion `monadires- arseboba, afxazetis monakvetze kodoris xeobaSi Zal Ta bal ansis SenarCunebis erTaderT saSual ebas warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, wl ebis ganmavl obaSi xel isufli ebisgan xeoba mitovebul i iyo. afxazebisa da rusebis gadaTel visgan xeobis dacva, misi SenarCuneba mxol od `monadires- wevrebis Tavdadebis Sedegad xdeboda Sesazl ebel i; 3) `monadires- gauqmebiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli eban qarTul i saxel mwifos saziანო, rusebisa da afxazebis sasargebl o gadawyvetil eba mi iRo. es qmedeba, rusul _ afxazuri gegmis erT- erT Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebisgan misi praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba, ruseTTan saiduml o garigebis eWvs qmnis. amis safuZvel s batal ion `monadiresTan- mimarTebaSi, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTitebul i, afxazebisa da rusebis mxridan oficial urad gamoTqmul i pretenziebi da saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier misi dakmayofil ebis faqti iZi - eva. amis Tval saCinoebis saukeTeso magal iTs gazeT `xval - indeli dRes- korespodentisadmi sergei Sanbas micemul i interviu warmoadgens. `Cven Tavdac gvqonda pretenziebi am SeiaraRebul formirebasTan dakavSirebiT_ ambobda s.Sanba._

am Temaze 1999 wl idan mudmivad vsaubrobT. sul imas vam-
 bobT, rom isini xeobaSi ukanonod imyofebian... am sakiTxs
 nebism-ieri mol aparakebebis dros vayenebdiT... winaaRmdegni
 varT iq darCnen is Seiararebul i Zal ebi, roml ebic iq ar
 unda iyvnen.- isic sayuradReboa, rom batal ion `monadires-
 gauqmebas da misi wevrebis xeobidan `gasaxl ebas,- rusebis,
 afxazebisa da gaeros warmomadgenl ebi moiTxovdnen. Tavian-
 Ti poziciis `dasabuTebas-, mxol od erTaderTi `argumentiT-
 _aRniSnul i batal ionis wevrebis banditur daj gufebad
 gamocxadebiT cdil obdnen. e.kvicianis svanuri batal ionis
 misamarTIT termini_ `banditebi,- rusebisa da afxazi sep-
 aratistebisgan momdinareobda. aRniSnul i cil iswameba,
 kodo-rel i svanebis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. sep-
 aratistebisa da okupantebis mxridan, dokumenturi masa-
 l is gareSe dausabuTebl ad `Semogdebul i- es yal bi-
 bral deba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebma
 maSinve ai taca da zemo kodoris xeobis damcvel Ta winaaRm-
 deg piarkampaniis asagorebl ad gamoiyena. isic gasaTval -
 iswinebel ia, rom batal ion `monadires- gauqmebisa da misi
 wevrebis ganiaraRebis aucil ebl obasTan mimarTebaSi ruse-
 bis, afxazebisa da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Ci-
 nosanTa damokidebul eba identuri aRmoCnda. momxdari faqti,
 ruseTis `samSvidobo- Zal ebis sardi obis ocnebis aR-
 srul ebas warmoadgenda. es imas niSnavs, rom saakaSvil is
 xel isufl ebam maTTvis sasargebl o nabij i gadadga. mi-
 Tumetes, rogorc zemoTac mqonda moTitebul i, batal ion
 `monadires- gauqmebas da mis ganiaraRebas rusul _afxaz-
 zuri warmomadgenl oba 1999 wl idan dabej iTebiT moiTx-
 ovda.

kodoris xeobis garSemo 1993 wl idan 2006 wl amde ganviTa-
 rebul i movl enebis saRi gonebiT Sefaseba da anal izi, naT-
 l ad adasturebs, rom batal ionis gauqmeba da ganiaraReba,
 rogorc e.kviciani acxadebda, `igivea, rac xeobis xel idan
 xel Si gadacema afxazetis xel isufl ebisaTvis.- am SemTx-
 vevaSi, e.kviciani ar tyuoda. igi soxumis da gagris qarTul i
 mosaxl eobis ganiaraRebis Sedegad, afxazebis mxridan

qarTvel Ta umowyal od amowyvetiT da gamodevniT miRebul mware gamocdil ebas iTval iswinebda. aqedan gamomdinare, anal ogiuri procesis ganmeorebas zemo kodoris xeobaSiac ar gamoricxavda. exeboda ra am sakiTxs, gazeT `al iasadmi-micemul interviuSi esaRI iani garkveviT miuTitebda, rom batal ionis gauqmebam da misi ganiaraRebis moTxovnam, kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobaSi garkveul i SiSi gamoiwvia imis gamo, rom afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis Zal momre-obisagan qarTul i sapol icio qvedanayofi xeobis mosaxl e-obas ver daicavda. amIT afxazebi da rusebi isargebl ebdnen, xeobaSi Sevidodnen da 1993 wel s gagra da soxumSi qarTvel - Ta amowyvetis scenars_ zemo kodoris xeobaSiac gaimeo-rebdnen. `dRes afxazeTis damoukidebl oba msofi lom rom ar aRiara_ wers esaRI iani_ l omis wili kodoris xeobas udevs, imi tom rom amas sWirdeba erTi principi_ teritoria bol omde unda iyos gawmendil i. Tuki amas afxazebma da rusebma ver miaRwia, es aris am biWebis da maTi xel mZRvanel - is damsaxureba.- es Sefaseba sinamdvil es Seesabameba. **swored,** zemo kodoris da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi iyo is damabrkol ebel i barieri, romel ic ruseTis sakanonmdebl o organos afxazeTis damoukide-bl obis aRiarebis da kosovos model is manipul irebis Sesazl ebl obas ar azl evda. samwuxarod, `nacional ebis-`el itarul i- wrisaTvis es el ementarul i WeSmariteba ucodinarobis gamo_ miuRebel i iyo. m.saakaSvil i da misi xel qve-iTebi, qveynis samomavl o bedis sakiTxs guneba- gan-wyobisa da moskovTan SeTanxmebul i okiani sgarMel i `mrCev- l ebis- mixedviT wyvetdnen. qarTul i sazogadoebriv _pol i- tikuri azris mesveurTa da samecniero wreebis mier SeT- avazebul rekomendaciebs uyuradRebod tovebdnen. es ar- caa gasakviri, radgan warsul is gamocdil ebis gaTval - iswinebas_ sircxvil Tan aigivebdnen. aqedan gamomdinare, istoriisadmi mwyral damokidebul ebas iCendnen da saWi roe- bis SemTxvevaSi am sferoSi srul ucodinarobas amJRavnebd- nen. miuxedavad amisa, qarTul i intel igenciis warmomadgen- l ebi cdas ar akl ebda, raTa TavianTi naazrevi da pozicia

mmarT-vel i politikuri partiis liderebisadmi miwvdina. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas cnobil i poetisa da publicistis vaxtang xarCil avas statia `samegrel ov, gaxsovs?- iqcevs. e.SevardnaZis mmarTvel obis periodSi samegrel oze Tavsdaxil i ubedurebisa da mware gamocdil ebis fonze, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas v.xarCil ava Seaxsenebda: **`isic cudad gvaxsovs**, soxumis qarTul i mosaxl eoba da iq mdgomi samxedro SenaerTebi rom ganaiaraRa saqarTvel os imdroindel ma mTavrobam da gamZvinvarebul mters Seatova gasajuJad. iqneb uxerxuli da gaumarTl ebel i paral el ebia es, **magram imdeni muxanaToba da veragoba vnaxeT am bol o TxuTmeti wl is ganmavl obaSi, zedmetad frTxil ebi da eWvianebi gavxdiT.**~ samwuxarod, aseTi sifrTxilis aucil ebl obas zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi m.saakaSvil is xelisufleba namdvil ad ar icavda. maTi moqmedebidan gamomdinare, sazogadoebis winaSe pasuxgaucemel i kiTxva Cndeboda: `monadires- gauqmebisa da misi ganiaraRebis SemTxvevaSi, vin iqneboda pasuxismgebel i zemo kodoris xeobis monakveTze mezobel i qveynis mxridan saqarTvel os sazRvris darRvevisa da xeobis morigi dabombvis SemTxvevaSi? sazogadobis Tval is axvevis mizniT, am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi mxol od zogadi gancxadebebiT ifargl ebodnen da saqarTvel os saxel mwifos sazRvris Sesaxeb 1998 wl is 17 ivl iss miRebul i kanonis amoqmedebas pirdebodnen kodorel ebs. am dokumentis meore punktSi vkiTxul obT: `saxel mwifo sazRvris dacva saqarTvel os xmel eTze, teitoriul da Sida wyl ebSi, agreTve saxel mwifo sazRvarze arsebul saerTaSoriso sasazRvro gamtar punktSi eval ebaT saqarTvel os saxel mwifos sazRvris dacvis saxel mwifo departamentis sasazRvro Zal ebs, xolo sahaero sivrceSi_ saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saministros sahaero Tavdacvis Zal ebs.- rac Seexeba sahaero sazRvris dacvas, imave kanonSi Semdegi formul irebiTaa mocemul i: `saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saministros sahaero Tavdacvis Zal ebi saxel mwifo sazRvris dacvisas xel mZRvanel oben saqarTvel os kanonmdebl obiT, saerTaSoriso xel Sekrul ebiT da SeTanxmebiT.-A

es dokumenti, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, 1998 wl idan iyo Zal aSi Sesul i, magram kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam masSi mocemul i val debul ebebis TiTqmis vercerTi punqti ver Seasrul a. rusebis Tavdasxmis periodSi, ZiriTadi datvirTva batal - ionma `monadirem- miRo Tavis Tavze. savsebiT marTal i iyo gj oj ua, roca acxadebda, rom kodoris `mTis mosaxl - eoba sazRvars icavda da mesazRvris moval eobas asrul ebda... rac Seexeba sapol icio danayofebs, pirdapir SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom Tbil isSi, rusTavel ze namuSevari pol icie l i ver SeZl ebs Tavis funqciis Sesrul ebas kodoris xeobaSi.- da marTl ac, rogorc n.naTaZe aRniSnavda, batal - ion `monadires- gauqmebidan (2005 wl is april i) xel isufl ebas kodoris dasacavad araferi ar gaukeTebia. `es yvel a SemTxvevaSi saxel mwifo danaSaul ia... 16 Tve xeoba da-ucvel i iyo. ki dev kargi mowinaaRmdegem ar daij era da Tavdasxma ar moaxdina, Torem Tavisufli ad Semovi doda xeobaSi da aiRebda.-² es faqti imis naTel i dadasturebaa, Tu ra donis upasuxismgebl obas iCenda m.saakaSvil is xel isufli eba saqarTvel os yvel aze mniSvel ovani strategiul i pl acdarmisadmi. maTi aseTi umoqmedoba, kodorel ebSi xel isufli ebisadmi undobl obas aZl ierebda. aRniSnul i faqtoriT iyo ganpirobebul i, batal ion `monadires- ofi cial urad aRdgenis kategoriul i formiT moTxovna.

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- wevrTa winaaRmdeg dawyebul i kampania, winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmis nawil is STabelWdil ebas tovebs, roml is ganxorciel ebas xel isufli eba safexurebrivad axdenda. maRal i rangis saxel mwifo moxel eebis gamosvl ebSi aSkarad SeiniSneboda, rom ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- wevrebisgan, xel isufli ebas mtris xatis Seqmna hqonda mi znad dasaxul i. am pirovnebisadmi `nacmoZraobis- l iderTa siZul vil i `vardebis revol uciis- dRidan iwyeba. mxedvel obaSi maqvs im etapze ekvicianis mier Sual eduri poziciis daWera. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, profesori soso kviciani gazeT `al iasadmi- micemul interviuSi ambob-

da: `vardebis revol uciis dros, parl amentis SenobaSi rom Sevidnen, maSin kvicianic iq iyo. is ambobda: me vicodi, rom ramdenime adamiani iq cud saqmes gaakeTebda da orive mxares SuaSi Cavdeqio. amayobda kidec amiT, me da Cemma Zmakacebma gadavarCineT maSin saqarTvel o sisxl is Rvraso. guSinac vuTxari es burjanaZes da man miTxra, me SemeCexa maSin piri- ispir kviciani, magram ar SemSinebia, vicodi cuds arafers makadrebdao. ar sjeroda Cvens xel isufl ebas emzar kvicianis gul wrfel obis. Cvens mTavrobas aseTi kursi aqvs _vinc maSTan ar aris, maTi mteria.³ am amonawerSi garkvevi- Taa warmodgenili is ZiriTadi mizezi, ramac ekvicianisadmi `nacional ebis- l i-derTa siZul vil i ganapiroba da igi pi- radangariSsworebis doneze daiyvana.

xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom saxel isufl ebo Stos warmomadgenl ebs kargad esmoda, zemo kodoris xeobis damcvel Ta did avtoritets Tu ra zemoqmedebis moxdena Se- eZl o sazogadoebaze. amitom, ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- winaaRmdeg brZol is dawyeba da am mimarTul ebiT sazogadoebis mxardaWeris mopoveba, garkveul sirTul eebT- an iyo dakavSirebuli. maT mier SemuSavebuli gegmis mi- xedviT, kodoris gmir damcvel Ta avtoritetis diskredi- tacia Sesabamisi fonis SeqmniT unda dawyebul iyo. am mizniT, ZiriTadi aqcenti sazogadoebisTvis yvel aze mtkivneul sakiTxze_ afxazeTidan 1993 wel s devnil i mosaxl eobis Wuberis uRel texil ze gaZarcvis faqtebze iqna gakeTebu- li. cnobil ia, rom aRniSnul uRel texil ze devnil Ta Zarc- vas marTl ac qonda adgili. miuxedavad amisa, samarTal damc- avi organoebis mxridan gaurkveveli iyo, konkretul ad Tu vin Cadioda am danaSaul s. bundovnebiT moculi es faqti, sa- xel isufl ebo ideolog_ propagandistebma ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- sawinaaRmdegod gamoiyenes da iq dat- rial ebuli mZarcvel obiTi vakxanal ia, yovel gvari mowmeeb- is Cvenebisa da dasabuTebis gareSe_ ekvicians gadaabral es. am cil iswamebis avtori m.saakaSvil ia. satel evizio eTeriT (2006 wl is 24 ivl isi) mis mier gakeTebul i ganxadebis mixed- viT, ekviciani da batal ion `monadires- wevrebi `xvdebodnen

gzaSi, Zar cvavdnen afxazeTi dan gamosul mosaxl eobas, kl avdnen, arTmevdnen ukanasknel s, yinavdnen kidec gzaze. is xal xi Cven bol omde ar movspeT da imitom aris rom axl a xel axl a wamoyves Tavi.- es amazrzeni bral deba, gazeT `kriminal iskorespodentma m.suxiSvil mac gaiziara. mis mier gamoqveynebul publ ikaciaSi `afxazeTis omma Zebnil i emzar kviciani daWeras gadaarCina?!- vkiTxul obT: `soxumis dacemis Semdeg devnil ebs cecxl is al Si gaxveul i afxazeTis dasatovebl ad mxol od erTi gzaRa hqondaT darCenil i... kodoris xeobiT momaval afxazeTis mcxovrebl ebs emzar kviciani, baCo arRvliani da maTi Tanamoazreebi ayaCaRebdnen, iaraRsa da qonebas arTmevdnen.-⁴ anal ogiur pozicias (SedarebiT Serbil ebul i formiT) mareSiZec iziarebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs gazeT `xval indel i dRe-- sadmi micemul i interviu sadac garkveviT ambobs: `ggoniaT damaviwyda Wuberis 1993 wl is movl enebi? ramdeni adamiani gaiZarcva da daixoca iq. magram medal s ori mxare aqvs da orive unda davinaxoT. maTi kriminal uri warsul ic vici da gmirul ic. bevrma sisxl iT gamoisyida sakuTari danaSaul i. es xel isufl ebamac unda dainaxos.-⁵

Cems mier motanil faqtebs Tuki daveyrdnobiT da mxedvel obaSi ar miviRebT TvIT Wuberis uRel texil is procesebis monawil e adamianta mier gakeTebul gancxadebebs, maTi mxridan mowodebul faqtobriv masal ebs, maSin ekviciani da batal ion `monadires- wevrebi marTI ac kriminal ebad da banditebad warmocndebian. zemoaRniSnul i informaciis gamavrcel ebl ebs, sakiTxis srul yofil i Seswavi a ar ucdiaT. isini im movl enis monawil ebsac ar dakavSirebian. TavianTi naazrevi m.saakaSvil is mxridan gancxadebis doneze naTqvam zemoaRniSnul dausabuTebel cil - iswamebaze aages da ufro gamuqebul i formiT SesTasvazes sazogadoebas. saxel isufl ebo ideol ogiuri manqanis mier gavrcel ebul bral debebs mxars p.mamraZec uWers. misi azriT, ekviciani ara marto kriminal i, aramed kodoris xeobaSi kriminal ur_ kl anuri mmarTvel obis ganmaxorciel ebel i iyo.⁶

e.kvicianis saqmi anobis Sesaxeb zemoaRniSnul Sefasebe-

bTan mi marTebaSi, sawinaaRmdego da uaRresad sayuradRebo masal ebi gazeTma `al iam- gamoaqveya. misi Seswavi - idan irkveva, rom 1993 wel s afxazeTidan devnil mosaxl eobas, roca Wuberis uRel texil ze mewyeris Camowol is gamogzis gagrZel ebis probl ema Seeqmna, am sakiTxis mogvareba Tavis Tavze emzar kvicianma aiRo. Wuberis movl enebis Tanamonawil eTa naambobze dayrdnobiT, prof. soso kviciani xazgasmiT werda, rom soxumis dacemis `periodSi moawyda l tol vil Ta uzarmazari l aSqari kodoris xeobas, emzari TviTon daj da traqtorze da gaiyvana gza Wuberze, rom l tol vil ebs gaevl oT. 32 wl is iyo maSin, metis ki ara.- rac Seexeba mZarcvel ebs, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT igive soso kviciani wers: `uamravi adami ani, romel ic maSin l tol vil ebs Zarcvavda, kvicianma gamoreka kodoridan da mtrad gadaiki da is xal xi da es adami ani dRes xel isufli ebam damnaSaved gamoacxada.~7

aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Tavisi pozicia ufro mwave formiT avTandil margianma gamoTqva. gazeT `axal i Taoba-- s korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi igi savsebiT kanonzomierad acxadebda protests im dausabuTebel i cil iswamebis Sesaxeb, romel ic kodorel ebisa da ekvicianis mimarT gaavr cel a m.saakaSvil ma da mis mier daqiravebul ma satel evizio arxebma. `Cems saxl Si rom dagayaCaRon, _ ambobda a.margiani_ es Cemi bral ia, magram es erTi saxel mwifoa. me svaneTs ki ar vicav, svaneTSic bevri yaCaRia da sxvaganac, magram maSin iq Sekrebi l i iyvnen mTel i saqarTvel os kriminal ebi. bol os rogorc iqna, am kriminal ebs bol o movuReT, bevr kriminal s samudamo daRi daasves. ieso qristem ZaRI is gaxrwnil gvamSi TeTri kbil i dainaxa, is ratom ver dainaxes, kodoris mosaxl eobam bol o l ukma rom gamoutana l tol vil ebs? rogor SeiZl eba am TemiT vaWroba. amas axl a unamuso adami anebi amboben.-

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis Sesabamisi uwyebebi, si marTl is dadgeniT samwuxarod arc maSin da arc Semdgom etapze ar dainteresebul a. kodoris xeobidan kriminal ebis Zal - ismieri gziT gamoyris arcerTi monawil e da momxdari

faqtis TviTmxil vel i samoqal aqo piri ar daukiTxavT. es gasagebi caa, radgan am proceduris Catarebis SemTxvevaSi simarTI e dadgindeboda da tyuil ze agebul m.saakaSvil i- seul bral debebs farda aexdeboda. `nacional ebis- ideol ogi propagandistebis mier kodorel ebisadmi nas- rol i tal axi, simarTI is dadgeniT unda Camoiwmdos. yvel afers Tavisi saxel i daerqvas da cru bral debis SemTxzvel ni pasuxisgebaSi mieces.

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom `na- cional ebis- saxel isufl ebo uwebebi, kodoris xeobis sv- anebis winaaRmdog axal i cil iswamebis SeTxzviT iyvnen dakave- bul ni. isini sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebiT ma- nipul irebdnen. maTi mizani, saqarTvel os saRad moazrovne adamianebis didi nawil is `axal i l egendebis- sisworeSi darwmuneba iyo. am fonze, ruseTTan SeTanxmebiT, kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul i danaSaul ebrivi samxedro operaciis gamarTI ebis aucil ebl obas axdendnen. am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i ideol ogiur- pol itikuri saqmianobis tonis mimce- mi m.saakaSvil i da i.merabiSvil i iyvnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 2006 wl is 29 ivl isis `rusTavi- 2- is eTeriT erTmaneTis pirispir msxdomi m.saakaSvil isa da i.merabiSvil is satel eviz- io dial ogi, romel ic winaswar momzadebul i da uniWod dadgmul i speqtakl is STabeWdil ebas tovebda. amis dastur- ad aRniSnul i gadacemidan maTi saubris teqtis Sesabamis adgil s movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, i.merabiSvil is mxridan m.saakaSvil isadmi satel evizio eTeriT miwodebul i informacia, ramdeenad Seesabameboda sinamdvil es.

`mixeil saakaSvil i_ garda amisa, monebic aRmoacineT xom? **vano merabiSvil i_** diax, Cven ramdenime mona gavaTavisufl eT. e.w. mona- adamiani, romel ic saqarTvel os sxva nawil ebidan, sxva teritoriidan iqna motacebul i. erT- erTi maTgani me piradad Camoviyvane dRes Tbil isSi. igi 4 wl is ganmavl oba- Si kaxeTidan, sagarej os raionidan iqna, ase vTqvaT motyue- biT gatacebul i. oTxjer gamoeqca mdevrebs da igi 4 wl is ganmavl obaSi cxovrobdarogorc mona. ase vTqvaT, da dRes igi Tavisufal ia da al baT Tavis oj axSi gaaTenebs pirvel -

ad Rames.-⁸ Cems mier motanil i amonaweris mixedviT, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom zemo kodoris xeoba trefikingisa da monebad gayidul i adaminebis sabudars warmoadgenda. es cil iswameba, `gaWril i vaSl iviT- hgavs 2004 wel s afrasiZeebisadmi wayenebul bral debas. Tuki maSin Sinagan saqmeTa ministrma g.baramiZem `erTi mona- gaanTavisufl a, misgan gansxvavebiT, i.merabiSvil ma `ramdenime monis- ganTavisufl eba SeZl o. yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebasac, rom mis mier zogadad naTqvami ramdenime monidan, saxel i da gvaris gareSe mxol od erTi maTganis sadaurobas asaxel ebs da mis 4 wl ian `monobaze- amaxvil ebs yuradRebas. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi Cems mier moZiebul i masal iT gairkva, rom i.merabiSvil isa da sagarej oel i `mona- g.guCiaSvil is mier `monobis- wl ebis raodenobis gansazRvra urTierT sawinaaRmdeg-oa. Tu i.merabiSvil i 4 wel ze akeTebis aqcentirebas, TviTon g.guCiaSvil is TqmiT, igi omiko gurCians 6 wel i yavda `monad-⁹ rogorc Cans, `monobis- wl ebis raodenobis gansazRvraSi i.merabiSvil i da g.guCiaSvil i winaswar ver SeTanxmdnen da urTierT sapirispiro cifrebi daasaxel es. yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebasac, rom aseT mniSvnel ovan sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi arsad ar figurirebs `monaTmfl obel - omiko gurCianis pozicia da rac mTavaria, misi dakiTxvis masal ebi. miuxedavad imisa, rom am sakiTxis Seswavl a iusticiis saminstros prerogativas warmoadgenda, misi TanamSroml ebi arc 2004 da arc 2006 wl ebSi svaneTSi `monaTa- sakiTxiT ar dainteresebul an da Sesabamisi sagamoZiebo procedura ar CautarebiaT. `monobidan ganTavisufl ebul i- adaminebi Jurnal iste bis winaSe ar warudgeniaT, da rac mTavaria, `monobis- iZul ebiTi formis gamoyenebasTan mimarTebaSi, sisxl is samarTl is saqme ar aRZrul a da TviT `monaTa- oficial uri dakiTxva ar momxdara. sakiTxis aseTi bral debis formiT wina pl anze wamoweva da Semdeg uyuradRebod mitoveba, Cemi azriT, xel isufl ebis mxridan mizanmimarTul qmedebas warmoadgenda. maT kargad esmodaT, rom Tuki am sakiTxTan mimarTRebaSi Ziebis procesi sworad warimarTeboda, simarTl es farda aexdeboda da ideol ogiur frontze gaweul i `naR-

vawil- wyal Si CaeyrebodaT. yovel ive es, safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom msakaSvil is xel isufli ebis mier svanebisadmi wayenebul i bral debebi, ara mar to kodorel i svanebis, aramed srul iad svaneTis regionis mosaxl eobis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. igi svanebis fsiqol ogiurad daTrgunvas, svaneTis mosaxl eobaSi `vardosanta- mavnebl uri gadayvetil ebebisadmi monuri Seguebis Camoyal ibebas iTval iswinebda.

mimdinare politikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, aucil ebl oba moiTxovs, raTa zemoaRni Snul i sakiTxiT dRevandel i xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebi dainteredsnen. gaarkvion, ramdenad Seefereboda sinamdvil es m.saakaSvil - i.merabiSvil is dial ogSi moyvanil i faqti_ kodorSi monebis arsebobis Sesaxeb. am fonze unda moxdes maT mier `ganTavisufli ebul i monebis,~ `monaTmfl obel Ta- TandaswrebiT oficial uri dakiTxva da sazogadoebisTvis srul yofil i informaciis miwodeba. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki i.merabiSvil i tyuil s ambobda, Segnebul ad gamogonil i bral debisa da natyuari informaciis gavr cel ebisaTvis kanoniT gaTval isqwinebul fargl ebSi pasuxi unda agos.

yuradReba unda mivaqciot im garemoebas, rom saqarTvel os xel isfl ebis warmomadgenl ebTan erTad, ekvicianisa da kodorel i svanebis l anZRva- ginebas, arc rusi eqspertebi akl ebda xel s. nimuSisaTvis al eqsei vaScenkos mier gakeTebul i ganxadebebic sakmarisia. igi ekvicians narkobiznesi monawil eobis Sesaxeb da teroristebis mfarvel obaSi adanaSaul ebda. misi Tqmit, `emzar kviciani akontrol ebda kanafis warmoebas kodorSi, aseve kontrabandis Semosaval s Crdil o kavkasiidan saqarTvel oSi. rogorc pankisis xeobaSi, aseve kodorSi iyo da aris saerTaSoriso teroristebis CeCnebis banakebi. yovel ive amis gamo emzar kvicianma `vardebis revoluciis- dros saakaSvil s ar dauWira mxari.¹⁰

am amonaweris mixedvit kargad Cans, rom rusi `eqspertebic- iseve moqmedebda, rogorc saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis gan mosyidul i adgil obrivi `eqspertebi-. is rac samar-

Tal damcavi organoebisa da iusticiis saministros prerogativas warmoadgenda_ Ziebis Sedegad WeSmaritebis dadgena, am sapsuxismgebl o misiis Sestrul eba Jurnal istebis garkveul ma j gufebma da e.w. eqspertebma aiRo Taviz Tavze. orive maTgani yovel gvare saxis mtkicebul ebebis gareSe _zogadi gancxadebebiT umZimes bral debebs uyenebdnen kviciansa da kodoris mosaxl eobas. am SemTxvevaSi, nebismieri saRad mozrovne adamianis winaSe principul ad daismeba kiTxva: ekviciansi da misi `daj gufeba- Tuki marTI ac narkobiznesSi iyo Cafli ul i da CeCen teroristebisac mfarvel obda, 2006 wl is ivl isamde maT winaaRmddeg ratom ar aRizra sisxl is samarT- l is saqme? aRniSnul i bral debebis damadasturebel i oficial uri mtkicebul ebebi im etapze m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebas sazogadoebisaTvis ar warudgenia da farTo gansjis sagnad ar uqcevia. erTi ram dabegiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mxridan kodorel i svanebisadmi dausabuTebl ad, zogadi gancxadebis doneze wayenebul zemoaRniSnul bral debebs, saerTaSoriso arenaze rusi eqspertebis axal i cil iswamebebi emateboda. aseTi ideologiuri fonis Seqmna, m.saakaSvil s imiTvis dasWirda, rom kodorel Ta winaaRmddeg Cafiqrebul i mavnebl uri operaciis Casatarebl ad, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mxardaWera mieRo. meore mxriv, nacional ebis propagandistebis mizans ideologiuri zemoqmedebis berketebis amoqmedebiT, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis kodorel i svanebisadmi dapirispirebis fonis Seqmna warmoadgenda. batal ion `monadires- statusis aRdgenis moTxovnam, ideologiur frontze xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta gansakuTrebul i gaaqtiureba gamoiwvia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebis mxridan **batal ion `monadires- wevrebi- sa da ekviciansi winaaRmddeg Seuracmyofel i bral debebis ganaxl ebul i formiT sazogadoebisadmi miwodebis faqti.** am mimarTul ebiT pirvel i nabiji, parl amentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmj domaris g.TargamaZis mxridan gadaidga. 2006 wl is ivl isSi satel evizio eTeriT gakeTebl i gancxadebiT, kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis,

maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis damcvel imJamad cocxl ad darCeniil da brZol is vel ze gmirul ad dacemul meomrebs_ `mkvdari virTxebi~ uwoda." im adami anTa mimarT, vinc sisxl isa da sicocxl is fasad dakargul i afxazeTis fonze saqarTvel os zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi Seunarcuna, afxaz separatistebisa da rus okupantebs SiSis zars scemda, Turme `mkvdari virTxebi~ yofil an. samSobl os damcvel Ta mimarT aseTi daufasebl obis propaganda Segnebul ad mimdinareobda. mi Tumetes, aSS- is xel isufal Ta xel qveiT (viTom natos) avRaneTSi myofi samxedro qvedanayofis daRupul i qarTvel i jariskacebis gmirebad aRiarebis fonze, qarTul i miwis_ zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis damcvel ebis_ cocxl ebisa da gardacvl il ebis `mkvdar virTxebad,~ `banditebad~, `kriminal ebad~ da `narkomanebad~ gamocxada, qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobisaTvis daRupul Ta da cocxl ad darCeniil daWriil _ dasaxiCrebul Ta mizanmimarTul diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i. aseTi daufasebl obis oficial urad afiSireba, momaval i Taobebis cno bierebaSi samSobl os dacvis aucil ebl obis nacvl ad, misadmi indiferebtul i damokidebul ebis Camoyal ibebas isaxavda miznad. Tuki es ase ar aris, maSin saqarTvel os parlamentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komi tetis Tavmj domare, romel sac qveynis usafrTxoebis, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis brZol isunarianobis amaRl ebisa da teritoriul i mTI ianobisaTvis mimdinare procesebis kurireba eval ebida, kodorel ebis mimarT gamoTqmul zemoaRni Snul Seu racmyofel bral debebTan mimarTebaSi_ pasuxisgebaSi unda miecaT. samwuxarod, sazogadoebis didi nawil i sicruis tyveobaSi aRmoCnda. im adamians dauj era, romel ic 2008 wl is agvistos tragikul i movl enebis dros, misi Tanamdebobidan gamomdinare, brZol is vel ze gasvl is nacvl ad, virTagvas doneze moi qca da SiSiT Sepyrobi l ma, Tavis gadarCenis mizni T gaurkvevel i mimarTul ebiT gadaimal a. qveynis ubedureba maSin iwyeba, roca sakanonmdebl o da aRmasrul ebel i uw-

yebebis sapesuxismgebl o Tanamdebobebze virTagvas don-
 eze moazrovne givi TargamaZis msgavsi adamianebi rom
 mokal aTdebian, xol o samSobl os Rirseul i damcvel ebi
 maTi mxridan saqil iko gaxdeba. aseTi mkacri gancxadeba
 imiTac aris ganpirobepul i, rom es pirovneba, bral debaTa
 gamogonebis serial ebis Semqmnel ad moevl ina qarTul sa-
 zogadoebas. 2006 wl is ivl isSi mis mier gakeTebul i gancx-
 adebis mixedviT, batal ion i `monadire- Turme bandituri
 daj gufeba iyo. `es iyo bandituri daj gufeba_ ambobda
 g.TargamaZe, romel sac gaaCnda wina konfliqtebidan Semor-
 Cenil i da mogvianebiT rusul i mxridan iafad SeZenil i iar-
 aRi.¹² am SemTxvevaSi g.TargamaZe kl asikuri donis tyuil s
 ambobda. amneziaqmnil s daaviwyda, rom batal ion `monadires-
 SeiaraRebas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, saqarTve-
 l os Tavidacvis saministro 1993 wl idan anxorciel ebda.
 imavdroul ad, mis wevrebs 200 l arian xel fassac uxdida.
 miTumetes, parlamentis Tavidacvisa da uSiSroebis komite-
 tis Tavmj domarem imis gaxsenebac ver SeZl o, rom misi gancx-
 adebidan 2 wl iT adre (2004 wel i), g.baramiZem zemo kodoris
 xeobaSi sami datvirTul i `kamaziT- iaraRi rom Seitana. savse-
 biT marTal i iyo dal i kviciani, roca erT- erT interviuSi
 acxadebda: `amoRebul ia rusul i iaraRio, am sityvebma imit-
 om gaiJRera, rom bral i dasdon emzars, TiTqosda ruseTTan
 aris Sekrul i.- g.TargamaZiseul i bral debis momdevno safex-
 urs, e.kvicianisgan saqarTvel os Tavidacvis saministros bi-
 jetis SeWma warmoadgens. `kviciani aris adamiani_ ambobda
 igi, romel mac wl ebis ganmavl obaSi gadaWama Tavidacvis
 saministros biujeti.- samwuxarod, am pirovnebisadmi ara Tu
 xel isufl ebis, aramed Jurnal istebis mxridanac ar momx-
 dara Sesabamisi kiTxvis dasma: e.kviciani, romel ic wl ebis
 manZil ze batal ion `monadires- sardl obda da kodoris
 xeobaSi frontis mowinave xazze imyofeboda, kodoridan ra
 gziT axerxebda Tavidacvis saministros biujetis `gadaWmas?-
 Tuki g.TargamaZiseul bral debebs erTmaneTis Sesatyvisoba-
 Si ganvixil avT, saRad moazrovne adamianisaTvis naTel i gaxde-
 ba, rom mis mier safexurebrivad gakeTebul i bral debebi,

tyuil ze iyo dafuznebul i da l ogikuri kategoriebis arcerT saxeobas ar Seesatyieboda. es gasakviri araa, radgan im eta- pze mas Jurnal istikis fakul teti j er kidev damTavrebul i ar qonda, xol o l ogikisadmi, rogorc samecniero da saswa- vl o discipl inisadmi odiozuri damokidebul eba gaaCnda.

batal il on `monadiresa- da kodorel i svanebis mimarT bra- l debaTa meore etapi 2006 wl is 28 ivl isidan iwyeba. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs zemo kodoris xeobaSi mimdinare movl enebT- an dakavSirebiT m.saakaSvil is mier tel eviziiT gakeTebul i gancxadeba. man batal ion `monadires- da mis xel mZRvanel o- bas `kriminal uri gasamxedroebul i banda- uwoda. qveynis pi- rvel i piris mier gakeTebul i aseTi saxis gancxadeba savseb- iT sakmarisi aRmoCnda imisaTvis, rom saxel isufl ebo TuTi- yuebs (g.baramiZe, g.arvel aZe) aRniSnul i formul ireba gaze- pirebul i l eqsiviT gaemeorebina. gazeT `al ias- korespode- ntisadmi micemul erT- erT interviuSi g.baramiZem, ekvicians kriminal i uwoda da am fonze Jurnal istebs mouwoda: `nu moZebniT quCaSi iseT xal xs, vinc am kriminal s (ekvicians S.v.) saqciel s mouwonebs.- es faqti, media saSual ebis misama- rTiT garkveul mowodebas warmoadgenda, raTa mas sazogad- oebisaTvis swori informacia daemal a, xel isufl ebis qmedeb- is damwunebel Ta Sexedul eba da maTi mxridan warmodgeni- l i Sesabamisi argumentacia ar gaemJRavnebina. xol o afrasi- Zeebis oj axis gamnagdurebel i da kanibal is doneze moazro- vne g.baramiZis msgavsi moxel eebis naazrevi wina pl anze wamo- wi aT.

aseT ideol ogiur fonze, gansakuTrebul datvirTvas prez- identis aparatis xel mZRvanel is g.arvel aZis gancxadeba iq- cevs. `banditTa fexqveS miwa daiwveba. Cven gavcemT banditebs iseT pasuxs, rogorc isini imsaxureben.⁻¹³ **e.kviciansa da misi batal ionis `monadires- wevrTa winaaRmdeg mimarTu- l i sainformacio maraToni axal fazaSi mas Semdeg Sevi- da, roca m.saakaSvil ma, ekviciansa da `monadires- wevrebs safl avidan amvTxrit da gasamarTI ebit daemuqra. `am yaCaRebs_ ambobda igi, _ mi wi dan amvTxrit, warvadgenT kano- nis winaSe da yvel a zomas mi vi RebT, rom maT veRar SeZl on**

winaaRmdegobis gaweva da axal i msxverpl is gamowveva.- es muqara marTI acda seriozul saxes atarebda. m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebi s maRal Cinosnebi safl avidan micval ebul - Ta amoTxrisa da misi wabil wvis profesional ebi iyvnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs mestiis raionSi sof. eceRaSi g.baramiZis brZanebiT afrsiZeebis winaparTa Zvl ebi s safl avidan amoyra da mTel i svaneTis dasanaxad imave sofl is centrSi tom-rebiT (8 tomara) dayra.¹⁴ Tuki kanonis uzenaesobaze mi dg-eba saqme, pirvel rigSi g.baramiZe unda gaesamarTI ebinaT. Tu es ar gakeTda, igi usamarTI obisa da Zal momreobis saukeTeso dadasturebas warmoadgens.

roca sakiTxi zemoaRniSnul i bral debebis kanonzomierebis Sesaxeb ismeba, am SemTxvevaSi swor Sefasebas mxol od is adami anebi akeTeben, roml ebmac umaRl es saswavl ebl eb-Si l ogikis kursi gaires da l ogikuri kategori ebi s praqtikul i gamoyenebis el ementebs fl oben. xel isufli ebas mxol od aseTi adami anebi usvamen kiTxvas: Tuki e.kviciani marTI a kriminal i da banditi iyo, Sesabamisma uweyebma 2006 wl is ivl isamde ratom ar moaxdina saTanado reagireba da mis winaaRmdeg sisxl is samarTI is saqme ratom ar aRizra? am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespodentisdmi TxidaSel is mier micemul ma intervium miqcia. mTel rig mniSvnel ovan sakiTxeBTan erTad igi xel isufli ebi sgan e.kvicianis kriminal ad gamocxadebas Seexo da savsebiT samarTI ianad dasZina: xel isufli ebi s mesveurni `dRes amayad rom gvicxadeben kriminal ia, amaSi iyo SemCneul i, imaSi iyo SemCneul i, aseT maRal tonal obaSi axl a ki ar unda gvel aparakebodnen!? Tu ase iyo, maSin maT `xerxemal vanos- am saqmisaTvis Tavis droze unda miexeda.- m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebi s mxil ebas Seicavs mamuka giorgaZis mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba. misi samarTI iani mtkicebiT, e.kvicianis winaaRmdeg sisxl is samarTI is saqmis aRZvra e.w. `specoperaciis- damTavrebi s Semdeg moxda. `Tu es adamiani iyo damnaSave, Tu es adamiani iyo kontrol is qveS, Tu ismendnen mis Canawerebs, ris safuZvel ze akeTebdnen amas? es Zal ian mniSvnel ovani kiTxvaa. Tu es kaci ar iyo

damnaSaved miCneul i anda eWvmitanil ad prokuraturis mier, rogor gabedes da jari rogor Seiyvanes kodorSi... j er aRZras prokuraturam sisxl is samarTI is saqme, gamoacxados eWvmitanil ad da mere miviRoT zomebi. ratom aris saWiro eqstremal uri viTarebis Seqmna, miT umetes roca wl ebis manZil ze usmenen adamians da misi yvel a nabiji ici. es aris CemTvis gaugebari.- ara mar to m.giorgaZisaTvis, aramed srul i ad saqarTvel os saRad moazrovne sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris umetesobisTvisac gaugebari iyo m.saakaSvil is xel isu-fl ebis zemoaRniSnul i qmedebebi. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT erovnul i krebis erT- erTi aqtiuri wevri Tamar Carkviani xel isufl ebis misamarTIT savsebiT kanonzomierad svamda kiTxvas: `rodesac emzar kviciani wl ebis ganmavl obaSi icavda xeobas, maSin ar iyo banditi da exl a gaxda banditi?- am samarTI ian da kanonzomier SekiTxvasTan mimarTebaSi `nacional ebis- aqtivistebsa da ideol ogebs argumentirebul i pasuxi ar gaaCnda. maTi `naazrevis- mi xedviT ise gamodis, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebi `asineTas- doneze wyvetdnen qveynis umniSvel ovanes sakiTxebs. `dakargul i- regionis gul i_ zemo kodoris xeoba, (v.arZinbas TqmiT_ `afxazeTis sx eul ze aRmocenebul i kibo-) xel Si roca giWiravs da xedav, misi warTmeviT afxazi separatistebi da rusi okupantebia dainteresebul i, xel isufl ebis mxridan gonivrul i gadawyvetil ebis miReba yovel gvari emoci ebis gareSe unda xdebodes. Tuki aucil ebl oba moiTxovs, pol itikuri koniunqturidan gamomdinare, garkveul daTmobaze wasvl is gza gamoZebnos, regionsa da centrs Soris wl ebis ganmavl obaSi Seqmnil i undobl obis ufskrul is amovsebas Seecados da ndobis mandatiT gaamyaros. samwuxarod, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas am mimarTul ebiT brZnul i nabij is gada dgma ar SeeZl o. isini kunTebis TamaSs iyvnen ayol il ni da Seuracmyofel i myviral a frazebiT ifargl ebodnen. erekl e saRI ianis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, `nacional ebis- maRal Cinosnebi `kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobas ise uyureben, rogorc saqonel sl... rac Caidines, imas verasodes Camoi recx-

aven. SurisZiebis grZnobiT ise iynen tvingadabrunebul ebi da dabrmavebul ebi, ra gaakeTes ver xvdebian... kriminal i romel i ufroa_ mSvidobian mosaxl eobas vertmfrenebidan rom bombavs da miwasTan asworebs sofl ebs, Tu is, romel ic Zma-Ta Soris sisxl is Rvras ganerida da tyeSi gavarda?... nadi-riviT gavarda kviciani tyeSi, xom aRar aris iq da daamyaron axl a batono kanoni.¹⁵

im etapze `nacional Ta- l iderebs, Cadenil i danaSaul is gasacnobierebl ad ar cal oda, radgan ekvicianisadmi axal i bral debebis SeTxzviT iynen dakavebul ni. am mxriv XXI saukunis `qarTvel i Ce gevara-_ givi TargamaZe aqtiurobda. misi TqmiT, ekvicians kavSiri ruseTis `fe- es- be-- sTan qonda. moskovis dakveTiT moqmedebis gamo, TiTqos mas 20 milioni dol ari gamouyves. g.TargamaZis aRniSnuli bral deba haerSi Zafze gamokidebul mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda, radgan mis dasadasturebl ad vercerTi saxeobis dokumenti ver waru-dgina sazogadoebas. erTi ram dabejiTebiT SeiZi eba iTqvas; ekviciani ful ze daxarbebul i rom yofil iyo da mamapeul miwa- wyal ze maRl a ruseTis agentoba da 30 vercx- l i daeyenebina, zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebs, marux- isa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebs 1993 wl idan 2005 wl is CaTvl iT, sisxl is Rvris fasad ar dai cavda da xel sayre- l i situaciis Seqmni sTanave ruseTs Caabarebda. gazeT `mTe- l i kvirasadmi- micemul erT- erT interviuSi dal i kvician- ma savsebiT kanonzomierad dasva SekiTxva: `emzari afxazeb- isa da rusebis agenti rom yofil iyo, maSin ristvis icavda xeobas?- samwuxarod, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uw-yebebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan aseTi saxis kiTxvebi pasuxgaucemel i rCeboda. miuxedavad amisa, g.TargamaZisa da sxvaTa zemoaRniSnul ma bral debebma, saqarTvel os regionis mosaxl eobaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis Tval sazrisiT ga- rkveul i roli Seasrul a. Tuki im periodis `nacmoZraobis- l iderTa gancxadebebs erTobl iobaSi ganvixil avT, davrwmu- ndebiT, rom maTi azrovneba prokrustes sarecel is msgavs SezRudul CarCoSi iyo moqceul i da erTi pirovnebis diqtats eqvemdebareboda. anal ogiur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda saqa-

rTvel os parl amentis vice spikeri mixeil maWavariani. misi
`mtkicebiT-, emzar kvicians zurgs asl an abaSiZe da qvemo
qarTl is yofil i gubernatori l evan mamal aZe umagrebda.
`gaixseneT_ ambobda igi_ viSTan megobrobda kviciani da
visi imedi aqvs mas... kvicianis ukan dganan adamianebi, rom-
l ebic saqarTvel oSi viTarebis destabil izaci iT arian dain-
teresebul ni. kvicianis qmedebebi ki Zal ian hgavs mamal aZisa
da abaSiZis pol itikuri brZol is meTodebs. emzar kviciani
dasaWeria, raTa dadgindes, ra Zal ebi afinansebdnen da mar-
Tavdnen msgavs procesebs.- am amonaweris gacnobisTanave **saRad**
moazrovne mkiTxvel is winaSe principiul ad daismeba kiTx-
va: imave m.maWavarianma, g.baramiZem, g.TargamaZem da sxvebma,
1993 _ 2005 wl ebSi ratom ar dasves anal ogiuri saxis
SekiTxva, batal ion `monadires- wevrebi da misi sardal i
roca mkerdiT i cavda kodoris xeobas, afxaz separati stebsa
da rus samSvidoboebs SiSis zars rom scemda? mi Tumetes,
TiToeul maTgans, `moqal aqeTa kavSiridan- dawyebul i `nac-
moZraobis- CaTvl iT, sapsuxismgebl o Tamandebobebi eWiraT.
dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom maTi mxridan ga-
keTebul i bral eul obis Semcvi el i yovel i gancxadeba,
sicrueze iyo agebul i, wina wl ebSi gamoTqmul maT Sexed-
ul ebebs upirispirdeboda da rac mTavaria, l ogikis arcerT
kategorias ar eqvemdebareboda. savsebiT marTal i iyo l i-
beral _ demokratiul i erovnul i partiis l ideri mixeil
naneiSvil i, roca `nacional ebis- zemoaRniSnul i `Taigu-
l i- gonebriv da zneobriv araraobad rom Seafasa. am ad-
amianTa araraoba kidev ufro gamoikveTa, roca e.kvicianis
kriminal ur avtoritetebTan (tariel oniani) kavSirze al a-
parakdnen. am sakiTxTan mimarTebsi gansakuTrebul yura-
dRebas gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespodentisadmi micemul
erT- erT interviuSi dal i kvicianis gancxadeba iqcevs. igi
emzar kvicianis, tariel onianis da m.saakaSvil is biZis Te-
mur al asanias axl o urTierTobas adasturebs. `Cemi Zma_
ambobda d.kviciani_ tariel onians ki icnobda da masTan
qonda Cveul ebrivi urTierToba. rac Seexeba prezidentis
biZas, Temur al asaniasa da tariel onians Soris arsebul

urTierTobas, amaze Tavad saakaSvil ma il aparakos. TviTon ufro kargad icis. aWaraSi ver Sedioda manam, sanam tariel oniani ar Camoiyvanes da gaiZRol es win.-¹⁶ m.saakaSvil i da xel isuflebis maRal Cinosnebi Temur al asaniasa da tariel onianis Zmakacobas Segnebul ad mal avdnen. maT mizans mxol od e.kvicianisa da kodorel i svanebis sazogadoebis Tval Si garewrebad warmocena warmoadgenda. nebismeri saRad moazrovne adamianis winaSe daismeba SekiTxva: Tuki e.kviciani marTi acda iseTi damnaSave iyo, rogori saxis afiSirebasac akeTebda xel isufleba, ratom adre ar moaxdines misi ayvana? miTumetes, igi 2004 wl idan zemo kodoris xeobaSi ar imyofeboda da TbilisSi cxovrobd. am faqtis siswores im periodis politikuri da sazogado moRvaweelic adastureben. gazeT `axali Taobisadmi- micemul erT- erT interviusi amargiani mTel i principul obiT acxadebda: `Tu kviciani kriminali iyo, maSin ratom araferi iRones? me ramdenadac vici, emzar kvicians oficialur struqturebSi maRali Zabvis sadenebis samsaxuris dacvis ufrosoba SesTavazes, magram emzarma ver gadawyvita, imitom rom batalion `monadires- mebrZol ebi el odebodnen da sTxovdnen, emzar modi da gvi patroneo. emzarma xel isuflebas TxovniT mimarTa, mogxedeT da davil aparakoT, Camovidnen saxel mwifo ministri da bokeria, erTad davsxdeTo. eseni ki iaraRiT Cavidnen. kvicianma uTxraxel isuflebas, iaraRiT Camoxval T, iaraRiT dagxvdebiT, Tu uiaraRod Camoxval T, maSin arc Cven gveqneba iaraRio.icodeT, iqaurebSi Tu ar iqnebian mebrZol ebi, droebiTi jari kodors ver dacavs, am situaciaSi mosaxleoba ver gaCerdeba. is ukve gamodis da kodori daicl eba.-¹⁷

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1)2006 wl is ivl isis Tvemde saqarTvel os xel isufleba e.kvicians kriminal ad da banditad ar Tvl ida. miTumetes, mas axal sapsuxismgeblo samsaxursac sTavazobda. SesaZl ebel ia es nabiji e.kvicianis kodoris xeobis gan samudamod Camocil ebaze iyo gaTvl ili; 2)e.kvicianis dasabui Tebul i Txovna, kodoris xeobis mosaxleobisaTvis mixedaT, xeobis daclis dawyebul i procesi adgil obrivi SeiaraRebul i r3zmis `monadires- aRdgeniT Se-

eCerebinaT, m.saakaSvil is mxridan uyuradRebod iqna datovebul i. aRniSnul faqtebs ukeTebda ra anal iza, a.margiani savsebiT samarTI ianad dasZenda: `me vfiqrob, rom aq didi Savi proeqtia Cadebul i qarTvel i xal xisa da erTiani saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg.~ m.saakaSvil is xel isuflebis mxridan kodorTan mimarTebaSi gadadgmul i nabiji, ruseTis Sesabamis uwyebebSi SemuSavebul i gegmis samomavl od ganxorciel ebisatvis saTanado safexuris momzadebis STabedil ebas tovebda. arc isaa gamoricxul i, rom m.saakaSvil is biZa_ Temur al asania (ruseTis kagebes, SemdegSi `ef-esbes- general i, gaeros aparatSi ruseTis warmomadgenel i samxedro iaraRis Sesyidvebis kontrol is dargSi), am mavnebl uri Canafiqris arbitris rol is Semsrul ebel i iyo. aseTi ewvis gamoTqmis Sesazl ebl obas, saqarTvel ios damoukidebl obis winaaRmdeg Temur al asanias mier gaweuli i saqmianoba izl eva. mxedvel obaSi maqvs 1991 wl is 31 martis referendumi. am umniSvnel ovanesi RonisZiebis CasaSi el ad, ruseTis kagebem 7 kaciani j gufi Temur al asanias xel mZRvanel obiT saqarTvel oSi moavl ina. am SemTxvevaSi, biZa_ disSvil i (m.saakaSvil i qartia 91- is polit-sabWos wevri), rus kagebeCnikebTan erTad, mesxeT- j avaxeT- Si, samegrele osa da afxazeTsi qarTvel Ta saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis sawinaaRmdegod moqmedebdnen.

rac Seexeba ekvicianis, masTan mimarTebaSi saxal xo partii lideri m.giorgaZe 2006 wl is 31 ivl iss acxadebda: `Tu emzar kviciani amdeni xnis manzil ze damnaSavdi iyo miCneuli i, ori kviris win igi Tbil isSi bevma naxa, mitingze iyo mosuli. amiT imis Tqma minda, rom Tavisufl ad SeeZl oT misi neutralizeba, an Tundac ayvana.~ ivl isis TveSi ekvicianis Tbil isSi yofnas, gazeT `jorj ian Taimisadmi- micemul interviuSi avTandil margianic adasturebda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- 2006 wl is ivl isis nomerSi dabelWdil emzar kvicianis interviuSi vkiTxul obT: `sami wel iwadia Tbil isSi var. am sami wl is ganmavl obaSi nebismier dros SeeZl oT Cemi, Tu aseTi saxifaTo var_ I ikvidacia. Cems cxovrebaSi dacva ar myolia, Segnebul ad dav-

diodi mar to da manqanaSi ac ar vij endi aravis imis gul i-
 saTvis, rom Tu gadawyvites Cemi moSoreba, sxvas ar aferi
 dauSavdes meTqi. ar gaakeTes, ratom? ismeba kiTxva. imitom
 rom es undodaT.- mTel i ubedureba imaSia, rom m.saakaSvil is
 xel isufli ebis mesveurT, qveynis marTvis principi piarze
 qondaT agebul i. isini saqmis safuZvl ianad da myarad keTe-
 biT ki ar iyvnen dainteresebul ni, aramed mTel Zal isxmevas
 farTo sazogadoebaze emociuri zemoqmedebis moxdenas ax-
 mardnen. zemo kodoris xeobasTan da e.kvicianTan mimarTeba-
 Siac am meTodiT moqmedebdnen. **rac Seexeba e.kvicianis Tbil**
l isSi arayvanis ganmapi robebl mizezad misi disSvil is
(baCo arRvl iani) kodorsi yofinis dasaxel ebas, _ nakl e-
bad damaj erebel ia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs e.kvicianisadmi
kodorel Ta damokidebul eba. cnobil i faqtia, rom kodor-
Tan mimarTebaSi nebis mier probl emas wyvetda ara baCo
arRvl iani, aramed kodorel Ta mier isev kodoris xeobis
sardl ad aRiarebul i emzar kviciani. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki
e.kvicians Tbil isSi aiyvandnen, xel isufli ebis mxridan
winaswar dagegmil speqtaki sazogadoebaze nakl ebi zemo-
qmedebis efeqti eqneboda. meore mxriv, isic gasaTvasl iswi ne-
bel ia, rom 2006 wl is ivl isis Sua ricxvebamde, sanam
e.kviciani kodorsi Cavidoda, samarTal damcavi organoeb-
is mxridan damnaSavde ar iyo Seracxul i. mis winaaRmdeg
`ideol ogiur oms- kodoris xeobis operaciis dawyebidan
ramdenime dRiT adre (20 ivl isi) Caeyara safuZvel i. rac
Seexeba misadmi wayenebul bral debebs, rogorc zemoTac
mqonda aRniSnul i, igi kodoris samxedro operaciis ganx-
orciel ebis fonze mimdinareobda.

ideol ogiur frontze kodorel i svanebisa da piradad
 e.kvicianis safuZvl ianad damuSavebis paral el urad, m.saaka-
 Svil ma qveynis prezidentisadmi Seuferebel i muqarisa da
 dedis ginebis saj aro formas mimarTa. aseTi ram afxaz
 separatistebisa da rus okupantebs ar ukadrebisa zemo kodo-
 rel i svanebisadmi. afxazeTSi kunZul iviT SemorCenil zemo
 kodoris xeobaSi dasaxl ebul i qarTvel ebisadmi m.saakaS-
 vil ma saSinel i siZul vil i gamoavl ina. Znel ad Tu moizeb-

neba msofl io istoriaSi qveynis prezidenti, romel ic xel isufli ebisadmi ukmayofil o adaminebs radioTi an satel evizio eTeriT dedas aginebdes. misi unikal oba imaSiac warmocnda, rom dipl omatis l eqsika axal i gamonaTqvamebiT_ `dedas vutireb yvel as- Seavso. samwuxarod, misTvis miuRebel i aRmocnda rusTavel is brZnul i Segoneba: `gvel sa xvrel iT amoiyvans ena tkbil ad moubari.- m.saakaSvil is mouqnel ma da xistmaMApol itikurmaMkursma, romel ic dedis ginebaze iyo dafuznebul i, zemo kodoris xeobis damcveli i svanebis, gansakuTrebiT ekvicianis gul iswyrroma gamoiwvia. `prezidents Zmarad amovaden dedis ginebas_ ganacxada ekvicianma, _ dedaCemis datireba Tu ase undoda, oTx ivl iss Camosul iyo. dedaze sasabrod Tu movl en, Cvenc movikiTxavT magaT dedebs. svanebs dedis Seuracmyofa aravisTvis gvipatiebia.- imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT soso kviciani dasZenda: `saqarTvel os mTaSi da miT umetes svaneTSi, yvel aze metad Seuracmyofel ia dedis gineba da kacs rom dedas uginneb, Tan erTi kviris win damarxul dedas, is ar gapatiebs amas arafriT. Cveni mTavroba marto l anZRva_ ginebaSi ejibr- eba erTmaneTs.-

m.saakaSvil ma SesaniSnavad icoda rasac akeTebda. mas wonasworobidan ekviciani unda gamoeyvana da pol itikuri qul ebi daewera. im momentSi igi saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTli anobis samomavl o bedze ki ar fiqrobda, aramed, wina pl anze piradi renomes wamowevas cdil obda da gansakuTrebul i divi-dendebis mosapovebl ad iswrafvoda.

Cems mier mopovebul i masal is anal izis safuzvel ze iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom xel isufli ebaSi mosvl is dRidan m.saakaSvil i da misi xel qveiTebi svanebTan da gansakuTrebiT kodorel ebTan urTierTobas Segnebul ad amwvavebdnen. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradRebami i-pyro gazeT `j orj ian TaimsSi- dabeWdil ma nana gaguas uaRresad sayuradRebo weril ma_ `uSbas, TeTnul dis, Sxarasa da uxel das Svil ebi!- `isini_ vkiTxul obT masSi_ gariyes, mebrZol ebi l amis kriminal ebad aqcies, xel - fasebi ar dauriges, kodoris xeoba sapatronod miaceces

da araviTari daxmareba ar gauwies, arakacebis iarI iyis miwebeba scades, girgvl iani moukl es, sandro! patiosani kaci_ cal ani gal axes, sanTel iviT Camoadnes, I ogins mi-aj aWves da manac ganuteva sul i. ki dev ufro adre, uZvel e-si safl avebi gauTxares, gia baramiZis daval ebiT Zvl ebi win da ukan uTries da mogvianebiT ukan miuyares! ki dev? SevardnaZis droindel i vertmfreni gauuqmes da I amis samudamod amoakveTines fexi baridan.~¹⁸ aq motaniI i faqtebi srul simarTI es warmoadgens. iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom saakaSvil is xel isufl eba mizanmimarTul ad anx-orciel ebda kodoris mosaxl eobis gaRizianebas da rac mTavaria, maTSi centrisadmi undobl obis damkvidrebas.

zemoaRniSnul i faqtebi, romel ic istoriis kuTvnil ebas warmoadgens, m.saakaSvil is mier mosyidul ma Jurnal istebma da tel eviziebma daviwyebas Segnebul ad misces. ki dev ufro samarcxvino saqme Caidines, roca zemo kodorel i svanebis I anZRva- gineba saakaSvil iseul formatSi gaagrZel es da axal safexurebriv simarI eze aiyanes. vinc im periodis kodoris movl enebis Sesaxeb tel egadacemebTan mimarTebaSi garkveul i saxiT Canawerebs akeTebda dameTanxmeba, rom `rusTavi-2--is da `pirvel i arxis- Jurnal istebi tyuil ebis Tqmasa da faqtebis damaxinj ebaSi erTmaneTs ej ibrebodnen. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi r.margvel ans, roca `asaval - dasaval isadmi- micemul interviuSi xazgasmit miuTitebda: `movuwodeb masmedias_ Tavi Seikavon tel eviziiT iseTi gamoTqmebisagan, rac am bol o dros xSirad gaismis_ `svanebis mitingi-, `svanebis Sekreba.- anda ra ubedurebaa, dal is xeobaze, kodorSi ganviTarebul movl enebze I aparakoben da aCveneben mestiasa da sofel uSgul is kadrebs!... vis ayrian Tval Si nacars? kuTxuri SuRI is gaRvivebam saqarTvel o erTxel ukve daRupa da aRar kmarა?~

mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom is Jurnal istebi, presis muSakebi da tel ekompaniis warmomadgenl ebi, roml ebi c sinamdvil es Segnebul ad ayal bebdnen, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas masxrad igdebdnen da tyuil ebiT `kvebavdnen,~ maTi pasuxismgebl obis sakiTxi unda dai svas. Tuki,

i.baTiaSvil i intel eqtual uri mxardaWerisaTvis iqna gasaamarTI ebul i da dasjil i, anal ogiuri poziciidan ratom ar unda Sefasdes m.saakaSvil is mier mosyidul i da matyuara Jurnal istebis saqmianoba? Cemi azriT, `miSisturi Jurnal istikis- warmomadgenl ebma, grkveul i doziT unda gaiziaron is danaSaul i, romel ic zemo kodorel ebTan mimarTebaSi m.saakaSvil ma, i.oqruaSvil ma, i.merabiSvil ma da `nacional ebis- sxva Tanamdebobis pirebma Caidines. miTumetes, am danaSaul is gafetiSebaSi da tyuil is simarTI ed gasaRebaSi maT l omis wil i miuZRvis. samwuxarod, `rustavi- 2-- is, `pirvel i arxis- xel mZRvanel ebma da misma xel qveiTma Jurnal istebma ver gaacnobiera, Tu ra damRupvel i Sedegis momtani iqneboda saakaSvil _ oqruaSvil _ merabiSvil is politikuri kursi xval indel i saqarTvel osaTvis. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom mmdinare politikuri situaciis analizis unariT, T.kitovani ufro maRla aRmoCnda, vidre m.saakaSvil is xel isuflebis warmomadgenl ebi da zemoaRniSnul i tel ekompaneibis Jurnal iste bi. am SemTxvevaSi, mxedvel obaSi maqvs ekvicianis mxridan `nacional ebis- l iderebisadmi dapirispirebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis T.kitovani seuli xedva. `kviciani imitom ganawyenda_ ambibda T.kitovani, _ rom xel isuflebam xeobis mosaxleoba miagdo da fexebze daikida! amastan, mas ar SesTavazes Tanamdeboba. faqtia, rom gubernatoris Tanamdebobidan gadayenebis gamoc ganawyenda. masSi TandaTan dagrovda uaryofiti muxti, ramac sabol ood protestis aseTi forma miRo. kvicianis aseT mdgomareobamde miyvanaSi swored xel isuflebaa damnaSave!- am SemTxvevaSi T.kitovani simarTI es ambobda, radgan m.saakaSvil ma da misma xel isuflebam, emzar kvicians 1993 wl idan 2006 wl is ivnisis CaTvl iT xeobis dasacavad gaweul i fasdaudebel i Sroma arafead CauTval a da ise moeqca, rogorc ukanasknel naZiral as. swored es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi imave T.kitovans, roca xazgasmiT ambobda: kodoris xeobis da saerTod `svaneTis mimarT Zveli politika Tu gagrZel deba, es saqarTvel os sabol ood daRupavs.-

qveyanaSi Seqmnil urTul es situacias da mosal odnel sa-
frTxes, saqarTvel os pol itikuri da sazogadoebrivi azris
warmomadgenl ebi sxvadasxva aspeqtSi ganixil avdnen. im etapze
maT mizans, daZabul i situaciis ganmuxtva da qveynis Cixidan
gamoyvanis gzebis Zieba warmoadgenda. am mimarTul ebiT pirve-
l i `saxifaTo- nabij i zugdidis maJoritarma deputatma goCa
fifiam gadadga. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT
irkveva, rom WuberTan misul i g.fifia, saqarTvel os Sinagan
saqmeTa saministros qvedanayofma gaaCera da gzis gagrZel ebis
SesaZl ebl oba ar misca. isini xeobis mimarTul ebiT kodori-
is mkvidr mcxovrebl ebsa da Jurnal istebsac ar atarebdnen.
am faqtTan dakavSirebiT presisadmi micemul interviuSi
g.fifiam ganaxada, rom nacnobi pol iciel ebi mas tel efoniT
afrTxil ebdnen, rom kodorisen Tuki gzas gaagrZel ebda,
SeiZl eba ormxriv srol aSi moxvedril iyo da ubeduri SemTx-
vevis msxverpl i gamxdariyo. misive TqmiT, igi ekvicianTan
winaswar iyo SeTanxmebul i Sexvedris Taobaze da misi mxri-
dan raime saxis provokacia gamoricxul i iyo. aRniSnul i
faqtebis gaanal izebidan gamomdnare, iseTi STabeWdil eba
iqmneba, rom SesaZl o l ikvidaciis motiviT, xel isufl ebas
g.fifias daSineba undoda, raTa xeobaSi Sesvl a gadaefiqre-
bina. ramdenadac xeobaSi adgil obriv mkvidr mosaxl eobas,
Jurnal istebsa da parl amentis wevrs ar uSvebdnen, es faqti
garkveul wil ad imaze migvaniSnebs, rom dazustebul i infor-
maciis gamotana xeobidan m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis ma-
Ral Cinosnebs xel s ar aZl evda. didi sirTul eebis miuxeda-
vad, g.fifiam kodoris xeobaSi Sesvl a SeZl o da misi naambo-
bi gazeTma `al iam- 2006 wl is 25 ivl isis nomerSi dabeWda.
`es iyo namdvil i j oj oxeTi_ ganaxada g.fifiam,_ Zvl ivs
davaRwie Tavi pol iciel Ta garemocvas da 42 km- is gav-
l as dil is 11 saaTidan saRamos 9 saaTamde movundi. emzar
kvicianis moTxovnebsi usamarTl o arcerTi ar aris. rac
Seexeba kodoris xeobaSi arsebul probl emebs, Cems xel T
arsebul yvel a berkets gamoviyeneb, rom sami dRis win
dawyebul i krizisi aucil ebl ad mSvidobiani gziT mogvard-
es. vecdebi yvel a davarwmuno, rom iq ar aris iseTi fetqe-

badsaSiSi situacia, rogorsac xel isufli eba xatavs da amitom mol aparakeba unda moxdes da sakiTxi mSvidobiani gziT mogvardes. daTmobisTvis isinic mzad arian. daTmobebe iqneba im SemTxvevaSi, Tu statusi aRudgeba `monadires,~ daubrundeba is funqcia, romel ic aqamde ekisreboda. am SemTxvevaSi ar aris l aparaki pol itikur statusze. aseT SemTxvevaSi `monadires- Caabarebs iaraRs. anu Tavdacvis saminstros warmomadgenel i unda Cavides kodorsi, aRweros iaraRi da gadawyvtos, romel i iaraRi SeiZl eba darces xeobaSi da romel i waiRon ukan... xel isufli ebisgan vel odebi pasuxs. Tu iqneba dadebiTi pasuxi, SemiZl ia Sevasrul o Suamavl is rol i.-

am vrcel i amonaweridan sami ZiriTadi sakiTxis gamoyofa SeiZl eba: 1)zemo kodoris xeobaSi saqmis safuzvl ianad Seswavl idan gamomdinare, parl amentar goCa fifias daskvnis saxiT gakeTebul i gancxadeba_ emzar kvicianis yvel a moTxovna samarTl iania; 2)zemo kodoris xeobis Sesaxeb, sainformacio saSual ebebis mier gamuqebul i formiT gakeTebul i gadacemebi, sinamdvil es ar Seesabameboda. igi xel isufli ebis dakvetas warmoadgenda da sazogadoebis cru informacii tyveobaSi moqcevas isaxavda mi znad; 3)xeobaSi fetqebadsaSiSi mdgomareoba ar iyo. rac Seexeba uSual od e.kvicianis moTxovnas, igi sam ZiriTad punqtad iyo Camoyal ibebul i: a)batal ion `monadires- aRdgena da Sesabamisi Zal ovani uwyebisadmi daqvemdebareba; b)Tavdacvis saminstros maRal Cinosanta j gufis Casvl a kodoris xeobaSi, iaraRis sawyobis srul i aRweris Catareba da xeobaSi imdenis daetoveba, rac batal ion `monadiresatvis-iqneboda saWiro; g)pirvel rigSi moexdinaT 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxmebis gauqmeba da amis Semdeg ganexorciel ebinaT zemo kodoris xeobaSi jaris Seyvana. Cemi azrit, e.kvicianis es samive moTxovna savsebiT pasuxobda teritoriul i mTl i-anobis aRsadgenad mebrZol i saqarTvel os saxel mwifos xval indel i dRis interesebs.

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki m.saakaSvil is xel isufli eba marTl acda saqarTvel os samomavl o bediT iyo dainteresebul i da

ucxo qveynis dakveTas ar asrul ebda, parl amentar g.fifias mier kodoridan gamotanil winadadebas_ mol aparakebis dawyebis Sesaxeb unda daTanxmeboda. Tavdacvis saministros maRal CinosnebTan erTad, sazogadoebisa da politikur moRvaweTa mcire j gufi kodorSi gaegzavna da arsebuli momenti maqsimal urad gamoeyenebina. miTumetes, sazogadoebisa da politikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebi ekvicianTan mol aparakebaze wasvl as aucil ebl obad miicnevden. imavdroul ad, mediatoris funqciis Sesrul ebasackisrul obden. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas erovnuli krebis mier miRebuli gadawyvetil eba iqcevs. `erovnuli krebis monawil eni_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ mzad arian, sakuTar Tavze sakuTarive iniciativiT dakisrebuli movali eobebi pirnaTI ad Seasrul on.- anal ogiuri saxis winadadeba avTandil margianmac SesTavaza xel isufli ebas. `me vaZl evpirobas da axlac ar aris gviani, rom or saatSi kodorSi yvela mxareebis movarigeb.- imave a.margianis xel mZRvanel obiT, m.saakaSvilis sagangebo werili gaugzavnes. masSi orive mxares Soris mol aparakebisa da probl emis mSvidobianad gadawyvetis mizniT, momrigeblis funqciit aRWurvilis specialuri komisiis Seqmnis aucil ebl oba iyo dasmul i. igive sakiTxi svanebis 25 ivl isis Sekrebaze misul i n.burjanaZis winaSedac daayenes. qveynis pirvel ma da meore pirebma, es gonivruli winadadeba samwuxarod uyuradRebod datoves.

m.saakaSvilis xel isufli ebisa da ekvicianis urTierTdamokidebul ebis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, uaRresad angariSgasawevi mosazreba gamoTqva nodar naTaZem. misi TqmiT, `advili iqneboda, kvicianisaTvis yurSi eTqvaT, Wkuaze modi, gverdze gadeqi da xeli ar SemiSal o, me es unda gavakeTo. araviTari dabrkol eba ar SexvdebodaT, kvicianisTvis rom eTqvaT, saxel mwifos es sWiriao, me Sen ar gekiTxebi, miVdivar da vakeTebo. maSin is veraviTar winaaRmdegobas ver gaswevda. mTavrobas `monadires- daSlis ufl eba ar hqonda. xel isufli ebas araviTari ufl eba ar aqvs `monadires- wevrebs kriminal ebi uwodos. araviTari ufl eba ara aqvs gmiris wodebaze uari uTxras nebi mier monawil es 13 wliani brZol isaTvis

kvicianis CaTvl iT. Tuki guSin Cavidine gmiroba, dRes ki danaSaul i, es imas ar niSnavs, rom guSindel i gmirobis titul i merTmeva.⁻¹⁹ rogorc vxedavT, aq yuradReba adamanuri urTierTobis el ementarul formebeze da im samarTI ebriv mxarezea gamaxvil ebul i, roml iTac ama Tu im pirovnebis mier qveynis winaSe gaweul i damsaxureba ganizomeba. msaakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas zemoaRniSnul i Tvisebebidan arcerTi ar aRmoaCnda. aseT umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxebis ara qveynis, aramed piradi interesebisa da ucxo qveynebidan maT-Tvis gamogzavnil i `mrCevl ebis- Segonebis mixedviT wyvetdnen. arada, zemo kodoris mosaxl eobasTan da yofil i batal-ionis `monadires- wevrebTan saerTo enis gamonaxva, dial ogis formatSi konsesusis miRweva, xeobis xval indel i dRis aucil ebl obiT iyo ganpirobebul i.

Seqmnil i urTul esi mdgomareobis gaanal izebidan gamomdinare, gamosaval i gzebis Ziebisa da erTiani pragmatul i gadawyvetil ebis miRebas iTval iswinebda svanebis sazogado da pol itikur moRvaweTa 2006 wl is 25 ivl iss Tbil isis Sekreba. rogorc cnobil ia, am RonisZiebas parl amentis Tavmj-domare n.burj anaZec daeswro. es is periodia, roca kodoris xeobaSi saomari moqmedebebi jer kidev dawyebul i ar iyo da emzar kvicianis zemoaRniSnul i moTxovnebi parl amentar goCa fifias, n.burj anaZisa da mTavrobis wevrebisaTvis wardgenil i qonda. zemo kodoris xeobaSi Seqmnil i mdgomareobis srul ad gaanal izebis sanacvl od, aRniSnul i Sexvedridan gamosul ma n.burj anaZem, Jurnal istebTan upasuxismgebl o gancxadeba gaakeTa. `vin mekiTxeba rom movedi? parl amentis Tavmj-domaris saqme ar aris egeT saqmeebSi Careva, arc erT qveyanaSi, dedamiwis zurgze. imitom movedi, rom gul i Semtkiva, imitom movedi, miyvars- ar miyvars erTia, magram ar mZul s emzar kviciani, da ar minda namdvil ad, rom raime cudi gavigono arc masze da arc mis irgvl iv myof adamianebze da ar minda rom weTi sisxl i daiRvaros aq.-

roca dakargul i afxazeTis fonze, zemo kodorisa da Cxal - Tas xeobebis _am `patara kunZul is,- anu afxazeTis dasabrunebel i pl acdarmis da misi gmiri mosaxl eobis sakiTxi dg-

as dRis wesrigSi, parl amentis Tavmj domaris zemoaRniSnul i gancxadeba upasuxismgebl obis kl asikur nimuSs warmoadgens. ramdenadac m.saakaSvil i, i.oqruaSvil i da i.merabiSvil i Seusmenl obis bacil iT iyvnen daavadebul ni da kunTebis Tamass ayol il ni, qveynis parl amentis Tavmj domares saRi azrovneba unda gamoeCina da konstituciis 48- e muxl iT miniWebul i ufl ebebiT emoqmeda. `saqarTvel os parl amenti_ vkiTxul obT dokumentSi_ aris qveynis umaRI esi warmomadgenl obiT organo, romel ic axorciel ebs sakanonmdebl o xel isufl ebas, gansazRvravs qveynis saSinao da sagareo politikis ZiriTad mimarTul ebebs, konstituciiT gansazRvrul fargl ebSi kontrol s uwevs mTavrobis saqmianobas da axorciel ebs sxva ufl ebamosil ebas.- rac Seexeba 76- e muxl s, igi parl amentis Tavmj domares qveynis meore pirad asaxel ebs da saWir- oebis SemTxvevaSi prezidentis moval eobis Sesrul ebis ufl ebebs aniWebs. `prezidentis ufl ebamosil ebis vadamde Sewyvetis SemTxvevaSi, prezidentis moval eobas asrul ebs parl amentis Tavmj domare.- imave konstituciis me- 100 muxl is mixedviT, `saqarTvel os parl amentis Tanxmobis gareSe dauSvebel ia samxedro Zal Ta gamoyeneba sagangebo mdgomareobis dros.-

am umaRI esi sakanonmdebl o aqtis zemoaRniSnul i muxl ebiT, parl amentis Tavmj domarisadmi miniWebul ufl ebebs imasac Tu davumatebT, rom igi qveynis erovnul i uSiSroebis sabWos wevria, advil i misaxvedri iqneba, pasuxismgebl obis acil ebis mizniT ra donis ususuri gancxadeba gaakeTa n.burjanaZem. qveynisTvis im kritikul momentSi, saqarTvel os parl amentis Tavmj domaris upasuxismgebl o da tyuil ze dafuZnebul - ma gancxadebam, saRad moazrovne Jurnal isturi el itis warmomadgenel Ta aRSfoTeba gamoiwvia. mxedvel obaSi maqvs im periodis presaSi gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebi. am mxriv gansakuTrebul interess iqcevs l uka amil axvaris statia `maS raSi gvWirdeba arCeul i burjanaZe xal xis rCeul Ta Tavmj domared-... statii avtorma, eTikis yvel a normebis dacviT, gamanadgurebel i pasuxi gasca n.burjanaZis zemoaRniSnul gancxadebas. `qal batono nino_ vkiTxul obT weril Si, _ Tu Tqveni

saqme araa aseT mZime wuTebSi procesebSi monawil eoba, informaciis fl oba, pasuxismgebl obis aReba, maS raRaa Tqveni saqme, ristvis agirCiaT xal xma da ristvis winamZRol obT xal xis rCeul ebis krebul s_ parl aments?... ingl isis l legendarul i premier_ ministri margaret tetCeri Tqveni idea l ia, magram marto samkaul ebiT rom baZavT, iqneb isic gagex-senebinaT, argentinastan konfl iqtis dros tetCeri rom Tavvad gafrinda mal vinis kunZul ebze? Tqvengan kodorSi Cafrenasac el odnen (prezidentTan da patriarqTan erTad), magram kodorSi arCafrenas vin Civis, saerTod pasuxismgebl obis gan Tavis daZvrenas cdil obT... gvinda Cven, Cven mier rCeul - Ta aseTi Tavmj domare? amistvis virCevT, amistvis vinaxavT? amaSi vixdiT ful s?-

Cems mier motanil i es amonaweri srul ad gamoxatavs im sayvedurs, rasac parl amentis Tavmj domare zemo kodoris movl enebTan mimarTeBaSi gakeTebul i gancxadebebiT imsaxurebda. meore mxriv, xal xis nebis ignorebis paral el urad, n.burjanaZem konstituciiT misadmi gaTval iswinebul i arcerTi moTxovna ar Seasrul a. man yuradRebis Rirsadac ar gaxada svanebis mier 25 ivl iss SeTavazebul i mediatoris institutis amoqmedeba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `al iasadmi~ micemul interviuSi erekl e saRl iani gul iswyromiT ambobda: `mediatoris instituti dResac arsebobs svaneTSi, gamoeyenebinaT es xal xi mol aparakebisaTvis. xel isuflebam araferi ar gaakeTa amistvis, pirdapir iaraRis enaze dauwyo sakuTar xal xs l aparaki. rom SeekavebinaT cotaxans Tavi da mediatorebisTvis miendoT yvel aferi, es ambavi ar moxdeboda, isini daaSoSminebdnen kvicians... iciT ra bevr rames gauZl o mag adamianna_ xeoba SemogvinarCuna. bol o periodSi sul l anZRvden, moRal atis iarl iys artyamdnen. ver gauZl o samwuxarod am daZabul obas. sj obda gaeZl o.~ esaRl ianis es bol o sityvebi- `sj obda gaeZl o,~ erTi SexedviT adamians sworad moeCveneBa, magram Tuki siRrmi seul ad gavacnobierbT im etapze mimdinare procesebs, sakiTxi sul svagvarad daismis. adamiანი, romelic 13 wl is ganmavil obaSi afixazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis gan nas-

rol i tyviis pirispir idga da mkerdiT icavda kodoris xeobas, roca sando informaciis safuZvel ze real uri eWvi gaaCnda mtrisadmi xeobis gadacemis Sesaxeb, roca saqarTvel osa da msoflios gasagonad tel eviziiT Segigineben imas, rac WeSmariti qarTvel isaTvis uwmindesia da qvia_deda da isic 40 dRis gardacvl il i, Znel ia, am SemTxvevaSi meomar j ariskacs mosTxovo TavSekaveba. mi Tumetes, ukanasknel periodSi gavr cel ebul i informaciis Tanaxmad, m.saakaSvil ma da misma xel qveiTebma kodoris xeoba rusebTan savaWro da ful is keTebis sagnad aqcia. amasTan dakavSi rebiT gazeT `praim-taimisaTvis- micemul interviuSi, igive e.kviciani kodoris xeobis gamyidvel da ful is amReb pirovnebebs konkretul ad asaxel ebs. Jurnal istis mariam nadiraZis SekiTxvaze_ `arsebobs informacia, rom im droisTvis igor giorgaZem mil ioner deripaskosagan 30 mil ion i aiRo kodoris Casabarebl ad-. emzar kviciani: `giorgaZem 30 ki ara, 50 mil ion i aiRo, rogorc amoben, maSin am Tanxi dan 17 mil - ion i TviTon daxarj a, darCenil i Tanxa ki danarCenebma dainawil es. gaxsovT, oqruaSvil i rom ambobda, kvicianis oj axidan 20 mil ionis rusul i warmoebis i araRi amoviReTo? es imisTvis iyo naTqvami, rom igoras aq Camoewera es ful i, viTom man momitana es i araRi.~²⁰

aRniSnul i informacia m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisadmi seriozul bral debas Seicavs da am faqtiT, Sesabamisi saxel mwifo uwyebebi aucil ebl ad unda dainteressedes. pirvel rigSia gasarkvevi: 1) dasaxel ebul i ful is ni Sani (evro, dol ari, rusul i maneTi) da misi gadacemis konkretul i dro; 2) es Tanxa, zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i samxedro operaciis xarj ebs sakompensaci od iyo gankuTvnil i Tu qveynis maRal Cinosnebis piradi gamdi drebi saTvis. am da sxva kiTxebis, roml ebic Ziebis procesSi gaCndeba, dasabuTebul i pasuxi unda gaeces, riTac sazogadoebis farTo interesi srul ad iqneba dakmayofil ebul i. rac Seexeba Cems mier motanil i faqtis namdvil obas, am etapze masSi eWvis Setana nakl ebad dasaSvebia, im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom e.kvicianisadmi Sesabamisi SekiTxvis

dasmis iniciativa, Jurnal istidan momdinareobda. isic gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom i.giorgaZis mier qarTul i mx- arisadmi gadasacemad ol eg deripaskosagan ful is aRebis faqti, Jurnal istmac icoda. am SemTxvevaSi, e.kvicianTan interviuSi, misi mxridan mxol od ful is raodenoba iqna dazustebul i.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebis anal izi, varaudis gamoTqmis safuZvel s iZl eva imis Sesaxeb, rom kodoris xe- obis samxedro opercis gegma_ scenari, roml sac m.saaka- Svil is xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uwebebi anxorciel eb- da_ moskovSi momzadda. rogorc Cans, am gegmis pirvel i da meore safexuri, saqarTvel os parl amentSi afxazeTis de- putaciis mandatisa da zemo kodoris xeobis damcavi batal - ionis_ `monadires- gauqmebas, xol o mesame safexuri, zemo kodoris xeobaSi qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebis Seyvanas da Sesabamisi sadamsj el o RonisZiebebis gatarebas iTval - iswinebda. am sakiTxebTan dakavSi rebiT, winamdebare naS- romSi motanil i masal ebis Seswavl isa da misi safuZv- l iani anal izidan gamomdinare, advil ad gasagebi xdeba,_ saqarTvel os xel isufl eba batal ion `monadires- aRdgen- iT da e.kvicianTan urTierTobis dasaregul irebl ad medi- atoris svanuri institutis gamoyenebiT ratom ar iyo dainteresebul i. mkiTxvel s Sevaxseneb, rom am SemTxvevaSi isev da isev 50 mil ionis faqtoris moqmedeba gamoricxu- l i ar aris. maT winaSe al bad principul ad idga sakiTxi: 30 vercxl i Tu samSobl os teritoriul i mTl ianoba! ram- denadac mesame gza ar arsebobda, qarTul ma triumviratma [m.saakaSvil i (saakovi)_ i.oqruaSvil i (voskaniani)_ i.mera- biSvil i (merabovi)] rogorc Cans 30 vercxl s misca upi- ratesoba. mi Tumetes, haosianTa genetikuri Stos mesveurT, saqarTvel o ar esamSobl oebodaT da masTan mimarTebaSi gadamwyvet si tyvasac eseni ambobdnen. maTive Zal isxmeviT, `banditebad- da `amboxebul ebad- gamocxadebul i kodorel eb- is winaaRmdeg, 24 ivl iss saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebis da pol iciel ebis sagangebo qvedanayofi iqna gadasrol il i. 25 `kamazis- tipis satvirTo avtomanqaniT da 15 j i piT, isini

jvari_ xaisis gzis monakvetis da rusi samsvidoboebis sagusagos uprobl emod gavl iT, sofel xaisi gadaiy-anes, sadac i.oqruasvil _ i.merabisvil is Stabi ganTavsda.

dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom wina wl eb-Si, jvari_ xaisis gzis monakvetiT kodoris xeobis mamar-Tu-l ebit gasatarebel humanitarul tvirts, rusi samsvi-doboebi probl emebs uqmnidnen. am SemTxvevaSi, `kamazis-sistemis 25 satvirTo avtomangana da 15 jipi SeiaraRebu-l i samxedro SenaerTebi yovel gvari incidentis gareSe iqna gatarebul i.²⁹ 29 ivl isis monacemebiT, imave gziT, kodori-s xeobaSi 850 jariskaci da 112 samxedro mangana iyo Seyvanil i. arada 1994 wl is 4 april is da 14 maisis SeT-anxmebebis mixedvit, rus `samsvidoboebs- kodoris mima-rTul ebit SeiaraRebul i Zal ebisa da samxedro teqniki-s gatarebis ufl eba ar qonda. is ki ara, batal ion `mona-dires- daSl a_ ganiaraRebas da misi wevrebis xeobidan dauyovnebl iv gamoyvanas, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTite-bul i, afxazuri da rusul i mxareebi wl ebis ganmavl oba-Si principul ad moitxovdnen. am fonze, qarTul i jaris jvari_ xaisis gzis monakvetze uprobl emod gatareba, kodoris xeobasTan mamarTebaSi moskovisadmi micemul i utyuari garantiebit unda yofil iyo ganpirobebul i.

Cems mier gamoTqmul i am mosazrebis sasargebl od metyvel ebs kodoris (mdinaris sigrZe sakenTan erTad 129 km.) xeobis 60 kil ometrian monakvetze qarTul i jaris daubrkol ebl ad moZraobis faqti. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sofel i l aTa, sadac oficial urad im periodSi rusi `samsvidoboebis- sagusago iyo da qarTul i jari sofel ebis_ amtyel isa da qvabCaris mamarTul ebit iqna gatarebul i. rac Seexeba sofel qvabCars, igi kodoris xeobis Camketi sofel ia da soxumamde 3 saatis saval iTaa dac-il ebul i. swored aq SeCerd a i.oqruasvil i. erTi ram xaz-gasmit unda ariniSnos, rom sofel l aTadan rusi `samS-vidoboebi- ara Tu SeiaraRebul qvedanayofs, aramed Seui-araRebel kodorel ebsac ki uqmnidnen probl emebs. es gare-moeba qonda mxedvel obaSi m.giorgazes, roca gazeT `axal i

Taobis- korespondentTan saubarSi ganacxada: `xel isufli e-
ba ruseTTan kargad aris garigebul i. me arc imas gamovricxav,
rom ruseTi Tavidanve iyo saqmis kursSi am movl enebTan
mimarTebaSi da garkveul i nawil i ruseTis xel isufli ebidan
amaSi monawil eobda kidec.- am amonaweris mixedviT, saqarvel -
osa da ruseTis samTavrobo uwyebebis maRal CinosanTa Soris
winaswari garigebis safuZvl iani eWvia gamoTqmul i. am faqt-
Tan dakavSirebiT, Jurnal `sarkes- korespodentisadmi micemul
interviuSi (2012 wl is noemberi) irakl i baTiaSvil i ambob-
da: `aris informacia, rom sanam kodoris xeobaSi 2006 wel s
j ars Seiyvandnen, saakaSvil is emisrebi darbodnen moskovSi.
saakaSvil ma kargad icoda, rom kodorSi j ars ruseTis Tanx-
mobis gareSe ver Seiyvanda, radgan j varTan dgas ruseTis
j ari. Tavidan qarTvel ebs uari uTxres kidec. gaSvebis ufl eba
ar gvaqvso, mere ki pirdapir kreml idan mi iRes miTiTeba da
gaatares. es iyo farul i garigebis Sedegi.- ruseTTan SeT-
anxmeba da garigeba rom ara, i.oqruaSvil i da i.merabiSvil i
kodoris xeobas uprobl emod sofel qvabCaramde `marSiT-
namdvil ad ver gaivl ida. rac Seexeba samTavrobo doneze
gavr cel ebul informacias, _ kodoris xeobaSi sofel qvab-
Caramde i.oqruaSvil is l aSqroba TiTqos ekvicianis devniT
da mistvis afxazeTSi gadasasvl el i gzis CaketviT iyo gan-
pirobepul i, simarTI es ar Seesabameba. rusebTan zemoaRniS-
nul i SeTanxmebis safuZvel ze, qveynis xel isufli eba da misi
ideol ogebi, momxdari faqtiT, qarTul i j aris siZl ieris
warmoCenis piarkampanias eweodnen da saqarTvel os mosaxl e-
obaSi afxazeTis uaxl oes periodSi dabrunebis il uzias
qmnidnen. Torem, samxedro eqspertebis TqmiT, kodoris xeo-
bidan gasasvl el i gzebis Caketvaze saubari absurdi iyo,
radgan nebismieri bil ikiT SeiZl eboda (miTumetes kodor-
el isaTvis) xeobidan Tavis daRweva da sasurvel i mima-
rTul ebiT wasvl a. amis Sesaxeb rusi `samSvidoboebis- sard-
l obam da misma eqspertebmac kargad icodnen. yovel ive ze-
moTqmul idan gamomdinare, ismeba kiTxva: 1)ra datvirTvas
atarebda kodoris xebis 60 kil ometrian monakveTze da
sofel qvabCaramde qarTul i j aris qvedanayofis msvl el o-

ba? 2)riT iyo ganpirobetul i afxazi separatistebis da rusi
`samSvidoboebis- mxridan yovel gvari reagirebis gareSe am
proceSisadmi Soridan mayurebl is poziciis daWera?

aRniSnul kiTxvebze garkveul wil ad pasuxs gazeT `praimt-
aimis- korespondentisadmi ekvicianis mier micemul i inter-
viu iZl eva. `miTxres_ ambobda ekviciani,_ rogor amzadebd-
nen xal xs imisaTvis, rom TiTqos oqruaSvil i kodoridan
gegmaVda afxazeTis aRebas.- m.saakaSvil is ideol og_ propa-
gandistebis mxridan am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i saagitacio
saqmianoba da saxel isufl ebo doneze rusebTan SeTanxmebu-
l i zemoaRniSnul i speqtakl i, or ZiriTad datvirTvas atareb-
da: 1)igi kodorel i svanebis mosatyuebl ad, maTi mxridan wina-
aRmdegobis gaweVaze uaris saTqmel ad da 2)imave kodorel eb-
is dasasjel ad Sesabamisi safexuris momzadebaze iyo gaTvl -
il i. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom kodore-
l i svanebisadmi sastiki angariSsworeba i.oqruaSvil ma da
i.merabiSvil ma sofel qvabCaridan mobrunebis Semdeg daiw-
yo.

rac Seexeba uSual od operaciis dawyebis process, am saki-
TxTan dakavSirebiT, im periodis presis furcl ebze gamo-
qveynebul oficial ur samTavrobo informacias veyrdnobi.
am dokumenturi masal idan irkveva, rom 2006 wl is 26 iv-
l iss, xaiSis Stabidan i.merabiSvil ma raci iT ekvicians 4
saaTian monakveTsi iaraRis dayris gadawyvetil ebis miRe-
ba mosTxova. isic dadasturebul ia, rom i.oqruaSvil is
Zal isxmeViTa da mis mier gacemul i brZanebiT, saomari
moqmedebebi ul timatumis vadis gasvl amde 2 saaTIT adre
daiwyo. brZol aSi CarTul i iqna senakis samxedro bazis
sabrZol o vertmfrenebi, roml ebic zemo kodoris xeobas
urTierT monacvl eobiT masirebul ad bombavdnen. gazeTi
`saqarTvel o da msoflios- korespodentis jaba Jvianasadmi
micemul interviuSi, ekvicianis da nora kviciani aRniSnul
faqtTan dakavSirebiT xazgasmiT ambobda: `dabombva rom da-
iwyo, gvegona rusebi Semovidnen. ras vifiqrebdiT, Tu qarTu-
l i TviTmfrinavebi gvesrodnen. pirdapir Cvens ezos daar-
tyes. mere tyeSi gaviqeciT da iqac gvbombavdnen. me ar vici,

es amaT rogor unda epatioT~... aRniSnul i dabombvebis Sedegad Tu ra mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda sofel i Cxal Ta, amis Sesaxeb kodoriSi myofi adgil obrivi mcxovrebl ebis mier tel efoniT presisadmi miwodebul i informaciIT irkveva, rom mosaxl eobis didi nawil i tyeSi iyo gaxiznul i. rac Seexeba TviT sofel s, `praqtikul ad miwasTanaa gasworebul i yofil i rwmunebul is mSobl iuri sofel i Cxal Ta.- aseTi ram kodoris mosaxl eobisaTvis 1993 wl idan 2006 wl is ivl isamde, afxaz separatistebis da rus okupantebis ar ukadrebiaT. m.saaka-Svil (saakovi)- i.oqruaSvil (voskaniani)- i.merabiSvil is (merabovi) mier ganxorciel ebul ma samxedro operaciama Tu ra tragedia daatexa Tavskodoris mosaxl eobas, amis Sesaxeb gazeT `jorj ian Taimsis- korespodenti werda: `es ra vnaxe, sisxl Si mocurave daWril ebi Svel as iTxovdnen. yirodnen, magram mSvel el i ar Canda.- momxdar faqtTan dakavSirebiT ekvicianis da dal i kviciani gazeT `rezonansisadmi- micemul interviuSi pirdapir acxadebda: `am xel isufli ebam gawira kodori, udanaSaul o xal xi daxoces. ratom dabombes mSvidobiani mosaxl eoba? risi gul isaTvis daibomba sofel i Cxal Ta?... sofel i dabombes imitom, rom xal xi gaanawyenon emzarze, magram amit emzaris siZul - vil s ver daTesaven.-

mTel i ubedureba imaSia, rom i.oqruaSvil _ i.merabiSvil is brZanebiT, zemo kodoris xeobis dasaxl ebul i punqtebi masirebul ad daibomba, xol o tyeSi gaxiznul mSvidobian mosaxl eobaze vertmfrenebiT `nadirobdnen- da Wurvebs gunebaganwyobis mixedviT esrodnen. amasac ar dasj erdnen da imave `sardl ebis- brZanebiT, qveiT i jaris nawil ebma sofel Cxal TaSi mosaxl eobisgan mitovebul i saxl ebis Zarcva daiwyes. am amazrzen faqtTan dakavSirebiT nora kviciani xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `Cveni saxl idan yvel aferi gazides, warmoidgineT, kovzi rom kovzia isic ar datoves. yvel aferi gaanadgures, emzaris saxl ic da Cem ic. j arma araferi datova. safl avebs Txridnen, warmoidgineT, Cemi qmr is safl avis amoTxrac ki undodaT. mama giorgi gurCiani Caeria da ar misca ufl eba. aseTi represirebul ebi

vi yavi T Cven amaTgan. aseve devni dnen Cems Svil ebs, axl obl ebs, naTesavebs da yvel as, viStanac ki rai me Sexeba gvqonda.- am amonaweris mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, mkiTxvel is winaSe barbarosTa namoqmedarisa da qarTvel TmoZul eobis srul yofil i suraTi aRdgeba. rogorc Cans, 2004 wel s mestia-Si g.baramiZis mier afrasiZeebis safl avebis amoTxris faqts, i.oqruaSvil i da i.merabiSvil i misabaZ magal iTad aRiqvam-dnen. XXI saukunis qarTvel i kanibal is `gakval ul - gzaze gavl as, genetikurad haosianTa STamomaval ni da qarTI osianTa gvaris wamosasxamSi SefuTul i maRal Cinosnebi, gardacvl il Ta safl avebis wabil wvas saamayod miCnevden. m.saakaSvil is zemoaRniSnul i muqara_ `miwidan amovTxri!- kvicianebis micval ebul Ta safl avebis wabil wviT daiwyes. emzar kviciansa da baCo arRvl ians rom veraferi mouxer-xes, Suris saZiebl ad misi axl obl ebis gardacvl il Ta saf-I avebs miadgnen. merabiSvil _ oqruaSvil is pirdapiri miTiTeba rom ara, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, saRad moazrovne qarTvel i jariskacisgan qarTvel Ta safl avebis amoTxra warmoudgenel ia. amas mxol od paTol ogiurad avadmyofi adamiani Tu gaakeTebis. gardacvl il Ta safl avebisadmi aseT damokidebul ebas, meore msofi io omis dros mxol od faSistebi iCendnen. Tumca, aq gasakviri araferia, radgan `nacional ebis- araerovnul ni adagze dafuZnebul cxra wl ian mmarTvel obas, faSizmisa da kanibal izmis ideuri wyaro da al en dal esis SegonebiTi naazrevi asazrdoebda.²¹

zemoaRniSnul i gaugonari faqti, saRad moazrovne adamianebis, momavl is arCevanis gakeTebis Jams_ dafiqrebisken da zarebis droul ad darisxebisken mouwodebs. miTumetes, moRallateebad Seracxul i, saxl kar- dangreul i da sacxovrisidan izul ebiT tyeSi gandevnil i kodoris xeobis gmiri damcvel ebi, `miSistobaze- Tavgamodebul da dasmenebSi gawaful gadagvarebul qarTvel obas, im Znel bedobis Jams gamafrTxil ebel i formiT erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda l aSa nadareisvil is cnobil i l eqsidan_ `triptiqi yorRanovebs da saakaSvil ebs-_ si tyvebs:

`beTI emidan gixmob Seni meci xovne gandegil i, _

ar dauSva mamaSenis safl avs Txrides garegini!
gviañ mixved, ros ufal cas da miwebs arigebda...
iqneb axl a mainc mixvde, il ia ras garigebdal!!

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom kodoris xeobis daml aSqravi sardl ebi, verafersac ver mixvdnen da aq gasakviri araferia, radgan TiToeul i maTgani sisxl xor-ceul ad gareginis STamomaval ni iyvnen. am SemTxvevaSi xel - sayrel i situaciIT sargebl obdnen da maTi winaprebis mier anderZad danatovar qarTvel TmoZul eobis gzas maRal doneze agrZel ebdnen. isic faqtia, rom m.saakaSvil is xel isufl e-bis maRal Cinosnebi, sazogadoebidan wamosul gonivrul wi-nadadebebsa da godebas_ Seusmenl obiT pasuxobda. amis erT-erT dadasturebas, zemo kodoris xeobis adgil obriv mosax-l eobasTan mimarTebaSi, i.merabiSvil is reformirebul i pol-i-ciisa da i.oqruaSvil is uwyebis mier gawvrTnil i jariska-cebis mxridan gatarebul i umkacresi sadamsjel o RonisZie-bebi warmoadgens. Cems am gancxadebas, bral debis zedapiru-l i forma rom ar mieces da meti damaj erebl oba SeiZinos, gazeT `kriminal Si- dabeWdil i informaciis srul teqsts movitan da mkiTxvel ma gansaj os, TavianiT qmedebebidan ga-momdinare, fsiqol ogiurad ra doneze iyvnen isini damuSave-bul ni. `kodo-riS mxcovrebl ebi qarTvel i Zal ovnebis mxri-dan Tavdasxmis obieqtad arian qceul ni. qarTvel i jarisk-acebi sastikad eqceviañ adgil obriv svanebs, imaTac ki roml ebiC saqarTvel os amJamindel i xel isufl ebiS mima-rT l oial urad arian ganwyobil ni. maTi TqmiT, pol iciis TanamSroml ebma sofel aJaris mxcovrebl bert xvibl ians sastikad scemes. imave dRes pol iciel ebma daWres sofel genwviSsi mxcovrebi kote gurCiani...~ am fonze ucnauradac ki moCans m.saakaSvil is gancxadeba: `viciT ras vakeTebT. va-pirebT gavagrZel oT es operacia da aRmovalinoT tyeSi gaq-ceul i kriminal ebi. am operacias l ogikur dasasrul amde miviyyanT. darwmunebul i var, rom sazogadoeba mTavrobis am gadamwyvet pol itikur nabij ebs pasuxismgebl obiT da gage-biT moekideba.⁻²² imavdroul ad igi rus samSvidoboebS afrTx-il ebda, rom maqsimal urad Seekavebina Tavi provokaciul i

qmedebebisagan. m.saakaSvil iseul i zemoaRniSnul i gancxadeba, sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis mizniT gaTv- l il i piari iyo. rac Seexeba kodorel ebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os Zal ovani struqturebis mier gatarebul RonisZ- iebebs, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi `samSvi doboebisaTvis- misaRebi iyo da misadmi xel SeSl as danaSaul ad aRiqvamden. isini gansakuTrebul i kmayofil ebiT Sexvdnen: a)zemo kodoris xeobis dabombvis Sedegad svanuri sofl ebis miwasTan gas- worebas; b)adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg Catarebul fsiqol ogiur terorsa da g)maTSi brZol isunarianobis Camkv- l el sadamsj el o RonisZiebebs.

arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, afxa- zebma da rusebma, m.saakaSvil is `gafrTxil eba- uzenaes kanonad aRiqves da kodorSi mimdinare movl enebS Sori- dan sazeimo ganwyobiT akvirdebodnen. aRniSnul faqts yuradReba gazeT `j orj ian Taimsis- korespodentma nana gaguam miaqcia da Tavisi damokidebul eba imave gazeTSi dabewdil weril Si `uSbas, TeTnul dis, Sxarasa da uxel - das Svil ebi!- _ gamoTqva. `afxazebsa da osebs purmaril i gauSl iaT. Tamadad rusebi dauniSnavT, kavkasiuri jixvis yanwebi l udiT pirTamde SeuvsiaT da Rreoben... ura! saqarTvel oSi ZmaTamkvl el i omi mZvinvarebs (xiTxiTebS yvrimal amogdebul i da l oyebRaJRaJa osi,... wvriT Tval eba da saxiT rokapi afxazi,... aryiT gamobruJul i rusi da tuCebs il okavs) da am sufraze yvel a bedniera. saxel dax- el od gaSl il i tabl a rusebs, afxazebsa da osebs... de- l ikatesebiT dauzunzl avT. qarTvel Ta ZmaTa kvl aSi erT- maneTisaTvis waWril i Tavebis, naRmze afeTqebul i ki dure- bis, tyiit gagl ej il i gul ebis, romel ic oriode dRis win samSobl os siyvarul iT mkerdSi ufeTqavdaT kodoris xeobaSi gamagrebul svan partizanebs...

qarTvel ebis mier Caxocil i qarTvel ebis aTl eturi da dakunTul i vaJkacebis daCexil i sxoul ebis Semyure Rre- obdnen, xarobdnen da gul ze mj iRs ibragunebdnen rusebi, afxazebi, osebi (da sxva ucxo tomel ebi)... saxel daxel od gaSl il i tabl isaTvis saoxreebs sufra ver uSoviaT da

qarTvel ebis mier mokl ul i qarTvel is gaSeSebul i muS-
tidan xuTj vriani droSa Zvl ivs aucl iaT, tari Suaze
gadaumtvreviaT, Tavad droSa ki supraT daufeniaT Ta-
Tariaxanad gaSI il tabl aze.-

es amonaweri saRad moazrovne WeSmariti qarTvel is gul i-
dan amoxeTqil tkivil s warmoadgens. masSi sworadaa dana-
xul i is saSinel eba, romel ic zemo kodoris xeobaSi xdeb-
boda. imavdroul ad, xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i_ m.saakaSvil is
xel isufli ebam Tu visi sasixarul o da sadResaswaul o sa-
qme Semosa gvirgviniT. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is Semyure
sergei Sanbam, sixarul iT aRsavse da cinizmiT datvirTu-
l i gancxadeba gaakeTa: saqarTvel os xel isufli eba darwm-
unda, rom `afxazeTSi gamarj vebas ver miaRwevda da gada-
wyvi ta svaneTSi gael aSgra.- aq gansakuTrebul yuradRebas,
s.Sanbas mier zemo kodoris xeobis svaneTad aRiareba iqcevs.

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier zemo kodoriSi Catare-
bul i sadamsjel o operaciis Sesaxeb, igive s.Sanba niSni-
mogebiT acxadebda: `maSin rodesac gil aevTan gvqonda
probl emebi, Cven gvindoda, iq mcxovrebi mSvidobiani mo-
saxl eoba ar dazaral ebul iyo. dRes ki saqarTvel os xel
isufli ebam is gaakeTa, rom mSvidobiani mosaxl eoba daz-
aral da. modiT da nu gvatyueben, rom TiTqos iq mxol od
ori daWrili da erTi mkvdaria. Cven kargad viciT, Tu
ramdeni kacia mkvdari da ramdeni daWrili. kodoris xe-
obaSi mimdinare operaciisas bevri adamiani daiWra da
bevril daixoca. bevril ki dazaral da. ganadgurebul ia
saxl ebi da sxva qoneba. es Cven Zal ian kargad viciT. ami-
tom sainteresoaratom dasWir da am xel isufli ebas igives
gakeTeba, rac mi sma winamorbedebma gaakeTes. xan megrel ebs
ebrZvian, xan svanebs, osebsa da afxazebze l aparaki arc
Seizi eba iyos, radgan isini sakuTari eris warmomadgen-
l ebs xocaven.- am amonawerSi motanil i faqtebi sinamd-
vil es Seesabameba. afxazi separatistebis lideri pirda-
pir gveubneba, rom afxazebi sifrTxil iT moekida kodori-
el svanebs, xol o saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam, mis sisxl -
sa da xorcss genocidis tol fasi danaSaul ebrivi qmedeb-

IT upasuxa.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mesveurT, maT mizans zemoaRniSnul i sinamdvil is mifuCeCeba da zemo kodoris xeobaSi samxedro operaciis ideol ogiurad gamarTI eba war-moadgenda. amis saukeTeso nimuSad m.saakaSvil is gancxadeba gamodgeba. igi kodoris xeobis samxedro operacias **`kriminal ebisgan- xeobis mosaxl eobis dasacavad** Catarebul RonisZiebad miCnevda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, qveynis sagareo saqmeTa ministris pirvel i moadgil is val eri CeCel aSvil is `mtkicebiT,~ kodoris xeobaSi **`antikriminal uri policiuri operacia** Catarda, roml is mizani mosaxl eobis usafrTxoebis dacva da xeobaSi kanonierebis aRdgena iyo.~ zemo kodoris xeobis dabombvisa da adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis mimarT angariSsworebis Sesaxeb Cems mier motanil i faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, m.saakaSvil isa da v.CeCel aSvil is mxridan zemo kodoris mosaxl eobis `dacvis-Sesaxeb gakeTebul i gancxadebebi, cinizms kl asikur nimuSs warmoadgens. samwuxarod, **saqarTvel os opoziciuri partiebis didi umravl esoba quCis pol itikuad meZavis mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda da mimdinare procesebis saRi gonebiT Sefaseba ver SeiZl o.** rac Seexeba pol itikuri partiebis mcire nawil s, sazogadoebis winaSe Tavianti pozicia ofici-al uri weril iT gamoTqves. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kodoris xeobaSi ganvitarebul movl enebTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os 7 pol itikuri partiis (axal i memarjvenebi, respubl ikuri partia, Tavisufli eba, konservatiul i partia, l eiboristul i partia, mrewel oba gadaarCens saqarTvel os, saxal xo forumi) erTobl ivi gancxadeba (2006 wl is 27 ivl isi). am dokumentis mixedviT, zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganvitarebul i movl enebi **avanturad** da saqarTvel os **xel isufli ebis gauazrebel qmedebadaa** Sefasebul i. imavdroul ad xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i, rom strategiul i mniSvnel obis kodoris xeoba, destabil izaciis kerad SeiZl eba gamxdariyo. momxdari faqti, `qveyanaSi arsebul i im umwvavesi krizisis kidev erTi gamovl inebaa_vkiTxul obT dokumentSi,~ risi umTavresi mizezic saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis ugunuri pol itikaa. aseTi pol itikis

erT- erTi mkafio magal iTia girgvl ianisa da robaqizis mkvl - el obebTan dakavSirebul i movl enebi, ris Sedegadac Ss ministrad merabiSvil is datovebam prezidenti da sapaarlamento umravl esoba mkvl el ebis damfarav mxardamWerebad da mfarvel ebad aqcia, xol o sazogadoebas sabol ood gadauwura qveyanaSi simarTI isa da samarTI ianobis povnis imedi.²³ aqve dasmul i iyo sakiTxi politikuri Zal ebis konsolidaciisa da saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis mSvidobiani gziT Secvl is Sesaxeb.

aRniSnul ma dokumentma, romelic `nacional ebis- mxil ebas Seicavda, mmarTvel i politikuri partiis liderebi da misi xel qveiti `politikuri finiebi- wonasworobidan gamoiyvana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs prezidentis administraciis xel mZrvanel is giorgi arvel azis gancxadeba. misi `mtkicebit,- opoziciurma partiebma TiTqos sazogadoebis interesebis ignoreba moaxdina da `sakutar xal xs zurgi aqcia.- mTel i **ubedureba imaSia, rom `xal xis- cnebaSi, `nacional ebi- mxol od mis mxardamWerebs gul isxmobda. rac Seexeba danarCen umravl esobas, maTi kl asifikaciiT isini brbos CarCoSi Tavsdeboda.** imasTan dakavSirebit, Tu ramdenad ufl ebamosil i iyo zemoaRniSnul i gancxadebis gakeTebis Tval sazrisiT garvel aZe, amis Sesaxeb p.zaqareshvil i savsebit samarTI ianad miuTitebda: `arvel azes aranairi moral uri ufl eba ara aqvs, aseTi gancxadebebi gaakeTos im xal xis misamarTIT, roml ebic wl ebis manzil ze saqarTvel os interesebs emsaxurebian.- xazgasmit unda aRiniSnos, rom **m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebi, roml ebic `demokratiis Suquris- warmomadgenl ebad asaRebdnen Tavs, obieqturi kritikis el ementarul formasac ver itandnen da yvel a kritikosi qveynis mters, agentsa da moRal ates xedavdnen.** amis saukeTeso dadasturebas g.bokerias mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba warmoadgens. misi Tqmit, gaWirvebis Jams, opoziciuri partiebimedi saqarTvel os ar unda qondes, radgan `Svidive opoziciuri partia, yvel aze uares SemTxvevaSi, Cveni mtrebis mxardamWerebi arian, ukeTes SemTxvevaSi, mxdal i da upasuxismgebl o adaminebi.- kidev ufro

radikal uri aRmoCnda parl amentis vice- spikeri m.maWavariani. misi TqmiT, samSobl os gamyidvel ebs, xel isufl eba sakadris pasuxs gascems. `minda imedi viqonio, rom dakavebis Semdeg emzar kviciani al iansSi am Svidi opoziciuri partiidan arcerTs ar daasaxel ebs.-²⁴

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba ekvicians daiWerda da gansasjel Ta skamze dasvamda, gamoricxul i ar iyo, rom zemoaRniSnul i 7 pol itikuri partiis l iderebi masTan al iansSi daedanaSaul ebina, `SeTqmul ebisa- da `saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis- miTi Seeqmna da `nacional ebis- ideol ogebis mier gamogonil i `hipoteza- `rustavi- 2-- is miSisti Jurnal istebis meSveobiT gaepiarebina. Cems am mosazrebas kidev ufro amyarebs parl amentis maSindel i Tavmj domaris n.burjanaZis mier pol itikuri partiebis misamarTiT preskonferenciaze 28 ivl iss gakeTebul i pol itikuri bral debebiT datvirTul i gancxadeba. `opoziciam_ ambbda igi_ saqarTvel ostvis yvel aze kritikul dros antisaxel mwifoebrivi da araswori pozicia daikava... qarTul opoziciur Zal ebs ar eyoT goniereba amboxebul ebisaTvis iaraRis dayrisken moewodebinaT da amis nacvl ad isini saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas ukiJinebdnen kriminal ebTan garigebaSi Sesul iyvnen. viciT, rom arian opoziciuri Zal ebi, roml ebic ruseTidan finansdebian, maTgan Cven ar gvikvirs, magram gvikvirs im pol itikuri partiebisa, vinc maT wisqvil ze asxamen wyal s. xel isufl eba qveynisTvis yvel aze Znel Jams, marto, saqarTvel os pol itikuri speqtris mxardaWeris gareSe aRmoCnda, rac saval al oa.-²⁵ marTI acda saval al oa, roca parl amentis Tavmj domare aseTi saxis gancxadebas gaakeTebis. xel isufl ebisadmi opoziciur pol itikur speqtrs ruseT- Tan kavSirSi dasdebs bral s da saakaSvil _ oqruaSvil _ merebiSvil is mxridan kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul danaSaul ebriv sadamsjel o operacias gaamarTI ebs.

Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebidan gamomdinare, n.burjanaZis gancxadebasTan mimarTebaSi, nebismeri saRad moazrovne adamiani dasvamda kiTxvas: 1)im Znel bedobis Jams, ra rols asrul ebda ruseTis yofil i kagebes da

imJamad `ef- es- bes- general i Temur al asania (m.saakaSvil is biZa); 2)vin aris rusi ol igarqi ol eg deripasko, romel - mac kodoris operaciisaTvis igor giorgaZes saqmis Cawyobis mizniT 50 mil ioni gadauxada. Tuki am or kiTxvas obleqturi pasuxi gaecema, aSkarad warmocndebe: 1)zemoaRniSnul gancxadebaze xel momweri 7 pol itikuri partiis l iderebi ruseTTan Sekrul ebi namdvil ad ar iyvnen. maT amocanas, zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi erovnul i sa-xel mwifos interesebisaTvis momakvdinebel i RonisZiebis danaSaul ebrivi procesis mxil eba da misi SeCereba warmoadgenda; 2)m.saakaSvil i da misi xel qveiTebi, Temur al asaniasa da igor giorgaZis daxmarebiT, ruseTis `ef- es- bes- maRal CinosanTa kabinetebSi damuSavebul i gegmis erT nawil s_ zemo kodoris xeobaSi anxorciel ebdnen. am Sexedul ebas kidev ufro damajerebel s xdis axal i memarj veneebis erT- erTi l ideris fiqria CixraZis mier zemo kodoris xeobaSi mimdinare movl enebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i Sefaseba: `xel isufl ebam rogorc yovel Tvis_ ganaxxada f.CixraZem_ dial ogze Tqva uari, umal xmal ze gaikra xel i da Sedegebze arc dafiqrebul a... regions, romel ic ZmaTamkv- l el i omidan yvel aze Rirseul ad gamovida, gmirul ad Seinarcuna qarTul i iurisdiccia de faqto xel isufl ebis Semadgenl obaSi da romel ic, sxvaTa Soris, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan yovel Tvis miviwyebul i iyo, dRes yovl ad miuRebel i qmedebebiTa da Zal ebiT vuswordebiT... Turme samxedro wvrTnebsa da saCvenebel aRI umebs imi tom vatarebT, rom praqtika Cvensave mosaxl eobaze gagvevl o... es aris Zal ian seriozul i provokacia, romel zec an ubral od wamoego saqarTvel os uunaro xel isufl eba, an kidev xel isufl ebaSi aris viRac, vinc pirdapir da Riad rusul saqmes akeTebS... vfiqrob, didi fiqri da mkiTxaoba ar sWirdeba, rom am situaciiT isargebl eben rogorc afxazeTis separatistul i Zal ebi, aseve ruseTic... faqtia, rom saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriaSi ukve meored aRmovCndiT CarTul i Tu Cayol il i ZmaTamkv- l el omSi.⁻²⁶

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans is umaduroba, romel -

ic m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebam kodoris xeobis gmiri damc-
vel ebis mimarT gamoiCina. am fonze xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i,
rom qveynis mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal a, j ars mxol od qa-
rTvel Ta dasaTrgunavad da dasaCiavebl ad wrTnida da
ara separatistebis dasamorCil ebl ad da dakargul i re-
gionebis dasabrunebl ad. aseTi saxis gancxadeba, im etapze
erTi SexedviT `nacional ebisadmi- cil iswamebad SeiZl eba
moCvenebodya adami ans. ganvl il ma periodma daadastura, rom
qarTul i j aris wrTna ara saqarTvel os sazRvrebis dasa-
cavad da dakargul i teritoriebis dasabrunebl ad, aramed
qarTvel Ta modgmis dasaSinebl ad da misi sixli is dasa-
Rvrel ad iyo gaTval iswinebul i. saqarTvel osa da
qarTvel ebis gan gansxvavebi T, m.saakaSvil is saamayo mxedro-
bis warmomadgenl ebi, ucxo qveynis _ aSS- is interesebisa
da Ri rsebis dasacavad wiravdnen da dResac wiraven Tavs
avRaneTSi. am danaSaul ebriv RonisZiebaSi qarTvel Ta
val debul ebis damkanonebel T, rogorc Cans `daaviwydaT,~
rom dRevandel i monacemebi T, saqarTvel os kuTvnil i is-
toriul i teritoriebis 20 procentia dakargul i da 400
aTasze meti devnil i yavs qveyanas. saqarTvel os xel isu-
fl ebis am al o-gikuri da ucxo qveynebis interesebidan
gamomdinare samxed-ro opereciebisatvis, rCeul i vaJkaceb-
isgan Semdgari kont-igentis mosamzadebl ad, qveynis biu-
j etidan aTeul obi T mil iardebi ixarj eba.

amrigad, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtobrivi masal is
gaanal izebis Sedegad dasturdeba: 1) batal ion `monadir-
es- da 1993_ 2006 wl ebis zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xe-
obebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis garSemo
mimdinare movl enebi _ erTmaneTisgan ganuyofel ia. saqarTve-
l os xel isufli ebis mxridan aRni Snul i batal ionis gauqmeba
(2005 wl is april i) danaSaul ebriv qmedebas warmoadgenda.
Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom afxazeTis
monakveTze igi Zal Ta bal ans inarCunebda. batal ion `mona-
di res- gauqmebi T da misi ganiaraRebi T, afxazi separat-
istebisa da rusi okupantebis mier 1999 wl idan ka-tegori-
ul i formiT dasmul i moTxovna Sestrul da. am faqtit,

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam qveynis teritoriul i mTI iano-
 bis aRdgenis saziانو da rusul _ afxazuri gegmis sasarge-
 bl o gadawyvetil eba miiRo; 2) dokumenturi masal iT das-
 turdeba, rom xel isufli ebisgan mitovebul i zemo kodoris
 xeobisa da misi mosaxl eobis usafrTxoebis garants, mx-
 ol od batal ionis `monadire- warmoadgenda. Tuki ruse-
 Tis sakanomdebl o organom, afxazeTis damoukidebl oba
 ver scno da kosovos model is gaTamaSebas Tavi aarida,
 l omis wil i batal ionma `monadirem- Seasrul a. mxedvel o-
 baSi maqvs zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa
 da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis saqarTvel os iurisdicia-
 Si SenarCunebis faqti; 3) m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis
 mxridan, e.kvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- wevrebis
 misamarTIT Wuberis uRel texil ze devnil ebis Zarcvis (1993
 wl is seqtemberi) Sesaxeb gavr cel ebul i bral deba, sinamd-
 vil es ar Seesabameba. TviTmxil vel ebis naambobIT mtkicdeba,
 rom e.kviciani da batal ion `monadires- wevrebi, devnil Ta
 mZarcvel ebs iaraRiT daupirispirda da uRel texil idan
 gamoaZeva. rac Seexeba e.kvicianis banditad da kriminal ad
 gamocxadebas, Tuki es pirovneba marTI acda aseTi damna-
 Save iyo, mis winaarMdeg 2004_ 2006 wl is ivl isamde unda
 aRZrul iyo sisxl is samarTI is saqme, rasac im periodSi
 adgil i ar hqonia. aRniSnul i bral debebis xel isufli ebis
 mxridan maRal registrSi ayvana, e.kvicianisa da misi batal -
 ionis wevrebis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da sazoga-
 doebaSi sizul vil is damkvidrebas isaxavda miznad;
 4) e.kvicianis moTxovna; batal ion `monadires- aRdgena da
 saxel mwifo struqturisadmi daqvemdebareba, Tavdacvis
 saminstros warmomadgenl ebisa da sazogadoebis cnobil i
 pirebis monawil eobIT zemo kodorSi arsebul i iaraRis
 sawyobis aRwera, batal ion `monadiresTvis- saWi ro raode-
 nobis aRWurvil obis datoveba da zedmetis xeobidan ga-
 tana, 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxmebis denonsireba da amis
 Semdeg zemo kodorSi qarTul i jaris Seyvana, saqarTve-
 l os saxel mwifos interesebSi j deboda. qveynis terito-
 riul i mTI ianobis aRdgenaze mofiqril i xel isufli ebi-

sTvis igi misaRebi unda yofil iyo. im etapze gavr-cel e-
 bul i informaciis mixedviT, m.saakaSvil ma da misma xe-
 l qveiTebma, zemo kodoris xeoba rusebTan savaWro da ful is
 keTebis sagnad aqcia (ol eg deri paskos 50 mil ioni). ami t-
 om, yovel gvari saxis gonivrul i winadadeba, romel ic zemo
 kodoris xeobas ukavSirdeboda, misTvis miuRebel i aRmoCnda;
 5)m.saakaSvil isa da ruseTis xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosan-
 Ta garigebis utyuarobaze miuTitebs i.oqruaSvil isa da
 i.merabiSvil is sardl obiT qarTul i jaris gadaadgil eb-
 is marSrutl. mxedvel obaSi maqvs rusul i saguSagoebis
 mier qarTul i jaris uprobl emod gatareba (j vari -xaiSi,
 qvemi kodoris xeobaSi l aTa_ qvabCaras monakveTi).
 m.saakaSvil - i.oqruaSvil - i.merabiSvil is mier zemo kodor-
 Si 26 ivl iss ganxorciel ebul i samxedro operacia (monaw-
 il eobda 850 jariskaci. ramdenime vertmfreni monacvl eo-
 biT bombavda zemo kodoris xeobas), sofel Cxal Tas mi-
 wasTan gasworeba, zemo kodorel Ta faSisturi meTodebiT
 dasjas isaxavda miznad. naSromSi motanil i masal ebi da
 misi anal izi safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom m.saaka-
 Svil is mier zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i
 sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi, afxazi separatistebis da rusi
 okupantebis gegmebs srul ad pasuxobda. es faqti, myar safu-
 Zvel s maZl evs vivarauddo, rom m.saakaSvil i ruseTis `ef-
 es- bes- maRal CinosanTa kabinetebSi damuSavebul i proeq-
 tis erTi umniSvnel ovanesi nawil is Semsrul ebel i iyo.

* * *

zemo kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier
 Catarebul ma samxedro operaciam, special istebisa da sazogad-
 oebis winaSe am nabij is mizezobriobis axsnis ramdenime ve-
 rsia Seqmna. maTi varaudiT: 1)ekviciani mizanmimarTul ad moe-
 rida sisxl is Rvras da saakaSvil isgan SeTavazebul pol it-
 ikur TamaSSi monawil eobaze uaristqmis paral el urad, dist-
 anciuri poziciis daWera amj obina; 2)zemo kodoris xeobaSi
 Sesvl iT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas TiTqos afxazetis `dasa-

brunebl ad- pl acdarmis Seqmna qonda Cafigrebul i; 3)im periodis rusul i sainformacio saSual ebebis mixedviT, es gegma, amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi momzadda; 4)zemo kodoris operaciiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas qveyanaSi Seqmnil i pol it- ikuri krizisis gadafarva da mosaxl eobis yuradRebis am mimarTul ebiT gadatana surda; 5)es operacia, i.oqruaSvil ma Tavisi Zal ebis gasamyarebl ad gamoiyena.

rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs, amasTan dakavSirebiT unda ganvaxado, rom zemo kodoris xeobis rel iefidan gamomdinare, Tuki ekviciani xeobis mobilizaciiT yofili batalionis `monadires- Semadgenl obas 600 kacemde gazrdida, igi savsebiT sakmarisi aRmoCndeboda xeobis srul fasovani Tavdacviti saomari moqmedebebis Casatarebl ad. aseT SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas xeobis aRebis real uri SesaZl ebl obebi namdvil ad ar gaaCnda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, erT- erT interviuSi r.margvel ani ambobda: `warmoudgenel ia, Tbil isidan asul ma kacma dal is xeobaSi al yaSi moaqcios iq dabadebul i, iq gazrdil i kaci, mi Tumetes masin, roca is Tavdasxmas el odeba. iq iseTi rel iefia, iseTi bu-nebrivi pirobebia, rom vinmes al yaSi moqceva yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia. amis gakeTebas dasWirdeba asobiT vertmfreni da sul cota 10 aTasi kaci mainc. sxvanairad dal is xeobaSi `ceps- ver gaakeTeb.- anal ogiuri Tval sazrisia gamoTqmuli gazeT `al ias- korespodentis darejan sul iaSvil is mier dabewdil weril Si_ `specoperaciis samxedro_ strategiuli sqema.- samxedro eqspertebTan Sesabamisi konsultaciis gavliisa da maTi mosazrebebis Sejamebis safuZvel ze igi werda: `eqspertebi fiqroben, rom aseTi saxis operacia iq gamoricxul ia. es igivea, buzi rom mokla qvemexiT... anu sahaero dabombva iq veranair Sedegs ver gamoiRebs. Tu maincdamainc haeridan gadawyveten Setevas, es mxol od vertmfrenebiT aris SesaZl ebel i, Tanac iqedan mxol od tyvi-amfrqvevis daSenis saSual ebaa. Tumca arc aseTi operaciaa didad efeqturi_ es igivea, TivaSi rom daiwyo nemsis Zebna. warmoidgineT vertmfreni, romelic xeobaSi j gufebad gabneul mowinaaRmdeges eZeb. vTqvaT dai naxa. is j er unda Se-

Cerdes. Tu im mowinaaRmdegas foTI ebiani forma acvia da miwaze dawwa, ufro axl os unda daeSvas da am manZil ze mis Camosagdebad avtomatic ki sakmarisi iqneba.- am amonaweris mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, kodoris xeobaSi vertmfrenebiT mowinaaRmdegis devna, samxedro Tval sazrisiT efeqturi Sede-gis montani ar iyo. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki ekviciani xeobaSi Sesasvl el gzebsa da umniSvnel ovanes bil ikebsac danaRmav-da, maSin jaris iq Sesvl a da moqmedeba maqsimal urad SezRudu- li aRmoCndeboda. Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT, ekvicians am mimarTul ebiT aranairi saxis samuSao ar Cautarebia. miTumetes, 22 ivl isidan informirebul i iyo, rom i.oqruaSvil i kodorze gal aSqrebas 27 ivl iss apireb- da. aqedan gamomdinare, mas drois Tval sazrisiT (4 dRe) srul i SesaZl ebl oba qonda danaRmviTi samuSaoebi Cae- tarebina da paral el urad xidebic aefeqebina. dokumen- turi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom ekvicianma am mima- rTul ebiT nabij i Segnebul ad ar gadadga. swored es gare- moeba qonda mxedvel obaSi mal xaz gvel ukaSvil s, roca gazeT `asaval - dasaval isadmi- micemul interviuSi ga- naxxada: `kodoris xeobis aRebas saakaSvil i ki ara, amerikis `cereuc- ver SeZl ebda, magram kviciani sisxl isRvras mo- erida.- am faqtis siswores e.saRI ianic adasturebs. misi mtkicebiT, kodoris xeobis uxucesTa sabWos rCeviT, ekvicianma xel isufli ebasTan dapi rispirebas gacl a amj o- bina. `emzar kviciani ise unda moi qces_ ambobda e.saRI i ani, _ rogorc axl a iqceva, daZabul oba rom ganimuxtos, igi gaer- ida da ar daRvara sisxl i.- am faqtis Sesaxeb, gazeT `al ias- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi ekviciani xazgas- miT ambobda: `vinc Tbil isidan Cvens dasaSoSminebl ad ga- mogzavnes, maT isic ki ar ician, rom CvenTan bronirebul i teqnikiT ver Semovidodnen. sanam isini qvemoT braxunobdnen, Cven nel - nel a mivimal eT. Cven arc ki gvisvria, arada Segve- Zl o. Cven xom yovel i manqana mizanSi gvyavda amoRebul i. Cven sisxl i ar gvindoda.- ekviciani da misi TanamebrZol ebi maqsimal urad rom icavdnen am principals, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- koresp-odenti di to CubiniZe r.margvel anTan

saubarSi adasturebda. `emzar kvicianma qarTvel i jariskacebiT savse oTxi `kamazi- daapatimra, magram biWebs xel i ar axl o, bol os yvel ani gaanTavisufl a da TviTon iqaurobas gaerida.- amasTam dakavSirebiT r.margvel anma siamayiT upasuxa: `yoCaR mis vaJkacobas, rom gaerida da qarTul i sisxl i ar daRvara.-

Tuki e.kvicianis am moqmedebas saRad moazrovne adami-anebi swor Sefasebas aZl evdnen da misi mxridan qarTvel -Ta sisxl is ardaRvras pl usad mi iCnevdenen, maTgan sawina- aRmdego Tval sazriss icavda m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eb- is mier daqiravebul i `eqspertebi.- mxedvel obaSi myavs s.cincaZe, romel mac gazeT `al ias- korespodent ni no samxar- aZisadmi micemul interviuSi ganacxada: `dRes kviciani daupirispirda saxel mwifos. gadal axa Tavisi rubikoni, roca tyeSi gavida da bol omde ar ibrZol a. sicocxl e unda yvel as da gaiqca. magal iTad, Cil es prezidentma al i- endem bol omde ibrZol a, romel mac pinoCets Seakl a Tavi. maSin ssrc- c sTavazobda TavSesafars da fidel kastroc TviTmfrinavs ugzavni da, rom kubaSi wasul iyo, ma- gram bol omde l amonedes sasaxl eSi darCa, mecnierma kacma bol omde ibrZol a da iq mokvda.⁻²⁷

am amonaweris mixedvit ise gamodis, rom e.kvicians pri- oritetad qarTvel i jariskacebis sisxl isRvra unda gaex- ada. mis mier al yaSi moqceul i da dpatimrebul i 4 `ka- mazi- qarTvel i jariskacebi adgil zeve gaenadgurebina. mis arsenal Si arsebul i SeiaraRebis yvel a saxeoba maqsi- mal urad gamoeyenebina, kodoris xeobis rTul i rel iefiT esargebl a da xeobaSi Sesul i 850 qarTvel i jariskaci, yvel a Tu ara umetesoba adgil ze Caexoca. sisxl is uka- nasknel wveTamde qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg ebrZol a da qarTvel i dedebi ZaZebiT Seemosa. Znel i dasaj erebel ia, aseTi ram qarTvel ma kacma da miTumetes eqspertis pretenziis mqone adami anma inatros. e.kvicianis Rirseba swored imaSi mdgomareobs, rom man, zemoaRniSnul i upiratesoba mini- mal uradac ar gamoiyena da qarTvel Ta sisxl isRvras gan- erida. am qmedebiT man daadastura, rom zemo kodoris

xeobaSi kl asikuri gagebiT aj anyebas adgil i ar qonia. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki e.kviciani, s.cincaZis naazrevis mi xedviT moi qceoda da misi Cveul i meTodiT sabrZol o operacieb-Si CaerTveboda, asTi moqmedeba marTI acda aj anyebis formas miRebda da m.saakaSvil s zemo kodorSi qarTvel Ta si-sxl isRvris `gamarTI ebi- mtkicebis `samarTI ebrivi-safuZvel i miecemoda. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom e.kviciani sgan gansxvavebiT, i.oqruaSvil ma da i.merabiSvil ma, rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, sawi naaRmdego qmedebiT isaxel a Tavi.

m.saakaSvil is xel isufal Ta saamebl ad, imave s.cincaZem, e.kviciani da misi momxreebi mahaTma gandis daumorCil ebl obis meTodis argamoyenebaSi `daadanaSaul a.- gazeT `al ias- korespodent nino samxaraZisadmi 2006 wl is ivl isSi micemul interviuSi ganaxada: `mraVal i forma daumorCil ebl obis, rac kvicianma ar gamoiyena. indoeTis kl asikur magal iTs SegaxsenebT, rodesac maxaTma gandim mSvidobiani daumorCil ebl oba gamoacxada, maSin mosaxl eoba gaifica da samsaxurSi ar gavida, ramac Sedegi gamoiRo da britaneTis kol oniuri administracia iZul ebul i gaxda daTmobaze wasul iyo. iaraRian meamboxesTan mol aparakebaze mxol od susti xel isufleba midis... gamoecxadebinaT SimSil oba, maxvSebi Seekriba da moeTxovaT prezidentTan, parl amentis TavmjdomaresTan Sexvedra da iq daeyenebinaT moTxovnebi.-

saqmeSi Cauxedav da gaucnobierebel mkiTxvel s, erTi SexedviT es mosazreba misaRebad moeCveneba. misi safuZvli ianad gaanal izebis SemTxvevaSi naTel i gaxdeba: 1)s.cincaZis pozicia m.saakaSvil is mier zemo kodoris xeobaTan mimarTebaSi gatarebul i Sidapol itikuri kursis gamarTI ebas iTval iswinebda; 2)imavdroul ad, zemo kodoris xeobaSi `gandizmis- amoqmedebis efeqturobaSi saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis darwmunebas isaxavda miznad. Cemi piradi mosazrebi dan gamomdinare, rbiL ad rom vTqva, aseTi saxis Secdoma pol itol ogma ar unda dauSvas. e.kvicians, s.cincaZiseul i `receptiT- rom emoqmeda, briyvul da sasacil o mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda im Tval sazrisiT rom: 1)ma-

haTma gandma 300 mil ioni indoeI is gaficva SeZl o, fabri-
 ka _ qarxnebi gaaCera da indoeTSi paral izebul i situac-
 ia Seqmna. e.kviciani rom am gziT wasul iyo da 3000 kodo-
 rel i (bavSvebianad) rom gaficul iyo, sainteresoia romel i
 fabrika_ qarxana Sewyvetda kodorSi muSaobas? im etapze
 kodoris mTel i mosaxl eoba dausaqmebel i da `gaficul i-
 ar iyo? Tu maTi sarCo_ sabadebel is_ Tafl is gamoxil -
 vaze, kartofil is daTesvaze an miwidan amoRebaze da da-
 binavebaze eTqvaT uari? aqedan gamomdinare, kodoris xe-
 bisatvis `gandizmis- meTodis gamoyeneba absurdul don-
 eze davidoda da misi organizatorebi m.saakaSvil is mxri-
 dan sasacil o da saqil iko mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda;
 2)roca ingl isis kol oniur xel isufl ebas vaxsenebT, pol i-
 tol ogs mxedvel obis aredan ar unda gamorCes is real o-
 ba, rom britaneTi da indoeTi sxvadasxva saxel mwifos
 warmoadgenda, xol o zemo kodori, saqarTvel os sxeul ia
 da iq mcxovrebi svanebi, sisxl xorceul ad qarTvel Ta ganuy-
 ofel i nawil i. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isu-
 fl ebas ingl isel bis mxridan indoeI Ta xocva_ JI etis
 maga-I iTi ki ar unda aeRo samoqmedod, aramed, moZmeTadmi
 sxvagvari_ brZnul i damokidebul eba gamoeCina; 3)rac Se-
 exeba e.kvicianisa da misi momxreebisan saprotestod Sim-
 Sil obis aqciis gamarTvas da am procesze maxvSebis anu
 uxucesebis Sekreba- miwvevas, es m.saakaSvil is garemocvi-
 satvis mxol od Teatral uri speqtaki iqneboda. aseTi
 saprotesto SimSil obebi m.saakaSvil isgan cinizmis sag-
 nad iyo qceul i da igi iseTive uyuradRebod darCeboda,
 rogorc sxva danarCeni `SimSil obebi;- 4)e.kvicianis mier
 saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisadmi wardgenil i proeqti_
 kodoris xeobis social ur- ekonomikuri ganvitarebis
 Sesaxeb, m.saakaSvil isa da n.burj anaZisTvisac cnobil i iyo.
 es dokumenti Sesabamisi saministroebis maRal Cinosnebs
 kabinetis magidis uj rebSi qondaT `gadanaxul i- da mi za-
 nmimarTul ad aferxebdnen mis amoqmedebas. xel isufl ebis
 am da sxva danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebiT iyo ganpirobebul i
 e.kvicianis protesti.

yovel ive zemoaRni Snul idan gamomdinare, s.cincaZis mier e.kvicianisadmi SeTavazebul i `SimSil obis- formiT protestis gamoxatvis winadadeba araefeqturi aRmoCndeboda. es srul ebiTac ar niSnavs imas, rom xel isufli ebis winaaRmdeg Zal ismieri gziT moqmedebas raime gamarTI eba edos safuZvl ad. magram, yovl ad dauSvebel ia, xel isufli ebis mxridan konfrontaciaze Segnebul ad wasvl a, dedis ginebis fonze, qveynisTvis sasicocxl o strategiul i mniSvnel obis xeobaSi probl emis mizanmimarTul ad garTul eba. xeobis Tavdacvisunarianobis im donemde (nul amde) dayvana da iseTi pirobebis Seqmna, rasac 1994 wl is maisidan afxazi separatistebi da rusi okupantebi natrul obdnen.

rac Seexeba im periodSi gavrcel ebul informacias, zemo kodoris xeobaSi Sesvl iT saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas TiTqos afxazeTis dabruneba hqonda gadawyvetil i, saRad moazrovne adamians anegdotad moeCveneba, radgan: 1)Tuki m.saakaSvil s da mis garemocvas afxazeTis dabrunebis gegmararTI ac hqondaT SemuSavebul i, a)isini batal ion `monadires- ar gaauqmendnen da misi ganiaraRebis sakiTxs dRis wesrigSi ar dasvamdnen; b)afxazeTis dabrunebamde iararRis ardayris Sesaxeb, xatze saj arod daficebul da brZol ebSi gamowrTobil kodorel svanebs ar gaanawyenebdnen. afxazeTSi gadasasvl el i yvel a bil ikis saukeTeso mcodneeb, dasaxul i miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad maqsimal urad gamoiyenebdnen. maTi social ur_ ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gasaumj obesebl ad da adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis SesanarCunebl ad izrunebdnen. 2)xel isufli ebas, romel sac qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRsadgenad samxedro operaciis Catareba aqvs ganzraxul i, winaswar Semu-Savebul gegmas gansakuTrebul i saiduml oebiT inaxavs, ar asaj aroeb, da sapiarod ar xdis. am mxriv, m.saakaSvil ma da misma garemocvam yvel a piroba daarRvia, afxazebi da rusebi saqmis kursSi Caayena. arsebul i masal ebis gacnobis Sedegad iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis amocanas, sazogadoebis yuradRebis axal i mimarTul ebiT gadatana da afxazeTis `dabrunebisaTvis- axa-

ლიპლ აცდარმის სეკმნის შესახებ, რუსეთის მარალ ცინოსნების აღმარებულ რეჟიმსთან. იმ პერიოდის პრესის ფურცლებზე გამოვეყნებულა ის მასალები, რომლებიც იწვევს, რომ ეს ოცნება, რუსმა გენერლებმა და რუსეთის საგარეო საკმეტა სამინისტროს ცინოვიკებმა, მ.საკასვილი მარალ დონეზე აუქმინებს და მის მიერ დაუყმებულა ის პიარი, ოცნამდვილის - ელ ფერიტ სემოსეს. ამ მხრივ, რუსი გენერალი ევნიცევი გამოიწვება. საკარტველ ოს მოსახლეობის მოყმებისა და მ.საკასვილის პიარის ოცნამდვილების მიზნით, მან განაცხადა: ოცნამდვილ ოს ჯალ ოვანი უყმებების მიერ კოდორის ხეობაში რეჟიმის ოპერაცია, აფხაზეთზე თავდასხმისათვის პლ აცდარმის სეკმნის სახავეს მიზნად. რუსები და აფხაზები სისობენ, რომ ოკრუასვილის სვლა კოდორიდან სოხუმისკენ გაგრჯელდება. - ანალიტიკური სახის პოზიცია დააფიქსირა რუსეთის საგარეო საკმეტა ოფიციალური რეჟიმის მიმართ მაკმე-ილ კამინინმა. ოცნამდვილის განაცხადა მან, ოცნამდვილი ოყმე-ილ აფერს აკეტებს იმისათვის, რომ კარტული - აფხაზური კონფლიქტის ჯალ ისმირი გზით გადაყმვეთისათვის სამხედრო პლ აცდარმი სეკმნის. ასეთი დასკვნის გამოტანა სეიჯილ ება იქიდან, რომ კარტული იმხარე ისევ აგრჯელ ებს კოდორის ხეობაში თავისი ჯარების გაჯავნას. -

რუსი მარალ ცინოსნების მხრიდან ჯემო კოდორის ხეობასთან მიმართებაში გამოტყმულ პოზიციას, საკარტველ ოს საინფორმაციო სასუალ ებების გარკვეული ნაწილიც უწერდა მხარს. მაგალითად, ოცნამდვილის 27 ივლისს გასვებულა ის დამონაქმებულა ის კანავერი, ეკვიციანის დისკრედიტაციას იყო გატვილილი. ამ კმედებით, არხის ხელმჯრველი ობა, საკარტველ ოს მთავობის დაკვეთას ასრულიებდა და ცდილობდა საჯოგადობა დაერჯმუნებინა, ოცნამდვილის აწიარა, რომ მას სურდა აფხაზების შეტეგა გამოეწვია კარტველ ებთან, სემდეგ კი შეუერთებოდა კარტველ თავისარაქმებულ ჯალ ებს, თუ ისინი გამოიწვინენ ოცნამდვილის ტერიტორიების განთავისუფლების დროს, რომლებიც საკარტველ ოს უნდა ეკუთვნოდეს. - ამ ამონავერსი, სარად მოაჯროვნე ადამიანი ეკვიციანსი საკარტველ ოს ტერიტორიული მთლიანობისათვის მეგრჯოლის სახეს დაინახავეს. მეორე მხრივ, მ.საკასვილი ხელისუფლებას კოდორის ხეობის აფხაზეთის დაბრუნება ტუკიმართლი აცხვონდა დაფიქრებულა ის, ეკვიციანის ჯემოარწინსული

pozicia unda gaesaiduml oebina da satel evizio piaris sagnad ar eqcia. sayuradReboa is faqtic, rom kodoris samxedro operaciasTan dakavSirebiT oficial uri gancxadeba afxazeTis defaqto Svidma organizaciamac gaavrcel a. masSi xazgasmiT iyo miTiTebul i: `afxazeTis sazogadoeba SeSfoTebul ia kodoris xeobaSi ganviTarebul i movl enebiT. TiTqos sapol icio operaciis Catarebis sababiT, saqarTvel om faqtobrivad moaxdina **afxazeTis teritoriis nawil is okupacia** da Seqmna pl acdarmi afxazeTis winaaRmdeg mosal odnel i farTomasStabiani Seiararebul i agresiisaTvis... afxazi eri, romel mac sakuTari damoukidebl oba diadi msxverpl is fasad daicva, yvel afers gaakeTebis sakuTari istoriul i teritoriis yovel i goj is dasacavad qarTvel i **agresorebisagan.**- am dokumentis xel s awerdnen: saxalxo erTianobis forumis Tavmj domare_ daur arSba, sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri moZraoba `aidgil aras- Tavmj domare_ genadi al amia, erovnull i partiis Tavmj domare_ iakob I akoba, fondi afxazeTis Crdil o kavkasiis fil ial is Tavmj domare_ vl adimer zanTaria, afxazeTis mxatvarTa kavSiris Tavmj domare_ vital i jenia, kul turis fondis Tavmj domare_ kesou hagba, sazogadoebrivi moZraoba `axacas- Tavmj domare_ axra bJania.

Tuki Cems mier motanil masal ebs safuZvl ianad gaavanna lizebT, sami ZiriTadi sakiTxi wamoiweva wi na pl anze: a)zemo kodoris xeoba saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis iurisdicias TiTqos ar eqvemdebareobda da misi dakaveba, Zal ismieri gziT_ `dapyrobiT- ganxorciel da. momxdari faqtiT, saqarTvel om zemo kodoris xeobaSi samxedro pl acdarmi Seqmna. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom rus da afxaz samxedro da samoqal aqo Ci novnikebs, `daaviwydaT,- an Segnebul ad `iviwyebdnen,- saqarTvel os xel isufli ebisagan zemo kodoris xeobaSi moqmedi batal ion `monadires- gauqmebas da misi wevrebis xeobidan gayvanas daJinebiT rom moiTxovdnen. Tuki zemo kodoris xeobaze saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis iurisdicia ar vrcel deboda, maSin, zemoaRniSnul i moTxovnis saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis wi naSe dasma al ogikur formas atarebda. am SemTxvevaSi, rusebi

da აფხაზები მ.სააკაშვილის მხარდამწერი იდეოლოგიურ პროპაგანდას ეწოდნენ იმ ტვალსაზრისით, რომ `ნაცმოზრაობის-
 ლიდერებს სესაჴი ებღობა მისცეს, ზემო კოდორის ხეობის `დებრუნების- ისეთივე პიარ _აჴიოტაჴი აეტეხათ, როგორც აწარასტან
 მიმართებასი გააქეთეს; ბ)საქართველ ოს ხელისუფლებამ, თავისი
 უგუნური ღმედებით, აფხაზ სეპარატისტებს კოდორის ხეობის
 აფხაზების ისტორიულ ტერიტორიად (ადრე აფხაზეთის სვანეთად მოიხსენიებდნენ) და ქართული მხარის მიერ ამ ტერიტორიის
 ოკუპაციად ოფიციურად გამოცხადების სესაჴი ებღობა მისცა; გ)მ.სააკაშვილი _ ი.ოკრუაშვილი _ ი.მერაბიშვილის
 მიერ ზემო კოდორის ხეობასი განხორციელებული ოპერაცია, აფხაზური მხარის მიერ აგრესიად იქნა სეფაზებული. ამ ორმა
 ტერმინმა _ `ოკუპაციამ- და `აგრესიამ,- მსოფლიოს საერთაშორისო ორგანიზაციები მოიარა და საქართველ ოს ტერიტორიულ
 იმ ტერიტორიების საზღვრებში, სესაბამისი საფეხურის მოსამზადებლად გარკვეული როლი შეასრულა; 3)როცა ღვე-
 ნის ხელისუფლება ზემო კოდორის ხეობით აფხაზეთის დებრუნების სესახებ აღაპარაკდა, საზრდო მოაზროვნე საზოგადოების
 წინაშე პრინციპულად დაისვა საკითხი: საქართველ ოს თავდაცვის სამინისტრო და ღვენის სამხედრო შეიარაღებული ჯარები
 იყო კი მზად აფხაზეთსი საომარი მოღმედებების განსახორციელებლად? ამ საკითხთან მიმართებასი სამხედრო ექსპერტი
 სალვა ტადუმაზე ხაზგასმით ურდა: `რაც შეეხება აფხაზეთთან საომარი მოღმედების დაწყებას, ეს საკმაოდ დიდი საკითხის წინაშე
 ვესტდგას, გამოდინარე იქედან, რომ საქართველ ოს შეიარაღებული ჯარები არ არის მისული იმ კონდიციამდე, რომ ასეთი მასშტაბის
 საბრძოლო მოღმედებები განავითაროს. მაგრამ აბსოლუტურად სესაჴი ებღობა ია ამ ოდენობით ჯარმა, რუსული ფაქტორის გამო-
 იცხვის შემთხვევასი, აფხაზეთთან ურთობებით დასრულ ოს სამხედრო ოპერაცია, მაგრამ აჴარის რუსეთის სერიოზული ფაქტორი.
 გარდა ამისა, მართო სოხუმის, გაგრის და სხვა ღალაყების აღებასი არ არის საჴმე. მათ შენარჩუნება უნდა. შენარჩუნება
 საკმაოდ სერიოზული პრობლემა იქნება შეიარაღებული ჯარებისათვის. ომს უნდა დაგეგმვა, დაგეგმვები კი დრესრული
 პასუხისმგებლობით შემოიღია განვახადო, რომ თავდაცვის სამინისტროსი არ არსებობენ. ისინი ვინც მარალ ტანამდე-

bobebze imyofebian, ar arian is samxedro pirebi, roml eb-
sac SeuZl iaT am saxis samxedro operacia dagegmon, war-
matebiT ganaxorciel on da miaRwion gamarj vebas.-

Tuki es asea, maSin ras emsaxureboda zemo kodoris samxed-
ro operacia, romel ic qveynis biuj ets aTeul obiT mil ione-
bi dauj da? is Tanxa, rac am operaciisaTvis jariskacTa
mosamzadebl ad (16 mil ioni) da uSual od kodorSi operaci-
is Catarebis dros (10 mil ioni) daixarja, mesamedi Tanxa,
yovel gvari dapirispirebis gareSe zemo kodoris xeobis
sakiTxs umaRl es doneze gadawyveta. mxedvel obaSi maqvs,
misi tanjul i mosaxl eobis social uri da ekonomikuri mdgo-
mareobis gaumj obeseba. samwuxarod, m.saakaSvil i da misi
garemocva ase ar fiqrobdnen. maT sazrunavs, zemo kodoris
mosaxl eobis bedi ki ara, xel isufl ebisadmi im etapze da-
pirispirebul i politikuri partiebis neutralizeba da sa-
varZl ebis gadarcena warmoadgenda. aseTi mosazrebis gamoTq-
mis Sesazl ebl obas, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisgan daqirave-
bul i politol ogebis mier sagazeto weril ebSi Sefarviti
formiT gamoTqmul i `debul ebebi- iZl eva. arsebul i
masal ebidan amjerad yuradRebas gazeT `xval indeli dRe-
Si dabeWdil henri kuprasvil is statiaze `konfl iqtis
`gamJRavnebul i- mxare- SevaCereb. saqarTvel osTan mimarTe-
baSi ruseTis agresiuli kursis warmocenisa da kodoris
xeobaSi mimdinare procesebis fonze, igi politikur partie-
bs Semdegi saxis samoqmedo `recepts- stavazobda: `Cemi azrit_
vkiTxul obT weril Si_ umj obesia saqarTvel os istoriisaTvis
am gadamwyvet etapze, iset vitarebaSi, rodesac qveyana didi
sagareo safrTxis winaSe aRmocnda, opoziciurma politikurma
partiebma unda gamoacxadon moratoriumi da droebiT SeaC-
eron Zal aufl ebis xel Si Casagdebl ad ukompromiso
`samkvdro- sasicocxl o- brZola, raTa saqarTvel os xel isu-
fl ebis winaaRmdeg Sida brZol ebit gartul ebma unebi et
mtris wisaqvil ze ar daasxan wyal i.²⁸ aseTi formiT gakeTe-
bul i gancxadeba imis mimaniSnebel i iyo, rom Tu opozicia
xel isufl ebis sawina-aRmdego qmedebes ganaxorciel ebda, igi
ucxo Zal is martul ad gamocxaddeboda. am SemTxvevaSi, maT

zemo kodorSi mimd-inare movl enebis kritikul i Sefasebisa da `nacmoZraobis- sawinaarmdego azris gamoTqmis SesaZl e-bl oba erTmeoda. miTumetes, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba da misi tel eviziebi opozicias gareSe Zal asTan kavSirSi adan-aSaul ebda. Tu ra mizans emsaxureboda am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i saagitacio_ propagandistul i saqmianoba, es cal ke Seswavl is sagania da amis Sesaxeb qvemoT meqneba saubari. erTi ram cxadia, kodoris `dal aSqvram- da misma gapiarebam, m.saakaSvil is reitingi aswia da TiTqmis ganwirul i misi xel qveiTebi savarZl is dakargvas gadaarCina. am faqtis siswores gazeT `kviris qronika-- sadmi micemul interviuSi Sal va fiCxaZec adasturebda.

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom zogierTi pol itikuri mimomxil vel is azriT, kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi warmoqmnil i daZabul oba, ruseT_ aSS- is Sida dapirispirebis Sedegs warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi Cemi yuradReba gazeT `j orjian- Taimsis- furcl ebze gaioz mama- l aZis mier gamoqveynebul ma publ ikaciam miqcia. misi TqmiT, `didi rvianis Sexvedris win, aSS- is anal itikosebma, central ur sadazvervo sammarTvel oSi dagegmes sxvadasxva nabiji ruseTis gasaneitral ebl ad samxreT kavkasiaSi. saqarTvel os parl aments miaRebines gadawyvetil eba `samSvidoboebis- gayvanis Sesaxeb. es gadawyvetil eba `Caudes jibeSi- saakaSvil s savaWrod. ruseTisaTvis Zal ian mtkivneul ia samSvidoboebis gayvana. es pirdapir urtyams ruseTis prestiJs da gansakuTrebiT putinisas... paral el urad central ur sadazvervo sammarTvel oSi damuSavda gegma, romel ic miznad isaxavs rusul i samSvidoboebis diskreditacias, sagareo pol itikaSi da osebis da afxazebis Tval Si.~ Tuki yovel ive es, simarTI es Seesabameboda, batal ion `monadires- gauqmeba, ekvicianTan mizanmimarTul ad arSeTanxmeba da kodoris xeobaSi six- l isRvris mowyobis inscenireba, aSS- is Sesabamis uwyebaSi winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmis nawil ad unda vivaraudioT. rac Seexeba saqarTvel os, ori didi imperiis dapirispireba- Si kozakis mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. miuxedavad amisa, im momentSi saxel isufl ebo euforia imdenad maRal i iyo, rom

TavianT namoqmedars ver akontrol ebdnen, ekviciani sagan mtris xatis Sesaqmel ad da maTi `mtkicebul ebebis sisworeSi- sazogadoebis dasarwmunebl ad, urTierTgamomricxav mo- sazrebebs avrcel ebdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, isini TavianTi `ideuri moZRvaris- al en dal esis SegonebiT moqmedebdnen. `patios- neba da wesiereba_ ambobda a.dal esi_ gamasxaravebul i da aravistvis saWiro aRar iqneba. igi warsul is gadmonaSTad gadai qceva... **mxol od zogierTni mi xvdebi an da gai geben ki dec Tu ra xdeba, magram aseT adami anebs Cven CavayenebT aramo- dur mdgomareobaSi da qveynis sasacil od gavxdiT, movZeb- niT xerxs, rom maT cil i daswamon da isini sazogadoebis naZiri ebad gamoacxadon...**~ swored es principi iqna gamoy- enebul i batal ion `monadires- sardl is da zemo kodoris xeobis 13 wl iani SemnarCunebel is_ emzar kvicianis winaaRm- deg. misi diskreditaciis pirvel i safexuri, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis dabal Cinosnebma daiwyes. givi TargamaZisa da giorgi arvel azis `mtkicebiT,~ afxazeTis de_ faqto Tavda- cvis ministris moadgil is gari kupal bas Zal isxmeviT, ekviciani afxazeTSi, kerZoT soxumSi imyofeboda oj axTan erTad. rac Seexeba s.cincaZes, gazeT `al ias- korespodent rezo Sataki- Svil isadmi micemul interviuSi ambobda, rom `kvicianis ad- gil samyofel ze aTasi versiaa, `sienenma- gadmosca, moskovS- iao. `sieneni~ Worikana araa da Tu kviciani moskovSia da iq soxumis gavliT Cavida, ukve sabol ood l ustrirebul ia da cxadia,... mas moskovSi muqTad aravin Seinaxavs da... raRac funqcias daakisreben.- ekvicianis winaaRmdeg `nacional eb- is- mxridan gaSi il i farTomasStabiani bral debis fonze, aseTi saxis savarauo mosazrebebi sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis Tval sazrisiT kargad muSaobda. xel isufl ebis Sesabamisi uweyebis mxridan gavrcel ebul i informaciisa da e.w. satel efono saubris mixedviT, ekviciani ruse-Tis specsamsaxuris yofil TanamSromel boria ivanovTan iyo TiTqos Sekrul i. am bral debis dasamtkicebl ad im etapze da SemdegSiac aranairi damadasturebel i dokumenti ar gamo- qveynebul a. samagierod, aseT dausabuTebel da i.merabiSvil is uweyebaSi damontaJebul `satel efono saubrebze- dayrdno-

biT, zogierTi `miSisti pol itol ogebi~ ucnaur mosazrebebs sTavazobda sazogadoebas. gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespondent rusiko maCaizetan interviuSi soso cincaZe dabej iTebiT arwmunebda mkiTxvel sazogadoebas, rom ekvicianis gaaqtiureba kremli Si SemuSavebul i gegmebiT iyo ganpirobepul i. `Cemi azriT_ ambobda igi, es imdenad ruseTis general itetTan ar aris dakavSirebul i, ramdenadac dakavSirebul ia kremli - Si Seqmnil sxvadasxva uwebebtan. putinma jer kidev erTi wl is win Seqmna e.w. kol erovis sammarTvel o, romelic... politikuri da samxedro diversiebis mowyobiT aris dakavebul i. specsamsaxurebis moqmedebaze rom saubroben, es, rogorc wesi, mxol od samxedro diversiebs gul isxmobs, magram kodoris xeobaSi ar iyo mxol od samxedro diversia. es iyo kremli s mxridan Cafiqrebul i politikuri samxedro diversia, romel - sac unda mohyol oda saqarTvel oSi garkveuli politikuri Sedegebi. destabilizacia, romli sabol oo mizani xel isuflebis Secvla iqneboda. am mxriv dRes SeiZleba vTqvaT, rom Cvenma xel isuflebam am kuTxiT simtkiceze pirvel gamocdas gauZl o. gauZl o imiTac, rom ukan ar daixia da ar moerida aseT aqcias, romel sac opoziciac kritikiT Sexvdeboda da SeiZleba saerTasoris sazogadobis mxridanac garkveuli kritika yofil iyo. pirvel ad Cvenma xel isuflebam erovnuli interesebi ufro maRla daayena, vidre is gamoxmaureba, rac mas mohyeboda ginda opoziciis, ginda saerTasoris sazogadobis mxridan.⁻²⁹

es vrceli amonaweri Segnebul ad movitane, raTa mkiTxvel isatvis meCveneblina, _ruseTis specsamsaxurebtan ekvicianisa da misi momxrebebis kavSiris `dasabuTebas- ra formiT cdi- l obda m.saakaSvil is `xel is pol itol ogebi.~ xazgasmit minda arvniSno, rom zemo kodoris xeobis danaSaul ebrivi samxedro operacia, farTo sazogadobas s.cincaZem qveynis erovnuli interesebis Wrili Si warudgina da ekviciani ucxo saxel mwifos Sesabamisi uwebebis mititebebis Semsrul ebl ad gamoacxada. misi aseTi pozicia gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan im periodis saxel isuflebo propaganda, mxol od arniSnuli sakiTxiT iyo dakavebul i da m.saakaSvil is pol itol ogebi

qveynis pirvel i piris Sexedul ebebs axmovanebdnen. am mima-
 rTul ebiT gansakuTrebiT `rusTavi- 2-- is Jurnal istebi
 aqtiurobdnen. maTi `mtkicebiT,~ e.kviciani ruseTis spec-
 samsaxurebTan iyo Sekrul i da kodoris xeobaSi situaci-
 is dasaZabavad ruseTis samxedro wreebma mas TiTqos 20
 mil ioni SesTavaza.³⁰ aq Tanxis is raodenobaa dasaxel ebu-
 l i, rac ol eg deripaskos 50 mil ionidan, i.oqruaSvil ma
 aiRo (20 mil ioni). es da Cems mier zemoT motanil i sxva
 faqtebi imaze mi gvani Snebs, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis
 maRal CinosanTa mxridan Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmede-
 bebis msgavsi bral debebi, maTTvis armosawon pirovnebebe
 gadahqondaT da masmediis saSual ebiT oficial urad ax-
 movanebdnen. am fonze, mi zanmimarTul ad axdendnen parl amen-
 tar goCa fifiasa da emzar kvicians Soris gamarTul i
 mol aparakebis dros (25 ivl isi) dasmul i moTxovnebis uyura-
 dRebod datovebas. Cemi azriT, am Sexvedraze wamoWril i
 sakiTxebi uaRresad miSvnel ovan debul ebebs Sei cavda da
 rogorc zemoTac mqonda miTiTebul i, erovnul i saxel mwi-
 fos interesebs srul ad Seesabameboda.

rac Seexeba zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul sa-
 mxedro operacias (zemo kodoris qarTul i sofl ebis dabom-
 bva da miwasTan gasworeba, kodorel i svanebis brZol isu-
 narianobis Cakvl is mizniT, sagangebo sadamsj el o Roni sZ-
 iebebis gatareba da xeobis mosaxl eobis dateroreba) qveynis
 wi naSe Cadenil danaSaul s warmoadgenda. mi Tumetes, gazeT
 `al ias- korespodent rezo SatakiSvil Tan saubarSi igive
 s.cincaZe damaj erebel i toniT ambonda: `me mj era, rom Za-
 l is faqtoris gareSe afxazeTs ver davi brunebT. ar vici,
 rogor moxerxdeba es, Zal is demonstrirebiT Tu misi uSu-
 al o gamoyenebiT, magram mis gareSe es warmoudgenel ia.
 Tuki es asea, maSin m.saakaSvil is garemocvas e.kvicianis
 zemoaRni Snul i winadadeba unda mieRo, kodorel i svanebis
 brZol isunarianobis fsiqol ogiurad arCakvl is mizniT,
 yovel gvani aJiotaJis gareSe, probl ema mSvidobiani gziT
 gadaewyvi ta. amis gakeTeba mxol od saRad moazrovne, gene-
 tikurad qarTvel Ta modgmis da erovnul ni adagze mdgomi

xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebs SeeZl o.

Tuki im periodis oficial ur masal ebs safuZvl ianad gavec-nobiT, davrwmundebiT, rom xel isufli ebis mxridan gavrcel ebul i bral debis_ ruseTis specsamsaxurebTan e.kvicianis SeTanxmebul ad moqmedebis Sesaxeb, sazogadoebis did nawil s ar sj eroda. am mxriv gamoirCeva aiosel ianis, e.saRl ianis, r.margvel anis, i.baTiaSvil is da sxvaTa mier gakeTebul i gancxadebebi. rac Seexeba Jurnal istebs, Cemi yuradReba e.Cafizis publ ikaciam `ra moxda kodorSi- _miiqcia. mTel rig mniSvnel ovan sakiTxebTan, igi e.kvicianisadmi wayenebul zemoaRniSnul bral debasac Seexo, `miSist- Jurnal istebsa da `pol itikosebs- Seaxsena, rom `emzar kvicianisaTvis ruseTis specsamsaxurebTan kavSiris dasamtkicebl ad da imis dasadasturebl ad, rom xeobaSi farTomasStabiani provokacia mZaddeboda, konkretul i, Zal ian myari mtkicebul ebebia saWi-ro da svanurad ori ucnobi piris saubris Canaweri sakmarisi araa.- am kanonzomieri moTxovnis miuxedavad, verc prokuraturis maRal Cinosnebma SeZl es dokumenturad dasabuTebul i myari mtkicebul ebis sazogadoebisadmi wardgena. samwuxarod, e.kvicianis winaaRmdeg agorebul i zemoaRniSnul i bral debis `mtkicebul eba-, im etapze ori ucnobis satel efono svanuri saubris Canawers ar gacdenia. aravis (arasaTavroboebi, axal gazrda iuristebi, adamiანis `ufl ebebis damcvel ebi-, `Tavisufli ebis instituti- `saxal xo damcvel i- da a.S) mxridan ar dasmul a sakiTxi; a)kanonis dacvis fargl ebSi moxda Tu ara Cems mier dasaxel ebul i Canaweris mopoveba; b)aRniSnul i mZime bral debisaTvis es Canaweri sakmaris mtkicebul ebas warmoadgenda Tu ara. am sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi Tavisi pozicia zemoaRniSnul organizaciebs oficial urad unda daefiqsirebina, es maTi val debul eba iyo. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, iseTi STabeWdil eba darCeba adamiანს, rom zemiT CamoTvl il i organizaciebi TiTqos saerTod ar arsebobda. maTi dumil i, aSkarad migvani Snebs, rom isini garedan mmarTul ebiarian. aJiotajs mxol od im SemTxvevaSi texen, Tuki pol i-

tikuri procesebi saqarTvel osa da qarTvel i eris sasargebl od mimdinareobs da maT interesebSi ar j deba.

xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom merabiSvil _ adeiSvil _ kubl aSvil is uwyebisaTvis, aseTi iaffasiani satel efono Canawerebi, sazogadoebis mosatyuebl ad da piaris Sesaqmnel ad savsebiT `sakmaris mtkicebul ebas- warmoadgenda. am saqmeSi maTdami xel Semwyobis rol Si zemoT CamoTvl il i organizaciebi gamodiodnen. marTalia, ekviciani kanons arRvevda, magram igi ruseTis specsamsaxurebis TamaSs namdvil ad ar TamaSobda. roca kanondarRvevaze vsaubrobT, pirvel rigSi xel isufl ebis mxridan darRveul i kanonebis wyeba da qveyanaSi gamefebul i ukanonobis zeimi ar unda dagvaviwydes. meore mxriv, xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa mxridan full isadmi gansakuTrebul i swrafvac sgasatval iswinebel ia da rac mTavaria, m.saakaSvil is biZis Temur al asanias ruseTis yofil i kagebes, imJamad `ef- es- bes- generl oba da gaeros aparatSi samxedro iaraRis Sesyidvebis kontrol is dargSi ruseTis warmomadgenl obac mxedvel obaSi misaRebi. yovel ive aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, zemo kodoris xeobis 13 wl iani SemnarCunebel i ekviciani, `nacmoZraobis- l iderebisadmi undobl obas amJRavnebda. aseTi pozicia gansakuTrebit m.saakaSvil s mimarT gaaCnda, radgan safuZvl iani eWvi hqonda, rom misi biZis meSveobiT igi ruseTis specsamsaxurebTan iyo Sekrul i. am eWvs rusi ol igarqis ol eg deri paskos mier gadaxdil i 50 milioni s faqti kidev ufro amyarebda. ekvicianisaTvis, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis is araoficial uri rekomendaciebic iyo cnobil i, romelic saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan zemo kodoris xeobis rusebisaTvis gadacemas iTval iswinebda. am mavnebl - uri Canafiqris erTaderT xel SemSiel ad im etapze mxol od batalioni `monadire- da ekviciani egul ebodaT. samTavrobo wreebSi gavrcl ebul i azriT, `sanam kviciani aris, xeobas veravin Caabarebs!- es Sexedul eba m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvisaTvis xel isufl ebaSi mosvl isTanave aRmoCnda miu-Rebel i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, igive ekviciani gazeT `kviris qronikas- korespondent ani mirotazi sadmi micemul

interviewSi dabejiTebiT acxadebda: `roca saakaSvil is xel isufli eba modioda, me maSinve vTqvi, rom maT kodoris Cabarebis val debul eba eqnebodaT aRebul i... amis Sesaxeb vambobdi yvel gan, magram aravis sj eroda?! mavans egona, rom me iqedan vikvebebodi. kodori Cemi avtoriteti iyo. diax me viyavi umdidresi da ubednieres, rom viyavi kodorel i... `monadires- gauqmeba mar to oqruaSvil is `xuSturebs-aravin daabral os. es iyo saerTo gegma, romel ic am gunds hqonda miznad dasaxul i. es me vicodi da imitomac... avtexe mTel i ambavi,... rom mindoda xeoba gadamerCina mosal odnel i safrTxisagan. vinmem miTxras, visac samSobl o odesme daucavs da saerTod gul i uZgers qveyniSvis_ roca ici, rom samSobl os giyidian, amdeni sisxl isa da wval ebis Semdeg SenarCunebul xeobas Casabarebl ad gimzadeben,... ar gascem sakadris pasuxs?- es ritorikul i kiTxva, didi il ia WavWavaZisa da arCil j orj aZis ideur memkvidreobaze aRzrdil nebismier WeSmarit qarTvel s exeba da misgan mxol od samSobl os interesebidan gamomdinare pasuxis gacemas moiTxovda da dResac moiTxovs. samwuxarod, im etapze qarTul i sazogadoeba da politikuri speqtri moumzadebeli aRmoCnda. nebsiT Tu unebl ied, m.saakaSvil is satyuar ankes wamoego, riTac mas `frTebis gaSl isa- da Tavisufli ad moqmedebis SesaZl ebl oba misca.

yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebasac, rom kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul i samxedro operaciis ideol ogiurad `gamarTl ebisa- da sazogadobis motyuebis mizniT, 2006 wl is 28 ivl iss gakeTebul gancxadebaSi m.saakaSvil ma sayovel Taod aRiarebul i faqtebis damaxinj eba moaxdina. `guSin movismine baRabSis gancxadeba imis Taobaze_ ambobda igi,_ rom isini kriminal ebTan SeTanxmdnen, rom probl emebs ar Seuqmndnen, sanacvl od saqarTvel os xel isufli eba im teritoriaze ar unda Sesul iyo. es separatistebis mxridan am bandis xel Sexuebl obis garantia iyo.- am amonaweris wakiTxvisTanave, saqmeSi Caxedul i adamiani maSinve mixvdeba, Tu ra donis tyuil i Seapiara sazogadobas m.saakaSvil ma. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom is SeTanxmeba, roml is Sesaxebac saaka-

Svil i l aparakobda, gaeros general uri mdivnis special - uri warmomadgenel is haidi tal iavinis mier iyo mowonebul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT kavkas_ pres centrma m.saakaSvil i tyuil Si amxila da Semdegi saxis gancxadeba gaavrcele: `afxazeTis ew. Tavdacvis ministris moadgil is... **gari kupal bas TqmiT, mas marTI ac hqonda kontakti emzar kvicianTan, rogorc saqarTvel os prezidentis rwmunebul - Tan kodoris xeobaSi, vinandan arsebobda `jentl menuri SeTanxmeba-** Zal is gamouyenebl obis Taobaze mxareebis Soris. es SeTanxmeba aseve moiwona gaeros general uri mdivnis special urma warmomadgenel ma haidi tal iavinim da es SeTanxmeba srul deba kidec.- rogorc vxedavT zemo kodorel ebsa da afxazebs Soris arsebul SeTanxmebaSi dasaZraxisi araferia. igi garkveul i doziT `saxal xo dipl omatis- CarCoSi Tavsdeba. amis Sesaxeb m.saakaSvil ma 2003 wl - idan icoda da Tuki igi miuRebel i iyo, pirvel rigSi misi momwonebel i haidi tal iavini unda daetuqsa da ara ekviciani.

zemoaRniSnul i faqtebis miuxedavad, saxel isufl ebo tyuil ebis gampiarebel i `rustavi- 2-- is Jurnal istebi, yovel gvari saxis sibirZureze midiodnen da sinamdvil is damaxinjebul i formiT, sazogadoebisadmi miwodebiT iyvnen dakavebul ni. am SemTxvevaSi ekvicianisa da i.baTiaSvil is satel efono saubari maqvs mxedvel obaSi. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Jurnal `sarkes- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi (2012 wl is noemberi) irakli baTiaSvil i werda: `emzarma damireka da miTxra, ras avrcel eben Cemze, viTom rusebis samSvidobojarebis sardal Tan maqvs urTierToba,... maTTan ra saerto maqvs. erTaderTi gari kupal bam damireka (separatistebis Tavdacvis ministris moadgile iyo), romel Tanac mSvidobas vamyarebdi... da miTxra, xom ar dagexmaroo. vuTxari, rom araferSi aravis daxmareba ar mindoda. mere daamata, mosaxl eoba iseT saSinel dReSia, iZaxian, saqarTvel oSi cxovreba ar gvin dao. amaT (ambobs i.baTiaSvil i S.v.) Canaweridan amoiRes `mSvidobas vamyarebdi,- rom gaurkveul i darCenil iyo, vin iyo mistvis gari kupal ba. aseve amoiRes fraza `aravis daxmare-

ba ar minda- da `kodorel ebi ise sasowarkveTil ebi arian.-
ase uniWod damontaJebul i gavida `rusTavi -2-- is eTerSi.
mere, iciTARA moxda? roca damiWires, mTI iani Canaweri misces
advokats da am saxiT wavida strasburgSi. prokuraturas
rom misweres, ase ratom moxdao, upasuxes, Cven ara, `rusTavi-
2-- ma daamontaJao.-

roca zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql -
uxoris uRel texil ebis saqarTvel osTvis SemnarCunebel i
batal ion `monadires- sardl is xval indel i dRis sakiTxi
wydeba, aseT kritikul momentSi ful is gul isTvis Jurnal -
isti mizanimarTul bl efze ar unda midiodes. miTumetes,
misi aseTi qmedeba, XXI saukunis Jurnal istis eTikis aranair
CarCoSi ar Tavsdeba. igi mxol od XX saukunis 30_ 40 -iani
wl ebis sabWouri Jurnal istikis ideuri memkvidreobis rean-
imaciis mcdel obis kl asikur nimuSad unda iqnas aRqmul i.

rac Seexeba im etapze ekvicianis adgil samyofel s, gazeT
`rezonansSi- 2006 wl is 29 ivl iss gamoqveynebul i masal ebis
mixedviT igi kodoris xeobaSi imyofeboda. es faqti `nacmo-
Zraobis- l iderebisaTvis miuRebel i iyo Tundac im el emen-
tarul i mizezis gamo, rom kodorel Ta mimarT fsiqol ogiuri
terorisa da maTTvis misaRebi RonisZieebis gatarebaSi ekvi-
iani xel SemSI el i faqtori aRmoCndeboda. amitom, miznad
ekvicianis xeobidan mocil eba daisaxes. am sakiTxTan dakav-
SirebiT gazeT `praimtainsadmi- micemul interviuSi ekvi-
ciani dawvriL ebiT aRwers kodoris xeobidan misi `gatace-
bis- process. `ucxo qveynis specsamsaxurebma ise imuSaves
medeaze_ ambobs ekviciani,_ rom me gamomiyvanes saxel mwi-
fos winaaRmdeg mebrZol i. bol os ki iqedan saakaSvil is me-
gobrebma gamityues. ramdenj erme damireka igor giorgaZem
da tariel onianma, roml ebsac viTom saubari undodaT CemTan,
xeobidan gamityues...

korespodenti_ giorgaZesa da onians sad unda Sexvedrodi T?
ekviciani_ rusebis postze. neutral ur zonaSi... damirekes,
aq varT da gamodio. arcerTi ar damxvda. damxvda sxva. miTxra,
manqanaSi Caj eqi, gzaa afeTqebul i da isini cota qvemoT gel o-
debiانو. CvenC gavyeviT, me da erTi kaci. is kaci Tavisas mere

ityvis. gavyeviT da dRemde aq varT. mere damidges tel evizori da mayurebinebdnen naZiral a giorgi arvel aZe rogor meZaxda moRal ates. isini marTI a moRal ateebi kargad arian, me ki samSobl os gareT var.

korespodenti_ Tqveni gatyueba raSi sWirdebodaT? **e.kviciani_** Cemgan xel isufl ebas mtris xati unda Seeqna. amito-mac iyo, rom soWSi bazarSi qarTvel ebs davudeqi win, rom davefiqsirebine, roca saakaSvil is xel isufl ebam kodori Caabara, me sad viyavi. mere vinmes isic rom ar eTqva, TiTqos afixazeb me mouZRodi kodorisken. esec rom gaekeTebinaT, mere ukve momkl avdnen da ityodnen, TiTqos afixazebTan yofnis dros daviRupe. CemTan erTad Cemi oj axic gaityues. viyaviT soWSi da Tavze ori daraj i gvadga, Svil ebi maSin 14, 12 da 2 wl isani iyvnen. agoniaSi viyavi, Cemi dac ukve cixeSi hyavdaT wayvani i.³¹

am vrcel i amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas, igor giorgaZesTan (17 mil ionis amRebi) da tariel onianTan kavSiri qonda. meore mxriv, ekvicianis winaaRmdeg Cafiqrebul i veragul i gegmis Sesaxebac garkveul i miniSnebaa gakeTebul i. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os Sesabamisi Zal ovani uwyebebi, ekvicianis patimrobaSi ayvanas ar Cqarobda. maT kargad esmodaT, rom sasamarTI os winaSe im etapze misi wardgena, saerTaSoriso rezonansis matarebel i iqneboda da mimdinare procesi, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mxil ebis saxes miRebda. aqedan gamomdinare, kodoris xeobidan emzar kvicianis mocil eba da ucxo qveyanaSi gayvana, erTaderT gonivrul gadawyvetil ebad iqna maTi mxridan miCneul i. rac Seexeba nora kvicianis dapaTimrebas, momxdari faqtiT, kodoris xeobis erT- erTi avtoritetis, afixazetis regionis strategiul i monakveTidan mocil eba ganxorciel - da. es sakiTxi, sazogadoebas ideol ogiuri wamosasamiT Se-fuTul i miawodes da nora kvicianis patimrobidan ganTavisufl ebis `garigebis~ Sesazl o process, garegnul ad emzar kvicianis Zal ovani uwyebebisadmi Cabareba daudes sarCul ad.

zemoaRniSnul ma faqtorebma, romel ic winaswar dagegmil i pol itikuri TamaSis saxes atarebda, saqarTvel os xel isu-

fl ebis mesveurT, ideol ogiur frontze Tavisufal i moqmedeb-
 is srul i SesaZl ebl oba misca. Cems mier mopovebul i masal -
 ebis safuZvel ze irkveva, rom ekvicianis winaaRmdeg gavr-
 cel ebul i bral debebi, mizanimarTul da safexurebriv sax-
 es atarebda. a)marTal ia, masSi konkretul ad ekvicianis sax-
 el i figurirebs, magram ar unda dagvaviwydes, rom es pirovneba
 350 kacian batal ion `monadires- sardl obda da kodoris
 xeobaSi gatarebul i RonisZiebebi, maTi monawil eobIT mim-
 dinareobda; b)aqedan gamomdinare, ekvicianisadmi wayenebul i
 bral debebi, nebsiT Tu unebI ed kodoris xeobis damcvel i
 batal ionis wevrebzedac garkveul i doziT vrcel deboda.
 es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi yofil saxel mwifo minis-
 trs giorgi xaindravas, roca xel isufI ebas gamafrTxil ebe-
 l i formiT mimarTavda: `nu dagvaviwydebaT, rom kodorSi emzar
 kvicianTan erTad, romel ic afxazeTis omidan maxsovs, qveyni-
 sTvis Tavdadebul i adamiანი dganan, roml ebmac dRemde Semo-
 inaxes es mxare erTiani saqarTvel osTvis.-³²

es samarTl iani Segoneba saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isu-
 fl ebisa da sakanonmdebl o organos mesveurTa mxridan Seus-
 menel i darCa. **mxedvel obaSi maqvs saxel isufI ebo uwebe-**
bis maRal CinosanTa mier ekvicianisadmi wayenebul i axa-
l i bral deba_ moRal atel misi avtori saqarTvel os sa-
kanonmdebl o organos Tavmj domare n.burj anaZe iyo. mar-
 Tal ia, svanebTan Sexvedraze (25 ivl isi) man bodiSi moixada
 da naTqvami ukan waiRo, magram, misi mxridan dausabuTebI ad
 gadmosrol il ma udidesma bral debam, m.saakaSvil is xel isu-
 fl ebis mier dawyebul i piarkampaniis axal i mimarTul ebiT
 warmarTvisaTvis xel Semwyobi rol i Seasrul a. rac Seexeba
 pol itikuri speqtris damokidebul ebas, igi aSkarad negati-
 ur xasiaTs atarebda. amis saukeTeso dadasturebas, l ei-
 boristl i partiis erT- erTi l ideris **nestan kirTaZis**
mier gazeT `axal i Taobisadmi- micemul i interviu war-
moadgens. `moRal atis- bral debasTan mimarTebaSi igi
gul iswyromiT ambobda: `xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom
kvicianis moRal ateobas saTave nino anzoris asul ma
daudo. ai, am dedakacma daudo amas saTave. pirvel ad sity-

va `moRal ate- swored misgan gaisma.-

Imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Tavisi pozicia yofil ma saxel mwifo ministrma giorgi xaindravamac gamoTqva. gazeT `jorjian Taimsisadmi- micemul interviuSi igi n.burj anaZis misamarTiT ambobda: `parlamentis Tavmj domaremac moux-Sira qarTul i sazogadoebis bevri warmomadgenel is moRal atis epitetiT Semkobas. es risi maniSnebel ia icit? xel isufl eba, rodesac ama Tu im probl emas ver wyvets, iwyebs `moRal ateebis- Zebnas sazogadoebaSi, rogorc Cans es misia dRes burj anaZem ikisra.-

rac Seexeba Jurnal istebs, am mxriv gansakuTrebul yura-dRebas iqcevs gazeT `al iaSi- I uka amil axvaris mier gamo-qveynebul i publ ikacia_ `maS raSi gvWirdeba arCeul i burj anaZe xal xis rCeul Ta Tavmj domared-... CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, n.burj anaZis, rogorc pol itikosisa da parl amentis Tavmj domaris saqmianoba gamanadgurebel i formiTaa Sefasebul i. `burj anaZem_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ pol itikuri xarakiri gaiketa da kidev erTxel daamtkica, rom miSas notariusia, parl amenti ki_ sanotaro kantora.-³³

aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebsi arasamTavrobo organiza-ciebidan, obieqturi da mkacri pozicia vakis gonivrul i gan-viTarebis wevrma I eil a gafrindaSvil ma daafiqsira. gazeT `xval indel i dRes- korespodent fiqria Wel iZisadmi micem-ul interviuSi (2006 wl is 27 ivl isi) vkiTxul obT: `qal ba-toni nino burj anaZe rom acxadebs, moRal ateao emzar kvi-ciani, moRal ate misi maaa, romel mac 30 mil ioni xal xis ful i jibeSi Caido da uzrunvel i cxovreba moiwyo. moRal atis Svil i TviTon aris da amaze ifiqros. mas ara aqvs am gasacodavebul i xal xis moRal ateze I aparakis mor-al uri ufl eba.- aseTi mkacri ganaCenis miuxedavad, parl amentis Tavmj domaris mier gadmosrol il umZimes bral debas, saqarTvel os saxel mwifo uwyebebis maRal Cinosnebma xel i CasWides da moRal atis terminis yvel a brunvaSi xmarebiT erTmaneTs ej ibrebodnen. aseTi ucveulo nebadarTul i mara-Toni rom ara, ganaTI ebisa da mecnierebis ministris mxridan, Tavisi konpentenciaze aRmatebul sferoSi, umkacresi bral de-

bis Semcvi el i gancxadebis gakeTeba SeuZl ebel i iqneboda. kaxaber l omaias mier `rustavi- 2-- is eTeriT 2006 wl is 25 ivl isis gamosvl a maqvs mxedvel obaSi. `moRal ateebis saZebrad ar gvWirdeba Sors wasvl a_ ambobda igi, _ kl asikuri magal iTi saqarTvel os Ral atis, misi erTianobis winaaRmdeg gadadgmul i SeiaraRebul i amboxis, aris iq ramdenime adami- anis gancxadeba, maT Soris erT- erTi aris emzar kviciani. saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriaSi da momaval testebSi isini Sevl en, rogorc saqarTvel os moRal ateebis kl asikuri... da Ral atis kl asikuri personaJebi. unda giTxraT srul i pa- suxismgebl obiT, rom afxazeTSi ki ara, miwidan amoviRebT kvic-ians da is miRebs Sesabamis sasjel s da mas dasj is saxel mwifo mTel i Tavisi simkacriT.³⁴ **amas ambobda pirovneba, romelic wlebis ganmavl obaSi sorosis fonds xel mZRv- anel obda da antiqartul i saqmis keTebiT uzomod gam- didrda. kodoris xeobis 13 wli an damcvel s da am xeobis saqar- Tvel ostvis SemnarCunebel adami- anebs moRal atis bral debis binZur tal axs esroda. ganaTI ebisa da mec- nierebis ministris aseTi gaaqtiureba mistvis Seuferebel ampl uaSi, ol eg deripaskos 50 mil ioniT unda yofil iyo ganpirobebul i. sagangebo Seswavl as saWiroebs, am Tanxi- dan ramdeni ergo k.l omaias. ganaTI ebisa da mecnierebis ministris zemoaRniSnul ma gancxadebam, civil izebul ad- amianebsi ara marto gakvirveba, aramed aRSfoTebac gamoi- wvia. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `axal i Taobisad- mi- micemul interviuSi nestan kirTaZem Tavisi pozicia Semdegi formiT daafiqsira: `gaixseneT, specoperaciis Catarebis aucil ebl oba visgan iqna pirvel ad xmamaRI a gacxadebul i. es gaakeTa ganaTI ebisa da mecnierebis mi- istrad wodebul ma, sinamdvil eSi `enkavedes- komi sarma kaxa l omaiam... l omaias am gancxadebiT mTel i msofi ioa aRS- foTebul i. maSin rodesac mas unda gaakeTebina yvel aze humanuri gancxadeba, burjanaZis Semdeg is aRmoCnda pirve- l i adami- ani, romel mac gaakeTa gancxadeba l ikvidaciis Sesaxeb, miwidan amoTxris Sesaxeb, yvel aze binZuri da ra- dikal uri gancxadebebi.~**

k.l omaias gancxadebasTan mimarTebaSi Tavisi pozicia Sal va
 naTel aSvil ma Semdegnairad Camoayal iba: `kaxa l omaias kar-
 gad daakvirdiT saxeze da mixvdebiT, rom is ganaTI ebis
 ministri ki ara, dedamiwaze movl enil i eSmakia. bol Sevikeb-
 is ganaTI ebis ministri_ l unaCarskic ki humanizmis gan-
 saxiereba iyo. igi ara marto pol itikuri mowinaaRmdegeebis,
 aramed SemoqmedebiTi intel igenciis represiebsac mkacrad
 aprotestebda da amisTvis aravis daugmia, arc_ l enins, arc_
 stal ins. kaxa l omaias satel evizio gamosvl a hitl eris sako-
 ncentracio banakis gazis kameris gamgis gamosvl as hgavda.-
 am SemTxvevaSi S.naTel aSvil i ar tyuoda. vinc zemoaRniSnu-
 l i gadacema naxa da k.l omaias saxis nakvTebis moZraobis
 aRdgenis SesaZl ebl oba gaaCnia, udaod dameTanxmeba, rom im
 momentSi k.l omaia Seubral ebel da sadist gestapoel ma-
 Ral Cinosans ganasaxierebda. kodoris xeobasTan mimarTeba-
 Si `nacional ebis- mier `agorebul ~ kampaniaSi, qarTvel Ta-
 sisxl isRvris `gamarTI ebis- motiviT, xel isufl ebis `dabal -
 Cinosnebic- aqtiurobdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs parl amentis
 sa-erTaSoriso urTierTobis komitetis Tavmj domaris kote
 ga-baSvil is (Saxnazariani) mier gazeT `xval indel i dRes-
 kore-spodentisadmi micemul i interviu. `kodoris xeobaSi-
 gana-cxada man_ marto ofl isRvra ar iqneba, iqneba sisxl is
 Rvrac, magram mxol od moRal ateebisa da teroristebis sisx-
 l is...- ramdenadac im etapze am mimarTul ebiT Ziebis proce-
 si da Sesabamisi mtkicebul ebebis dadeba ar momxdara, sain-
 tereso, qveynis maRal Cinosnebi ra meqanizmiT gansazRvrad-
 nen ama Tu im pirovnebis moRal ateobas an teroristobas.
 aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, safuZvl iani mtkicebul e-
 bebiT gaj erebul i da dasabuTebul i formiT Sedgenil i
 dokumenti samarTal damcav uwebebs dRemde ar daudvia. ise-
 Ti STabeWd-il eba iqmneba, rom esa Tu is pirovneba, bral debe-
 biT damZimebul gancxadebebs, piradi survil idan da
 m.saakaSvil is garemocvis saamebl ad akeTebda. sxvagvarad
 yovl ad warmoudgenel ia aixsnas, **parl amentis Tavdacvisa**
da uSiSroebis komitetis maSindel i Tavmj domaris gancx-
adeba, imis Sesaxeb, rom `xel isufl eba api rebs, mi baZos dav-

IT aRmaSenebel s, romel ic moRal atees Tavebs aWrida.-
 Tu ra doneze mibaZa m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebam daviT
 aRmaSenebel s, mtris gul is gasaxarad daCexil i da `aC-
 ariqebul i- saqarTvel os dRevandel i teritoriac
 metyvel ebs. kidev ufro did gakvirvebas iwvevs imave
 g.TargamaZisgan ruseTTan mimarTebaSi gakeTebul i Seurac-
 myofel i gancxadeba: `kviciani midis msofli ios sanagve
 yuTSi, msofli io kl okaSi- moskovSi.- mezobel i qveynisa da
 misi dedaqal aqis mimarT, mogwons Tu ara, aseTi saxis dam-
 amcirebel i gancxadebis gakeTeba parl amentis sapasuxi smge-
 bl o Tanamdebobis pirisgan msofli io istoriaSi iSviaTo-
 bas warmoadgens.

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebs mxridan kodoris xeobis Sesa-
 xeb sainformacio sivrcis maqsimal urad gamoyenebiT, ekvic-
 ianisa da misi mxardamWerebis ideol ogiurad da pol itikurad
 `damuSavebiT,- saqarTvel os prokuraturisaTvis Sesabamisi
 safexuri momzadda, raTa mas ekvicianis winaaRmdeg `sisxl -
 is samarTl is- saqme aReZra. am mxriv, udanaSaul obis pre-
 zumciis dacva nakl ebad ainteresebdaT. maT mizans, axal i
 sasiu-rprizo piarisaTvis garkveul i formiT niadagis mo-
 mzadeba warmoadgenda. am mxriv, qveynis general urma proku-
 raturam `mtkicebul ebaTa- safexuri momzadebul ad CaTv-
 al a da 2006 wl is 28 ivl iss ekvicians 5 bral deba wauyena.
 am faqtTan dakavSirebiT general uri prokuroris moadg-
 il em kaxa koberiZem Jurnal istebTan preskonferenciaze
 is bral debebi CamoTval a, romel ic ekvicianisadmi iqna
 wayenebul i. misi TqmiT, ekvicanma moaxdina `saqarTvel os
 Tavdacvisunarianobis xel yofa, amboxis mowyoba xel isu-
 fl ebis damxobis mizniT, ukanono SeiaraRebul i formirebe-
 bis Seqmna da xel mZRvanel oba, iaraRis ukanono Senaxva_
 tareba da iaraRis ukanono daufli eba._ gamoikveTa, rom
 kvicianis mier Cadenil i iqna SeiaraRebul i amboxeba xe-
 l isufli ebis damxobis mizniT. yovel ive es Seadgens sax-
 el mwifos Ral atis Semadgenl obas. mas ukve waredgina
 bral i am muxl iT. garda amisa, anal ogiuri bral i dauswre-
 bl ad waredgina baCo arRvl ians, romel ic mZime danaSau-

I is CadenisaTvis adrec iyo ZebniI i.~³⁵

am amonaweris mixedviT, e.kvicianisa da b.arRvl ianis winaaRmdeg wayenebul i bral debebi muxl obrivad Semdeg-nairad SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes: 1)ukanono Seiararebul i formirebis Seqmna da misi xel mZRvanel oba; 2)iaraRis ukanono Senaxva_ tareba; 3)iaraRis ukanono daufl eba _arsenal is aRmoCena; 4)saqarTvel os Tavidacvisunarianobis xel yofa; 5)xel isufli ebis damxobis mizniT Seiararebul i amboxis mowyoba.

saqmeSi Cauxedavi mkiTxvel i am bral debebs WeSmaritebad mi iCnevs da e.kvicianisadmi zizRnarevi damokidebul ebiT ganewyoba. arada, saqarTvel os prokuraturis mier (kaxa koberize) SeTxzul i es bral debebi TeTri ZafIT iyo nakeri da simarTI es ar Seesabameboda, radgan, 1)is Seiararebul i formireba, romel sac emzar kviciani da zurabgerl iani edga saTaveSi, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRni Snul i 1993 wel s Seiqmna da batalioni `monadire- uwodes. igi saxel mwifo struqturas eqvemdebareboda da mis wevrebs 200 l ariani xel fasi hqonda dani Snul i. i.oqruaSvil is brZanebiT, batalioni `monadire- 2005 wl is april Si gauqm da. amdenad, batalioni `monadire- romel sac prokuraturam ratomRac `ukanono formireba- uwoda, 2006 wl is ivl isisatvis aRar arsebobda. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki prokuratura im etapze jer kidev ucnobi saxis romel ime SenaerTsgul isxmobda, mis mier gakeTebul gancxadebaSi igi Semdegi formul irebiT unda yofil iyo warmodgenil i: `e.kvicianma Seqmna axal i ukanono Seiararebul i formireba- da igi Sesabamisi dokumentiT daedasturebina. ramdenadac aseTi mtkicebul eba prokuraturas ar gaaCnda, mxol od zogadi gancxadebiT Semoifargl a. miuxedavad amisa, am faqtma sazogadoebaze garkveul i zemoqmedeba moaxdina da xel isufli ebis dasaxul i mizani miRweul i iqna; 2)iaraRis ukanono Senaxva_ tareba, iaraRis `arsenal isaRmoCena. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT SemiZl ia ganvacxado, rom saqarTvel os prokuraturis maSindel xel mZRvanel obas, rogorc Cans maRal i donis

amnezia daemarTa, Torem aucil ebl ad gaaxsendeboda, rom batal ion `monadires- SesaiaraRebl ad, mi sTvis Sesabamisi saTadarigo samxedro aRWurvil obis Sesaqmel ad, Tavis droze kaxa TargamaZe, daviT TevzaZe da giorgi baramize zrunavda. Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom m.saakaSvil is gundis wevrma g.baramiZem, 3 `kamazis- tipis avtomanqanebiT kodoris xeobaSi 2004 wel s oficial urad iaraRi rom Seitana da iqve `arsenal Si- ganaTavs. iaraRis es sawyobi daedo safuZvl ad, `nacional ebis- ideol ogebis mxridan kodoris xeobaSi viTomda iaraRis `samal avi sawyobis aRmoCenis- Sesaxeb atexil aJi-otaJs; 3)saqarTvel os Tavdacvisunarianobis xel yofa._ aq dakonkretebul i araa Tu ras gul isxmobdnen xel yofis cnebaSi. qarTul i enis ganmarTEbiTi l eqsikonis mi xedviT, si tyva_ xel yofa ni Snavs: a)raimes mi tacebas, b)vi smesadmi Tavdasxmas.³⁶ Tuki es ase, ismeba kiTxva: kodoris xeobaSi myofma e.kvicianma konkretul ad ra miitaca, an visze, an romel saxel mwifo dawesebul ebaze moaxdina Tavdasxma. am SemTxvevaSi, danaSaul is Cadenis mtkicebul ebis arani-iri dokumenti ar arsebobs. sazogadoebaze zemoqmedebis mosaxdenad, general uri prokuratura isev zogadi xasiaT- is terminol ogi iT manipul irebda. 4)xel isufli ebis damx- obis mizniT SeiaraRebul i amboxis mowyoba._ am bral de- basTan mimarTEbaSi pirvel rigSia gasarkvevi, kodoris xeobaSi adgil i qonda Tu ara aj anyebas. am sakiTxTan da- kavSirebiT,Qparl amentis wevris g.fifiasadmi e.kvicianis 3 moTxovnis faqti mkiTxvel s isev unda Sevaxseno:01)`mona- dires- statusis aRdgena da misi Tavdacvis uwyebisadmi daqvendebareba; 2)Tavdacvis saminstros warmomadgenl eb- is kodoris xeobaSi Casvl a, iaraRis sawyobis aRweris Cata- reba, `monadiresaTvis- saWi ro aRWurvil obis datoveba da danarCenis xeobi dan gatana; 3)1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxme- bis denonsireba da amis Semdeg kodoris xeobaSi saqarTve- l os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Seyvana. es moTxovnebi, rogorc zemoTac mqonda mi TiTebul i, xeobisTvis usafrTxoebis ga- rantiis Seqmnas da yovel gvari eWvebis moxsnas emsaxureb-

oda. am kanonieri moTxovnis avtoris aj anyebul ad gamocxadeba, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis interesebSi ij da. aqedan gamomdinare, am mimarTul ebiT gaweuli i propagandistuli saqmianoba, qveynis teritoriuli mTli anobis sawinaaRmdegod gadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda. Tuki saqarTvel os xel isuflebis maRal Cinosnebi aseT riskze midioda, gadamwyvet rols, isev da isev rusi ol igarqis ol eg deripaskos 50 milioni asrul ebda.

rac Seexeba mTavrobis damxobas, general uri prokuratura alo gikur mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda, radgan ekvician-isadmi wayenebuli zemoaRniSnuli bral deba absurdul saxes atarebda. es xarvezi kargad SniSna nora kvicianma da `nacmoZraobis samarTali damcvel ebis- misamarTiti cinikuri formiT ganacxada: `enas Zvali ara aqvs, yvel aferi iTqmis, Torem Cem Zmas ranairad unda gadaetrial ebina kodoridan (12 pereval is iqet) Tbil isSi xel isufleba?... Cemamde ver modis. es rom miTxres vuTxari: `mal adec- Cems Zmas, es ra Zlieri vinmeyofila, 12 pereval is iqedan Tbil isSi atrial ebda xel isuflebas Tqo.-

saqarTvel os prokuraturisa da iusticiis saministros maRal CinosanTia mxridan, lo gikuri kategoriebisi mRma mdgomi daskvnebis da gancxadebebis mimarT, Tavisi uaryofiti pozicia qarTuli politikuri speqtris maSindel ma warmomadgenl ebmac daafiqsira. am mxriv, Cemi yuradReba afxazetis uzenaesi sabWos wevris germane facacias mier gazeT `axali Taobis- korespodentisadmi micemul ma intervium miiqcia. `kvicians araferi wamouwyia, man ori ram Tqva_ Cven svanebs, Cveni Rirseba gagvaCnia da ver avitanT, rom sandro girgvl ianis saqmis gamozeba araobieqturad mimdinareobdeso... girgvl ianma saqarTvel o gaacocxla. misa sikvdil ma xal xs daanaxva, rom saqarTvel os momavali, Tundac erTi axal gazrdis usamarTli o mokvdinebas da misi mkvlel ebis gausamarTlebl obas ar unda efuznebodes.- qveynisa da eris tragedia imaSi gamovlinda, rom kodoris xeobis mcxovrebl ebze maRlila, msaakaSvilis garemocvam merabiSvil _ sal ayaiebis ojaxuri interesi daayena. Zal auflebaze uzomod Seyvarebul ebma,

samarTl ianobis el ementarul i normebis aRiarebis aucil e-
 bl obac ki ar isurves. es garemoeba hqonda mxedve-l obaSi
 parl amentar goCa j o j uas, roca xazgasmiT miuTitebda:
 m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mesveurebma `dial ogi da ukan-
 daxeva ician maSin, roca Zal as xedaven, roca xedaven, rom
 winaaRmdegobas awydebian. xel isufl eba qarTvel i xal xiT
 spekul irebs, icis rom sazogadoebac da opoziciac momTme-
 nia. mixeil maWavarianma daaxl oebiT aseTi ram Tqva_ Cven
 xel isufl eba, ki varT gaTaxisirebul i, magram amas saxel mwif-
 fos nu gadaayol ebTo. maT apriori aRiares, rom cudebi
 arian, rom isini sizul vil s iwveven, magram mainc mogviTmine-
 To_ yvel as mouwodeben.³⁷

marTalia, `nacional ebis- l iderebi sazogadoebas moTmi-
 nebisken mouwodebdnen, magram, imave sazogadoebis azrs uyu-
 radRebod tovebdnen. saRi azrovnebis, fiqrisa da gansjis
 Sedegad Seqmnil da rCevs saxiT miwodebul yovel winadade-
 bas Seuracyofad aRiqvamden, waRmarTad gasakeTebel saqmes,
 ukuRma akeTebden da gapiarebul formebsi qveynis `warm-
 tebis- yal b il uzias qmndnen. anal ogiuri damokidebul eba
 gamoavl ines zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSiac. qarTu-
 l i pol itikuri da sazogadoebrivi azris mesveurTa Segone-
 ba, kodoris xeobis 13 wl iani damcvel ebis mimarT naCqarevi
 gadawyvetil eba ar mieRoT da isini `moRal ateebad- ar gamoe-
 cxadebinaT_ uyuradRebod datoves. aRniSnul sakiTxTan da-
 kavSirebiT arsebul i masal ebis Seswavl is safuZvel ze ise-
 Ti STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom qarTul i saxel mwifos teri-
 toriul i mTl ianobis sawinaaRmdegod, maT mier Cadenil i yo-
 vel i qmedeba, ucxoel i mrCevl ebisa da `Wkuis damrigebl eb-
 is- mixedviT keTdeboda. amas qarTul i sazogadoeba kargad
 xedavda. m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mxridan erovnul i saxel
 l mwifos saziand gadadgmul yovel nabij s, aRmaSfoTebe-
 l i formiT aRiqvamda da Tavis pozicias saj arodac afiqsi-
 rebda. amis erT- erT nimuSs e.saRl ianis mier gazeT `asaval -
 dasaval is- korespondent d.CubiniZisadmi micemul i inter-
 viu warmoadgens. igi Tavis gul iswyromas Semdegi formiT
 gamoxatavda: `roca es arakacebi evropasi daseirnobden da

TavianT keTil dReobas iwyobdnen, emzar kviciani dal is xeobaSi ibrZoda da qarTul miwas icavda! dRes emzar kviciani kriminal i da banditia da eseni saxel mwifo interesebiT xel mZRvanel oben?~

es sayveduri savsebiT kanonzomieria, radgan dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan, `nacmoZraobis- I iderebis umetesoba fu- l is SegrovebiTa da terorizms gziT mopovebul i biznesiT iyo dakavebul i. Tuki TiToeul i maTganis warsul s safuZvl ianad gavecnobiT, 2004 wel i maTTvis gardatexis da sensaciebis sawyis etaps warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs xel isufl ebaSi mosvl is dRidanve, oj axis wevrebisa da naTesavebis mxridan biznesis mimarTul ebiT `gamoCeni- l i niWi ereba.~ es saocari fenomeni saqarTvel os mosaxl - eobis gasaZarcvavad, istoriul i teritoriebis gasayidat da gasaxvisebl ad, ZirZvel i qarTul i mosaxl eobis Sesaviwroebli ad da qarTul miwebze ucxo Tesl is Casanergad iqna gamoyenebul i.

saRad moazrovne pol itikuri speqtrisa da sazogadoebrivi azris mesveurebi kargad xedavda im mosal odnel ubedurebas, romel sac ucxo qveynis xel isufl ebisgan marTul i `okeanedal eul i- m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva upirebda qarTvel xal xs. am fonze Tuki ganvixil avT ekvicianisa da misi momxreebisadmi `nacional ebisgan- wayenebul i bral debelis sapsuxod dabeWdil publ ikaciebs, gansakuTrebul i yuradRebis centrSi gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent d.CubiniZisadmi Sal va naTel aSvil is mier micemul i interviu miqcevs. d.CubiniZis SekiTxvaze, `aris Tu ara emzar kviciani moRal ate?~ S.naTel aSvil ma upasuxa: `am qveyanaze yvel aferi SedarebiTia!... aRniSnul i principi dan gamomdinare, roca kodoris xeoba gadasarCeni iyo da afxazeTSi omi mZvinvarebda, mixeil saakaSvil ma yal bi sabuTebiT gaikeTa saxel mwifo departamentis premia, wavida amerikaSi saswavl ebl ad, rogorc dezertiri, Tavi aarida oms da miatova Tavisi Tanatol ebi frontze!... am dros emzar kvicianma da misma jgufma, roml ebsac dRes moRal atees uwodeben, iaraRiT... dai cves dal is xeoba da afxazeTis svaneTSi mteri ar SeuSves.~

am SemTxvevaSi S.naTel aSvil i simarTI es ambobda. isic cnobil ia, rom gasul i saukunis 90- iani wl ebis umZimesi pol itikuri situaciis dros, m.saakaSvil is garemocvis umravl esobam, afxazeTSi saqarTvel os interesebis dacvas Tavi aarida, zogi maTgani brZol is vel idan l aCru- l ad gamoiqca, zogmac mxedrionel oba daiwyo da afxazeTidan devnil qarTul mosaxl eobas Zarcvavda. drois cval ebadobidan da aSS- is maRal CinosanTa Zal isxmevis Sedegad, xel isufl ebaSi mosul i es adamiანი განსაზრვადა ama Tu im pirovnebasTan mimarTebaSi `moRal atis wodebis miniWebas.- maT sapasuxod, gazeT `j orj ian Taimsisadmi- micemul interviuSi (2006 wl is oqtomberi) nora kvicianma ganacxada: `emzars Tavisi xal xiasTvis da qveynisaTvis rom eRal ata, mis dasacavad xel Si iaraRs ar aiRebda da isic iseve gamoiqceod, rogorc afxazeTidan gamoqceul ma bevrma Cinovnikma miatova brZol is vel i. mTel i sicocxl e Tavisi miwa- wyl is dasacavad ibrZoda da axl a gaxda moRal ate?- gul iswyrmiT gamoTqmul am samarTI ian SeniSvnas, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas ver Seasmanda adamiანი. gaj iqebul ni, pirvandel Sexedul ebas ar icvl idnen da TavianTi poziciis gasamyarebel `argumentad- e.kvicianis `mimarTvis- teqstis im adgil ebs eWidebodnen, sadac maTTvis miuRebel i moTxovnebi iyo wamoyenebul i. imis gasarkvevad, Tu ramdenad sworad xdeboda saxel isufl ebo Stoebis mxridan am dokumentis interpretacia, amis gasarkvevad, teqstis sru- l i versia sagangebod Seviswavl e. masSi gansakuTrebul i da sagangaSo arafera, radgan anal ogiuri saxis gancxadebebi Tbil isSi gamarTul mitingebze opoziciis l iderebis mxridan xSirad mousmenia sazogadoebas. es dokumenti pirobitad ramdenime nawil ad SeiZl eba daiyos: 1)ბათიონ `მონადირე- განვილი ისტორიის ფონზე, Sesabamisi uwyebis maRal - Cinosnebisadmi kodoris xeobis zogierTi mniSvnel ovani sabrZol o momentis Sexseneba; 2)რუსი `სამსვიდობების- სარდ- l obisadmi dapiRispireba da kodorel Ta mZime social uri mdgomareoba; 3)m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisa da i.oqruaSvil is, rogorc uvargisi sardl is mxil eba; 4)კოდორის ხეობაSi Se-

sul i qarTvel i jariskacebisadmi mowodeba_ iaraRis dayrisa da qarTvel Ta sisxl is ardaRvris Sesaxeb. `Cemo Zmebo_ vkiTx- ul obT teqstSi,_ romel nic motyuebiTa xarT Semoyvanil i xeobaSi, miugdeT es wyeul i iaraRi Tqvens prezidents, iqneb movides gons, radgan sakuTari xal xis winaaRmdog iaraRis aRmarTva ar SeiZl eba. Tqven dainaxavT, Tu rogori didi nabijebiT gaiqceva igi saqarTvel odan. ubral od dadeqiT erTad, nu geSiniaT nurafris, miatoveT moRal ate xel isu- fl eba da dadeqiT martI madidebl obis gverdsi da es eSma- ki... gandevneT isev iqeT, sadac Seqmnes... is xel Sekrul eba, roml iTac unda Cabarebul iyo afxazeTi, ar Sesrul da Cemi gamoxtomis gamo. imis gamo, rom Cven kodorel ebma iaraRi aviReT xel Si da davicaviT Cveni kuTxe. CaveyenebineT saqmis kursSi, rom afxazetis Cabareba qondaT Cafiqrebul i... raze vxocavdiT amden xal xs?... axl a Tu Cven gaviqeciT aqedan, erT- or TveSi dautoveben teritorias afxazebs... es iyo dagegmil i. maWavarianma Tqva, rom asrul ebs 1994 wl is xe- l Sekrul ebas... me mogiwodebT yvel as, mTel qarTvel xal xs... ar gekadreba vij deT gul xel dakrefil i, roca sakuTar xal xs sakuTari xel isufl eba uswordeba iaraRiT. dadeqiT fexze, gamodiT quCebSi, TqviT simarTI e, nu geSiniaT! Tu ara da icodeT, TqvenTanac ase gamoil aSqreben sul mal e. me vfiqrob, rom maT gamovdeni xeobidan, ar gavCerdebi manamdis, sanam sazRvrebs ar davatovebineb am eSmakebs. amitom mogiwodebT yvel as, nu geSiniaT, Tamamad dadeqiT fexze, TqviT simarTI e, romel ic Tqven gj eraT da gwamT da nu geSiniaT nuravisi! Cven TqvenTana varT, ufal i CvenTanaa, dideba RmerTsl-

saRad moazrovne dakvirvebul i mkiTxvel i dainaxavs, rom am teqstSi, mxol od saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis gafrTx- il ebaa m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mxridan, maTi dasj is mizniT, iaraRis mosal odnel i gamoyenebis Sesaxeb. am Canafiqris SesaCerebl ad, masSi saprotesto manifestacie- bis mowyobis aucil ebl obaa dasmul i. rac Seexeba qveynis Sesabamisi uwyebepis warmomadgenl ebis mxridan imis ape- l irebas, TiTqos e.kviciani iaraRis gamoyenebiT xel isu- fl ebis dasamxobad mowodebda xal xs, tyuil ze dafuzneb-

ul piar kampanias warmoadgenda, radgan amis Sesaxeb imave mimarTvaSi miniSnebac ki ar aris gakeTebul i. exeboda ra aRniSnul sakiTxs, gazeT `axal i Taobis- korespondenti-sadmi micemul interviuSi nestan kirTaZe savsebiT samarTI ianad dasZenda: `kvicianma gaakeTa gancxadeba zustad iseTive, rogor gancxadebasac vakeTebdiT Cven universitetis ezoSi, rusTavel is gamzirze, respublikis moedanze. nebsmier SemTxvevaSi Znel ia ar daeTanxmo kvicianis romel ime gancxadebas. aq saubari iyo sandro girgvl ianze, cal anze, social ur probl ematikaze da xeobis mitovebaze xel isufli ebis mier. aq saubari iyo im probl ematikaze, romel ic dRes saxel mwifoSi arsebobs. miuxedavad imisa, rom es iyo xmamaRi a mTaSi gaJRerebul i gancxadeba, ara samxedro, aramed samoqal aqo pirisgan. imis gaTval - iswinebiT, rom `monadire- ukve aRar aris samxedro struqturaSi, mit umetes, maTi meTauri ar iTvl eba samxedro pirad.³⁸

imasTan dakavSi rebiT, Tu vin SeiZl eba CaTvl il iyo moRal ated, amis Sesaxeb Tavisi Sexedul eba e.kvicianma zemoT dasaxel ebul i mimarTvis teqstSi gamoTqva. igi xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebs savsebiT kanonzomierad usvamda kiTxvas: `gekiTxebiT, ras niSnavs moRal ate?- da iqve pasuxobda: `moRal ate viqnebodi maSin, Sens partiaSi rom vyofil iyavi da Semdeg gagdgomodi. moRal atis uamravi saxeoba arsebobs. maT Soris yvel aze didi moRal ate aris is, romel sac Tavisi samSobl o... gadauxdis ful simistvis, rom wavides Sors da iswavl os rac SeiZl eba meti. is midis am ful iT da swavl obs rac SeiZl eba mets sakuTari xal xis dasaCagravad, gasaubedurebl ad da dasaxocad, rac saxeze gvaqvs. modiT, sazogadoebas mi vandoT da gansaj os vin aris moRal ate.- am SemTxvevaSi sakiTxi sworadaa dasmul i. e.kvicianma misi saqmi anobis Sefasebisa da msj avris gamotanis sabol oo gadawyvetil ebis miReba sazogadoebas miando. e.i. istoriis gansj is sagnad aqcia. imavdroul ad dasva uaRresad sagul isxmo kiTxva, Tu vin SeiZl eboda Ca-Tvl il iyo moRal ated? marTal ia, misi mxridan pa-

suxi mxol od nawil obrivad iqna gacemul i, magram, es sakiTxi qarTuli politikuri speqtris gansjis erT-erT sagnad iqca. gamoqveynebuli masal ebidan, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas Sal va naTel aSvil is mier irakli oqruaSvil Tan mimarTebaSi Ral atis cnebis axsnis forma iqcevs. kodoris xeobaSi Zal ovani uwyebebis xel mZRvanel obiT ganxorciel ebuli antisaxel mwifoebrivi qmedebis fonze, S.naTel aSvil i qveynis Ral atSi i.oqruaSvil sadanaSaul ebda da iqve Ral atis cnebasac ganumartavda. `Ral atis is, rom ganaiaraReb im mosaxl eobas, romelic kodoris xeobaSi mesazRvrec aris da mebrZol ic da gautexav maT sabrZol o sul s. Ral atis is, rom aviaciis gamoyenebiT utev mSvidobian mosaxl eobas... Ral atis is, rom cxinval Si aCoqeb qarTvel biWebs, iReb simaRl eebis da Semdeg maT rusebs abareb... Ral atis is, rom xurav samxedro akademias da sakuTari Tanasofl el ebis gamokl ebiT, quCaSi toveb mraVal samxedro oficrebs.~ am amonaweris mi xedviT, Tavdacvis ministri irakli oqruaSvil i (voskaniani), garkveuli mtkicebul ebebiT samSobl os Ral atSia dadanaSaul ebuli.

sazogadoebriv_ politikuri azris aqtivobam da xel isuflebis Sidasaxel mwifoebrivi mcdari politikuri kursis saasKaraoze gamotanam, m.saakaSvili da misi garemocva daafrTxo. miTumetes, kodoris xeobaTan mimarTebaSi ekvicianisa da misi momxreebisadmi wayenebuli bral debebi ususur da dausabuTebel mosazrebebs emyareboda. aq raime saxis mtkicebul ebaze saubari zedmetia, radgan, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnuli, saqarTvel os general urma prokuraturam 5 bral debidan vercerTi maTganis mimarT logikur kategoriებს დაყვმდებარებუი დამადასტრებელი დოკუმენტი ვერ ვარმოდგინა. es faqti, xel isuflebis eSel onebSi gansakuTrebul gaRizianebas iwvevda. qveyanaSi mimdinare rTuli politikuri situacia, romelic opoziciuri speqtris gaaqtiurebasTan iyo dakavSirebuli, prokuratoris winaSe principlad ayenebda sakiTxs, opoziciurad ganwyobil politikuri partiebis liderebis Tavisufali azrovnebis SezRudvis

aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. am samarcxvino winadadebis avtori, saqarTvel os parlamentis iuridiul i komitetis Tavmjdomare nika gvaramia iyo. Tu riT iyo ganpirobepul i aseTi saxis sakanonmdebl o aqtis miReba, amis Sesaxeb gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi igi Tavis Sexedul ebas Semdegnairad asabuTebda: `kodoris movl enebTan dakavSirebiT... opoziciam zogadi erovnul i faseul obebi ver gaiTavisa, mowodebis simarI eze ar aRmoCnda da meamboxeebs mxari samarcxvinod dauWira, magram miuxedavad amisa, sazogadoeba aRmoCnda mZad zogadi erovnul i faseul obebisadmi mxardaWerisaTvis, rac xel isufl ebis poziciis mxardaWeras niSnavda. mTel i opoziciuri speqtridan, visac eyo pirovnull i gambadaoba da xel isufl ebas mxari dauWira, mxol od sal ome zurabiSvil i iyo... sakanonmdebl o organoSi iseTi sakanonmdebl o iniciativiT Seval , qveyanaSi meamboxeebs da mis mxardamWerebs dausjel s ar datovebs.- n.gvaramias am gancxadebam sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel Ta Soris aRSfoTeba gamoiwvia. igi Tavisufal i azris SezRudvad da XX saukunis 30- iani wl ebis sabWoTa epoqisaken gadadgmul nabij ad iqna Sefasebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT nana kakabaZe (yofil i pol itpatimrebi_ adamianis ufl ebebisatvis Tavmj domare) gamoirCeoda. `xel isufl ebis qmedeba scil deba yovel gvar zRvars_ ambobda igi, isini ara Tu amas bedaven,... amis dakanonebas cdil oben. xel isufl ebas Semoaqvs axal i kanonproeqti,... iseTi sakuTari azris gamoTqmisaTvis, romelic miuRebel i iqneba xel isufl ebisaTvis, SesaZl ebl oba eZl eva kanonis fargl ebSi pirovneba cixeSi gaamweson.- es faqti demokratiul Rirebul ebebze uaris Tqmis da sabWouri diqtatorul i meTodebis dasamkvidrebl ad swrafviss mcdel obas warmoadgenda. exeboda ra am sakiTxs, n.kirTaZe xazgasmiT miuTiTebda: `saakaSvil i da misi diqtatorul i reJimi cdil obs, mosaxl eobaSi SiSis sindromi Semoitanos,_ guSindel satel evizio gamosvl aSi diqtatorma saakaSvil ma saxel mwifos xerxemal s_ vano merabiSvil s pirdapir misca daval eba, iseTi moZraobebi xdeba, rom cxvirSi kargad unda CavartyaT Cven am batonebs da

kontrdazverviTi samuSaoebi gaaZl iereTo... tel earxebiT gamomsvl el i umravl esobis l iderebi saubrobdnen imis Sesaxeb, rom nebismieri pol itikuri gancxadebis gakeTebis SemTxvevaSi... misi avtori dasjil i iqneba.- es imas niSnavs, rom sazogadoeba da pol itikuri speqtri, prokrustes sarecel is msgavs rkinis CarCoSi moaqcio da sabWoTa xel isufl ebis msgavsad mmarTvel i `partia ar cdeba_ aZaxebino. im periodis masal ebis mixedviT, saakaSvil is xel isufl eba dasaxul i miznis misaRwevad yvel afers akeTebda. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi advokati eka besel ia erT- erT interviuSi ambobda: n.gvaramias `kanonproeqtis qveteqstSi aSkarad igrZnoba xel isufl ebis survil i: pol itikuri oponentebis mimarT gaataros mwave, daundobel i da yovel gvar samarTI ebriv safuZvel s mokl ebul i RonisZiebebi da represiebi. bunebrivia, xel isufl ebis am daucxromel da dauokebel survil s sWirdeboda Sesabamisi sakanomdebl o aqti da parl amentis iuridiul i komiteti, rogorc yovel Tvis, amj eradac saamiso bazas amzadebs.-

Samxedro eqspertebis da pol itikur moRvaweTa daskvnebis, sazogadoebis Tval saCino warmomadgenl ebis Sexedul ebebis, mimdinare procesebis TviTmxil vel Ta naambobis gaanal izebis safuZvel ze irkveva: 1)m.saakaSvil is `pol itmuSakebis- mcdel oba, sazogadoebisTvis daemtkecibina, rom kodoris xeobaSi kl asikuri gagebiT aj anyebas qonda adgil i, natyuar informaciZe agebul piarkampaniis Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda da arcerTi saxis dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. am mimarTul ebiT, xel isufl ebisadmi niRabis CamoxsnaSi, l omis wil i e.kvicians miuZRvis im Tval sazrisiT, rom Wuberis uRel texil ze gadasvl isas, qarTul i jaris nawil ebs Tofis gasrol is gareSe ganerida da qarTvel Ta sisxl is daRvras_ mTebSi mimal va amj obina; 2)m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis mtkiceba, zemo kodoris xeobaSi Sesvlla TiTqos afxazeTis `dasabrunebl ad- dawyebul samxedro operacias warmoadgenda, sazogadoebis yuradRebis Tbil isidan afxazeTis mimarTul ebiT gadatanaze iyo gaTvliil i. samxedro eqspertebis azriT, im etapze saqarTve-

l os aseTi saxis operaciis damgegmavi genStabSi ar yavda da bunebrivia, soxumis mimarTul ebiT saomari moqmedebis dasawyebadac mZad ar iyo; 3) e.kvicianis ruseTis agentad da qveynis moRal ated gamocxadebis damadasturebel i oficial uri dokumenti, im da momdevno etapze qveynis Sesabamis uwyebes sazogadoebisaTvis ar warudgenia. sqarTvel os general uri prokuraturis mier e.kvicianisadmi wayenebul i 5 bral debidan, dokumenturad arcerTi maTgani ar dasturdeba. piriqit, kodoris garSemo ganvitarebul i pol itikuri procesebis Rma analizidan gamomdinare, qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebma safuZvl iani eWvi gamoTqves m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvidan zogierTi saxel mwifo moxel is_ ruseTis uSiSroebis Sesabamis uwyebasTan TanamSroml obis Sesaxeb.

* * *

zemo kodoris movl enebTan dakavSirebit, im periodis sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebis winaSe daisva sakiTxi: iyo Tu ara kodoris operacia warmatebul i? Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom momxdari faqtis SefasebasTan mimarTebaSi im etapze ZiriTadad ori Tval sazrisi dominirebda: 1) operacia dabal doneze iyo momzadebul i da 2) operacia warmatebit damTavrda.

rac Seexeba pirvel sakiTxs, pol itol ogi ramaz sayvarel - iZe miChevda, rom kodoris samxedro operacia, araprofesional izmis saukeTeso nimuSs warmoadgenda. `kodorSi iyo msxverpl i_ ambobda igi, _ rac araprofesional izmit aris gamowveul i. am profesiisTvis arc eTika aqvT, arc imis codna, rom yvel aferi ise gaakeTon, msxverpl is gareSe dasrul - des.~ es sayveduri savsebit samarTl iania, radgan maT uunarobas, gansakuTrebul i damaj erebl oba da Tavxedoba erTvo - da. amis saukeTeso gamovl inebas, **prezidentis aparatis maS - indel i ufrosis garvel azis gancxadeba** warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kodoris svanuri mosaxl eobisadmi mowodeba_ kodoris xeobis datovebis Sesaxeb. `naciona -

I ebis- am `mWermetyvel is- mtkicebiT, kodoris xeobis macx-ovrebl ebidan kriminal ebad mxol od is adamiანი ar Cai-Tvl eboda, vinc xeobas datovebda da mamapapeul samkvi-drebel s upatronod miatovebda. am danaSaul ebriv faqt-Tan mimarTebaSi gazeT `versias- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi viqtor jafariZe gul iswyromiT ambobda: `arvel aZem marTI a Tu mouwoda mSvidobian mosaxl eobas datovon sofl ebi da wavidnen, Zal ian Semcdara. ase sad wavidnen? gaakeTes koridori rom es adamiანი gamoiyvanon? me ara maqvs aseTi informacia, iqneb gaakeTes da ar vici.- `nacional ebis sardl ebma- aseTi ram im etapze ver molfiqres, Toremsvanuri mosaxl eobisgan zemo kodoris xeobis dasacl el ad da devnil ebad gamosacxadebl ad, nabij saucil ebl ad gadadgamdnen. momxdar danaSaul ebriv faqts e.kvicianisa da misi momxreebs gadaabral ebdnen.

xazgasmiT minda aRvni Sno, zemo kodoris 2006 wl is ivl isis samxedro operaciaSi, didi borotebis aRmosacenebel i marcvil i iyo Cadebul i. am faqts ada marSaniam `mosaxl eobis saj aro saCvenebl i terorizacia- uwoda. rac Seexeba nestan kirTazes, misi Sefaseba ufro radikal uri iyo. gazeT `axal i Taobisadmi- micemul interviuSi ganacxada, rom `xel isufl ebam rac kodoris xeobaSi Caidina, namdvil i genocidia. es iyo namdvil i samxedro operacia mimarTul i sakuTari xal xis winaaRmdeg, ramac umZimesi Sedegebi gamoiwvia adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis cxovrebaSi. kodoris xeobaSi momxdari am sadamsj el o _samxedro operaciisaTvis mTel i es xel isufl eba agebs pasuxs. ar vici ra sasamarTl om unda gaasamarTI os amistvis es xel isufl eba da ra sasj el i unda Seufardos.- **rac Seexeba avTandil margians, kodoris samxedro operacia `Steroperaciad- Seafasa** da xel isufl ebis misamarTIT `bumerangiviT dabrunebac- iwina-swarmetyvel a, magram, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan ufro swori iqneba Tuki vityviT, rom kodoris xeobaSi gal aSqreba, saqarTvel osa da qarTvel ers, marTI ac bumerangiviT daubrun- da. marTal ia, adamiანis ufl ebaTa damcvel i giorgi I aRiZe, kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul specoperacias xel isufl ebis

mxridan araswor da gauTvl el RonisZiebad mi iCnevda, magram xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno: m.saakaSvil _ i.oqruaSvil - i.me-rabiSvil is triumviratma Sesani Snavad icoda rasac akeTeb-da. maT ucxo qveynebis interesebis Sesatyvisad imoqmedes da gaakeTes is, rasac 1994 wl is maisidan afxazi separat-istebis da rusi `mSvidobismyofel ebis- xel mZRvanel oba moiTxovda. es sinamdvil e rom SeeniRbaT da sazogadoebis azrovneba sxva mimarTul ebiT gadaetanaT, am mizniT `rusTa-vi- 2-- is satel evizio propagandistul i `manqana- maRal doneze muSaobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs sazogadoebisadmi tyui- l iT damZimebul i informaciis miwodeba. am danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, aRniSnul i arxis Jurnal istTa didi korpusi emsaxureboda. isini m.saakaSvil is 2006 wl is 28 ivl isis satel evizio teqstze dayrdnobiT, kodoris samxedro op-eraciasDbanditebis, teroristebisa da moRal ateebisgan xeobis gawmendis mizniT Catarebul RonisZiebad acxadeb-da. ki dev ufro `Sors wavida- parl amentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmj domare givi TargamaZe, roca man absurdul i xasiaTis gancxadeba gaakeTa. `xval saqarTve- l o daibrunebs Tavis erT- erT umniSvnel ovanes terito-rias da es iqneba mniSvnel ovani precedentii qveynis gaer- Tianebisa da qveyanaSi saxel mwifoebrivi wesrigis dam- yarebis Tvasl sazrisiT.³⁹ g.TargamaZis am gancxadebam sa- zogadoebaSi iseTi STabeWdil eba Seqmna, TiTqos m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebam kodoris xeobis is monakve- Ti daibruna, romel ic afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis ko-ntol s 1993 wl idan eqvemdebareboda. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs, kodoris xeobis samxreTi_ gvirabis qvemo- Ta nawil i, xeobis bol o sofel is qvabCaris CaTvl iT. ram- denadac g.TargamaZe sazogadoebis mosatyuebel ideo- l ogiur il uzias qmni da, misi mxil eba aucil ebl obas war- moadgenda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas giorgi burj anaZis gancxadeba iqcevs. igi m.saakaSvil is garemoc- vas Seaxsenebda: `roca xel isufl ebas dal is xeobaze kon- trol i surs, ar daaviwydes, rom am xeobaze kontrol i unda gavrcel des gvirabis qvemodan, radgan iq ara marto

ramdenime sofel ia, aramed didZal i qarTul i miwebi xel - Si aqvT Cagdebul i bandit separatistebS.~ roca kodoris xeobis `dabrunebaze~ da masze kontrol is dawesebaze vsaubrobt, es imas ni Snavs, rom am xeobis 60 kil ometriani monakveTi sofel sakenidan_ sofel qvabCaris CaTvl iT Sens iurisdiciaSi moeqca. samwuxarod, mkvexara saakaSvil sa da g.TargamaZes, kodo-ris xeobis gvirabis qvemoTanawil is dabrunebis unari da vaJkacoba ar gaaCndaT. maT mxol od `l arnakze~ dadebul is da mzamzareul is _gvirabis Crdil o nawil is `dabrunebis~ gapiareba moaxdines.

xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta mxridan, kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis~ Sesaxeb tyuil ze dafuZnebul ma propagandam, qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ politikuri azris aRSfoTeba gamoiwvia. TiTqosda SeTanxmebul ni iyvnen, yvel ani erT da imave kiTxvas svamda: visgan daibrunes kodoris xeoba? amasTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `kviris qronika-- sadmi micemul interviuSi Sal va fiCxaZem Tavisi pozicia Semdegnairad gamoTqva: `erTi baTumi daibrunes da meore kodori!...aseTi propagandistul i sisul el eebiT sabWoTa kavSiris dros mqonda yurebi gamoWedil i da isic meyoFa.~ kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis~ Sesaxeb xel isufl ebis mier atexil aJiotaJs, parl amentari Temur nergaZe sisul el es uwodebda, xol o giorgi I aRiZe `nacional ebis rCeul el itas~ Seaxsenebda, rom kodoris xeobis im nawil ze, roml is Sesaxebac isini saubrobdnen, `namdvil ad araferi gvqonda dasabrunebel i, ubral od am xeobaSi gasaZl ierebel i iyo saxel isufl ebo kontrol i da saxel isufl ebo instituciebis muSaoba.~

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebidan kargad Cans, rom m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mesveurni, pi arkampani isTvis SerCeul terminol ogias_ `dabrunebas~ da am mimarTul ebiT Sesatyvisi imi taci iT, Sesabamisi scenariS gaTamaSebas axdena. es aprobirebul i meTodi iyo da igi sazogadoebaze grkveul i ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis aTvis gamoiyeneboda. amis erT- erT saukeTeso ni muSad `gamarj vebis~ simbol od e.kvicianis sanaxevrod dangreul saxl ze droSis aRmarva warmoadgenda, romel is ceremonial i pirvel ad `rustavi

2-- ma uCvena.

zemo kodoris xeobaSi mimdinare procesebis anal izis safu-
Zvel ze, axal i memarj veneebis erT- erTma l iderma manana na-
Wyeblam savsebiT kanonzomierad ganacxada: `kodoris xeoba-
Si atexil i mTel i es aJiotaJi xel isufl ebas raRaciT xom
unda gaemarTI ebina? gaamarTI a kidec... j er yvel aferi ise
daxata, TiTqos es teritoria dakargul i gvqonda da mxol od
axl a davibruneT da davuqvemdebareT qarTul iurisdqcias.
axl a ki TiTqos dabrunebul i teritoriisTvis statusisa da
funqciis aRdgenaze muSaoben. mgoni saqarTvel os mosaxl eo-
bisaTvis da Tavad kodorel ebisTvisac aRmoCena iyo, rom es
regioni dakargul i iyo da masze qarTul i iurisdqcia ar
vr cel deboda... mal e al baT kaxeTs, qarTI sa da sxva kuTx-
eebs daerevian da am kuTxebs dagvibruneben sisxl is fasad.
rogorc Cans, saqarTvel os mTavrobam teritoriul i mTI iano-
bis aRdgena am saxiT daiwyo... Sesabamisad xSirad imitacias
qmnis, TiTqos raRac gaakeTa da mosaxl eobis did nawil ze es
Wris kidec... j obs, xel isufl ebam ufro real uri da qmediTi
nabij ebi gadadgas, raTa arc mosaxl eoba Seiyvanos Secdoma-
Si da arc Tavad gaxdes il uziis msxverpl i.⁴⁰

am vr cel amonawerSi kargadaa warmoceni l i saqarTvel os
xel isufl ebis mocvenebiTi da xal xis mosatyuebl ad Catare-
bul i RonisZiebebis danaSaul ebrivi mxare. dasbuTebul ia, rom
m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba il uziebis tyveobaSi iyo moq-
ceul i da saRi azrovnebis miRma idga. maTi mxridan gakeTe-
bul i gancxadebebi, l ogikur kategoriebs scil deba da ume-
teswil ad al ogikurSi gadadioda. es garemoeba qonda mxed-
vel obaSi fiqria CixraZes, roca gazeT `mTel i kviras- kore-
spodentisadmi micemul interviuSi aRniSnavda: `Tavidan es
yve-l aferi kvicianis dasakavebl ad keTdeboda da Semdeg gamo-
gvi cxades, rom Turme saqarTvel os e.w. iurisdqciis aRsa-
dgenad keTdeba. esaa sakmaod mZime movl enebis Semdeg fia-
ris Semotrial ebis mcdel oba da garkveul wil ad es moaxe-
rxes kidec_ sazogadoebaSi ucnauri mol odini gaaCines, rom
TiTqos Cven afxazetis mimarTul ebiT seriozul i nabij ebi
gadavdgiT. netav ki idgmebodes marTI ac sadme seriozul i

nabij ebi da mudmivad fiaraqciebis tyveobaSi da il uziebSi ar amyofebdes es xel isufli eba sazogadoebas.-

am il uziis SesaniSnav gamovl inebas, kodoris samxedro operaciis `warmatebad- gamocxadeba warmoadgenda. isic angariS-gasawevia, rom saerTaSoriso asparezze `nacional ebis- mxridan gaweul i titanuri Sromis Sedegad, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mier zemo kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis qmedebebi `warmatebul specoperaciad- moinatli a. es Tval sazrisi kidev ufro gaamyara aSS- is saxel mwifo mdivnis moadgil is evraziis sakiTxebSi meTiu braizas gancxadebam, roml is mixedviTac zemoarNiSnul i faqti `warmatebul da efeqtur operaciad- iqna Sefasebul i. aseTma saqebarma si tyebma, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas Sesazl ebl oba misca qarTvel ebze `gamarj veba- piaris umaRl es safexurze aeyvana da igi qveyanaSi sazeimo ganwyobiT daegvirgvinebina. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Tavisi Sefaseba Jurnal istma nino xurcizem, sazogadoebas Semdegi formiT miawoda: `saqarTvel os xel isufli eba_ wers igi, _ morig gamarj vebas zeimobs. saakaSvil - merabiSvil is dueti qarTvel i jariskacebis... `arnaxul warmatebasa- da maT mier Cadenil i `umagal iTo gmirobis- Sesaxeb akeTebis seriozul gancxadebas da friad kmayofil ic Cans. qarTvel is mier Zl eul qarTvel s ki ojaxi da mTel i saqarTvel o gl o vobs. sakuTar sisxl sa da xorcze mopovebul i gamarj veba saqarTvel os prezidentisaTvis gamarj vebis piki a. man sxva omi da sxva gamarj veba ar icis. igi mxol od sakuTari mosaxl eobis mokl a_ ganadgurebasa da SimSilit sikvdil zea orientirebul i. moZmis mier CaSveba da misi sasikvdil od gameteba saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis umaRl esi zneobrivi kateg-oriaa. vardebis xel isufli ebis mTavari brZol is iaraRi SantaJi, strategia_ Tval Tval - dasmena, Sedegi ki ful ze sindis gacvl il i daSantaJebul i moTval Tval e sazogadoebaa, romel mac axal i saqarTvel o unda aaSenos.- `nacional ebis- xel Si aseTi adami anebis mier `aSenebul i- saqarTvel o Tu rogori iqneboda_ Znel i gamosacnobi ar unda iyos.

zemoaRni Snul is Sefasebas, `miSisti- mecnerebi da pol i-
tol ogebi Tavs aridebda. m.saakaSvil is Sidasaxel mwifoeb-
riv Zal adobriv da gauazrebel qmedebebs, normal ur movl e-
nad miicnevda, xol o ekvicianis yovel nabij s, mikroskopis
gamadidebel i SuSiT uyurebda. arsebul i probl emisadmi damo-
kidebul ebis aseTma formam, tendenciurobis damkvidrebas
da movl enaTa araswor Sefasebas Seuwyo xel i. parl amentar
paata qurdovaniZis azriT, ekviciani meamboxe iyo da `xel
lisufl ebas konstituciuri samarTI ianobis aRdgenis sxva
gza ar hqonda.- am SemTxvevaSi man gverdi auara yvel aze mni-
Svel ovan sakiTxs, mediatoris institutis im etapze gamoy-
enebis real ur SesaZl ebl obas da rac mTavaria, parl amen-
tar goCa fifias mier kodoris xeobidan gamotanil i sa-
marTI iani moTxovnebis _xel isufl ebis mxridan mizanmima-
rTul ad ignorirebas. aseTma damokidebul ebam SesaZl ebl o-
ba misca i.oqruaSvil sa da m.saakaSvil s, sazogadoebisTvis
`emtkicebina,- rom kodoris xeobaSi konstituciuri iuris-
diqcia iqna aRdgenil i. `1993 wl is Semdeg afxazeTis terito-
riaze Sedis mTavroba_ ganacxada m.saakaSvil ma,_ romel ic
ganaxorciel ebs afxazeTis nawil ze saqarTvel os iurisdic-
cias da konstituciur wesrigs. es mniSvel ovan da Zal ian
fundamenturi movl enaa.- **sainteresoa, 1993 wl idan 2006 wl is**
ivl isamde, kodoris xeobis _gvirabis Crdil oeTi nawil i
konstituciurad afxazeTis, ruseTis Tu saqarTvel os xel
lisufl ebis daqvemdebarebaSi imyofeboda? Tuki zemo
kodoris xeoba saqarTvel os ar eqvemdebareboda da mis
dasamorCil ebl ad samxedro opeacis Catareba iyo aucil
ebel i, 1)imave m.saakaSvil is Tavdacvis yofil ma ministr-
ma giorgi baramiZem, 2004 wel s zemo kodoris xeobaSi sami
`kamazis- tipis manqaniT ratom Seitana iaraRi, an vis
Seutana igi? 2)Tuki kodoris xeobaSi yovel gvari danaSau-
l is xel mZRvanel i emzar kviciani iyo, 2004 wl idan_ 2006
wl is ivl isamde Tbil isSi myofi ekviciani patimrobaSi
ratom ar iqna ayvanil i? 3)kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os
iurisdicciis aRdgena m.saakaSvil s Tuki marTI a surda,
ekvicianis devnis motiviT sofel qvafCarSi Casul qarTul

samxedro SenaerTebis, aRni Snul i sofel i ar unda daetovebina, paral el urad kodoris xeobis samxreTi nawil idan_ l aTa- qvafCaris monakveTidan, rusul _ afxazuri Seiar- aRebul i formirebebis gandevna moexdina. Tuki am proceduris ganxorciel ebas SeZl ebda, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas, mxol od amis Semdeg miecemoda samarTI ebrivi ufl eba, kodoris xeobis dabrunebaze da iq saqarTvel os iurisdiciis aRdgenaze el aparaka.

zemoaRni Snul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, ismeba ki Txva: ra daniSnul ebas atarebda piarIT SefuTul i es samxedro operacia da ra mizniT daijarja aTeul obiT milioni? am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yuradReba gazeT `argumentis- Jurnal istis nino xurciZis publ ikaciam miiqcia, sadac dasmul kiTxvebTan mimarTebaSi angariSgasawevi mosazrebaa gamoTqmuli. `kodoris operaciam xel isufl ebas opoziciuri partiebis aqtivobis CaxSobis kanonieri saSual eba misca. sisxilis samarTI is kodeqsSi Sesatani axali cvl il eba (ngvar- amias proeqti S.v.) nebismieri opoziciuri l ideris gauvnebel - yofis martivi da swrafi saSual ebaa. sakuTari savarZl is SesanarCunebl ad saakaSvil s aRar dasWirdeba special uri operaciis Tu sagangebo gegmis SemuSaveba. uufl ebo adamian- Ta gausaZl isi social uri yofa da mZime kriminogenul i mdgomareoba saqarTvel oSi tabudadebul sakiTxebad cxaddeba. xel isufl ebis misamarTiT gamoxatul i el ementarul i ukmayofil eba, amieridan kanoniT daisj eba. es axali qarTuli demokratiis inovaciuri model ia.-

zemoT dasmul i kiTxvebidan aq mxol od erT sakiTxzea gacemul i pasuxi. rac Seexeba erovnul i tradiciebis mimdevari regionis qarTul i mosaxl eobisadmi m.saakaSvil is damokidebul ebas, igi odiozur saxes atarebda da qarTvel Ta cnobierebis gasamrudebl ad, miuRebel i RonisZiebebis gatarebasac ar erideboda. es garemoeba qonda mxedvel obaSi **qal - Ta saerTaSoriso organizaciis wevr l era abul aZes, roca gazeT `xval indel i dRe-- sadmi micemul interviuSi gul iswyromiT ambobda: `somxebi ekl esiebs gvarTmeven, miwebs ucxoel ebi yidul oben, qarTvel ebs monebad iyeneben,**

amaze reaqcia ar aqvT da kodorze aqvT reaqcia? eseni ar-
 ian qarTvel i xal xis mtrebi. es unda icodes mTel ma msof-
 l iom, sazogadoebam. TxuTmet wel iwads viTmendiT da gvet-
 ira yofa, metis moTmena aRar SeiZl eba. da bol os, saakaS-
 vi-l ma dedas gitirebTo, amiT daagvi rvvina. ra prezidenti
 da ra mTavroba gvyavs... me piradad mrcxvenia rom saqarTve-
 l os aseTi xel isufli ebis pirvel i piri da mTavroba hyavs.-⁴¹
 im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebuli masal ebis
 mixedviT, msaakaSvil is mier svanebis misamarTiT gadasrol -
 ili muqara_`dedas gitireb!- da misi xel qveiTebis ganxrad-
 ebebis_`kodoris xeobaSi dadurdeba da ganadgurdeba yvel -
 aferi, fexqveS miwa daewveba TiToeul maTgans-... Sesrul ebis
 meore safexuris ganxorciel eba daiwyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs
 kodorel Ta masobrivi dpatimrebebi. ekvicianisa da barRv-
 lianis verdaWeriT, wonasworobidan gamosul ma ioqruaSvil _
 imerabiSvil ma, SurisZiebis mTel i simkacre adgil obrivi mo-
 saxl eobis winaarmddeg mimarTa. maTi brZanebiT, kodorel Ta
 yvel a avtoritetul i oj axebidan minimum TiTo wevrs `mZeva-
 l is- saxiT apatimrebdnen da sapyrobel eSi gadahyavdaT. amis
 Tval saCinoebis saukeTeso faqts, nora kvicianis mZevl ad ayvana
 warmoadgenda. xel isufli ebis mxridan, zemo kodoris mosax-
 l eobis mimarT gatarebul aRniSnul sadamsjel o RonisZie-
 basTan mimarTebsi_ gazeTi `argumenti- werda: `xeobaSi Sesu-
 li policia im kodorel ebs daeria, roml ebmac garkveul i
 mizezebis gamo uari ganaxades kvicianTan erTad tyeSi ga-
 qcevaze da sofel Si darCena amj obines. amis mizezi SesaZl -
 oaisic iyos, rom isini dpatimrebebis safrTxes ver grZnob-
 dnen da miaCndaT, rom xel isufli eba maT winaarmddeg sisxl is
 samarTli devnas ar ganaxorciel ebda... mTavari `amboxebu-
 l is- verdaWeriT gawbil ebul i xel isufli eba, xeobaSi darCe-
 nil ebze iyris javrs da zedized apatimrebebs TiTqmis yvel a
 gvaris erT- erT wevrs mainc. bral deba, rogorc wesi, ba-
 nal uri da tradiciulia, iaraRis ukanono SeZena, Senaxva da
 tareba. kodoris xeobaSi, rom didi raodenobit iaraRi iyo
 Tavmoyrili, amas arc kodorel ebi mal avdnen. afxazetis omis
 dros da Semdeg periodsic, zustad am iaraRis wyal obit

SeZl es xeobis SenarCuneba da Tavis dacva separatistTa araerTi Semotevisagan... Sinagan saqmeTa samistros mon-domebazea damokidebul i, dRes ramdeni adamianis dapatimre-bas moisurvebs da ramdens gaasamarTI ebs iaraRis tarebis bral debiT.- am amonawerSi motanil i faqtebis saRi gonebiT gaazrebis Sedegad, WeSmariti qarTvel is winaSe erTader-Ti kiTxva daismeba: ramdenad mizanSewonil i iyo frontis mowinave xazis central ur nawil Si sol iviT SeWriil i xeobis mosaxl eobisadmi, iaraRis Senaxva_ tarebasTan mi-marTebaSi sisxl is samarTI is kodeqsis im muxl ebis amo-qmedeba, romel sac rusTavel is gamzirze mimaval i moqal a-qisadmi viyenebT?

nebismier saxel mwifoSi, sadac erovnul i cnobierebiT moa-zrovne da qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis SenarCunebiT dainteresebul i mTavrobaa, zemoaRniSnul i qmedeba antisaxe-l mwifoebri vad Sefasdeboda da mis gamtarebel ministrebs sanimuSod dasjida. samwuxarod, im da momdevno etapzec (2003_ 2012) saqarTvel os pirvel i piri da misi garemocva ara marto araqarTul i warmomavl obis, aramed, araqarTu-l i cnobierebis mqone adami anebi iyvnen. isini im Canafiqris Sestrul ebas cdil obdnen (mxol od sul sxva formiT), romel ic bagramianis batal ionis wevrebma 1993 wl is 23_ 27 noemberSi ver ganaxorciel a. Tuki maT mizans kodorel i svanebis amowyveta da genocidi warmoadgenda, imave bagramianis genetikuri Stos warmomadgenl ebma, samSobl osa da qarTul i miwis dacvis gaufasurebis fonze, miznad daisaxes: 1)xeobis mosaxl eobaSi brZol isunarianobis Cakvl a, TiToeul i maTganis cnobierebaSi moZal adisadmi SiSisa da monuri morCil ebis damkvi dreba; am antierovnul i tendenciis gamovl inebis dasadasturebl ad, kodoris gmiri damcvel ebis mizanmimarTul i devna da patimrobaSi ayvanil Ta wamebiT mokvdineba gamodgeba. amis Sesaxeb, gazeT `saqarTvel o da msofi io-- sadmi 2012 wel s micemul interviuSi nora kviciani xazgasmiT miuTITebda: `batal - ion monadires wevrebis umetesoba gaanadgures. magal iTad, roman margvel iani, romel ic iyo marTI a gmiri da 13

wel i kbiT ebiT i cavda xeobas, zugdi dis cixeSi i se awames, rom janmrTel oba srul iad gaunadgurda. mere orTaWa- l is sapyrobi eSi gadaiyvanes da iq mokl es. aseve cemiTa da wamebiT mokl es qsanSi zaza gerl iani.~ 2)winaparTa safl avebisadmi upativcemul obis da SesaZl o wabil wwis daSveba; 3)regionis ZirZvel i tradiciisadmi SefurTxeba.

Cems mier CamoTvl il am saSinel ebebs, `CaSvebis institut- is- kodorel svanebSi amoqmedebis mcdel obac daemata. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs, xel isufl ebis mxridan e.kvicianisa da barRvl ianis Tavebis 100 aTas l arad Sefaseba. m.saakaSvil sa da mis gare mocvas egona, rom social urad da ekonomikurad gaubedurebul i kodorel i svanebi ful ze daxarbdebodnen da moZmes, qarTul i gvaris wamosasxamSi SefuTul bagrami- anis modgmis warmomadgenl ebs Caabarebdnen. am faqtma, qarTul i intel igenciis samarTl iani gul iswyroma gamoiwvia. mxed- vel obaSi maqvs gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent d.CubiniZisadmi erekl e saRl ianis mier micemul i interviu. `xel isufl ebis ususurobis amaze ufro didi demonstrire- ba Tu arsebobs_ ganacxada man,_ rom is ful iT yidul obs adamianebs? xel isufl ebas unda ful iT gamoamzeuros adami- anSi arakaci, romel ic konkretul pirovnebaSi zis. ai, es aris yvel aze ufro amazzeni!-

imasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu ratom maincdamainc svanebi iqna xel isufl ebis mxridan mizanSi amoRebul i, gazeT `versias- korespondent eka asaTianisadmi micemul interviuSi avTan- dil margiani acxadebda: `es yvel aferi msofl ios maso- nuri mafiis programis Sesasrul ebl ad aris gamiznul i. am programiT qarTvel i xal xis social uri da naciona- l uri damonebis farul i procesi mimdinareobs. es yve- l aferi maRl a axl a ukve Riad amovida. svanuri fenomeni udides rol s asrul ebs erovnul TviTSegnebaSi. magal i- Tad, sakmarisia 4- 5 koml i Caasaxl o iseT regionSi sadac erovneba Sesustebul ia, rom situacia mal e sul sxvagvar- ad Semobrundeba. am mizniT xdeboda kidec svanebis sxva- dasxva regionSi Casaxl eba. vTqvaT j avaxeTSi, qvemo qarTl Si da a.S. ase rom am xal xis TviTSegnebis wi naaRmdeg brZo-

I a tyuil ad ar mimdinareobs. qvemo qarTI Si da sxva re-
 gionebSi Zal ian rom gagviWirdda, svanurma mosaxl eobis
 Zal am warmatebul i Sedegi moipova. zviad gamsaxurdi am
 j avaxeTSi mi tingebi ver Caatara, sanam iq svanebi ar Cavid-
 nen. cxinval Si vinc Sevida da qarTul i sofl ebi daicva,
 svanebi iyvnen. afxazebTan 1989 wl is maisSi pirvel i kon-
 fl i qti rom moxda, uSangi margvel anis xel mZRvanel obiT
 40 svani wel s zemoT gaSiSvl da da soxumSi ise Sevida...
 da iq yvel aferi qarTul ebis gareSeEcaqra.- am faqtis sis-
 wores prof. geronti gasvianic adasturebs. igi am movl e-
 nebis uSual o monawil is a.gasvianis naambobze dayrdno-
 biT wers: `afsua boevikebma saSinel i provokacia autexes
 soxumSi momitinge qarTvel ebs (rkinis da l ursmniani
 xel ketebiT daerivnen Seviwroebul mSvidobian momitin-
 geebs moedanze), romel Sic `l emel ebic- (l omebi) Rebu-
 l obdnen monawil eobas. rodesac momitingeebi saza-
 xocva- JI etis safrTxeSi aRmoCnda, aTeul obiT `l emel -
 ma- vaJkacma tanzevit gaixada da SiSis zari dasca afsua
 provokatorebs, roml -bmac gaqcevit uSvel es Tavs (aq Tavi
 gamoiCina qal batonma venera Cofl ianma, romel ic Ria man-
 qaniT _tyvi amfrqvevit xel Si_ gars uvl ida soxumis cen-
 tral ur quCebs da simamaces da Tavdadebas ucvenebda pro-
 vokator separatistebS).-⁴²

svanebSi Cakirul i am erovnul i SemarTebis, maRal i Tav-
 moyvareobisa da samSobl osadmi uzomo siyvarul is amoZirk-
 vas isaxavda miznad m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva. qar-
 Tvel Ta modgimis gadasaSenebl ad dawyebul am brZol as, igive
 avTandil margiani gl obal uri masStabiT ganixil avs da mas
 saerTaSoriso masonur moZraobas ukavSirebs. rac Seexeba
 saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas, am mimdinareobis xel mZRva-
 nel Ta miTiTebebis monur Semsrul ebl ad miicnevs. `amas yvel -
 afers _ambobs a.margiani, _ swavl oben da am sul iskveTebasTan
 gegmazomieri brZol a mimdinareobs. SesaZl oa, (m.saakaSvil is
 S.v.) xel isufl eba am gegmas Tavad brmad emsaxureba. sxvaTa
 Soris, qvemo qarTI Si Casaxl ebul i svanebis mocil ebas l evan
 mamal azec cdil obda. svanebTan brZol a marto maTi ganiar-

aRebis mcdel obaSi ar gamoixateboda, maT sul iskveTebas ebrZodnen.⁴³ am SemTxvevaSi a.margiani simarTI es ambobda. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis gaanal izeba srul safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom m.saakaSvil i, svanebTan mimarTe-baSi al en dal esis programis im debul ebas iyenebda, sadac xazgasmiT aris aRniSnul i: `erTi meoreze miyol ebiT gaTa-maSdeba Tavisi masStabiT grandiozul i tragedia yvel aze urCi xal xis daRupvisa da TviTSegnebis sabol ood Caqrobi-saTvis.- ramdenadac m.saakaSvil ma da misma garemocvam, afxaz da os separatistebis veraferi daakl o, momakvdinebel i dar-tyma zemo kodoris xeobis ekonomikurad gaRatakebul i qarTvel Ta modgmis sisxl xorceul i gmiri damcvel i svaneb-is winaaRmdeg gadaitana. amas akeTebdnen oficial urad, Sesabamisi piaris formis morgobis safuZvel ze. arc ki axsenebd-nen im tragikul faqts, roca Wuberis uRel texil is umZimes monakveTze j aiskacebiT datvirtul i sami `kamazis- tipis manqana ufskrul Si rom gadaiCexa. arc imis Sesaxeb miuTitebd-nen, samomavl od kodoris xeobis dacva_ SenarCunebaze pa-suxismgebl obas vin aiRebda. maT mxol od erTi mizani amoZravebdaT: qveyanaSi Seqmnil i mZime politikuri situaci-sa da sazogadoebis daZabul obis ganmuxtva axal i `myvira-l a- RonisZiebebis CatarebiT moexdina. am sakiTxTan dakav-SirebiT gazeT `axal i Taobisadmi- micemul interviuSi sax-al xo partiis l ideri mamuka giorg-aZe garkveviT miuTiteb-da: `saqmis mogvareba xel isufl ebas CumaT ki ar undoda, aramed maT xmauri sWirdebodaT, Tanac iseTi xmauri, romel -ic erTi mxriv gadafaravda danarCen probl emebs, romel ic man Sqmna. Segnebul ad aswies es xmauri aseT maRal registr-Si, Torem probl emis mogvareba yovel gvari garTul ebis gareSe SeeZl oT... xel isufl ebas xmauri sWirdeboda, eTi mxriv, rom gadaefara is probl ematika, romel ic dRes aris. magal iTad, girgvl ianis sakiTxi, universitetis Tema, robaqiZis mkvl el oba da sxva sakiTxebi. meore mxriv, am sakiTxebSi xel isufl eba 100: 0 agebs. mas saerTod ar gaaCnia argumentebi. meorec, Cven gvimtkicebs, rom is aris Zl ieri, rac TavisTavad sasacil oa, radgan... is amiT sakuTar ususuobas amtkicebs.- miuxedavad

amisa, saxel isufli ebo ideol ogiuri propagandistul i `manqana,~ `miRweul i warmatebebiT- sazogadoebis darwmunebas cdil obda. maT mizans, moaxl oebul i adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis arCevnebSi gamarjveba da regional uri saxel isufli ebo savarZl ebis SesanarCuneba warmoadgenda. angariSs ar uwevda im real obas, rom piar kompaniaze dafuznebul i maTi qmedeba, qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis sawinnaaRmdego el ementebS Seicavda. miTumetes, kodoris xeobaSi Seqmnil i viTarebiT, rusul i mxare 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxmebis dacvas kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda. saqme kodoris xeobidan samxedro SenaerTebis gayvanas exeboda. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, mwvave gancxadebebs rusi `samSvidobebis- sardal i Cabanic akeTebda. mediani usis informaci iT, igi kodoris xeobidan `saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis qvedanayofis gayvanas moiTxovs da acxadebs, rom qarTvel i samxedroebis kodoris xeobaSi darCeniT, konfliqtis zonaSi situacia daiZabeba. Cabanis mtkicebiT, mas Semdeg, rac qarTvel i samxedroebi datoveben kodoris xeobas, samSvidobebis mandatiT dakisrebul i funqciis srul fasovnad Sesrul eba SeeZl ebaT.~ Tu ramdenad asrul ebda Tavis movaleobas rusi `mSvidobismyofel ebi- es kargadaa cnobil i. erTi ram dabegiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom maTze dakisrebul i movaleobis arSesrul ebas arafrad Tvl idnen da TiTs yovel Tvis qarTul i mxaris mimarTul ebiT iSverdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, nebi smier SesaZl ebl obas xel idan ar uSvebdnen da saerTaSoriso doneze qarTvel Ta dasawixl avad iyenebdnen. maTi aseTi qmedeba 1993 wl idan 2006 wl is CaTvl iT Seuqcevad process atarebda. gakvirvebas mxol od is faqti iwvevs, rom Tavisi ucodinarobiTa da l ogikur azrovnebas moklebul i gancxadebebiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis maRal - Cinosnebi okupanti mxaris warmomadgenl ebs, ideol ogiur frontze Setevaze gadmosasvl el ad noyier niadags uqmni dnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs evropasTan integraciis sapaarlamento komitetis Tavmj domaris daviT baqraZis gancxadeba. misi TqmiT, `1994 wl is xel Sekrul ebis mixedviT, konfliqtis zonaSi Tu mis siaxl oves nebi smieri saxis moqme-

deba SeiaraRebul samxedro Zal ebs ekrZal ebaT... j er erTi, kodoris xeoba saqarTvel os iurisdiciaSi Sedis da xel isufli ebas iq antiteroristul i operaciis ganxorciel ebis srul i ufl eba gaaCnia. meorec, am operacias pol iciuri jarebi axorciel eben da ara samxedro SenaerTebi, rac, arc xel Sekrul ebis pirobebsa da arc saerTaSoriso no-rmebs ar arRvevs.- am amonaweridan yuradRebas ramdenime sakiTxze SevaCereb: 1)Tuki zemo kodoris xeoba saqarTvel os iurisdiciaSi Sedioda, rogorc d.baqraZe acxadebs, maSin aRni Snul i samxedro operaciis Sedegad ra `daubrunda- saqarTvel os? anda ra saWiro iyo am xeobis `dabrunebis- Sesaxeb tyuil ze agebul i xmamaRal i piarkampaniis warmoeba? 2)imave d.baqraZis `mtkicebiT- kodoris xeobaSi antiteroristul i operacia ganxorciel da. aseTi gancxadebiT, d.baqraZem kodorel ebsa da ekvicians axal i bral deba_ teroristoba wauyena. 3)roca d.baqraZe kodoris xeobaSi mxol od pol iciis qvedanayofis Seyvanaze saubrobs, mas `daaviwyda,- rom kodorSi Sesul ma saj ariso SenaerTebma Tavdacvis ministris i.oqruaSvil is sardl obiT, `marSiT- gaiara 60 kil ometriani xeoba sofel qvabCaramde. am sofli dan ukan Semobrunda. qvabCari_ l aTas monakveTi isev afxaz separatistebis da rus okupantebs dautova `sapatronod- da zemo kodorSi_ sofel aJaraSi Semovida.

am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, republ ikuri partiis wevrma T.xid aSel ma, d.baqraZis zemoaRni Snul i Sexedul ebis gasamyarebl ad, i.oqruaSvil is Tanamdebobis dazustebis Sesaxeb sazogad oebas ususuri `mtkicebul eba- warudgina. `irakl i oqruaSvil i samxedro ministri ar aris_ ganacxada man,_ is samoqal aqo ministria. swored amis gamo, kodorSi misi yofna ar niSnavs, rom kodoris movl enebi... ganvixil oT, rogorc samxedro operacia.⁻⁴⁴

es gancxadeba, saqmeSi Cauxedav adami ans simarTI e egoneba. aq ugul ebel yofil ia saqarTvel os umaRl esi sakanonmdebl o organos_ parl amentis mier i.oqruaSvil is samxedro ministrad damtkicebis da saqarTvel os prezidentis xel moweriT dadasturebul i faqti. Tuki im etapze i.oqruaSvil i sama-

rTI ebrivad Tavdacvis ministri ar iyo, vin asrul ebda am moval eobas? samwuxarod, imave TxidaSel s mxedvel obis aredan gamorCa, rom zemo kodoris xeoba senakis samxedro bazidan afrenil ma vertmfrenebma dabomba. rac Seexeba sakiTxs, zemo kodoris xeobaSi iyo Tu ara im etapze samxedro qvedanayofi, gazeT `kriminal isadmi- micemul interviuSi irakli oqruaSvil ma daadastura, rom `xeobaSi amJamad Tavdacvis saministros qvedanayofi imyofeba.- 4)1994 wl is SeTanxmebis meoTxe muxl is pirveli abzaci, afxazeTis fargl ebs gareT saqarTvel os respublikis jarebis gayvanas iTval - iswinebs. aq dakonkretebuli araa, igi mxol od samxedroebsexeba Tu policiuri jaris nawil ebsac. rac Seexeba mexuTe muxl s, igi afxazeTis fargl ebs garedan Semosuli yvel amoxal ise formirebis dasl as da afxazeTis teritoriidan mis gayvanas moiTxovda.

Cems mier motanili faqtebi nacional ebisa da maTdami zogierTi mxardamWeri politiki partiis wevris mxridan, sazogadoebisadmi ama Tu im movlenis gayal bebuli formiT miwodebis natel dadasturebas warmoadgens. wina xel Sekrul eb ebisa da SeTanxmebebis teqstebis ucodinarobaze dafuznebuli mati aseTi qmedeba, afxazeTis aral egitimur da ruseTis xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebs, saerTasoris aspazze saqarTvl os saxel mwifos sawinaaRmdago agitaciapropagandis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. amis magal iTs, ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa ministris sergei I avrovis gancxadeba warmoadgens. igi im etapze mal aiziis dedaqal aqSi imyofeboda da armosavl eTis qveynebis ministrebis 39- e konferenciaSi iRebda monawil eobas. es momenti wina pl anze imitom wamowwie, rom am konferenciis monawil e ministrebis gasagonad, sl avrovma qarTul _ afxazuri konfliqtis Zal ismieri gziT mogvarebis mcdel obaSi daadanaSaul a saqarTvel o. am SemTxvevaSi, ruseTi xel ovnurad axdenda afxazeTis sakiTxTan mamarTebaSi ajiotajis Seqmnas. man SesaniSnavad icoda, rom im etapze saqarTvel o, afxazeTis omis ganaxl ebisatvis mzar ar iyo. mitumetes, i.oqruaSvil is sardli obiT sofel qvabCarSi Casul ma qarTul ma samxedro SenaerTebma, imave dResve

kodoris xeobis samxreTi nawil is datoveba da Crdil oeTiT sofel aJarisken msvl el oba daiwyo.

zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi rusul _ qarTul i mxaris mier gakeTebul gancxadebebs Tuki siRrmiseul ad gavecnobiT, safuZvl iani eWvi Cndeba imis Sesaxeb, rom maTi mimarTvis formebi winaswar iyo SeTanxmebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs g.beJuaSvil is mier niSnis mogebiTa da gamarj vebul i toniT s.l avrovisadmi gacemul i pasuxi. `Cvens rus megobrebs ara aqvs moral uri ufl eba_ ambobda g.beJuaSvil i, Wkua gvaswavl on, Tu rogor unda gadawyvitoT teritoriul i mTI ianobis probl ema... yvel am kargad icis Tu ra meTodebiT wyvetdnen da wyveten rusebi teritoriul probl emebs Taviant qveyanaSi, swored amitom ar aqvT maT ufl eba, gvaswavl on, Tu ra unda gavakeToT Cvens teritoriaze samarTI ianobis aRdgenis mizniT.⁴⁵ sagareo saqmeTa ministris es pasuxi simarTI eze iyo dafuZnebul i da Crdil oeTis mezobel s, mis teritoriaze mcxovrebi erovnul i umciresobebis winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul sadamsj el o RonisZiebebs Seaxsenebda.

ruseTTan mimarTebaSi garegnul ad aseTi mkacri poziciis daWeriT, zemo kodorSi mopovebul viTom `gamarj vebas,- g.beJuaSvil i gansakuTrebiT usvamda xazs. meore mxriv, eiforiaSi myofi sazogadoebis did nawil Si, afxazeTis `dabrunebis-rwmenis ganaxl ebis marcvl is aRmocenebasac cdil obda. am mimarTul ebiT, kidev ufro radikal ur formas Seicavda konfliqtebis daregul irebis saqmeSi saxel mwifo ministris merab anTazis gancxadeba. afxazeTis aral egitimuri xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebs igi Seaxsenebda, rom saomari ritorikisaTvis Tavi daenebebinaT da mol aparakebis magidasTan damj dariyven. yovel ive amas, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mesveurebi gansakuTrebul i xmauriani formiT eweodnen mxol od im mizniT, rom farTo masaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedeba moexdinaT da `nacional ebis- daqvemdebarebis sferoSi moeqciaT. Tuki isini am mimarTul ebiT dasaxul mizans miaRwevdnen, adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis moaxl oebul arCevnebSi gamarj vebis real ur garantias Sei qmnidnen. meore mxriv, im danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis zedapirul ad gadafarvas SeZl ebdnen,

romel ic zemo kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis- motiviT, xeobis (gvirabis) Crdil oeT nawil Si, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier iqna Cadenil i.

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i masal ebis anal izmma daadastura: 1)saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier zemo kodoris xeobis samxedro operaciis warmatebul ad gamocxadeba, a)zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis damcvel Ta winaaRmdeg xel ovnurad Seqmnil bral debebs (banditebi, teroristebi, moRal ateebi)_ efuZneboda da piar kampaniis saxes atarebda. igi sazogadoebaze ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebisTvis iyo gamiznuli i; b)xel isufl ebis mxridan kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis- Sesaxeb gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sazogadoebis motyuebis morig safexurs warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, kodorel i svanebis mier saqarTvel os iurisdiciaSi SenarCunebul i zemo kodoris xeobis, m.saakaSvil is mier `dabrunebul ad- gamocxadebis faqti. am SemTxvevaSi, saakaSvil i zemo kodoris `dabrunebis- imitaciis gapiarebas axdenda, Torem qvemo kodoris xeoba, l aTa_ qvabCaras monakveTi 1993 wl idan afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis xel Si iyo da im etapzedac maT daqvemdebarebaSi rCeboda. 2)saRad moazrovne qarTul i sazogadoebriv- politikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis tyuil Si mxil ebis paral el urad, kodoris samxedro operacia_ a)kodorel i svanebis genocidis mcdel obis tolfas qmedebad, b)svanur mosaxl eobaSi erovnul i cnobierebis amoSanTvis, brZol isunarianobis Cakvl is, qarTul i miwisadmi siZul vil is damkvidrebis mizniT gatarebul RonisZiebad Seafasa. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom m.saakaSvil isa da misi mTavrobis maRal CinosanTa gancxadebebi da qmedebebi, rusebsa da afxazebs, ideol ogiur frontze qarTul i saxel mwi fos winaaRmdeg moqmedebis saTvis noyier ni adags uqmni da.

* * *

zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi wamoWril erT- erT umniSvnel ovanes sakiTxs, am xeobis mosaxl eobis mZime social ur_ ekonomikuri mdgomareoba warmoadgenda. afxazetis dakargvis Semdeg, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis liderebi (e.SevardnaZe, m.saakaSvili) 2006 wl is ivl isamde afxazetis dabrunebis umniSvnel ovanesi pl acdarmisa da gasaRebis_ zemo kodoris xeobis fl obis piars eweodnen. es xeoba mxol od saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi axsendebodaT, Torem misi damcveli gmiri mosaxl eoba uyuradRebod iyo mitovebuli da maTi cxovrebis el ementarul i pirobebis gaumj obesebazedac ar zrunavdnen. iseTi StabeWdil eba iqmneba rom, 1)kodorel ebTan mimarTebaSi uyuradRebobis kurss, e.SevardnaZe da m.saakaSvili Segnebul ad anxorciel ebdnen; 2)gausaZl isi yofidan gamomdinare, kodorel ebs xeobis dacvaze xel i unda aeRo da ukeTesi pirobebis saZiebl ad sacxovrisi adgil ebi daetovebina. Tuki es procesi daCqarebul i tempiT warimarTeboda, afxaz separatistebis da rus okupantebs xeobis gvirabis Crdil oeti nawil is dpatronebis SesaZl ebl oba mi ecemoda. sabednierod, kodorel svanebsi gaWirvebisadmi Seguebis, mamapapaTa naanderZevi memkvudreobisa da winaparTa safl avebis gansakuTrebul i pativiscema imdenad Rmad iyo Cakiruli, rom qarTvel i eris dauZinebel i mtrebis jinaze, xeobidan flexs ar icvlidnen, moxetial e cxovrebas gaWirvebaSi yofnas amj obinebdnen. am SemTxvevaSi, gaj iqebul i kodorel ebi da saqarTvel os gamasonebul i xel isufli eba, mSieri mgl ebiviT piri spir idgnen. iseTi foni iqmneboda, TiTqos erTmaneTs ej ibrebodnen Tu vin, vis aj obebda.

kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobis umZimesi mdgomareobidan gamoyvanis mizniT, am xeobaSi prezidentis rwmunebul ma ekvicianma, jer kidev 2002 wel s saqarTvel os mTavrobas special uri programa warudgina. samwuxarod, 4 wl is ganmavl obaSi es dokumenti uyuradRebod iyo datovebuli. masSi dasmul i sakiTxebis adgil idan dasazravad, e.SevardnaZisa da m.saakaSvili xel isufli ebam im etapze kodor-

el ebisaTvis ver `mical a.- 2006 wl is agvistoSi gazeT `ver-
sias- korespondentisadmi micemul erT- erT interviuSi
ekviciani xazs usvamda ra kodorel Ta gausaZl is social ur
da ekonomikur mdgomareobas, xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `kodo-
ris xeobaSi... Cven erTaderTi ram gvinda_ ukeTesi cxovreba.
yvel aferi es genocids hgavs.- marTI acda, Tuki 1993 wl idan
2006 wl amde saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mxridan kodorel
el ebTan mimarTebaSi ganvl il periods obieqturad SevafasebT,
igi marTI acda mizanimarTul i genocidis STabeWdil ebas
datovebs. arada, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba afxazeTTis
dabrunebaze Tuki fiqrobda, kodoris xeoba upatronod ki
ar unda mi egdo, afxazebis dasanaxad gansakuTrebul i yu-
radRebis centrSi yol oda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT uSi-
Sroebis ministris yofil i moadgil e da kontrdazvervis
yofil i Sefi avTandil iosel iani savsebiT samarTI ianad
dasZenda: `rac afxazeTis konfliqti damTavrda, maSinve
yvel a struqtura iq unda Seqmnil iyo. Cagveyara bevri ful i,
Tundac imitom, rom afxazebis daenaxaT, es xal xi ra kargad
cxovrobso. roca isini daianaxavdnen, rom am kunZul ze es
qarTvel ebis oazisia, xom ityoda afxazi, naxeT amaT ra
cxovreba aqvT da Cven ra mSivrebi kvvdebiTo.-

xel isufli ebisgan uyuradRebod mitovebul i da bedis anab-
arad migdebul i kodorel ebi, wval ebiTa da tanjviT cdi-
l obdnen gamosaval i gzebis povnas da saarsebo l ukma- puris
Sovnas. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `xval indel i dRe--
s korespondenti daviT miqaberize werda: `kodorel ebi ar
mal aven, rom afxazeTis mosaxl eobasTan urTierToba aqvT...
maT aRniSnes, rom am xnis ganmavl obaSi xel isufli ebas gza
Tundac sakenamde mainc unda gaekeTebina. qvabCaras tyebidi-
an, iq sadac afxazeTis sazRvari iwyeba, afxazeTis omis dros
afeTqebul i xidi mogvianebiT sacal fexo bil ikma Secval a.
aqedan afxazebis sawvavi, fqvil i, Saqari da sxva pirvel adi
moxmarebis nivTebi mohqondaT da adgil obrivebs rZis, xor-
cis, kartofil is produqtebsa da Tafl ze ucvl idnen. wl eb-
is ganmavl obaSi amao xvevni s miuxedavad, Wuberidan gza aJar am-
de ar gaakeTes. **cxovrebi s pi robebi iq gansakuTrebiT zamTar-**

Si mZimea, maSin rodesac xeobaSi zamTari rva Tves gastans.- XXI saukunis gadasaxedidan, qveynis xel isufli eba Tavis moqal aqeebs am mdgomareobaSi rom Caayenebs, Tuki ers Tav-moyvareoba da zneoba gaaCnia, aseTi xel isufal ni gansasjel - Ta skamze upirobod unda dasvan da gaasamarTI -on. arc saqarTvel os central ur xel isufli ebas da arc rusTavel is gamzirze yofil imel is SenobaSi Sexiznul afxazeti uzenaesi sabWos umravl esobis warmomadgenl ebs, kodorel ebis gasawiri ar anaRvl ebdaT. isini mxol od pi-radicxovrebi mowyobiT, ful is SovniTa da biznesis keTebiT iyvnen dakavebul ni. okupirebul afxazetSi Tavisufli ebis patara `kunZuli~_ zemo kodoris xeoba, mxol od sadResaswaul o RonisZiebebze piaristvis gaaxsendebodaT da imave RonisZiebis damTavrebisTanave mis mosaxl eobasac iviwyebdnen. am procesma permanentul i xasiaTi `vardebis revoluciis- Semdeg miRo, ris gamoc kodorel Ta mdgomareoba kidev ufro damZimda. maT gausaZl is yofas, msaaka-Svil is xel isufli ebam mZl avri dartyma_ vertmfrenis moxsnit miayena. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebit gazeT `versia-- s korrespondentisadmi 2006 wl is 27 ivl iss micemul interviuSi, erT- erTi kodorel i qal batoni gul istkivil iT ambobda: `revoluciis Semdeg, vertmfrenis reisi moixsna da ugzobis gamo xal xi fqvil sa da Saqars ver imaragebda. gadamcemi xazebis afetqebis SemTxvevaSi energetikis saminstros warmomadgenl ebi Tu Cafrindebodnen, es erTaderTis saSual eba iyo avadmyofi Svil ebi saavadmyofoSi rom gadaeyvanaT. ori kviris win Cemma mamidaSvil ma uRel texil ze imSobiara. mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs es ar adardebs, Tbil kabinetebSi sxedan, gvemuqrebian da dedas gvagi neben.- am amonaweris wakiTxvisTanave, nebi smieri saRad moazrovne adami ani `misiSiti- politol ogebis winaSe dasvamda kiTxvas: ingl isel kol onizatorebs gasul saukuneSi aseT gausaZl is yofaSi yavdaT Tu ara indoeTis mosaxl eoba? ra danaSul i miuZRoda kodorel ebs `nacional ebis- mimarT, rom maTi social uri pirobebi mizanmimarTul ad qvis xanis epoqis donemde rom iqna dayvanil i?

am fonze, cinizmis kl asikur nimuSad unda miviCniOT m.saakaSvil is mier 2006 wl is 28 ivl iss `rusTavi- 2- -is eTeriT gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sadac igi el eqtroxazebis gawvyetaze amaxvil ebda yuradRebas. `es is bandaa_ ambobda igi, _ vinc wl evandel i wl is yvel aze civ zamTarSi saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas erTaderTi el eqtromomargebis xazi maSin gauTiSa, roca ruseTma el eqtrobl okadaSi mogvaqcia.- imave m.saakaSvil s sityvac ar dacdenia, Tu riT iyo ganpirobetul i kodorel ebis `bandis- mxridan el eqtrogadamcemi xazebis gawvyeta. arc imis Sesaxeb ufiqria, imave civ zamTarSi, kodoris damcvel i gmiri vaJkacebis oj axis wevrebs uWirda Tu ul xinda, ra mdgomareobaSi iyo TiToeul i maTganis meuRI isa da Svil ebis j anmrTel oba. saqarTvel os parl amentisa da quCis pol itikurad meZavi opoziciis l iderebs, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvisaTvis amis Sesaxeb kiTxvac ar dausvams. arc imiT dainteresebul an, Tu ratom mouxsnes kodorel ebs barTan damakavSirebel i erTaderTi saSual eba _vertmfreni. kodorel Ta sasicocxl o mniSvel obis aseT sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi isini dumdnen. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom kodorel ebis am `bandis- zemoaRniSnul i qmedeba, momakvdavi adamianebis gadarCenis uzrunvel sayofad iyo Cadenil i. am sakiTxTan dakavSi rebiT, gazeT `xval indel i dRe-- s korespondenti daviT miqaberiZe werda: `Tu adgil obriv avadmyofebs saswrafo operacia an gadaudebel i samedicino daxmareba sWirdeboda, adgil obrivebi centridan yuradRebis misaqcevad kavkasionis mTavar gadamcem xazs wyvetdnen. xazis aRsadgenad xeobaSi vertmfreni unda Cafrenil iyo, romel ic avadmyofs gamoiyvanda.- iseTi SemTxvevebic yofil a, garkveul i safasuris gadaxdis Sedegad, vertmfreni soxumidan gamougzavniAT da mZimed mSobiare qal batoni soxumSi sakeisro operaciis gasakeTebl ad gadaufreniaT. aseTi faqtebi uamravia, rac imas adasturebs, rom 1993_ 2006 wl ebSi kodoris xeobis mosaxl eoba e.SevardnaZe_ m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebam gasawirad gaimeta. am usamarTI obisa da ganukiTxaobis ufsk-

rul is amovsebas isaxavda miznad ekvicianis mier xel isufli ebis winaSe dayenebul i moTxovnebi: 1)kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobisadmi mixedva_ social ur_ ekonomikuri RonisZiebebis ganxorciel eba; 2)gzebis gayvana, vertmfrenis dani Svna; 3)saavadmyofosa da skol is aSeneba, mosaxl eobisadmi pirvel adi daxmarebis mizniT sofl ebSi samedicino punqtebis gaxsna.

roca, a)erT- erTi konfliqturi regionis umniSvnel ovanesi strategiul i teritoriis SemnarCunebel mosaxl eobas XXI saukuneSi, qveynis pirvel i piri am el ementarul i moTxovnebiT ver uzrunvel yofs, b)gasarTob RonisZiebebSi_ `taS- fandurSi- da meZavi qal batonebis TxovniT, ucxoETidan Camoyvani li momRerl ebis (Sakira, toto kutunio, rusl ana...) gasastumrebl ad aTeul obiT milionebs (ukrainidan Sakiras Camoyvana 7 milioni lari daj da) daxarjavs, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTliანობის aRdgenaze mofiqrალ პრეზიდენტად იგი არ შეიZლეა ცაიTვალ ოს. ამ საკითხთან დაკავსირებიT ცემი ყურადრება მიიპრო არასამTავრობო ორგანიზაციამ_ ვაკის გონივრულ i განვითარების wevრის **ლეილა გაფრინდაSვილი** **ის ინტერვიუმ**, რომელიც გაზეTმა `xვალ ინდელ მა dრემ- დაბეWდა. `ეს მTავრობა, რომელიც ხალხის ხელისუფლებად გამოაცხადა Tავი და მათი ინტერესების დამცველად მოეწინა `ვარდების რევოლუციის- სა-ხელიT qვეყანას, აქლია ჯუსტად ამ ხალხს ებრZვის იარაღი! პირდაპირ იარაღიT რომ ებრZვი საკუთარ მოკვლევებს ხკითხე, რა უიტიT მათ, რა ხდება, რატომ მოხდა მსგავსი გამოსვლები? ჯერ ხომ უნდა გაერკვე. ყოველ wუTს გამოსვლებია Tბილისი Tu სხვანა, მაგრამ ვის აინტერესებ? **ესენი ხელისუფლებაSi მოვიდნენ საკუთარი ბედნიერი ცხოვრების ასაწყობად, ხოლო Tუკი ვინმეს კრიტიკულ i დამოკიდებულ ება აყვს მათ მიმართ და არ მოსვონT, უნდა გაანადგურონ.**~ dრევანდელი საინფორმაციო მონაცემების mixedვიT, `ვარდების რევოლუციისა- და `ახალ-გაზრდა რეფორმატორების- wამოსასხამსი SეფუTული `ოკეანედ აღი- მ.სააკაSვილი ს გარემოცვის ხელისუფლებაSi მოსვლის გეგმა, ას- ის მარალ ცინოსანთა კაბინეტებსი დამუსავდა. ამ `რევოლუციის- ლიდრობა, კალიფორნიის ლაბორატორიებსი გამოყვანილი `ოკიანედ აღი- ადამიანების იმ ჯგუფს დაეკისრა,

roml is cnobiereba wl ebis manZil ze al en dal esis geg-
 mis mixedvi T yal ibdeboda da qarTvel Ta genetikuri modg-
 mis amoZi rkvis mi znIT, kani bal izmi sa da faSi zmi sadmi dam-
 axasia Tebel meTodebs si Rrmiseul ad aswavl idnen. kal i-
 forniis l aboratoriebsi gamoyvanil i `reformatorebis-
 am uerovnebo axal kl onebs, qarTvel Ta modgmis mimaRT,
 fsiqol ogiuri da fizikuri teroris gatareba qondaT dava-
 l ebul i. meore mxriv, maTi samoqmedo kursi, ara qveynis
 teritoriul i mTI ianobis, aramed misi daSi a_ daqucmace-
 bis mimaRTul ebi T unda warmarTul iyo. winaaRmdog SemT-
 xvevaSi, e. SevardnaZis jibrze, kodoris xeobis social ur-
 ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebaze da ekvicianis
 zemoaRni Snul i samarTI iani moTxovnebis dakmayofil eba-
 ze izrunebdnen. 2004 wl idan 2006 wl is ivl isamde, amis
 moswreba da kodorel Ta gul is mogeba savsebiT SesaZI e-
 bel i iyo. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT parlamentari goCa
 j oju a, gazeT `axal i Taobis- korespondent marika mWedl iS-
 vil isadmi micemul interviuSi acxadebda: `sainteresoa ra
 daj da es samxedro operacia? amisTvis daxarj ul i Tanxe-
 bi rom kodoris xeobas moxmareboda, es bevrad Seamsubu-
 qebda iqauri mosaxl eobis mdgomareobas. xel isufl ebas
 imazedac ar uzrunia, rom iq gza gaeyvana. mogvwons Tu ara
 emzar kviciani, iqaurobaze is zrunavda. ra gzar aris, is
 gza emzar kvicianisa da baCo arRvl ianis ful iT gaiyv-
 anes. es adami anebi gavl eni anebi imi tom arian, rom kodor-
 is mosaxl eobas, maT garda sxva patroni ar hyolia. pa-
 tronoba da mzrunvel oba muStis darty ma ki ar aris, es
 adami anebis usafrTxoebis dacvac aris da maTi social -
 uri probl emebis mogvarebac.-⁴⁶

zemo kodoris xeobis miwasTan gasworebis, adgil obrivi
 mosaxl eobis fsiqol ogiuri daterorebis Semdeg, `gamarj ve-
 bis kvarcxl bekze- Semdgarma haosianTa modgmis STamomaval ma
 m. saakaSvil ma, 2006 wl is 28 ivl iss tel eviziiT gamosvl isas
 niSnis mogebiT ganacxada: `gaveci gankargul eba, rom dau-
 ovnebl iv daiwyos kodoris didi gzis aRdgena da am miznis
 misaRwevad saqarTvel os mTavrobam ramdenime milioni l ari

ukve moizia, raTa kodoris xeobas wl is ZiriTadi drois ganmavl obaSi gaxsnil i saimedo gza hqondes. am gzaze satransporto saSual ebebi... avtobusebi unda gavuSvaT, romel Ta meSveobiTac mosaxl eobas Tavisufli ad gadaadgil eba da danarCen saqarTvel osTan mimosvl a SeeZl eba. amas garda gaveci gankargul eba, rom am dReebSi dauyovnebl iv daiwyos kodoris aerodromis modernizacia da am process, maqsimum ramdenime Tve unda dasWirdes. aseve gaveciT gankargul eba, mezobel i qveynebidan damatebiT ramdenime TviTmfrinavis SeZenis Taobaze raTa kodorSi frena regul arul ad, yovel gvari teqniki xarvezebis gareSe gamarTul i safreni saSual ebebiT SegveZl os. aseve gaveciT gankargul eba da amas aqamde ver vaxerxebdiT, rom dauyovnebl iv daiwyos yvel a skol is remonti, yvel a sofel Si Seiqmnas kul turul i obieqtebi da iq arsebul i ambul atoriis aRdgena da modernizeba movaxdinoT. kodorSi unda CaviyvanoT eqimebi, roml ebic iq daid eben binas da kodoris mTel mosaxl eobas mudmivad moemsaxurebian. es aris is Zal ze mniSvnel ovani gadawyvetil ebebi, roml ebic dRes saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam miiRo da roml ebsac uaxl oes periodSi ganaxorciel ebs.~ es vrcel i amonaweri sagangebod movitane, raTa mkiTxvel isaTvis meCvenebina; rasac m.saakaSvil i kodorel ebs uaxl oes periodSi ganxorciel ebas pirdeboda, anal ogiuri saxis proeqti_`kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobis social ur- ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb,-⁴⁷ e.kvici anma, e.SevardnaZisa da m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebas j er kidev 2002 da 2004 wl ebSi warudgina. kodorel Ta gasaWirTan mimarTebSi da aRniSnul dokumentSi dasmul i moTxovnebisadmi yuradRebis Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam srul i siyrue gamoiCina. m.saakaSvil is satel evizio gamosvl is amonaweri, e.kvicianiseul i proeqtis srul kompil acias warmoadgens. qvemexebis grial iTa da piarkampaniis fonze, m.saakaSvil i rasac pirdeboda kodorel ebs, misi gakeTeba yovel gvari aJiotaJis gareSe_ mSvidobiani gziT SeiZl eboda.

kodoris sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobis

sxdomaze m.saakaSvil ma TiToeul ministrs kategoriul i miT-
iTeba misca, da iqve dasZina: `am TvenaxevarSi kodorSi aRmSe-
nebl oba unda daiwyos. danarCenma afxazeTma unda dainaxos,
rom rac ver gakeTda omis Semdeg 11 wl is ganmavl obaSi sa-
qarTvel os mTavrobam afxazeTis teritoriis am umniSvnel -
ovanes strategiul adgil ze, es gaakeTa erT TveSi. es iqneba
gakveTil i separatistebisa da maTi mfarvel ebisaTvis. es aris
is yvel aze kategoriul i daval eba, romel zec yvel ani Tavit
agebT pasuxs.- m.saakaSvil is zemoaRniSnul i gancxadebebis
safuZvel ze, kodoris xeobis `ayvavebis~ sam safexuriani
gegma iqna SemuSavebul i. 1)xeobaSi mosaxl eobisaTvis saWiro
produqtების Setana; 2)xeobis mosaxl eobisaTvis finansuri
daxmareba; 3)gzebisა da aeroportის sareabil itacio sam-
uSaoebis dawyeba. am proeqtebis dasrul eba seqtembris
bol osaTvis iyo navaraudebi. mimdinare samuSaoebis meTval
I yureoba ivane merabiSvil s daeval a.

premier ministris zurab noRaidel is TqmiT, kodoris
xeobaSi aRdgeboda ganaTI ebisa da j andacvis obieqtebi.
regional uri samsaxuris ufrosis j emal bakuraZis gancx-
adebis mixedviT, kodoris xeobaSi infrastruqturis (xidebis,
skol ebis, samedicino dawesebul ebis, aeroportის...) aRdge-
na ganxorciel deboda. imavdroul ad, xeobis mosaxl eoba
sursaTIT momaragdeboda, risTvisac biuj etidan 480 aTasi
I ari iyo gamoyofil i. rac Seexeba gzis mSenebl obas, mas
saqarTvel os saavtomobil o departamenti axorciel eba.
pirvel etapze Wuberi_ sakenis 20 kil ometriani monakve-
Tis gzis mSenebl obis dawyeba iyo gaTval iswinebul i. agvis-
tos bol osaTvis unda dasrul ebul iyo imave gzis mewyer-
sawinaaRmdego nagebobebis mSenebl oba. gaTval iswinebul i
iyo Wuberi_ senakis 39 kil ometriani gzis reabil itacia.
gafarTovdeboda aJara_ Cxal Ta_ ptisi_ mramba_ maWaras
gzis monakveTi, aRdgeboda xidebi... aRniSnul i samuSaoeb-
is Casatarebl ad biuj etidan 1 milion 100 aTasi I ari
iqna gamoyofil i. e.i. eqvsjer nakl ebi, vinem Sakiras Camoy-
vana daj da ukrainidan.

saqarTvel os mTavrobis zemoaRniSnul gadawyvetil ebasTan

dakavSirebiT sergei baRabSma Semdegi komentari gaakeTa: `rac
mets aaSenebs saqarTvel o afxazeTis teritoriaze, miT uke-
Tesi Tavad afxazebisaTvis, vinaidan yovel ive mainc afxa-
zebs darCeba.- s.baRabSis es winaswarmetyvel eba samwuxarod
gamarTI da. m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebam amisTvis yvel aferi
gaakeTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kodoris xeobis damcavi meqanizm-
is safuZvl ianad moSal a, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi
okupantebisTvis kodoris xeobaSi Sesasvl el ad mwvane Su-
qis anTeBa. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom **kodoris xeobaSi**
dawyebul i samuSaoebis m.saakaSvil iseul i gapiarebis ako-
rds, 6 saamSenebl o firmis xel mZRvanel is saqmi nobis gmi ro-
bis tol fas qmedebad Sefaseba da maTi Rirsebis orde-
nebiT daj il doeba (2007 w. 31 maisi) warmoadgenda. sa-
qarTvel o im ucnaur da paradoqsebiT aRsavse qveyanaTa
ricxvs daemgvana, sadac teritriul i mTI ianobis sasicox-
chl o arteriis SemnarCunebel mosaxl eobas_ moRal atee-
bad acxadeben, xol o imave xeobaSi gzis mSenebl ebs_ gmi re-
bad. am faqtTan mimarTeBaSi, axal i memarj veneebis erT- erTi
l ideri fiqria CixraZe savsebiT samarTI ianad dasZenda: `visac
axsovs Cveni pirvel i preskonferencia, moTxovna iyo, Zal a ar
gamoeylenebinaT, kodoris mosaxl eobasTan dial ogis dasawye-
bad saswrafod ganxorciel ebul iyo qmediTi zomebi. imavdrou-
l ad xuTpunktiani moTxovnebi gvqonda Camoyal ibebul i, rac
ZiriTadad social uri probl emebis gadawyvetas exeboda. amis
Semdeg prezidentma saakaSvil ma sityva- sityviT CamoTval a
am mimarTul ebiT nabijebis gadadgmis ganzraxva da aucil e-
bl oba. amis gakeTeBa SeiZl eboda manamdec da ara post_
faqtum. vin uSl ida prezident saakaSvil s, manam sanam erTi
wel i Tu ori wel i, `monadires- gauqmebis Semdgom, kviciani
sanam iq ar iyo, an gzis gayvanas, an humanitarul i daxmarebis
Setanas?!- igive f.CixraZem absurdul i uwoda xel isufl ebis
warmomadgenel Ta im gancxadebebs, rom TiTqos, gzis mSenebl o-
bis dros, `monadires- romel iRac wevri muSebs gamouvarde-
boda da Tofs esvroda. `samwuxarod, xel isufl ebis warmom-
madgenl ebi- ambobda igi, _ fiarel ementebSi gawaful ebi ari-
an da sazogadoebis SecdomaSi Seyvana iol ad SeuZl iaT.-

am fonze, miuRebl ad moCans gazeT `mTel i kviras- korespondent rusiko maCaiZisadmi micemul interviuSi soso cincaZis ganxadeba, sadac kodoris xeobas saqarTvel os sxva regions adarebs. `argumenti, rom xel isufli eba am regions ar exmareboda_ ambobda igi, _ ususuria. yvel as rom daxmareboda da am regions ara, maSin sxva sakiTxi iqneboda. dRes es bral deba SeiZl eba yvel a regionidan gaismas da maincd- amainc kodorTan mimarTebaSi gamarTI ebul i ar aris.- **kodoris xeobis strategiul i mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobda, rom misi meSveobiT, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas separatistebTan ara marto ul til atumis eniT SeeZl o saubari, aramed, Zal ismieri gziT misi dabrunebis gadawyvetil ebis miRebis SemTxvevaSi, kodoris xeobas kibis sayrdeni safexuris funqcia unda Seesrul ebina. am faqtoris gaTval - iswinebi dan gamomdinare, misi Sedareba guriasTan, samegreli osTan qarTI Tan, kaxeTTan... yovl ad dauSvebel ia.**

kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi xel isufli ebis uyuradReboba ideol ogiurad rom gaemarTI ebinaT, m.saakaSvil ma yvel aferi e.kviciansa da mis momxreeps gadaabral a. `Cveni yvel a mcdel oba, kodorSi... mosaxl eobisaTvis Cagvetana produqtebi_ ganaxada man, _ imiT mTavrdeboda, rom Cven mier gaweul i daxmarebis didi nawil i am banditebis xel - Si vardeboda da praqtikul ad maTi nadavl i xdeboda.- es iyo tyuil ze dafuZnebul i cil iswameba, radgan m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis mxridan 2004_ 2006 wl is ivl isamde kodorel ebisadmi gagzavnil i humanitarul i daxmarebis faqti dokumenturad ar dasturdeba. Tuki e.kviciani kodorel ebisadmi `gagzavnil produqtebs~ marTI ac iTvisebda, xel isufli ebam xeobaSi nuTu erTi pirovnebac ver moisyida, romel ic aseT faqts usaxel o weril iT gamoexmaureboda? am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `asaval - dasaval isadmi- micemul interviuSi e.SevardnaZe xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `erTi weril i ra aris, Tundac usaxel o, mis winaaRmdeg ar mimiRia.- Tu aseTi saCivrebi m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebas gaaCnda, misi gasaj aroeba aucil ebl ad unda moexdina da e.kvicianisadmi wayenebul i bral debis mtkicebul e-

bad gamoeyenebi na. ramdenadac mis xel isufli ebas kodorSi sakvebi produqtebis saxeiT aranairi humanitarul i tvirti ar Seutania, bunebrivia, ararsebul is mitacebas ekviciani da misi momxreebi namdvil ad ver SeZl ebdnen da raime saxis saCivaric gamoricxul i iyo. miuxedavad amisa, im etapze mtyuan marTi is gamkiTxavi aravin Canda da arsebul i upiratesobiT m.saakaSvil ic sargebl obda. zemoaRniSnul i bral debis fonze man tel eviziiT ganacxada: `gaveci gankargul eba da... kodoris xeobaSi dauyovnebl iv gaigzavneba sakvebi produqtebi, aseve pirvel i moxmarebis sagnebi. gaveci gankargul eba, rom kodorSi mcxovreba TiToeul ma oj axma am produqtebis garda, saqarTvel os mTavrobisgan fuladi daxmareba miiRos, raTa yovel ma maTganma saswrafod gadawyvitos maTwinase amJamad mdgari yvel a mosagvarebel i sakiTxebi.- imis warmosaCenad, Tu rogor gamoexmaura m.saakaSvil is aRniSnul gankargul ebas misi xel qveiTebi, amis sailustraci od imave m.saakaSvil is mier maTi misamarTiT gakeTebul gancxadebas movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os Tu ra doneze mimdinareobda kodorel ebsadmi regioneblidan daxmarebis organizacia. `sanam viRacaebse zinaT_ aRniSna m.saakaSvil ma, varSalomiZe adga, kodorel ebs `SesaniSnavi- saCuqari moumzada. ar ikiTxavT ra saCuqari? xis masal is grova, romelic kodorel ebs imdeni aqvT, mTel aWaras kotejebisTvisac eyofa, kar fanj rebisTvisac sxva raRac- raRacaebisTvisac... rac Seexeba xaCizes, jer kidev `saxevSi- hgonia Tavi. aba sxvas, ras miwawerot is, rom aRiara, jer jero bit kodorel ebs verafrit vexmarebit da sezonze kartofil i Cvenze iyoso. goga xaCizis gasagonad_ pativcemul o gubernatoro! kodorSi kartofil i imdeni aqvT, Sens regions gemovnebitac da baraqianobitac namdvil ad rom aj obabs.- dasmul i probl emisadmi regionis xel mZRvanel Ta aseTi usul gul o damokidebul ebis miuxedavad, mdgomareobis gamosworebas prezidentis sarezervo fondidan gamoyofil ma Tanxam Seuwyo xel i. 2006 wl is 28 ivl isis monacemebiT, kodoris xeobaSi 70 tona kvebis produqtebis humanitarul i tvirti (fqvili_ 30 tona, Saqari_ 10 tona, brinji_ 20 tona, makaroni_ 4 tona, zeTi- 4

aTasi boTI i) iqna gagzavnil i. oficial uri monacemebis mixed-
viT, aRniSnul i produqtebi oj axis TiToeul sul ze Semdegi
raodenobiT unda ganawil ebul iyo: fqvil i_ 15 kg. brinj i_ 10
kg. zeTi_ 4 boTI i. makaroni_ 2 kg. Saqari_ 5 kg.

am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, nebismeri Cvenganis winaSe dais-
meba kiTxva: anal ogiuri saxis humanitarul i daxmarebis gaw-
eva m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebas SeeZl o Tu ara kodorel eb-
isadmi 2004 wl idan_ 2006 wl is ivl isamde? Tuki Cems mier
zemoT motanil masal ebs miukerZoebel i poziciidan gavaan-
al izebT da imasac gaviTval iswinebT, Tu ras moiTxovda
kodoris social ur- ekonomikuri ganvitarobis Sesaxeb e.kvici-
anis mier mTavrobisadmi wardgenil i saprogramo gegma, naTe-
l i gaxdeba, rom am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i nabij is gada-
dgma omis dawyebis gareSedac iyo SesaZl ebel i. am sakiTx-
Tan dakavSirebiT, gazeTi `mTel i kviras- korespodent nino
miqiasvil isadmi micemul interviuSi Tina xidasel i savse-
biT samarTlianad aRniSnava: `es regioni ekonomikurad
Zalian mZime mdgomareobaSi rom aris da xel isufli ebas am
ori wl is ganmavl obaSi daviwyebul i rom hqonda, esaa aras-
wori da Tuki dRes kodori mcxovrebaTas dasaxmarebl ad-
raime RonisZiebeli gatardeba, mxol od misasal mebel ia. ma-
gram es unda iyos ara erTjeradi, an orjeradi humanitaru-
l i daxmareba, aramed iq Cveul ebrivi, adamanuri cxovreba
unda daiwyos da kodoris mkvidrT imis saSual eba unda mi-
eceT, rom sakuTari Tavisi realizacia moaxdinon minimum im
fargl ebSi mainc, rac sxva danarCen saqarTvel oSia. udavoa,
rom amis gakeTeba specoperaciis gareSec SeeZl oT mTel i am
orwel iwadnaxevris ganmavl obaSi, iseve rogorc manamde, Se-
vardnaZis dros. esaa is sakiTxebi da kiTxvebi, roml ebi-
cil ebl ad dadgeba am xel isufli ebi winaSe, rodesac situa-
cia SedarebiT normal izebul i iqneba.⁴⁸ es da sxva kiTxvebi
dRes saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis winaSe ganaxl ebul i
formiT aucil ebl ad unda daisvas. erTxel da samudamod
pasuxi gaeces: vin_ vin aris!

**amrigad, saqarTvel oSvis zemo kodoris xeobis gansaku-
Trebul i strategiul i mniSvnel oba, nebismeri xel isuf-**

I ebis maRal Cinosans, misi mosaxl eobis yuradRebis centrSi moqcevas aval ebda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom wl ebis ganmavl obaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan xeoba mi tovebul i iyo, xol o misi mosaxl eoba umZimes social ur_ ekonomikur siduxWires ganicdida. arsebul i masal is anal izidan gamomdinare, isTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom e.SevardnaZi sa da m.saakaSvil is garemocvis mizans, am xeobis mosaxl eobis gan dacl a da afxazebi sTvis gadacema warmoadgenda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, e.kvici anis mier 2002 da 2004 wl ebSi mTavrobis admi wardgenil i `proeqti kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobis social ur_ ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb- _unda aemoqmedebinaT.

m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis mier kodoris xeobis dabombvisa da misi mosaxl eobis dawiokebis fonze, kodorel ebis admi Sepirebul i daxmareba, wina saarCevnod erTjerad piars warmoadgenda, Torem anal ogiuri saxis qmedebebis gatareba 2004_ 2006 wl is ivl isamdec iyo Sesazl ebel i.

* * *

zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi wamoWril sakiTxTa Soris, imel is SenobaSi TavSefarebul i afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis xeobaSi gadasvl is aucil ebl oba wina pl anze iqna wamoweul i. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas m.saakaSvil is 2006 wl is 27 ivl isis satel evizio gamosvl a iqcevs. misi TqmiT, parl amentis Tavmj domaresTan, premier ministrTan da mTavrobis sxva wevrebTan SeTanxmebiT, afxazeTis mTavroba zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadavidoda da iq saqarTvel os iurisdicias ganaxorciel ebda. `saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam gadawyvita_ ganacxada m.saakaSvil ma,_ zemo kodoris xeobaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavroba ganal agos da amdenad kodori gaxdeba afxazeTis droebiTi da I egitimuri administraciul i centri... es gadawyvetil eba niSnavs imas,

rom pirvel ad 1993 wl is Semdeg, afxazeTis teritoriaze Se-
dis mTavroba, romel ic saqarTvel os iurisdicqias da kon-
stituciur wesrigs afxazeTis Suagul Si ganaxorciel ebs.
es aris Zal ian fundamenturi pol itikuri movl ena, radgan
kodori cxaddeba afxazeTis droebiT, l egitimur adminis-
traciul centr ad me adrec mimaCnda, rom afxazeTis mTavrobas
araferi esaqmeboda Tbil isSi rusTavel is gamzirze... axl a
afxazeTis l egitimuri mTavroba daj deba kodorSi.-⁴⁹

m.saakaSvil is es gamosvl a, saxel mwifo pol itikuri moR-
vawis, miTumetes qveynis prezidentisaTvis damaxasiaTebel
TavSekavebul da zomier CarCos scil deboda da igi piarka-
paniis fargl ebSi j deboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kodoris
xeobis, rogorc gansakuTrebul i strategiul i mniSvel obis
obieqtze yuradRebis gamaxvil eba, rom igi afxazeTis Suagul -
Sia, soxums Tavze dahyurebs da soxumamde 3 saaTis saval i-
Taa dacil ebul i. es faqtiurad afxazi separatistebis gaRi-
zianebage da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis did nawil ze ide-
ol ogiuri zemoqmedebisaTvis iyo gaTvl il i.

rac Seexeba afxazeTis l egitimuri mTavrobis beds, amis
Sesaxeb saqarTvel os mTavrobis 28 ivl isis sxdomam imsj e-
l a da kodoris xeobaSi misi gadasvl a aucil ebl obad miic-
nia. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, Jurnal istebTan saubrisas
zurab noRaidel ma ganaxxada: `prezidentis gadawyvetil ebas,
kodoris xeobaSi afxazeTis avtonomiuri republ ikis l e-
gitimuri mTavrobis gadasvl is Sesaxeb, ministrTa kabinetma
erTxmad dauWira mxari... afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufl eb-
is kodorSi gadasvl a, rac SeiZl eba umokl es droSi unda
ganxorciel des. administracia iq unda muSaobdes, sadac misi
adgil ia da xal xs yvel aze metad uWirs. es adgil obriv
mosaxl eobas saSual ebas miscems usafrTxod igrZnos Tavi.-
es pozicia savsebiT misaRebi iyo, magram imave xal xis bediT,
1993 wl idan 2006 wl is 28 ivl isamde, arc saqarTvel os mTavroba
da arc afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufl eba ar daintere-
bul a. kodorel ebTan mimarTebaSi arcerT maTgans arasdros
iniciativa ar gamouCenia da raime saxiT iotisodena poziti-
uri nabiji ar gadaudgams. am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti rol i

m.saakaSvil is moTxovnam Seasrul a. swored amiT iyo ganpirobetul i afxazeTis mTavrobis Tavmj domaris kaxa aqiSbais ganxadebac. misi TqmiT, pirvel etapze kodoris xeobaSi 20 kaciani jgufi apirebda wasvl as. imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT afxazeTis l egitimurma umaRI esma sabWomac imsj el a. misma Tavmj domarem Temur mJaviam upretenziod daeTanxma m.saakaSvil is gadawvyvetil ebas. misi mtkicebiT, saerTaSoriso organizaciebi momxdari faqtis winaSe aRmo-Cndebodnen, Tuki afxazeTis teritoriis marTvis ufl ebis pretenzia, separatistul xel isufl ebasTan erTad, devnil obaSi myof l egitimur mTavrobasac micemoda. miTumetes, mas 300 aTasi devnil i umagrebda zurgs. es Tval sazrisi angariSgasawevi iyo, magram misi efeqturi gamoyeneba_ argamoyenebis sakiTxi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa swor da gaazrebul gadawvyvetil ebebaze iyo damokidebul i. am mxriv, m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva gansakuTrebul deficits ganicdi da.

oficial uri masal ebis mixedvit Tuki vimsjel ebT, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom afxazeTis l egitimuri uzenaesi sabWos deputatTa umravl esoba erTmaneTs ej ibreboda Tu vin ukeT asiamovnebda m.saakaSvil s. mxol od orad- orma deputatma (g.facacia da g.kal andia) gabeda da ikiTxa: `rom gv-agzavniT gasagebia, magram iq ra pirobebi dagvxdება xom unda vicodeT?- iqve germane facacia savsebiT kanonzomieraT da iumornarevi formiT dasZenda: `sadme vinmem naxa prezidentis gankargul eba? ki Tqva gadavdivarTo, magram arRv- l ianebs vuvardebiT, j aWvl ianebs, weredianebs Tu onianebs? sad mi vdivarT? vis saxl Si unda viyoT xom unda mekiTxa. marto l egitimur xel isufl ebis aRmasrul ebel struqturas exeba prezidentis gankargul eba, Tu umaRI es sabWosac. dokumental urad xom unda iyos dadgenil i. ki, Cveni am umaRI es sabWoSi davberdiT, mTis haeri gvWirdeba magram Cveni funqcional oba da misia ra unda iyos, erTad xom unda gangvesazRvra, aravis araferi ukiTxaqvs da amitomac vikiTxe.- iqve igi afxazeTis l egitimuri umaRI esi sakanonmdebl o organos funqciasac Seexo da sarkazmul i toniT dasZina: `umaR-

I esma sabWom iq sakanonmdebl o aqtebi unda miviRoT msxvil -
 fexa rqosani saqonl is gamozamTrebis Sesaxeb, aba sxva me ra
 unda gavakeTo vici? frinvel is gripis Sesaxebac SeiZl eba
 muSaoba. es ukve `vici- 5-- is probl emaa. mokl ed, me Cemi fu-
 nqcia ar vici da ki, batono, sadac mi brZaneben iq waval , oRo-
 nd aq ver vi pove veranairi funqcia da iq ra unda vi povo?-
 es vrcel i amonaweri Segnebul ad movitane, radgan masSi
 kargad Cans: 1)zemo kodoris xeobaSi momaval i saqmianobis,
 adgil obriv mosaxl eobasTan muSaobisa da mWidro kon-
 taqtebis damyarebis Sesaxeb, afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavro-
 bisa da sakanonmdebl o organos moumzadebl oba da am mi-
 marTul ebiT safuZvl ianad gaweril i gegmis ararseboba;
 2)afxazeTis imave organoebis formal uri arseboba da pra-
 gmatul i gadawyvetil ebebis miRebis SeuZl ebl oba; 3)zemo
 kodoris xeobaSi gadabargeba, ei forias efuZneboda da sa-
 xel isufl ebo piarkampaniis mizanmimarTul Semadgenel na-
 wil s warmoadgenda. yovel ive amis Sesaxeb, Sesabamisi
 uwebebis TanamSroml ebi Tval s xuWavdnen da umaRl esi
 eSe-l onebisadmi arweinebis, monuri morCil ebis gareg-
 nul formas inarCunebdnen. sazogadoebis Tval is asaxve-
 vad, igive Temur mJavia, aRniSnul RonisZiebas saqarTve-
 l os republ -ikis Rirsebis amaRl ebis wamosasxamiT fu-
 Tavda da iqve daasZenda: `afxazeTis I egitimuri xel isu-
 fl ebis kodoris xeobaSi gadasvl iT, wina pl anze wamoiw-
 evs qveynis Rirseba.~ samwuxarod, arcerTi maTgani `xval -
 indel i dRis- Sede-gebze ar fiqrobda. maT ar aintereseb-
 daT yvel aze arsebiTi: es RonisZieba iqneboda Tu ara
 qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenis mosamzadebe-
 l i safexuri. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, zemo kodoris xe-
 obis samxedro operaciisa da xeobaSi afxazeTis I egiti-
 imuri mTavrobis gadasabargebl ad daxarj ul mil ionebze
 vin agebda pasuxs?

rac Seexeba afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis adgil samyo-
 fel is gansazRvris sakiTxs, qarTul i sazogadoebriv- poli-
 tikuri azri or nawil ad gaiyo: erTi maTgani kodoris xe-
 obas uWerda mxars, xol o meore, mis ganTavsebas zugdidSi

moiTxovda. kodoris xeobisadmi upiratesobis micemis mtki-
 cebul ebiT, saxal xo partiis I lideri mamuka giorgaZe gam-
 oirCeoda. igi sazogadoebas Seaxsenebda, rom `1994 wl idan
 saxal xo partia am sakiTxs svamda, magram swored saakaSvi-
 l is, baramiZis, noRaidel is da sxvaTa winaaRmdegobis gamo-
 ver gadawyda igi.- misi azriT, es nabiji piarkampaniis Semad-
 genel nawil s Tuki ar warmoadgenda, afxazeTis mTavrobas
 warTmeuli ufl ebebi unda dabruneboda da devnili mTavro-
 bis statusiT emoqmeda. `Tuki Cven seriozul ad gadavdivarT
 kodorSi_ acxadebda m.giorgaZe,_ maSin unda Seicval os mo-
 l aparakebis formati. mxol od afxazeTis afxazuri da qarTu-
 li warmomadgenl ebi unda dasxdnen sal aparakod. ara Tbil isi
 da soxumi, aramed soxumi da, davuSvaT, I aTa kodoris xeob-
 idan. Tu amas principul ad miaRweven mol aparakebis pro-
 cesSi, es aris mniSvnel ovani, Tu afxazeTis xel isuflebas
 ufl ebamosil eba daubrundeba, Torem dRes is aris tel evi-
 zorSi gamosayvani raRac struqtura... rac Cven afxazeTi da-
 vkargeT, arcert seriozul saerTasoriso mol aparakebaze
 am 14 wl is ganmavl obaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri xel isuf-
 leba warmodgenili ar yofil a.⁵⁰ Cemi azriT, sakiTxi swor-
 ad iyo dasmul i. saqarTvel os xel isufleba am probl emis
 gadawyvetas Tuki SeZl ebda da afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavro-
 bis moqmedebas saerTasoriso samarTl is CarCoSi moaqcevda,
 maSin kodoris xeobaSi mis gadasvl as azri da mniSvnel oba
 ubrundeboda. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi igi isetive ufunqcio
 darCebeda, rogoric rustavel is gamzirze iyo.

afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis Tbil isidan gayvanas da
 kodorSi `dabinavebas- giorgi I aRiZe, paata qurdovaniZe,
 soso cincaZe, kaxaber benduqiZe, avTandil ioseliani da sx-
 vebic uWerda mxars. garkveuli koreqtivis SetaniT, am pozi-
 cias respublikuri partiis erT- erTi I lideri Tina xida-
 Sel ic iziarebda. misi mtkicebiT, es nabiji adre unda gada-
 dgmul iyo da samSvidobo gegmebis erT- erT Semadgenel naw-
 il ad eRiarebinaT. `mTavaria_ ambobda igi,_ afxazeTis I e-
 gitimuri xel isufleba unda iyos konfliqtis zonasTan rac
 SeZl eba axl os da iq unda eweodes saqmianobas. Tumca vi-

surve-bdi, rom am iniciativas gagrZel ebis meore nawil ic eqnes, romel ic gul isxmobs kodoris xeobaSi adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis Seqmnasa da uzrunvel yofas. imisTvis rom xeobis mkvidri adamianebis interesebi iyos srul ad warmodgenil i.⁵¹

am amonaweris mixedviT kargad Cans, rom TxidaSel i afxazeTis I egitimuri xel isufl ebis konfl iqtis zonasTan axl os gadasvl is sakiTxTan erTad, misi ufl ebebis, Tundac adgil obrivi regional uri TviTmmarTvel obis doneze gazrdis aucil ebl obasac ayenebda. Cems xel T arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom qarTul i politikuri speqtris meore nawil i skeptikurad uyurebda kodorSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis gadayvanas da mas gacimbirebis konteqsSi ganixil avda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Tavisi mosazreba deputatma goCa j o j uam daafiqsira. `dRes am struqturebis iq gadayvana, niSnavs maT moSorebas, dasj as, gacimbirebas: am SemTxvevaSi man sityva- sityviT gaimeora baRabSis presmdivnis kristian baJanias mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba, sadac afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis kodorSi gadayvana cimbi-rSi gadasaxl ebadaa miCneul i. `iseTi StabeWdil eba mrCeba_ ambobda igi, _ TiTqos saakaSvil s surs rogor me moiSoros Tavidan e.w. `afxazeTis avtonomiuri mTavroba.⁵²

afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis zemo kodorSi gadasvl a parlamentar Temur nergazes SeuZl ebl ad miaCnda. misi samართლიანი მტკიცებით, kodorSi im etapze mTavrobis funqcionirebisaTvis Sesabamisi infrastruqtura ar arsebobda da rac mTavaria, wel iwadis 8 Tvis ganmavl obaSi didTovl obis gamo usaqmur da ufunqcio mdgomareobaSi aRmoCndeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, prezidentis zemoaRniSnul gadawyvetil ebas igi piarkampaniis Semadgenel nawil ad ganixil avda. Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, giorgi xaindrava da axal i memarj veneebi, afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis konfl iqtis zonasTan axl os_ zugdidSi ganTavsebas moiTxovdnen da am pozicias, politikuri da praktikul i motivaciis Sesabamisi argumentebiT asabuTebdnen. maT sapirispirod, afxazeTis uzenaesi sabWos deputati vax-

tang yol baia, afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis kodorSi gadasvl as, afxazeTis teritoriaze orxel isufl ebianobis Seqmnis motivaciiT amarTI ebda. `afxazeTis I egitimuri xel isufl ebiS kodorSi gadasvl iT... afxazeTis teritoriaze praqtikul ad orxel isufl ebianoba iqneba_ de faqtod wodebul i da I egitimuri.-

qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris samTavrobo nawil i, kodoris xeobaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis gadasvl as uWerda mxars, magram yuradRebis miRma tovebda or mniSvnel ovan faqtors_ ruseTis da afxazebis pozicias. Cems xel Tarsebul i masal ebiS mixedviT irkveva, rom aRni Snul sakiTxs ruseTis mxridan saprotesto reagireba ar moyol ia. erTi SexedviT es gakvirvebas unda iwvevdes, magram Tuki sakvl ev probl emasTan mimarTebaSi arsebul masal ebs safuZvl ianad gaavanal izebT, davrwundebiT, rom zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebiS mier gatarebul i RonisZiebebi ruseTis interesebSi j deboda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) batal ion `monadiresgauqmebis Semdeg, imave xeobaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis ganTavsebis SemTxvevaSi, afxazebisaTvis Crdi- l oeT kavkasiastan damakavSirebel i ZarRvis gadaWriss real uri SesaZl ebl oba; 2)afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis zemo kodorSi damkvidrebiS Semdeg, misi warmomadgenl ebiS afxazebTan mol aparakebebis procesSi CarTvis real uri pirobebi mxol od im SemTxvevaSi Sei qmneboda, Tuki ruseTis mxare am proceduras daTanxmdeboda. dokumenturi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom afxazur mxares, yvel aze metad oficial ur dokumentebSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis dafiqsireba aSinebda; 3)afxazeTis teritoriaze orxel isufl ebianobis SeqmniT, moskovs srul i SesaZl ebl oba eZl eoda, raTa baRabSiS individual uri qmedebebi moeToka da qarTvel ebiSgan zemo kodoridan Tavdasxmis SiSiT igi `muStSi- moeqcia.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare safrTxeebs, afxazebi kargad acnobierebdnen da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebiS gadawyvetil ebiS winaarmddeg sastikad il aSqrebdnen. am saki-

TxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `rezonansis- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi sergei Sanba acxadebda: `Tu kodoris xeobaSi gadayvanil i iqneba e.w. afxazeTis umaRI esi sabWo, es iqneba seriozul i faqtori, romel ic probl emis samxedro gziT gadawyvetemde migviyans. aseT SemTxvevaSi, Cven aq yvel a saSual ebas gamoviyenebT, maT Soris samxedro xasiaTisas... saqarTvel os mxridan darRveul ia Zal ian bevri SeTanxmeba, axl a ki, arakanonieri struqturis kodoris xeobaSi gadayvana, es aris mcdel oba, rom xeobaSi orxel isufl ebianoba Seiqmnas. Cven ki amas ar davuSvebT. ase rom gadawyvetil eba miRebul ia. es aris pirvel i nabiji omisken.- imave gazeTis korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi sergei baRabSi xazgasmiT abobda: `Cven dRes ganvixil avT saqarTvel osTan yovel nairi mol aparakebaTa procesis Sewyvetis sakiTxs, radgan saqarTvel o dRemde miRweul yvel a SeTanxmebas arRvevs. garda amisa, Cven vitovebT ufl ebas, ar davuSvaT marionetuli mTavrobis ganl ageba kodoris xeobaSi. me ar gamovricxav am miznis misaRwevad yvel a saSual ebis gamoyenebas, maT Soris dipl omatiuris da Zal ismieris.- erTi ram xazgasmiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom afxazebTan gaformebul arcerT SeTanxmebaSi ar figurirebs afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufl ebis afxazeTis romel ime regionSi ganTavsebis dauSvebl oba. aqedan gamomdinare, igi 1993 wl idan 2006 wl amde dadebul i SeTanxmebebis arcerTi muxl is darRvevas ar warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, gadamwyveti rol i afxazeTis l egitimuri mTavrobis wevrebs ekisreboda. miTumetes, afxazebis mxridan udidesi sirtul eebis Seqmna iyo mosal odnel i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `kriminal isadmi- 2006 wel s micemul interviuSi paata daviTaia ambobda: `im xal xs, visac es probl ema esmis, aravin arafers ekiTxeba. afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufl eba arakompententuri xal xiTaa dakompl eqtebul i. arada, Cven Zal ze seriozul i Zal a gvi pirispirdeba da Tu Secdoma davuSviT, daRupul ebi varT.- aseTi araprofesional i adaminebis mxridan zemo kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobasTan saerTo enis gamoZebna da warmatebul i muSaobis Catareba SeuZl ebel i iyo. miTumetes, es xel isu-

fl eba, wl ebis ganmavl obaSi kodorel ebis sasikeTod ioti- sodena Rirebul ebis saqmes ar akeTebda. aqedan gamomdinare, kodoris xeobaSi misi gadayvana, sazogadoebis Tval Si afxazeTis I egitimuri xel isufli ebis diskreditaciis saukeTeso saSual ebas warmoadgenda. miuxedavad amisa, m.saakaSvil is dajinebul i moTxovniT, am mimarTul ebiT ramdenadac praqtikul i nabij is gadadgma gadawyvetil i iyo, igi mxol od piar kampaniaze gaTval es da misgan ganpirobepul i mosal odnel i uaryofiTi Sedegebi minimal uradac ar gaiTval iswines. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `xval indel i dRes- korespondent Tamar gogol aSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi paata zaqareiSvil i xazgasmiT ambobda: `es gaxl avT... haerSi gasrol il i piar- aqcia, romel sac SeiZl eba uaRresad rTul i movl enebi mohyves. afxazebisTvis es nabij i yovl ad miuRebel ia da isini yvel a process gaaCereben. es aris metad saSiSi nabij i mimarTul i konfrontaciisaken.-

samwuxarod, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvsaTvis es swori Segoneba miuRebel i aRmoCnda. arsebul i masal ebis gacnobis safuZvel ze, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom saqarTvel os xel isufli eba Segnebul ad midioda konfrontaciaze. amis damadasturebl ad, zemo kodoris xeobaSi 2006 wl is 27 seqtembers, soxumis dacemis dRes, sofel Cxal TaSi m.saakaSvil is mier afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis axal aSenebul i Senobis gaxsna gamodgeba. igi `gamarj vebis- kvarcxl bekze Semdgari prezidentis rol Si oficial urad acxadebda: `Cven gvinda davbrundeT mSvidobiT. es aris zemo afxazeTi... romel sac saqarTvel os xel isufli eba akontrol ebs da es aris afxazeTis teritoriis mesamedze meti. am teritoriaze xorciel deba saqarTvel os suvereniteti, moqmedebs saqarTvel os sasazRvro Zal ebi, pol icia, adgil obrivi xel isufli ebis organoebi, tardeba arCevnebi... mokl ed sufevs iseTive demokratia, rogoric mraVal erovan demokratiul saxel m-wifoSi. aqedan arsad wasvl as ar vapirebT, afxazeTSi mal e davbrundebiT... zemo afxazeTi, afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis droebiTi administraciul i centri iqneba. Sem-

deg is soxumSi gadava.-

m.saakaSvil is si tyvis am amonaweridan kargad Cans, rom igi tyuil ebiTaa gaJRenTil i da piaristTvis gankuTvnil gancxadebas warmoadgenda. m.saakaSvil s afxazeTis 1/3- is `dabrunebis- motiviT, winasaarCevnod sazogadoebisTvis iseTi foni unda Seeqmna, rom TiTqos afxazeTis dabrunebisa da teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis process, rusebisa da afxazebis kontrol irebadi ara qvemo kodoris, aramed, kodorel ebis Zal isxmeviT SenarCunebul i zemo kodoris xeobis `dabrunebiT- iwyeabda. marTal ia, es tyuil i m.saakaSvil is sasargebl od masaze zemoqmedebas axdenda, magram, igi imavdroul ad afxazi separatistebis gaRizianebasac iwvevda.

rac Seexeba m.saakaSvil is mier zemo kodoris xeobisadmi oficial urad zemo afxazeTis darqmevas, am faqts sergei baRabSma `meocnebe saakaSvil is morigi sisul el e- uwoda, xol o zemo kodoris xeobaSi Catarebul RonisZiebas_ speqtaki i. `saakaSvil i kidev erT speqtaki s dgams. mas ubral od uyvars amgvaryameebis keTeba.⁵³ am SemTxvevaSi, s.baRabSi sofel Cxal TaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis sxdomis pompezuri formiT gaxsnas gul isxmobda. rac Seexeba mTavrobis kodorsi oficial uri brZanebiT gadasvli is gaformebas, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT angariSgasawevi mosazreba paata zaqareiSvil ma gamoTqva. misi mtkicebiT, m.saakaSvil is `am gadawyvetil ebas garTul ebebi aucil ebl ad moyveba. procesi Caertveba ruseTi, magram mas Semdeg, Tu dekl arirebul i gancxadeba oficial ur saxes miRebs, Sesabamisi brZaneba daiwereba da mTavroba kodorsi gadabargdeba. afxazeTi gamova yvel a xel Sekrul ebidan, SeTanxmebebidan da oficial uri mol aparakebebidan. CaiSl eba procesi, romel ic 2001 wl idan Sewyvetil i iyo da al asaniam Zvl ivs aRadgina. ruseTi am mizezs xel ze daixvevs da YTu kodorsi afxazeTis mTavrobis Seyvanis procesi xmauriT daviwyeT, gamoyvana uxmaurod moxdeba.- dRevandel i gadasaxedi dan p.zaqareiSvil i ar tyuoda. misi winaswari prognozireba gamarTl da. m.saakaSvil ma da misma mrCevl ebma miaxl oebiTac ver

gaTval es Tu ra pozicias daiWerda saerTaSoriso orga-
 nizaciebi kodoris xmaurian samxedro operaciasTan mi ma-
 rTebaSi; gaeros uSiSroebis sabWos 2006 wl is 13 oqtom-
 bris 20 punqtiani rezol uciis (1716) pirvel i punqtiT da-
 dasturebul i iqna saerTaSorisd aRiarebul i saqarTvel
 los teritoriul i mTli anobisadmi mxardaWera, magram
 imavdroul ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas im dokumentebs
 Seaxsenebda, romel ic Tbil issa da soxums Soris iqna xe-
 l moweril i da mxareebis Soris probl emis mogvarebas, kon-
 struqciul i dial ogis gziT iTval iswinebda. rac Seexeba
 imave dokumentis mesame, meoTxe, meSvi de da merve punqtebs,
 masSi SeSfoTeba iyo gamoTqmul i 2006 wl is ivl isSi kodori-
 is xeobaSi qarTul i mxaris mier ganxorciel ebul qmede-
 bebTan mimarTebaSi. igi dabej iTebiT mouwodebda qarTul
 mxares Tavi Seekavebina zemo kodoris xeobaSi provokaci-
 ul i qmedebebisgan, daecva moskovis 1994 wl is 14 maisis
 SeTanxmebis pirobebi. iqve aRniSnul i iyo ruseTis samSvi-
 dobo Zal ebis `mastabil izebel i rol i- afxazeTis konfl
 iqtis zonaSi. rezol uciis preambul aSi xazgasniT iqna
 aRniSnul i, rom `warmoiSva axal i daZabul oba qarTul da
 afxazur mxareebis Soris, kerZod, kodoris xeobis zemo
 nawil Si saqarTvel os special uri operaciis Sedegad.- rac
 Seexeba merve punqts, igi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas
 garkveul i formiT afrTxil ebda, raTa meti pasuxismge-
 bl obiT moki deboda qarTul - afxazuri konfl iqtis dros
 wamoWril probl emebs da saomar ritorikaze uari eTqva.
 uSiSroebis sabWo `kvl av dabej iTebiT mouwodebs qarTul
 mxares seriozul ad moekidos afxazuri mxaris dasabuTe-
 bul SeSfoTebas usafrTxoebis gamo, Tavi aaridos nabij ebs,
 roml ebic SeiZl eba aRqmul i iqnes, rogorc muqara da Tavi
 Seikavos samxedro ritorikisa da provokaciul i moqmede-
 bebi sagan, gansakuTrebiT kodoris xeobis zemo nawil Si.-
 gaeros uSiSroebis sabWos rezol uciidan Cems mier mo-
 tanil i amonawerebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTve-
 l o, wina wl ebis SeTanxmebebisa da xel Sekrul ebebis dam-
 rRevad, provokaciul i qmedebebis ganmaxorciel ebl ad da

saomari moqmedebelis gaCaRebis mosurnedaa gamocxadebuli. es faqti, afxazurma da rusul ma mxarem saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdegod saerTaSoriso arenaze, saagi tacio- propagandistuli Tval sazrisiT Sesani Snavad gamoiyena. arada, 1993 wl idan 2006 wl amde, afxazuri da rusuli mxare, arsebuli xel Sekrul ebebisa da SeTanxmebelis yvel a muxl ebs arRvevda. m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis ugunuri politiki kursidan gamomdinare, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mxridan es yvel aferi `daviwyebas- mieca. saqarTvel o aRqmuli iqna rogorc xel Sekrul ebelis damrRvevi da konfliqtis aramSvidobiani gziT mogvarebis momxre. saerTaSoriso arenaze Seqmnil i aeTi foni, saqarTvel os diskreditaciisa da ruseTis interesebis sasargebl od Sesabamisi safexuris mizanimarTul ad momzadebis STabeWdili ebas tovebs.

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebelis mxridan zemo kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis- piar- speqtaklis `dadgmis- Semdeg, sapaSuxo svila, afxazur_ rusul mxares unda gaeketebina. Cems mier mopovebuli masal ebelis mixedviti, maTi pirveli nabiji omistvis oficialuri mzadebisa da muqaris garegnuli formi iqna gamovlenili. rusebsa da afxazebs omis dawyeba marti acromsdomodati, amis realuri safuzveli 2006 wl isivl isSi hqondaT da Sesabamisi Roniszibasac ganaxorciel ebdnen. mitumetes, im momentSi afxazeti teritoriaze 12 dasaxel ebelis samxedro qvedanayofi (Sesabamisi batalionebiT) iyo dislocirebuli. isic cnobilia, rom maT gankargul ebaSi gudautisa da guli risis saaviacio nawilebi imyofeboda. es zal ebi savsebit sakmarisi iyo imisatvis, rom jvari_ xaisi mimarTul ebit saqarTvel os xel isufl ebelis sajariso SenaerTebisatvis gadaadgil ebelis Sesazlebi oba ar miecati. meore mxriv, oqruasvil _ merabisvil is sardli obit qarTuli jaris nawilebisTvis zemo kodoridan, qvemo kod-oris (sofel i l atadan- sofel qvaf-Caras) mimarTul ebit ganxorciel ebuli msvilebi oba saTaveSive arekvetat. mitumetes, im momentSi, CrdileT kavkasiaSi rusuli jarebis wvrtna mimdinareobda, romlis

damTavrebis procesi 27 ivl iss iyo dagegmil i. es faqti, imaze metyvel ebs, rom saWiroebis SemTxvevaSi Crdil oET kavkasiaSi disl ocirebul i rusul i samxedro nawil ebi srul sabrZol o mzadyofnaSi imyofeboda. Cems mier mopovebul i masal iT irkveva, rom afxazeTsa da Crdil o kavkasiaSi sawvrTnel pol igonze myofi rusul i j aris sardl oba, zemo kodoris xeobaSi mimdinare samxedro operacias dumil iT Sexvda. yuradReba unda mivaqciOT im garemoebas, rom qarTul i mxaris mier saomari ritorikis damTavrebisTanave, am proceduris Canacvl eba afxazebma ikisres. mxedvel obaSi maqvs kodoris xeobis misasvl el Tan afxazuri j aris wvrTnis dawyebisa da afxazeTSi mcxovrebi qarTvel i axal-gazrdebis afxazur j arSi iZul ebiT gawvevis faqtebi. am saqmis xel mZRvanel oba, general iuri netkaCovs hqonda daval ebul i. yovel ive es imdenad damZimebul i formiT mimdinareobda, rom qarTvel pol itikosTa da pol itol ogTa garkveul wreebSi SiSmac ki daisadgura. am SemTxvevaSi, afxazebi da rusebi sazogadoebaze efeqturi zemoqmedebis piaris msgavs TamaSs eweodnen. samxreTidan xeobaSi Semosasvl el perimetrze, maTi mxridan rusul i samxedro SenaerTebi iqna ganl agebul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, afxazeTis uzenaesi sabWos Tavmj domare Temur mJavia gazeT `j orjian Taimsisadmi- micemul interviuSi garkveviT miuTiTebda; `Cemamde araoficial uri informacia movida, rom mimdinareobs rusul i samxedro Zal ebis koncentracia da general i netkaCovi Zal ian aqtiurobs. gansakuTrebiT gaZl ierebul ia tyvarCeli is mxare. xeobis misadgomebTan atanil ia ramdenime erTeul i `gradi.- garda amisa, daaxl oebiT 2 aTeul i `vasil iovistipis naRmtyorcni mTl ianad qveda zonis perimetrzea gantavsebul i. am yvel aferSi rusul i Zal a aqtiurad monawil eobs. rogorc araoficial urma wyarom gadmogvca, Tuki manamde ruseTis oficial uri SenaerTebi metnakl ebad Tavs aridebdnen gamoCenas, axl a isini iq Tavisufl ad gadaadgil debian da ukve Riad erevian konfl iqtSi.- erTi SexedviT es seriozul ganacxads warmoadgenda da mosal odnel i safrTxis garduval obaze mianiSnebda. meore mxriv, qveynis ma-

Ral i Tanamdebobis CinovnikTa mier am mimarTul ebiT raime
 oficial uri saxis gancxadebis gakeTeBa ar momxdara. Cems
 xel T arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT, ZiriTadad pol itikos-
 Ta qveda safexuri aqtiurobda. magal iTad, axal i memarj ve-
 neebis l ideri daviT gamyrel iZe gazeT `j orjian Taimsi-
 sadmi- micemul imterviuSi acxadebda: `real urad arsebobs
 informacia, rom rusul i mxare afxazebis meSveobiT gegmavs
 ganxorciel os Seteva kodoris xeobaze. gamodevnos iqedan,
 rogorc qarTul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, aseve l egitimuri
 mTavroba, romel ic axl a iq ganTavsda. amiT mas surs darty-
 ma miayenos saqarTvel os, romel mac afxazetis erTi mesame-
 dis ukve dabrunebis Sesaxeb, seriozul i rekl amireba moax-
 dina... es SeiZl eba warmatebis momtani iyos rusul i mxar-
 isaTvis, imitom rom saqarTvel os xel isufl eba mZime mdgo-
 mareobaSi Cavardeba.- eqspertebis mier gakeTebul i daskvneb-
 is mixedviT, afxazebis mxridan zemo kodorze Setevis ganx-
 oeciel eba zamTarSi_ gzebis Caketvis Semdeg iyo mosal od-
 nel i. am fonze, kodoris xeoba safrTxis winaSe imyofeboda.
 miTumetes axal i memarj veneebis l ideri d.gamyrel iZe, zemo
 kodoris xeobis dakargvis real ur safrTxeze miuTitebda.
 im periodSi gavrcel ebul i informaciit, zemo kodoris
 xeobaSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba mdgomareobas Segneb-
 ul ad arTul ebda da provokaciis el ementebis Seqmnas
 maqsimal urad cdil obda. aseTi kursi, im mizniT xorciel d-
 eboda, rom afxazebis mxridanac omis ritorikis Sesatyvi-
 si ideol ogiuri propagandac warmoSobil iyo. es garemo-
 ba qonda mxedvel obaSi sergei Sanbas, roca gazeT `mTel i
 kviras- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi ambobda:
 `Cven rom omi gvindodes, amiTvis Zal ian bevri mizezi
 gvaqvs. saqarTvel om j er iyo da kodoris xeobaSi j arebi
 Seiyvana, axl a ki aral egitimur xel isufl ebas iq agza-
 vnian. es yvel aferi aris morigi provokacia, raTa Cven omi
 daviwyoT. afxazetis mTavroba j erj erobiT amas Tavs vari-
 debT, magram Tu ase gaagrZel eben, Cven gvaqvs yvel a Ses-
 Zl ebl oba rom Zal a gamoviyenoT da omi daviwyoT. Tumca
 Cven saomari moqmedebebis ganaxl eba ar gvsurs... Cven j er-

j erobiT viTmenT... vimeoreb, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis moqmedebebi omis dawyebsken gvi bi Zgebs.-

Tuki Cems mier motanil masal ebs obieqturi poziciidan gavaanal izebT, SesamCnevad gamoi kveTeba, rom omis SesaZl o dawyebasTan mi marTebaSi afxazuri mxaris xmamaRal i gancxadebebi, saakaSvil is Seryeul i xel isufl ebis sasargebl od moqmedebda. am fonze, saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas SesaZl ebl oba eZl eoda, maTi namoqmedari saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRsadgenad gadadgmul nabij ad gae-saRebina da farTo sazogadoeba `daerwmunebina,- rom afxazuri muqaris miuxedavad, `kriminal ebisgan dabrunebul ~ zemo kodoris xeobas ar daTmobda. Tumca kargad icoda, rom garkveul i mizezebis gamo, afxazebi kodorze Setevas ar ganaxorciel ebdnen. amis Sesaxeb gazeT `rezonansisadmi~ micemul interviuSi avTandil iosel iani xazgasmiT miuT iTebda: `afxazma mxedarTmTavarma, romelic dRes xel isufl ebaSia,... erT- erT Sexvedraze aseTi ram miTxra_ rode-sac kodoris xeobaSi gil aevis razms veomebodiT, ar mindoda svanebze Seteva ganmexorciel ebina, es araswori nabiji iqneboda, is xom maTi miwaa.- es imas niSnavs, rom afxazuri xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebs kargad qondaT gacnobierebul i kodorel i svanebisadmi ardapirispirebisa da misi arweinebis mniSvnel oba. qveynis gonieri xel isufl eba am faqtors, teritoriul i aRdgenis Tval sazrisiT, yovel gvარი აჯიოთაჯის გარეSe მაqsimal urad gamoiyenebda. samwuxarod, am mimarTul ebiT qarTul sinamdvil eSi yvel aferi ukuRma_ `asinetas azrivnebis- doneze keTdeboda. am udidეს nakl s, saRad moazrovne qarTul i politikuri speqtris mesveurebi kargad xedavdnen da warsul is mware gamocdil ebidan gamodinare, Seqmnil i umZimesi situaciidan TavisdaRwevis mizniT, xel isufl ebas garkveul rekomendaciebs sTavazobdnen. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal ebidan, gansakuTrebul i yuradReba nodar naTaZis mier gazeT `axalli Taobis- korespodent gul iko bal aZisadmi micemul ma interviუმ მიიყcia. masSi im mosal odnel i safrTxeebis ganmapirobebel i mizezebis Sesaxebaa saubari, romelic zemo kodor-

is xeobasTan mimarTebaSi ruseTis mxridan arsebobda. xaz-
gasmiTaa miTiTebul i e.SevardnaZis mier 1993 wel s daSvebul
Secdomebze da misi dauyovnebl iv gamosworebis SesaZl e-
bl obis gzebze. Tu ra argumentebis moSvel iebiT cdil obda
n.naTaZeE 90- iani wl ebisa da 2006 wl is movl enebTan paral e-
l is gavl ebas, amis sail ustraci od, misive interviudan Sesa-
bamis amonawerebs movitan da mkiTxvel ma TavadD gansaj os,
misi avkargianobis sakiTxi. zemo kodoris xeobaSi myofi
`sapol icio SenaerTebi_ ambobda n.naTaZe_ ramdenad brZol isu-
nariania ar vici, magram sanam russ aqvs samSvidobo mandati,
Cven ar gvaqvs ufl eba, mas vesrol oT. am wesiT qarTul ma
mxarem oqruaSvil is aqtiuri monawil eobiT mters Caabara
strategiul i simaRI eebi cxinval is zonaSi. Semovidnen rusebi
da osebs SemouZRvnen. qarTvel ebma rusebs cecxli ver gaux-
snes, radgan maT mandati aqvT. igive situaciaa dRes. ei. sanam
mandati ar gauqmebul a, manam qarTul mxares afxazeTSi ka-
pitul acis pozicia aqvs... Tu russ ar waertva srol is
ufl eba da me ar damikanonda srol is ufl eba, maSin... rusi
daartyams kodors, qarTvel i mas winaaRmdegobas ver gauwevs,
amis ufl eba ar eqneba da iqedan afxazeTis mTavrobac gamo-
va, iq ki afxazebi Sevl en... 1993 wel s iyo saqarTvel os xe-
l is ufl ebis Ral ati, rac ori saxiT gamoixata: 1.oficial -
uri notiT ar gacxadda, rom es aris qarTul - rusul i omi.
ar iqna Setanil i saTanado gancxadeba gaeroSi da yvel a
saerTaSoriso organizaciaSi, anu es omi ar gacxadda Tav-
dacvis omad saqarTvel os mxridan ruseTis winaaRmdeg. ami-
tom, ruseTs saSual eba hqonda, ramdenic undoda, imdeni ucxo
Zal a Semoeyvana. es aris Ral atis erTi parametri, rac pol i-
tikur mxares warmoadgens. 2.faqto brivi mxare_ saqarTve-
l os SeeZl o da val debul ic iyo, rom iseTi omi, romel Sic
ruseTi Tavis droSas ar Sl is, ver Sl is, moego. droSagaS-
l il ruseTs omSi ver davamarcxebT, magram val debul i varT,
droSagauSl el i ruseTi davamarcxoT. amiTvis saWiroa erT-
gul i sardl oba. SevardnaZe iyo mTavarsardal ic da saxel m-
wifos meTauric_ qarTul armias tyvarCel i ar aaRebina. Tu
prezidentis donezec da sardl is donezec moRal ateebi iq-

nebian, maSin ra Tqma unda igive Sedegi iqneba.⁵⁴

am vrceI i amonaweridan kargad Cans: 1) qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris erT- erTi aqtiuri warmomadgenel i n.naTaze, afxazeTSi damarcxebis ZiriTad ganmapirobel mizezebs e.SevardnaZis moRal atur qmedebebSi xedavs; 2) momxdari faqtis win wamowevi T, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebsi morigi Ral atis arcadenisken mouwodebs. miuxedavad amisa, `eiforiis kvarcxl - bekze- Semdgari m.saakaSvil i Tavs `gamarj vebul ad- Tvl - ida da afxazebis gasaRizianebl ad piarkampaniis yvel a saxeobas iyenebda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, zemo kodoris xeobaSi afxazeTis I egitimuri mTavrobis `yviriI iTa da aurzauriT- gadayvanis faqti. es aradipl omatiuri da gauazrebel i piari qonda mxedvel obaSi p.zaqareiSvil s, roca gazeT `xval indel i dRes- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi ambobda: `afxazebma SesaZl oa rusebTan erTad ganaxorciel on Seteva kodoris xeobaze, aiRon is da maSin kodoris mosaxl eoba am upasuxismgebl o gadawyvetil ebis msxverpl ad iqceva... vi Racam gaabi Tura prezidenti, aagdo da araswori nabij i gadaadgmevina, rac yovl ad dauSvebel ia.-

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebisa da qarTul i pol itikuri azris mesveurTa Sexedul ebebis anal izidan gamomdinare, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom m.saakaSvil i afxazeTis mi zanmimarTul ad dakargvis im gzas agrZel ebda, romel ic 1993 wl idan e.SevardnaZem daiwyo. am mavnebl uri da eris Ral atis tol fasi Canafiqris bol omde miyvanis damabrkol ebel bariers zemo kodoris xeoba warmoadgenda. is RonisZiebebi, romel sac m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva atarebda, zemo kodoris xeobis rusebisa da afxazebisTvis gadasabarebel i safexuris momzadebis STabeWdil ebas tovebda. amas qarTul i sazogadoebriv- pol itikuri azris warmomadgenel ebi kargad xedavda da afxazeTis gayidvis Sesaxeb xmamaRal gancxadebebs akeTeBda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT `j orj ian Taimsisadmi- micemul interviuSi Sal va naTel aSvil i xazgasmiT ambobda: `amaT undaT erTxel da

samudamod aRiarebinon msofli os afxazeTi, rogorc damoukidebel i saxel mwifo da moiWran, maTi azriT zedmeti organo, romelic stkivaT da awuxebT, rac seriozul probl emas uqmnis winasaarCevno kampaniaSi.- anal ogiuri Tval - sazrisia gamoTqmul i poetisa da sazogado moRvawis vaxtangi xarCil avas publikaciaSi `kodoridan godoramde.- masSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebuli, rom `nacional ebis- LiderTa mizans, warmoadgens raTa saqarTvel odan `afxazeTi... moikvetos, rogorc gangreniani kiduri, rom mere uprobl emod SeforTxdenen natoSi da Zal aufl eba SeinarCunon.- imave v.xarCil avas TqmiT, `kodorSi operaciis Catareba momavali, winaswarve wasagebad dagegmili omis prelu diaa!- aseTi varaudis safuzvels, putinis mxridan saakaSvil is armiRebasTan daka-vSirebiT, `nacional ebis- LiderTa mier gakeTebuli absurduli gancxadebebi aZlevda. exebodara aRniSnul sakiTxs, Sa-l va forCxiZe gazeT `kviris qronikis- korespodentisadmi micemul interviuSi xazgasmiT miuTiTebda: `gamodiantargamaZe_ bokeria da amboben, putini SevasineTo! yvel aze metad is maocebs, amat qarTvel ebi degeneratebi rom hgoniat da darwmunebul ni arian, vinme daijerebs, saakaSvil ma putini rom SeaSina.-

Crdil oetis mezobel i bumberazi saxel mwifos meTauris mimarT, aradipl omatiuri da Seuracmyofeli gancxadebebi, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos teritoriuli mTliano bis aRdgenis sawinaaRmdago politikuri kursis Semadgenel nawils warmoadgenda. mitumetes, afxazetisa da `samxreT osetis- dabruneba ardabrunebis sakiTxis gadayveta, rusetis xelisufal ta ketil nebaze iyo da aris damokidebuli. aqedan gamomdinare, imis afisireba, rom m.saakaSvil ma titqos putini SeaSina, politikaSi `dasaqmebul - adamianta sar azrovnebaSi ar Tavsdeba. iseti STabeWdileba iqmneba, rom rusetTan urTierTobis safexurebrivad gamwvaveba, rusetis maral CinosnebTan winaswari Setanxmebis imrgolis Semadgenel nawils warmoadgenda, romlis meSveobitac, qarTul j ars j vari_ xaisis, l aTa_ qvabCaras mimarTulebit uprobl emod gadaadgili ebis Sesa-

ZI ebl oba rom misca. erTi ram xazgasmiT unda aRini Snos; ucxoel i eqspertebis mtkicebiT, afxazur- osuri probl emisa da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdge nis gasaRebi moskovSi ido. aseT fonze, ruseTTan urTier Tobis Segnebul ad gamwvaveba, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mimarT kiTxviT ni Snebs ki dev ufro aCens. mi Tumetes, rusi eqspe-rtebis SefasebiT, ruseT_ saqarTvel os Soris SesaZ- l o konfl iqtis SemTxvevaSi `saqarTvel o marto aRmoCn- deba. amerika mas ver daexmareba, radgan amas axl a sxva Tavis tkivil i aqvs_ axl o aRmosavl eTi. ase rom, saqarTvel om Tavisi Zal ebis demonstri-rebisaTvis saukeTe- so momenti namdvil ad ver SearCia. magram es yovel Tvis ase xdeba... iq seriozul ad hgoniaT, rom moskovi da vaSing- toni yru provinciebia, xol o msofil ios movl enebis cen- trSi saqarTvel o dgas.- m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebis mxri- dan, saqarTvel oze Tavsdaxil i yvel a ubedurebis mosk- ovisdmi gadabral ebasTan dakavSirebiT, igive rusi pol i- tol ogebi acxadebdnen; `Tu ruseTi gamudmebiT ase marti- vad akeTebis qarTvel i pol itikosebis saqmes, isini krem- l is marionetebi gamodian, xol o saqarTvel os suvereni- teti sxva araferia Tu ara fiqcia.- ruseT_ saqarTvel os Soris daZabul i situaciis fonze, 2006 wl is 26 ivl iss `neza- visimaia gazeta- werda: `Tu droze ver moixaxa gamosaval i afxazeTsa da `samxreT oseTSi,- ruseTi saqarTvel osTan oms ver acdeba... saqarTvel os imedi ar unda hgondes rom saer- TaSoriso mxardaWeras miiRebs. vaSingtoni mxars mxol od sityvierad dauwers. is amxnevebs saakaSvil s, magram kargad icis, rom `vardebis revol uciis am naSiers- xandaxan zedme- ti mosdis da SeuZl ia, ruseTTan namdvil omSi CaiTrios. imaSi rom saqarTvel o_ ruseTis omi uTanasworo iqneba da Tanac saqarTvel osTvis sabediswero, eWvi aravis epareba.⁵⁵ saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebis warmomadgen- l ebis mxridan gakeTebul i gancxadebebisa da maTi praqtiku- l i saqmianobis Rrma anal izidan gamomdinare Tuki vimsj el ebT, `nacional ebis- l iderebs saqme ruseTTan Segnebul ad dapi- rispirebis gziT miyavda. aseTi qmedebiT, saqarTvel os sawi-

naaRmdego da ruseTis sasargebl o pol itikur da ideol ogiur fons qmnidnen.

amrigad, Cems mier motanil i masal ebis anal izi, safuZvel s iZl eva davaskvnaT: 1)afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufli ebis zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadasvl a, spontanurad ganxorciel ebul da samomavl od gauTvl el RonisZiebas warmoadgenda. igi sazogadoebis eiforiaSi Seyvanas da kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis~ imitaciis gapiarebas isaxavda miznad. miTumetes, afxazeTis l egitimur xel isufli ebas da mis uzenaes sabWos, zemo kodoris mosaxl eobasTan muSao bis winaswar gaweril i gegmuri programa ar gaaCnda; 2)afxazeTis l egitimuri mTavrobis zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadasvl a da afxazeTis teritoriaze Seqmnil i orxel isufli ebianoba, saqarTvel os teritoriul imTl ianobis aRdgenis sawyis safexurad ver CaiTvl eboda. miTumetes, saerTaSoriso mol aparakebebSi misi monawil eobis daSveba_ ardaSvebis sakiTxis gadawyvetas, rusul _ afxazuri mxare gansazRvravda; 3)zemoaRni Snul i RonisZiebis saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis ganajitireba, afxazuri mxaris Segnebul ad gaRizianebase da saomari ritorikiT al aparakebaze iyo gauTvl il i. afxazebis iaraRis `JraRuni~, m.saakaSvil is Seryeul i xel isufli ebis sasargebl o nabij s warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `dabrunebul i~ zemo kodoris xeobis, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebisadmi ardaTmobis xmamaRal i da qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis saziانو gancxadebebi; 4)zemo kodorSi ganxorciel ebul i RonisZiebebiT, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mier, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba 1993 wl idan 2005 wl is CaTvl iT dadebul i yvel a xel Sekrul ebis darRvevaSi da konfliqtur regionSi daZabul obis xel ovnurad gaRrmavebaSi iqna dadanaSaul ebul i (gaeros uSiSroebis sabWos 2006 wl is # 1716 rezol ucia). Sefasebis aseT fonze, saqarTvel osgan afxazeTze mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis `mtki cebiT~, ruseTis mmarTvel wreebs, baRabSis xel isufli ebis individual uri qmedebebis maqsimal urad Seekvecis SesaZl ebl oba mieca.

Tavi III

okeanedal eul ebi da ufskrul isken daqanebul i saqarTvel o

\$ 1. 2008 wl is agvistos avanturis mi zanmarTul i momzadeba da misi Sedegebi

zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebi ma samxedro operaciam (2006 wl is ivl isi) da misi `dabrunebis- gapiarebis mcdel obam, qveyanaSi dawyebul i saprotesto pol itikuri procesebis SeCereba ver SeZl o. sazogadoebaze srul fasovani zemoqmedebisa da adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis arCevnebSi gamarjvebisaTvis Zl ieri muxtis Sesaqmnel ad, ruseTTan dapirispireba da ideol ogiur frontze misi saxiT `mtris xatis- Seqmna, m.saakaSvil is mxridan pirvel xarisxovan amocanad iqna miCneul i. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebi iseT STabeWdil ebas tovebs, rom am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i propaganda da Sesatyvisi pragmatul i xasiaTis nabijebi, winaswar Cafiqrebul i gegmis erT nawil s warmoadgenda da misi safexurebrivad ganxorciel eba xdeboda. amis dadasturebad samTavrobo doneze 2006 wl is 27 seqtembers dadgmul i `speqtaki i- SeiZl eba CaiTval os. mxedvel obaSi maqvs amierkavka-siis rusul i sajariso SenaerTis Tbil isSi arsebul i samxed-ro Stabis Senobisadmi, sapatrul o pol iciis mxridan al yis Semortyma. Sinagan saqmeTa maSindel i ministris i.merabiSvil is mier am faqtTan dakavSirebiT gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadebis mixedviT: 1)Sinagan saqmeTa saministros kontrdazvervis departamentis TanamSroml ebma, Tbil issa da baTumSi GPY-s (ruseTis Tavdacvis saministros mTavari sadazvervo sammarTvel o) oTxi oficeri da masTan Sekrul i saqarTvel os 11 moqal aqe daakaves; 2)arNi Snul j gufs goris teraqtis (2005 wl is Teberval i) organizatori, GPY- s oficeri anatol i sinicini erevnidan xel mZRvanel obda; 3)rac Seexeba mexuTe `j aSuSs,- GPY- s TanamSromel s_ pol kovnik

konstantine piCugins, igi amierkavkasiis ruseTis jarebis Stabis SenobaSi imal eboda da misi ruseTSi saiduml od gadayvanis didi al baToba arsebobda.¹ momxdari faqtiT, saqarTvel o- ruseTs Soris mdgomareoba imdenad daiZaba, rom ruseTis el Ci koval enko da sael Cos 100- e meti TanamSromeli, saqarTvel odan imave wl is 29 seqtembers ruseTSi iqna gawveul i. mo-mxdar faqtTan mimarTebaSi, ruseTis pol itikuri wreebis damokidebul eba uaRresad mkacri iyo. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas ruseTis federaciis sabWos Tavmjdomaris sergei mironovis muqaranarevi toniT gakeTebul i gancxadeba iqcevs: `ruseTi didi saxel mwifoa da ar vapirebT vinmes SemofurTxeba vapatioT. Tu vinmes tvini ara aqvs, Cven maT gamovafxizl ebT martivi, misaRebi da kargad gasagebi meTodebiT.-² es iyo gamafrTxil ebel i da seriozul i gzavnil i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis misamarTiT. mi Tumetes, aRni Snul `j aSuSebTan- dakavSirebiT, qarTul ma mxarem dasabuTebul i mtkicebul ebebi im etapze ver warmoadgina. oficialuri wreebisa da sazogadoebisaTvis gaurkvevel i darCa, rusi `j aSuSebis- moqmedebam qarTul i saxel mwifos interesebs ra ziani miayena. saerTaSoriso praqtikidan da didi saxel mwifoebis gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, aseT SemTxvevaSi probl emis gadawyveta ara satel evizio eTeriT gakeTebul i myviral a da Seuracmyofel i gancxadebebiT, aramed dipl omatiuri etiketis srul i dacviT, `idumal ebis- CarCos formebsi xdeba. pol itikuri mosazrebebidan gamomdinare, im etapze m.saakaSvil s aRni Snul i formis gamoyeneba xel s ar aZl evda. mis amocanas sazogadoebaze garegnul i efeqtis moxdena warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi igi partiul interesebs saxel mwifoebrivze maRl a ayenebda. Tavisi qmedebiT `nacional ebis- regional ur savarZl ebs qarTvel i eris samomavl o interesebi anacval a. samecniero literaturaSi erTxmadaa aRiarebul i, rom seriozul i mtkicebul ebebis ararsebobidan gamomdinare, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis zemoqmedebiT, rusi `j aSuSebi- imave wl is 2 oqtombers (daWeridan mexuTe dRes) gaanTavisufl es.

daSvebul i Secdomis aRiarebis, an misadmi dumil is sanacv-

I od, m.saakavil ma gamomwvevi pozicia daiWira da oficial urad ganaxada: `saqarTvel os xel isufi ebam SeZi o qveyanaSi rusul i dazvervis erTi qsel is `neutral izacia- moexdina, magram... amgvari qsel ebi kvl avac moqmedeben im teritoriebze, romel Tac Cven ver vakontrol ebT: es aris samxreT oseTis mTiani regionis mcire nawil i da afxazeTis teritoriis 70 %, bol os Cven afxazeTis teritoriis 30 %- ze aRvadiT kontrol i. amgvarad, am teritoriebze kvl av arseoben dazvervis aseTi qsel ebi, magram, Cven maT vi poviT, daviWerT da pasuxs vagebinebT. es savsebiT naTel ia. yvel as vpirdebi amas, vinc am j gufebs xel mZRvanel obs.³

mTel i am ideol ogiuri kompaniis mizans, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebisaTvis TavSewirul ebad warmocena warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, `mtris xatad- ruseTi moiazreboda. aseTi fonis Seqmnas TviT rusi pol itikosebis gancxadebebic uwyobda xel s. yovel ive zemoaRniSnul ma da gayal bebis maRal i teqnoI ogiis gamoyenebam, adgil obrivi TviTmmarTvel obis arCevnebsi `nacional ebs- didi upiratesoba moapovebina. miuxedavad amisa, igi saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis nebis gamovl inebad ar SeiZi eba CaiTval os. amis naTel dadasturebas 2007 wl is noembris movl enebi warmoadgens. Tuki mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis Sesaxeb im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul masal ebs safuZvl ianad Seviswavi iT da kritikul anal izs movaxdenT, davrwundebiT: a)2007 wl is noemberi, m.saakaSvil isa da `vardebis revoluciis- mavnebl uri proeqtis Semqmnel _ damfinansebl ebis winaaRmddeg mimarTul i protestis gamovl inebis kul minaciuri safexuri iyo; b)meore mxriv, igi saqarTvel os dasaqcevad movl enil i okeanedal eul ebis mimarT_ ganaCenis gamotanis mcdel obas warmoadgenda. `vadosnebis- mier saqarTvel oSi Semotanil ma `reformatorul ma- procesebma daadastura: 1)okeanedal eul Ta cnobiereba, saqarTvel os erovnul i interesebis saziand, Tergdal eul Ta ideuri memkvidreobis_ il ia WavWavaZisa da arCil j or- j aZis Sexedul ebaTa sawinaaRmdego ideol ogiur mrwamsze

iyo dafuznebul i; 2)maT mizans, erovnul i saxel mwifos-
 aTvis damaxasiaTebel i tradiciebis TandaTanobiTi moS-
 la, XXI saukunis kosmopolitizmisa da msofiio
 moqal aqebisaTvis misaRebi sakanonmdebl o bazis Seqmna
 warmoadgenda. aqedan gamomdinare, noembris movl e-
 nebi, m.saakaSvil is gansakuTrebul i mfarvel is_ dik Ceinis,
 makkeinisa da misi Tanagundel ebisadmi sawinaaRmdego gza-
 vnil adac unda CaiTval os. opoziciur speqtrs, gabedul ad
 rom emoqme-da da parl amentis maSindel i Tavmj domaris
 n.burjanaZis mier gadmosrol il mol aparakebis satyuar
 anness ar wamogeboda, m.saakaSvil is mmarTvel oba na-
 adrevad damTavrdeboda da qveyana xel ovnurad Seqmnil
 momdevno ubedurebaTa katakl izmebs gadaurCeboda. sa-
 protesto aqciebis xel mZRvanel i birTvi, Zal aufl ebis
 asaRebad moumzadebel i aRmoCnda. isini m.saakaSvil isgan
 qveynis marTvis ufl ebebis `l arnakze- dadebul is SeTa-
 vazebas el odnen. Tavianti umoqme-dobiTa da Zal a-uf-
 l ebis aRebis teqnol ogiebSi pol itikuri ganuswavl el obiT,
 quCaSi `dagdebul xel isufl ebas- ver daepatronen. maTi
 ususuroba imaSic gamovl inda, rom qveynidan gaqceul m.sa-
 akaSvil Tan da im etapze paral izebul mdgomareobaSi myof
 saqarTvel os mTavrobasTan_ ideol ogiur `omSiac- damar-
 cxdnen. qarTul sazogadoebas, isini qucis pol itikurad
 yverul i opoziciis mdgomareobaSi moevlina. xel isu-
 fl ebis asaRebad maTi mxridan dasvebul i pol iti-ku-
 ri Secdomebi, evropisa da aSS- is dazafrul maRal Ci-
 nosnebs SeumCnevel i ar darCeniaT. saqarTvel oSi Seq-
 mnil i daZabul i situaciis droul ad CaxSobis mizniT,
 mSvidobian momitingeebze m.saakaSvil s SurisZiebsken
 ubiZges. am SemTxvevaSi mitingis monawil eni iseTi fo-
 rmit unda daesaj aT, rom aTeul i wl ebis ganmavl obaSi
 `nacional kanibal istebisadmi- SiSi da monuri mo-
 rCil eba maTi cnobierebidan ar amoSi il iyo. am miznis
 ganxorciel ebaSi l omis wil i aSS- is administraciam,
 misgan gamogzavnil ma `mrCevl ebma- aSS- is saxel mwifo
 mdivnis TanaSemwem meTiu braizam da aSS- is maSindel ma
 el Cmaj on teftim Seasrul a. oficial uri monacemebiT
 (saxal xo damcvel isdaskvna) dasturdeba, rom rustavel is

gamzirze da riyeze myofi mSvidobiani momitingeebis winaaRmdeg im etapze saqarTvel os kanonmdebl obiT akrZal uli saSual ebebi iqna gamoyenebuli. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)adamianisaTvis momwaml avi gazi; 2)momwaml avi wyl is Wavl i; 3)azerbaijanSi Sesyiduli da ukanonod Semotanili rezinis tyiebi; 4)aSS- is xel isufal Ta nebarTviT, im momentSi saqarTvel oSi saeqsperimen-tod Camotanili axali fsiqotropuli aparati, romel s-ac 2000 hercis simZl avris akustikuri gamosxiveba aqvs da ad-amianis tvinze uaryofiTad moqmedebs. am `akustikuri zarba-zanis-SesaZl ebl obebi aSS- is xel isuflebam erayis Tali-bebis winaaRmdeg gamoscada. misgan miRebuli dadebiTi Sedegebidan gamomdinare, amj erad qarTvel i eris dasaCl ungebl ad 2007 wl is 7 noembers iqna gamoyenebuli.⁴

saqarTvel osAsakanonmdebl oaqtebis yvel a norme bis darRvevisa da mSvidobiani momitingeebis mimarT gaugonari simkacris (faSizmisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i sadamsjel o meTodebiT angariSsworeba, tel ekompania `imedis- darbeva) miuxedavad, aSS- isa da dasavl eT evropis wamyvani saxel mwifoebis mxridan reagireba mxol od `mokrZal ebuli- kritikiT Semoifargla. Cadenili danaSaul is gadafarvis da Tavis martI ebis mizniT, momitingeTali iderebisadmi xel isuflebis Sesabamisi uwebebi ucxo qveynis_ ruseTis agentobis bral debas axmovanebdnen. am mimarTul ebiT saxel isuflebo tel ekompaniebis Jurnal istebisagan gaweuli ideol ogiuri propaganda, lo- gikis kategoriebs iyomoklebuli. isini im el ementarul WeSmaritebas ver acnobierebdnen, rom m.saakaSvilis xel isuflebisadmi aSS- is administraciis mxridan gansakuTrebuli formiT mxardaWeris gamovlineba, ucxo qveyanis l obirebas rom warmoadgenda. meore mxriv, aRniSnuli faqti sazogadoebis cnobierebaSi, m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas, aSS- is mxridan xel dasmul i marioneti mmarTvel ebis ampl uaSi warmoaCenda. erovnuli interesebis gaTval iswinebiT moazrovne qarTvel isaTvis, ertic da meorec miuRebeli iyo. mimdinare pol itikurma procesebma daadastura, rom `varde-

bis revoluciis- niRbiT mosul okeanedal eul Ta gamasonebul da al en dal esis ideol ogiuri doqtriniT aRWurvil saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas, aSS- is administracia gasawirad ver imetebda. saqarTvel os udanaSaul o moqal aqeta sisxl - is gubeebze da quCaSi amoxocil Ta cxedrebze `daSenebul vardosanta- mmarTvel obas Savi sudara rom ar Camofareboda, imave aSS- is administraciis Zal isxmeviT, riggareSe sapa- rli amento arCevnebis sanacvl od, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas vadamdeli saprezidento arCevnebi moaxvies Tavze. am faqtiT, sazogadoebisa da politikuri wreebis azrovneba, noembris tragikul i procesebidan mizanmimarTul ad axal politikur Wril Si iqna gadatanili.

saprezidento arCevnebiT gamowveul ma eiforiam, sazogadoebis did nawils, xel isufli ebis mxridan miyenebul i `guS- inde- li Wril oba- droebiT daaviwya da misi azrovneba sxva mimarTul ebiT_ `saarCevno rel sebze- gadaiyvana. Tuki im periodis sarekl amo masal ebs gadavxedavT, naTel i gaxdeba, rom saxel ieufli ebo resursebs m.saakaSvil i maqsimal urad iyenebda. `nacional ebis- mier gamocemul i bukl etebidan, ma- Ral i pol igrafiul i doniT 90 gverdiani Jurnal i `gza gam- arj vebisaken- (# 5. ianvari 2008 w.) gamoirCeva. masSi gan- Tavsebul i masal ebidan gansakuTrebul juradRebas saqarTve- li os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenasTan mimarTebaSi m.saakaSvil is mier amomrCevl ebisadmi micemul i dapi- rebi- bi iqcevs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs zemo kodoris xeobis `dab- rune- bis- isev gapiarebis faqti. aRniSnul Tan dakavSire- biT imave Jurnal Si vkiTxul obT: `Cven bol omde mi viyvanT saqarTvel os gamTI ianebis warmatebiT dawyebul saqmes!- `ara mxol od Cemi prezidentoba, aramed Cemi cxovrebas kargavs yovel gvar azrs, Tu ar aRvadgenT teritoriul mTI ianobas, ver SevZl ebT saqarTvel os integracias evropul structurebSi... saqarTvel oSi amis gareSe Cems cx- ovrebas araviTari azri ara aqvs... 5 ianvars Cven unda gavceT pasuxi kiTxvas_ gvinda Tu ara saqarTvel os gaer- Tianeba...- `me erTi Cveul ebrivi adamiani var. garwmunebT, prezidenti iseTive sizmrebs xedavs, rogorsac TiToeul i

TqvenTagani. yvel aze xSirad soxumi mesizmreba_ soxumis sanpiro, Cveni saxl i eSerasTan, romel ic davkargeT... mesizmreba erTi da igive koSmari_ Cavdivar soxumSi da gareT TavisufI ad ver gamovdivar, viRaccebi gzis gada- ketvas cdil oben, meubnebian rom iqedan unda wavide da iqauroba samudamod unda davtovo. 5 ianvars am gzas Cven an gavxsniT, an Cvenive xel iT samudamoT CavketavT. minda es yvel am kargad davimaxsovroT. 5 ianvars afxazeTTan dakavSirebul i Cemi yvel aze saSinel i sizmrebi an axdeba, an yvel a erTad davbrundebiT Cemi da Tqveni ocnebis sox- umSi. yvel a erTad gavaerT-ianeBT saqarTvel os da xel ax- l a SevqmniT daviT aRmaSenebel is qveyanas.~ es vrcel i amonaw- erebi Segnebul ad movitane, raTa mkiTxvel isaTvis meCvenebi- na, rom m.saakaSvil is mier istoriis falsifikaciiT Sezave- bul i zemoaRniSnul i sityvebi, mxol od erT mizans_ 300 aTa- si devnil is zombirebas da maTze ideol ogiur zemoqmedebas iTval iswinebda. rac Seexeba daviT aRmaSenebel is saxel is manipul irebas, afxazeTis dabrunebiT ver gadawydeboda. am SemTxvevaSi mas mxol od sergo orj onikiZis danatovari saqarTvel os Sesaxeb SeeZl o saubari, Tuki mis mier samarT- l ebriv statusSi aRdgenil `samxreT oseTsac- saqarTvel os iurisdicqias dauqvemdebarebda. samwuxarod, im etapze am mimarTul ebiT yuradRebas aravin amaxvil ebda. opoziciuri speqtris mxridan daqiravebul i `rCeul i pol itol ogebi- m.saakaSvil is xel isufI ebis tyuil ebSi daWerisa da pol i- tikurad dasamarebis nacvl ad, zedapirul i kritikiT kmay- ofil debodnen.

qveynis samomavl o interesebisadmi indiferentul ma damok- idebul ebam, xal xis mier saprezidentod SerCeul i kandi- datis l evan gaCeCil aZis mxridan m.saakaSvil Tan kul u- arul ma garigebebma da pol itikurad `nacional ebis- mo- makvdavi l ideris reanimaciisadmi xel Sewyobam, m.saakaS- vil s pirvel turSi gamarj vebis didi Sansi misca. miTu- metes, arCevebis gayal bebis `sarezervo fondi- mis sasar- gebl od muSaobda. quCis pol itikurad meZavi opoziciis l iderma da xal xis rCeul ad Seracxul ma l .gaCeCil aZem,

qveynis interesebze maRI a 30 vercxl i daayena da Cavard-
nil i biznesi, m.saakaSvil Tan garigebiT `amoqaCa.~ mi si moRa-
l aturi qmedeba, m.saakaSvil is inauguraci is dRes aSkarad
gamoikveTa. mxedvel obaSi maqvs hi podromze Sekrebi l i 300
aTasi kacis saxl Si gaSveba da rusTavel is gamzirze arwa-
moyvana. am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sesani Rbad, Tavis marT-
l ebis ususur arguments_ mosal odnel i sisxl is Rvris
acil ebas asaxel ebda. am faqtTan dakavSi rebiT, mogvianebiT
gazeT `kviris qronikas- korespondent irina gogosaSvi-
l isadmi micemul interviuSi gubaz sanikiZe gul iswyromiT
ambobda: `Tu vinmes hgonia, rom opoziciaSi kargi biWebi
arian da es xel isufi ebaa marto cudi, Zal ianac cdeba!
Cvenc mi vqareT da amis Tqma srul ebi Tac ar mi Wirs! opozi-
cias zustad iseTive pasuxismgebl oba aqvs da iseTive
miqarul i... rogorc xel isufi ebas! me Cems Tavs imaSi va-
danaSaul eb, rom cda davakel i Cemi megobrebis darwmu-
nebas... sisxl i daiRvrebodao, rom dauCemebiaT, 26 maiss
rom mi vadeqit da saakaSvil i kurdRel iviT rom gaiqca,
sisxl i daiRvara? ase iqneboda inauguraci is dResac, rad-
gan 60 qveynis videokameris da Camosul i Jurnal istebis
kontrol is qveS iyo yvel aferi! ra sisxl i? ris sisxl i?
miSa rogorc ki dainaxavda, eseni ukan damxevebi ar ariano,
daaxvevda da wavidoda iqedan, magram Seaxvia ori- sami
kaci da daamTavra opozici is ambavi... mixvdes axl a visac
vgul isxmob da sisxl is daRvraze l aparaks Tavi daaneb-
on... ai es aris simarTI e da visac es simarTI e ar mos-
wons civi wyal i dal ios.⁵ ubedureba imaSia, rom gubaz
sanikiZis mier SeTavazebul civ wyal s, Zmebi l evan da
giorgi gaCeCil aZeebi (greCixebi), m.saakaSvil is mier naCu-
qar qarxanaSi damzadebul murabas daayol eben da qarTve-
l i eris winaSe Cadenil danaSaul ze arc ki ifiqreben.
maTi mxridan m.saakaSvil Tan da mis garemocvasTan kul u-
arul i garigeba (amis Sesaxeb badri biwaZec werda gazeT
`asaval - dasaval Si-) rom ara, qveyana 2008 wl is agvistos
tragikul movl enebis acdeboda.

unda vaRiaroT, rom qarTvel ma erma l .gaCeCil aZis saprez-

i dento kandi dataT wamoyenebiT da mi sadmi usazRvro ndobis gamocxadebiT, srul fasovani arCevani ver gaakeTa. ndoba im adami ans gamoucxada, romel mac erisa da qveynis momavali i piradi oj axis keTil dReobamde daiyvana da mi sadmi dai medebul milionobiT adami ans sul Si CaafurTxa. saqarTvel oSi ganviTarebul ma pol itikurma procesebma da opoziciuri speqtris pol itikurad yverul (dakodil i maml is) mdgomareobaSi yofnam, `nacional ebis- liderebSi uZl evel obis il uziis damkvidrebas Seuwyo xel i. es faqti ucxoel eqspertebs mxedvel obis miRma ar darCenia da TaviantI mTavrobebisadmi wardgenil daskvnaSi amis Sesaxeb xazgasmiT miuTitebdnen. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom am faqtorma qveynis samomavl o interesebis sawinaaRmdedgod imuSava. mxedvel obaSi maqvs buqarestis natos samitze (2008 wl is 2- 4 april i) saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis araprognozirebad mmarTvel Zal ad Sefaseba. da rac mTavaria, MAP- is micemis SemTxvevaSi, gaTamamebul i m.saakaSvil isadmi SiSi_ `samxreT oseTsa- da afxazeTSi konstituciuri wesrigis aRsadgenad sabrZol o moqmedebebis dawyebis garduval obis Sesaxeb. isini arc imas gamoricxavdnen, rom ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os winaaRmdedg omis dawyebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os `mokavSireebis- CaTrevac rom momxdariyo. miTumetes, saprezidento arCevnebTan dakavSirebiT, m.saakaSvil isa da misi gundis wevrebis oficial uri gamosvl ebi saomar ritorikaze iyo dafuZnebul i. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, Tavdacvis yofil i ministri gia yaryaraSvil i, gazeT `yvel a siaxl eskorespondent nino kvitaSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi xazgasmiT ambobda: `omamde acxadebdnen, rom... (osebTan saomar moqmedebebSi S.v.) rusebi romc Caerion, osebs mainc davamarcxebTo. amas xmamaRI a acxadebdnen tel eviziebi, ar eSino- daT. kargad maxsovs, gasul wel s gadacema iyo tel eviziiT, studiaSi iyvnen miwveul ni baTu quTel ia da gogi TofaZe. axal gazrda kaci, Tavdacvis ministris moadgil e eubneba baton gogi TofaZes, nu geSiniaT rusebis Jangiani tankebiso. amaze meti ugunureba da ampartavnoba gagigiaT?-⁶ **am faqtis si swore g.TofaZemac daadastura. gazeT `kvi ris pal i tras-**

korespondent izo rikaZisadmi micemul intervieuSi man ganacxada: `erTxel satel evizio debatebSi vTqvi, ruseT-Tan konfrontacia cud Sedegamde migviyvans meTqi da Tavdacvis ministris moadgil em baTu quTel iam ironiul ad mi pasuxa: _cven NATO-s standarteBiT momzadebul i j ari gvyavs ruseTi ras dagvaki ebso._ amxel a samxedro manqanas marTo NATO-s standarteBi ar eyofa meTqi. upasuxismgebl o iyo misi gancxadeba: _ruseTis Jangiani tankebi ver SegvaCerebs, ruseTs davamarcxebT da sam dReSi rastovamde Caval To.~

Tavdacvis ministris moadgil is am doneze azrovneba, samxedro saqmeSi Cauxedaobis gamovl inebis kl asikur nimuSs warmoadgens. samwuxarod, im periodis Tavdacvis saministro quTel iasa da kezeraSvil is msgavsi araprofesional ebiT iyo dakompl eqtebul i. samxedro eqspertebis mtkicebiT, Tavdacvis saministros, genStabis CaTvl iT, samxedro xel ovnebis sferos arcerTi mcodne ar yavda. miuxedavad amisa, msofl io batonobis pretenziis mqone Crdil oetis mezobel s, romel sac amouwuravi samxedro da ekonomikuri potencial i gaaCnia, arSemdgari saxel mwifos xel isufal ni, gamomwvevi formiT muSts uRerebda. safuZvl iani eWvi Cndeba imis Sesaxeb, rom aseTi qmedebebi, winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmis erTi nawil s warmoadgenda da saqarTvel os konfliqturi teritoriebis ruseTisadmi samudamod gadacemaze iyo gaTvl il i. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, Tavdacvis ministris moadgil is miertel eviziiT gakeTebul zemoaRniSnul gancxadebas, qveynis umaRl esi mTavarsardal i unda gamoxmaureboda da misi pasuxismgebl obis sakiTxi daeyenebina.

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis es gauTavebel i uTavbol oba da `kunTebis TamaSi~ qonda mxedvel obaSi NATO-s buqarestis samitis monawil e saxel mwifoebis meTaurebs, roml ebmac saqarTvel osadmi MAP- is micemaze uari (10 qveyana) ganacxada. rogorc cnobil ia, buqarestis samitis muSaobas ruseTis prezidenti vputinic eswreboda. am faqtma, mas SesaZl ebl oba misca srul ad gaeanal izebina natos qveynebis saqarTvel osTan mimarTeBaSi damokidebul eba da misi un-

dobl obis ganmapirobel i mizezebi. imave samitma, evropis qveynebis mxridan ruseTis faqtorisadmi gansakuTrebul i angariSis gawevis aucil ebl obis tendencia aSkarad warmoaCina.

NATO- s buqarestis samitze (2008 wl is 2- 4 april i) ganvi- Tarebul i movl enebi, saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis erTa l ligaSi armiRebis (1920 wl is 16 dekemberi) msgavs qmedebes Seicavs. a)Tuki pirvel SemTxvevaSi, mezobel i qveynebis mxri- dan saqarTvel os pirvel respubl ikasTan mimarTebaSiEmosa- l odnel i teritoriul i pretenziebi gaxda erTa l ligaSi mi- Rebaze TavSekavebis erT- erTi ZiriTadi mizezi, meore SemT- xvevaSiac (MAP- i), gadamwyveti rol i isev teritoriul ma fa- qforma (konfl iqturi regionebi: afxazeTi, `samxreT oseTi-) da ruseTTan mosal odnel ma dapirispirebam Seasrul a; b)meore ZiriTadi msgavseba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom 1920 wl is 16 de- kembers da 2008 wl is 2- 4 april s, saqarTvel os warmomadgen- l obebs Sepirdnen: erTa l igisa (1921 wel i) da natos (2008 wel i) karebi saqarTvel osaTvis Semodgomaze gaiReboda. ingl isis maSindel i (1920 wl is dekemberi) politikurad meZavi xel isufl ebisa da satel iti qveynebis Zal isxmeviT, erTa l ligaSi saqarTvel os armiRebiT, sabWoTa ruseTs 1921 wl is Semodgomamde moqmedebis srul i Tavisufl eba mieca. xol o imave evropis **NATO- s** wevri saxel mwifoebis politikurad gameZavebul ma maRal Cinosnebma, buqarestis samitze damswre v.putinis Tval win, saqarTvel osaTvis MAP- is armicemiT da Cveni qveynis del egaciis `gaSa- vebiT,- v.putins aSkarad mianiSnes, rom saqarTvel o meorexarisxovan qveyanas warmoadgenda da kritikul momentSi evropis saxel mwifoebi miTvis Tavis gamodebas da ruseTisadmi dapirispirebas ar api rebda.

momxdari faqti, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisaTvis mkacr gakveTil s warmoadgenda da misi siRrmiseul i anal izi, qveynis sagareo politikuri kursis arsebul i sinamdvil is gaTval iswinebiT gatarebas moITxovda. evropis saxel mwifoTa Zal isxmeviT, ruseTis prezidentis Tval win damarcxebul i m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva,

gancdil i marxist `gamarjvebiT~ SefuTvas da sazogadoebis motyuebas Seecada. am SemTxvevaSi saxel mwifos ideol ogiuri propaganda saqarTvel ostvis MAPze ukeTesi _pirdapir NATO- s wevrad gaxdomis dapi- rebis gapiarebas axdenda. am sakiTxisadmi meti rezonansis micemis mizniT, `nacional ebis~ ideol ogebi, `rusTavi- 2-- is da `pirveli arxis~ Jurnal istebi, m.saakaSvil is mier 3 april s buqarestSi gakeTebul uc- veulo gancxadebas isvel iebdnen: `Cven gavxdebiT NATO- s wevrebi, darwmunebul i var, Cemi prezidentobis vadis amowurvamde ufro adre.~

xel isuflebis mxridan am mimarTulebit dawyebul i ideol ogiuri propaganda sazogadoebisaTvis nakl ebad damaj erebel i iyo, radgan am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi dadgenil ebis formiT miRebul i dokumenti ar arsebobda. aqedan gamomdinare, `nacional ebi~ izulebul i gaxdnen, Crdil oetis mezo- bel Tan saerto enis gamozebnis aucil ebl obaze al aparakebul iyvnen. ruseTTan urTierTobis gartulebis ganmapirobe- bel i mizezebis gverdis avliT, adre arsebul i mdgomareob- is arSadgenad nabijis gadadgmas_ axal iniciativad acxad- ebdnen. Tuki 2004 wl idan 2008 wl amde saqarTvel os xel isuf- lebisgan ruseTTan urTierTobis sferoSi gatarebul RonisZiebebs safuzvl ianad gaavanal izebt, davrwundebit, rom wina wl ebSi gafuWebul i saqmis gamosworebis aucil ebl ob- as, ramdenime wl is Semdeg acnobierebdnen da sazogadoebas `axal i iniciativis~ formiT stavazobdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs qveynis sagareo saqmeTa ministris moval eobis Semsrul ebe- l is g.beJuaSvil is mier `PIA НОВОСТИ-- sadmi micemul i int- erviu. `migvacnia_ ambibda igi, _ rom kompromisebisa da daT- mobebis garese dipl omatia SeuZl ebel ia. miznis misaRwevad nebismeri daTmoba da mol aparakeba ar unda xdebodes erovnu- l i interesebis saziarod. es ar moxdeba, radgan arc erTi pasuxismgebl obis mqone da sakuTari Tavis pativismcemel i sa-xel mwifo ar wava saxel mwifoTa Soris iset urTierTobaze, romelic ewinaRmdegeba erovnul interesebs da im postul-atebs, roml ebiC Camoyal ibebul ia qveynis erovnul i uSiSr-oebis koncepciaSi.~⁷

mezobel i qveynisadmi aseTi formiT dal aparakeba, dipl om-
 atiuri etiketis CarCoSi TavSdeboda da dangreul i urTier-
 rTobis aRdgenisaTvis Sesabamisi safexuris garkveul wil ad
 Semzadebis Sesazl ebl obas izl eoda. amis saWiroeba saqarTve-
 l osaTvis im etapze pol itikuri da ekonomikuri Tval sazri-
 siT aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. miTumetes, ruseTis mier
 qarTul Rvinoze da mineral ur wyl ebze dadebul i embargo,
 yovel wl iurad saqarTvel os 120 milion dol ars akargvineb-
 da. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, savsebiT misaRebi
 iyo g.beJuaSvil is pozicia, roca imave interviuSi ganacxada:
 `Semxvedri nabijebis gareSe araferi gamova. migvaCnia, rom
 urTierTobebSi uwinares yovl isa unda aRdges pariteti, anu
 unda moixsnas yvel a dabrkol eba_ gauqmdes embargo, gais-
 nas sazRvrebi.-

marTalia, sakiTxi sworadiyo dasmul i, magram am ori qveyn-
 is urTierTobis 2006 wl amde mdgomareobaSi dabruneba gar-
 kveul sirtul eebTan da procedurebTan iyo dakavSirebul i.
 Seqmnil i pol itikuri koniunqTuridan gamomdinare, saqarTve-
 l os xel isufl ebis SedarebiT saRad moazrovne mcire nawi-
 l i darwmunda, rom erTi xel ismosmiT daufigrebl ad gafu-
 Webul i saqmis gamosworebas garkveul i wlebi sWirdeboda.
 xel sayrel i pol itikuri amindis l odinis kursi, saqarTve-
 l os sul swrafi mmarTvel i wreebisaTvis miuRebi i iyo.
 isini ruseTis potenciur Sesazl ebl obebsac ver acno-
 bierebdnen da gonebadabindul i pol itikosis doneze mo-
 qmedebdnen. arada, r.kl imiasvil is sityebiT rom vTaqvaT,
 `Cven gvinda Tu ara, amJamad ruseTi msofli o l idero-
 bisken midis da amis gaTval iswineba aucil ebl ad mogviw-
 evs.-⁸ Cemi piradi mosazrebidan gamomdinare, es gafrTx-
 il eba saqarTvel os garSemo Seqmnil i pol itikuri situ-
 acii sirmiseul anal izs emyareboda da mosal odnel
 safrTxeebze qveynis mmarTvel i wreebisadmi miniSnebasac
 warmoadgenda. miTumetes, dasaxul i miznis safexurebri-
 vad misaRwevad da amierkavkasiis regionze zedamxedvel o-
 bis dasawesebl ad `patara omi- ruseTisaTvis aucil ebl o-
 bas warmoadgenda. isic angariSgasawevia, rom amierkavkasi-

is regioniT da gansakuTreb iT saqarTvel os teritori iT (da ara qarTvel i xal xis bediT) aSS- ic dainteresebul ia. aqedan gamomdinare, ori zesaxel mwifos (aSS, ruseTi) interesebi saqarTvel oSi ikveTeba. es el ementarul i pol itikuri anbani m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas aucil ebl ad unda scodnoda. qveynis sagareo pol itikuri kursi, imperiul i Zal ebis Sej axebis epicentridan, saqarTvel os gamocal kevebis mcdel obaze unda agebul iyo, radgan, or uZl ieres saxel mwifoTa Widi l Si, qveyana `kozakis- mdgomareobaSi ar aRmoCeni l iyo.

mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal is arapragmatul i da teritori ul i mTl ianobis sawinaaRmdego kursi imaSi gamovl inda, rom saqarTvel o, aSS- is xel isufl ebisadmi `kiserze Camokidebul i- ususuri ZuZumwovara bavSvis mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda. es faqtori, aSS- is umaRl esi rangis Cinovnikebma borotad gamoiyenes. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, imave aSS- is mmarTvel i wreebis mxridan, ruseTis `daSl is- saqmeSi saqarTvel osadmi gansakuTrebul i funqciis dakisrebis mcdel oba. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent nona bendel ianisadmi micemul interviuSi val eri kvaracxel ia savsebiT sworad aRniSnavda, rom ruseTis dasasustebl ad da el cinis mmarTvel obis donemde dasayvanad `aris ganpirobetul i aSS- is... mcdel oba, rac SeiZl eba swrafad SeaTrios saqarTvel o da ukraina natoSi, ris Sedegadac ruseTi dakargavs Sav zRvaze gasasvl el s da aRmoCndeba natos rkal - Si. Semdgom etapze aSS- s swored saqarTvel osa da ukrainis gamoyenebiT Sesazl ebl oba eqneba, ruseTSi aamoqmedos Si da berketebi da daauZl uros igi. es scenari ruseTisaTvis imdenad miuRebel ia, rom mas SeuZl ia Zal ismier meTodebsac mimarTos.- arsebul i sinamdivil is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel o, aSS- is xel isufl ebis saTamaSo Toj i nas mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda. rac Seexeba m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas, gacnobierebul i ar qondaT, an Segnebul ad dgamdnen sarisko nabij ebs im Tval sazrisiT, rom sanam ruseTis `daSl is- procesis dawyebas SeiZl ebdnen, imave ruseTis Zal isxmeviT, saqarTvel o daSl il - daqucmacebu-

ლი არმოცნობდა. მიტუმტეს, საკარტველ ოსი `სამსვიდობე-
ბის- ნირბიტ `კამოსაქი ებული- რუსული სამხედრო სენატე-
ბი, აფხაზეტის და `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- ტერიტიის დიდ ნა-
ლისაკონტროლი ებდა. საკმარისი იყო მცირედენი მრუდედ გა-
დამგული ნაბიჯი, რომ არნისნული ტერიტორიები საკარტვე-
ლის ოსტვის სამუდამოდ დაკარგული იყო. `სამხრეთ ოსეთის-
მიწვისები და აფხაზეტის დაპატრონები, რუსული სახელმ-
წიფოს ამიერკავკასიაზე და სავაზრვაზე საზედამხებელი კონ-
ტროლის გამყარების შესაძლებლობა მიეცემოდა. ეს სასი-
სროება, საკარტველ ოსების ეტაპზე აისბერგის ტიპის არმარტული
და მისი არდანახვა, ღვეინის ვინაშე ცადენილი დანაშაულის
თოქსაქმედებას ვარაუდობდა.

ცემს მირ მოპოვებული მასალების მიხედვით, ისეთი სტაბილ-
ილი ება იკმნება, რომ არსებული რეალიზაცია, საკარტველ ოსის
სუფალტის სეგნებულად არსურდა დაენახა. ღვეინის სიდაპო-
ლიტიკურ კუთხის საომარ რიტორიკაზე აგებდა და საზოგადოებას
გარკვეული იდეოლოგიური პროპაგანდასაც ეწეოდა. ამის და-
დასტურებას, საპრეზიდენტო არჩევნებში ტბილისის სახელმ-
წიფო უნივერსიტეტის სტუდენტთა სექსუალური მსააკაშვილის
მიერ გაკეთებული განცხადებები ვარაუდობს. მიხედვით ოსის
მაჟისის, სამხედრო სფეროსი გატარებული რეფორმების `ფან-
ტასტიკურ-სედეგებზე საუბარი და აქალაქების ვინაშე ვადილი,
რომ მომავალ პრეზიდენტს გაერთიანებული საკარტველ ოსის
დასაქმება იქვე ურადრება `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- `სემოერტე-
ბაზედაც-სეაქ-ერა და ხაზგასმით არნისნა, რომ მის `სემო-
ერტე-ბაში რამდენიმე კვირა, ან მაჟიმუმ რამდენიმე
წელიწადი.

ღვეინის პირველი პირის და უმარტიესი მთავარსადალის
მიხედვით ასეთი სახის განცხადებების გაკეთება, ცრდი-
ლი ოსეთის მეზობ-
ლის გარეგანი ება იყო გატვირთილი. თორემ, ეს უმნი-
სველი ოვანის გეგმა გასაიდუმლოებას ეკვმდებარებოდა და
მის შესახებ ვინაშე ინფორმაციის მოსაპოვებლად, ნების-
მერი ღვეინა ათე-
ლი ობიექტი მილიონებს დაჯარჯავდა. მსააკაშვილი,
მოვინაარმდეგე მხარეს (რუსეთს) ფაქტის ვინაშე
აყენებდა, რომ რამდენიმე კვირა-
სი ან წელიწადი, `სამხრეთ ოსეთის- საკარტველ ოსის
სუფლების იურისდიქციას ვარაუდობდა. მისი ასეთი
გამომწვევი ქმედება, აშ-
ის ადმინისტრაციის ზოგირტი მარალი ცინოსანის მიხედვით

mxardaWeril i. amis Sesaxeb ingl isis l ordTa pal atis 2008 wl is seqtembris gancxadebaSicaa xazgasmiT miTiTebul i. konkretul ad Tu vin iyvnen m.saakaSvil is wamqezebel ebi, gazeT `saqarTvel o da msofl ios- korespondent naTia qadagiS- vil isadmi micemul interviuSi, paata zaqareiSvil ma safuZ- vl iani eWvi dik Ceinisa da makkein is mimarT gamoTqva. erT- erT argumentad aSS- is saxel mwifo departamentis Tanam- Sroml ebTan Sexvedris faqti daasaxel a, sadac m.saakaSvi- l isadmi micemul gafrTxil ebaze iyo gadatanil i Ziri- Tadi msjel oba. dik Ceinis poziciis oficial urad dafiq- sirebis Sesaxeb, p.zaqareiSvil s maTTvis Sesabamisi kiTx- viT miumarTavs: `maT kiTxva Sevutrial e `dik Ceini?~ uceb yvel a gaisusa. isini dafiqrdnen da ver uaryves vice prez- ident dik Ceinis faqtori, radgan es ukanasknel i gansx- vavebul rols asrul ebda buSis administraciaSi. is iyo neokonservatorul i ideol ogiis warmomadgenel i. neokon- servatorul i ideol ogiis mTavari safuZvel i ki mtris xatis Seqmnaa qveynis sazRvrebs gareT, am SemTxvevaSi is- l amisa da ruseTis saxiT... saakaSvil s araoficial urad... neokonservatiul i frTidan eZl eoda miniSnebebi, winadade- bebi. saakaSvil ic ruseTis gaRizianebas Tamamad cdil ob- da. amerikel ebma saakaSvil i ankesze wamogebul Wiayel ad gamoiyenes. Zal ian mniSvnel ovania is faqtic, rom qarTul _ rusul i dapirespireba jon makkeinma Tavis winasaarCevno kampaniaSi efeqtianad gamoiyena, mixeil saakaSvil s il u- zia Seuqmna amerikel Ta daxmarebasTan dakavSirebiT da Cvenda saubedurod gadaagdo.~

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi srul i simarTl ea warmodgenil i. arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris mimdinare saomari moqmedebebiT respublikuri partiis prezidentobis kandidatma jon makkein- ma ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT SesaniSnavad isargebl a da xmaTa raodenobiT mis konkurent obamas TiTqmis daewia. rac Seexeba aSS- is mxridan samxedro daxmarebas, am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT erT- erT interviuSi n.burjanaZem saqveynod ganaxxada: `saomari moqmedebebis dros parl amentis Tavmj -

domarem (d.baqraZe) amerikel ebs pirdapir hkiTxa: `sad aris Tqveni armiao?- es faqti, Cems mier zemoT motanil citata-Si dik Ceinisa da makkeinis mxridan m.saakaSvil isadmi dapirebiT aRsavse wamqezebi uri rolis dadasturebis sasargebl od metyvel ebs. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os `damcav xatad- aSS- is xel isufl ebis warmosaxva miuRebl ad mimaCnia. aSS- ic da ruseTic, saqarTvel osTvis dauZinebel i mtrebia. am ori veSapis qi Spobis fonze, Tuki ganvixil avT saqarTvel os xval indel i dRis sakiTxs, qarTvel i eri `bednierad- unda Tvl ides TavS, rom aSS- sa da saqarTvel os_ erTmaneTis gan oki aneebi da kontinentebi acil ebs. rac Seexeba qarTvel i eris ubedurebas, ruseTTan uSual o mosazRvreobaa. ki dev kargi, ruseTis msgavsad aSS- ic rom mezibl ad ar gvyavs, Torem am ori zesaxel mwifos erTmaneTTan Widi l Si, saqarTvel o dedami wis zedapiridan didi xnis winaT aRigveboda. savsebiT sworad mimaCnia gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent nona bendel ianisadmi micemul interviuSi val eri kvaracxel ias mier gamoTqmul i mosazreba. `vinc fiqrobs, rom ruseTi an amerika saqarTvel os interesebidan gamomdinare moqmedebs, mwarded cdeba... Cveni pol itika mxol od maSin iqneba swori, rodesac movaxerxebT iseTi bal ansis Seqmnas, rom saqarTvel oSi arc rusul i samxedro SenaerTebi SemoiWras da arc amerikul i, Torem, Tu dasWirdaT, amerikel ebma ufro mwarded ician sxvis qveyanaSi SeWra. marto iugosl aviis magaliTi rad Rirs. samwuxarod Zl ieri saxel mwifoebi arafrad agdeben saerTaSoriso kanonebsa da normebs, roml is yvelaze naTel i dadasturebaa aSS- isa da evropis mier kosovos aRiarebis yovl ad usindiso faqti. amitom, Cven aras gvargebs mxol od saerTaSoriso organizaciebis imedad yofna. Cveni upirvel esi mokavSire goniereba unda iyos.-⁹

samwuxarod, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mesveurTa praktikul i saqmianoba am el ementarul WeSmaritebas iyo moklebul i. amis Sesaxeb TavS droze pol itil ogi ramaz kl imia-Svil i gazeT `kvisis qronika-- sadmi micemul interviuSi xazgasmiT miuTitebda: `rasac saakaSvil i sCadis, es aris Ria

gamowveva ruseTisa da personal urad putinis. rac bol o dros amerikul presaSi gamoqveynda, es adamiani zustad imas akeTebS. magas aqvs daval eba vaSingtonidan, rom aucil ebl ad unda Semoiyvanos... rusul i tankebi. rusebi j erj erobiT Tavs ikaveben, magram bol os da bol os amouvaT yel Si... rogorc ki miSa gaakeTebS Zal ian did sisul el es, maSinve Semovl en aq. es CvenTvis iqneba tragedia, Torem magan imdeni ful i ga-akeTa 5 wel iwadSi, wava sadme saseirnod.- am SemTxvevaSi r.kl imiaSvil i simarTI es ambobda. miuxedavad amisa, masze Sesabamisi zemoqmedebiTi Zal a im etapze arc xel isufl eba-Si da arc opoziciur speqtrSi ar arsebobda. es faqti, m.saaka-Svil s TavaSvebul i moqmedebisken da ruseTis gasaRizianebl ad misTvis damaxasiaTebel i `myviral a saxis- provocirebul i qmedebebis gaRrmavebisken ubiZgebda. sazogadoebis didi nawil i, ramdenadac aRniSnul qmedebas simSvidiT xvdeboda, iseTi garegnul i STabeWdil eba iqmneboda, rom saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis ideol ogiurad dapyroba da misi zombireba damTavrebul i iyo. sinamdvil eSi, `nacional ebis- mmarTvel o-biT ukmayofil o sazogadoebis dumil i, opoziciuri speqtris l iderTa Ral atma (2007 wl is noemberi, 2008 wl is ianvari) ganapiroba. Seqmnil i pol itikuri situacia, m.saakaSvil Si Si-nagani TviTdaj erebis Camoyal ibebas uwyobda xel s. miTumetes, Sal va naTel aSvil is sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, `mas gandisebis mania awuxebS da, al baT Tavi aziis napol eonad warm-oudgenia. cxadia, saqme gvaqvs pirovnebis fsiqol ogiur aS- l il obasTan, rac saqarTvel osTvis namdvil i tragediaal- es Sefaseba ZiriTadad sworia, radgan qarTvel i erisTvis marT- l acda tragediis momtani aRmoCnda misi meored gapreziden- teba.

aSS- is administraciis daxmarebiT uZl evel obaSi darwmu- nebul ma, qveynis saSinao da sagareo pol itikuri kursi TviTn- ebur gadawyvetil ebezze aago. am SemTxvevaSi wamaxal isebl garemos, misi farisevl ebis (d.baqraZe, S.mal aSxia, g.TargamaZe, g.bokeria, g.gabaSvil i, g.ugul ava...) pol itikur koniunqturas dacil ebul i gancxadebebi qmni da. samwuxarod, **es adamianebi ruseTis federaciis konstituciis 61- e muxl is meore**

punqtis ignorebas akeTebden. am dokumentis mixedviT, ruseTis federacia sazRvrebs gareT mcxovrebi misi moqal aqeebis dacvasa da patronaJis uzrunvel yofaze iRebda pasuxismgebl obas. samecniero l iteraturaSi faqto-brivi masal iTaa dadasturebul i, rom 1945 wl idan, mTel ma rigma saxel mwifoebma, sxva qveynebsi mcxovrebi Tavianti moqal aqeebis dacva samxedro moqmedebebiT ganaxorciel a. samarTI ebrivi Tval sazrisiT Tu ramdenad kanonzomieria aseTi agresiul i qmedeba, es kval ificiur iuristTa kompetencias ganekutvneba da cal ke msjel obis sagania. aRniSnul - is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, amjerad masze juradRebas ar SevaCereb, mkiTxvel s mxol od afxazeTsa da `samxreT oseTSi- ruseTis moqal aqeebis damadasturebel i pasportebis gacemis faqts Sevaxseneb. saqarTvel osTan mimarTebsi aisbergiviT aRmarTul i garduval i safrTxis momtan am faq-tors, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa da Zal ovani uwebebis maRal Cinosani Cinovnikebis saomari ritorikis SesaCerebl ad, gamafRTxil ebel i funqcia unda Seesrul ebina. miTumetes, sa-Rad moazrovne nebismieri adami anisaTvis naTel i iyo, rom afxazeTsa da `samxreT oseTSi- samudamod dasamkvidrebl ad ruseTi garkveul i dozis sababs eZebda da misi moqal aqeebis dacvas maqsimal urad Seecdeboda. miTumetes, aRniSnul i doqtrinis mixedviT moqmedebas, rogorc SvedeTis sagareo saqmeTa ministri karl bil dti acxadebda, im etapze saerTa-Soriso samarTal i ar krZal avda. meore mxriv, saqarTvel osad-mi, rogorc aSS- is `mokavSirisadmi- ruseTs SurisZieba amoZravebda. es siZul vil i, aSS- isa da evropis qveynebis mxridan, kosovosTan mimarTebsi arasamarTI ebrivma gadaw-yvetil ebam gaaRmava. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki isedac gaRiz-ianebul ruseTs, provocirebiT saqarTvel o wonasworobidan gamoiyvanda, Crdil oetis ganrisxebul aFTars verc aSS- is da verc evropis qveynebis l iderTa `damorcxvebul i- for-miT gakeTebul i gancxadebebi ver SeaCerebda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, xsnis erTaderT sa-Sual ebas maRal i donis goniereba da moTmineba warmoadgen-da. miTumetes, qveynis gonieri da Wkuadamj dari xel isufl e-

bis mxridan ori umniSvnel ovanesi faqtoris gaTval iswineba aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. kerZod: 1) aSS- i mimdinare sapt-ezidento saarCevno maraToni. saxel isufli ebo cvl il ebis-Tvis mzadeba da qveynis SigniT pirvel obisaTvis mebrZol i pol itikuri Zal ebis dapirispirebis procesebi 2) 2008 wl is agvistos pekinis ol impiadis moaxl oeba da msoflios saxel mwifoTa mmarTvel i wreebis mTel i yuradrebis am mimarT-ul ebiT gadatana. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom XX saukunis 90- iani wl ebidan 2008 wl is CaTvl iT, yovel i ol impiada qarTvel i istorikosebisaTvis ganuzoml ad did SiSTan aris dakavSirebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs Semdegi faqtebi: 1) espan-etis dedaqal aq barsel onaSi 25- e sazafxul o ol impiadis mimdinareobis dros, afxazeTSi (1992 wl is 14 agvisto) saomari moqmedebebis dawyeba; 2) iaponiis qal aq naganoSi zamTris me-18 ol impiuri TamaSebis mimdinareoba (1998 wel i) da gal is raionis tragikul i movl enebi; 3) aTenis 28- e sazafxul o ol impiadis (2004 wl is agvisto) dros, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis mier cxinval Tan saomari moqmedebebis ganaxl eba (13 agvisto) da qarTvel Ta marcxiT damTavreba; 4) 2008 wl is agvistos pekinis 29- e sazafxul o ol impiada...

warsul is mware gamocdil eba da arsebul i koniunqtura, m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebas TavSekavebisa da sifrTxil is daWeris aucl ebl obas aval debul ebda. miTumetes, qveynis uma-RI esi mTavarsardal i winaswarve pekinis ol impiadaze wasasv- l el ad iyo momzadebul i. oficial uri monacemebis mixedviT, im momentSi misi vergamgzavreba SemTxveviTobam, pekini dan miRebul i informaciIT reisis 30 wuTiT gadadebam ganapiro- ba. isic angariSgasawevia, rom Crdil o kavkasiaSi 58- e armi- is samxedro wvrTna_ `kavkasia 2008- 2 agvistos dasrul da da masSi monawil e samxedro SenaerTebi disl okaciis adg- il ze ar dabrunebul a. isini rokis gvirabTan dabanakden da moq-medebis dasawyebad brZanebas el odnen. qveynis inter- esebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os uSiSroebisa da dazvervis Sesabamisi uweyebis normal urad funqcionirebis SemTxvevaSi, Tavdacvis saministrosa da uSiSroebis sabWos, zemoaRniS- nul faqtTan mimarTebaSi srul fasovani informacia unda

qonoda. samxedro anal itikur centrs, misi safuZvl iani Seswavl a moexdina da mosal odnel i Sedegebis Sesaxeb, qveynis uSiSroebis sabWos (sabWos mdivani k.l omaia) winaSe maRal mecnerul ad dasabuTebul i daskvna daedo. miTumetes, 58- e armiis sardl oba rokis gvirabiT saqarTvel oSi Semosvl as ar gamoricxavda da mas oficial uradac axmovanebda. am faqtis siswore, gazeT `kviris qronika--s korespondent nino samxaraZisadmi 2008 wl is 10 agvistos micemul interviuSi giorgi gabaSvil mac daadastura. misi mtkicebiT, `ramdenime kviris winaT rusebma farTomasStabiani swavl eba gaaCaRes da deklarirebul ad Tqves, rom isini am j ars saqarTvel oSi Sesayvanad amzadebdnen.- aseTi umniSvnel ovanesi informaciis mixedavad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebi `omis rel sebze- iyo Semdgari da Canafiqris gadafiqrebas ar apirebda.

rogorc Cans, okeanis gaRmel i `megobari- qveynis warmomadgenl ebisgan im doneze iyvnen Segul ianebul ni, rom zemoaRniSunul i samuSaos Sesrul ebas an arsebul i informaciis gadamowmeba- gadamuSavebaze Tavis mtvrevas mizanSeuwonl ad Tvl idnen. aseTi qmedebiT, Crdil oeTidan saqarTvel os Tavze wamomarTul i aisbergis daZvris garduval i safrTxisadmi sasxvaTaSoriso damokidebul ebas iCendnen. im periodSi cxinval is regionSi myofi euTos sami damkvirvebl is konfidencial ur angariSSi, romel ic omis damTavrebidan sami Tvis Semdeg gaxda cnobil i, xazgasmi Taa miTiTebul i, rom 2008 wl is 7 agvistos, sanam qarTul i saj ariso SenaerTebisaartil erio Setevas ganaxorciel ebda, konfliqtis zonaSi TiTqos srul i simSvide iyo.¹⁰ aqedan gamomdinare 2008 wl is agvistos saomari moqmedebebis damwyebad qarTul i mxarea gamocxadebul i. es poziciaa gatarebul i haidital iavinis komisiis daskvnis mesame da meToTxmete muxl ebSiac. amastan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxuli obT: `3)2008 wl is 7 agvistos RamiT qarTul i Seiararebul i Zal ebis mier cxinval is dabombviT daiwyo farTomasStabiani Seiararebul i konfliqti saqarTvel oSi.- `14)Ria Seiarareba daiwyo saqarTvel os mier farTomas-

Stabiani samxedro operaci iT cxinval isa da misi Semog-
 arenis winaaRmdeg 2008 wl is 7 agvistos Rami T. operacia
 daiwyo qarTul i artil eris masobrivi Tavdasxmi T.- rac
 Seexeba rusul i mxaris sapauxo reaqcias, imave daskvnis
 mixedvi T, 8 agvistos dil aa dasaxel ebul i. `16) garda amisa
 Cans, rom rusul ma aviaciam ierisi saqarTvel oze miitana
 j er kidev 8 agvistos dil iT.~ `19) arsebobs kiTxva, samxreT
 oseTSi saqarTvel os mier Zal is gamoyeneba, rac daiwyo cx-
 inval is dabombvi T 2008 wl is 7- 8 agvistos, iyo Tu ara gam-
 arTI ebul i saerTaSoriso samarTI iT? es ar iyo gamarTI e-
 bul i.~ `20) damatebi T ismis kiTxva, saqarTvel os mier Zal is
 gamoyeneba rusul i samSvidobo Zal ebis mimarT saqarTvel os
 teritoriaze, e.i. samxreT oseTSi, SeiZl eba iyos Tu ara gam-
 arTI ebul i. isev da isev pasuxi aris uaryofiti. ruseTis
 mxridan aranair SeiaraRebul samxedro ierisS adgili ar
 hqonia saqarTvel os mier samxedro operaciebis dawyebamde.
 am amonawerebis mixedvi T: a) saomari moqmedebebis dam-
 wyebad saqarTvel oa dadanaSaul ebul i. b) rusul i
 samxedro SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis farTomasStabian agre-
 siul qmedebes, aRni Snul i dokumenti, qarTul i mxaris
 mier sabrZol o operaciis dawyebidan meore dRes (8
 agvisto), ruseTis federaciis moqal aqeebis_ samxreTe-
 l i osebis dacvis motivi T ganxorciel ebul qmedebad
 acxadebs.

xazgasmi T unda iTqvas, rom euTos sami damkvi rveb-
 l is zemoaRni Snul angariSSi da h. tal iavini s komisi-
 is daskvnaSi motanil i monacemebi, obieqturobis Tval -
 sazrisi T bevr kiTxvas aCens. dakvi rvebul i mkiTxvel i
 kargad SeamCnevs, rom am dokumentebis Semdgenl ebi, evrop-
 el ebisadmi damaxasiaTebel i ormagi pol itikuri stan-
 dar tebi T moqmedebden. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saomari
 moqmedebis dawyebaSi orive mxaris dadanaSaul eba.
 komisiis val debul ebebidan gamomdinare Tuki Sevafa-
 sebT maT mier miRebul i daskvnebidan motanil mona-
 cemebsa da pozicias, mTel rig sakiTxebTan mimarTe-
 baSi safuZvl iani pretenzi ebi ikveTeba. komisiis val -

debul ebas warmoadgenda: 1) komisiis wevrebs sagangebo ganxil vis sagnad unda eqcia rusi pol kovnikisa da roki s gvirabTan mdgomi mesazRvre gasievis 7 agvistos dil is 3 saatze da 41 wuTze satel efono saubris faqti, roml is mixedviTac dasturdeba, rom rusul i samxedro teqnika БМН da sxva manqanebi samxedro SenaerTebTan erTad roki s gvirabiT saqarTvel oSi iyo Semosul i; 2) saerTaSoriso samarTI isa da gaeros mier saqarTvel os teritoriul i sazRvrebis aRiarebis gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, ra esaqmeboda da ramdenad kanonzomieri iyo ruseTis 58- e armiis saqarTvel os teritoriul sivrcesi Semowra; 3) 2008 wl is 7-8 agvistos cxinval Si myofi rusi Jurnal istebis mier gavrcel ebul i oficial uri monacemebiT, ramdenadac cxinval is masirebul i dabombva Crdil oetidan mimdinareobda, WeSmari tebis dadgenis mizniT, h.tal iavniis komisiis wevrebi val debul i iyvnen, safuzvl ianad Seeswavl aT cxinval Si Camoyril i Wurvebis narCenebze arsebul i etiketebi da eqspertizis Catarebis Semdeg gamoeTqvaT Tavisi pozicia; 4) am mimarTul ebiT Sesabamisi sapasuxismgebl o samuSaoebis arCatareba, mxol od erTaderTi daskvniis gakeTebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva: sazogadoebisadmi simarTI is armiwodebisa da ruseTis xel isufl ebis arwyeinebis mizniT, h.tal iavniis komisi am Segnebul ad mi afuceCa zemoaRni Snul i sakiTxebi.

gamoricxul i araa, rom igive h.tal iavniis komisia saqarTvel os prezidentis mier 2008 wl is 9 agvistos gamocemul i brZanebis (# 402) pirvel i gverdis mesame da meoTxe abzacebs rom eyrdnoboda. am dokumentSi xazgami Taa miTitebul i, rom `8 agvistos ruseTis federaciis mxridan roki s gvirabis gavliT saqarTvel oSi Semovida aseul obiT samxedro piri da samxedro teqnika. 8 agvistos, dRis ganmavl obaSi, ruseTis federaciis samxedro safrenma aparatebma araerTgzis daarRvies saqarTvel os sahaero sivrceda ganaxorc-

iel es dabombva.-

rac Seexeba am brZanebis samarTI ebriv kanonzomi erebas, amis Sesaxeb dabej iTebi T Sei ZI eba iTqvas, rom igi srul TanxvedraSi modioda imJamad moqmedi saqarTvel os konstituciis Sesabamis muxl ebTan mimarTebaSi. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave konstituciis 73- e muxl is (z) punqti da 100 muxl i, roml is mixedvi Tac, saqarTvel oze ucxo qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Tavdasxmis SemTxvevaSi, prezidenti saomar mdgomareobas acxadebda da amis Sesaxeb 48 saaTis ganmavl obaSi Sesabamisi ganacxadeba Seqonda parl amentSi dasamtkicebl ad. am proceduris gavl is Semdeg xdeboda qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebisadmi gankargul ebis mi cema da misi gadaadgil ebis dawyeba.

saqarTvel os prezidentis zemoaRni Snul i brZanebis da konstituciis Sesabamisi muxl ebis gaTval iswinebi T Tuki vimsjel ebT, saqarTvel oSi saomari da sagangebo mdgomareoba 9 agvistos gamocxadda. e.i. ruseTis ofical uri Tavdasxmidan (8 agvisto) sakonstitucio normebis dacvis fargl ebSi.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenasTan da adgil obriv separatizmTan mimarTebaSi Cems damokidebul ebas, mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb: 1)CemTvis, rogorc qarTvel isaTvis, nakl ebad Rirebul ia ucxo qveynis warmomadgenl ebis bazaze Seqmnil i komisiis daskvnebi; 2)separatistTa TavaSvebul obis Sedegad, roca sakiTxi saqarTvel os teritoriul mTI ianobis safrTxis qveS dayenebas exeba, roca Cemi kuTvnil i mamulis warTmevas guSindel i Camosaxl ebul i ucxo tomis warmomadgenel i cdil obs, moZal adis asal agmad Tu ra saxis formebi iqneba gamoyenebul i, misi gadawyveta mxol od da mxol od saqarTvel os erovnul i xel isufl ebis prerogativaa; 3)arsebul probl emasTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebis gatarebisadmi ucxo saxel mwifoebis warmomadgenl ebisagan xel SeSI a, saerTaSoriso

samarTi ebrivi normebis darRvevaa da qveynis suverenitetis xel yofis el ementebis Seicavs; 4)1993 wl - idan 2012 wl is CaTvl iT miRebul i gamocdil ebiT dasturdeba, rom gaerosa da evropis saerTaSoriso organizaciebis rCevebis, arafrismaqni si rezol uciebisa da dadgenil ebebis Semyure qarTvel i eri, misi daseril i sxgul is gamTI ianebasa da moSuSebas verasodes SeZl ebs. Seqmnil i urTul esi situaciidan gamosaval is da warmatebul i nabij is gadadgmis real uri Sansi, mxol od kavkasiuri fenomenisa da erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebis gaTval iswinebaSi, saRi gonebiT moazrovne da sibrZniT aRvsil i profesional ebis mier Sedgenil i gegmis mixedvit moqmedebaSi mdgomareobs; 5)roca safrTxe qveynis teritoriul mTI ianobas daemuqra, amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis saxel mwifos interesebidan gamomdinare, (sxva qveynebis da saerTaSoriso organizaciebis daukiTxavad) buSis administraciAm, nevadis StatSi aSS- is samxedro Zal ebi Sesabamisi teqnikiT SeiYvana. ase moiqca ruseTis federaciis xel isufli eba Crdil o kavkasiaSi, kerZod CeCneTSi. erTmac da meoremac, qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis dacvis procedura samxedro Zal Ta demonstrirebiT ganaxorciel a. yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebasTan mimarTebaSi kiTxvis dasma; konstituciuri wesrigisa da teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRsadgenad qonda Tu ara mas Sesabamisi RonisZiebis gatarebis ufl eba cxinval is regionSi_ arasworia. Tundac im el ementarul i WeSmari tebis gaTval iswinebiT, rom saerTaSoriso samarTali, didsa da patarasTan mimarTebaSi SerCeviTi formis gamoyenebas ar isaxavs mi znad.

Cemi piradi mosazrebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebasTan mimarTebaSi kiTxvebi da pretenziebi sul sxva Wril Si unda daisvas. kerZod: 1)Crdil o kavkasiaSi 2 agvistos damTavrebul i samxedro wvrtnebis da rokis gvirabis Crdil oTi dan Semosasvl el

perimetrze disl ocirebul i rusul i saj ariso SenaerTebis faqtidan gamomdinare, mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis SemTxvevaSi, TavdacviTi operaciebisaTvis saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas mzadyofnaSi yavda Tu ara moyvani i qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi; 2)Tavdacvis saministros Sesabamis departaments (genStabs) SemuSavebul i qonda Tu ara cxinval is regionSi Casatarebel i samxedro operaciebis maRal doneze damuSavebul i winaswari gegma; 3)ramdenad mizanSewonil i iyo saomari operaciebis im dros dawyeba, roca 2000- ze meti gawvrTnil i samxedro SenaerTi ucxo qveyanaSi iyo gagzavnil i; 4)konkretul ad vis eval eboda samxedro nawil ebis marTva, j avSanteqnikis sawvaviT momarageba, batal ionebisa da qvedanayofebis tyvia-waml iT uzrunvel yofa (mowinave xazze myof j ariskacs, avtomatis vaznebis mxol od ori mWidi gaaCnda); 5)arsebobda Tu ara qveynis Tavdacvis, mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis usafTxoebisaTvis aucil ebel i evakuaciis gegma da konkretul ad vis eval eboda am sakiTxis kurireba; 6)sabrZol o operaciebis dawyebis win, Tavdacvis saministros Sesabamisma uwyebam ganaxorciel a Tu ara sahaero TavdacviTi aparaturis eqsper tiza, vis funqciebSi Sedioda samxedro qvedanayofebis Soris urTierTobis Seuferxebi ad damyarebis uzrunvel yofa; 7)saomari operaciis dawyebis win, samxedro qvedanayofebis me-Taurebad ramdenad profesional i oficroba iqna SerCeul i (TiToeul i maTganis saxel i, gvari, wodeba da Tanamdeboba); 8)ra amocanis Sesasrul ebl ad iqna frontis xazze gawveul i rezervistebi da vis eval eboda misi marTva; 9)brZol is mowinave xazze myofi k.l omaia, g.ugul ava, g.gabaSvil i, z.mel iqiSvil i, d.tyeSel aSvil i... gankargul ebebs rom iZi eodnen, ra funqciebi qonda TiToeul maTgans dakisrebul i da visgan?

saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl ebis warmomadgenel Ta winaSe principul ad unda daisvas kiTxva: umaRl esi rangis saxel mwifo moxel eebS gaaCndaT Tu ara

srul yofil i informacia Cems mier zemoT CamoTvl il sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi. saomari moqmedebebis dawye-bamde uSiSroebis sabWos sxdomaze ganixil es Tu ara ruseTis mxridan mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis real uri safrTxe, qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis qmediTunari-anobisa mTel i TavdacviTi sistemis mzadyofnis done. Cemi azriT, am mimarTul ebiT unda moekiTxos pasux-ismgebl oba m.saakaSvil is maSindel i xel isufl ebis ma-Ral Cinosnebs. miTumetes, saxel mwifo ideol ogiuri propaganda NATO- s standartebe doneze qarTul i jaris gawvrTnaze, marTvis umaRI esi organizaciul i sistemis damkvidrebase da amierkavkasiis regionSi uZl ieresi Tavdacvis sistemis arsebobis fonze mimdinareobda. oficial uri monacemebiT, saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis am mimarTul ebiT momzadebaze da aRWurvaze 11 mil iardi daixarja. Tu ramdenad ma-Ral efeqturi gamodga aSS- is instruqtorebis `gawvrTnil i- saj ariso SenaerTebi da maTi Zal isxmeviT `ganswavl ul i- oficroba, 2008 wl is agvistos 5 dRiani saomari moqmedebebiT ganpirobebul ma samarcxvino damarcxebam warmoaCina. frontis mowinave xazze mimdinare procesebze dakvirvebam da Sedegebis anal izma daadastura: qarTvel jariskacebsa da `oficrebs amzadebdnen- ara SeteviTi da TavdacviTi sabrZol o operaciebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i samxedro xel ovnebis specifikuri niuansebis dauflebiT, aramed, samSvidobo operaciebSi ama Tu im obieqtebis maRal i donis yaraul ebad Camoyal ibebisaTvis. Cemi aseTi mkacri gancxadebamiT aris ganpirobebul i, rom NATO- s standartebiT `gawvrTnil ma- oficrebs umetesobam, brZol is kritikul momentSi jariskacebi miatova da Tavis gadarCenis mizniT sadRac daimal a. es faqtia da amis uaryofa, im tragikul i procesiT aRSavse istoriul i sinamdvil is kideverTi furcl is gayal bebas niSnavs. unda vaRIar- oT, rom 11 mil iardiani wvrTnisa da aRWurvis ameriku- li programa, qarTul i sinamdvil isaTvis uvargisi

gamodga. am faqtTan mi marTebaSi Tval is daxuWva da simarTI is damal va, qveynis winaSe Cadenil i morigi danaSaul i iqneba.

qarTul i jaris brZol isunarianobis maRal doneze dayenebiT da saqarTvel os TavdacviTi sistemis seriozul adgaZl ierebiT, aSS- is Sesabamisi samxedro uwyeba rom iyos dainteresebul i_ Znel i dasaj erebel ia. miTumetes, maTi mxridan gaweul mraVal wl ian saqmianobas Tuki gavaanal izebT, Cvens winaSe erTi umniSvnel ovanesi kiTxva daismeba: nuTu, saqarTvl os SeiaraRebul Zal ebSi an `akademiad wodebul ~ samxedro saswavl ebel Si iseTi niWieri axal gazrdis moZebna qarTul da, romel ic srul yofil ad eziareboda samxedro xel ovnebas da saerTaSoriso standartebis Sesatyvis generl ad Camoyal ibdeboda? istoriul i sinamdvil is amsaxvel i faqtebi, warsul Si qarTvel Ta samxedro xel ovnebisadmi gansakuTrebul dainteresebaze migvaniSnebs. el ementarul i xel SewyobiT, mefis ruseTisa da sabWoTa periodis SeiaraRebul Zal ebSi, saerTaSoriso standartebis doneze moazrovne qarTvel i generl ebis moRvaweobis faqtebi_ qarTvel Ta genetikuri kodis gamoZaxil s warmoadgenda. saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul Zal ebTan mraVal wl iani urTierTobis amsaxvel i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare dasturdeba, rom qarTvel ebis generl obis Sesatyvis doneze ganswavl ul obiT momzadeba, aSS- is xel isufal Ta mizans ar warmoadgens. maT, mxol od garkveul zRvrul niSnul amde_ kapral is safexuramde moazrovne samxedro mosamsaxure sWirdeba. ase rom ara, 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebis dros, qarTul i jaris `sardl obis- gauazrebel i qmedebebiT gapirobebul ubedurebebs, Si da qarTI is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eoba gadaurCeboda. Cems mier gakeTebul i es Sefaseba im samxedro eqspertebis (gia yaryaraSvil i,¹¹ giorgi mel iTauri,¹² kaxa kacitaze...¹³) daskvnebs emyareba, roml ebmac safuZvl ianad Seiswavl es da gaanal izes `samxreT oseTSi ~ saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saminstros mier Catarebul i sabrZol o operaciebi. am masal ebSi gamokveTil i formiTaa warmodgenil i saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal eb-

is xerxemal is_ qarTvel i oficrebis samxedro xel ovneb-
 is sferoSi srul i ucodinarobisa da araprofesional iz-
 mis maRal doneze gamovl inebis faqtebi. amis damadasture-
 bl ad samxedro eqspertebis gamoTqmul i mosazrebebidan ram-
 denime amonawers movitan da Tavad mkiTxvel ma gansaj os,
 saomari moqmedebebis dros Tu ra donis qaosi iyo gamefebu-
 l i saqarTvel os Seiarareb-ul Zal ebSi. `erTaderTi rac
 SemiZl ia vTqva_ ambobs g.mel iTauri,_ aris is, rom qveynis
 pol itikuri da samxedro xel mZRvanel obis popul isturi
 qmedebebis gamo, Cvens jarSi ori dRis ganmavl obaSi sru-
 l i qaosi iyo... jarSi mTavaria sami principi: kontrol i,
 marTva da komunikaciebi. arcerTi es principi omis dros
 qarTul Seiararebul Zal ebSi ar funqcionierbda.- gazeT
 `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent Tea asaTianisadmi micemul
 interviuSi kaxa kacitaze xazgasmit ambobda: `Tqven gaix-
 senebT romel ime oms saqarTvel os istoriidan, roca ricx-
 ovnebit orjer nakl eb mterTan davmarcxebul iyavit? aseTi
 omi saqarTvel os istorias ar axsovs, magram aq pirvel ive
 dRes moiSal a marTva, ar iyo l ojistika, praqtikul ad ar
 arsebobda rezervis sistema... istorias ar axsovs, rom mTe-
 l i sabrZol o fl oti ase ubrZol vel ad, erT dReSi Caegdos
 mowinaaRmdeges xel Si. givi Targamazem siamayit Tqva, rusebs
 Cveni tankebi rom mihyavdaT, gzaSi ramdenime davuzianeTo.
 mTel samxedro historiaSi msgavsi samarcxvino faqti mx-
 ol od erTxel 1967 wel s moxda israel _ arabeTis omis
 dros, roca ebrael ebma moaxerxes amave raodenobis arabebis
 tankebi sabrZol o mdgomareobaSi CaegdoT xel Si da am faqtiT
 Tavdac gaktivrebul ebi iyvnen.- gia yaryaraSvil is monaceme-
 bis mixedvit, `dabneul oba ukve 8 agvistos 04:00 saatidan
 SeiniSneboda... Stabma mi iRo gadawyvetil eba,_ sawyisi pozicie-
 bisken izul ebiti ukan daxevis dawyebasTan dakavSirebit, raTa
 saaviacio da saartil erio momzadeba da dartyma ganexor-
 ciel ebinaT. am brZanebam kidev ufro didi qaosi da areul o-
 ba gamoiwvia samxedro pirad Semadgenl obaSi. SetevisaTvis
 aseT viwro frontze Tavmoyril i 4 aTasamde samxedro mo-
 samsaxure da teqniki daaxl oebit 600- mde erTeul i (tanke-

bi, j avSanavtomobil ebi, `kobra-, `pikapis- tipis `toiota hail u-
qsebi- da sxva) qaosis mizezi gaxda. ori saaTis ganmavl oba-
Si cxinval is Semosasvl el Si sacobi Sei qmna, radganac zogi-
erTi qal aqSi Sesvl as, zotic ki iqedan gamosvl as cdil ob-
da... es yvel aferi imis gamo moxda, rom romel iRac qarTvel -
ma `brZenma- strategma gadawyvita cxinval is samxreT mis-
adgomebTan viwro pl acdarmze_ 300 metri siganisa da 700
metri sigrZis frontze am raodenobis cocxal i Zal isa da
sabrZol o teqnkis koncentrireba.-¹⁴

kaxa kaci taZis mtki cebiT, `ar arsebobda sabrZol o gegma,
winaaRmdegobis cal mxrivad Sewyvetis SemTxvevaSi ar ar-
sebobda mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis evakuaciis gegma da saer-
Tod, ratom ar iyo gaTval iswinebul i is, rom SesaZl oa,
Tbil isi dabombil iyo?... amaze maSin unda efiqraT, roca
ukrainaSi yidul obdnen sazeni to raketebis, roml ebic damza-
debul i iyo 1967 wel s da Tavisi uvargisoba j er ki dev
1982 wel s siria_ israel is omSi aCvena.~ gazeT `asaval -
dasaval isadmi- micemul intervieuSi mal xaz gvel ukaSvil i
werda: `rac unda damal on, xal xma xom mainc icis, rom armia
serJantebis amara iyo mitovebul i. xom gamoCnda, ra refor-
mac gatarda jarSi. sadRaa is iaraRi, romel ic amerikel eb-
isgan SeviZineT da ase vaqebdiT? gamoiyena vinmem?-

Cems mier motanil i am vrcel i amonawerebidan kargad Cans,
rom saqarTvel os srul fasovani jari ar yavda da bunebriva-
ia, arc misi samxedro aRWurvil oba pasuxobda Tanamedrove
moTxovnebs. qarTul i jari mxol od saporado sistemisa da
NATO-s `samSvidobo- operaciebSi ama Tu im obieqtebis saya-
raul od iyo gawvrTnil i. misi maRal i sabrZol o momzadeb-
is piar- imitaciebs mxol od satel evizio rekl amebiT uqm-
nidnen sazogadoebas. swored am natyuarma ideol ogiurma
propagandam miyvana Cveni qveyana katastroful mdgomare-
obamde. **agvistos saomarma procesebma warmoaCina, rom**
qarTul j ars sardal i da genStabi ar yavda. amis naTel
dadasturebas samoqal aqo Tanamdebobis CinovnikTa mier
gacemul i brZanebebi warmoadgens. savsebiT mi zanSewoni l -
ad mimaCnia reJisor Temur fal avandiSvil is gul iswyrmiT

dasmul i SekiTxa: `miTxariT vin iyo armiis xel mZRvanel i_ugul ava, gabaSvil i Tu l omaia?... me dResac ar vici vin iy- vnen is generl ebi, vinc cxinval is aReba dagegmes. an mere sad gaqren isini?- amis Sesaxeb umaRI esi mTavarsardl is m.saakaSvil isTvisac rom ekiTxa vinmes, pasuxs misganac ver miiRebda. miTumetes, Tavdacvis uwyebaSi im etapze srul i qaosi arsebobda da vl adimer l eninis `ukvdavi- principi_ `kuxarkamac unda marTos qveyana- moqmedebda. samxedro xel ov-nebis special istTa SefasebebiT Tuki vimsj el ebT, maRa- l i profesional izmis doneze misaRebi gadawyvetil ebis dros, qveynis samomavl o bedi saqmis ucodinari araprofesional ebis xel Si aRmoCnda. 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebma daadastura, rom saqarTvel os Tavdacvis saministrosa da mis genStabs saqmis ucodinari `kuxarkebi- marTavda. 28 wl is Tavdacvis ministr daviT kezeraSvil ze rom araferi vTqvaT, genStab- sac araprofesional i, saqmis ucodinari `xel mZRvanel obda. mxedvel obaSi myavs genStabis ufrosi `general i- zaza gogava. am pi rovnebis Sesaxeb general i koba kobal aZe wer- da: `maSindel i general uri Stabis ufrosi gogava Sei- Zl eba Zal ian kargi pol iciel i da specrazmel ia, magram man ar icis sabrZol o xel ovneba. axl a me rom Camacva puantebi da `gedis tba- macekvo gamova?- imave gogavas Sesaxeb samxedro eqsperti giorgi mel iTauri gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent Tea asaTianisadmi micemul LinterviuSi xazgasmiT ambobda: `roca Tavdacvis saministros genStabs xel mZRvanel obs general i gogava, romel sac aranari samxedro ganaTI eba ar gaaCnia da romel sac generl oba 7 noembris mitingis darbevisaTvis misces, mand ukve yvel aferi dasrul ebul ia!-

Cems mier motanil i fqtebi naTel i dadasturebaa, Tu ra donis ucodinari adamianebiT iyo dakompl eqtebul i qveynis Tavdacvis uwyeba, vis qonda mindobil i teritoriul i mTI iano- bisa da konfl iqtur regionebsi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebis xval - indel i dRis usafRTxoebis bedi. anal ogiuri mdgomareoba iyo dabal i safexuris oficrobaSiac. am sakiTxTan daka- vSirebiT, cxinval is regionSi saomari moqmedebebis (2008 wl is

agvisto) monawil is vice- pol kovnikis giorgi gurgeniZis
 mier gazeT `versias- korespondent daviT devizisadmi micem-
 ul interviuSi vkiTxul obT; `brZol ac SeiZl eboda da moge-
 bac, magram ar iyo meTauroba, vinaidanac da radganac batal -
 ionis meTaurebi, bodiSi da JRvl intianebi iyvnen, aseul is me-
 Taurebi moumzadebl ebi, xol o ocmeTaurebis zol i mTI i-
 anad iyo amovardnil i, anu gadawyvetil ebis miRebis saSu-
 al eba ar qonda, ar icodnen ra gaeketebinaT. jari iyo dab-
 neul i. roca cxinval Si SevediT da Sevasrul eT pirvel adi
 daval eba, amis Semdeg kacma ar icoda ra unda gagvekeTebina,
 arada, omis daweril i kanonia da samxedro akademiis damTavre-
 ba ar swirdeba imis codnas, rom teritoriis dakavebis Sem-
 deg poziciebi unda gaamagro da morigi ierisisaTvis moemza-
 do. amaze saertod aravis ufiqria.- yuradReba unda mi vaqci-
 oT im garemoebas, rom rokis gvirabTan misul i qarTul i
 jaris SenaerTebis mxridan strategiul ad xel sayrel i
 poziciebis gamagrebis da axal i qvedanayofis miSvel ebis
 sanacvl od, brZaneba iqna gacemul i_ ukandaxevis Sesaxeb. es
 im momentSi ganxorciel da, roca rusul i samxedro SenaerTebi
 mZime teqnikiT rokis gvirabiT saqarTvel os teritoriaze
 Semodioda da viwro xeobaSi erTmaneTis miyol ebiT gamwkrivd-
 nen. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, samxedro eqsperti kaxa kaci-
 taZe xazgasmiT werda: `brZaneba ukan dabrunebis Sesaxeb
 gai ca maSin, roca rusebi Semodi odnen, maT mouwiaT amoyi rave-
 bul i frontis pirobebSi moqmedeba, rac imas niSnavs, Sen
 mowinaaRmdegesTan pirispir ki ara zurgiT imyofebi. yove-
 l ive es gamoiwvia koncentrirebam cxinval is aRebisken,
 rac Cvens prezidents sapiarod undoda!~ morigi didi
 Secdoma, romel ic qarTul i jaris sardl obam dauSva, j av-
 is Zvel i da axal i xidebis arafeTqeba iyo. am sakiTxTan
 dakavSirebiT general i rezo gurgeniZe wers: `general uri
 Stabis ufross gogavas vuTxari, rom pirvel rigSi unda
 afeTqebinaT j avis Zvel i da axal i xidebi, mowinaaRmdege
 aqeT swrafad rom ver gamosul iyo. im xidebis gakeTebas
 sam dRes xom mainc moandomebdnen. amasobaSi ki dros vi geb-
 diT, rasac CvenTvis uaRresad didi mniSvel oba qonda.

sxvaTa Soris, maSin erTma di dma kacma uSi Sr oe bi dan mi Txra: rame rom moxdes rusebs gavuzI ebTo? vupasuxe, Tu ar mi vcemT swrafad Semosvl is saSual ebas yvel aferi SesaZI ebel i iyo. im afeTqebul i xidebis SekeTebaSi dros xom dakar-gavdnen. marTal ia arsebobs special uri samxedro xidebi, magram rusebi roca maT gaSI as Seecdebodnen unda gve-bomba TviTmfrinavebiT. amaT ki TviTmfrinavebi saerTod gadamal es. Tumca ra dabombvazea saubari, roca xidebis afeTqebac ki ver gabetes.- imave sakiTxze da samxedro xel mZRvanel obis ususurobaze miuTitebda vice- pol kovniki giorgi gurgeniZe gazeT `versias- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi, sadac gukl istkivil iT ambobda: `drois mogebac SeiZI eboda da omis mogebac. SeiaraRebiT vj obnid-iT rusebs, aseve samxedro momzadebiTac, aRarafers vambob imaze, rom Cvens teritoriaze vibrZodiT da sakuTar miwas vicavdiT. anu yvel aferSi upiratesoba gvqonda... erT adg-il ze Cveni biWebi vnaxe, vkiTxe, aq ras akeTebT biWebo meTqi? ar viciT ra gavakeToT, meTaurebi ar gvyavso, imal ebiano, mi pasuxes. amitom iyo samarcxvino omi. Cven brZol a SegveZ- l o, magram amis saSual eba ar mogvces.-¹⁵

samxedro special istebis da omis monawil e oficrebis mier danaxul i sinamdvil is, Cems mier erTad Sekrebam da erTobl iobaSi gaazrebam, `nacional ebis- mier aSS- is xel SewyobiT gatarebul i ara marto samxedro reformis uvargisoba, aramed omis mizanmimarTul ad wagebis al ba-Tobac warmoacina. mi Tumetes, qarTul i mxaris mier arcer-Ti saxeobis upiratesoba_ mowinaaRmdegisaTvis kavkasi is qedisa da rokis gvirabis gadmol axvis sirtul e minimal uradac ar iqna gamoyenebul i. amis gakeTeba brZol is dawye-bis pirvel etapze iyo SesaZI ebel i, radgan rusebis mier 8_9 agvistos SemoyvaniI samxedro Zal asa da teqnikas, sa-Sual o doneze moazrovne mTavarsardl is da aseve, saSua-l o doneze moazrovne oficrebis xel Si myof qarTul saj ariso SenaerTebis mowinaaRmdegis Rirseul i gamkl ave-ba SeeZI o. Tu ra Zal ebis Sesaxebaa im etapze saubari, amasT-an dakavSirebiT oficial ur monacemebs davimowmeb. saqarTve-

Los xelisuflebis mier gakeTebuli pirveli gancxadebis mixedviti, rusebma saqartvelosi 6 atasi jariskaci da 150 erTeuli mZime teqnika Semoiyvana. omSi damarcxebis Semdeg Tavis martlebis miznit msaakaSvilis mier gakeTebuli gancxadebis mixedviti, zemoaRniSnuli cifri 80 atas kacamide iqna gazrdili. am faqtTan dakavSirebit, samxedro eqsperti kaxa kacitaze wers: `arsebobs iseti cnebebi, rogoric aris operatiuli tevadoba, anu ramdeni samxedro SeiZleba daetios kvadratuli kilometrze reliefis gatvaliswinebit. davuSvat, rogorc eseni amboben 80000 rusi jariskaci gadi gamodioda, anu rotacias akeTebda. vTqvati, aqedan naxevari dasavleT saqartvelosi iyo ganTavsebuli, naxevari cxinvalis regionSi. rogor warmogidgeniat raWis gzaze jariskacebit datvirTuli 2000 samxedro manqanis mimosvla? Cveni megobari Svedetis Tavdacvis ministris oficialuri gancxadebit cxinvalis regionsa da dasavleT saqartvelosi Semosuli iyo 10000 rusi jariskaci, latvis genStabis yofili ufrosis Sefasebit_ 15000, litvis genStabis ufrosis Sefasebit_ 20000.-

zemoT dasaxel ebuli sami cifridan Tuki saSualod 15000 jariskacsa viRebt, cxinvalis regionSi 7500, xolo amdenive afxazetsi mouwevs. am raodenobis mowinaaRmdeges saqartvelos Seiararebuli Zal ebi cxinvalis regionSi im SemTxvevaSi gaumklavdeboda, Tuki profesionali sardlobisadmi damaxasiaTebebi motxovnebis yvela piroba iqneboda daculi. xazgasmit minda arvniSno, rom amis gakeTebsa Sesazlebeli iqneboda mxolod pirvel etapze. amit realuri pirobebi Seiqmneboda sabrZolo moqmedebebis gasaxangrZiliveblad, konfliqtis zoni dan gardacvili da dawriti samxedroebis gamosayvanad, mSvidobiani moqal aqeebis evakuacisaTvis, mowinaaRmdegi sadmi samxedro teqnika da uzarmazari simdidris ardasatoveblad. samwuxarod, procesebi tragikuli formiT ganvitarda da samarcxvinoT wagebuli omis Sedegad, teritoriis danakargiT, konfliqturi regionebs qarTული მოსახლეობის გაუბედურებები და საცხოვრისი და გამოღებუნი, ადამიანთა მსხვერპლი, samxedro

infrastrukturis ganadgurebi Ta da udi desi ekonomi kuri zaral iT qveyana ufskrul isken daeqana.

saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obis araprofisional izmidan gamomdinare, qveynis Tavdacvis sistemis ver-mowesrigebam, ruseTs farTomasStabiani samxedro operaciis ganxorciel ebis SesaZI ebl oba misca. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os strategiul i mniSvnel obis yvel a obieqtis dabombva da srul i ganadgureba. ordRianma saomarma moqmedebema aSkarad warmoaCina, rom qveynis samxedro Zal ebis momzadeba nul is tol fasi iyo. **CeCneTis erovnul ma gmirma j oxar dudaevma, rusebisadmi warTmeul i iaraRiT, imave ruseTis imperias sami wel i eoma.** mi sgan gansxvavebi T, m.saakaSvil ma da Tavdacvis sistemis `rCeul ma general itetma,- roml ebic 11 miliardiani wvrTnisa da aRWurvis natos standartebis programiT `momzadebul - j ars sardl obdnen, gasul i saukunis 90- iani wl ebis `Jangiani tankebiTa- da sxva moZvel ebuli samxedro teqnikiT SeiaraRebul rusul jarTan Setakebis mexuTe dRes_ kapitul acia gamoacxada. **mxedvel obaSi maqvs 2008 wl is 10 agvistos gamocemul i m.saakaSvil is brZaneba, romel ic cecxli is SewyvetasTan erTad, qarTul i sajariso SenaerTebis `samxreT oseTidangamoyvanas iTval iswinebda. imave wl is 11 agvistos, panikaSi myofma saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul ma Zal ebma gori datova da usistemod Tbil isisken daixia. am procesis ganxorciel ebisas isev `natos standartebiT momzadebul i- sardl obis uunarobam iCina Tavi. maTi gauazrebel i qmedebidan gamomdinare, # raodenobis uaxlesi samxedro teqnika da iaraRi gzaSi iqna mitovebul i, romel sac rusebi uprobl emod daepatrona. momxdari faqti, saqarTvel os 3000 wl iani istoriis yvelaze samarcxvino furcel ia.**

am SemTxvevaSi m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas (umetesi nawili qveynidan iyo gaqceuli), saqarTvel osa da qarTvel ixal xis interesebze metad savarZi ebis SenarCunebis bedi adardebda. amis saukeTeso gamovl inebas n.sarkozis mier SeTavazebul 6 punqtian SeTanxmebaze xel mowera warmoadgens. xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom am dokumentis mexuTe punqtis

is nawil i, romel ic ruseTis jaris gayvanis sakiTxs exeba_ bundovanebiTaa mocul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: `ruseTis Seia- raRebul i Zal ebi gayvanil unda iqnan saomari moqmedebebis dawyebamde Tavisi ganl agebis xazze.- es formul ireba zog- adi xasiaTis gancxadebis Semcvel ia da gaugebrobas qmnis, radgan dakonkretebul i ar aris Tu ra igul isxmeba saomari moqmedebebis dawyebamde ganl agebis xazSi. yofil i Tavdacvis ministris gyaryaraSvil is mier `samxreT oseTSi- mimdinare saomari operaciebis Sesaxeb motanil i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, Crdil o kavkasiidan rokis gvirabiT 8 agvis- tos Semosul i ruseTis federaciis 58- e armiis SeiaRaRebu- l i nawil ebi, j avaSi ganl agdnen da Sesabamisi poziciebi da- iWires. rusul ma sardl obam, swored j avadan ganaxorciel a cxinval ze rkal uri (j ava_ didi gubTa_ cxinval i; j ava_ er- edvi) formiT dartyma. aqedan gamomdinare, n.sarkozis doku- mentis mexuTe muxl is mixedviT, ruseTis SeiaRaRebul i Zal ebis ganl agebis xazi_ j ava gamodis. j avadan Caebnen isini 8 agvis- tos dRis meore naxevidan saomar moqmedebebSi. n.sarkoz- d.medvedev- m.saakaSvil is mier xel moweril i SeTanxmeba, qarTu- l i mxarisaTvis mxol d maSin iqneboda misaRebi, imave muxl Si aRniSnul i rom yofil iyo: gayvanil unda iqnan rokis gvi- rabiT ruseTis federaciaSi disl okaciis adgil ze. ramde- nadac aseTi ram zemoaRniSnul dokumentSi ar figurirebs, m.saakaSvil is mier im etapze gakeTebul i gancxadebebi, rom xel Sekrul ebis Zal iT ruseTma Tavisi j arebi saqarTvel o- dan unda giyvanos, tyuil ze dafuZnebul piarkampanias warmoadgenda. rac Seexeba n.sarkozis 14 agvistos komunikeSi gamoyenebul formul irebas_ `yvel a sxva rusul i Zal a, Tanaxmad SeTanxmebis oqmisa gayvanil iqneba poziciebze, sadac isini imyofebodnen 7 agvistosaTvis.- sammxrivi SeTanxmebis mexuTe muxl i aseTi dakonkretebul i formul irebiT rom iyos warmodgenil i, saqarTvel odan ru- seTis 58- e armiis sajariso SenaerTebis gayvanis kategori- ul i moTxovniT dayeneba_ saerTaSoriso samarTl ebriv sax- es miRebda. miTumetes, 7 agvistosaTvis maTi ganl agebis ad- gil i, anu pozicia Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi iyo. rac Seexeba kom- unikes, misi Sesrul eba arSesrul ebis sakiTxi, ruseTis xel i-

sufl ebis keTil nebazea damokidebul i da ara val debul - ebaze.

zemoaRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, 2008 wl is 9 seqtembers Tbil isSi myofi n.sarkozis gancxadeba, TiTqos ruseTs val debul eba qonda aRebul i, rom 15 oqtombrisaTvis saqarTvel oSi arcerTi rusi jariskaci ar iqneboda, m.saakaSvil is saamebl ad da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis kidev erTxel mosatyuebl ad iyo gakeTebul i. vimeoreb, n.sarkoz- d.medvedev- m.saakaSvil is xel moweriT aseTi saxis dokumenti istorikosebisa da pol itol ogebisaTvis dRemde ucnobia. anal ogiuri saxis piarze iyo gaTvl il i n.sarkozis gancxadeba; `Cven ver davuSvebT imas, rom im adami nebma, roml ebic ori dRis win SeiaraRebul konfl iqt ebSi monawil eobdnen samSvidobo misia Seasrul on.- Tuki n.sarkozsa da evrokavSirs aseTi ram marTI ac hqondaT miznad dasaxul i, igi garkveuli formul irebiT zemoaRniSnul SeTanxmebaSi unda Cadebul iyo. am kapitul anturi dokumentis gansakuTrebul i nakli imaSiac mdgomareobs, rom masSi araferia naTqvami devnil Ta dabrunebis Sesaxeb da rac mTavaria, konfl iqturi regionebs dasabrunebul ad, Zal ismieri meTodis gamoyenebaze uari, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan oficial uradaa gacxadebul i. es faqti, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRd-genas kiTxviTi niSnis qveS ayenebs im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom misi dadebiTad gadawyveta, rusebis, afxazebis da osebis keTil i nebis gamovl inebamdea dayvanil i.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is miuxedavad, m.saakaSvil i am samarcxvino SeTanxmebas `wingadadgmul nabij ad- mi iCnevda. mi sgan gansxvavebiT, qarTul sazogadoebriv -pol itikur azrovnebaSi igi kapitul aciadiqna Sefasebul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT cnobil i Jurnal istis jaba xubuas weril Si- `saqarTvel os sisxl is samarTI is kodeqsis 309- e muxl iT saakaSvil i 6- dan 10 wl amde patimrobas imsaxurebs!- vkiTxul obT: `mixeil saakaSvil is mier xel moweril i saerTaSoriso xel Sekrul eba, anu e.w. `sarkoz- medvedev- dokumenti aris winda kapitul anturi aqti, romel ic safrTxes uqmnis qarTul i saxel mwifos Semdgom arsebobs

da ganvi Tarebas.¹⁶ anal ogiuri pozicia iqna dafiqsirebuli ramaz kl imiaSvil is, kaxa kukavas da sxvebis mier. isini xazgasmiT miuTitebdnen im mosal odnel i safrTxeebis Sesaxeb, roml ebic am SeTanxmebis Sedegad SeiZl eba mi- iRos saqarTvel om. aqedan gamomdinare, m.saakaSvil s isini l aCar prezidentad miCneven. `m.saakaSvil i l aCaria_ wers r.kl imiaSvil i, _ dRe- naxevarSi moawera kapitul aciaze xel i.~

am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis SesaniRbad, saqarTvel os sa- xel isufl ebo masmediis saSual ebebma (rusTavi- 2-, `pirvel i arxi-, `imedi-), ideol ogiuri propaganda axal Wril Si gada- itana. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, ruseTis mxridan m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis Secvl is mcdel obis morigi tyuil is mizan- mimarTul ad gapiareba. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis da ruseTis maRal Cinosnebisgan m.saakaSvil is misamarTiT ofi- cial urad wamosul i yvel a muqaris anal izi, winaswar Se- muSavebul i da SeTanxmebul i gegmis STabelWdil ebas tovebs. am Sefarviti pol itikuri proceduris ZiriTad mizans, sa- zogadoebis Tval Si ruseTis dauZinebel i mtris formiT warmocena da am fonze, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebaSi isev darCenis mxardamWerTa gazrda warmoadgenda. es pol itikuri TamaSi, saRad moazrovne opoziciuri speqtris liderebs mxedvel obis miRma ar darCeniaT da Tavianti pozicia maS- inve daafiqsires. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas kaxa Sartavas mier gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent j aba xubuasadmi micemul i interviu iqcevs. mimdinare saomari procesebis anal izis fonze igi dasZenda: `aset mdgomare- obaSi myofi xel isufal i Zal ian bevrs awyobs da maT Soris ruseTsac. diax, ruseTs xel s aZl evs swored aseTi xel isu- fl eba, romel sac kedel ze miayudeb da mere razec ginda imaze wamoiyvan. dRes saakaSvil i da misi xel isufl eba ev- rosabWos gansaxil vel ad sTavazobs dokuments, rom TiTqos ruseTis mier es agresia jer kidev noemberSi iyo dagegmil i da 7 noembris mitingi imitom moewyo, rom TiTqos ruseTi unda Semosul iyo da xel isufl eba Seecval a. anu xel isu- fl eba cdil obs daamkvidros azri: russ unda Cemi Secvl a

da qarTvel ebs ki arao. Tu am azris ganviTarebas sazogadoeba xel s Seuwyobs, maSin isev monebi, brmebi, maTxovrebi da sul el ebi viqnebiT.-¹⁷

es swori da gamafRTxil ebel i gancxadeba, nebsmieri Tavmoyvare pol itikosisaTvis misaRebi unda yofil iyo. samwuxarod, bevri maTganis mxridan igi ignorebul i iqna. am SemTxvevaSi, sazogadoebis gansakuTrebul i interesi prezidentobis kandidatis I evan gaCeCil aZis poziciasTan mimarTebaSi igrZnoboda. `ruseTis tankebis fonze_ ambobda igi_ saqarTvel oSi aranairi pol itikuri dapirispireba ar iqneba, es gamoricxul ia.- ruseTTan damarcxebis Semdeg, ideol ogiurad gakotrebul i `nacional ebis- xel isufl ebisadmi opoziciuri pol itikuri speqtris I liderad aRiarebul i pirovnebis mxridan aseTi damokidebul eba, m.saakaSvil isadmi misaRebi iyo. amis dadasturebas, m.saakaSvil is mier 2008 wl is 12 agvistos mitingze I .gaCeCil eZisadmi oficial - urad madl obis gadaxdis da opoziciuri pol itikuri partieb isxva I liderebsadmi mowodeba_ I .gaCeCil aZis qmedeba misabaZ magal iTad gaexadaT_ faqti warmoadgens. ruseTis faqtoris gamoyenebiT, savarZl is SesanarCunebl ad m.saakaSvil i opoziciis mosyidva- gadabirebis e.SevardnaZiseul meTods iyenebda. dRemde xel misawvdomi masal ebis mixedviT dasturdeba, rom ruseTis mizans m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis Secvl a ki ara, strategiul i daniSnul ebis mqone teritoriebis mitaceba da amerikul i samxedro infrastruqturis ganadgureba warmoadgenda. mtkiceba imis Sesaxeb, TiTqos ruseTs m.saakaSvil is Secvl a undoda da dasavl eT evropis 5 saxel mwifos I ideri (prezidentebi) mis gadasarCenad Camovidnen, sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba. **rac Seexeba ruseTis maRal CinosanTa mxridan saakaSvil is gadadgomaze gakeTe bul zedapirul gancxadebebs, winaswar dagegmil saWadra ko pol itikur svl as warmoadgenda. igi m.saakaSvil is danasaul ebrivi xel isufl ebisadmi saqarTvel os gaubedurebul i mosaxl eobis ardapirispirebaze iyo gaTvl il i. okupanti qveynis warmomadgenl ebis mier, saqarTvel os prezidentis gadadgomis moTxovnam, pol itikuri partieb is**

zogierT I iderebze da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis umete-
sobaze zombirebis funqcia Seasrul a. am SemTxvevaSi, rusi
politikos- ideoloqebisgan dampyrobli isadmi qarTvel Ta
damokidebul ebis_ ganwyobis fsiqol ogiuri el ementebi
moxerxebul adiqna SerCeul i. rusul ma eqsperimentma gaama-
rTla im Tval sazrisiT, rom omSi damarcxebul i m.saaka-
Svil isa da misi garemocvisadmi moZul e saqarTvel os mo-
saxl eobis didi nawil i, mtris `jinaze- isev m.saakaSvil
I isadmi mxardamWerad aqcia. amas, Cems mier mopovebul i
masal ebic adasturebs. amjerad yuradRebas gazeT `asaval -
dasaval is- korespondent nana bendel ianisadmi I evan gog-
iCaiSvil is mier micemul interviuze SevaCereb. `ruseTis
xel isufl ebam am gancxadebiT_ ambobda igi,_ provokaciaze
wamoikida dasavleTis samyaro da saakaSvil i adgil obrivi
mosaxl eobisagan daacvevina. darwmunebul i var, rom dRes am
adamianis saqarTvel os xel isufl ebaSi yofna ise aravis
awyobs, rogorc ruseTs. es adamiani am qveyanas yovel dRi-
urad angrevs da bunebrivia, mteri romel sac Seni qveynis
ganadgureba surs ukeTes kandidaturas verc ki inatrebs!
swored am adamanma gaukeTa yvel aze didi saCuqari ruseTs
Cveni strategiul i obieqtebis saxiT. Cemi azriT, ruseTi-
saTvis yvel aze ideal uri pirovneba, vinc SeiZl eba saqarTve-
l os marTavdes, es aris saqarTvel os dRevandel i presiden-
ti.- am amonawerSi motanil i faqtebi da masze dayrdnobiT
gamoTqmul i mosazreba, sinamdvil es Seesabameba. aqedan
gamomdinare, ruseTisaTvis m.saakaSvil i ara Tu saSiS, aramed
saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi yvel amavnebl uri Canafiqris
ganmaxorciel ebel da xel Semwyob figurad SeiZl eba iq-
nas moazrebul i. amis Tqmis SesaZl ebl obas, winamdebare
naSromis pirvel , meore da mesame TavebSi motanil i masal eb-
is anal izi izi eva. mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT SemiZl ia gan-
vaxado, rom im etapze ruseTis mizans arc m.saakaSvil is
Secvl a da arc Tbil isSi arsebul i mTavrobis sasaxl eze
ruseTis federaciis droSis aRmarTva ar warmoadgenda.
2008 wl is agvistos omiT, ruseTis saxel mwifos interese-
biT Sedgenil i gegmis yvel aze mniSvnel ovani da ZiriTadi

safexuri iqna ganxorciel ebul i. am is Sesaxeb gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent giorgi mamacaSvil isadmi micemul interviusi general i viaCesl av borisovi xazgasmiT miuT iTebda: `Tbil isSi Sesvl a araTu Cven, samxedroebis, aramed pol itikosebsac ar hqondaT dagegmil i da sakiTxi ase arc arasodes mdgara. Cveni amocana samxreT oseTis mSvidobiani mosaxleobis, ruseTis moqal aqeebisa da, raRa Tqma unda, gaero- smSvidobismyofel ebis dacva gaxl daT.-¹⁸

winamdebare naSromSi Cems mier motanil i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, rogorc e.SevardnaZem, ise m.saakaSvil mac SesaniSnavad icoda Tu ra Sedegis momtani iqneboda ruseTTan moumzadebl ad omSi Cabma. gansxvaveba mxol od imaSi mdgomareobda, rom sazogadoebisa da istoriis winaSe Tavis `marTl ebis- sxva-dasxva formas mimarTes. 1992 wl is 14 agvistos dawyebul i farTomasStabiani samxedro operaciis ganmapirobel mizezad e.SevardnaZe Tuki afxazeTSi rkinigzis dacvis faqtors asaxel ebda, misgan gansxvavebiT, 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebis SefuTvas, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba im doneze Seecada, rom ruseTTan garigebaSi (`samxreT oseTis- samarTl ebriv sivrceSi dabruneba, zemo kodorisadmi_ zemo afxazeTis saxel wodebis miwebeba da rusul -osur-afxazuri 27 wl iani natvris aRsrul eba) eWvi aravis Separvoda. am mxriv, farTo sazogadoebaze da pol itikur wreebze gansakutrebul i ideol ogiuri zemoqmedebis mizniT, saomari operaciebis tel eviziiT gadacemas da gamarjvebis imitacias axdenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maSindel i genStabis xel mZRvanel is ggogavas mxridan, qarTul i j aris qvedanayofebis gadaadgil ebis, disl okaciis adgil is dakonkretebis tel eviziiT Cvenebis faqtebi. qveyniSTvis yvel aze kritikul momentSi, mimdinare procesebis siRmiseul ad gaanal izebisa da sajariso SenaerTebis sworad marTvaze fiqris nacvl ad, igi satel evizio SouebiT iyo dakavebul i. rogorc Cans, aRniSnul i piari, winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmis erT nawil s war-moadgenda. ggogavas araprofesional izmi, rogorc zemoTac mqonda aRniSnul i, imaSiac gamovl inda, rom omis wagebis mosal odnel i Sedegebi el ementarul adac ar qonda gaazrebu-

I i. arada, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan da im masal ebidan, roml ebic agvistos movl enebTan dakavSirebiT dagrovda, umZimesi faqtebis Semcvel ia. samwuxarod, maSin saxel isufli ebo tel eviziebis ful ze gayidul i Jurnal istebi, cxinval is regionis qarTul i sofl ebis gl exkacobis tragediis Sesaxeb xmas ar iRebda. isini mxol od m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis tyuil ebis propagandiT iyvnen dakavebul ni. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi, **cnobil i poeti vaJa oTaraSvil i ganrisxebul i formiT ambobda: `aCvenon msofflios, ra xdeba real urad. rogor gadawves varianSi, karali eTSi, tyviavSi, meRvrekisSi saxl ebi. rogor daCexes cocxlad ad amianebi, rogor gadaasxes benzini, rogor gaaupatiures qal ebi, rogor daxoces patara bavSvebi! Tu rusebi aCveneben gadamwvar da dabombil cxinval s, Cven ratom ar vaCvenebT Cvens tragedias? vin aris `sazogadoebrivi arxis- mesveurebi? vin arian es sul iT gayidul i agentebi da sorosis damqaSebi?~¹⁹**

marTal ia, aRniSnul amonawerSi gamoTqmul i gul iswyrroma, nebismeri saRad moazrovne adamiანიTvisaa misaRebi, magram, simarTl is Tqma da arsebul i ubedurebis oficial urad gamJRavneba, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvisaTvis ideol ogiuri Tval sazrisiT iyo miuRebel i. maT kargad esmodaT, rom zemoT CamoTvl il i Semzaravi faqtebis sazogadoebis samsjavros winaSe gamotana, sinamdvil is mifuCeCebas da `gamarjvebis- gapiarebas SeuSl ida xel s. xel isufli ebis es morigi danaSaul ebrivi kursi, sazogadoebriv- politikuri azris mesveurT SeumCnevel i ar darCeniaT da Sesazl ebl obis micemistTanave mis saaSkaraoze gamotanas Seecadnen. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas cnobil i advokatis gel a nikol e- iSvil is mier gazeT `axal i Taobis- korespondentisadmi (2008 w. agvisto) micemul i interviu iqcevs. `Cvens xel isufli ebas unda_ ambobda igi, _ rom Sida moxmarebisaTvis msxverpl i rac SeiZl eba Seamciros, xol o gare moxmarebisaTvis Tqvas, rom aTasobiT adamiანიეbi gaanadgures. ase ar gamova. miuxedavad imisa, rom sainformacio saSual ebebi daaxSves, adamiანიე-

bi mainc igeben simarTi es. unda Tqvan zustad, ramdenia msx-verpl i. jariskacebic da sasul iero pirebic, roml ebic konfliktis zonaSi iyvnen, erTxmad acxadeben, rom iq uamravi gvamia. bevri jariskaci ambobs, rom rodesac gamovrbodiT, gvamebze gviwevda fexis gadabij ebao. ase rom, xel isufl ebas vurCevdi, rom rel ur cxovrebaSi icxovros da ara iakobaSvil is, l omaiebis da baqraZeebis il uziorul samyarosi. maT undaT, rom yvel a damarcxeba gaasaRon gamarj vebaT.-

qarTul i SeiraraRebul i Zal ebis sardl obis uunarobidan gamomdinare, samxedro eqsperti irakl i sesiaSvil i gul isw- yromiT werda: `ar mainteresebs moskovSi vis romel i qusl i gadaecviTa. me mainteresebs Cveni mosaxl eoba, romel sac Zarc- vavdnen, Seuracyofas ayenebdnen, tyved mihyavdaT. CemTvis arav- iTari SeRavaTi ar aris is, Tu rogor izaral a ruseTis armiam. iqneb hgoniaT Cvens Zal ovnebs, pasuxi ar moeTxovebaT imis gamo, rom amj erad ver gamoiCnes iseTi SesaSuri opera- tiul oba, rogorc... 7 noembers. maSindel isagan gansxvavebiT, axl a maT ar mouxdeniaT gzebis bl okireba, ris gamoc qarTvel i qal ebi da kacebi mowinaaRmdegem moitaca da monebad wa- asxa. amaze pasuxi unda agos yvel am.- dazustebul i infor- maciit, im etapze goris, cxinval is, xaSurisa da qarel is raionebis qarTul i sofl ebidan 300- ze meti adamiani iyo gatacebul i da aravin icoda Tu ra bedi el oda TiToeul maTgans.

momxdari faqtiT ganpirobepul tragediasTan mimarTebaSi, udidesi pasuxismgebl oba saqarTvel os maSindel xel isu- fl ebas da gansakuTrebiT_ Tavdacvis uwyebas ekisreba. saqar- Tvel os Tavze wamomarTul ma udidesma safrTxeebma da mis SesaCerebl ad gatarebul ma RonisZieebma aSkarad warmoaCi- na: a)qveynis Zal ovani kontingentis ZiriTadi rigiTi birTvi- sa da misi oficrebis moumzadebl oba. TiToeul i samxedro qvedanayofis `wvRTnis- safexurebi, garedan momxduri dampy- robl is SeCerebaze da misadmi Rirseul i pasuxis gacemaze rom ar iyo gaTvl il i. igi mxol od sixl xorceul ad qarTvel i Ta modgmis dasaSinebel da dasamonebel `Sida moxmareb- is- standartebs pasuxobda; b)Zal ovani uwyebepis mier Catare-

bel i operaciis dagegmarebis da operatiul ad ganxorciel ebis niWiereba, 2007 wl is 7 noembris da 2011 wl is 26 maisis mSvidobiani momitingeebis umowyal od darbevaSi, gzebis SekvraSi da Tanamemamul eTa sisxl is gubeebis dayenebaSi gamovl inda. es faqti istoriis kuTvnil ebas warmoadgens da misi uaryofa nebismier mkvl evars, sinamdvil is fal sifika- ciamde miyvans.

Cems mier gamoTqmul i aseTi mkacri Sefaseba imiTac aris ganpirobetul i, rom; 1)saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisaTvis dRemde ucnobia, qarTvel ma j ariskacma gmirobis SaravandediT Semosa Tu ara Tavisi saxel i; 2)samSobl osadmi TavSewirul i j ariskacebi, muxadgverdis sasafI aoze 21- e saukuneSi ratomRac usaxel gvarod davasafI aveT; 3)danamdvil ebiT dRemde ar viciT, Tu rogori iyo adamanuri danakargebi, radgan real uri msxverpl is Sesaxeb informacia im etapze gaasaiduml es da dRemde ase darCa. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os miwa- wyl isaTvis, misi teritoriul i mTI iano- bisaTvis TavSewirul Ta srul i sia dRemde ar gagvaCnia. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, samxedro mzverav- diversantis profesii mqone, gagris yofil i batal ionis yofil i me- Tauri vice- pol kovniki merab l orTqifaniZe gazeT `kviris qronikas- korespondent irina gogosaSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi gul iswyromiT ambobda: `msxverpl i didia da roca es santeqniki uSiSroebis sabWos mdivani l omaia gamodis da izaxis 100- 150 j ariskaciao mkvdari, dasaxvretia! mal e `gruzavikiT- rom moayeneben bavSvebs, romel Ta didi procenti amoucnobia, ras ityvian? j ariskacs gul is j i beze saxel i, gvani da sisxl is j gufis nomeri ar unda eweros Signidan, rai me rom daemarTos? micval ebul ebi imdeni gvyavs, epidemia rom ar daiwyos, rusebi traqtorebiT Txrian did ormoebis da Sig yrian. saerTaSoriso `wiTe- l i j varis- qarTul i j gufi ratom ar SeuSves am damp- l ebma, informacia rom ar gamoetanaT ara?... iqedan gamoq- ceul ma erTma oj axma momiyva: satvirTo manqanebze dayril Cvens biWebs zemodan buzebis `Savi Rrubel i- datrial eb- so. amdeni gvamebia gamosatani da Sen aq koncertebs mi ma-

rTav da Tan memugrebi, xma ar amoiRoo. vina xar bol o-
bol o, masxrad rom migdeb? is ubeduri dedebi, Svil ebi
rom sadRac cxinval Si eyol ebaT miwaSi Camarxul i, ar
moikiTxaven Cemi simwrit gamozrdil i Svil i sad ariso?
es qveyanaa?~²⁰

2008 wl is agvistos movl enebTan dakavSirebiT daRupu-
l i adami nebis zusti cifris dasaxel eba SeuZl ebel i xdeba.
saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier 2009 wel s gamocemul i anga-
risis mixedvit, ruseT_ saqarTvel os omSi 412 adami ani
dai Rupa. aqedan: mSvidobiani moqal aqe- 228, samxedro mo-
samsaxure- 170, pol iciel i- 14. ugzo- ukl od dai karga:
samxedro mosamsaxure- 10, pol iciel i- 14. samsaxurebrivi
moval eobis Sesrul ebisas dai Rupa: Jurnal isti- sami, dai-
Wra- 4. rac Seexeba am brZol aSi daWril Ta saerTo raode-
nobas, imave dokumentis mixedvit 1747 kacia dasaxel ebu-
l i. aqedan: samxedro mosamsaxure- 973, mSvidobiani moqal aqe-
547, pol iciel i- 227.²¹

ruseTis samxedro sadazvervo samsaxuris mier mopove-
bul i monacemebis mixedvit, saqarTvel os Zal ovani struq-
turebis danakargi 3000 kacs Seadgenda. ruseTis mxridan
cocxal i Zal is danakargi Semdegi monacemebiTaa warmod-
genil i: daRupul i rusi samxedro- 67, ugzo- ukl od dakar-
gul i- 3, daWril i- 283. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis ofi-
cial uri statistikiT, rusul ma mxarem 400 samxedro- mo-
samsaxure dakarga. rac Seexeba devnil Ta raodenobas, evro-
pis sabWos adami anis ufl ebaTa 2009 wl is 15 maisis angari-
Sis mixedvit, misi raodenoba Semdegi monacemebiTaa war-
modgenil i; omis Sedegad saqarTvel oSi sacxovrebel i adg-
il ebi miatova- 138 aTasma kacma. omis damTavrebis Semdeg,
pirvandel sacxovriss 38000 devnil i ver daubrunda. aqedan
19 aTasi cxinval is regions da 2000 kodoris xeobas. rusul i
sainformacio wyaroebis monacemebi T, `samxreT oseTi- da-
tova 30000_ 35000 adami anma.²²

erT- erTi umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxi, romel ic samxedro
eqspertTa winaSe omis damTavrebisTanave daisva, samxedro
teqnika da infrastrukturis SesanarCunebl ad, Tavdacvis

saministros Seiararebul i Zal ebis sardl obis mxridan gasatarebel Ronisziebs exeba. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnios, rom am mimarTul ebiT qveynis umaRI esma mTavarsardl obam sruli i ususuroba gamoamJRavna. igi ucodinarobiT, an didi upasuxismgebl obiT iyo ganpirobepul i. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, samxedro eqsperti giorgi mel iTauri xazgasmiT werda; `ro-gor SeiZl eba visaubroT raime warmatebaze, roca qarTul i Seiararebul i Zal ebis ori samxedro baza srul adgaiZarcva da rusebma mTl ianad gaitanes iqedan sabrZol o aRWurvil oba. maT Soris ase gapiarebul i amerikuli avtomatebi `m-4- da tankebi. foTis portidan mogv pares an CaZires swrafmaval i katarRebi da sabrZol o gemebi. me mebadeba SekiTxva_ ratom ar iqna gayvanil i foTidan es gemebi da katarRebi mas Semdeg, roca mTavarsardal ma cecxli isa da winaarmdegobis cal mxrivi Sewyvetis Taobaze gasca brZaneba? sabrZol o gemebi unda gaeyvanaT minimum Turqetis sazRvarze mainc, gaeCerebinaT romel ime portSi sadac saerTaSoriso konvenciebis Tanaxmad maTi droebiTi internireba moxdeboda. anu am gemebidan moixsneboda Seiarareba da piradi Semadgenl obac droebiT iqneboda iq ganTavsebul i. omis das-rul ebis Semdeg ki Turqeti am gemebis xel uxl ebl ad dagvi-brunebda. igive unda iTqvas senakis bazis Sesaxeb, sadac sa-brZol o teqnika aseve upatronod miatoves Cvenma Seiararebul -ma Zal ebma. ratom? arcerTi qveynis armias ar xdeba sabrZol o teqniki ase dagdeba. Tu gadaadgil ebis saSual eba SezRudulia, teqnika mwyobridan unda iqnas gamoyvanil i, rom mowinaarmdegem ver gamoiyenos. nebismeri teqniki mwyobri-dan gamoyvana sul raRac wamebSia SesaZl ebel i. roca tel e-kompania `bi- bi- si-- s korespondenti msofilios acvnebs goris trasaze upatronod dagdebul amerikuli satvirTo manqanas, romel sac mibmul i aqvs haubica `d 30- da ambobs, rom qarTul i Seiararebul i Zal ebi kol afsSi imyofebao, amaze samarcxvino ra unda iyos?!.²³

motanil i amonaweris ZiriTadi debul ebebi srul WeSmaritebas Seesabameba. arsebul i faqtebi umaRI esi mTavarsardl obis uunarobasa da dambli adecemul mdgomare-

obas adasturebs. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi; a) NATO-s standartebis Sesatyvis doneze momzadebul i sardl obis mxridan, mosaxl eobisa da samxedro teqniki saevakuacio Ronisziebebis vergatareba, strategiul i mniSvnel obis obieqtebis dacvis ver uzrunvel yofa warmoudgenelia; b) praporcikmac-ki icis, rom moqmed mdgomareobaSi uaxl esi samxedro teqnika da Zvirad Rirebul i aRWurvil obis mtrisadmi datoveba, qveynis winaSe Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis tol fasia. samxedro eqspertis gmel iTauris mier Tavdacvis saministrosa da genStabis maRal CinosanTa mimarT waye-nebul i zemoaRni Snul i bral debebi, maTi pasuxismgebl obis sakiTxis dasmis srul safuzvel s izl eoda. ramdenadac am mimarTul ebit damnaSavis gamosavl enad obieqtur kvl eva- Ziebas adgil i ar qonia, momxdar faqtTan mimarTebaSi, saqarTvel os mmarTvel i wreebis maRal CinosanTa cinikuri damokidebul eba kidev ufro gaizarda. miTumetes, saamayodac miaCndaT, rom fotis samxedro fl oti, rusebTan SeTanxmebiT TviT saqarTvel os xel isuflebis mier iqna ganadgurebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs maSindel i premier-ministris Iado gurgeniZisgan siamayiT gakeTebul i samarcxvino gancxadeba: rus generlebs fotis portSi mdgari samxedro xomal debis haeridan ganadgureba gadavafiqrebineT, radgan SevpirdiT, rom maT zRvaSi gaviyvandiT da iq avafeTqebdiT.²⁴

ragind paradoqsadac ar unda moCandes, saqarTvel os parlamentis wevrebis umravl esobisa da umciresobis warmomadgenl ebTan 2008 wl is 24 agvistos kancelariaSi gamarTul Sexvedraze, msaakaSvil i urcxvad amtkicebda, rom agvistos omiT, ruseTma TiTqos saqarTvel oze metad izarala. am sicrues maSindel i saparlamento opoziciis wevrebi ol impiuri simSvidiT Sexvda. roca qveyanas am doneze moazrovne xel isufali da mTavarsardali yavs, xel qveitebic Sesabamisi safexuris ganswavl ul obiT iyvnen SerCeulni. maTi dadebiti TviSebebi mxol odimaSi gamovlinda, rom mmdinare polititur procesebSi gaurkvevl obas, nebsiT Tu unebl ied TviT- onve aRiarebdnen. **amis saukeTeso dadasturebas, gazeT`24**

saaTi-- sadmi reintegraciis ministris Temur iakobaSvil is mier micemul interviu (2008 wl is 3 oqtoberi) warmoadgens, sadac vkiTxul obT: `ucxoel ebi rom gveubnebodnen, ar gaakeToT, provokacias ar wamoegoTo, ratom is ar gviTxres, ra gagvekeTebina?~ aRniSnul faqts ukeTebda ra anal iza, pol itol ogi soso cincaZe xazgasmiT miuTiTebda: `es aris xel mowera ususurobaze... ese igi, Tu imaT ar uTxres, ra unda gaektebinaT, maSin saakaSvil is ministrebs am qveyanaze warmodgena ar aqvT! axl a, iakobaSvil is sul e-lur gancxadebebs ruseTis genStabSic xom kiTxul oben? rodesac maTician, rogori ministrebi gvyavs... original uri ideebis mofiqreba raSi sWirdebaT? iakobaSvil Tan urTierTobisaTvis xom kul axmetovic sakmarisia? es adamiani ucxoel ebs bral siqet sdebs, ratom ar gviTxarit, rogor movqceul iyavit, ratom gakveTil ebi ar CagvitareTo? miTxarierTi, es qveyanaa Tu sabavSvo baRi?~²⁵

samwuxarod, Tavisi asakis, ganaTI ebisa da azrovnebis Tval - sazrisiT, saqarTvel os saxel isufl ebo ministerial is wevrTa umravleoba, `sabavSvo baRis- aRsazrdel Ta azrovnebisgan didad ar gansxvavdebodnen. amis naTel dadasturebas, rusuli aviaciis mier miwasTan gasworebul i qarTul - osuri sofl ebis umZimesi mdgomareobis saerTaSoriso arenaze dasabuTebul i formiT ver gatana da okupantis ideol ogiur frontze vermxil eba warmoadgens. qarTul i mxaris am ususurbidan gamomdinare, rusebis mier Cadenili danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebi qarTvel ebs dabral da. am fonze, dampyrobeli qveyana osi da afxazi separatistebis genofondis `gadamrCenadmoevl ina msoflios. rac Seexeba aSS- is warmomadgenl ebsmeTiu braizasa da deniel den frids, erTmac da meoremac ruseTis politikur wreebTan moskovSi Sexvedraze, saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdago gancxadebebi gaakeTa. maTi TqmiT, isini m.saakaSvil s wl ebis manZil ze afrTxil ebdnen, rom ruseTTan omis dawyebaze Tavi Seekavebina. imave sakitxTan dakavSirebit, aSS- is el Cma pirdapir ganacxada, rom `cxinval is teritoriaze ruseTis mier ganxorciel ebul i operacia iyo absol uturad swori.~ es faqti bevr

mTqmel ia im Tval sazrisiT, rom ruseTTan mimarTebaSi sxvis
 imedze yofna yovl ad dauSvebel ia. es anbanuri WeSmarite-
 ba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisaTvis im etapze gaucno-
 bi erebel i rCeboda. gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespon-
 dent nona bendel ianisadmi micemul interviusi erekl e saR-
 l iani xazgasmiT aRniSnavda: `msofl ioc da axl omdebare
 qveynebic ruseTTan urTierTobaSi yovel Tvis erT Secdomas
 uSvebdnen_ figrobdnen, rom ruseTi TviTmkvl el obaze ar
 wavidoda. arada, es TviTon mkvl el i saxel mwifoa, Tavis xal xs
 ar indobs. gavixsenoT Tundac besl anis tragedia, manamde
 `kurskis- atomuri gemis CaZirva da araerTi tragikul i faq-
 ti, roca ruseTma Tavisi xal xi ar daindo. es imas niSnavs,
 rom es aris araprognozirebadi saxel mwifo da TviTonac
 ar icis ra wuTSi ras gaakeTebS.- pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT,
 ruseTis saxe am SemTxvevaSi sworadaa danaxul i. nebismeri
 saxel mwifo moxel is da pol itikosobaze pretenziis mqone
 adamiangsan, Crdil oetis mezobl is istoriis safuZvl iani
 codna aucil e-bl obas warmoagdens. miTumetes, karl marqsis
 si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, **`ruseTi aris bizantiuri veragobisa
 da monRol uri eSmakobis sinTezi.**~ es imas niSnavs, rom
 ruseTTan urTierTobisas, pirvel rigSia gasaTval iswinebe-
 l i misi bizantiur- monRol uri imperiul i miswrafebisa da
 am faqtorebze dafuZnebul i Sinagani cnobierebisaTvis dam-
 axasiaTebel i Tvissebebi. ginebisa da `qvebis srol is- san-
 acvl od ruseTTan mimarTebaSi vinc Sual eduri, zogjer
 `damamcirebel i- da momrigebl uri pol itikuri kursis
 arCeva SeZl o_ yvel a mogebul i darCa. amierkavkasiis re-
 gionSi erTaderTi `uZl ieresi- saxel mwifo saqarTvel o
 aRmoCnda, romel ic (b.quTel ias terminol ogi iT) rusul ma
 `Jangianma tankebma- ver SeaSina. sanacvl od, Cven im `bedni-
 er ers- ganvekuTvnebiT, roml is xel isufl ebam saqarTve-
 l os saxel mwifos, misi moqal aqeebis gaubedurebis xar-
 j ze, `msofl ios ruseTis srul i saxe daanaxa.- am sakiTx-
 Tan dakavSirebiT, tel ekompania `kavkasiis- eTeriT, zviad ZiZig-
 urma ganaxxada: `ruseTi rac iyo da aris, es mec da saqarTve-
 l os absol uturma umravl esobamac Zal ian kargad viciT. me

damibruneT axl a cxinval i da kodori, ra mdgomareobaSi c iyo... magram axl a viRacam Tavidan rom gamagebinos ruseTi rogoria, sul ac ar movisurvebdi aseTi tipis bedniereba mqonoda. or mesameds vakontrol ebdiT yofil samxreT oseTis teritoriaze 1992 wl idan dRemde. raze davTmeT es teritoria, rom Turme gagvego, rusebi rom cudebi arian? kodorSi ver Sehyves cxviri amdeni xnis ganmavl obaSi, xal xo ras mel aparakebiT Tqven? ruseTs Turme aviacia hyol ia, axl a gavigeT!~²⁶

z.ZiZiguris es aRSfoTeba savsebiT kanonzomieri, magram dagvianebul i iyo. qarTul pol itikur speqtrs ambiciebi droul ad rom daeZl ia da Tavidanve gonivrul ad emoqmeda, m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis TviTneburi parpaSis SezRudva maqsimal urad gaxdeboda Sesazl ebel i. arasapari amento pol itikuri speqtris ususurobis demonstrirebis dadasturebas warmoadgenda: a)damarcxebul i saqarTvel os, `gamarj vebul ad~ warmosaxvis da sazogadoebisadmi Tval Si nacaris Seyris saxel isufli ebo ideol ogiuri propagandis daSveba; b)wagebul omTan, dakargul teritoriebTan, ekonomiki s gaCanagebasTan da asiaTasobit devnil ebTan mimarTebaSi, qveynisa da eris winaSe pasuxismgebl obis araReba. daSvebul i Secdomebis aRiarebis sanacvl od, sazogadoebaSi iseT il uziis Seqmna, TiTqos 2008 wl is agvistos omi ruseTTan mogvegos. mTel i ubedureba imaSia, rom osi separatistebis da rusi dampyrobilebis mier Sida qarTl is gabaxebul i da damcrobil i qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis, teritoriul ad daCexil i da ufskrul isken daqanebul i saqarTvel os Semyure okeanedal eul i `nacional ebis~ l iderebi (mixeil saakaSvil i, giorgi gabaSvil i (Saxnazariani), petre ciskariSvil i, daviT darCiaSvil i, nugzar wikl auri, gigi wereTel i...), sazogadoebas `umtkicebdnen~, rom ruseT- saqarTvel os omSi `saqarTvel om gamarj va,- ruseTi `sastikad damarcxda~ da am `warmatebis~ danaxva mxol od ruseTis pirwavardnil agentebs ar SeuZl iao. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT SedarebiT Serbil ebul i forma, sagareo saqmeTa

ministris moadgil em g.bokeriam gamoiyena. gazeT `kvis pal itras- korespondentisadmi micemul interviuSi xazgasmiT aRniSna: `vinc acxadebs, saqarTvel o damarcxdao, es maTi piradi marxia da ara saqarTvel osi. Cveni opontebis upasuxismgebl oba (romel ic SesaZl oa, zogjer mtrobazec uaresi iyos) ar niSnavs, rom isini saqarTvel os mtrebi arian.-

qveynis sagareo saqmeTa samistros maRal Cinosanis mxridan `saqarTvel os gamarjvebul ad- gamocxadebis fonze gakeTebul i orazrovani gancxadeba_ `oponentTa upasuxismgebl o moqmedeba zogjer mtrobaze uaresia, magram mtrebi arian,- imis maniSnebel i iyo, rom `nacional ebis- liderebi, opoziciuri speqtridan `mtris xatis- Sesaqmel safexurs amzadebdnen. sxvagvarad ruseTis `damarcxeba- da saqarTvel os `gamarjvebis- Sesaxeb maTi samarcxvino ideol ogiuri propaganda `wyl is nayvis- doneze davidoda. saxel isufl ebo StoebSi, gamarjvebis il uziis rwmena imdenad maRal doneze iyo gamj dari, rom maTi mxridan gakeTebul i oficialuri gancxadebebis anal izi, am adamianTa Seuracxadobis STabeWdil ebas tovebs. amis damadasturebl ad ramdenime faqts movitan da TiToeul i dasaxel ebul i pirovnebis azrovnebis donis Sesaxeb daskvna Tavad mkiTxvel ma gaakeTos.

gazeT `kvis qronikisadmi- 2008 wl is 10 agvistos micemul interviuSi rati samyuraSvil i ambobda, rom rusETTan omi `Cven unda movigoT, sxva ufl eba ar gvaqvs... unda aRvadginoT is samxedro mdgomareoba, rac Cvens sajariso SenaerTebis hqondaT. es ukve gamarjvebas niSnavs. gamarjvebis Sansi rom ar gvqondes, arc vibrZol ebdiT.- amas acxadebda qveynis parl amentari im dros, roca umaRl esma mTavarsardi ma kapitulacia (10 agvisto) gamoacxada. mtrisgan gaiZarcva da ganadgurda senakisa da goris samxedro bazebi, foTis samxedro fl oti. qarTul i sajariso SenaerTebi TiTqmis mZime samxedro teqnika da msubuqi aRWurvil obis sabrZol o iaraRis gareSea darCa. am fonze kidev ufro cinikurad moCans m.saakaSvil is mier 2008 wl is 26 agvistos gakeTebul i satel evizio mimarTva.

`Tanamedrove msofl ios istoriaSi, Tanamedrove saerTasoriso urTierTobebSi_ ganacxada man,_ ... saqarTvel om mTel i msofl ios sazogadoebisgan imxel a mxardaWera mi-iRo... Cveni teritoriul i mTI ianobis garSemo, rom amas 200 wel i marto rom gvecada ver SevZI ebdIT... Cven rac davTeseT am wl ebSi, vimkiT aTmagad da asmagad Cveni organizebul obiT, Cveni SekavSirebul obiT da ruseTis mier daSvebul i Zal ian didi SecdomebiT!-

saRad moazrovne nebismieri adamiანი dameTanxmeba, rom es amonaweri, m.saakaSvil is aRiarebiT Cvenebas warmoadgens. masSi pirdapiraa naTqvami im RonisZiebebis Sesaxeb, rom ic kal iforniis laboratoriebiSi gamoyvanil ma da daprogramebul ma okeanedal eul ma kl onebma, `nacional uriwamosaxamis safarqveS wl ebis ganmavl obaSi safexurebrivad rom moumzades saqarTvel os. `Cven rac davTeseT am wl ebSi, vimkiT aTmagad da asmagad- saqarTvel os teritoriis 20 %- is dakargviT, 300 aTasi devnil isadmi 100 aTasis damatebiT, `samxreT oseTSi- da zemo kodoris xeobaSi 140- mde qarTul i sofl is da erTi qal aqis ganadgurebiT, maTi saqarTvel os Semadgenl obidan samudamod amoSi iT, ruseT- saqarTvel os sasazRvro zol ze umniSvnel o-vanesi strategiul i uRel texil ebis (maruxi, ql uxori, mamisoni) dakargviT. am `mi RwevebiT- ol impos safexurze Semdgarma saqarTvel os prezidentma, gamarjvebis sadResaswaul o RonisZieba rusTavel is gamzirze (2008 wl is 12 agvisto) triumfis formiT Caatara. mis mier warmoTqmul sityvaSi iotisodena sinanul i da Tanadgoma ar igrZnoboda dakargul i teritoriebis, namusaxdil i da gaubedurebul _ gatanjul i Sida qarTl is qarTul i sofl ebis mosaxl eobis, cxinval is regionidan da kodoris xeobidan 100 aTasobiT devnil ebTan mimarTebaSi. igi mxol od gamarjvebeze l aparakobda. amis damadasturebl ad,misi sazeimo `moxsenebidan- l ozungebis saxiT warmoTqmul gamonaTqvamebs movitan da mkiTxvel ma Tavad gansaj os, Tu ramdenad Seesatyviseboda igi saqarTvel oSi im etapze Seqmnil umZimes polititur situaciones. ai ra ganacxada

m.saakaSvil ma: `Cven gavimarj veT!-, `Cven ver dagvaCoqes da verc verasodes dagvaCoqeben!-, `mTel msofli ios davanaxeT, rom rusebi barbarosi okupantebi, maTxovrebi, agresorebi, vel urebi arian!-, `rusebma sabediswero Secdoma dauSva!-, `ruseTma mil iardobiT zaral i naxa da sakuTari ekonomika daangria!-, `ruseTi aucil ebl ad daiSi eba!-, `Cveni qveynis gaerTianeba axl a ukve mTel i msofli ios prestijis saqmea!-, `Cven erT goj miwasac ar davTmobT!-, `Cveni jariskacebis gmirul ma brZol am gadaarCina Tbil isi dacemisa gan!-, `rusebs yvel a brZol a movugeT, uamravi mebrZol i davuxoceT da teqnika (maT Soris 2, 10, 14, 20 Tu 30 TviTmfrinavi) gavunadgureT!-, `Cveni armia wel Si ar gamtydara da isev mzadaa Seasrul os nebismeri daval eba.- `Cven avaSenebT aTj er ukeTes Senobebis, asj er metad gavaZl ierebT armias da aucil ebl ad gavimarj vebT!-, `saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgena garduval ia!-, `ruseTis jinaze natoSi aucil ebl ad migviReben.- `evropaSi uvizebod vimogzaurebT da mTel i msofli io saqarTvel osTvis mil iardebs ar daiSurvebs.-

sicruiTa da kosmopol itizmiT Sezavebul i es gamonaTqvamebi, farTo sazogadoebaze_ ganuswavl el masaze da mis `gamiSiStebaze- iyo gaTvl il i. am ideol ogiuri propagandisadmi mxardaWeras, saxel isufl ebo tel eviziebi, gansakuTrebiT `rustavi- 2- axorciel ebda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, tel kompania `kavkasiis- eTeriT kaxa kukava (2008 wl is 15 seqtemberi) xazgasmiT ambobda: `rustavi_ 2- s rom mousmino, araferi samwuxaro Cven ar gvaqvs. ras l aparakob, bednierebi varT Turme... arc Wama gvinda, arc sma... srul ad iqnebi dakmayofil ebul i, magram xal xo, tkbil i tyuil i nu girCevniaT mware simarTl es.-

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis garkveul i nawil i zombirebul mdgomareobaSi i myofeboda, avisa da kargis garCevis unardakargul i iyo. mxedvel obaSi maqvs damarcxebul i mTavarsa-rdl is _`miSa magarias- formiT gaidial eba. Tuki amas ma-sa gaucnobierebl ad akeTebda, saqarTvel os intel igen-

ci-is didi nawil i (Teatrisa da kinos msaxiobebi, estradis da fol kl orul i simRerebis Semsrul ebl ebi, mxatvrebi, poetebi...) qveynis moRal ate m.saakaSvil s, ful is gul isTvis l amis fexebis ukocnidnen da mis mier udroo dros dakrul ze Tavdayira xtunavdnen. ful ze daxarbebul ebs `daaviwydaT- an Segnebul ad ar acnobierebdnen im uzarmazar tragedias, romel ic qarTvel ers mexiviT daatyda Tav. arc is enaRvl ebodaT, WeSmarit qarTul oj axebSi samSobl osadmi siyvarul iT aRzrdil i da qarTI osianTa gul anTebul i saj iSe axal gazrda biWebi, mtrisgan umowyal od rom iqna Caxocil i. m.saakaSvil is xel isufal Ta upasuxismgebl obidan gamomdinare, upatronod dayril i maTi cxe-drebi, nadirTa da gareul frinvel Ta saj ij gnad iyo qceul i. ar enaRvl ebodaT, radgan TiToeul imaTganis Svil ebi saqarTvel odan Sors iyo gaxiznul i. mikrofonmomarjvebul ebi da scenaze rokviT qarTul ni, mxol od imaze fiqrobdnen, gaweul i samsaxurisTvis Tu ramdens gadauxdida saakaSvil i. Svil mkvdari da ZaZiT damZimebul i qarTveli dedebis satkivari im wuTebSi aravis adardebda. swored es faqtori qonda mxedvel obaSi politol og soso cincaZes, roca gul istkivil iT dasZenda: `damarcxebul i napol eoni wmindal enes kunZul ze werda: mTel i evropadavi pyari da Cemi Secdoma is iyo, zomierebis grZnoba davkarge, marTI ac geni osias, vinc icis sad SeCerdeso... Cvens xel ovanebs imaze unda efiqraT, rom maT usmenda asobiT daRupul i jariskacis deda, mama, Zma, da, naTesavi.-

2008 wl is 12 agvistom kargad warmoaCina ful ze gameZavebul i qarTvel i intel igentunebis real uri saxe. maTi namoqmedaridan gamomdinare, isini mxol od erTi kriteriumiT SeiZl eba Sefasdes: Tavmoyvareobisa da erovnul i Rirsebis miRma mdgomi ful ze gayidul i `intel igencia-. vinc m.saakaSvil is mier dagegmil 2008 wl is 12 agvistos `taS- fanduras SemoqmedebiT- RonisZiebaSi monawil eobda, maTdami sxvagvari damokidebul eba SeuZl ebel ia. momxdari faqti, istoriis kuTvnil ebas warmoadgens da erTerTi samarcxvino furcel ia XXI- e saukunis saqarTvel -

os! os uaxl esi periodis istoriaSi.

rusTavel is gamzirze 2008 wl is 12 agvistos mimdinare RonisZiebasTan mimarTebaSi, im periodis presis furcl ebze uamravi publ icisturi xasiaTis weril ebi daibeWda. TiToeul maTganSi, zemoaRni Snul i `speqtakl is- mimdinare procesebi dawvril ebiTaa aRweril i da Sesabamisi daskvnebicaa gakeTebul i. amjerad mxol od gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- redaqtorisadmi imeda obl iaSvil is mier miweril weril ze SevaCereb mkiTxvel is yuradRebas. agvistos tragikul i movl enebis fonze, igi gul istkivil iTwerda: `Tval win damidga rogori sazeimo SeZaxil iT pasuxobda rusTavel ze gadaWedil i masa giorgi gabaSvil is sazeimo mowodebas_ **gamarj os... gamarj vebul saqarTvel os!** Tval win damidga, pavl e kubl aSvil ma urcxvad Tu rogor miul oca SekrebiT didgorSi gamarjvebis dRe... miul oca ise, TiTqos... kidev erTxel ganmeorda didgoris gmiroba da `Zi evai sakvirveli-... 12 agvistos ise vamayad aJRerda simRera `gamarj oba afxazeTo, Seni-, TiTqos didi gamarj vebiT Sevsul iyaviT afxazeTSi... axl a, roca Tbil isSi guSinmyofi xuTi qveynis prezidenti zeim- manifestaciis Semdeg, al baT paxmel iaze arian, esmiT ki Cveni satkivari da stkivaT ki Cveni tkivil i? **ara mgonial!**- savsebiT swori diagnozia dasmul i. **ucxo, gadamTiel i qveynebis prezidentebs, ratom unda movTxovoT qarTvel Ta satkivarze fiqri, roca saqarTvel os prezidenti cekva- TamaSiT iyo dakavebul i da `gamarj vebis- imitaciis Sesaqmnel i piaristvis aTeul obiT milionebis xarj avda? amas akeTebda umaRl esi mTavarsardal i maSin, roca `samxreT oseTidan- gamoZevebul i bavSvebi da qal ebi SimSil obdnen. xol o samTavrobo satel evizio arxebze (`rusTavi- 2-, `pirveli arxi-) `kurieri- da `moambe- sazogadoebas auwyebdnen: `Tbil isSi mimdinare zeimis saaTebSi... dabombes qarel isa da xaSuris raionebi. goris samxedro hospital i da sxvasasicocxlo obieqtebi. goris raionis sofl ebis (tyviavi, karal eTi, Zevera, variani, mej vrisxevi da sxva) mosaxl eobam gaqceva moaswro. saxl ebi cecxli s misces da gadawves. darCenil i mosaxl eobis nawil i mZevl ad aiyyanes da cxin-**

val Si waasxes.- qarTvel ebze Tavsdaxetili am ubedurebas, m.saakaSvil is xel isufal ni `gamarj vebas- eZaxda. im amazrzeni procesebis TviTmxil vel i opoziciuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebi, aRniSnul faqtTan mimarTebaSi gul iswyromas vermal avdnen. es damokidebul eba im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul publ ikaciebsa da sagazeTo interviuebSi kargad Cans. gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent jaba xubuasadmi micemul interviuSi giorgi xaindrava xazgasmit aRniSnavda: `12 agvistos azeimes xal xi gamarj vebul ebi varTo, ayvi-res `sarko, sarko- aZaxebines da amas eZaxian sainformacio omis mogebas? restornebSi `Cemi gmiri giwode, xel i gamogiwodes- simRera ar wydeba.- es xdeboda im dros, roca qarTvel mandil osnebs momxdurebi aupatiurebdnen da oj axis Rirsebis damcvel mamakacebs quCaSi xvretdden. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `kviris qronikisadmi- micemul interviuSi uSiSroebis vice- pol kovniki Temur kakabaZe gul istkivil iT ambobda: `Tqven iciT, mitingze rom sul `miSamisa- iZaxes da l amis gamarj vebis gvirgvini daadges, swored amis gamo im wuTSi gorSi xal xs xvretdden, qal ebs aupatiurebdnen?!- rac Seexeba cxinval Si daxocil qarTvel jariskacTa cxedrebs, isini quCaSi eyara da upatronobisgan ixwneboda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `asaval - dasaval - is- korespondent giorgi gigaurisadmi micemul interviuSi rusi general i viaCesi av borisovi daufaravad ambobda: `qarTvel jariskacebs rom vxedavdi quCaSi dagdebul ebs... gul i mikvdeboda, sicxisgan gaxrwnil sxeul ebs rom wwavda adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba! xmamaRl a vityvi amasac: arcerTi qarTvel i samxedro xel mZRvanel i ar damkavSirebia da gardacvlil i samxedroebis gadacema ar mouTxoviaT! diax, erTadertTi kaci vinc Cemgan es moiTxova, Cemi megobari l eonardo (devdariani S.v.) gaxl daT, romel sac Tan vinme general i anzori axl da!- samwuxarod, rusi general is es naTqvami simarTi es Seesabameba da igi arsebul i faqtebis TviTmxil vel i qarTvel i devnil ebis naambobitac dasturdeba. exeboda ra am sakiTxs, pol itol ogi ramaz kl imiaSvil i werda: `gl ovis dRes SeiZl eba koncertis mowyoba? am dRes cxinval is quCeb-

Si qarTvel i biWebis gvamebi ixrwneboda da isini dRemde iT-
vl ebian ugzo- ukl od dakargul ad. axl a gazeTebSi waviki-
Txe, Turme osebma benzini gadaasxes da dawves. saSinel ebaa
amis xmamaRI a Tqma, magram es yvel aferi aris saakaSvil is
kiser ze.⁻²⁷

mmarTvel i pol itikuri partiis mxridan am umZimesi faqteb-
is dafarva mizanimarTul ad xdeboda. sazogadoebis motyuebis
mizniT, qveyanaSi stabil urobis Sesaxeb farTo agitacia-
propagandas eweodnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs i.merabiSvil is mier
konfl iqtur regioneTan mimarTebaSi tel eviziit gakeTebu-
li gancxadeba: `patrul i maRal doneze muSaobs da situ-
acias akontrol ebs.- Sinagan saqmeTa ministris am tyuil ze
dayrdnobiT, gia TortI aZem da l ado varZel aSvil ma devni-
l ebs axal gorSi dabrunebisken mouwoda. aRniSnul sakiTxT-
an dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval isadmi- micemul in-
terviuSi giorgi xaindrava savsebiT samarTli anad dasZen-
da: `rogor SeiZl eba adamianebs mouwodo im teritoriaze
dabrunebisken, sadac absol uturad daucvel ni iqnebian kaci-
Wa-mia kazakebisa da osi separatistebisagan?... parl amentma,
mTavrobis wevrebma, saakaSvil ma, merabiSvil ma_ mohkidon xel i
TavianT col - Svil s, SeuZRven mosaxl eobas okupirebul so-
fl ebSi, dasaxl dnen maTTan erTad da naxon, aris Tu ara
usafrTxo iq cxovreba.-

Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom gor-
is raionis midamoebSi rusi samxedroebis gamoCenisTanave,
prezidentis rwmunebul i l ado varZel aSvil i da goris qal a-
qis xel mZRvanel oba, Tavis gadarCenis mizniT daimal nen. Tuki
im umZimes periodSi gorsa da zugdi dSi myofi opoziciuri
partiebis warmomadgenl ebis (g.sanikiZe, k.Sartava, z.ZiZiguri,
b.gunava, g.bukia, d.anTia) mier presisadmi micemul intervi-
uebs safuZvl ianad gavecnobiT, davrwmundebiT, rom saqarTve-
l os xel isufl eba arsebul i sinamdvil is dafarvas maqsim-
al urad cdil obda. is adamianebi, roml ebic Znel bedobis Jams
qveynis sasikeTo saqmis gasakeTebI ad iRwvoden, simarTli is
TqmisTvis `nacional ebma- daapatimres. aRniSnul sakiTxTan
dakavSirebiT tel ekompania `kavkasiis- eTeriT zviad ZiZig-

urma ganacxada: `me, beJan gunava, giga bukia ruseTis tankebs viTvl idiT da mTel samegreloSi mgoni marTo Cven davdi-odiT manqaniT. kaxa aq iyo StabSi da gadavcemdiT amdeni rusion tanki aq wavida da es atyobinebda samxedroebSac da yvel as. Cven zugdidSi swrafad viRebdiT informacias da amas gad-movcemdiT. sad iyo xel isufli eba? erTaderTi kaci, romel ic zugdidSi dadioda iyo demur anTia, romel ic daapatimres ramdenime dRis win imitom, rom opoziciuri azrebi aqvs. is iyo Cveni marjvena xel i.²⁸ **aseTi dapaTimrebebi m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebam `Cveul ebriv- movl enad aqcia, radgan igi xal xis dasaSinebl ad iyo mimarTul i. sazoga-doebas qveynis katastrofisa da ufskrul isken daqanebis Sesaxeb simarTi e ar unda codnoda. mas mxol od `rusTavi-2-- is, `pirvel i arxis- da `imedis- Jurnal isteBis mier SeTxzul tyuil ebze dafuZnebul i `gamarjvebebis- il uziit unda ecxovra. arsebul umZimes politikur situacias, `nacional ebis- mkvexara gancxadebebi kidev ufro amZimebda. zemoaRniSnul i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebiT ganpirobebul Sedegebs, xel isufli ebisgan ful ze mosyidul i Jurnal isteBi aRmSenebl obiT formatSi warudgenda farTo sazogadoebas. samwuxarod, isini iseTive siyal besa da danaSaul s Cadiodnen erisa da qveynis winaSe, rogorc XX saukunis 30_ 40-iani wl ebis Jurnal isteBi. Tavianti qmedebebiT maT samarcxvino furcel i Caweres XXI saukunis qarTul i Jurnal istikis istoriaSi.**

amrigad. naSromSi motanil i masal ebis anal izis safuZvel ze dasabuTebul ia: 1)saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis sagareo politikuri kursi, ruseTTan mimarTebaSi mizanmimarTul i dapiRispiRebis gaRrmavebaze da sazogadoebaSi ruseTis saxiT `mtris xatis- Seqmnaze iyo gaTvl il i. myari mtkicebul ebebis gareSe, rusi `j aSuSebis- daWeris (2006 wl is 27 seqtembri) gaxmaurebul i faqti, aRniSnul i mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i nabij is gadadgmiS demonstrirebas warmoadgenda. 2)amierkavkasi- is regionSi damkvidrebiS mizniT, ori zesaxel mwifos (ruseTi, aSS) interesebis saqarTvel oSi gadkveTa, qveynis

xel isufli ebas moqnil i pol itikuri kursis gatarebas aval debul ebda. mi Tumetes, saqarTvel os konfliqturi regionebs sakiTxTan mi marTebaSi, ruseTis faqtori gansakuTrebul rols asrul ebs. am fonze, m.saakaSvil is mier ruseTis gasaRizianebl ad gakeTebul i oficial uri gancxadeba: _samxreT oseTs- ramdenime kviraSi an TveSi SemouerTebda saqarTvel os, piarkampaniis garkveul safexurTan erTad, mowinaaRmdegis gafrTxil ebas warmoadgenda da misi qmedeba, qveynis saziانو el ementebs Seicavda; 3)2008 wl is agvistos saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis dros, cxinval Si myofi euTos sami damkvirvebl is konfindencial uri, magram saeWvo angariSis da h.tal iavinis komisiis tendenciuri daskvnis III, XIV muxl ebis mixedviT: a)cxinval is regionSi sabrZol o moqmedebebis damwyebad qarTul i mxarea dadanaSaul ebul i; b)58- e armiis rusul i Seiararebul i samxedro SenaerTebis da mZime teqniki, rokis gvirabiT saqarTvel oSi Semosvl is dros, ara 7 agvisto (gamTeniis 3 saaTi da 41 wuTi), aramed 8 agvistoa dasaxel ebul i da sabrZol o moqmedebebSi misi Cabma dRis meore naxevariTaa dafiqsirebul i. sinamdvil is gamrudebis gamo, aRniSnul daskvnaze dayrdnoba dauSvebel ia. mi Tumetes, imave dokumentiT, ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os Sidasaxel mwi foebriv saqmeebSi Careva da qveynis teritoriis garkveul i nawil is mizanmiarTul i okupacia mxol od`mokrZal ebul i- formiTaa aRiarebul i. 4)ruseTisa da aSS- is gamocdil ebidan gamodinare, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTliano bis aRdgenisa da SenarcunebisaTvis qveynis xel isufli ebis mxridan separatizmis winaaRmdeg gatarebul i nebsmieri RonisZieba misaRebia da saerTaSoriso samarTli is CarCoSi j deba. mi uxedavad amisa, dasaxul i amocanis gansaxorciel ebl ad, saqarTvel os specifikuri sinamdvil e pirvel rigSi iyo gasaTval iswinebel i: mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)konfliqtur regionebsi ruseTis moqal aqeebis dacvis motivaciit (ruseTis fed-

eraciis konstituciis 61- e muxl is meore nawil i), ru-
seTis mosal odnel i agresiiis garduval oba; b)Cr dil o-
eTis mezobl isgan Seqmnil i safrTxis SesaCerebl ad
qarTul i mxaris momzadebis done. (Sesabamisi masal ebis
xel miuwvdoml obis gamo, j erj erobiT gaurkvevel ia,
samxedro xel ovnebis maRal i donis special istebi-
sgan momzadda Tu ara mosal odnel safrTxesTan mima-
rTebaSi qveynis Tavdacvis gegma. ganixil a Tu ara igi
uSi Sroebis sabWom da ra rekomendaciebi misca samo-
qmedod saqarTvel os mTavrobas). 5) samxedro eqsper te-
bis mier gakeTebul i daskvnebis mixedviT dasturdeba:
a) saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis oficrebis da-
bal i kval ificiuri done, saomari moqmedebisa da Sem-
degi etapisatvis damaxasiaTebel i el ementarul i safex-
urebis ucodinaroba, taqtikis sferoSi gaurkvevl oba
da frontis mowinave xazze Seqmnil i situaciis Sesa-
bamisad individual uri gadawyvetil ebebis vermiReba;
b) qarTul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis genStabis sardl o-
bis_`general itetis- uvargisoba, araprofesional izmi.
aRni Snul i faqtorebi dan gamomdinare ganpi robebul -
ma marcxma, ganuzoml ad didma zaral ma (adamianuri
resursi, samxedro infrastruqtura, qveynis ekonomika)
saqarTvel os ufskrul isaken daqanebas Seuwyo xel i.
6) 2008 wl is 12 agvistos n.sarkoz- m.saakaSvil - d.medve-
devis 6 punqtiani SeTanxmeba, saqarTvel odan rusul i
j aris gayvanas ar iTval iswinebs. igi saqarTvel osTvis
kapi tul antur dokumentis warmoadgens da misi `wi nga-
dadgmul nabij ad- gamocxadeba, m.saakaSvil is mxridan
`gamarj vebis- piarkampaniis Seqmnaze iyo gaTvl il i.
rusTavel is gamzirze 12 agvistos mowyobil i sazeimo
`taS- fandura,- saomari operaciebis dros daRupul i
axal gazrdebis oj axebisa da aTiaTasobi T devnil isa-
dmi_ xel isufl ebis mxridan sul Si CafurTxebis ofi-
cial ur demonstrirebas warmoadgenda. es qmedeba, erT-
erT samarcxvino faqtad darCeba XXI saukunis saqarTvel
os uaxl es istoriaSi.

\$ 2. zemo kodoris da Cxal Tas xeobebis mtrisdmi ubrZol vel ad Cabareba_ qarTvel Ta mourCenel i satkivari

saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis agvistos avanturam da saomari moqmedebebis qarTvel Ta damarcxebiT damTavrebam, gansakutrebuli mtkivneuli dარი, qveynis teritoriული მტილიანობის არდგენის სამომავლო პერსპექტივას დასვა. კონფლიქტურ რეგიონებში სტრატეგიული და მკონტროლებელი ზარრვის (აფხაზეთში_ zemo kodoris xeoba, `samxreT oseTSi~_ დიდი და პატარა ლიახვის, ფონის ხეობები და ახალგორის რაიონი...) რუსეთისადმი გადაცემა მაგვს მხედველობაში. ამჟერად მკითხველის იურადრებას `აფხაზეთის მორცენელი კიბოს- (ვარზინბა) zemo kodoris xeobaze SevaCereb. მისი დასაყვრითა (2006 წლის ივლისი) და ბათლიონ `მონადირეს- wevrTa დიდი ნაწილის განადგურებით, საზოგადოებაში სეკმნილი უკმაყოფილება უკანა პლანზე რომ მოქცეულიყო, ხეობაში `დამკვრელი ტემპით- დაუბეხილი `არმსენები ბიტი- პროცესი გაიარება განაქორციელა.

2008 წლის აგვისტოს ომამდე არსებული მონაცემებით, zemo kodoris xeobaში ასენდა: ბრამბისა და ომარისარას 250 კილოვანი ხესი, გვანდრასა და საკენსი დამონაქდა ელ ეტრო- გადამცემი ხაზი, სატრანსფორმატორო პუნქტები, გენწვისა და Cxal Tas_ სატელევიზიო გადამცემი სადგური, Cxal Tas_ ულტრაბუნებრივი აპარატურით არწურული კინოთეატრი, ორი სახეობის კორპუსი. აქარასა და Cxal Tas_ 19 კოტეჯი, სახეობის საამგრო. იმავი სოფელი დამონაქდა ატრაქციონები. გაქდა საკენი- უბერის 42 კილომეტრიანი გზა, გაიქსნა სამი სასუალი და 6 დაუბეხილი სკოლა, ერთი საავადმყოფო, 6 სასოფლო-აღორძობის აქტივობები. არწინსული მესამედი იურადრებას იქოვდა კოდრელი ბათნი მამარტებაში ეკვიციანი 2002_ 2004 წლებში საკარტველის მტავრობისადმი გაგზავნილი ვერისებში. ეს რომ ტავის დროზე მომხდარიყო, zemo kodoris xeoba დრესაკ საკარტველ- ოს იურისდიქციის დაკვემდებარებაში იქნებოდა, იკაყრილი ატელეობიტი მილიონები რუსებისა და აფხაზების კუტვნილი ბარგაქდებოდა.

m.saakaSvil is xel isufli eბამ გარეგნული ადისეტი იდეოლოგიური ფონი სეკმნა, ტიტკოს ველი აწრის ხელის სემსი ელი ბათ-

I ioni `monadi res- wevrebi da e.kviciani iyo, Torem mTavr-
 obis mizans, xeobis aRorZineba namdvil ad ar warmoadgen-
 da. pol itikuri partieb is I iderTa umetesobam, es satyu-
 ari ankesi uprobl emod `Cayl apa- da m.saakaSvil is `aRmSe-
 ne-l obiTi- kursi, qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRd-
 genis sawyis etapad mi iCnia. samwuxarod, yuradRebis mi Rma
 yvel aze mniSvnel obani faqtori datoves, roml is mifuCe-
 Cebasac m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva yovel mxriv cdi-
 l obda. saqme exeba moskovis 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxme-
 bas. es dokumenti, zemo kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os
 xel isufl ebas saj ariso qvedanayofis Seyvanas ukrZal av-
 da. mas mx-ol od, msubuqad SeiaraRebul i pol iciis SezRudu-
 l i kontingentis yol is ufl eba gaaCnda. aqedan gamom-
 dinare, rogorc wina TavebSi mqonda aRniSnul i,
 saqarTvel osTvis am kapi tul anturi dokumentis denonsire-
 bis sakiTxs ayenebda e.kviciani. am moTxovnis Sesrul ebis
 SemTxvevaSi, kodoris xeobaSi saqarTvel os Zal ovan uwe-
 bebs srul fasovani saj ariso SenaerTis Seyvanis SesaZl e-
 bl oba miecemoda da misi dacvis uzrunvel yofis garan-
 tiasac Seqmnida. am mimarTul ebiT pragmatul i xasiaTis
 nabij is gadadgmas, m.saakaSvil i da maSindel i saqarTve-
 l os parl amenti Segnebul ad uvl ida gverds.

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare Tuki
 ganvixil avT sakiTxs, zemo kodoris xeoba dauvel i iyo. am-
 as rusebi da afxazebi kargad xedavdnen, magram ar Cqarobd-
 nen. I odinisa da moTminebis taqtikuri gza qondaT arCeu-
 l i. drogamoSvebiT xeobis Tavdacvisunarianobis Semowmebis
 Tavisebur formas mimarTavdnen. mxedvel obaSi maqvs rusu-
 l i vertmfrenebis mier zemo kodoris xeobis dabombva (2007
 wl is marti). momxdari faqti, rusi samSvidoboebis sardal ma
 sergei Cabanmac daadastura. igi sagareo saqmeTa ministris
 moadgil em sergei karasinmac ver uaryo. s.karasinis TqmiT,
 `kodoris xeobaSi ar moxdeboda es incidenti, `virtual ur
 mTavrobas- rom ar daedo iq bina, romel sac afxazeTis I e-
 gitimur xel isufl ebad asaReben.-

ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa saminstros maRal Cinosanis mier,

არისნული ინციდენტის განმარტობებელ მიზეზად აფხაზეთის
 ელიტიმური- მთავრობის ზემო კოდორის გადასვლის დასახ-
 ელება, თავის მართლების უსუსურ ფორმას უარყოფდა. მიტუ-
 მეთს, რუსების ვერტმფრენებით იმავი ზემო კოდორის ხეობის
 დაბომბვებს 1994_ 2004 წლებში ადგილი. აყედან გამომ-
 დინარე, რუსი სამსვიდობეობის- კმედებები, ზემო კოდორის ხე-
 ბობაში სეივანილი კართული პოლიციის კვედანაიოფის ბრჭოლი სუ-
 ნარიანობისა და მისი არწურვილობის გამომწვევების მცდელობ-
 ბას სეიცი-ავდა. არსებულის მასალის მიხედვით, ზემო კოდორის
 მოსახლეობის დამცველი პოლიციელიებს, რუსულ საფრენ
 აპარატებთან მიმართებაში იმ ეტაპზე რეაგირება არ გუკეთებია.
 ეს იმას ნიშნავს, რომ საკართული ოსტვის უარესად სტრატეგიუ-
 ლი და ტერიტორიული მტლიანობისათვის სასიცოცხლო დანი-
 სულის მონაკვეთი ბედის ანაბარად იყო მიტოვებული.
 მსააკასვილის ხელიუფლების იდეოლოგები, რუს სამსვიდობეობს
 დამის ხელმძღვანელობას ტელევიზიებით ტუკი აუგად იქსენიებ-
 და, იგი მასაზე იდეოლოგიური ზემოკმედების გატვლილ სენარს
 უარყოფდა. სინამდვილესი, მართლაც აქოურტიერთობა ჰგონ-
 დატ და კეიფსაც არ გაუბოდნენ. კოდორის მკვიდრთა ნაამბო-
 ბიდან ირკვევა, რომ 2007 წლის ივნისში, ზემო კოდორის ხეობაში,
 რუს ოფიცრებთან ერთად იმერაბისვილი მათესი იქეიფა, სემდეგ
 ტერაქტის ინსცენირება გაიტამასა. ხელისუფლების ტელევიზი-
 მა, ნაქეიფარი იმერაბისვილის სემტხვევით გადარცენის-
 გამოგონილი მითი გააქიარა. ამ ფაქტთან მიმართებაში რუსთავი- 2-
 ის და პირველი არხის- ჟურნალისტებმა იგი ლამის გმირად
 გამოიყვანეს.

იმ პერიოდის პრესის ფურცლებზე გავრცელებული მწერი
 ინფორმაციის მიხედვით, საკართული ოს ხელისუფლება, გარკვეული
 გარიგებების საფასურად, რუსებისათვის ზემო კოდორის ხეობის
 ცაბარების შესაბამის საფეხურს ამზადებდა და ამ დანასაუ-
 ლებრივ საკმესი სუამაჟის როლს იმერაბისვილის ასრულებ-
 და. რამდენადაც ამ საკითხთან მიმართებაში მყარი ხელისუფლებ-
 დი მტკიცებულება არ არსებობს, კონკრეტული დასკვნის გაკეთება
 მიზანსეუონლად მიმაცნია. ერთი რამ და-
 ბეჯითებით სეიცილება იტყვას; იმავი იმერაბისვილის უინამორბე-
 დები, ზემო კოდორის რუსებისათვის ცაბარებით იყო დაინტერე-

sebul i. mxedvel obaSi myavs Sinagan saqmeTa yofil i ministri kaxa TargamaZe. aRniSnul faqtTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent j aba xubuasadmi micemul interviuSi ekviciani xazgasdmiT ambobda: `kodoris xeobis Cabarebaze muSaoba... jer kidev 1994_ 1995 wl ebSi mimdinareobda. 1995_ 1996 wl ebSi iZul ebul i gamxades saqarTvel - odan gavqceul iyavi da Sinagan saqmeTa ministrs kaxa TargamaZes Cavabare xeoba. mere gadmomces, ras l aparakobdnen uSiSroebis samsaxurSi_ kodorel ebs erTmaneTi unda davaxocinoT, yvel a oj axSi TiTo micval ebul i unda iyoso! ori wl is ganmavl obaSi, sanam gaqceul i viyavi, kodoris xeobaSi 53 kacs erTmaneTi daaxocines. mere Camovedi da kaxa TargamaZe Taviani xal xianad gamovagde xeobidan.- korespondent j .xubuas SekiTxvaze_ `ki magram, ra mizani hqonda TargamaZes?- ekvicianma upasuxa: `daval eba hqondaT, rom kodoris xeoba rusebisaTvis CaebarebinaT. sad arian dRes kaxa TargamaZe da sazRvris dacvis departamentis maSindel i ufrosival eri CxeiZe? moskovSi cxovroben da im samsaxurSi muSaoben, roml is saxel wodebac yvel am kargad icis!... SevardnaZes ar undoda kodoris xeobis Cabareba. roca Semotevebi iyo da xeoba dasacavi xdeboda, SevardnaZe yovel Tvis mxardaWeras micxadebda da yvel aferSi momyveboda.-²⁹

am vrcel i amonaweridan, Sinagan saqmeTa saministrosa da sazRvris departamentis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan zemo kodoris xeobisadmi damokidebuil eba kargad Cans. isic irkveva, rom rusebTan urTierTobisa da xeobis samomavl o bedis gadawyvetis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, m.saakaSvil isgan maRal doneze xel Sewyobis Sedegad, i.merabiSvil i winamorbedis gakvalul gzas miyveboda. im periodis masal ebiT dadasturebulia, rom yovel sapasuxismgebl o Sexvedraze Tu satel evizio interviuebSi, m.saakaSvil i kodoris xeobis `dabrunebasusvamda xazs. misi gamosvl ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsjel ebT, `dabrunebul i- kodoris xeobis_ `zemo afxazeTad- wodebul s Sesabamis dokumentebSi unda epova asaxva. 2006 wl - idan 2008 wl is agvistomde ganvl il monakveTsi oficial - ur Sexvedrebze xel moweril dokumentebSi, `zemo afxaze-

Ti- da misi xel isufli eba arsad ar figurirebs. es faqti, safuzvl ian ewvs qmnis imis Sesaxeb, rom m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis pol itikuri kursi_ zemo kodoris `dab-runebis-, xeobisadmi `zemo afxazeTis- darqmevis da afx-azeTis `l egitimuri- mTavrobis iq gadayvanis myviral a formiT gapiareba, sazogadoebis Tval is axvevas da ruse-TisaTvis xeobis gadasacemad xel sayrel i safexuris Seqm-nas emsaxureboda. am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul erT- erT mniSvnel ovan nabijs 2008 wl is 21 maisis sapaarl amento arCevnebisatvis zemo kodoris xeobis_ `zemo afxazeTis-saarCevno ol qad ardamtkiceba da forsirebul i tempiT mestiis saarCevno ol qisadmi mierTeba warmoadgens. es danaSaul ebrivi manipul ireba, saarCevno komisiis Tavmj -domarem l evan TarxniSvil ma imdenad konspiraciul formebsi ganaxorciel a, rom opoziciisaTvis mas Semdeg gaxda cnobil i, roca gasacivrebis dro amowurul i iyo. aRniSnul Tan dakavSirebiT, gaerTianebul ma opoziciam (erovnul i sabWo-), m.saakaSvil i saxel mwifo Ral atSi daadan-aSaul a. am sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, kaxa kukava pirdapir acx-adebda: `es aris xel isufli ebs viwropartiul i interesi, radgan maT kargad dainaxes, rom mestiaSi maJoritarobis saxel isufli ebo kandidats opoziciis kandidatTan dabal i reitingi aqvs da am svl iT surT gaanaRdon kidev erTi mandati parl amentSi... zemo afxazeTis am saarCevno ol qze mi-erTebiT,... yvel asaTvis gasagebia Tu sad wava arsebul i samxe-dro mosamsaxureebis xmebi.- misive TqmiT, saqarTvel os xe-l isufli ebam da saarCevno komisiis Tavmj domarem l .Tarxni-Svil ma fexqveS gaTel a qveynis konstitucia da teritoriu-l i mTI ianoba. am SemTxvevaSi kkukava savsebiT marTal i iyo. Tuki m.saakaSvil i, oficial urad gamocxadebul zemo afx-azeTis gapiarebas partiul interesebs ar uqvemdebarebda da misi yovel i gadawyvetil eba teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenaze iyo gaTvl il i, zemo afxazeTis saarCevno ol qi, roml is xseneba mowaml ul i isariviT xvdeboda gul ze afxazebsa da rusebs, sxva ol qebTan erTad, cal ke unda yofil iyo warmodgenil i. meore mxriv, zemo kodorel ebs_

`zemo afxazel ebs~ saqarTvel os parl amentSi Tavisi damoukidebel i maJoritari deputati yol oda. Tuki es ganxorciel deboda, momxdari faqtiT, safuZvel i Caeyreboda `zemo afxazetiS~, misi damoukidebel i saparl amento deputatisa da mTavrobis oficial ur dokumentebSi dafiqsirebas. momxdar ukanono faqtTan mimarTebaSi, im etapze afxazetiS `l egitimuri~ mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebs xma ar amouRia. rac Seexeba opozicias, zemoaRniSnul i mcireodeni protestiT dakmayofil da. arada, am da sxva danaSaul ebrivma RonisZiebebma, agvistos omis dros iCina Tavi da ruseTis mxare_ `zemo afxazetiS~ dakavebis aucil ebl obaze aal aparaka. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, zviad ZiZiguri tel ekompania `kavkasiis~ eTeriT (2008 wl is seqtemberi) acxadebda: `kodori, romel ic saarCevnod Turme mestia da svaneTi yofil a, gamomixades zemo afxazetad, wavida rusi da Tu afxazeti ariso isic dai kava~ samwuxarod, es sayveduri momxdari faqtidan sakmaod dagvi anebiT gamoiTqva. igi omiT miyenebul i momakvdi nebel i SedegebiT iyo ganpirobebul i da `ukan mi devnebul l amprad~ SeiZl eba CaiTval os. qveynis parl amentSi, zemo kodoris mosaxl eobis warmomadgenl obis arCevas ramdenadac Segnebul ad eTqva uari, igi erTxel kidev migvani Snebs, rom 2005 wl idan 2008 wl is CaTvl iT, m.saakaSvil is mier ganxorciel ebul i qmedebebi, sazogadoebis mosatyuebel piarze iyo agebul i da `zemo afxazetad~ gadanaTl ul i xeobis, rusebisaTvis Casabarebel i safexuris momzadebas emsaxureboda. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `kviris qronikas~ korespondent darej an mefisaSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi, zemo kodoris xeobidan devnil i nora rezesiZe xazgasmiT ambobda: `kodoris dakargva maSin dai wyo, roca i araRi agvyares, `monadi re~ daSal es, mere baramiZe da oqruaSvil i atarebdnen specoperaciebs, viTom kriminal s eZebdnen da arakriminal ebsac uvardebodnen saxl ebSi, sisxl ze idgnen da kubdars mi irTmevdnen.³⁰

am SemTxvevaSi, m.saakaSvil s, i.oqruaSvil s, i.merabiSvil sa da g.baramiZes, kodoris mosaxl eobis fsiqol ogiuri daterorebiT, TiToeul maTganSi Seupovrobis amoSanTva da

Sinagani monuri morCil ebis damkvidreba qondaT mi znad
 dasaxul i. am mimarTul ebiT gatarebul i RonisZiebis erT-
 erT safexurs, maTTvis armosawon, udanaSaul o magram urC
 oj axebSi specoperaciis motivaci iT Sevardna da dawioke-
 ba wa-rmoadgenda. oj axis mcirewl ovani bavSvebis Tan-
 daswrebiT amas Segnebul ad akeTebdnen, radgan isini ara
 uSiSrebad, aramed m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisadmi monuri
 morCil ebis cnobierebiT aRzrdil iyvnen. momaval i Tao-
 bis fsiqol ogiurad damuSavebis es meTodi, XX saukunis
 30- iani wl ebis bol Sevikebisa da faSistebis mier iyo
 aprobierebul i. kerZod, ufrosi Taobis sadamsj el o RonisZ-
 iebis proceduras, umcros Taobas rom ayurebinebdnen. am
 danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis XXI- e saukuneSi gadmotana,
 `demokratiul i Suqurisen- gadadgmul nabij s ki ara, kani-
 bal izmisken dabrunebas ni Snavda. aseTi Sidapol itikuri
 kursis gatarebiTa da adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis `damuSave-
 biT-, safexurebrivad mZaddeboda rusebisadmi zemo kodori-
 is xeobis gadacemis Sesabamisi pirobebi. swored es garemo-
 ba qonda mxedvel obaSi pol itol og ramaz kl imiaSvil s, roca
 gazeT `kviris qronika-- s korespondent gel a zedel aSvil -
 isadmi micemul interviuSi werda: `saakaSvil ma Segnebul ad
 gaaCuqa afxazeTi... me vl aparakob rogorc anal itikosi da
 maqvs saamiso eWvebi... mainteresebs, ratom moxda kodoris
 xeobis operacia saakaSvil is jarebis mier? imitom rom mere
 zemo afxazeTi daerqmiat da rusebisaTvis gadaecaT? **afx-
 zebsa da rusebs ise eSi nodat svanebis, TavSi arc mosvl i-
 at kodoris xeoba aeRoT.** saakaSvil ma svani vAjkacebi ga-
 yara iqedan da kodori mousufTava rusebs.- Tanac, rusebisa
 da afxazebis gasaRizianebl ad, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis
 (masis) mosatyuebl ad, rogorc ramaz kl imiaSvil i ambobda
 `xma-maRl a gahyviroda, afxazeTis nawil i davibruneo.- **afx-
 azeTis marTl ac dabruneba rom qonoda m.saakaSvil s Caf-
 iqrebul i, zemo kodorel i svanebisadmi SiSis tradiciu-
 l ad qceul i miTiuri l legendis dangrevas ar moaxdenda.
 piriqit, misi gaRrmavebisa da gapiarebis xel Sewyobit,
 afxazebs am SiSis qveS moaqcevda, mol aparakebis magi dasTan**

miiwvevda da safexurebrivad Tavis pirobebs SesTavazeb-
 da. samwuxarod, movl enebi sapirispiron ganviTarda. am
 fonze, savsebiT kanonzomierad moCans nora kvicianis mier
 irakl i oqruaSvil isadmi dasmul i SekiTxvebi: `ratom gaauq-
 ma batalioni `monadire?~ ratom Semoiyvana jari xeobaSi?
 ratom dabomba xeoba? Tu saakaSvil is brZanebiT gaakeTa, gam-
 ovides da Tqvas, rom prezidentma ubrZana da sxvanairad ar
 SeeZl ol... icoda Tu ara, rom kodors rusebisaTvis gadasace-
 mad amzadebdnen?~ es samarTl iani SekiTxvebi, i.oqruaSvil isgan
 pasuxgaucemel i darCa. misi aseTi qmedeba, dRevandel i gada-
 saxedidan gakvirvebas ar iwvevs, radgan samSobl os winaSe
 Cadenil i danaSaul isTvis axal xel isufl ebas dRemde aravin
 dausj ia. piriqit, 2003 wel s xel isufl ebaSi misvl iT gamdi-
 drebul ma i.oqruaSvil ma, dRevandel i parl amentari `daqal -
 isagan- pol itdevnil is statusi miiRo da Tavs mSvenivrad
 grZnobs. xol o is adaminebi, roml ebiC 14 wl is ganmavl oba-
 Si zemo kodoris xeobas mkerdiT icavdnen, zogi moRal ated
 gamoacxades, zogi cixeSi mokl es da zogic samudamod dev-
 nil ad aqcies. jer kidev 2006 wl is ivl isSi, emzar kviciani
 qarTul sazogadoebasa da opoziciur pol itikur speqtrs
 oficial urad afrTxil ebda: _batalion `monadires- gauqme-
 biT da xeobis mosaxl eobis ganiaraRebiT, saakaSvil sa da
 mis garemocvas, afxazebisa da rusebisadmi xeobis Cabareba
 rom qonda gadawyvetil i. samxedro saqmis mcodne eqspertebi,
 im etapze kategoriul i formiT acxadebdnen, rom rusTave-
 l is gamzirze `gazrdil i- pol iciel i xeobas ver daicavda.
 es samuSao TviT adgil obriv mosaxl eobas unda Seesrul ebina.
 miuxedavad amisa, `yvel afris codnaSi darwmunebul i- saqarTve-
 l os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebi brZnul i Segonebis saw-
 inaaRmdego dinebas miyvebodnen. Seusmenl obidan da rusebT-
 an winaswari garigeb-idan gamomdinare Sedegebma, 2008 wl is
 agvistos movl enebis dros iCina Tavi. amis Sesaxeb, 2012 wel s
 Jurnal ma `mebrZol ma- saintereso masal ebi gamoaqveyana. mxed-
 vel obaSi maqvs l al i papaskiris publ ikacia `rogor tovebd-
 nen qarTvel i mebrZol ebi kodoris xeobas 2008 wl is agvis-
 toSi.- aq ZiriTadad zemo kodoris xeobaSi myofi pol iciel eb-

is mier danaxul i movl enebis aRweraa gadmocemul i. am masal ebidan irkveva, rom pol iciis qvedanayofis xel mZRvanel obas, xeobis datoveba yovel gvare winaaRmdegobis gawevis gareSe, saomari moqmedebibis dawyebisTanave qonda gadaWyvetil i. amasTan dakavSirebiT, im etapze xeobaSi myofi 28 wl is pol iciel is Temuris naambobze SevaCereb mkiTxvel is yuradRebas. `8 agvistos, rogorc ki sahaero Seteva daiwyo_ wers igi, _ gavr cel da informacia, Cveni samxedro SenaerTebi winaaRmdegobis gawevas ar apirebda, radgan azri ar qonda. mTavari iyo iqauropa udanakargod dagvetovebina... meTauroba Zal ian dabneul i iyo... rogorc ki mowinaaRmdegem haeridan pirvel i ierisi ganaxorciel a, maSinve panika daiwyo... me mzad viyavi Cemi avtomatis garda yvel aferi dametovebina, radgan ar gvqonda araviTari gegma da strategia rogor unda movqceul iyaviT. arc is vicodiT,... ra daval ebis Sesrul eba gveval eboda.³¹ imave masal ebidan irkveva, rom pol iciis xel mZRvanel obis brZanebis Sesabamisad, visac rogor SeeZl o, individual urad ezruna Tavis gadarCenisTvis. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT 27 wl is pol iciel i vinme robreti wers: `ocmeTaurma gviTxra, visac rogor SegiZl iaT, ise uSvel eT Tavso. iqaurobis azrze ar viyavi da arc is vicodi saiT da rogor unda wavsul iyavi.~ es faqti, rogorc zemoT-ac mqonda aRniSnul i, erTxel kidev miuTiTebis imis Sesaxeb, rom kodoris dacva, TviT adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis prioriteti unda yofil iyo da maTi zrunvis sagnad eqciaT. rac Seexeba TviT organizaciul process, amasTan dakavSirebiT imave masal ebiT irkveva, rom sardl obaSi srul i qaosi da ganukiTxaoba iyo gamefebul i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs m.saakaSvil is mier gansakuTrebil i formiT gapiarebul i amerikul i tipis avtomatebi `em- 4-. igi kodoris xeobaSi vaznebis gareSe iqna atanil i da saWiroebis dros gamousadegari aRmoCnda. TiTqmis anal ogiuri situacia iyo Seqmnil i xeobaSi im etapze atanil i rel iefis Seuferebel mZime samxedro teqnikaTan mimarTebaSi. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, imave qvedanayofis erT- erTi pol iciel i wers: `Zal ian bevri Secdoma davuSviT. Cvenebs unda gaeTval aT, rom rusebi aviacias

gamoiyenebdnen da im raodenobis mZime teqnika ar unda aez-idaT, unda scodnodaT, rom ubral od ver gamoiyenebdnen... es Cemi erTi rigiTi jariskacis azria.- aRniSnul i faqti imis naTel i demonstrirebaa, Tu ra donis oficrobas qonda daval ebul i kodoris xeobis dacva. aqedan isic irkveva, rom qveynis Tavdacvis saminstrosa da uSiSroebis sabWos, xeobis dacvis general uri gegma ar gaaCnda. 1993 wl idan 2005 wl is CaTvl iT, zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi rusul - afxazuri agresiuLi qmedebebis gamocdil eba, xeobis dacvis safuZvl i-anad gaweril i gegmis saWiroebas da Sesabamis dros mis amo-qmedebas moiTxovda. Tuki es ar gakeTda, mxol od imisTvis, rom am mimarTul ebiT gadadgmul i pragmatul i nabiji, afxazebisa da rusebisadmi xeobis gadacemis xel isSemSi el i qmedeba iqneboda. amis myar safuZvel s, zemo kodoris mcx-ovrebl ebis naambobze dayrdnobiT p.mamraZis mier motanil i uaRresad sayuradRebo faqti iZl eva. `kodorel ebma miambes_ wers igi, _ rom Cvenma samxedroebma srul i panikis fonze datoves xeoba,yvel aferi miatoves,pirdapir xtebodnen j ipebSi da garbodneno. Cveni Zal ebis gasvl is kval dakval , 12_ 13 agvistos kodoriSi Sesul afxaz separatistebisa da rus samxedroebis didZal i teqnika da amerikul i samxedro hospital i CauvardaT xel Si. StabSi samxedro rukebi gaSl il i daxvdaT banqos qaRal debTan da l udiT savse kaTxebTan erTad...³²

aseTi upasuxismgebl o `sardl obis- xel qveiT myofma 150 rigiTma pol iciel ma, samoqal aqo tansacml iT gamoaRwia xebidan. rac Seexeba qvedanayofis danarCen wevrebs, afxazebisadmi iaraRis Cabarebis safasurad, imave afxazebis mier gakeTe-bul i koridoriT SeZl es xebidan gamosvl a. am faqt-Tan dakavSirebiT, kodoris xeobaSi imJamad myofi 32 wl is pol iciel i Temuri wers; `gavigeT, rom sabrZol o teqniki Cabarebis sanacvl od, iqedan e.w. usafRTxo koridors gvTava-zobdnen. droc mogvces 48 saaTi. Tan gagvafrTxil es, erTi `satyuaras- mainc Tu gadavawydebiT, Cveni kontrol is qveS xarT da aqedan vercerTi gaaRwevTo.-

Cems mier motanil i faqtebi imis naTel i dadasturebaa

Tu ra donis upasuxismgebl od moekida kodoris xeobis dacvis sakiTxs, xeobaSi gadasul i afxazeTis`l egi timuri- mTavroba da Zal ovani struqturebis Stabis xel mZRvanel o- ba. Seqmnil situaciaSi, afxazeTis`l egi timurma- mTavrobam ara mar to ususuroba gamoavl ina, aramed misi arsebobis mizanSewonil obasac gadausva xazi. Jiul i Sartavasac SeeZl o soxumidan gamoqceul iyo da Tavi gadaercina, ma- gram samSobl os siyvarul iT gul anTebul i bol omde dar- Ca brZol is mowinave xazze. rac Seexeba afxazeTis av- tonomiuri respubl ikis mTavrobis maSindel Tavmj domar- es mal xaz (kaxa) aqiSbaia da afxazeTis avtonomiuri res- publ ikis umaRl esi sabWos Tavmj domares Temur mJavias, batal ion`monadires- gauqmebis (2005 w.) danaSaul ebrivi gadawyvetil ebis sawinaaRmdegod xma ar amouRiaT. m.saa- kaSvil is mier zemo kodoris xeobis dal aSqvras, xeobis 13 wl iani damcvel ebis iqedan gamodevnas da moRal ateebad gamocxadebas mxari dauWires. roca imave xeobis gadarCe- nis, misi dacvis sakiTxi dadga dRis wesrigSi, WuWyiani wyal iviT aorTql dnen da sadRac gadaimal nen. am sakiTxT- an dakavSirebiT, gagris batal ionis yofil i meTauri vice- pol kovniki merab l ortqifaniZe ganrixsebul i formiT wer- da: `afxazeTSi qal aqis meri guram gabeskiria fizikurad Se- ewira samSobl os, Jiul i Sartava, j umber baTaSvil i samTav- robo struqturebis warmomadgenl ebi iyvnen, magram yovel Tvis piradi magal iTiT amagrebdnen meomrebs. sad arian axl a gamo- vidnen aqiSbaia, mJavia da danarCenebi, nakawric rom ara aqvT sxedul ze da ise gamoiqcnen kodoridan, kurdRel i rom ar ikadrebda.- es is adaminebia, roml ebmac upasuxismgebl o- bidan gamomdinare, xeoba da misi ganiaraRebul i mosaxl eoba mters saj ijgnad miugdo. swored maTi da central uri xe- l isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa pasuxismgebl obis sakiTxis dasma hqonda mxedvel obaSi emzar kvicians, roca gazeT`asaval - dasaval is- korespondent j aba xubuasadmi micemul inter- viuSi kategoriul i formiT rom moiTxovda: `unda dai sa- j os yvel a xel mZRvanel i piri, visac 2008 wl is omis dros kod-oris xeobis dacva eval eboda, magram iqedan gamoiqca

da Tofis gausrol el ad Caabara xeoba mters. brZaneba rom miRes da amitom miatoves xeoba, es gasamarTI ebis sabuTad ar gamoadgebaT... magaT moRal ate xel isufi ebis brZaneba Seasrul es.-³³

samwuxarod, am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis gamkiTxavi arc im dros da arc momdevno etapze aravin iyo. piriqiT, m.saa-kaSvil is garemocva, qarTvel Ta saukunovan samarcxvino damarcxebas, ki dev ufro aTgzis samarcxvino formiT_`gamarj vebis- sadResaswaul o RonisZiebiT aRniSnavda. mx-edvel obaSi maqvs 2008 wl is 12 agvistos rusTavel is gamzirze gamarTul i ucveul o `taS- fandura-. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent Tea asaTianisaTvis micemul interviuSi samxedro eqsper-ti irakl i sesiaSvil i xazgasmiT werda: `maSin roca xal xi iZarcveboda, saxl ebs uwvavdnen, atyvevebdnen da mZevl ebad mihyavdaT, maSin rodesac kodors vkargavdiT, gamarj vebis SeZaxil ebi da taS- fanduri iyo dedaqal aqis centrSi. jariskacebs vamxnevebTo_ ambobdnen. arada, im dros Cvens jariskacebs omi Sewyvetil i hqondaT. maS romel jariska-cebs amxnevebdnen_ ruseTis armias?- SekiTxva savsebiT samarTI iani formiTaa dasmul i. amxnevebdnen rusul - afxazur jaris, gul s ukl avdnen Sida qarTI isa da zemo kodoris xeobis gaubedurebul mosaxl eobas, naRvel s aTasgziT umatebdnen Svil mkvdar da ZaZiT Semosil qarTvel dedebis.

rusTavel is gamzirze 12 agvistos rom mRerodnen da cekvavdnen, zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis dasacavad m.saakaS-vil is mier daniSnul ma `sardl obam-_ samarcxvino kapit-ul -acia gamoacxada. rusul - afxazurma SeiaraRebul ma Zal ebma, saqarTvel os kontrol irebad teritorias (zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi) Tofis gausrol el ad daepatrona. momxdari faqtiT, rusebma da afxazebma 15 wl iani natvra 12 agvistos aisrul a. winaparTa tradiciebze aRzrdil WeSmarit qarTvel Ta es satkivari, gadaj iSebul `qarTvel obasuxarodaT da mRerodnen!..

dRis pirvel naxevarSi momxdari aRniSnul i tragedia, `rusTavi- 2-- ma da `pirvel ma arxma- mogvianebiT_ 4 saaTiani sa-dResaswaul o RonisZiebis damTavrebis Semdeg auwya srul i- ad saqarTvel os. `kodoris xeoba- zemo afxazeTi ruseTis saokupacio jarma daikava da mosaxl eobam moaxerxa zemo afxazeTidan gamoqceva.- afxazebisa da rusebis es gamarjveba idResaswaul a `nacial uri moZraobis- I iderebma da misma fanebma. wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi maTi aseTi qmedeba, nebis- mieri saRad moazrovne adami anisaTvis amouxsnel ia. es uCveul o faqti qonda mxedvel obaSi soso jaWvl ians, roca gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespondent jaba xubuasadmi micemul in-terviuSi mrisxane formiT ambobda: `Tu amden prezidents da sarkozi- markozis el odebodiT, maSin Savi droSebi unda dagexaraT da is 100 aTasi kaci Cumad unda mdgariyo, rom msoflios Cveni erTianoba da sasowarkveTa daenaxa. aTasobiT oj axia gamwarebul i, Tavzel afdasxmuli da am dros `gaumarjos-, `vaSa- da `sarkozi- sarkozis- yvirixar? ras miedmoedebi, ras miqarav, ra dReSi xarT? amas rom naxavs godel i, zugdidel i, foTel i, amas rom naxavs is adami an i, vis ezoSi ac bombi Camoagdes da oj axis wevri moukl es, xom ityvis, amaT gaurekiaTo?~

m.saakaSvili da misi garemocvis didi nawili fsiqikurad `garekil ebi- rom iyvnen, 2005 wl idan cnobili fsiqiatrebis mier iyo dadasturebul i. es sakiTxi opoziciuri politikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebma Tavis droze uyuradRebod datoves. mxol od 12 agvistos movl enebis Semdeg dasves principul ad saakaSvili sa da misi garemocvis pasuxismgebl obis sakiTxi. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas tel ekompania `kavkasiis- eTeriT (2008 wl is seqtemberi) zviad Ziziguris gamosvl a iqcevs. `rusebma kodoridan kamazebiT rom waiRes yvel aferi, iaraRi, teqnika, aTeuli mil onobiT qoneba,... vis Semoubrundeba da vis gaamagrebs is iaraRi da is qoneba? is mainc agefeTqebinaT! qveyanaSi omia wagebul i, teritoriebi daikarga, vin aris dasjili i, vin agebs pasuxs, pirvel i piridan dawyebul i!- samwuxarod, **z.Zizigurisa da sxva politikuri subieqtebi sgan m.saakaSvili is xel isuflebis pasuxismgebl o-**

bis dasmis moTxovna droTa ganmavl obaSi daviwebas mi eca. rogorc Cans, aqac qarTvel i kacisaTvis damaxasiaTeb-el ma Tvissebma iCina Tavi. cxel gul ze maSindel i danaqa-debi, 4 wl is Semdeg parl amentSi moxvedril T im doneze daaviwydaT, rom qveynis winaSe Cadenil i danaSaul is orga-ni-zatobebTan, Rrma `kohabitaciur- urTierTobaSi c ki Se-vid-nen. amneziaqmnil T arc is gaaxsendaT, zemo kodoris xeobaSi Sesul ma afxazma separatistebma Senobidan qarTuli droSa rom Camoagdes, nafl eTebad aqcies da mis nacvl ad `afxazuri saxel mwifos- droSa aRmarTes. am sakiTx-Tan dakavSirebiT Jurnal isti giorgi gigauri xazgasmiT werda: `di ax, soxumel ma separatistebma 15 wl is Semdeg aixdines ocneba da 2008 wl is agvistoSi kodoris Tavze mwvane zol iani afxazuri droSa aafrial es! paradoqsia magram faqtia; samSobl os Ral atSi dadanaSaul ebul i emzar kvicianis dros rac ver SeZl o soxumis reJimma, uprobl em-od moaxerxa `Zl evamosil i mxedarTmTavris- mixeil saakaSvil is mTavarsardi obisas! amdenad, pasuxi kiTxvaze_ vin uRal ata saqarTvel os, kvicianma, romel mac wl ebis manZil ze saswaul ebrivad daicva kodoris xeoba, Tu saakaSvil ma, romel mac ubrZol vel ad Caabara mters strategiul i pl ac-darmi?~

2008 wl is noemberSi dasmul i es samarTI iani SekiTxva dRemde pasuxgaucemel i darCa. arada, aRniSnul i sakiTxi pirvel rigSi afxazeTis I egitimurad wodebul i mTavrobis msjel obis sagani unda gamxdariyo. miTumetes, maTi arsebobis I egitimurobas, samarTI ebriv saxes zemo kodoris da Cxal Tas xeobebze, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel t-exil ebze saqarTvel os iurisdicciis ganvrcoba aZl evda. am pl acdarmis SesanarCunebl ad, afxazeTis devnil i xel isufl ebis mesveurT, samwuxarod i otisodena nabiji ar gadaudgams. arada, kodoris ubrZol vel ad dakargvis Semdeg, Tbil isSi ganTavsebul ma afxazeTis mTavrobis I egitimaciam anegdoturi forma mi iRo. kidev ufro cini-kuri gaxada Semdegi Tanamdebobebi: 1)afxazeTis ministri zemo afxazeTis sakiTxebSi, 2)afxazeTis ministri gan-

sakuTrebul daval ebaTa sakiTxebSi, 3)afxazeTis ministri regional uri marTvis sakiTxebSi. rac Seexeba danarCen saministroebs, 2009 wl is Teberval Si gazeT `kviris qronikaSi~ dabeWdil publ ikaciaSi gel a zedel aSvil i iumor-narevi formiT werda: `Cemi neba rom iyos, an samive saministros gavauqmebdi, an kidev, yvel as `gadavadnobdi~ da erTs gamoviyvandi. ise, Zal ian sasacil od gamoiyureba afxazeTis sofl is meurneobis, garemos dacvisa da bunebrivi resursebis departamenti. Tanamedrove msofl ioSi Cven, qarTvel ebi erTaderTi eri varT, romel ic dakargul i teritoriebis marTvas distanciuri meTodiT axerxebS. metic, am meTodiT xnavs, Tesavs, rwyavs, mosaval i mohyavs, garemos icavs da bunebriv resursebsac ki ganagebs.-

aRniSnul i saministroebis umoqmedobam, TiToeul i ministrisgan skamis SesanarCunebl ad gansakuTrebul ma swrafvam da zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebsaSi m.saakaSvil is danaSaul ebrivi gadawyvetil ebisadmi mxardaWeram, ruseTs, zemo kodoris xeobis xel Si Cagdebis SesaZI ebl oba misca. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, erekl e saRl iani erT- erT interviuSi xazgasmiT ambobda: `svanebs gvaqvs aseTi gamoTqma_ danis tarze ukidia xel io,_ rac imas niSnavs, rom Sen mowinaaRmdeges danas veRar waarTmev. ruseTma swored danis tars waavl o xel i da aRar gauSvebs.- momxdari faqti, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenaze nafiqral is dasamarebas warmoadgenda. es imdenad Tval Sisacemi iyo, rom xel isufl eba iZul ebul i gaxda, am danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis ZiriTadi ganmapirobebel i mizezebi sxvisTvis gadaebral ebina. mizanSi mis mier `moRal ated- Seracxul i emzar kviciani iqna amoRebul i. dasaxul i Canafiqris gansaxorciel ebl ad, imerabiSvil is uwyebas batal ion `avazas- meTauris tristan wiTel aSvil is dapatimreba daeval a. arsebul i masal ebis mixedviT irkveva, rom misi cixeSi wameba, ekvicianis sawinaaRmdego Cvenebis ardaweriT iyo ganpirobebul i. sakiTxi exeboda rusebis mxareze emzar kvicianis sardl obiT 2000 kaciT viTomda cxinval Si brZol is faqtis dadasturebas. tristan wiTel aSvil is vaJkacoba imaSiac gamovl inda, rom

aseT danaSaul ebriv cil iswamebaze ar wavida da i.merabiSvil _
 d.axal aiebis brZanebiT miyenebul j o j oxeTur wamebas gauZ-
 l o. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba
 t.wiTel aSvil isgan sasurvel Cvenebas miRebda, 6 wl ian pa-
 timrobas giraoTi Seucvl idnen, misi xel moweriT dadasture-
 bul bral debas, utyuar dokumentad gamoacxadebednen, zemo
 kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis mtrisadmi Cabarebis dana-
 Saul ebriv qmedebas_ ekvicians gadaabral ebdnen. am tyuil s,
 Sinagan saqmeTa saministros uwyeba, Sesabamisi satel evizio
 `speqtakl ebis- dadgmiT gaapiarebda. ramdenadac xel isufl e-
 bam am Canafiqris Sesrul eba ver SeZl o, kodoris xeobis
 sakiTxis mifuCebeba da sazogadoebisgan misi daviwyebis pro-
 cesis safexurebrivi ganxorciel eba daiwyo. amis Sesaxeb,
 afxazeTis `l egitimuri- mTavrobis warmomadgenl ebic dum-
 dnen. arada, kodoris xeobi dan qarTvel Ta gamodevnis safex-
 urebriv process, rusebi winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmi s
 mixedvit axorciel ebda. maT mizans, xeobis qarTvel ebi-
 sgan gawmenda da misi kontrol isadmi daqvemdebareba war-
 moadgenda. Tuki dasaxul amocanas warmatebit gadawyetd-
 nen, Crdil oetidan usafrTxo zonas Seqmni dnen da gal is
 raionze srul i zedamxedvel obis damyarebas SeZl ebdnen.
 maSin rodesac qveynis umaRl esi mTavarsardal i da misi
 xel qvei Tebi, 12 agvistos sadResaswaul o ceremonial iT iy-
 vnen dakavebul ni, kodoris xeoba qarTvel ebisgan mTl i-
 anad icl eboda da erTdros gmirebad aRiarebul i misi
 Seupovari mosaxl eoba, devnil ebad da usaxl karod iqca.
 exeboda ra am sakiTxs, erekl e saRl iani xazgasmit werda:
 `kodoris xeoba qarTvel ebisgan mTl ianad gawmendil ia. me
 rogorc vici, iq ramdenime mamakacia darCenil i, roml ebmac
 iaraRi ar dayares da tyeSi gaWril i cxovroben, raTa xeobis
 dakargvas ar Seegnon.- es is kodorel ebi iyvnen, roml ebic
 SemTxvevi Tobidan gamomdinare, m.saakaSvil - i.merabiSvil -
 i.oqruaSvil is mier xeobaSi iaraRis sarekvizicio RonisZie-
 bebs gadaurCnen. aRni Snul sakiTxTan dakavSirebit, gagris
 brZol ebis veteranma, vice pol kovnikma merab l orTqifaniZem
 gazeT `kvisis qronika-- sadmi micemul interviuSi kritikis

qarcecxl Si gaatara parl amentari paata daviTaia. `paata daviTaias vekiTxebi piradad da pasuxi gamces:_ wers m.l orTqifaniZe,_ prokurorobidan rom ar gaenTavisufl ebine Tamaz nadareiSvil s, opoziciaSi waxvidodi? an Seni naomari vin naxa afxazeTSi, tuCebis pruwviT rom gviyvebi yovel dRe... Seni Tanamdebobaze yofnis dros, axl a rom viTom gaintere-sebs ra moxda kodorSi real urad, adgil ze genaxa, Tofis gasrol is gareSe rogor Caabara Senma xel isufl ebam dal is xeoba, romel sac kbil ebiT iWerda 13 wel i iqauri mosaxl eoba! iaraRi rom CamoarTves da sanadiro Tofic ki ar dau- toves svanebs, maSin ratom ar yvirodi, mi pasuxe Tu kaci xar? axl ac, vidre saomari moqmedebebi daiwyeboda, im Sens parl amentSi ratom ar gaaproteste, samaCabl os mosaxl e- obisgan safantis Tofi ra aris, isicrom ar dau toves adgil obrivebs da yvel aferi rom CamoarTves?~³⁴

savsebiT kanonzomieri formiTaa kiTxva dasmul i, rad- gan afxazeTis qarTvel Ta ganiaraRebiT (XX saukunis 90- iani wl ebi) miRebul i mware gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare, qveynis parl amentarTa da xel isufal Ta val debul eba warsul is Secdomis gaTval iswinebas saWi roebda. swored am formiT unda dasmul iyo es sakiTxi Tavis droze par- l amentSi da rusul - afxazur- osuri sasargebl o RonisZ- iebebis gatarebaSi m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisaTvis xel i SeeSal aT. samwuxarod, qveynis sakanonmdebl o organoSi, afxazeTis `l egitimur~ mTavrobaSi da uzenaes sabWoSi, saRad moazrovne arcerTi pirovneba ar aRmoCnda, rom ze- moaRniSnul danaSaul ebriv qmedebasTan mimarTebaSi za- rebi daerisxebina, istoriis mware gakveTil i qveynis okeanedal eul Ta xel isufl ebisa da sakanonmdebl o orga- nos wevrebisadmi Seexsenebina. piriqiT, saxel mwifo kan- cel ariaSi saparl amento umravl esobisa da opoziciis warmomadgenl ebTan Sevvedraze (24 agvisto) m.saakaSvil ma tyuil ze dafuZnebul i TavismarTl ebis ususuri argumen- tebi moitana. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas omis wina dReebSi kodoris gamagrebis mizniT, qarTul i saj ariso Sena- erTebis damatebiTi kontingentis xeobaSi rusebis mier arS-

eSvebis faqtis dasaxel eba iqcevs. opoziciis warmomadgen-
l ebidan gambedaoba aravis eyo, rom m.saakaSvil isTvis Seex-
senebina: 1)moskovis 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxmehis mexuTe
muxl i, roml ic afxazeTis sazRvrebs garedan Sesul i nebis-
mieri samxedro daj gufebisa da moxal iseTa formirebis
wevrTa yofnas krZal avda afxazeTis teritoriaze. aqedan
gamomdinare, savsebiT l ogikuri iyo da gakvirvebas ar iwvevs
rusebis moqmedeba. miTumetes, zemo kodoris xeobis xel Si
Cagdebas 1993 wl idan ocnebobdnen; 2)zemo kodoris damcavi
batal ion `monadires- gauqmehis (2005 w.), 2006 wl is ivl isSi
xeobis dal aSqvris, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis srul ad gani-
araRebisa da batal ionis wevrebis umravl esobis mizanma-
rTul ad ganadgurebis faqtebi.

saqarTvel oze Tavsdaxel i ubedurebisa da dakargul i
teritoriebis fonze, opoziciur speqtrs, ul timatumis for-
miT m.saakaSvil is, rogorc damarcxebul i umaRl esi mTavar-
sardl is gadadgomis moTxovna unda daeyenebina. samwuxarod,
Sexvedris monawil eebis an gambedaoba ar eyoT, an winaswar
mosyidul ni iyvnen da radikal uri gancxadebebis gakeTebas
Tavi aarides. Sexvedris es faqti, m.saakaSvil ma da misma da-
qiravebul ma Jurnal istebma, sazogadoebas piarkampaniis ma-
Ral i registris formiT warudgina. rac Seexeba xel isu-
fl ebisgan mousyidvel da parl amentSi vermoxvedril ad-
amianebs, Tavianti poziciis dafiqsirebas mxol od presis
saSual ebiT axerxebdnen. zemoaRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSire-
biT dabeWdil i masal ebidan, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT
`asaval - dasaval is- korespondent j aba xubuasadmi micemul
interviuSi soso j aWvl ianis kategoriul i formiT gakeTe-
bul i gancxadeba iqcevs. `marto kodoris xeobis dakargvis
gamo mTel i mTavroba unda gadadges. kodori iseTi adgil ia,
rom zemodan dahyurebs mTel soxums da yvel aferi SegiZl ia
gaakeTo. gesmis ra wagvarTves? j okeri rom gveWira xel Si, is
wagvarTves!-

opoziciuri politikuri speqtris l iderTa umravl esobis
dabal i erovnul i cnobierebidan da 30 vercxl is trfial id-
an gamomdinare, zemo kodoris xeobis dakargva maTTvis did

satkivrad ar aRiqmeboda. winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi, xeobaSi
 afxazebis Seiararebul i Zal ebis Sesvl as (2008 wl is 12 agvis-
 tos) da sofel Cxal TaSi afxazuri saxel mwifo droSis
 aRmarTvas, m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva `gamarj vebis- tri-
 umfiT ver idResaswaul ebda. im periodis presis furcl ebze
 gamoqveynebul i masal ebis mixedviT Tuki vimsj el ebT, kodor-
 idan devnil i mosaxl eoba ara marto gausaZl is mdgomare-
 obaSi imyofeboda, aramed, maTdami xel isufl eba kanibal is-
 tur damokidebul ebas iCenda. amis Sesaxeb gazeT `kviris
 qronika-- Si 2008 wl is seqtemberSi gamoqveynebul masal ebSi
 dawvril ebiTaa saubari. maTTvis el ementarul i sacxovrebe-
 l i pirobebis Sesaqmnel ad, afxazeTis `l egitimuri- xel isu-
 fl ebis mesveurni srul umoqmedobas iCendnen. im Znel be-
 dobis Jams, sazogadoebisaTvis gaugebari iyo, Tu risTvis
 arsebobda afxazeTis ew. xel isufl eba da ratom ixarj ebo-
 da umaqnisi struqturebis Sesanaxad aTeul obiT milionebi,
 maSin rodesac, kodorel i devnil i avadmyofi bavSvebis
 waml isTvis ful s ver imetebdnen. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT
 gazeT `kviris qronika-- Si Jurnal isti darejan mefisaS-
 vil i xazgasmiT werda: `kodorel i avadmyofi bavSvebis
 mSobl ebi daxmarebas iTxoven, magram xel isufl eba mainc ar
 exmareba... kerZo pirma, quTaisel ma arCil mukbanianma, sicxian
 bavSvebs waml ebi moutana da 9 bavSvi fil tvebis anTebas
 gadaarCina.- aseTi uyuradRebobis faqtoriT iyo ganpirobe-
 bul i kodorel i devnil ebis erTi nawil is pirvandel sacx-
 ovrisSi dabrunebis da gadaadgil ebisTvis Sesabamisi sa-
 transporto saSual ebebiT dakmayofil ebis moTxovna. am faqtma,
 `nacional ebis- l iderTa gaRizianeba gamoiwvia. maT mxari
 afxazeTis umaRl esi sabWos maSindel ma Tavmj domarem Te-
 mur mJaviamac dauWira. misi mtkicebiT, usafrTxoebis garan-
 tiebis ararsebobis gamo, kodorel Ta didi nawil i xeobaSi
 ar dabrundeboda. `garantiebis Seqmna_ ambobda igi, Ses-
 Zl ebel ia mxol od ...saerTaSoriso Zal isxmeviT, internacio-
 nal uri Zal isxmeviT. kodoris xeobaSi am mosaxl eobis dab-
 runeba riskTan aris dakavSirebul i, amitom ar vel i, rom
 isini dabrundebian.- Tu ra garantiebis Seqmnel ia saerTa-

Soriso `internacional uri- umaqni si organizaciebi, amis mware gamocdil eba 1993 wl idan aqvs saqarTvel osa da mis devnil mosaxl eobas. T.mJavia Segnebul ad uvl ida gverds, satransporto saSual ebebiT Tu ratom ar exmarebodnen im kodorel ebs, roml ebic xeobaSi dabrunebas kategoriul ad moiTxovdnen. rac Seexeba usafrTxoebis garantias, roml is Sesaxebac T.mJavia apel irebda, amis safuZvel s Tavad kodorel ebi Seqmndnen. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas maTi kodorSi dabruneba ara usafrTxoebis, aramed partizanebad tyeSi gasvl is da winaaRmdegobis moZraobis Zl ieri daj gufebis Seqmnis garduval oba aSinebda.

im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki zemo kodoris xeobaSi partizanuli moZraoba daiwyeboda, rusul - afxazuri moqmedeba safuZvli anad SeizRudeboda. es faqti, sazogadoebas batal ion `monadires- mniSvnel obas erTxel kidev Seaxsenebda da fardas Camoxsnida im danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, romel ic saqarTvel os xel isufl eban misi gauqmebiT, gani araRebiTa da wevrTa didi nawil is ganadgurebiT Cai dina. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, erT- erTi cnobil i partizanis mier gazeT `kviris qronika-- sadmi micemul interviuSi, dampyrobli bis winaaRmdeg partizanuli brZolis aprobirebul i meTodebis Sesaxeb xazgasmiTaa miTitebul i. aRniSnul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, yofil i partizani xel isufl ebis misamarTIT werda: `magenma piarIT daiwyes omi da arc partizanebi sWirdebodaT, arc diversiuli aqtebi. baRabSis xal xi afxazeTisa da ruseTis droSebs rom afrial ebda kodorSi, iq rom partizanebi yofil iyvnen, amas ver gabedavdnen. cxinval Siac Seizl eboda partizanuli patara, mobil uri jgufebis Seyvana. roca ukan daixia Cvenma j arma, kazakebsa da os ebs aRar eqnebodaT TareSis saSual eba.- swored es aSinebda m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas. mizanmimarTul ad gasxvisebul teritoriebze, adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis Zl ieri mobiluri partizanuli razmebi ar unda Seqmnil iyo. dampyrobli is winaaRmdeg moqmedebisaTvis maTi saWiroeba dRis wesrigSi rom ar damdgariyo, sazogadoebasa da politikur speqtrs satyuari ankesi gadaugdo da yuradReba saerTaSo-

riso organizaciebis mimarTul ebiT gadaitana. saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis did nawil sa da pol itikur speqtrs, am araf-rismaqnsi organizaciebis dadgenil ebebisa da rezol uciebis mosal odnel i dadebiTi Sedegebis Sesaxeb_ dResac sj era. Cemi aseTi skeptikuri pozicia, imave saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mier Seqmnil i kompententuri komisiis dokumentidan gamomdinareobs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs h.tal iavinis komisiis daskvnis 24- e muxl i. masSi xazgasmiTaa miTiTebul i: `moskovis SeTanxmebis (1994 wl is 14 maisi S.v.) debul ebis Tanaxmad, zemo kodoris xeoba ar ekuTvnode afxazebis kontrol irebad teritorias. masze afxazuri danayofis Tavdasxma rusul i SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis daxmarebiT niSnavs arakanonieri Zal is gamoyenebas, rac akrZal ul ia cecxliS Sewyvetis Sesaxeb SeTanxmebiTa da gaeros wesdebis me- 2 muxl is me- 4 punqtiT da aseve SeiaraRebul Tavdasxmas saqarTvel os winaaRmddeg, gaeros wesdebis 51- e muxl iT. saqarTvel os mier Zal is gamoyeneba Tavdacvis mizniT, aseve unda iyos gamarTI ebul i kanonieri Tavdacvis ufl ebis Tval - sazrisiT.- **am uaRresad mniSvnel ovani dokumentidan gamomdinare, gaerosa da sxva saerTaSoriso organizaciebs, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgena rom qonoda an qondes miznad dasaxul i, rusebisa da afxazebis mier imave gaeros wesdebis muxl ebis darRveidan gamomdinare, isini iZul ebul i unda gaexada, zemo kodoris xeobidan dauyovnebl iv gamosul iyo. am mxriv, arcerT saerTaSoriso organizacias ruseTze Sesabamisi radikal uri zewol is meqanizms amoqmedebis gadawyvetil eba ar miuRia. es faqti, erTxel kidev adasturebs Tu ramdenad marTal i iyo emzar kviciani, roca zemo kodoris xeobaSi rusebisa da afxazebis daSvebas kategoriul i formiT rom ewinaaRmddegeboda. xazgasmi T mi nda aRvniSno, rom igive h.tal iavinis daskvna kodoris xeobis mcxovrebtTa usafrTxoebisa da Tavdacvis mizniT dampyobl is winaaRmddeg partizanal moZraobas ar krZal avs. amisTvis saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis neba da el ementarul i xel Sewyoba iyo saWi ro.** sazogadoebis winaSe dResac ritorikul ad dai smis ki Txva:

batal ion `monadires- arsebobis SemTxvevaSi SesaZI ebel i iqneboda Tu ara zemo kodoris xeobis SenarCuneba. samxedro eqsper tebis mtkicebiT, xeobis dacvis uzrunvel yofa SesaZI ebel i gaxdeboda Tuki: 1) batal ion i rel iefisTvis Sesatyvisi Tanamedrove samxedro iaraRiT iqneboda aRWurvil i; 2) mis sardl obas saSual o donis samxedro dargis mrCevl ebs miaSvel ebdnen; 3) `monadires- wevrTa raodenoba saomari moqmedebebis dawyebamde 600 kacamde gazrdeboda; 4) sahaero Tavdasxmebis dros, safreni aparatibis sawinaaRmdegod rel iefisTvis Sesatyvis iaraRs operatiul ad gamoiyenebdnen; 5) gafOTI il tyian da mTagorian adgil ebSi partizanul i sistemiT moZravi, rel iefis saukeTeso mcodne kodorel ebis swrafad da organizebul gadaadgil ebebs ganaxorciel ebdnen. batal ionis wevrTa aseTi gaazrebul i moqmedebebiT, cepis Sesakravad saWiro raodenobis desantis gadmosxmas rusebi xeobaSi ver moaxerxebda. xol o mcire mobil uri jgufebis swrafi reagirebiT, mZime rusul i samxedro teqnikiS xeobaSi Seyvana SeuZI ebel i gaxdeboda. zemo kodoris xeobel Ta Seupovari brzol isunarianobidan da mamapapeul i safl avebis siwindis dacvi dan gamomdinare, rusebsa da afxazebs Zvirad dauj deboda xeobaSi fexis dadgmis mcdel oba. aseTi gabedul i daskvnis gakeTebis SesaZI ebl obas, meore msofil io omis periodSi, kavkasiis mTavari sauRel texil o gadmosasvl el ebisa da bilikebis dacvis saqmeSi, svaneTis mosaxl eobisgan Sedgenil i mobil uri razmebis rol isa da damsaxurebis Sesaxeb arsebul i mdidari gamocdil eba iZl eva. samwuxarod, m.saakaSvil i da misi garemocva, sul sxvagvarad fiqrobda. maT yvel aferi gaakeTes piradi gamdi-drebisa da qarTvel i eris dauZinebel i mtrebis ocnebis axdenis sasargebl od.

rac Seexeba imave yofil i partizanis mier batal ion `monadires- cocxl ad gadarCenil i wevrebis moZebnas, erT muStad Sekvrisa da zemo kodoris xeobaSi winaaRmdegobis moZraobis dawyebis Sesaxeb sakiTxis dasmas, meocnebe adamianis survil sa hgavs. pirvel rigSi amiT xel isufl eba unda iyos

dainteresebul i da samSobl osaTvis meomrul i sul iskveTe-
biT gul anTebul adamianebs stimuls aZl evdes. m.saakaSvil ma
da misma garemocvam, aseTi adamianebi sanagveze moisrol a. am
sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT igive ucnobis partizani gul istki-
vil iT werda: `es xal xi yvel a sul Si CafurTxebul ia. yve-
l aze cudi ra aris ici? rodesac adamiani msaxurob 10- 15
wel i da mere aRmoCndeba, rom aravis sWirdebi da Carecxil i
xar. ki, davmarcxdiT Cven afxazeTSi, magram Rirseba ar dag-
vikargavs. axl a ki mgonia, rom Rirseba amyares.- **is Sida-
pol itikuri kursi, romel sac `nacional ebis~ xel isufli e-
ba axorciel ebda, Rirseul Tadmi SefurTxebas, adamianebSi
samSobl osadmi siZul vil is danergvas da uRirsTa wina
pl anze wamowevas emsaxureboda.**

imis gaTval iswinebiT, rom dakargul ia: a)zemo kodorisa
da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil e-
bi; b)didi da patara l iaxvis da frones xeobebi; g)axal go-
ris raioni Tavisi sofl ebiT; d)saqarTvel os umniSvel o-
vanes regionebsi ruseTs momgebiani strategiul i pozicia
uWiravs, am fonze saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI iano-
bis aRdgenis Sesaxeb saubari anegdotur formas iRebs.
mxdvel obasi maqvs reintegraciis sakiTxebSi yofil i saxe-
l mwifo ministris Temur iakobaSvil is mier gazeT `kvis
pal itra-- sadmi micemul i interviu (2008 wl is 20 agvisto),
sadac ganaxada: `nuravis egoneba, saqarTvel os teritoriu-
l i mTI ianobis aRdgenis procesi dasrul ebul ia. usaTuod
davi brunebT Cvens miwas. dRes Cveni teritoriebis dabruneb-
is dasawyisia.- kidev ufro fantastikurad moCans gia roiniS-
vil is (saqarTvel os parl amentis ganaTI ebisa da mecnier-
is komitetis Tavmj domaris yofil i moadgil e) mier Jurnal
`reitingi-- sadmi micemul interviuSi (2008 wl is seqtem-
beri) gakeTebul i ganaxadeba: **`minda davaimedo saqarTve-
l os yvel a moqal aqe... imas vambob risic mj era. iwyeba
cxinval isa da afxazeTis regionis dabrunebis seriozu-
l i etapi. Rrmad mj era, rom teritoriebs aucil ebl ad
davi brunebT da amas ar dasWirdeba mraval i wel i.- am
amonawerebis wakiTxvisas, mkiTxvel s iseTi STabeWdil eba Se-**

eqmneba, TiTqos ruseTi davamarcxet. rusma samxedroebma zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi, didi da patara liaxvisa da frones xeobebi, axal goris raioni datoves da saqarTvel os iurisdicias dauqvemdebates. Tu ra mizans emsaxureboda tyuil ze dafuznebuli es propaganda, amis gasaRebs gazeT yvel a siaxl e-- saTvis (2008 wl is 28 agvisto), parlamentar eka xerxeul izis mier micemuli interviu izi eva. misi mtkicebit, teritoriuli mTlianobis aRdgenis, omis Semdeg Seqmnil i Sansis msgavsi SesaZi ebl obebi, saqarTvel os Turme arasodes qonia. oRondamis ganxorciel eba im SemTxvevaSi gaxdeboda SesaZi ebel i, m.saakaSvil i qveynis pre-zidentad Tuki darCeboda. kiTxul ob am intervius da iseTi Stabedil eba eqmneba adamians, rom 10 agvistodan (kapitulaciis dRidan) moyol ebuli, saqarTvel os teritoriuli mTlianobis aRdgenis procesi Turme dawyebul a da es faqti, qveynis mosaxl eobas da opopzi-ciur politikur speqtrs kargad unda gaecnobierebina. m.saakaSvil isadmi mxardaWera gamoecxadebina, radgan erTi goji miwac `ar dauTmo~ rusebs. `Cven gvyavs prezidenti_ acxadebda igi, romel mac ar daTmo miwis arcerTi goji. axl a gvaqvs teritoriuli mTlianobis aRdgenis yvel aze didi Sansi. me bednieri var, rom misi prezidentobis xanaSi miwevs cxovreba da vicnob am adamians.~ am amonaweris waki Txvissas, nebsmieri saRad moazrovne araokianedal euli qarTveli, e.xerxeul izes Seaxsenebda, rom m.saakaSvil is mier dakarguli da ruseTisadmi xonCiT mirTmeuli teritoriebi ara gojisagan, aramed ramdenime aTasobit kvadratuli kilometrebisagan Sedeboda 1)zemo kodoris xeoba_ 2030 km.²; 2)didi da patara liaxvis xeoba_ 2440 km.²; frones xeoba_ 231 km.²; axal goris raioni_949 km.²). rac Seexeba agvistos omis Semdeg e.xerxeul izis bednieresas, es misi piradi azrovnebisa da Sinagani cnobierebis Sedegis nayofia da veravin Seedaveba. magram, qveynis sakanonmdebi o organos wevrs da xal xis `rCeul s,~ aucil ebl ad moekitxeboda: m.saakaSvil isgan gabednierenbuli dafiqrebul a Tu ara, kodoris xeobidan da cxinavi is regioni dan 100 aTasze meti gau-

bedurebul i, devnil i, Seuracyofil i da damcrobil i adami ani rogor grZnobda Tavs. Cems mier mopovebul i masal ebidan irkveva, rom am gatanj ul adami anebs, exerxeul iZis donis `miSistebis- garda, saRad moazrovne srul iad saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba TanaugrZnobda.

Tuki `nacional i- parl amentarebi saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis mosatyuebl ad qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis dawyebaze urcxvad saubrobdnen, ucxouri presa sawinaaRmdegos werda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas gazeT `franqfurTen rendSau-- s mier 2008 wl is 16 agvistos gamoqveynebul i publ ikacia_ `avtokrati da avantiuristi?- iqcevs. `roca konfl ikti daregul irdeba_ vkiTxul obT statiaSi,_ roca qarTvel ebi Sedegebs daaj ameben, maSin maTTvis naTel i gaxdeba, rom afxazeTsa da samxreT oseTSi dabruneba ganusazRvrel i vadiT aris gadadebul i.- imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `kviris qronikas- korespondent nana arCvaZisadmi micemul interviuSi (2008 wl is 20 oqtomberi), cnobil i rusi Jurnal isti da politikuri mimomxil vel i nikol oz svaniZe xazgasmiT ambobda: `saakaSvil ma gaakeTa yvel aferi, rac ki SeeZl o, rom saqarTvel os samxreT oseTi da afxazeTi daekarga da ruseTTan urTierTobebi sabol ood gaefuWebina.- anal ogiuri Sexedul eba gamoTqva nino burjanaZem gazeT `yvel a siaxl e-- sadmi 2008 wl is 20 noembers micemul interviuSi. `yvel aferi risi micemac SeiZl eboda da ar SeiZl eboda_ ganacxada man,_ am araprofesional ma ugunurma xel isufl ebam rusebs Caugdo xel Si.-

zemoT motanil i amonawerebi, imis dadasturebaa, Tu ramdenad mZime iyo saqarTvel os teritoriul mTl ianobasTan mimaRTebsi agvistos movl enebiT gamowveul i Sedegebi, roml is aRiareba m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebasa da mis fanebs ratomRac ar undodaT. roca qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis Sesaxeb vsaubrobt, pirvel rigSi im sasicocxl o berketebis xel idan gaSvebaa gasaTval iswinebel i, romel ic saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam mizanmimarTul ad gaakeTa. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT giorgi xaindrava xazgasmiT werda;

afxazeTi da samaCabl o `ra Tqma unda davkargeT, magram, ram-
deni xniT davkargeT es aris sakiTxavi! vin icis rodis mova
gonze ruseTi an rodis iqneba saqarTvel oSi gonieri xe-
l isufli eba? samaCabl os teritoriis erTi mesamedi iyo sep-
aratistebis kontrol qveS da iqac Zal ian strategiul i
qarTul i ankl avebi gvqonda didi da patara l iaxvisa da
frones xeobebis saxiT. dRes es yvel aferi mTI ianad davkar-
geTI- anal ogiuri danaSaul ebrivi qmedeba iqna Cadenil i zemo
kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSiac. dRevandel i gadasaxe-
didan, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba ruseTTan mimarTebaSi
quCaSi mdgomi xel gaSveril i maTxovris mdgomareobaSi
imyofeba. unda vaRiaroT, rom warTmeul i afxazeTisa da
Sida qarTI is `samxreT oseTis- teritoriebis saqarTve-
l osadmi isev `miwebeba_ armiwebebis- sakiTxis gadawyveta
ruseTzea damokidebul i. imas rac Crdil oetis mezobel s
Cveni ugunurobi dan gamomdinare Zal iT wavarTmevineT, gai me-
tebs ki dasabrunebl ad? mTel i istoriis manZil ze ar
arsebobs precedenti, vinmesTvis warTmeul i, ruseTs nebay-
ofl obiT daebrunebinos. qarTvel obam safuZvl ianad unda
SeiTvisos da gaacnobieros napol eon bonapartes Segone-
ba; `eris sikvdil i maSin iwyeba, roca kuTvnil teritorie-
bs mowinaaRmdeges nebayofl obiT uTmobs, an Zal iT warT-
meul is ukan dabrunebas ar cdil obs.- am SemTxvevaSi, saqme
uSual od ruseTTan gvaqvs da Zal ismieri gzis gamoyeneba-
ze fiqri gamoricxul ia. unda vaRiaroT, rom m.saakaSvil isa
da misi garemocvis pol itikuri kursis Sedegad, saqarTve-
l os teritoriul mTI ianobasa da eris xval indel i dRis
arsebobas, sasicocxl o arteriis umniSvnel ovanesi Sto
amoawres. momxdari faqtiT, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan
qarTvel i eris xel ovnuri sikvdil i, daRmarTze daqanebu-
l i manqanis saburavis siswrafiT moZraobs. miTumetes,
rogorc samxedro eqsperti giorgi mel iTauri wers, `afx-
azeTisa da samaCabl os saqarTvel os Semadgenl obaSi dab-
runebas dasWirdeba mraval wl iani seriozul i muSaoba saer-
TaSoriso pol itikur arenaze, maT Soris pirdapir afxa-
zebTan da osebTan. Cven xel idan gavuSviT is Sansebi, romel -

ic gvqonda ramdenime wl is winaT, Tundac maSin, roca baRabSi movida xel isufli ebis saTaveSi. im dros mas ufro metad proqarTul i ganwyoba hqonda vidre prorusul i. germaniis sagareo saqmeTa ministrma ramdenime kviris winaT Camoitana saqarTvel oSi dokumenti, romel sac afxazeTis mxarec gaecno da baRabSi mzad iyo, gaegrZel ebina samSvidobo gegmis ganxil va. es yvel aferi gadavxazeT im avanturiT, romel Siac nebsiT Tu unebl ieT gavexvieT.³⁵

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul s, T.iakobaSvil is, g.roiniSvil is da exerxeul iZis msgavsi adamiანი, ver gaacnobiereben. isini im kategoriaTa j gufs ganekuTvnebian, roml ebic individual ur pol itikur SemoqmedebiT azrovnebas arian mokl ebul ni, pol itikaSi yofnas mxol od farisevl obisa da siyal bisadmi mxardaWeris Sedegad axerxeben. araerovnul sawyisebze dafuznebul ma maTma gancxadebebma da damarcxebul i mTavarsardi is gamarj vebis gvirgviniT Semkobis mcdel obam, roml iTac bol o wl ebSi exerxeul iZe gamoirCeoda, cnobil mecniersa da sazogado moRvawes el izbar j avel iZes sinanul iT aTqmevina: `eka xerxeul iZem, cxra Zma xerxeul iZe SemaZul ao.~

amrigad, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebisa da misi anal izidan gamomdinare SeiZl eba davaskvnaT: 1)zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i `aRmSenebl obiT-i procesis gapiareba, batal ion `monadires- gauqmebis da misi wevrebis umetesobis ganadgurebis ideol ogiurad gamarTl ebas isaxavda miznad. qveynis teritoriis gamTl ianebaze myviral a formiT dawyebul i kampania, ruseTisaTvis xeobis gadasacemi safexuris momzadebis gadafarvaze iyo gaTvl il i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)kodorel svanTa oj axebis mizanmimarTul ad dawiokeba, xeobis mosaxl eobaSi SiSisa da m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebisadmi fsiqol ogiurad monuri morCil ebis damkvidrebis warmatebul i mcdel oba; b)rusებისა და აფხაზებისადმი მიწის შესახებ, რომ კოდორელ ების უკიდურესი იდეა დანგრეულია და ხეობაში შესასვლელი გზა მოსუფთაებულია იყო. zemo kodoris xeobis cal ke saarCeveno ol qad gamoyofaze (2008 wl is maisi)

uarisTqma da mestiis saarCevno ol qisadmi mierTeba, zemo-
 aRniSnul i mzakvrul i gegmis erT nawil s warmoadgenda.
 igi, qveynis sakanonmdebl o organoSi xeobel ebis cal ke
 deputatis aryol asa da oficial ur dokumentebSi xebis
 ardafiqsirebas iTval iswinebda; 2)2008 wl is agvistos mov-
 l enebma daadastura, rom xeobaSi disl ocirebul i pol iciis
 qvedanayofis sardl obas da afxazeTis `l egi timur- mTavro-
 bas, xebis dacvisa da mtris winaaRmdeg operatiul i mo-
 qmedebis gegma ar gaaCnda. kritikul momentSi xebidan
 gamoqceviTa da mtrisadmi misi ubrZol vel ad CabarebiT
 (2008 wl is 12 agvisto), qveynis winaSe Ral atis tol fasi
 qmedeba Caidines. zemo kodoris xebidan qarTvel Ta
 gamodevna, rusebis mxridan winaswar SemuSavebul i gegmiT
 ganxorciel da. igi rusi `samSvidoboebisaTvis- Crdil o-
 eTidan usafrTxo zonis Seqmnaze da ga-l is raionis sru-
 l ad gakontrol ebaze iyo gaTvl il i. xebis aRebiT, rusT-
 ma poziciebi gaimyara afxazeTSi, xol o saqarTvel om, afx-
 azeTis dabrunebis bastioni dakarga; 3)h.tal iavinis ko-
 misiis daskvniT, zemo kodoris xeobasTan mi marTebaSi ruse-
 bisa da afxazebis qmedebis uaryofiTad Sefasebis miuxe-
 davad, xebidan maTi samxedro SenaerTebis gamoyvana da
 devnil Ta pirvandel sacxovrisSi dabruneba, saerTaSoriso
 organizaciebma dRemde ver uzrunvel yo. momxdari faqti,
 erTxel kdev adasturebs im danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, romel -
 ic batal ion `monadires- gauqmebiT, misi wevrebis umete-
 sobis ganadgurebiT da kodorel i svanebis gani araRebiT
 iqna Cadenil i qveynis winaSe; 4)2008 wl is 12 agvistos `gam-
 arj vebis- niRbiT rusTavel is gamzirze gamarTul i `taS-
 fandura-, saRad moazrovne qarTvel Ta cnobierebaSi,
 saqarTvel os meore samarcxvino damarcxebad aRiqmeba.
 saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebisa da qarTve-
 l i intel igentunebis im dRes scenaze rokva, mxol od sam-
 Sobl osadmi moZul e, an fsiqikurad Seuracxad adamianTa
 qmedebad SeiZl eba Sefasdes. momxdari faqti, osebisgan,
 afxazebisgan da rusebisgan Tavzel afdasxmul i qarTul i
 sofl is mosaxl eobisadmi da Svil mkvdari dedebisadmi

sul Si CafurTxebas warmoadgenda. igi XXI saukunis saqarTvel os uaxl ei istoriis samarcxvino furcel ia.

* * *

Cems mier zemoT motanil i masal ebis anal izidan gamomdinare, mkiTxvel is winaSe savsebiT kanonzomierad ismeba kiTxva: ra kriteriumiT unda ganisazRvros zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis mtrisadmi ubrZol vel ad Cabareba da ra kval ifikaciiT Sefasdes igi. amSTan dakavSirebiT, pirvel i rigis amocanas, momxdar faqtTan mimarTebaSi im periodis qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris Seswavl a warmoadgens. am samuSaos Sesrul eba da safexurebrivad misi safuZvl iani gaanal i-zeba, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis namoqmedaris srul ad warmo-Cenis Sesazl ebl obas Seqmnis. dasaxul i amocanis warmatebiT gadawyvetis mizniT, unda gairkves: a) `var debis revol uciis- Sedegad xel isufl ebaSi mosul i okeanedal eul i adamiანების ეროვნულ ცნობიერებასთან დაკავსებულ იმ მარტულ ებები; b) zogadad, maTdami qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ pol itikuri azris damokidebul eba. Tuki im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul Sesabamis masal ebs gavecnobiT, orive sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi uaResad sayuradRebo publ ikaciebia dabewdil i. amj erad mkiTxvel is yuradRebas erovnul i forumis Tavmj domaris kaxa Sartavas Tval - sazrisze SevaCereb. misi mtkicebiT, qveynis samomavl o interesebis gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, saRad moazrovne pol itikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebisatvis msaakaSvil is xel isufl ebis saSinao da sagareo kursi miuRebel i iyo. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom isini gaurkvevel i genetikuri warmomavl obis adamiანებს განეკუთვნებოდნენ და ყველა იმ უაყოფიერ ტვიხეებს ატარებდნენ, რაც საუკუნეების განმავლობაში ყარტველ ერს დაგროვებია. `Zal ian saxifaToa aseTi xel isufl eba_ ambobda igi, _ metic, aseTi xel isufl ebis pirobebSi umZimesi situaciidan gamosaval ze saubaric ki saxifaToa, radgan maSinve Cagixergaven da mogiwaml aven ga-

mosaval gzebs. saxel mwifosTvis, erisTvis yvel aze saxifa-
Toni arian arsaidan mosul i, gaurkvevel i mrwamsis, jiSisa
da genis adaminebi, roml ebic absol uturad ganasaxiereben
yvel a im avadmyofobas, (sicrue, siyal be, moCvenebiToba, baqi-
buqoba, zerel oba, uprincipoba, egoizmi, gautanl oba), er-
Tad rom dagrovdeba, mere erT did senad iqceva. am sens
ganasaxiereben adaminebi, roml ebic TiTqos saSiSni da qvey-
nis damaqcevrebi ar Canan, magram arReven saxel mwifos da
spoben erovnul organizms. amitomac aris saxifaTo aseTi
antinormal uri xel isufl eba, romel ic dRes aris saqarTvel
l os saTaveSi. es xel isufl eba zustad ganasaxierebs yvel a
im avdmyofobas, romel ic Cven odesme gvWirda. es antinor-
mal uri xel isufl eba iseTive mteria saqarTvel osi, rogorc
ruseTi-.

`vardebis revol ucionerTa- xel isufl ebis daxasiaTeb-
is es vrcel i amonaweri TiTqmis srul ad Seesabameba im
parametrebs, romel sac saqarTvel os okeanedal eul Ta
mTavrobisa da saparl amento umravl esobis wevrebi atareb-
da. maTi yovel i qmedeba imdenad Tval Sisacem araerovnul
formebSi mimdinareobda, rom qarTul i sazogadoebriv_
pol itikuri azris mesveurni ara marto maTi warmomavl o-
bit, aramed im ZiriTadi Canafiqris amoxsni Tac dainter-
dnen, roml is gatarebac qarTvel ebTan mimarTebaSi
m.saakaSvil sa da mis garemocvas okeanegaRmi el ebi sgan qonda
daval ebul i. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas j aba xub-
uas uaRresad saintereso weril i `kodis moxsna!- iqcevs. ma-
sSi saubarია im genetikuri kodis Sesaxeb, romel ic warsu-
lidan mokidebul i istoriul mexsierebas emyareba, Taobebs
memkvidreobit gadaecema da qarTvel ebis Sinagan cnobiere-
ba-Si devs. pirvel i qmediTi nabiji m.saakaSvil is xel isu-
fl e-bis mxridan qarTvel ebisaTvis erovnul i niSni sa da mamis
saxel is warTmeva iyo. `Tavad gansaj eT- wers j .xubua, qarTve-
l i kacisaTvis erovnebis rekvizitis warTmeva, SemdegSi erovnu-
l obis yvel a saZirkvl is_ marTI madidebl obis, ganaTI ebis,
mecnierebis, kul turis genofondis ganadgureba ras emsax-
ureba?... mxol od da mxol od axal i jiSis qarTvel is, gnebat

`qarTvel amerikel is- gamoyvanas, romel ic mowaml ul i iqne-
 ba gl obal izaciis bacil iT da zizRiT Sexedavs yovel ive
 ero-vnul s.- vinc XX saukunis saqarTvel os istorias da
 gansakuTrebiT sabWoTa xel isufli ebis 70- iani wl ebis `sus-
 l ovSCinis- erovnul kurss kargad icnobs, mxol od is
 dameTanxmeba, rom singapurizaciis niRbiT, m.saakaSvil i
 safexurebrivad axorciel ebda yvel a im Canafiqrs, rac
 sabWoTa kavSiris central uri komitetis xel mZRvanel o-
 bas qonda mi znad dasaxul i_ yovel gvare saxis erovnul o-
 bisgan gaZarcvul i `sabWoTa adami ani s- Seqmna. aq mxol od
 terminol ogiaSi a sxvaoba, Torem pol itikuri da ideol o-
 giuri kursi TiTqmis identuria. orive SemTxvevaSi qarTvel -
 Ta gadaj iSebisa da saqarTvel o qarTvel ebis gareSe_ mi R-
 wevis mcdel obasTan gvaqvs saqme. exeboda ra aRniSnul sa-
 kiTxs, akademikosi ivane kiRuraZe xazgasmiT werda: `saakaSvi-
 l is gundma antierovnul i qmedeba qveynis saTaveSi mosv-
 l istanave da Zal aufl ebis xel Si aRebisTanave daiwyo... sak-
 uTarma xel isufli ebam qarTvel ers, rogorc sul ieri ise
 fizikuri genocidi mouwyo. eseni azrovnebiT bol Sevikebi
 da faSistebi arian. Zvel i Taobis warmomadgenl ebi sabWoTa
 kavSirs emsaxurebodnen. komunistebic imasve ambobdnen: mec-
 niereba partiul i ariso... nacional ebs zustad komunisturi
 azrovneba aqvs... `nacional urma moZraobam- saqarTvel oSi
 yovel gvare nacional uri Cakl a.- Tuki qarTvel i eri sabWo-
 Ta periodSi `komunizmis diadi mSenebl obis- bil ikebze
 idga da mis sayrden safexurs `momwifebul i social iz-
 mis- niRbiT `aSenebda~, m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebam es termi-
 nol ogia `amerikul i demokratiis SuquriT- Secval a. am
 niRbis qveS, faSizmi sa da kani bal izmis Sezavebul i me-
 Todebi, saxel mwifo ideol ogiis doneze aiyvana (`nul o-
 vani tol erantobis- samarTi ebrivad dakanoneba), qveyan-
 aSi SiSi, ganukiTxaoba da adami anTa mwval ebl obis in-
 kvizitorTa kl asikuri formebi daamkvidra.

es iyo winaswar gaTvl il i da mecnierul ad damuSavebu-
 l i qveynis marTvis kursi, romel ic qarTvel i eris zombi-
 rebaze, gonebrivad daCl ungebaze da saqarTvel os teri-

teritoriul i rRvevis safexurebrivi procesisadmi TandaTano-
bit Seguebaze iyo da aris gaTvl il i. mimdinare pol i-
tikuri procesebis fonze, m.saakaSvil is mier ganxorciel eb-
ul i sakanonmdebl o cvl il ebebi (`samxreT oseTis- aRd-
gena da zemo kodoris xeobisaTvis_ zemo afxazeTis dar-
qmeva), qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis sawinaaRmdego Ron-
isZiebas warmoadgenda. igi saqarTvel os or teritoriul
seqtorad gayofis mosamzadebel i safexuris Seqmnas isax-
avda miznad. 2008 wl is agvistomde da Semdgom etapze gan-
iTarebul i procesebi, ruseT_ aSS- is winaswari garigebis
STabeWdil ebas tovebs. afxazeTi da `samxreT oseTi- ruseTs,
danarCeni saqarTvel o aSS- s.

xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom am gegmis ZiriTad safexurs,
saqarTvel oSi_ aSS- is pol itikuri, xolo ruseTis mxridan
ekonomikur sivrceSi gabatoneba da qveynis mamozravebel i
yvel a umniSvnel ovanesi strategiul i obieqtebisadmi dapa-
roneba warmoadgenda. mitingebze da tel eviziebit gamosvl -
isas m.saakaSvil i ruseTs `mtris xatad- warmosaxavda, xolo
saqarTvel oSi saRad moazrovne adamianebs ruseTis mexuTe
kol onad. sinamdvil eSi, ruseTis xel isufal Ta Canafiqris
xel is Semwyobi da Semsrul ebel i Tavad iyo. aRniSnul saki-
TxTan dakavSirebit, gazeT `asaval - dasaval isadmi- micem-
ul interviuSi (2008 wl is seqtembri), giorgi xaindrava xaz-
gasmiT ambobda: `srul i pasuxismgebl obiT vacxadeb, rom
saakaSvil is xel isufl eba aris ruseTis mexuTe kol ona.
ruseTi yvel afers akeTebis imistvis, rom saakaSvil i ar Se-
icval os.- anal ogiuri poziciaa dafiqsirebul i imave gazeTSi
dabeWdil ivane kiRuraZis interviuSiac. m.saakaSvil isa da
misi garemocvis misamarTiT igi xazgasmiT werda: `mexuTe
kol ona amaT sakuTar rigebsi eZebos. romel mexuTe kol on-
aze l aparakoben, roca saqarTvel os strategiul i obieqte-
bi rusul kompaniebs mihydides da umaRl es eSel onebSi ruse-
Tis interesebis damcvel i kaxa benduqiZe hyavT. mexuTe kol ona
parlamentSi, mTavrobaSi da prezidentis kancel ariaSi mo-
ikiTxon. droa Tavidan bol omde gaavanal izoT am xel isu-
fl ebis qmedeba 2003 wl is noembridan dawyebul i 2008 wl is

agvistoti damtavrebuli.~ cnobil i mecnieris, akademikos ivane kirurazis mier sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma savsebit swori da martebulia. am SemTxvevaSi pirvel rigSiagasaTval iswinebeli: a) qveynis sagareo saqmeTa ministris moadgil e, xolo Semdeg ministri, ruseTis moqal aqegrigol vaSaZe rom iyo; b) ekonomikis sferos, saxel mwifo ministri kaxa benduqize rom kurirebda; g) m.saakaSvil is biZa Temural asania, AruseTis yofil i kagebes da imJamad `ef- es- bes- ruse- Tis momqmedi general i iyo. d) 2012 wl is noembris monacemebiT, saqarTvel os ekonomikis umniSvnel ovanesi 31 strategiul i obieqti ruseTma Seisyida. yovel ive aRniS- nul is gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, gakvirvebas ar unda iwvevdes, roca saqarTvel os teritoriebis okupant qveyanastan_ ruseTTan, m.saakaSvil i da misigaremocva Sefar- viTi formebit maRal doneze rom TanamSroml obda da finansur garigebebsac SesaniSnavad agvarebda.

konkretul ad Tu viniyo saqarTvel oSi rusuli inter- esebis gamtarebel i, ruseTis xel isufl ebis dasayrdeni da mexutekol ona, amis sail ustraci od mkiTxvel sazogadobas saqarTvel os strategiul i obieqtebis im nuxsas warvudgen romelic 2004 wl idan 2012 wl is CaTvl iT m.saaka- Svil is xel isufl ebam ruseTs mihyida. esenia: 1) `engurhesi- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 2) `Jinval hesi- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 3) `xrami- 1- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 4) `xrami- 2- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 5) `xrami- 3- _ rusul i kompania `raoesi-; 6) `xrami- 4- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 7) `xrami- 5- _ rusuli kompania `raoesi-; 8) `varcixe- 1- _ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 9) `varcixe- 2- _ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 10) `varcixe- 3- _ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 11) gardabnis me- 9 energo bl oki_ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 12) gardabnis me- 10 bl oki_ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 13) maRali Zabvis gadamcemi 500 kil o- vatiani xazi_ rusuli kompania `inter rao-; 14) `madneul i- _ rusuli kompania `promiSel investi-; 15) `kvarciti- _ rusuli kompania `promiSel investi-; 16) zestafonis `fero- _ rusuli kompania `promiSel investi-; 17) `yaztransgazi

Tbilisi- _rusul i kompania `gazpromi-; 18)Savi zRvis nav-Tobisa da gaxis mompovebel i firma `al eqsi- _rusul i kompania `gazpromi-; 19)saborne gadazidvebi foTidan da baTumidan_ ruseTis rkinigza; 20)el maval mSenebel i qarxana_ rusul i kompania `dema kompiuteri-; 21)`aramiancis-Tbil isis #1 saavadmyofo_ rusul i kompania `batusi-; 22)Tbil isis wyal i_ rusul i kompania `j orjian goTerbaueri-; 23)`rionhesi- _rusul i kompania `enerj investi-; 24)`gumbaTi-1- _rusul i kompania `energo pro-; 25)`gumbaTi-2- _rusul i kompania `energo pro-; 26)`l aj anurhesi- _rusul i kompania `energo pro-; 27)`Saorhesi- _rusul i kompania `energo pro-; 28)aWaris wyal i_ rusul i kompania `energo pro-; 29)gaerTianeba qarTul i banki_ rusul i kompania `viTi-bi-; 30)`l ukoil i- _rusul i kompania `l ukoil i-; 31)kompania `bil aini- _rusul i kompania `bil aini-.

aq im obieqtების ZiriTadi CamonaTval ia, romel is umetesoba rusul i `saxel mwifo-kompaniebis xel Sia da misgan mogebul i aTeul obiT mil iardi dol aris garkveul i nawil i, ruseTis mTavrobam saqarTvel os sawinaaRmdegod gamoiyena da dResac warmatebul ad iyenebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1)2008 wl is agvistos saomari moqmedebebis daafinanseba da qveynis teritoriebis okupacia; 2)saqarTvel oSirusi `samSvidobobisa- da okupantebis saj ariso nawil ebs rCena; 3)afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- separatistul i xel isuflebebis dafinanseba; 4)separatistul regionebsi rusul i samxedro bazebisa da rkinabetonis samxedro TavdacviTi nagebobebis mSenebl oba da 5)sasazRvro mavTul xil arTebiani Robeebis gavl eba. xazgasmi T aRvni Snav, rom yovelive amas, zemoT CamoTvlil i kompaniebis mier mogebis Sedegad miRebul i Semosavl is xarjze_ saqarTvel os mosaxleobis j ibidan amoRebul i ful iT da qveynis saxel mwifo xazinidan gasul i milionobiT dol ariT akeTebda da akeTebis ruseTi. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki finansTa saministro zemoT dasaxel ebul i kompaniebis yovel wl iur mogebas daaj amebs, aSkarad warmoCndeba, rom saqarTvel os bunebrivi resursebi da misi ekonomikuri simdidre, saqarTve-

l os daSl a- daqucmacebas da ruseTis saxel mwi fos kol o-
niur- imperiul interesebs emsaxureba. sxva danaSaul ebriv
qmedebebTan erTad, swored es aris qveynis winaSe Cadeni-
l i Ral ati da misi Semoqmedi m.saakaSvil is xel isufI e-
baa.

m.sakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis maRal Cinosnebis mi ma-
rT kidev ufro didi eWvi da kiTxvebi Cndeba mTel i rigi
faqtebidan gamomdinare: 1)gaerTianebul i opoziciis erT-
erTi l ideris giorgi xaindravas mtkicebiT, ruseTis yo-
fil i `kagebes- da SemdegSi `ef- es- bes- general i Temur
al asania (m.saakaSvil is biZa) omis wina dReebSi saqarTv-
l oSi imyofeboda, umniSvel ovanes Sexvedrebsa da uSiS-
roebis sabWos sxdomebs eswreboda. yvel a gegmis Sesaxeb
saqmis kursSi iyo. `mova dro da yvel afers aexdeba farda
_acxadebda igi, _ yvel a gai gebs, vin TanamSroml obda ruse-
TTan, vin Semoiyvana rusis j ari saqarTvel oSi, vin aZl ev-
da koordinatebs, vin umxel da maT SeiaraRebul i Zal ebisa
da uSiSroebis sabWoze miRebul gadawyvetil ebeps! yve-
l am kargad icis, rom am sxdomebze saakaSvil i wyvetda
yvel afers. vin ej da gverdiT saakaSvil s? vis hqonda yurebi
midebul i miSikos tuCebze? ra Tqma unda saakaSvil is bi-
Zas da putinis TanamSromel s_ Temur al asanias. ase rom,
am yvel aferze pasuxi unda agos saakaSvil ma da yvel a
misma mexotbem, yvel a misma mxardamWerma.- kidev ufro dam-
amZimebel ia imave g.xaindravas meore bral deba: `Temur al a-
sania aris pirdapiri TanamSromel i im organizaciisa_
ganacxada g.xaindravam, _ romel mac putini gamozarda. am-
deni sisxl i daiRvara, amdeni ubedureba moxda da saakaS-
vil is biZis mx-ridan arcerTi protesti, arcerTi xmamaRa-
l i ganaxadeba ar gagvigia... `ef- es- bes- 50 TanamSromel -
ma putinisgan miRo gansakuTrebul i j il do cxinval is
operaciisaTvis. darwmunebul i var, im `ef- es- bes- 50 Tan-
amSromel s Soris Temur al asaniac iqneboda-; 2)2008 wl is
seqtembris monacemebiT, Temur al asania `ef- es- bes- Tan-
amSromel i iyo da gaeroSi SeiaraRebis komitetSi rusu-
l i kvotiT muSaobda. amis Sesaxeb igive g.xaindrava xaz-

gasmiT werda: `Temur al asania iyo `kagebes- maRal Cino-
sani da andropovis Svil Tan erTad ij da kabinetSi. `kagebes-
samarTal memkvidre axl a `ef- es- bea- da al asania kvl av
erTgul ad emsaxureba ruseTis interesebS. igi aris gaeros
SeiaraRebul i komitetis wevri rusul i kvotiT-; 3)Temur
al asania axl o urTierTobaSia putinis marj vena xel Tan_
sergei general ovTan. amis Sesaxeb irakl i kakabaZe da
g.xaindrava oficial urad werdnen presis furcl ebze.
`Temur al asanias `ef- es- bes- generl ebTan erTad aqvs
biznesi saqarTvel oSi... ramdeni wel ia, irakl i kakabaZe
qarTul da dasavl ur presaSi da tel eviziaSi saubrobs
imis Sesaxeb, rom saakaSvil is biZa da ruseTis dumis dep-
utati `ef- es- bes- general i sergei general ovi akon-
trol eben `madneul s- da `kriSaven- iaraRis bizness, ma-
gram aravin yuri ar Seibertya amaze-; 4)m.saakaSvil s
`kagebes- jarSi aqvs fici miRebul i da misi karieris Se-
qmnas Temur al asania uwyobda xel s; 5)erT- erT tel ega-
dacemaSi m.saakaSvil ma ganacxada; `kievSi CemTan erTad
komunistebis mier `daverbovkebul i- l aysel i, kamboj e-
l i da venesuel el i agentebic swavl obdnen.- es imis man-
iSnebel ia, rom m.saakaSvil ic im etapze `kagebes- agenti
iyo da TiToeul i maTganis Sesaxeb Sesabamisi informaci-
is Sekreba qonda daval ebul i. im SemTxvevaSi, Tuki Cems
mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi simarTI es ar Seesabamebo-
da da tyuil ze iyo dafuZnebul i, cil iswamebisTvis gi or-
gi xaindrava Sesabamis uwyebas pasuxisgebaSi unda mi eca,
xol o gazeT `asaval - dasaval isTvis- `sakompensacio-
jarima daekisrebina. im periodSi (2008 wl is seqtemberi)
m.saakaSvil sa da misadmi daqvemdebarebul prokuraturas
amis gakeTeBa namdvil ad ar gauWirdeboda. am mi marTul ebiT
samarTal damcavi organoebis mxridan reagirebis damadas-
turebel i faqti j er- j erobiT ar aRmoCnda.

yovel ive zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare, vl adimer putinisa
da Temur al asanias aRmzrdel i organizaciis mxridan, m.saaka-
Svil i l agamamodebul i da garkveul i doziT marTul
pirovnebas warmoadgenda. am SemTxvevaSi, principul ad isme-

ba sakiTxi: ramdenad mizanSewonil i iyo aseTi saeWvo war-
sul isa da kidev metad saeWvo sanaTesavo garemocvis mqone
pirovnebis qveynis prezidentad arCeva? es sakiTxi sagangebo
da cal ke kvl evis sagania da Sesabamisi uwyebis TanamSrom-
l ebs, visac daxurul masal ebze miuwwdeba xel i, imedia, am
pirovnebis srul fasovan gaSiSvl ebul portrets uaxl oes
momaval Si warudgens sazogadoebas.

ruseTis agentobis Sesaxeb m.saakaSvil is oj axis uaxl oesi
adamianebris mimarT, Cems mier zemoT motanil i faqtebi, met-
naki ebad sazogadoebisaTvis cnobil i iyo. miuxedavad amisa,
politologi ogebi mis erTad Tavmoyrasa da anal izss ratomR-
ac Tavs aridebda. 2004 wl idan 2008 wl is agvistos CaTvl iT
ganvitarebul i urTul esi politiki procesebi_ amis aucil
ebl obas moiTxovda. miTumetes, udanaSaul o adamianta mima-
rT, saxel isuflebo ideologiuri propaganda ruseTis agent-
obis bral debis formatiT mimdinareobda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs
zviad gamsaxurdias Svil is- cotne gamsaxurdiasadmi ruse-
Tis jaSuSobis dabral eba da am muxl iT gasamarTl eba. sazo-
gadoebas erTxel da samudamod unda scodnoda_ Tu vin, vin
aris! am mxriv sayuradRebo mosazreba gamoTqva cnobil ma
mecnierma ivane kiRuraZem. gazeT `asaval - dasaval is-
korespondent megil saj aiasadmi micemul interviuSi (2008 wl is
seqtemberi). ruseT- saqarTvel os 2008 wl is agvistos omis
pirobegi, man winaswar SeTanxmebul ad miiCnia. `eWvi maqvs_
ambobda igi, rom es omi ruseTsa da saqarTvel os xel isuf-
fal Ta garigebis nawil i iyo! am bol o dros bevrs vfiqrob
imaze, xom ar arsebobda SeTanxmeba Cvensa da ruseTis garkveul
wreeps Soris, roml is mixedvitac eseni vitom brZol iT ruseTs
afxazetSa da samxret oseTs Caabarebdnen? Tundac cxin-
val is regionSi brZol a rom moegoT, mTel i dasavl eT saqa-
rTvel o xom Ria iyo? saeWvoa ratom ar aafetqes Cvenebma
rokis gvirabi? axl a ki is xal xi ambobs, gavimarj veTo romel s-
ac ar SeuZl ia hkiTxos russ, ratom Txris sangars foTSi, ra
esaqmeba zugdidSi, an senakSi?~

saqarTvel os xel isuflebis ruseTTan garigebis sisworis
didal batobas kidev ufro amyarebs Tavdacvis saminstros

mier SemuSavebul i da 2007 wl is bol os gamoqveynebul i qveynis Tavdacvis strategiul i mimoxil vis dokumenti. masSi xazgasmiTaa aRniSnul i gayinul i konfliqtebis mogvarebis dawyeba (2007_ 2009 ww.) da misi damTavreba 2013_ 2015 wl isaTvis. am fonze, imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `saqarTvel os mimarT samxedro agresii al baToba dabal ia.- es imas niSnavs, rom Crdil oetis mezobl is mxridan wl ebis ganmavl obaSi oficial urad da Zal ze xSirad gamoTqmul i interesebi_ afxazeTTan da `samxreT oseTTan- mimarTebaSi ver dainaxo, an mizanimarTul ad moaxdino misi ignorireba. miTumetes, 2006 wl is zafxul Si vputinma oficial urad daemuqra m.saakaSvil s, ruseTis mxridan Zal ismieri formebis gamoyenebis SesaZl ebl obis Sesaxeb. am faqtis siswore TviT m.saakaSvil mac aRiara saparl amento umravl esobisa da opoziciis warmomadgenl -ebis kancel ariaSi 2008 wl is 24 agvistos Sexvedraze. `2006 wel s prezidentma putinma miTxra_ ganacxada m.saakaSvil ma, _ Cven Sen mogiwyobT Crdil o kvirosso. me sul megona, rom isini amas moawyobdnen afxazeTSi.- ese igi, qveynis umaRl esma mTavarsardal ma icoda, ruseTis mier Zal is gamoyenebis gardual i SesaZl ebl oba da saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis oficial ur dokumentSi, mosal odnel i agresii Sesaxeb miniSnebac ar gaakeTa. miTumetes, ruseTis damsaxurebiT qveyanas ori konfliqturi regioni qonda da aqvs. es imas niSnavs, rom saqme gvaqvs pol itikur da samxedro uvicobastan, an kidev imave mezobel Tan winaswari garigebis garkveul pirobebTan. winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis koncefciaSi ruseTis mosal odnel i Tavdasxmis faqtoris ignorireba dauSvebel i iyo. miTumetes, am koncefcii ganxil va uSiSroebis sabWos sxdomaze ganxorciel da. aq yuradRba meore mxaresac unda mieqces, mxedvel obaSi maqvs aSS- is samxedro eqspertebis mxridan am umniSvnel ovanesi xarvezis uyuradRebod datoveba. sakiTxis aseTi formiT dasma imiT aris ganpirobebul i, rom saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis wvrtnis, misi aRWurvisa da da qveynis usafrTxoebis garantiebTan dakavSirebiT warmoqmnil sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, aSS- is warmomadgenl oba siRmiseul ad iyo da aris

Caxedul i. miTumetes, aseTi saxis dokumentis ganxil va- damtki-
ceba, saqarTvel oSi movl enil i aSS- is samxedro eqsperteb-
is da saxel mwifo mdivnis TanaSemwis Tanxmobis an misi reko-
mendaciis gareSe ar xdeboda. agvistos movl enebiT ganpirobe-
bul ma Sedegebma daadastura, rom satel evizio rekl amebisa
da samTavrobo doneze gakeTebul i gansakuTrebul i piaris
miuxedavad, qveynis usafrTxoebis sistema ar muSaobda. ar
arsebobda is el ementarul i damcavi meqanizmi, romel ic saxme-
l eTo, sazRvao da sahaero sivrceSi Tavdamsxmel is Tavisu-
fl ad navardis srul ad Tu ara, garkveul i doziT SesaCereb-
l ad iqneboda mimarTul i. presis furcl ebze oficial urad
gavr cel ebul i informaciis mixedviT, ruseTisa da aSS- is
zogierTi j gufebis (da ara xel isufl ebis) SeTanxmebis Sede-
gad, agvistos movl enebis dros, saqarTvel oSi adamianebis
ufro masStaburi msxverpl i iyo dagegmil i. am umniSvnel o-
vanesi da seriozul i bral debis Semcvl el informacias,
Sesabamisi sayrdeni wyaro rom ar qonoda, misi gamavr cel e-
bl ebi qveynis uSiSroebis Sesabamis uwyebas pasuxisgebaSi
unda mieca. Tuki es ar gakeTda, es imas niSnavs, rom yve-
l aferze wamsvl el ma okeanedal eul ebma, am mimarTul ebiT
nabij is gadadgma ver gabeda.

aRniSnul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb gamoqveynebul i uamravi masal -
ebidan, mkiTxvel is yuradRebas gazeT `kviris qronikaSi- da-
beWdil daviT devizis publ ikaciaze `qarTvel i partizanebi
`qronikas- skandal ur informacias awvdian!- SevaCereb. mTel
rig mniSvnel ovan faqtebtan erTad, masSi gansakuTrebul i
yuradReba im danaSaul ebrivi gegmis Sesaxebaa gamaxvil ebu-
l i, romel ic konfl iqtur regionebsi qarTul i sofl ebis
mosaxl eobis genocids iTval iswinebda. `amerikaSi da rus-
eTSi arsebul ma j gufebma SeimuSaves erTobl ivi gegma. am
gegmis Tanaxmad cxinval Si unda momxdariyo is rac moxda,
oRond ufro masStaburi formiT... saqmis mixedviT rusebs
unda moewyoT mTel perimetrze mcxovrebi qarTul i mosaxl -
eobis genocidi,... es ar iyo romel ime erTi konkretul i qve-
ynis gegma, is Seadgines amerikaSi, ruseTSi da CvenTan xe-
l isufl ebis saxiT mokal aTebul ma j gufebma... kidev kargi,

rusma generl ebma bol o momentSi ver gabedes misi Sesrul e-
ba. swored am Canawers mogitanT. erT- erTi yvel asaTvis
cnobil i qarTvel i maRal Cinosani rusebis general s rom
aginebs, _ raRas ayovnebT, gegma bol omde Seasrul eT, qarTul
sofl ebs gadauareTo!- j er- j erobiT Znel ia imis mtkiceba,
Tu ramdenad Seesabameba simarTI es aRniSnul i informa-
cia. Cemi aseTi poziciis miuxedavad, samxedro eqsper tebis
mier saomari moqmedebebis mimdinare procesebis mimoxil -
vam da am kuTxiT skrupl ozuri sizustiT Tval is mi devnebam,
saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis danaSaul ebrivi Canafiqris
simarTI is garkveul i safexurebi gamokveTa. mxedvel oba-
Si maqvs saqarTvel os rezervisti axal gazrdebis srul i
mobil izacia, 2500 kacis gorSi Cayvana, gaSI il sivrceze
erTad Tavmoyra da yviTel i avtobusebiT Semorkal va. es
imas ni Snavda, rom Tavdacvis saministros maRal Cinosnebma,
mwyobridan gamosul i rusul i avtomatiT da mxol od ori
mWidiT `SeiaraRebul i- axal gazrdebi amosawyvetad gaimeta,
ruseTis aviacias cocxal i Zal is uprobl emod ganad-
gurebis Sesani Snavi sivrce Seuqmna. rezervistebisadmi aseTi
haiharad damokidebul eba, sxvagvarad amouxsnel i rCeba.
gorSi samxedro bazevisa da Tavdacvis sxva obieqtების
dabombvis miuxedavad, gaSI il vel ze cxvris farasaviT
Sej gufebul da usardl od mitovebul i rezervistების
disl okaciis adgil ze erTi bombic rom ar Camovarda rus
mfrinavebs unda vumadl odeT. samSobl os siyvarul iT
gul anTebul i rCeul i axal gazrdebi amosawyvetad swored
maT ar gaimetes da Taviant dedebTan cocxl ad daubrunebis
SesaZI ebl oba misces. es aris simarTI e da misi uaryofa
mxol od istoriis im fal sifikatorebs SeuZI iaT, rom-
l ebiC wl ebis ganmavl obaSi sicrues emsaxurebodnen da
am mavnebl ur tendencias dResac agrZel eben. swored amiT
iyo ganpirobebul i gagris batalionis yofil i meTauris,
minskis umaRl esi special uri samxedro saswavl ebl is kurs-
damTavrebul is, mzverav- diversantis, vice- pol kovnikis mer-
ab l orTqifaniZis SekiTxva xel isufl ebisadmi: `sayovel Tao
mobil izacia rom gamoacxadeT,... ratom CaiyvaneT pirtitve-

l a gamoucdel i studenti rezervistebi frontis xazze mw-
yobridan gamosul i iaraRiT? ratom ar daurigeT veteranebs
avtomatebi, maSin roca isini amas yovel wuTs gexvwebod-
nen?... imitom rom im gamoqceul policiel ebsa da oficrebs
dedas utirebdnen... ar yofil a ase afxazeTSi Tu ra!... saku-
Tari xal xis darbevaSi gawvrTnil policiur SenaerTebS
omi rogor unda moego?~ arsebul i faqtobrivi masal is
srul fasovnad gaanal izebi dan gamomdinare, aSkarad ikveTeBa,
rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, aRniSnul i saomari op-
eraciebi mosagebad ar qonda gaTvl il i. igi winaswar iyo
wagebul i, xol o masSi monawile adamiანი გავრცელებული
როგორც განსაკუთრებული დანაშაულებრივი სენარის_გენო-
ციდის `გასათამაშებლად`, rezervისტებიც unda CaexocaT.
m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisa da misi garemocvis qmedebe-
bi, ramdenadac uamrav pasuxgaucemel kiTxvebs qmniS, auci-
l ebl obad mi maCni a: omiS wi na, omiS mi mdinareobis dros da
omiS Semdeg etapze Seqmnil yvel a araoficial ur Tu ofi-
cial ur dokumentebS moexsnas grifiT saiduml o. mxol od
profesional istorikos- mkvl evarebs mieces masze muSao-
bis Sesazl ebl oba. qarTul sazogadoebriv politikur
azrovnebaSi dagrovil kiTxvebs erTxel da samudamod
pasuxi gaeces da rac mTavaria, dadgindes WeSmariteba. am
mimarTul ebiT Tuki konkretul i nabiji ar gadaidgmeba,
wagebul i omidan da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier
daSvebul i Secdomebidan gamomdinare, pasuxgaucemel i sa-
kiTxebi da eWvebi yovel Tvis iarsebebs. miTumetes, amis
myar safuzvelS im periodSi mTavrobis wevrTa da sxva
maRal CinosanTa upasuxismgebl o moqmedebebi kidev ufro
amZafrebs. mxedvel obaSi maqvs saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisa
da `nacional - parlamentarTa mier Tavianti ojaxebis sazR-
vargareT gaxizvna. uaxlesi markis manqanebis azerbaijani
gayvana. omiS Semdgomi periodis presaSi gamoqveynebul i
pirovnebebis vrceli sia amis dadasturebas warmoadgens.
aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gubaz sanikiZe werda: `omi
mihyavs da omi spobs saukeTesos! lomebi ibrzvian, vixtebi
garbian! ai, lomebi iyvnen cxinval Tan, xol o vixtebi wiTel

xidTan da sarfSi.- imave sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT specsam-
saxuris yofil i TanmSromel i, uSiSroebis vice- pol kovniki
Temur kakabaZe 2008 wl is 18 agvistos gazeT `kviris qroni-
ka-- sadmi micemul interviuSi xazgasmiT ambobda: `10 agvis-
tos wiTel i xidis misadgomebi maRal Cinosnebis col - Svil iT
iyo savse, raTa rusebis Tbil isSi SemoWris SemTxvevaSi, samS-
vidobos yofil iyvnen da azerbaijanSi gasul iyvnen. im xal xs
ar hyavdaT col - Svil i, vinc ase moRal aturad Seatoves
mters xel Si?~³³ am kiTxvaze amomwurav pasuxs irina gogosaS-
vil isadmi micemul interviuSi vice pol kovniki merab l orT-
qifaniZe iZl eva: `mibrZandiT sapasporto samsaxurebSi, erT-
dRiani asl ariani pasportebis siebs CaxedeT da mere mix-
vdebiT, Tqvens xel isufl ebas sakuTari mosaxl eoba ra don-
eze kidia fexebze!!!-

rac Seexeba parl amentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komi-
tetis Tavmj domares_ givi TargamaZes, igi general boris-
ovTan TanamSroml obda. saqarTvel os nebismieri moqal aqis
mxridan ruseTis saSual o donis CinovnikTan dal aparakebas
`nacional ebi- Tuki qveynis winaSe Cadenil Ral atad acxade-
bdnen, maTi mxridan okupant general Tan TanamSroml obas mi-
saRebad miCnevden. am SemTxvevaSi, l ogikuri kategoriebis
el ementarul formasac ver icavden. rasac sxvebs umZimes
danaSaul ad uTvl idnen, aTgzis uares qmedebas Tavad Cadiod-
nen. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT giorgi xaindrava xaz-
gasmiT werda: `7 wami vel aparake ruseTis sael Cos ofi-
cial ur warmomadgenel s da amis gamo samSobl os moRal at-
ed gamomacxades. ra undoda axl a givi TargamaZes, ivane sus-
aniviT rom mihyeboda general borisovs goridan cxinv-
al amde? ra undodaT mis manqanaSi? yvel a qveyanaSi okupan-
tebTan nebismieri saxis TanmSroml oba aris kol aboracion-
izmi da samSobl os Ral ati. ra saqme hqondaT borisovTan
TargamaZes da l omaias?~³⁷ SekiTxva savsebiT l ogikuria da
Sesabamis reagirebasac moiTxovda. samwuxarod, arcerT maT-
gans dasabuTebul i pasuxis gacema ar ucdia. miTumetes, bol o
periodSi gamoqveynebul i masal ebis mixedviT, **qveynis uSiS-
roebis sabWos mdivani kaxa l omaia, rusi general is vi-**

aCesl av borisovisgan axal gorSi ruseTis saj ariso Se-
 naerTis Seyvanas kategoriul i formiT moiTxovda. am faqt-
 Tan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `asaval - dasaval is- korespon-
 dent g.mamacaSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi v.borisovma
 daufaravad ganacxada: `I eningorSi (axal gori S.v.)
 samxedro Zal ebis Seyvanas arc vgegmaVdiT. metic, es sak-
 iTxi batonma I omaiam wamoWra! diax batoni I omaia mex-
 veweboda, rom I eningorSi Cveni desanti Segveyvana... daax-
 I oebiT dRis sami saaTisaTvis CemTan gorSi... I eonardo
 de-vdariani Camovida. kamaTisa da mol aparakebis Semdeg,
 Crdil o kavkasiis samxedro garnizonis xel mZRvanel obas
 davukavSirdi, saidanac oci wuTis Semdeg mi vi Re brZaneba
 axal goris raionSi samxedro danayofebis Seyvanis Taobaze,
 raTa raioni marodiorebisagan gameTavisufl ebina da ax-
 al gorSi qarTul i mxaris iurisdicia aRmedgina! gaxare-
 bul ma devdarianma maSinve dareka general erekl e kodu-
 asTan, romel ic samiode dRiT adre Tavad I eonardom
 Semaxvedra. ramdenime wuTis Semdeg I eonardosTan vi Ra-
 cam dareka. masTan emociuri saubris Semdeg I eonardom
 miTxra, rom qarTul i mxare, viRac pol itikosis brZanebiT,
 roml is vinaobac mas ar daukonkretebia, uars ambobs ax-
 al goris raionis qarTul i mxarisTvis dabrunebaze.³⁸ es
 vrcel i amonaweri Segnebul ad movitane, raTa mkiTxvel ma
 Tavad gansaj os, m.saakaSvil is, k.I omaiasa da misi msgavsi
 adamianebis saxiT vin marTavda qveyanas. am amonaweris
 wakiTxvisas SeiZl eba isic Tqvan, rom rusi okupanti gen-
 eral i tyuis. am SemTxvevaSi, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisa
 da dRevandel i Sesabamisi uwyebis maRal Cinosnebs am info-
 rmaciis gadamowmeba ar unda gasWirveboda. miTumetes, vi-
 aCe-sl av borisovi, I eonardo devdariani, erekl e kodua
 da kaxa I omaia cocxl ebia. pirvel i samis dakiTxva da
 meo-TxesTan dapirispireba, srul ad daadgenda WeSmarite-
 bas. samwuxarod, rogorc `vardosnebs-, arc `meocnebebs-
 ar surs momxdarTan dakavSirebiT simarTI is garkveva.
 erTi ram dabegiTebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, v.borisovis inter-
 viuSi motanil i faqti mogonil i da tyuil i rom iyos, 2012

wl is oqtombridan dRemde mas k.l omaia da ekodua aucil e-
bl ad gamoexmaureboda da rus general s tyuil Si amxel da
ramdenadac maTi mxridan aseT qmedebas jer- jerobiT adg-
il i ar qonia, v.borisovis mier saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisa
da gansakuTrebiT axal gorel i devnil ebisadmi miwodebul i
informacia simarTI ed unda miviCnioT. Tuki aseTi saxis
precedents davuSvebT, Znel i amosacnobi ar uda iyos, Tu
ratom dayveboda manqaniT k.l omaia da g.TargamaZe v.bo-
risovs. meore mxriv, saqarTvel os uSiSroebis maSindel i
sabWos mdivani k.l omaia samSobl os moRal ate gamodis. am
SemTxvevaSi mkiTxvel s Sevaxseneb 2006 wl is 25 ivl iss kaxa
l omaias mier (ganaTI ebisa da mecnierebis ministri) tel e-
kompania `rusTavi- 2-- iT gakeTebul gancxadebas, sadac
emzar kvicians samSobl os moRal ate uwoda da mosaxl e-
obas Sepirda, rom saqarTvel os uaxl esi istoriis umaR-
l esi saswavl ebl ebis sagamocdo testebSi, `Ral atis
kl asikur personaJebad- emzar kviciani da batal ion `mona-
dires- wevrebi iqneobdnen Setani l ni.

Sesabamisi faqtobrivi masal iT dadasturebul ia, rom es
danaqadebi, man maRal doneze Seasrul a.³⁹ xSiria SemTxveva,
roca bedukuRmarTobidan da qveyanaSi gamefebul i usa-
marTI obidan gamomdinare, gmirebs bediswera Cawixl avs
da k.l omaias msgavs medroveebis wina pl anze wamoativtivebs.
magram, istorias Tavisi umkacresi kanonebi gaaCnia. eris
gamoRviZebasTan erTad, sazogadoebis saRi azrovnebis qa-
riSxal i, gonebrivi monuri morCil ebis gisosebs daamsxv-
revs, daumsaxurebl ad sanagveze mosrol il oqros zods
sibinZures Semoacl is da Tval is momWrel ad aakiafebs.
2008 wl is agvistos movl enebma da saqarTvel os xel isu-
fl ebis mxridan mi zanmi marTul ad dakargul ma teritoriebma,
ki dev ufro warmoaCina Tu ra did saqmes akeTebda 13 wl is
ganmavl obaSi zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, marux-
isa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis SenarCunebis mizniT
batal ion `monadire- da misi sardal ebi_ emzar kviciani
da zurab gerl iani. saqarTvel os uaxl es istoriaSi, es
adamienebi marTI acda qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobi-

saTvis TavSewirul vajkacebad dai mkvi dreben sapatio adgi-
 l s. rac Seexeba sorosis mil ionebiT gamdidrebul k.l o-
 maiasa da mis msgavs yofil Cinovnikebs, maTi adgil i sircx-
 vil is panTeonSia. anal ogiuri bedis gaziareba mouwevs
 mixeil saakaSvil sac, radgan, mTel rig danaSaul ebriv qmede-
 bebTan erTad, zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa
 da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis, didi da patara l iaxvis
 da frones xeobebis, axal goris raionis dakargvaSi l o-
 mis wil i miuZRvis. `CemTvis absol uturad gaugebaria_ amb-
 obda v.borisovi,_ rogor SeiZl eba qveynis meTaurma, eris
 l iderma uari Tqvas ara Tu mTel raionze, aramed erT ko-
 ml ze, miwis erT kvadratul metrzec ki?! ra amoZravebdaT
 maT? riTi xel mZRvanel obda is am gadawyvetil ebis miRebi-
 sas?- es kiTxva, ara Tu v.borisovisaTvis, aramed yvel a qarTvel i
 mamul iSvil isaTvis pasuxgaucemel ia. miTumetes, `koabitacia-
 samSobl os winaSe Cadenil i danaSaul ebrivi qmedebebis Zie-
 bas, mis saaSkaraoze gamotanas da moqmedi personis dasjas
 ar iTval iswinebs. arada, qarTul i pol itikuri azris mes-
 veurni erTxmad aRiarebdnen, rom pol itikuri gaertianeba
 `nacional uri moZraobis- l iderebis saxiT, saqarTvel os
 xel isufl ebaSi danaSaul is Camdeni j gufi iyo mokal aTe-
 bul i. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, tel ekompania
 `kavkasiis- eTeriT studia `speqtris- gadacemaSi kaxa kukava
 pi-rdapi r ambobda: saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis `saTaveSi aris
 saxel mwifo damnaSaveebis j gufi, romel ic mizanmimarTul ad
 anadgurebs saqarTvel os saxel mwifos... Tu Cven odnav mainc
 gviyvars saqarTvel o unda vTqvaT_ `ar meSinia,- ra iarl iye-
 bic ar unda mogvawebon... am adamiანis upasuxismgebl obam
 gaxvia saqarTvel o SarSi da ra vqnaT... Tval ebze xel i avif-
 aroT da viZaxoT, rom `miSa magaria?- rodemde?... nuTu SeiZ-
 l eba kvl av vrCebody am avadmyofuri azrovnebis qveS, rom
 yvel a visac aqvs gansakuTrebul i azri, aris kudiani da krem-
 l is agenti? es aris sazogadoebaze zemoqmedebis forma, rom
 aravin xma ar amoiRos da xel i ar SeuSal os qveynis teri-
 toriebis gasxvisebas.-

am SemTxvevaSi savsebiT sworadaa danaxul i m.saakaSvil isa

da misi garemocvis mTel i ideol ogiis saiduml oeba. m.saa-
 kaSvil is xel isufli eba zustad im danaSaul ebriv qmede-
 bebs abral ebda oponenteb, rasac Tavad Cadioda qveynis
 winaSe. samwuxarod, qarTul i pol itikuri azris maSindel
 warmomadgenl ebs, m.saakaSvil is warsul isa da misi biZis
 saqmianobis Sesaxeb arsebul i masal ebis Sekreba, Sefasebi-
 Ti anal izi da sazogadoebisadmi wardgena ar mouxdenia.
 opoziciuri speqtris am ususurobiT igi Sesani Snavad sa-
 rgebl obda da survil isamebr SemuSavebul i sabral debo
 iarli iyebiT `amkobda- TiToeul maTgans. arada, qarTul i
 sazogadoebrivi azris warmomadgenel Ta mier gamoqveyneb-
 ul i masal ebisa da samxedro eqsper tebis daskvnebis mixed-
 viT, aSkarad ikveTeba, rom ruseTisadmi teritoriebis Casa-
 barebl ad, m.saakaSvil is xel isufli ebam omis imi tacia gaiTa-
 maSa. iuridiul mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori bizina
 savanel i am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT wers: `momxdari faqtiT,
 ruseTma Tavis mizans miaRwia, xol o saakaSvil ma Zal aufl e-
 ba ganimtkica.- am fonze, igi `gamiSistebul - axal gazrdobas
 gamafRTxil ebel i formiT mouwodebda: `axal gazrdebo, saqar-
 rTvel os gayidva mTavrdeba da me meSinia, cdunebas ayol il i
 zogierTi Tqvengani, nebsiT Tu unebl ieT ar aRmoCndes am
 aqtis Tanamonawil e. Tqveni da saerTod xal xis Tval is asax-
 vevad, es gundi ruseTis mexuTe kol onis Zebnas opoziciaSi
 daiwyeb, maSin, rodesac am gundma swored rom ruseTs Caaba-
 ra saqarTvel os marTvis uamravi ekonomikuri berketi. xol o
 dRes_ soxumi da cxinval i. me ar masvenebs erTi SekiTxva:
 saqarTvel os kidev romel i ZirZvel i miwaa rigSi?- savsebiT
 swori da ritorikul i kiTxvaa. aseTi ram saqarTvel os si-
 namdvil eSi rom ar arsebobdes, mas Cveni romel ime mezobe-
 l i saxel mwi fos sasargebl od m.saakaSvil i da misi garemoc-
 va gamoigonebda, Sesabamis safexurs Seamzadebda, gasasx-
 visebel teritorias oficial ur safasursac daadebda. amis
 Tqmis Sesazl ebl obas presis furcl ebze dabeWdil i
 bral debebi izl eva, roml is mixedviTac m.saakaSvil ma rusebs
 afxazeTi 5 mil iardad miyida.⁴⁰ normal ur qveyanaSi, aRniS-
 nul sakiTxTan mimarTebsaSi pirvel rigSi am bral debis avto-

risa da gazeTis mimarT sisxl is samarTl is saqme aRiZvreb-oda da Ziebis procesi maRal doneze warimarTeboda. Tu es ar gakeTda, imis maniSnebel ia, rom garkveul i doziT simarT- l esTan gvaqvs saqme. miTumetes, imave m.saakaSvil ma oficia- l urad ganaxada, rom man ruseTis prezidents d.medvedevs weril i gaugzavna, sadac afxazeTis orad gayofas sTavazob- da: gal isa da oCamCiris raionebi saqarTvel os, danarCeni afxazeTi soxumis CaTvl iT ruseTs!⁴¹ am sakiTxTan dakavSi-r- ebiT, qarTul i pol itikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebma ara Tu zarebi daarisxes, aramed ubral od `wamoiknavl es.- opoz- iciis am pol itikuri umecrebiT, xel isufl ebam SesaniSnavad isargebl a da moxerxebul i manevrirebiT, sazogadoebis yura- dReba sul sxva mimarTul ebiT gadaitana. anal ogiuri pozi- cia daiWira `nacmoZraobis- erT- erTi ideol ogis daviT da- rCiaSvil is mimarTac. mxedvel obaSi maqvs imave d.darCi- aSvil is mier tel eviziITa da presiT, ruseTis gamaRiz- ianebel i gancxadebebis oficial urad gakeTeba_ `netav, ruseTis prezidentma aRiaros afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- damoukidebl oba, rom kreml s niRabi bol omde Cam- ovxsnaT!-

`kudianebze monadireTa- partiis erT -erTi l ideris mzakvrul i natvra, 13 dReSi Sesrul da. ruseTis federaci- is saTaTbiros orive pal atam, afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- damoukidebl obis aRiarebis Sesaxeb, dimitri medvedevs 2008 wl is 25 agvistos mimarTa. soWSi myofma d.medvedevma, imave wl is 26 agvistos 13 saatze afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- damoukidebl obis aRiarebas moawera xel i da es faqti, srul iad ruseTis mosaxl eobas tel evizi- iT gakeTebul i sagangebo gancxadebiT amcno. imave dRes (26 agvisto), satel evizio gamosvl aSi m.saakaSvil ma savse- biT samarTl ianad brZana: `Cven rac davTeseT am wl ebSi vimkiT aTmagad da asmagad.- misi xel mZRvanel obiT gatare- bul i sagareo pol itikuri kursis Sedegis asmag samkal s, afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- damoukidebl obis aRI- areba warmoadgenda. qarTul ma sazogadoebam da miTumetes istorikosebma dRemde ver gavarkviet Tu ra bedi ewia im

ni Rabs, romel ic afxazeTisa da `samxreT oseTis- damouki de-
 bl obis aRiarebiT ruseTma Camoixsna da d.darCi-aSvil is
 msgavs `pol itikosebs- xel Si SeaCeCa. konkretul ad, sad
 aisaxa is Sedegi, roml is Sesaxebac sazogadoebis gasabi-
 Turebl ad ase apel irebda `nacmoZraobis- warmomadgen-
 l ebi? savsebiT marTal i iyo erekl e saRl iani, roca gul i-
 stkiivil iT ambobda: `aravin saubrobs imaze, Tu ra mni Svel oba
 qonda CvenTvis kodoris xeobas. araerTi precedentii viciT
 imisa, rodesac msofil iom separatistul i reJimi aRiara. maga-
 l iTad Sril anka. igive precedentii CvenTanac rom momxdariyo,
 saWiro iyo teritoria adgil obrivi mosaxl eobisgan, qarTve-
 l ebisgan gawmendil iyo. gamomdinare aqedan, kodoris xeoba
 ruseTs Zval iviT hqonda yel Si gaCxeril i. sanam es xeoba ar-
 sebobda, afxazeTis separtul reJims veravin aRiarearebda.-

2008 wl is agvistos movl enebma da rusebisadmi zemo kodo-
 ris xeobis ubrZol vel ad Cabarebam, qarTul sazogadoebaSi
 safuZvl iani eWvi warmoSva am xeobis mizanmimarTul ad daka-
 rgvis Sesaxeb. es procesi `vardebis revol uciisa- da m.saaka-
 Svil is xel isufl ebaSi mosvl is Semdeg safexurebrivad dai-
 wyo. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gazeT `kvisis qronikas- koresp-
 ondent ani mirotaZisadmi micemul interviuSi, emzar kvici-
 anma kodoris xeobis mtrisadmi Cabarebis 4 ZiriTadi mo-
 samzadebel i RonisZieba daasaxel a. `ra iyo saWiro imisaTvis
 rom kodori Cabarebul iyo? **pirveli**: kvicianis moSoreba
 xeobidan. amitom al asaniam (irakl i S.v.), rogorc ki movida
 xel isufl ebaSi avtonomiuri respublikis ministrTa sabWos
 Tavmj domared, pirveli rac gaakeTa, es iyo gubernatoris Ta-
 namdebobis gauqmeba; **meore**: razmi `monadires- gauqmeba da
 ganiaraReba, romel ic oqruaSvil ma Seasrul a; **mesame**: ganiar-
 aRebul i `monadires- yvel a im wevris cixeSi gaSveba, visac
 winaaRmdegobis gaweve SeeZl o kodoris CabarebasTan dakavS-
 irebiT; **meoTxe**: wina xel isufl ebac mzad iyo Caebarebina
 kodori, radgan es rekomendacia gaxl daT natos wevri qvey-
 ebisa da kerZod buSis administraciisa, magram ver axerxeb-
 dnen, radgan kviciani maT amis saSual ebas ar aZl evda.-

naSromis wina TavebSi Cems mier motanil i uamravi faqte-

bis anal izidan gamomdinare dasturdeba, rom emzar kviciani simarTi es ambobda. zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi gatarebuli aRniSnul i RonisZiebebi iseTi `eSmakuri- formiT da ideol ogiuri damuSavebiT mimdinareobda, rom xeobisadmi e.kvicianisa da `monadires- wevrTa gansakuTrebuli gul Sematkivroba, piradi `gamorCenis- ambiciur donemde dayavdaT. eris tragedia swored imaSi mdgomareobs, rom 1)pol itikurad meZavma opoziciuri speqtris l iderTa didma nawil ma, es absurdul i propaganda siswored miicnia; 2)TiToeul i zemoaRniSnul i RonisZiebis gatareba, romel ic zemo kodoris xeobis damcavi safexuris moSi as niSnavda, uyuradRebod datova; 3)m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebi ukanono gadawyvetil ebebTan mimarTebaSi, e.kvicianis yovel i saprotesto gancxadeba, Tanamdebobrivi ambiciebiT Sepyrobil i pirovnebis qmedebad aRiqva. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTul ma opoziciurma pol itikurma speqtrma, droul ad ver gaacnobiera is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel sac qveynis saTaveSi `axal gazrda reformatorebis- wamosasxamiT mosul i okeanedal eul ebi umzadebdnen zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebs, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebs da srul iad saqarTvel os.

e.kvicianis zemoaRniSnul i interviu imiTac aris sainteresse, rom zemo kodoris xeobis dakargvasTan mimarTebaSi igi irakli al asaniasac adanaSaul ebs. `2004 wel sal asaniam Sexvedra mTxova da Sevxdid restoran `Zvel saxl Tan-sanapiroze. me mas vuTxari, rom xel isufl ebas aSS- is adaministraciisgan xeobis Cabareba aqvs daval ebul i meTqi. is ra Tqma unda ar dameTanxma. Semdeg vkiTxe, _ vin iqneba pasuxismgebel i imisa, rom kodori ar Cabardeba meTqi? razec si tyva- si tyviT mi pasuxa, _me irakli al asania viqnebi pasuxismgebel io. ai dadga dro da vekiTxebi irakli al asanias, _ batono irakli, ratom CaabareT xeoba Sen da Senma mami daSvil ma? Tqven, burjanaZe da noRaideli dRes rom cdil obT xal xs daaj eroT, es saakaSvil is Secdoma iyovo, amiT sakuTari Tavis gadarCenaze xom ar fiqrobt? kodoris dakargva aranairi Secdoma ar iyo, es iyo gamiznuli

Ral ati Cveni qveynisa da vinc odnav mainc aris gareul i am saqmeSi yvel a unda dai saj os. eseni arian: mixeil saakaSvil i, irakl i al asania, nino burj anaZe, irakl i oqruaSvil i, erekl e kodua, zurab noRaidel i, nika gvaramia, giga boke-ria, Zmebi ruruebi Tavisi saZmoTi, l evan gvazava, vano merabiSvil i, anzor margiani, irakl i qurasbediani, nodar werediani, l evan kiksaZe, kaxa da givi TargamaZeebi. es adamiანიები Sevl en istoriaSi rogorc farsadanebi, rom l ebmac gayida samSobl o da yvel a kodorel i... mTavari moqmedi pirebi arian amJamad ruseTSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi: igor giorgaZe, tariel oniani, bondo Sal ikiani, Temur al asania da vinme miSa surgul aZe, romel ic mixeil saakaSvil is uaxl oesi adamiანი, visi meSveobiTac tariel oni-ანი da mixeil saakaSvil i erTmaneTs ukavSi rdebian.⁴²

Cems mier motanil am vrcel amonawerSi dasmul i sakiTxebi, m.saakaSvil isa da misi yofil i Cinovnikebis dakiTxvis Sede- gad, dRevandel i samarTal damcavi organoebis mxridan safuZ- vl iანი pasuxis gacemas moiTxovs. aucil ebl ad unda gairkves zemoT camoTvl il i pirovnebebis roli da adgil i kodori- sa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel tex- il ebis dakargvis saqmeSi. iTumetes, 2013 wl is noembris dasas- rul s, afxazeTis aral egitimuri xel isufl ebis mier gavr- cel ebul i oficial uri informaciis mixedviT, kodorisა da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis rusebisadmi Cabarebamde 2 kviriT adre, kondol iza raisi da irakl i al asania saiduml o viTarebaSi afxazeTSi Cafrenil an. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, `reportioris- preskl ubSi gam- arTul preskonferenciaze emzar kvicianma oficial uri gancx- adeba gaakeTa. `hkiTxeT irakl i al asanias, kodoris Cabare- bamde 2 kviriT adre ratom iyo kondol iza raistან erTad afxazeTSi farul ad Casul i? es informacia Tavad afxazeb- ma gaavr cel a. igi saiduml o viziti iyo.~ aRniSnul i amonaw- eri, `meocnebe- Tavdacvis ministris samSobl os Ral atSi dadanaSaul ebis dRemde pasuxgaucemel i pirvel i bral debis Semdeg, meore seriozul bral debas warmoadgens. nebismieri civil izebul i qveynis aramarionetul i mTavrobis mmarTvel o-

bis pirobekSi, am faqtebTan mimaTebaSi sisxl is samarTI is saqme aRiZvreboda, radgan sakiTxi, mezobel i qveynisTvis saqarTvel os teritoriis mizanmimarTul ad Cabarebas exeba. Tuki saqarTvel os dRevandel i xel isufli eba am mimarTul ebiT nabij is gadadgmas ver axerxebes, igi aSS- is maRal CinosanTa Zal isxmeviTaa ganpirobekul i. maT ZiriTad mizans, kal iforniis l aboratoriebSi gamoyvanil i okeanedal eul i kl oneb- isadmi mfarvel obiTi kal Tis gadafareba da Cadenil i danaSaul is mifuCeCeba warmoadgens. aSS- is xel isufal Ta zemoqmedeba rom ara, saqme adgil idan unda daZrul iyo Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom emzar kviciani prokuraturasTan TanamSroml obaze Tanxmobas acxadebs.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis maRal Cinosnebis mxridan kanondarRvevi T Cadenil danaSaul ebriv qmedebes, amis Sesaxeb dasbuTebul i daskvna gamoaqveyna iurisma zaqaria qucnaSvil ma. CemTvis saintereso sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT imave dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `cal ke unda gamoiyos zemo afxazeTis (kodoris xeobis) sakiTxi. faqtia, rom rogorc ki mas Seuties afxazeTis de faqto xel isufli ebisa da ruseTis federaciis Zal ebma, yvel a iq myofma saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis warmomadgenl ebma winaaRmdogobis gawevis gareSe datova xeoba. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas arc ki ucdia am agresiiis aRkveTa. amis Sedegad Cven davkargeT teritoriis kidev erTi nawil i, roml is mosaxl eobac iZul ebiT gadaadgil ebul pirebad iqca. es moxda saqarTvel os prezidentis mier saomari mdgomareobis gamocxadebis Semdeg da cxadia, rom mas am SemTxvevaSi, srul i ufl eba hqonda, gamoeyenebina samxedro Zal ebi Tavisi konstituciuri val debul ebis _saqarTvel os am nawil is dacvis Sesasrul ebl ad, rac man ar gaakeTa! aseTi umoqmedobit man daarRvia saqarTvel os konstituciis 69- e muxl is me- 2 punqti, roml is Tanaxmad, saqarTvel os presidenti `uzrunvel yofs qveynis erTianobas da mTI ianobas.- xel isufli ebas dRemde ar ucdia, sazogadoebisatvis aexsna misi danaSaul ebrivi umoqmedobis mizezi... saqarTvel os prezidentma, roml is moval eobaa qveynis erTianobisa

da mTI ianobis uzrunvel yofa, ar scada saxel mwifos Tavdacvis mizniT gamoeyenebina sxva saxel mwifos samxedro Zal is Semoyvanisa da gamoeyenebis konstituciuri ufl eba (muxl i 100), riTac daarRvia saqarTvel os konstituciis 69- e muxl i... aRniSnul i darRvevebi da amis Semdeg damdgari gansakuTrebul i mZime Sedegebi warmoSobs saqarTvel os prezidentis gadayenebis da misi sisxl is samarTI is pasuxisgebaSi mi cemis ufl ebas.⁴³

es uaRresad sayuradRebo dokumenti 2009 wl is oqtombris dasawyisSi Seiqmna da presaSiac gamoqveynda. masSi principul adaa dasmul i sakiTxi qveynis umaRl esi mTavarsardl is pasuxismgebl obis Sesaxeb. am Tval sazriss samxedro eqspe-rtebic iziarebda. am mxriv gansakuTrebul yuradRebas irakli sesiasvil is pozicia iqcevs. misi mtkicebiT, mTavarsardali, romel mac qveynis teritoriebi dakarga, Tavis moRvaweobas ar unda agrZel ebdes... vfiqrob rom es sakiTxi unda dadges ara qarTvel i xal xis mxridan, aramed amaze Sinagani pasuxismgebl oba unda hqondes Tavad mTavarsardal sa da xel isuflebis yvel a rgol s. es yvel aferi unda moxdes umtkivneuli od.- marTalia, sakiTxi sworad iyo dasmul i, magram misi forma_ Tanamdebobidan mTavarsardl is nebayofl obiTi wasvli a, mxol od civil izebul ad moazrovne, samSobl oze da misi xal xis keTil dReobaze mzurunvel i adamiანიTvisaa damaxasiaTebel i. samwuxarod, msaakaSvil s aseTi Tvissebebi namdvil ad ar gaaCnia. mis mTavar amocanas, ucxo qveynis xel isufal Ta dakveTis Sesrul eba, piradi gamdidreba da skamis SenarCuneba warmoadgenda. Torem, wagebul i omis, dakargul i teritoriebis da 100 aTasi devnil is qveynisTvis Semmatebel i pirovneba, prezidentad namdvil ad ar unda yofil iyo. am sakiTXTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `kviris qronika-- s korespondent gel a zedel aSvil isadmi micemul interviuSi cnobili politologi ramaz kl imiasvil i xazgasmiT ambobda: `rodesac hitleri damarcxda, man Tavi moikla da sakuTari col ic gawira... gamodis, is mainc amayi kaci yofil a da ise moiqca, rogorc kacs ekadreboda,... Rirseba hqonia, adamianna Tavis qveyana daamarca da Tavi moikla. aris meore variantic, argentina-

Si hyavdaT erTi degenerati prezidenti, gal dieri, romel mac daiwyo aventura britanel ebis winaaRmdeg da roca gaanad-gures, meore dResve sakuTarma xal xma daapatimra da cixeSi Caagdo. es moxda imitom, rom argentinel ebi amayebi arian. gesmiT sanamde miwdivarT? vercerTma sircxvil i ver aitana, Tu vinmem aitana xal xma ar apatia.-

marTal ia, m.saakaSvil i Tavisi manerebiT, adamianta siZul vil iTa da fsiqikiT hitl erTan axl os dgas, magram misgan gansxvavebiT, qveynis winaSe Camdeni li danaSaul i, mis warmosaxvaSi gamarjvebad iqna aRqmuli (12 agvistos zeimi). rac Seexeba xal xis mxridan misadmi risxvis gamoxatvis demonstrirebas, am SemTxvevaSi gadamwyveti roli quCis politikurad meZavi opoziciis `bel adebma- Seasrula. mxedvel obaSi maqvs, maT mier moratoriumis oficial urad gamocxadebisa da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis SecdomaSi Seyvanis faqti. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT cnobili Jurnal isti jaba xubua, 2008 wl is 25 agvistos qarTvel opozitionerTa liderებს Seaxsenebda: `kargad dafiqrdiT, Tqveni moratoriumi amjerad ukve qarTuli saxel mwifos interesebs emsaxureba Tu saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis interesebs?... diax! dRes opoziciis dumi li saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis l egitimaciaze Tanxmobis niSania, rac Tavistavad niSnavs opoziciis politikur ganiaraRebas.- am ganiaraRebis safuZveli TviT opoziciurma speqtrma Seqmna. **saqarTvel oSiac iseTive mo- usyidveli opoziciuri liderebi rom yofil iynen, rogoric argentinel xal xs hyavda, erT kviraSi m.sa- akaSvili da misi mTavrobis wevrebi cixeSi iqne- bodnen gamomwyvdeul ni.**

saqarTvel os winaSe danaSaul is Camden prezidentTan da xel isufl ebasTan, opoziciuri partiebis liderTa didi nawil is `kohabitacia- 2008 wl is 12 agvistodan daiwyo da igi Tanacxovrebis gansakuTrebul formebsi gadaizarda. qarTuli politikuri speqtris liderTa didma nawil ma, konstituciisa da sxva sakanonmdebl oaqtebis Sesabamisi muxl ebis amoqmedebas, m.saakaSvil Tan da mis garemo-cvasTan garigeba da 30 vercxl is aReba amj obina. am qmedebiT, TiToeul ma matganma, erisa da qveynis interesebi ukana pl an-

ze gadaitana, guSindel i damnaSaveebi qveyanas dResac `moZR-
varT- moZRVris- rangSi SeunarCuna. SesaniSnavadaa naTqvami:
`saqarTvel o samoTxea, sadac cxovrobs mSiSara da briyvi
qarTvel ebi.- mSiSrobiTa da kl asikuri donis sibriyviT iyo
ganpirobepul i, roca saqarTvel os moRal ate da prezide-
ntobis vadagasul i (2012 wl is ianvari) pirovneba, 2013 wl is
17 noembris CaTvl iT, saprezidento savarZel Si rom yavda
ers `Cabrzanebul i- da misi garTobisaTvis qveynis biuj etis
fl angvas rom itanda.

amrigad, yovel ive zemoTqmuli, srul Sesazl ebl obas
iZl eva Semdegi daskvnebis gasakeTebi ad: 1)`vardebis rev-
ol uci iT- xel isufl ebaSi mosul i okeanedal eul Taj gufis
Sidasaxel mwifoebri vi kursi, XXI s- is kosmopol itizmze
iyo dafuznebul i. maT amocanas, qarTvel axal gazrdebSi
erovnul isadmi nihil isturi damokidebul ebi da qveynis
teritoriul i rRvevisadmi Senguebel i cnobierebis Camoy-
al ibeba warmoadgenda. m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebi mxri-
dan ganxorciel ebul i sakanonmdebl o cvl il ebebi: `samxreT
oseTis- aRdgena, zemo kodoris (dal is) xeobis `zemo afx-
azeTad- gadanaTvl a, qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis sa-
winaarmdego qmedebas Seicavda da samomavl od, saqarTve-
l os or seqtorad gayofas (ruseTs_ afxazeTi da `samxreT
oseTi-, danarCeni saqarTvel o_ aSS- s) isaxavda miznad;
2)ruseTisadmi qveynis umniSvnel ovanesi strategiul i
obieqtebis (31 obieqti) miyidviT, saqarTvel os bunebrivi
simdidris ruseTis ekonomikis samsaxurSi CayenebiT da
m.saakaSvil is oj axis uaxl oesi wevrebis (Temur al asania)
ruseTis uSiSroebis samsaxurSi saqmianobis amsaxvel i
masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi
maRal Cinosnebi (m.saakaSvil i, k.benduqiZe, g.vaSaZe...), ruse-
Tis dasayrden Zal as da mexuTe kol onis funqciisadmi
dakisrebul i moval eobis Semsrul ebl ebs warmoadgendndn
saqarTvel oSi; 3)ruseT_ saqarTvel os 2008 wl is agvistos
saomari moqmedebebis Sesaxeb, samxedro eqspertebis mier
gakeTebul i anal izi iT irkveva, rom saxmel eTo, sazRvao da
sahaero sivrceSi mowinaaRmdegis Tavisufal i moqmedebis

Semaferxebel i meqanizmi, Tavdacvis usafrTxoebis sistema im etapze ar muSaobda. samxedro eqspertebis mxridan, dokumenturi masal iTaa dadasturebul i, rom saqarTvel os mxridan ganxorciel ebul i saomari operaciebi mosagebad ar iyo gaTvl il i. masSi monawil e rigiTi samxedro personal i (gansakuTrebiT rezervistebi da qarTul i sofl ebi mSvidobiani SeuiaraRebel i mosaxl eoba) winaswar dagegmil i genocidis scenaris gasaTamaSebl ad iyvnen ganwirul ni; 4)opoziciuri partiebis l iderebis umetesobis politikuri marcximiT gamovl inda, rom droul ad ver gaacnobi res is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel sac m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba afxazeTSi kontrol irebad teritorias (zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi) da srul iad saqarTvel os rom umzadebda. naSromSi motanil i masal ebiT dadasturebul ia: a)e.kvicianis mxridan m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis dadanaSaul eba, _ zemoaRniSnul i xeobebisa da uRel texil ebis mtrisadmi mizanmimarTul ad Cabarebis Sesaxeb_ simarTl es Seesabameba; b)momxdari faqti, samarTal damcavi organoebis dai nteresebis sagani unda gaxdes, mi Tumetes, qveynis umaRl esi mTasvarsardal is _ m.saakaSvil is mier samSobl os winaSe Cadenil danaSaul Tan gvaqvs saqme.

daskvnebi

dokumentur masal aze dayrdnobiT da qarTul i sazogadoe-briv- politikuri azrovnebis warmomadgenel Ta Sexedul e-bebis sinTezuri anal izis Sedegad, naSromSi safuZvl ian-adaa asaxul i saqarTvel oSi mimdinare 1993_ 2008 wl ebis movl enebi. am fonze dasabuTebul ia:

1)gaero da sxva saerTaSoriso organizaciebi, qarTul _ afx-azuri konfl iqtis saqarTvel os sasargebl od mowesrigebiT ar iyvnen dainteresebul ni. maTi zewol iT xel moweril i SeTanxmebebi (1994 wl is 4 april i, 14 maisi, 2002 wl is 17 ian-vari), ruseTis samomavl o gegmis interesebSi j deboda da saqa-rTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis saziانو debul e-bebs Seicavda. m.saakaSvil is oficial uri gancxadebis mixedviT, gaeros general ur mdivansa da putins Soris dadebul i sai-duml o SeTanxmeba, konfl iqturi regionebs saqarTvel odan Camocil ebas iTval iswinebda. am mavnebl uri Canafiqris sis-wores, saqarTvel oSi gaeros warmomadgenel is diter bode-nis mier ruseTis sasargebl od gaweul i praqtikul i saqmi-anobac adasturebs. zemo kodoris xeobis damcav meqanizms, kodorel i axal gazrdebisgan 1992 wel s Seqmnil i `Seficul - Ta razmi- da mis bazaze 1993 wl idan oficial uri statusiT `monadires- saxel wodebiT arsebul i 350 kaciani batal ion i warmoadgenda. dokumenturi masal iT naSromSi dadasture-bul ia, rom 1999_ 2004 wl ebSi, aRniSnul i batal ionis Seiar-aRebas qveynis Tavdacvis uwyeba axdenda. zemo kodoris xe-obis xel Si Cagdebis afxazur- rusul i marcx i, batal ion `mona-dires- maRal i brZol isunarianobiT iyo ganpirobebul i. (mxed-vel obaSi maqvs: 1993 wl is 2 _4 oqtomers rusul _ afxazuri samxedro SenaerTebis Tavdasxma zemo kodorze, imave wl is 23 noembers bagramianis batal ionis Tavdasxma omariSarasa da sakenis mosaxl eobaze. 1994 wl is martsa da maisSi rusul _ afxazuri samxedro SenaerTebis Tavdasxma zemo kodoris xeobaze, 2001 wl is 9 oqtomers rusebis mier zemo kodoris xeobis dabombva, 2002 wl is april Si rusul i desantis gd-mosxma sofel ajaraSi...). e.kvicianis sardl obiT batal ion

`monadires- simtkicem da maRal ma brZol isunarianobam gada-urCina maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi, zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi saqarTvel os. Cvens qveyanas afxazetis dasabrunebel i strategiul i pl acdarmi da regionSi status- kvo SenarCuna.

2) batal ion `monadires- da 1993_ 2006 wl ebis zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis garSemo mimdinare movl enebi_ erTmaneTisgan ganuyofel ia. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan aRniSnul i batal ionis gauqmeba (2005 wl is april i) danaSaul ebriv qmedebas warmoadgenda. Tundac im el ementarul i mizezis gamo, rom afxazetis monakvetze igi Zal Ta bal anss inarCunebda. batal ion `monadires- gauqmebiT da misi ganiaraRebiT, afxazi separatistebisa da rusi okupantebis mier 1999 wl idan kategoriul i formiT dasmul i moTxovna Sesrul da. am faqtiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam qveynis teritoriul i mTliano bis aRdgenis saziano da rusul _ afxazuri gegmis sasargebl o gadawyvetil eba miRo. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom xel isufl ebisgan mitovebul i zemo kodoris xeobisa da misi mosaxl eobis usafrTxoebis garants, mxol od batal ion `monadire- warmoadgenda. Tuki ruseTis sakanomdebl o organom, afxazetis damoukidebl oba ver scno da koso vos model is gaTamaSebas Tavi aarida, l omis wili batal ionma `monadirem- Seasrul a. mxedvel obaSi maqvs zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis saqarTvel os iurisdiciaSi SenarCunebis faqti. msaakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis mxridan, ekvicianisa da batal ion `monadires- wevrebis misamarTiT Wuberis uRel - texil ze devnil ebis Zarcvis (1993 wl is seqtemberi) Sesaxeb gavrcel ebul i bral deba, sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba. TviTmxil vel ebis naambobiT mtkicdeba, rom ekviciani da batal ion `monadires- wevrebi, devnil Ta mZarcvel ebs iaraRiT daupirispirda da uRel texil idan gamoaZeva. rac Seexeba ekvicianis banditad da kriminal ad gamocxadebas, Tuki es pirovneba marTI acda aseTi damnaSave iyo, mis winaaRmdeg 2004_ 2006 wl is ivl isamde unda aRZrul iyo sisxl is samarT-

l is saqme, rasac im periodSi adgil i ar hqonia. aRniSnul i bral debebis xel isufl ebis mxridan maRal registrSi ayvana, ekvicianisa da misi batal ionis wevrebis diskreditaciaze iyo gaTvl il i da sazogadoebaSi siZul vil is damkvidrebas isaxavda miznad. ekvicianis moTxovna; batal ion`monadires- aRdgena da saxel mwifo struqturisdmi daqvemdebareba, Tavdacvis saministros warmomadgenl ebisa da sazogadoebis cnobil i pirebis monawil eobiT zemo kodorSi arsebul i iaraRis sawyobis aRwera, batal ion`monadiresTvis-saWi-ro raodenobis aRWurvil obis datoveba da zedmetis xeobidan gatana, 1994 wl is 14 maisis SeTanxmehis denonsireba da amis Semdeg zemo kodorSi qarTul i jaris Seyvana, saqarTvel os saxel mwifos interesebSi j deboda. qveynis teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenaze mofiqral i xel isufl ebisTvis igi misaRebi unda yofil iyo. im etapze gavrcel ebul i informaciis mixedvit, m.saakaSvil ma da misma xel qveitebma, zemo kodoris xeoba rusebTan savaWro da ful is ketebis sagnad aqcia (ol eg deripaskos 50 mil ion). amitom, yovel-gvari saxis gonivrul i winadadeba, romelic zemo kodoris xeobas ukavSirdeboda, mistvis miuRebel i aRmoCnda. m.saakaSvil isa da ruseTis xel isufl ebis maRal CinosanTa garigebis utyuarobaze miuTitebs i.oqruaSvil isa da i.merabiSvil is sardl obiT qarTul i jaris gadaadgil ebis marSrut. mxdvel obaSi maqvs rusul i saguSagoebis mier qarTul i jaris uprobl emod gatareba (j vari -xaiSi, qvemo kodoris xeobaSi l aTa_ qvabCaras monakveTi). m.saakaSvil - i.oqruaSvil - i.merabiSvil is mier zemo kodorSi 26 ivl iss ganxorciel ebul i samxedro operacia (monawil eobda 850 jariskaci. ramdenime vertmfreni monacvl eobiT bombavda zemo kodoris xeobas), sofel Cxal Tas miwasTan gasworeba, zemo kodorel - Ta faSisturi meTodebiT dasjas isaxavda miznad. naSromSi motanil i masal ebi da misi anal izi safuZvel s maZl evs ganvacxado, rom m.saakaSvil is mier zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i sadamsjel o RonisZiebebi, afxazi separatistebis da rusi okupantebis gegmebs srul ad pasuxobda. es faqti, myar safuZvel s maZl evs vivarauddo, rom m.saakaSvil i ruse-

Tis `ef- es- bes- maRal CinosanTa kabinetebSi damuSavebul i proeqtis erTi umniSvel ovanesi nawil is Semsrul ebel i iyo.

3) samxedro eqspertebis da politikur moRvaweTa daskvnebis, sazogadoebis Tval saCino warmomadgenl ebis Sexedul ebis, mimdinare procesebis TviTmxil vel Ta naambobis gaanalizebis safuZvel ze irkveva: a) m.saakaSvil is `politmuSakebis- mcdel oba, sazogadoebisTvis daentkicebina, rom kodoris xeobaSi kl asikuri gagebiT aj anyebas qonda adgili, natyuar informaciaze agebul piarkampaniis Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda da arcerTi saxis dokumentiT ar dasturdeba. am mimarTul ebiT, xel isufl ebisadmi niRabis CamoxsnaSi, l omiswil i ekvicians miuZRvis im Tval sazrisiT, rom Wuberis uRel texil ze gadasvl isas, qarTul i jarisnawil ebs Tofis gasrois gareSe ganerida da qarTvel Ta sisxl is daRvras_ mTebSi mimal va amj obina; b) m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis mtkiceba, zemo kodoris xeobaSi Sesvl a TiTqos afxazeTis `dasabrunebl ad- dawyebul samxedro operacias warmoadgenda, sazogadoebis yuradRebis Tbil isidan afxazeTis mimarTul ebiT gadatanaze iyo gaTvl il i. samxedro eqspertebis azriT, im etapze saqarTvel os aseTi saxis operaciis damgegnavi genStabSi ar yavda da bunebrivia, soxumis mimarTul ebiT saomari moqmedebis dasawyebadac mZad ar iyo; g) ekvicianis ruseTis agentad da qveynis moRal ated gamocxadebis damadasturebeli oficial uri dokumenti, im da momdevno etapze qveynis Sesabamis uwyebes sazogadoebisaTvis ar warudgenia. saqarTvel os general uri prokuraturis mier ekvicianisadmi wayenebul i 5 bral debidan, dokumenturad arcerTi maTgani ar dasturdeba. piriqit, kodoris garSemo ganvitarebuli politikuri procesebis Rma anal izidan gamomdinare, qarTul i sazogadoebriv_ politikuri speqtris warmomadgenl ebma safuZvl iani eWvi gamoTqves m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvidan zogierTi saxel mwifo moxel is_ ruseTis uSiSroebis Sesabamis uwyebasTan TanamSroml obis Sesaxeb.

4) saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier zemo kodoris xeobis samxedro operaciis warmatebul ad gamocxadeba, a) zemo kodoris da Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texi-

l ebis damcvel Ta winaaRmdeg xel ovnurad Seqmnil bral de-
bebs (banditebi, teroristebi, moRal ateebi)_ efuZneboda da
piar kompaniis saxes atarebda. igi sazogadoebaze ideol ogi-
uri zemoqmedebisTvis iyo gamiznul i. xel isufl ebis mxri-
dan kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis- Sesaxeb gakeTebul i gancxa-
deba, sazogadoebis motyuebis morig safexurs warmoadgenda.
mxedvel obaSi maqvs, kodorel i svanebis mier saqarTvel os
iurisdiciaSi SenarCunebul i zemo kodoris xeobis, m.saaka-
Svil is mier `dabrunebul ad- gamocxadebis faqti. am SemT-
xvevaSi, saakaSvil i zemo kodoris `dabrunebis- imitaciis ga-
piarebas axdenda, Torem qvemo kodoris xeoba, l aTa_ qvab-
Caras monakveTi 1993 wl idan afxazi separatistebisa da rusi
okupantebis xel Si iyo da im etapzedac maT daqvemdebareba-
Si rCeboda. saRad moazrovne qarTul i sazogadoebriv- pol-
itikuri azris warmomadgenl ebma, m.saakaSvil isa da misi gare-
mocvis tyuil Si mxil ebis paral el urad, kodoris samxedro
operacia_ kodorel i svanebis genocidis mcdel obis tol-
fas qmedebad, svanur mosaxl eobaSi erovnul i cnobierebis
amoSanTvis, brZol isunarianobis Cakvl is, qarTul i miwisadmi
siZul vil is damkvidrebis mizniT gatarebul RonisZiebad Sea-
fasa. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom m.saakaSvil isa
da misi mTavrobis maRal CinosanTa gancxadebebi da qmedebe-
bi, rusebsa da afxazebis, ideol ogiur frontze qarTul i sax-
el mwifos winaaRmdeg moqmedebisaTvis noyier niadags uqmni-
da.

5)saqarTvel osTvis zemo kodoris xeobis gansakuTrebul i
strategiul i mniSvnel oba, nebismieri xel isufl ebis maRal -
Cinosans, misi mosaxl eobis yuradRebis centrSi moqcevas
aval ebda. dokumenturi masal iT dasturdeba, rom wl ebis
ganmavl obaSi saqarTvel os mTavrobis mxridan xeoba mitove-
bul i iyo, xol o misi mosaxl eoba umZimes social ur_ ekono-
mikur siduxWires ganicdida. arsebul i masal is anal izidan
gamomdinare, isTi STabeWdil eba iqmneba, rom e.SevardnaZisa
da m.saakaSvil is garemocvis mizans, am xeobis mosaxl eobis-
gan dacl a da afxazebisTvis gadacema warmoadgenda. wina-
aRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, e.kvicianis mier 2002 da 2004 wl ebSi

mTavrobisadmi wardgenil i `proeqti kodoris xeobis mosaxl eobis social ur_ ekonomikuri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebis Sesaxeb- _unda aemoqmedebinaT.

m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebis mier kodoris xeobis dabombvisa da misi mosaxl eobis dawiokebis fonze, kodorel ebisadmi Sepirebul i daxmareba, wina saarCevnod erTjerad piars warmoadgenda, Torem anal ogiuri saxis qmedebis gatareba 2004_ 2006 wl is ivl isamdec iyo SesaZl ebel i.

6)afxazeTis l egitimuri xel isufl ebis zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadasvla, spontanurad ganxorciel ebul da samomavli od gauTvel RonisZiebas warmoadgenda. igi sazogadoebis eiforiaSi Seyvanas da kodoris xeobis `dabrunebis- imitaciis gapiarebas isaxavda miznad. miTumetes, afxazeTis l egi-timur xel isufl ebas da mis uzenaes sabWos, zemo kodoris mosaxl eobasTan muSaobis winaswar gaweril i gegmuri programa ar gaaCnda. afxazeTis l egitimuri mTavrobis zemo kodoris xeobaSi gadasvla da afxazeTis teritoriaze Seqmnil i orxel isufl ebianoba, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTlianobis aRdgenis sawyis safexurad ver CaiTvl eboda. miTumetes, saerTaSoriso mol aparakebebSi misi monawil eobis daSveba_ ardaSvebis sakiTxis gadawyvetas, rusul _ afxazuri mxare gansazRvravda. zemoaRniSnul i RonisZiebis saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisgan aJitireba, afxazuri mxaris Segnebul ad gaRizianebase da saomari ritorikiT al aparakebase iyo gaTvl il i. afxazebis iaraRis `JraRuni-, m.saakaSvil is Seryeul i xel isufl ebis sasargebl o nabij s warmoadgenda. mxedvel obaSi maqvs `dabrunebul i- zemo kodoris xeobis, afxazi separatistebis da rusi okupantebisadmi ardaTmობის xmamaRali da qveynis teritoriul i mTlianobis saziano gancxadebebi. zemo kodorSi ganxorciel ebul i RonisZiebebiT, saerTaSoriso organizaciebis mier, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba 1993 wl idan 2005 wl is CaTvl iT dadebul i yvela xel Sekrul ebis darRvevaSi da konfliqtur regionSi daZabul obis xel ovnurad gaRrmavebaSi iqna dadanaSaul ebul i (gaeros uSiSroebis sabWos 2006 wl is # 1716 rezolucia). Sefasebis aseT fonze, saqarTvel osgan afxazeTze mos-

al odnel i Tavdasxmis `mtkicebiT-, ruseTis mmarTvel wreebs, baRabSis xel isuflebis individual uri qmedebebis maqsimal urad Seekvecis Sesazl ebl oba mieca.

7)saqarTvel os xel isuflebis sagareo politikuri kursi, ruseTTan mimarTebaSi mizanmimarTuli dapirispirebis garmavebaze da sazogadoebaSi ruseTis saxiT `mtris xatis-Seqmnaze iyo gaTvlil i. myari mtkicebul ebebis gareSe, rusi `j aSuSebis- daWeris (2006 wl is 27 seqtembri) gaxmaurebul i faqti, aRniSnul i mimarTul ebit pragmatul i nabijis gada- dgmis demonstrirebas warmoadgenda. amierkavkasiis region- Si damkvidrebis mizniT, ori zesaxel mwifos (ruseTi, aSS) interesebis saqarTvel oSi gadkveTa, qveynis xel isuflebas moqnil i politikuri kursis gatarebas aval debul ebda. miT- umetes, saqarTvel os konflikturi regionebis sakiTxTan mi- marTebaSi, ruseTis faqtori gansakutrebul rols asrul ebs. am fonze, msaakaSvil is mier ruseTis gasaRizianebl ad ga- keTebul i oficial uri gancxadeba: _`samxret oseTs- ram- denime kviraSi an TveSi SemouerTebda saqarTvel os, piarkam- paniis garkveul safexurTan erTad, mowinaaRmdegis gafrTx- il ebas warmoadgenda da misi qmedeba, qveynis saziانو el emen- tebs Seicavda; 2008 wl is agvistos saomari moqmedebebis dawyebis dros, cxinval Si myofi eutos sami damkvirvebl is konfidential uri, magram saeWvo angariSis da h.tal iavinis komisiis tendenciuri daskvnis III, XIV muxlebis mixedvit: a)cxinval is regionSi sabrZolo moqmedebebi pirvel ad TiTqos qarTul ma mxarem daiwyo; b)58- e armiis rusuli Seiar- aRebul i samxedro SenaerTebis da mZime teqnikiS, rokiS gvirabiT saqarTvel oSi Semosvl is drod, ara 7 agvis- to (gamTeniis 3 saatida 41 wuTi), aramed 8 agvistoa dasaxel ebul i da sabrZolo moqmedebebSi misi Cabma dRis meore naxevariTaa dafiqsirebul i. sinamdvil is gamrudebis gamo, aRniSnul daskvnaze dayrdnoba dauS- vebel ia. miTumetes, imave dokumentiT, ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel os Sidasaxel mwifoebriV saqmeebSi Careva da qveynis teritoriis garkveul i nawil is mizanmimarTu- li okupacia mxol od `mokrZal ebul i- formiTaa aRia-

rebul i.

ruseTisa da aSS- is gamocdil ebidan gamodinare, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis aRdgenisa da SenarCunebi- saTvis qveynis xel isufl ebis mxridan separatizmis winaaRm- deg gatarebul i nebsmieri RonisZieba misaRebia da saerTa- Soriso samarTI is CarCoSi j deba. miuxedavad amisa, dasaxu- l i amocanis gansaxorciel ebl ad, saqarTvel os specifikuri sinamdvil e pirvel rigSi iyo gasaTval iswinebel i: mxedvel o- baSi maqvs: a)konfl iqtur regionebsi ruseTis moqal aqeebis dacvis motivaciit (ruseTis federaciis konstituciis 61- e muxl is meore nawil i), ruseTis mosal odnel i agresiiis gar- duval oba; b)Crdil oeTis mezobl isgan Seqmnil i safrTxis SesaCerebl ad qarTul i mxaris momzadebis done. (Sesabamisi masal ebis xel miuwvdoml obis gamo, j erj erobiT gaurkveve- lia, samxedro xel ovnebis maRal i donis special istebisgan momzadda Tu ara mosal odnel safrTxesTan mimarTebsi qvey- nis Tavdacvis gegma. ganixil a Tu ara igi uSiSroebis sabWom da ra rekomendaciebi misca samoqmedod saqarTvel os mTavrobas). samxedro eqspertebis mier gakeTebul i daskvne- is mixedvit dasturdeba: a)saqarTvel os Seiararebul i Zal ebis oficrebis dabal i kval ificiuri done, saomari moqmedebisa da Semdegi etapisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i el ementarul i safex- urebis ucodinaroba, taqtikis sferoSi gaurkvevl oba da fro- ntis mowinave xazze Seqmnil i situaciis Sesabamisad indi- vidual uri gadawyvetil ebebis vermiReba; b)qarTul i Seiarare- bul i Zal ebis genStabis sardl obis_ `general itetis- uva- rgisoba, araprofesional izmi. aRniSnul i faqtorebidan ga- momdinare ganpirobebul ma marcxma, ganuzoml ad didma zara- l ma (adami anuri resursi, samxedro infrastruqtura, qveynis ekonomika) saqarTvel os ufskrul isaken daqanebas Seuwyo xel i. 2008 wl is 12 agvistos n.sarkoz- m.saakaSvil - d.medvedevis 6 punqtiani SeTanxmeba, saqarTvel odan rusul i jaris gayvanas ar iTval iswinebs. igi saqarTvel osTvis kapitul antur do- kuments warmoadgens da misi `wingadadgmul nabij ad- gamocx- adeba, m.saakaSvil is mxridan `gamarj vebis- piarkampaniis Se- qmnaze iyo gaTvl il i. rusTavel is gamzirze 12 agvistos mo-

wyobil i sazeimo `taS- fandura,- saomari operaciebis dros daRupul i axal gazrdebis oj axebisa da aTiaTasobiT devnili isadmi_ xel isufl ebis mxridan sul Si CafurTxebis official ur demonstrirebas warmoadgenda. es qmedeba, erT- erT samarcxvino faqtad darCeba XXI saukunis saqarTvel os uaxl esistoriaSi.

8)zemo kodoris xeobaSi ganxorciel ebul i `aRmSenebl obiT- procesis gapiareba, batal ion `monadires- gauqmebis damisi wevrebis umetesobis ganadgurebis ideologiurad garrTl ebas isaxavda miznad. qveynis teritoriis gamTlianebazemyviral a formiT dawyebul i kampania, ruseTisaTvis xeobis gadasacemi safexuris momzadebis gadafarvaze iyo gaTvlil i. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: a)kodorel svanTa oj axebis mizammimarTul ad dawiokeba, xeobis mosaxl eobaSi SiSisa da m.saa-kaSvil is xel isufl ebisadmi fsiqol ogiurad monuri morCil ebis damkvidrebis warmatebul i mcdel oba; b)rusebisa da afxazebisadmi minisneba imis Sesaxeb, rom kodorel ebis uZl ev- el obis l egenda dangreul i da xeobaSi Sesasvl el i gza mosufTavebul i iyo. zemo kodoris xeobis cal ke saarCevno ol qad gamoyofaze (2008 wl is maisi) uaristqma da mestiis saarCevno ol qisadmi mierTeba, zemoaRniSnul i mzakvrul i gegmis erT nawil s warmoadgenda. igi, qveynis sakanonmdebl o organoSi xeobel ebis cal ke deputatis aryol asa da official ur dokumentebSi xeobis ardafiqsirebas iTval iswineb- da; 2008 wl is agvistos movl enebma daadastura, rom xeobaSi disl ocirebul i pol iciis qvedanayofis sardl obas da afx-azeTis `l egitimur- mTavrobas, xeobis dacvisa da mtris winaaRmdeg operatiul i moqmedebis gegma ar gaaCnda. kri- tikul momentSi xeobidan gamoqceviTa da mtrisadmi misi ubrZol vel ad CabarebiT (2008 wl is 12 agvisto), qveynis winaSe Ral atis tol fasi qmedeba Caidines. zemo kodoris xeobidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna, rusebis mxridan winaswar SemuSavebu- li gegmiT ganxorciel da. igi rusi `samSvidoboebisaTvis- Crdil oETidan usafrTxo zonis Seqmnaze da gal is raionis srul ad gakontrol ebaze iyo gaTvl il i. xeobis aRebiT, rusTma poziciebi gaimyara afxazeTSi, xol o saqarTvel om, afxaze-

Tis dabrunebis bastioni dakarga. h.tal iavinis komisiis daskvniT, zemo kodoris xeobasTan mimarTebaSi rusebisa da afxazebis qmedebis uaryofiTad Sefasebis miuxedavad, xeobidan maTi samxedro SenaerTebis gamoyvana da devnil Ta pirtvandel sacxovrisSi dabruneba, saerTaSoriso organizaciebma dRemde ver uzrunvel yo. momxdari faqti, erTxel kdev adasturebs im danaSaul ebriv qmedebas, romel ic batal ion `monadires- gauqmebiT, misi wevrebis umetesobis ganadgurebiT da kodorel i svanebis ganararRebiT iqna Cadenil i qveynis winaSe. 2008 wl is 12 agvistos `gamarjvebis- niRbiT rustavel is gamzirze gamartul i `tas- fadura-, saRad moazrovne qarTvel Ta cnobierebaSi, saqarTvel os meore samarcxvino damarcxebad aRiqmeba. saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebisa da qarTvel i intel igentunebis im dRes scenaze rokva, mxol od samSobl osadmi moZul e, an fsiqikurad Seuracxad adamianTa qmedebad SeiZl eba Sefasdes. momxdari faqti, osebisgan, afxazebisgan da rusebisgan Tavzel afdasxmuli qarTul i sofl is mosaxl eobisadmi da Svil mkvdari dedebisadmi sul Si CafurTxebas warmoadgenda. igi XXI saukunis saqarTvel os uaxl ei istoriis samarcxvino furcel ia.

9) vardebis revol uciit- xel isufl ebaSi mosul i okeanedal eul Ta jgufis Sidasaxel mwifoebrivi kursi, XXI s- is kosmopol itizmze iyo dafuZnebul i. maT amocanas, qarTvel axal gazrdebSi erovnul isadmi nihil isturi damokidebul ebis da qveynis teritoriul i rRvevisadmi Senguebel i cnobierebis Camoyal ibeba warmoadgenda. m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis mxridan ganxorciel ebul i sakanonmdebl o cvl il ebebi: `samxreT oseTis- aRdgena, zemo kodoris (dal is) xeobis `zemo afxazeTad- gadanaTvl a, qveynis teritoriul i mTli anobis sawinaarmdego qmedebas Seicavda da samomavl od, saqarTvel os or seqtorad gayofas (ruseTs_ afxazeTi da `samxreT oseTi-, danarCeni saqarTvel o_ aSS- s) isaxavda miznad. ruseTisadmi qveynis umniSvel ovanesi strategiul i obieqtebis (31 obieqti) miyidviT, saqarTvel os bunebrivi simdidris ruseTis ekonomikis samsaxurSi CayenebiT da m.saakaSvil is ojaxis uaxl oesi wevrebis (Temur al asania) ruseTis uSiSroeba-

Si saqmianobis amsaxvel i masal ebiT dasturdeba, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebi (m.saakaSvil i, k.benduqiZe, g.vaSaZe...), ruseTis dasayrden Zal as da mexuTe kol onis funqciisadmi dakisrebul i moval eobis Semsrul ebl ebs warmoadgendndn saqarTvel oSi. ruseT_ saqarTvel os 2008 wl is agvisitos saomari moqmedebebis Sesaxeb, samxedro eqspertebis mier gakeTebul i anal iziT irkveva, rom saxmel eTo, sazRvao da sahaero sivrceSi mowinaaRmdegis Tavisufal i moqmedebis Semaferxebel i meqanizmi, Tavdacvis usafrTxoebis sistema im etapze ar muSaobda. samxedro eqspertebis mxridan, dokumenturi masal iTaa dadasturebul i, rom saqarTvel os mxridan ganxorciel ebul i saomari operaciebi mosagebad ar iyo gaTvl il i. masSi monawil e rigiTi samxedro personal i (gansakuTrebiT rezervistebi da qarTul i sofl ebis mSvidobiani SeuiaraRebel i mosaxl eoba) winaswar dagegmil i genocidis scenaris gasaTamaSebl ad iyvnen ganwirul ni. opozicuri partieb is liderebis umetesobis politikuri marcximiT gamovl inda, rom droul ad ver gaacnobieres is mosal odnel i safrTxeebi, romel sac m.saakaSvil is xel isufl eba afxazeTSi kontrol irebad teritorias (zemo kodorisa da Cxal Tas xeobebi, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texil ebi) da srul iad saqarTvel os rom umzadebda. naSromSi motanili masal ebiT dadasturebul ia: a) e.kvicianis mxridan m.saakaSvil isa da misi garemocvis dadanaSaul eba, _ zemoaRniSnul i xeobebisa da uRel texil ebis mtrisadmi mizanmimarTul ad Cabarebis Sesaxeb samarTal damcavi organoebis daintereseb is sagani unda gaxdes; b) aRniSnul i bral debis dadasturebis SemTxvevaSi, qveynis umaRl esi mTasvarsardal is _ m.saakaSvil is mier samSobl os winaSe Cadenil umZimes danaSaul Tan gvaqvs saqme.

bol oTqma

kinasariZem Tavis radiodokumentacias, romel ic saqarTvel
l os pirvel respubl ikas (1918_ 1921 ww.) miuZRvna, qveynis da-
moukidebl obis am mcire monakveTs (2 wel i da 8 Tve) savse-
biT kanonzomierad patara `oqros xana- uwoda. es periodi
qarTvel i eris istoriaSi marTI acda `oqros xana- iyo im
gagebiT, rom maSindel ma saqarTvel os xel isuflebam, qarTu-
l i saxel mwifos formirebisa da qarTvel i eris fizikurad
gadarCenisaTvis myari fundamentis momzadeba daiwo. mxed-
vel obaSi misaRebi: 1)saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI iano-
bis aRdgena ZiriTadad mis istoriul sazRvrebSi (ix. ruka
#1); 2)osi da afxazi separatistebis moTokva. maTi mxridan
qarTvel Ta eTnowmendis mcdel obis ardaSveba. marto is rad
Rirs, rom afxazeTidan da samaCabl odan qveyanas arcerTi
devnil i qarTul i ojaxi ar yavda. qarTvel i erisa da misi
erTiani saxel mwifos momavl isaTvis am istoriul i faqtis
mniSvel obas, zogierTi qarTvel i `istorikosi- ver acno-
bierebs. imis unaric ar Seswevs, rom erTiani qarTul i sax-
el mwifos saarsebo am ori arteriis SenarCunebis mniSvel oba
da masTan dakavSirebul i sirtul eebi_ saRi gonebiT gaiaz-
ros. warsul isa da dRevandel i sinamdvil is SedarebiTi an-
al izis fonze, obieqturi daskvnebi gaakeTos da winaparTa
naRvawis Rirseul i dafaseba moaxdinos.

sabWoTa ruseTis xel isufal Ta axl oaRmosavl uri kol o-
niuri pol itikuri kursisa da misi xel Semwyobi qarTvel i
renegatebis Zal isxmeviT, erovnul i saxel mwifos aRmSenebl o-
bis bol omde miyvana qarTvel ers samwuxarod ar dascal da.
1921 wl is Tebevliidan, qarTul i saxel mwifos damoukide-
bl obasa da qarTvel i eris Tavisuflebis momavals Savi su-
dara gadaefara, misi ganvitarebis bunebrivi procesi xel o-
vnurad SeCerde. am dRidan ganaxl da qarTvel Ta winaarmdeg
mizanmiarTul i Seviwroebisa da ubedurebis Segnebul ad Tav-
moxvevis, separatistebis waqzebisa da gaaqtiurebis proces-
ebi. ganvili istoriul i movlenebi adasturebs, rom yove-
l i sa-ukunis dasawyisi da dasaruli, saqarTvel oSi Semox-

iznul i araqarTul i mosaxl eobis Zal isxmeviT, saqarTvel os ZirZvel i regionebidan qarTvel Ta gamodevna_ eTnowmendiT, winaparTa sisxl iT gaJRenTil i da Zvl ebiT `mokirwyl ul i-istoriul i teritoriebis dakargviT daiwyo da dasrul da ase iyo 1921_ 1923, 1993_ 1995 da 2008 wl ebSi. momxdari faqtebis anal izmma daadastura, rom qarTvel i erisadmi Tavsdaxil i ubedurebebi, qarTvel Ta siZul vil ze agebul i ucxo qveynebis marTvadi pol itikosebisa da mTavrobobis araerovnu- l i kursis Sedegs warmoadgenda. aRniSnul i procesebi Tuki am tempiT gagrZel da, saqarTvel oSi Semoxiznul i da Tavze xel aRebul i ucxo Tesl is naSierni, XXI saukunis dasar- u l s qarTvel obas araaborigen, Camosaxl ebul eTnikur umci- resobad gamogvacxadeben da mamapapeul miwa_ wyal ze fexis dadgmis Sesazl ebl obasac aRgvikveTen. amis real uri safrTxe eris winaSe namdvil ad dgas. dRevandel i gadasaxedidan, saqar- rTvel oSi qarTvel Ta dacvis, misi usafRTxobis meqanizms SemuSaveba pirvel xarixovan amocanas warmoadgens. Camosax- l ebul i da Semoxiznul i gadamTiel i mkacr samarTl ebriv CarCoSi unda moeqces. **istoriul i sacxovrisidan qarTvel - Ta masobrivi gamodevna da kuTvnil i teritoriebis dakargva, eris moaxl oebul sikvdil ize, misi gaqrobis real ur sa- frTxeze mi gvani Snebs. es saSiSroeba qarTvel i eris wina- Se aisbergiviTaa aRmarTul i da Tu droul i damcavi meqanizmi ar iqna SemuSavebul i, udidesi civil izaciebis Semqmnel i da dRes ararsebul i erebis beds gavi ziarebT.**

saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebisadmi sazogadoebisa da pol itikuri speqtris indiferentul i damokidebul ebidan gamomdinare, zemoaRniSnul ma safrTxem real uri saxe miiRo. kal iforniis l aboratoriebsi gamoyvanil i okeanedal eul i kl oni `vardosnebis- mmarTvel obis infantil urma, romanti- zmze dafuznebul ma da kosmopol itizmiT gaJRenTil ma sax- el mwifoebri vma pol itikurma kurssma, eris arsebobis xval - indel i dRe, kiTxviTi niSnis qveS daayena.

miTumetes, qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis samomavl o be- dis gadawyveta, m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebis maRal Cinosnebs, ucxo saxel mwifoebis farul i agentebis mier SemoTavaze-

bul proeqtebze hqonda dafuznebul i. amis erT- erT nimuSs, ruseTis agentis vl adimer sanakoevis mier `samxreT oseTis- droebiTi administraciul i erTeul is Seqmnis Sesaxeb saqarTvel os xel isuflebisadmi `Segdebul i- proeqti warmoadgens. am dokumentze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os parlamentis 2007 wl is 8 maisis sxdomaze miRebul i dadgenilebiT, `samxreT oseTis- droebiTi administraciul i erTeul i iqna Seqmnil i. momxdari faqti, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWos mier saerTasoris samarTlebriv normebze dayrdnobiT miRebul i ori uarresad mnisvnel ovani dokumentis: 1) `samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis gauqmebis Sesaxeb miRebul i kanonis (1990 wl is 11 dekemberi); 2) cxinval isa da yornisis raionebis gauqmebis da goris raionisadmi SeerTebis Sesaxeb miRebul i kanonis (1991 wl is 27 april i) mizanimarTul anul irebas warmoadgenda.

anal ogiuri saxis danaSaul ebrivi proeqti momzadda da ganxorciel da zemo kodoris xeobis mimarTac. mxedvel obaSi maqvs: 1) batalion `monadires- gauqmeba (2005 w.); 2) zemo kodoris xeobaSi sadamsjel o samxedro operaciis (2006 wl is ivlisi) Catareba; 3) batalionis wevrTa mizanimarTul i devna da amowyvetis mcdel oba; 4) zemo kodoris xeobisadmi zemo afxazetis (2006 wl is 27 seqtemberi) oficial urad darqmeva; 5) zemo kodoris da cxalTas xeobebis, maruxisa da ql uxoris uRel texilebis 13 wl is manZilze saqarTvel ostvis SemnarCunebel is_ emzar kvicianis moRal ated gamocxadeba.

zemoarNisnul i danaSaul ebrivi gadawyvetilebebis miRebiT, `nacional ebis- okeanedal eul ma saqarTvel os xel isuflebam, afxaz da os separatistebis, mis mxardamWer ruseTis mmarTvel wreebs, didi xnis natvra aRusrul a. yvel afers Tavisi saxeli unda daerqvas. **sergo orj onikizis, eduard SevardnaZis, mixeil saakaSvil isa da maTi xel qveitebis** `narvawis- Sedegad, XX_ saukunis dasawyisSi da dasasrus, da ise v XXI saukunis dasawyisSi, dakargul teritoriebTan erTad, qarTvel ebisgan gawmendili afxazeti da Sida qarTlis CrdiloeTi nawili mivireT. demografiuli statistika, romel - sac aTeuli wlebis ganmavi obaSi veWidebodiT da Cvens

sasargebl od viyenebdiT, qarTul i pol iti-kuri speqtris
 danaSaul ebrivi qmedebidan gamomdinare xel idan gamogve-
 cal a. unda vaRiaroT, rom TviTkmayofil ebaze dafuZnebul i
 da daudevari pol itikuri kursis Sedegad, osebtan da af-
 suebtan ara marto fizikuri dapirispirebiT, aramed
 ideol ogiuri omiTac wavageT. erTmac da meoremac momavl is
 ganWvretis Tval sazrisiT yvel a sferoSi dagvamarcxa.
 garkveul i wl ebis Semdeg, osebi da afsuebi maT sasarge-
 bl od xel ovnurad Seqmnil demografiul procesebs saer-
 TaSoriso arenaze Cvens sawinaaRmdegod gamoiyeneben da war-
 matebul adac. qarTvel obas ki (qarTul i genisgan safuZv-
 l ianad gawmendil i) kodoris, Cxal Tas xeobebis, maruxisa
 da ql uxoris uRel texil ebis CaTvl iT dakargul i afx-
 azeTi, (qarTul i genisgan isev safuZvl ianad gawmendil i)
 dakargul i Sida qarTl is Crdil oeTi nawil i da mcxeTis
 raionis sofel werovanSi `CaWedil i- formiT Casaxl ebu-
 l i devnil i qarTvel ebisgan Seqmnil i axal i sofe-
 l i_ XXI saukunis qarTvel Ta sircxvil i, anu dev-
 nil qarTvel Ta `mixail ovka~ SegvrCeba xel T. evro-
 pisadmi gadaWarbebul i imediTa da zogierTi ucxoel i pol i-
 tikosis waqzebaze agebul i ugunuri sagareo pol itikuri
 kursis wyal obiT, saqarTvel o, imperiul i ambiciebiT daavad-
 myofebul i da `msofl io wesrigis- damyarebis pretenziebis
 mqone ori didi dampyrobl is_ ruseTisa da amerikis SeerTe-
 bul i Statebis geopol itikuri miznebidan gamomdinare saomar-
 l el od iqca. maTma Zal isxmevam da saqarTvel os xel isu-
 fl ebis qveynis Ral atit Sezavebul ma pol itikurma qmede-
 bebma (2008 wl is agvistos movl enebi), erTi-ani osuri da
 afxazuri saxel mwifoebis Seqmnis saxarov_ boner_ popovis
 gegmis 60 %- iT praqtikul ad ganxorciel eba da saqa-rTvel oSi,
 ruseTis mesamed dabroneba daaCqara. qarTul i saxel mwifos
 katastrofa da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mxridan ruseT-
 Tan oficial uri kapitul acia (medvedev_ sarkoz_ saakaSvi-
 l is agvistos 6 punqtiani SeTanxmeba), gonebrivad `mofar-
 fate- Tbil isel ebma gamarj vebad CaTval a da es Semzaravi

faqti, xel isufl ebis mesveurebTan erTad, gabr-wyinebul i saxeebiT imave wl is 12 agvistos didi zar_zeimiT idResaswaul a. rac Seexeba saxarov_ boner_ popovis gegmis danarCen 40 %- s, osi separatistebis mxridan sapretenzi od qceul i teritoriis (gori_ xaSuri_ borj omis raionebi) dasakuTrebis mizniT, dokumenturi masal ebis gayal bebiT, osur da rusul istoriografiaSi gamal ebul i ideol ogiuri propaganda mimdinareobs. xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel os teritoriis danakuwebis saxarov_ boner_ popovis gegmis pirvel etaps, saqarTvel os usafrTxoebis bunebrivi sima-gris rokis gvirabis mSenebl obis dasrul eba da kavkasionis umniSvnel ovanesi uRel texil ebis ruseTisadmi Cabareba warmoadgenda. aRniSnul i gegmis meore daskvniTi nawil i, samxreT_dasavl eT saqarTvel os damcavi karibWis_goderZis uRel - texil is, rogorc bunebrivi simagris mniSvnel obis nul amde dayvanas da `gvel is xvrel is- gayvanas iTval iswinebs. es sakiTxi `daSnakcuTiunis- partiis l iderebma j er kidev san_ remos saerTaSoriso konferenciaze (1920 wl is 19- 26 april i) daayenes. somxebisadmi ingl isis warmomadgenel is mxar-daW- eris miuxedavad, damoukidebel i saqarTvel os del egaciis meTauris k.CxeiZis principul i da erovnul i saxel mwifos interesebze dafuznmebul i gadawyvetil ebiT, somxurma mxarem sawadel is aRsrul eba im etapze ver SeZl o. aRniSnul i faqtidan 90 wl is Semdeg, somxeTis xel isufl ebam es sakiTxi isev `gaacocxl a- da m.saakaSvil is xel isufl ebisgan oficial uri dokumentiT gaformebul i Tanxmoba miiRo. somxeTis saxel mwifos interesebis maqsimal urad gaTval iswinebidan gamomdinare, goderZis sauRel texil o gzis mSenebl o- ba, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis saziانو safexurebs emyareba da samomavl od udidesi safrTxeebis Semcvl el ia. misi dasrul ebidan 10_ 15 wel iwadSi, samxreT_ dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi Sida qarTl is osuri scenaris ganmeorebisa da mezobel i qveynebisgan (TurqeTi, somxeTi, azerbaij ani), saqarTvel os teritoriebis sxvadasxva formiT mitacebis didi al baToba iqmneba. (ix. ruka # 9) saerTaSoriso politikuri koniunqTuridan gamomdinare, am etapze isini mxol od Sefar-

viTi `mcocavi meTodis- gamoyenebiT ifargl ebian.

saqarTvel os garSemo mimdinare pol itikuri proceseb-
is saRi gonebiT gaanal izebidan gamomdinare, dRevandel i
gadasaxedidan erisa da beris winaSe erTaderTi prin-
cipul i sakiTxi dgas: masonTa gegmiT gaTval iswinebul i
saqarTvel os teritoriul i da eris fizikuri sikvdil is
mimdinare procesis SeCerebis mizniT _droul ad iqnas
zarebi darisxebul i. xval da zeg gvian iqneba! srul iad
saqarTvel os saRad moazrovne intel igenciam da pol i-
tikurma speqtrma, erTobl ivi Zal ebiT unda moviTxovoT:
saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam da sakanonmdebl o organom,
oficial uri dokumentiT daadasturos, rom natoSi miRe-
bas mxol od im SemTxvevaSi daTanxmdeba, Tuki aRniSnul
organizaciaSi saqarTvel os gawevrianeba, mxol od 1991
wl is monacemebiT (konkretul ad unda iyos miTitebu-
l i) dadasturebul sazRvrebSi (ix. ruka #2) ganxor-
ciel deba. am moTxovnis ignorierebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTve-
l os xel isufl ebasTan mamarTebaSi qarTvel ma erma Ses-
bamisi damokidebul eba unda gamoavl inos. sakiTxi day-
ovnebas ar iTmens. xval da zeg gvian iqneba!...

m.saakaSvil isa (masonTa mal tis ordenis kaval eri) da
misi garemocvis mmarTvel obis 9 wl iani Sidapol itikuri
kursi, marTal ia, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobi-
saTvis Tavdadebul mebrZol Ta moRal ateebad gamocxade-
bas da maT ganadgurebas emsaxureboda, magram, am danaSau-
l ebrivi qmedebisaTvis, dRevandel i saqarTvel os xel isu-
fl ebis mesveurT_ okeanedal eul `nacional ~_ kanibal -
istebTan mamarTebaSi, `koabitaciis- garda_ samarTl ebrivi
Tval sazrisiT iotisodena nabij i ar gadaudgams. mimdinare
pol itikuri procesebis gaTval iswinebiT Tuki vimsj el ebT,
maTdami mfarvel obis aSkara konturebi ikveTeba.

frTxil ad qarTvel ebo!!!.

erTi ram gavacnobieroT! an xel ovnur sikvdil sa da gada-
Senebas SeveguoT, anda Cveni saxel ovani winaprebis msgavsad
gadarCenisatvis vibrZol oT. arCevani eris intel eqtual ur-
ma Zal ebma unda gaakeTos, Tuki aseTi ram, dRevandel uwi gnur,

gonebrivad gamofitul , Tavmoyvareoba dakargul , Rirsebaaxdil da fizikurad daCaCanakebul qarTvel obas SemorCenia. is, rac afsuebma da tabarukad Sida qarTI Si Semoxiznuli ma osebma saqarTvel oSi XX saukunis dasasrul sa da XXI saukunis dasawyisSi gabedes, Cvens mezobel somxeTsa da azerbaij anSi am mimarTul ebiT mesamed nabij sac ver gadadgamden. eris arsebobis xangrZI iobis SesanarCunebl ad erTsac da meoresac, TiToeul i goji miwis mniSvnel oba da am miwaze ucxo Tesl is aRmocenebis safrTxe kargad aqvs gacnobierebul i. Semoxiznul ucxo gadamTiel s, Tavis mamul Si ar aparpaSebs da pirvel ive dRidanve misTvis gankuTvnil prokrustes sarecel is msgavs samarTI ebriv CarCoSi moaqcevs. samxreT kavkasiaSi erTaderTi eri qarTvel ebia, romel sac genetikuri sibriyve istoriul ad dayveba. am avadmyofuri senis SesaniRbad, tol erantobis wamosasxamSia SefuTul i da RvTismSobl is naboZeb madli an miwa_ wyal s xel gaSI iT arigebs. droul ad ver acnobierebs im moaxl oebul katastrofas, romel ic teritoriebis dakargvasTan aris dakavSirebul i da eris fizikuri gaqrobis daCqarebas iwvevs. Wkvianebi, sxvis miwebs sxvadasxva meTodebis gamoyenebiT itaceben da Tavianti eris sicocxl is gasaxangrZI ivebl ad zrunaven. briyvebi, kuTvnil mamul s mezobl ebs an CamoTesl ebul ucxo tomis naSiers sCuqnis da Tavis miwa_ wyal ze saxel mwifoebis uqmnis. am qmedebiT, etapobrivad im tots sWris, romel zedac udardel ad TviTon aris `Semoskupebul i.~ ganvli istoriuli procesebidan gamomdinare, iseTi STabeWdil eba iqmne-ba, rom dRevandel i qarTvel oba, didebul i winaprebis uRir-si STamomavl obaa, romel sac Ciris fasadac ar uRirs is Zvirfasi ganZeul oba, romel ic istoriuli teritoriebis saxiT winaprebma dagvitoves da misi movla_ patronoba dagvakisres.

bol o saukuneebSi qarTvel erze Tavsdaxil ma ubedurebebma daadastura, rom egzarqos pavles mier qarTvel i eris mimarT 1886 wels warmoTqmuli wyevla dResac Zal aSia. gonebadabindul ebs, Savis da TeTris vergarCevis seni Segveyara, erisa da qveynisadmi samsaxuris aucilebl oba Ral atisa da

ful is moxveWisken swrafvam Caanacvl a. roca es tendencia XX saukunis dasawyisSi didma qarTvel ma mweral ma niko I or- TqifaniZem qarTvel obaSi SeniSna, 1910 wel s simwrisgan amoi- gmina: **`saqarTvel o iyi deba.**~ es procesi, XXI saukuneSi m.saakaSvil is xel isufal Ta Zal isxmeviT isTi daCqarebul i tempiT daiwyo da mimdinareobs, rom Tuki misi SeCereba drou- l ad ar moxerxda, sityva_ saqarTvel os teritoria da sam- Sobl o, mxol od simbol ur cnebad darCeba. Cvens STa-momav- l obas, misi gamosyidvis SesaZl ebl obac ar miecema. qveynis Ral atis am mavne senis siRrmiseul ad damkvidreba imiTac aris ganpirobepul i, rom dRemde gabedul ad aravis uTqvams_ Tu vin, vin aris. arada, samSobl os erTgul ebis cnobierebiT Tuki axal gazrdobis aRzrda gvsurs, qveynis erTgul Ta da moRal ateTa Sesaxeb igi srul informacias unda fl obdes. safuZvl ianad icodes, SeWirvebis Jams, qarTvel ers vin uerT- gul a da vin uRal ata. moRal ateTa saxel ebi Taobebis unda gadaeces da eris sircxvil ad iTvl ebides. amis erT_ erT saukeTeso saSual ebad **sircxvil is (anu moRal ateTa) panTeonis Seqmna** gvesaxeba, sadac XX- XXI saukuneebis saqarTvel os moRal ate kosmopol itebis (s.orj o-nikiZe, e.SevardnaZe, m.saakaSvil i da maTi samTavrobo garemocva...) cxedrebi iqneba dakrZal ul i. ukidures SemTxvevaSi, TiToeu- l i maTganis simbol uri safl avebis aRmniSvnel i warweriani dafebi unda gakeTdes. egeb am gziT SevZl oT Ral atisadmi dauokebel i miswrafebis moTokva. dae, **momaval ma Taobebma winaswar icodnen, 30 vercxl ad gayi dul nebi smier pi rovnebas, samSobl os Ral atisaTvis adre Tu gvi an ga- nsasvenebl ad sircxvil is panTeons rom mi uCenen. frTxil ad qarTvel ebo!!!**

Seusmenel Ta da okeanedal eul Ta moRal aturi seniT daa- vadebul i adami anebis misamarTiT gamoTqmul Cems zemoa-RniS- nul gafrTxil ebas, cnobili poetis **I aSa nadareiSvil is** l eqsis_ **`triptiqi yorRanovebs da saakaSvil ebs-** mesame nawil iT davamTavreb.

caze amodis mze al averdis,
gabrwynbul i dil is pirj vreb iT...
aragvel ebo xom ar daberdiT,
xom ar mogedoT gul ze WinWrebi?
ukanasknel i movida Jami,_
Cumad ayvavda tyeSi abzinda...
haosis gemi momadga RamiT,
osmal eTisken monad gamzida!
samSobl os iqiT araferia!!!
mosaqnevia kvl avac SimSeri!!!
me menatreba sxva iveria_
mamul isaTvis omiT mSeri!!!
me mesizmreba mxare kl dovani,
samasi gmiris vel i daZaxil s:
gvij obs sikvdil i saxel ovani,
vidre sicocxl e cru da naZraxi!
kvl av ganixvneba kari samoTxis,
roca ufal i dagvakavSirebs...
STamomavl oba erTad amoTxris
yorRanovebs da saakaSvil ebs!!!

cxril i

cxრი I

რუსეთის ფედერაციის მიერ 1927_ 2008 წლებში მიტაცებული საკართველოს ტერიტორიები. 1921 წლის თებერვლიან დასაწყისში საკართველოს ფაქტიური ტერიტორია შეადგენდა 9.330,3 კმ.²

მიტაცებული ადგილის დასახელება.	წელი	მიტაცებული ტერიტორიების რაოდენობა კმ. ²	საკართველოს დამოუკიდებელი ტერიტორიების მიტაცებული ტერიტორიები კმ. ²	დროებითი მიწების დაკავშირებული ტერიტორიების ხარჯზე საკართველოს ტერიტორიის ზრდა კმ. ²	საკართველოს ფაქტიური ტერიტორიის მოცულობა კმ. ² (ცალკეა დადინამიკის ცხვენებით).	
ტიანეთის მაზრიდან - ჯაგერი, ტერგო, მელხეტი, ცეკარი, სახანო.	1927	166, 78 კმ. ²			8.280,4	
	1929				8.381,7	
	1946				8.288,7	
	1950		613,6	8.251,1.	7.648,6	
	1951		132,6	8.418,3.	7.648,6	
ზნოსვანეთის რაიონიდან - კლუხორის რაიონი.	1944		132,6 კმ. ²		7.374,1	
	1955	402,1 კმ. ² დროებითი მიწების დაკავშირებული ტერიტორიის დატვირთვა (აქედან, საკართველოს კუთვნილი 269,5 კმ. ²).				
ყაზბეგის რაიონიდან.	1957	82,4 კმ. ² .			7.291,7	
დუშეთის რაიონიდან.	1944		147,5 კმ. ²		7.144,2	
	1957	147,5 კმ. ²				
	1958					7.016,6
	1973					6.981,8
	1990					6.970,0
	1951_1958	632 კმ. ²				
	1958_1990	46,6 კმ. ²				
სულ - ჯამი	1927_1990	845,38 კმ. ²				
აფრაზეთი	2008	8,7 ათასი კმ. ²				
სამხრეთ-ოსეთი	2008	3,8 ათასი კმ. ²				
სულ - ჯამი	1927_2008	857,88 კმ. ²			5.530,0	

1921 წლის მარტიდან 2008 წლის აგვისტოს დატვირთვა საკართველოს ტერიტორიიდან მეზობელმა სახელმწიფოებმა (ტურქეთი, სომხეთი, აზერბაიჯანი, რუსეთი) მიიტაცა 3800,3 კმ.² აქედან, ე.წ. სეპარატისტული სახელმწიფოს დროს 12,5 ათასი კმ.²

cxრი I - შედგენის საფუძვლიანი

Shota Vadachkoria

The Dilemma of Kodori Gorge and Georgian
Socio-Political Thought (1993-2010)

Summary

On the basis of the documentary materials and the viewpoints of the representatives of political thought, with the help of their analyses the processes taking place in Georgia in 1993-2010 are thoroughly studied and shown in the work. On this background it is stated that:

1) United Nations and other international organizations were not interested in resolving Georgian-Abkhazian conflict in the favor of Georgia. The treaties (April, 4, 1994, May, 14, January, 17, 2002) signed under their pressure were within the frames of the Russia's future plans and were consisted of harmful resolutions for Georgia. According to official statement of M. Saakashvili secret agreement between general secretary of the United Nations and V. Putin aimed to separate conflict regions from Georgia. Rightness of this statement can be proved by the practical activities carried out by Ditter Boden in favor of Russia. Protection mechanism of the Upper Kodori gorge was "The Detachment of Conspirators" formed by young people in 1992 and since 1993 it officially existed by name "Monadire" (hunter). It was a battalion consisted of 350 men. On the basis of the documentary materials it is stated that in 1999 – 2004 the battalion was armed by the Ministry of Defense of Georgia. Failure of the Abkhazian – Russian plan of capturing the gorge was

determined by the high combat capability of "Monadire" (I mean: the attack of Zemo Kodori (upper part of Kodori) by Russian – Abkhazian military unit in October, 2 – 4, 1993 and in November, 23 of the same year, attack of the Bagramian battalion on the population of Omarishara and Sakeni villages, attack of the Russian – Abkhazian military units on the Upper Kodori gorge in March, 1994, bombing of the Upper Kodori gorge by Russians in October, 9, 2001, landing of the Russian troops in Azhara village in April, 2002...). Marukhi and Klukhori passes, the Upper Kodori and Chkhalta gorges were saved for Georgia by the firmness and high combat capability of battalion "Monadire" under the command of E. Kvitsiani. Battalion "Monadire" under the command of E. Kvitsiani made possible to preserve for the country strategic bridge-head and the status quo for returning back to Abkhazia.

2)The events that took place around battalion "Monadire", the Upper Kodori and Chkhalta gorges, the Marukhi and Klukhori passes in 1993 -2006 are inseparable. Annulment of the above mentioned battalion by the government of Georgia (April, 2005) was a criminal action from their part. At least for a simple reason that it was maintaining balance of forces on the above mentioned part of Abkhazia. With the annulling of battalion "Monadire" and its disarmament categorical demand of the Abkhazian separatists and the Russian occupants put forward since 1999, was fulfilled. With this action the government of Georgia made a decision that was against the restoration of the territorial unity of the country and was in favor of the Russian – Abkhazian plan. Documentary material proves that the only guarantor of security of the

Upper Kodori gorge and its population, left without the attention of the government, was battalion "Monadire". If the legislative organ of Russia could not announce the independence of Abkhazia and thus avoided the model of Kosovo, the lion's share in this affair is on the part of battalion "Monadire". I mean the fact of retaining the Upper Kodori and Chkhalt'a gorges, Marukhi and Klukhori passes in the jurisdiction of Georgia. From the side of M. Saakashvili and his encirclement blaming E. Kvitsiani and battalion "Monadire" that they were robbing refugees from Abkhazia on the Chuberi pass (September, 1993) was not true. From the stories that were told by witnesses E. Kvitsiani and the members of battalion "Monadire" opposed the real robbers with arms and made them to leave the pass. As for declaring E. Kvitsiani as a criminal and gangster, if this person really was such a culprit, the criminal proceedings should have been initiated against him already before 2004 – 2006, July, but such proceedings had not been carried out. Above mentioned accusation of battalion by the government in such a high register aimed the discretization of E. Kvitsiani and the members of his battalion. It also aimed to implant hatred among the population against them. E. Kvitsiani's demands: to restore battalion "Monadire" and subordinate it to a state structure, to make an inventory of the Upper Kodori armory together with the representatives of the Ministry of Defense and well known people, to leave armament that was needed for battalion "Monadire" and take from the gorge that was unnecessary, to denounce the agreement of May, 14, 1994 and after this send Georgian troops in the Upper Kodori, were within the state interests of Geor-

gia. For the government which thinks about the territorial integrity of the country Kvitsiani's demands should have been acceptable. According to the information that was spread at that time, M. Saakashvili and his subordinates turned the Upper Kodori gorge into the subject of making money and commerce with Russians (Oleg Deripasko's 50 million). That's why all kinds of intelligible suggestions were unacceptable. The route of Georgian troops' movement under the command of Okruashvili and I. Merabishvili shows that the deal between M. Saakashvili and Russian high rank officials is the real truth. I mean the Russian posts (Jvari – Khaishi, Lata, the Lower Kodori gorge, - Kvabchara section) that were passed by Georgian troops without problem. The military operation carried out by M. Saakashvili – I. Okruashvili – I. Merabishvili in the Upper Kodori in July, 26 in which 850 soldiers were participated and several helicopters were bombing the Upper Kodori gorge aimed to level village Chkhalta to the ground and punish the Upper Kodori population with Nazi methods. Those materials that are brought in the work and their analysis able me to declare that the measures of punishment carried out in the Upper Kodori gorge by M. Saakashvili fully met the requirements of the plans of the Abkhaz separatists and Russian occupants. This fact gives me a solid reason to believe that M. Saakashvili fulfilled one of the most important parts of a project that was worked out in the cabinets of the FSB high rank officials.

3)After analysis of the opinions of military experts, the political scientists, the well-known public figures and the stories of the witnesses of ongoing processes it becomes clear that:

a) The attempt of M. Saakashvili's "politworkers" to convince society that the classical revolt was taking place in the Kodori gorge was a part of propaganda based on false information. Revolt can not be proved with any kind of document. The lion's share to remove the mask from the government belongs to E. Kvitsiani. Passing through the Chuberi pass he peacefully went, even without a shot of a gun and preferred to avoid Georgian army without the shed of Georgians blood and go up in the mountains.

b) The assertion of M. Saakashvili and his entourage as if entering the Upper Kodori gorge was a military campaign to "return" Abkhazia aimed to move the public attention from Tbilisi to Abkhazia. According to military experts at that time there was not a person in the general staff of Georgian who could plan such an operation and thus, naturally Georgia was not ready to start military actions towards Sokhumi.

g) Authorities of the relevant departments did not show public even a document proving that E. Kvitsiani was a Russian agent and a traitor to his country neither at that very time, nor during the following period. That General Prosecutor of Georgia accused E. Kvitsiani with 5 charges, but they cannot be proved by documents. On the contrary, after deep analysis of the political processes that took place round Kodori, representatives of Georgian social-political spectrum expressed well-grounded suspicion that M. Saakashvili and some officials of his entourage were in co-operation with the intelligence service of Russia.

4) The announcement of the government of Georgia that the Upper Kodori gorge military operation was success-

fully carried out was based on artificially worked out accusations (bandits, terrorists and traitors) against defenders of the Upper Kodori and Chkhalta gorges, the Marukhi and Klukhori passes. It was a propaganda aiming to influence society ideologically. Declaration made by the government that the Kodori gorge was "returned", was another step on the way of deceiving people. I mean the declaration of M. Saakashvili about "returning" back the Upper Kodori gorge within the borders of the country that was already preserved in the jurisdiction of Georgia by Svans of Kodori. In this case, Saakashvili was doing his own PR with the help of imitation of "returning" the Upper Kodori. As for the Lower Kodori gorge, the section of Lata – Kvabchara since 1993 always was under the control of the Abkhazian separatists and the Russian occupants. The representatives of sensible Georgian socio – political thinking in parallel with exposing M. Saakashvili's and his entourage's lie, evaluated the Upper Kodori military operation as nearly the attempt of genocide of Kodori Svans, rooting out national mentality, killing the spirit of combat capability, establishing hatred against the Georgian land among the Svan population. The documentary material proves that the declarations and activities of M. Saakashvili and his high rank officials were creating fertile soil for Russians and Abkhazians on their ideological front against Georgia.

5) The special strategic importance of the Upper Kodori gorge should have obliged official of any government to put the population of the gorge at the center of attention. Documentary material proves that for years the gorge was left by the government of Georgia without attention and its population was in socio-economic distress.

After the analysis of the existing materials there is an impression as if the aim of E. Shevardnadze's and M. Saakashvili's entourage was to clean the gorge from the population and give it to Abkhazians. Otherwise the "Project of Improving Socio-Economic Situation of the Kodori Population" that was presented to the government by E. Kvitsiani in 2002 and 2004 should have been put in motion.

On the background of bombing the Kodori gorge and startling its population by authorities of the government of M. Saakashvili, aid that was promised to population was propaganda before elections; otherwise the government can do it before July of 2004 – 2006.

6) Transition of the legitimate government of Abkhazia to the Upper Kodori gorge was spontaneous and not intended for future step. It aimed to imitate the "return" of the Kodori gorge and mislead the public by causing euphoria in society. The legitimate government of Abkhazia and its Supreme Council had not a planned program of work with the population of Kodori. Transition of the legitimate government of Abkhazia to the Upper Kodori gorge and diarchy on the territory of Abkhazia could not be accepted as the initial stage of restoring the territorial unity of Georgia. Furthermore, the permission of the legitimate government of Abkhazia participation in the international negotiations was up to the Russian – Abkhazian side. Agitation of the above mentioned measures carried on by the government of Georgia among the population was a step forward to provoke the Abkhazian side purposely and begin to speak military rhetoric. "Rattle of weapon" from Abkhazians' side was a step forward to

restore shattered reputation of M. Saakashvili's government. I mean the public and loud declarations about not ceding the "returned" Upper Kodori gorge to Abkhazian separatists and Russian occupants and the announcements harmful for the territorial unity of the country. The international organizations blamed the government of Georgia in violation of all agreements that were put from 1993 till 2006 and artificially kindling the conflict in the region of conflict (The United Nations Security Council resolution # 1716, 2006). On the background of such an estimation of the international organizations with the help of "assertion" that Georgia is going to attack Abkhazia, the ruling circles of Russia were able to cut down possible individual activities of Baghabsh's government as much as possible.

7) The international policy of the Georgian government towards Russia aimed to make purposely confrontation deeper and create among population the "image of enemy" out of Russia. The demonstration of pragmatic step towards it was the well-known fact, the arrest of the Russian "spies" (September, 27, 2006) without solid evidences. As the interests of the two super states (Russia, USA) - to be settled in the South Caucasus - were crossed in Georgia, the government of the country was obliged to have more flexible policy. Moreover, the role of Russia in connection with the conflict regions is special. On this background M. Saakashvili's official declaration that he should join "South Ossetia" to Georgia in some weeks or months, together with PR campaign, was a notice given to the enemy in advance and his declaration consisted of the elements harmful to the country. At the beginning of

hostilities in August 2008, According to the confidential but dubious report of three OSCE observers in Tskhinvali and articles III, XIV of the biased conclusion of the H. Tagliavini's Commission: a) The Georgian side is accused of having instigated the hostilities in Tskhinvali region; b) It was not 7 August (3:41 am) when Russian armed military units and heavy equipment of the 58th Army entered Georgia through the Roki tunnel, but 8 August, and its involvement in military operations was recorded in the afternoon of 8 August. This conclusion cannot be relied on as it distorts the reality. Furthermore, the same document considers Russia's meddling in Georgian internal affairs and deliberate occupation of a portion of the country only as "minimal". Based on the experience with Russia and the USA, any measures taken by the authorities against separatism to restore and maintain the territorial integrity of Georgia are acceptable and within the framework of international law. Despite of this, to carry out the goal, first of all the specific reality of Georgia should have been taken into consideration. I mean: a) the inevitability of the Russian aggression with the motivation of defending citizens of Russia in conflict regions (61st paragraph of the constitution of the Russian Federation); b) the level of training of the Georgian side to stop the threat coming from the North neighbor (Because the relevant materials are inaccessible, it still is unknown whether the plan of defending country from the expected threat was developed by high class specialists of the military art or not. If the Security Council examined it and what kinds of recommendations were given to the government of Georgia for actions). According to the recommendations developed by the military experts it is proved that: a) the low level of qualification of the Geor-

gian armed forces officers', the lack of knowledge of the elementary steps which are peculiar for hostilities and following stages, ignorance in the field of technology, inability of receiving adequate individual decisions in the situations that were taking place on the advanced front line; b) the lack of professionalism and inability of the command of General Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces – "generals". The defeat which was a result of the facts that were mentioned above, caused the enormous loss (human resources, military infrastructure, and economy of the country) pushed the country to abyss. N. Sarkozy - M. Saakashvili – D. Medvedev six-point peace agreement put in August, 12, 2008 is not taking into consideration the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Georgia. It was a document of capitulation and M. Saakashvili's claim that it was a "step forward" was his PR campaign to make impression that the country was a "winner" in this war. The celebration that was held on the Rustaveli Street on August, 12 was an official demonstration of the complete humiliation and insult of the young people's families who died during the hostilities and of the internally displaced persons (IDP) by government. This celebration will be one of the most shameful facts in the modern history of the 21st century Georgia.

8) Propaganda of the "building", "reviving" process of the Upper Kodori gorge aimed to prove ideologically the abolishment of battalion "Monadire" and most of its members' annihilation. Loud campaign that started about the territorial unity of the country was calculated to veil the preparation of surrender of the gorge to Russia. I mean: a) to startle purposely the families of Svans in Kodori

and the successful attempt of instilling fear and the psychology of the slavish obedience towards the government of M. Saakashvili; b) to give a sign to Abkhazians and Russians that the legend of the Kodorians' invincibility is destroyed and the way to the gorge is cleared and open. To refuse the formation of a separate electoral district of the Upper Kodori gorge (May, 2008) and joining it to the Mestia electoral district was a part of the above mentioned insidious plan. Not to have personal deputy of the gorge in the parliament and do not fix the gorge in the official documents was foreseen by the plan. The events of August, 2008 proved that dislocated in the gorge the police unit and the "legitimate" government of Abkhazia had not the plan of defending the gorge and the strategic plan of actions against the enemy. Flaying from the gorge and leaving it to the enemy at a critical moment without a fight (August, 12, 2008) was an action equal to the betrayal to the motherland. Banishing of Georgians from the Upper Kodori gorge was carried on by Russians with the plan worked out beforehand. This plan was targeted at creating a safe zone from the North for the Russian "peacemakers" and controlling Gali district fully. Occupying the gorge Russia strengthened its positions in Abkhazia and Georgia lost a bastion for returning back Abkhazia. According to the report of H. Tagliavini's commission the actions of Russians and Abkhazians is negatively evaluated. Despite of this negative evaluation the international organizations could not provide the withdrawal of the Russian and Abkhazian military units from the gorge and the return of the internally displaced people to their indigenous homes till now. The fact once more proves

that the abolition of battalion "Monadire", annihilation of most of its members and disarmament of Kodori Svans was a crime committed against the country. Celebration of the "Victory" in August, 12, 2008 on the Rustaveli Avenue for sensible Georgians is a second defeat of Georgia. Showing off of the Georgian government high authorities and the representatives of intelligentsia on a stage on that very day can only be evaluated as the behavior of a person who detests his motherland or a person with mental disorders. This farce deeply humiliated the village population who were humbled by Ossetians, Abkhazians and Russians and mothers whose sons were killed in the battles. It is a shameful page in the history of the 21st century Georgia.

9) The internal policy of a group of those young people who "crossed the ocean" ("Okeanedaleulebi") and came in the government with the "Rose revolution" was based on the 21st century cosmopolitanism. Their goal was to form among the Georgian youth nihilism to the national values and mentality adapting to the territorial losses and disintegration of the country. The legislation changes that were carried on by the government of M. Saakashvili (restoration of the "South Ossetia", renaming of the Upper Kodori (Dali) gorge into "Upper Abkhazia") contains actions against the integrity of the country and aimed to split the country in future into two parts: Abkhazia and "South Ossetia" controlled by Russia and the rest of Georgia by USA. Selling of strategically the most important objects to Russia (31 objects), putting of the natural resources of Georgia at the service of Russia and the materials of the intelligent service of Russia, telling us about

the activities of the closest members of the M. Saakashvili family (T. Alasania) prove that the high officials of the government of Georgia (M. Saakashvili, K. Bendukidze, G. Vashadze...) were the mainstay of Russia and were fulfilling the functions of the fifth column in Georgia. According to the military experts' analyses becomes clear that during the hostilities between Russia and Georgia in 2008 the mechanism of security defense system to prevent enemy's movements without hindrance on the earth, at the sea and in the air was not working at that time. On the basis of documentary materials military experts proved that the military operations carried out by Georgia were not designed to win. Private military personnel (especially reservists and the unarmed peaceful inhabitants of the Georgian villages) were predestined to be the participants and actors of the genocide scenario written and planned beforehand. The political failure of the most opposition party leaders is connected in their not being able to realize those upcoming dangers that were prepared for controlled territories in Abkhazia (the Upper Kodori and Chkhalt'a gorges, Marukhi and Klukhori passes) and the whole Georgia by the government of M. Saakashvili. According to the materials that are used in the given work it is proved that: a) E. Kvitsiani was right when he blamed M. Saakashvili and his entourage that they purposely surrendered the upper gorges and passes to the enemy; b) surrender of the upper gorges and passes to the enemy purposely should become the subject of investigation of the law enforcement agencies, especially since we are dealing with treason committed by M. Saakashvili to the motherland.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura

Tavi I

kodori xeobis strategiul i mniSvel oba da rusebis mxridan misi xel Si Cagdebis mcdel obis asaxva qarTul politikur azrovnebaSi

1. gaz. `versia- 2006. 28- 30 ivl isi # 62
2. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2006. 31 ivl isi- 6 agvisto #30
3. gaz. `jorj ian Taimsi- 2002. 31 ianvari. #3
4. gaz. `jorj ian Taimsi- 2002. 7 Teberval i. #4
5. gaz. `jorj ian Taimsi- 2002. 31 ianvari. #3
6. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 3 agvisto. #212
7. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2006. 30 ivl isi 6 agvisto. #31
8. g.gasviani, T.gasviani. afxazeTis omi. Tbil isi. 2005 gv. 215
9. gaz. `saqarTvel os respubl ika- 2002. 13 april i. #88
10. gaz. `saqarTvel os respubl ika- 2002. 14 april i. #89
11. gaz. `jorj ian Taimsi- 2002. 25 april i. #15
12. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 3 agvisto. #212
13. gaz. `jorj ian Taimsi- 2006. 27 ivl isi- 3 agvisto. #30

Tavi II

batal ion `monadires- gauqmeba, kodori samxedro operacia da qarTul i politikuri azri

1. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 3 agvisto. #212
2. i qve
3. gaz. `al ia- 2006. 27 ivl isi. #87
4. gaz. `kriminal i- 2006. 21 seqtemberi. #37
5. gaz. `xval indel i dRe- 2006. 27 ivl isi. #78
6. p.mamraZe, avantura. 08. 08. 08. Tb. 2012. gv.54
7. gaz. `al ia- 2006. 27 ivl isi. #87

8. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i~ 2006. 31 ivl isi- 6 agvisto. #31
9. gaz. `rezonansi~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #204
10. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i~ 2006. 7_ 13 agvisto. #32
11. gaz. `j orj ian- Taimsi~ 2006. 5 oqtomberi. #39
12. gaz. `mTel i kvira~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #204
13. gaz. `al ia~ 2006. 27- 28 ivl isi. #87
14. S.vadaWkoria. `vardebis revol ucia- da saxel mwifo
kanibal izmi. 2012. gv. 46^
15. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i~ 2006. 31 ivl isi- 6 agvisto. #31
16. gaz. `mTel i kvira~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #204
17. gaz. `axal i Taoba~ 2006. 29 ivl isi. #207
18. gaz. `j orj ian Taimsi~ 2006. 27 ivl isi #30
19. gaz. `axal i Taoba~ 2006. 3 agvisto. #212
20. gaz. `praimtami~ 2013. 6 maisi
21. S.vadaWkoria. `vardebis revol ucia- da saxel mwifo
kanibal izmi. 2012. gv. 29- 74
22. gaz. `rezonznsi~ 2006. 28 ivl isi #201^
23. gaz. `axal i Taoba~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #209
24. gaz. `versia~ 2006. 28- 30 ivl isi. #62
25. gaz. `xval indel i dRe~ 2006. 29 ivl isi. #79
26. gaz. `xval indel i dRe~ 2006. 27 ivl isi. #78
27. gaz. `al ia~ 2006. 29- 31 ivl isi. #88
28. gaz. `xval indel i dRe~ 2006. 27 ivl isi. #78
29. gaz. `mTel i kvira~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #204
30. iqv
31. gaz. `praimtami~ 2013. 6 maisi
32. gaz. `j orj ian Taimsi~ 2006. 27 ivl isi- 3 agvisto. #30
33. gaz. `al ia~ 2006. 27- 28 ivl isi. #87
34. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i~ 2006. 31 ivl isi- 6 agvisto. #31
35. gaz. `axal i Taoba~ 2006. 29 ivl isi. #207
36. qarTul i enis ganmartebiTi l eqsikoni. t. VIII. Tbil isi.
1964. gv. 1414- 1415
37. gaz. `axal i Taoba~ 2006. 31 ivl isi. #209
38. iqve
39. gaz. `al ia~ 2006. 27_ 28 ivl isi. #87
40. gaz. `xal indel i dRe~ 2006. 29 ivl isi. #79
41. gaz. `xval indel i dRe~ 2006. 27 ivl isi. #78
42. g.gasviani, T.gasviani. afxazeTis omi. Tbil isi. 2005. gv. 214
43. gaz. `versia~ 2006. 28- 30 ivl isi. #464

44. gaz. `xval indel i dRe- 2006. 29 ivl isi. #79
45. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 29 ivl isi. #207
46. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 31 ivl isi. #209
47. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2006. 31 ivl isi. #31
48. gaz. `mTel i kvira- 2006. 31 ivl isi. #204
49. gaz. `rezonansi- 2006. 28 ivl isi. #201
50. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 31 ivl isi. #209
51. gaz. `xval indel i dRe- 2006. 29 ivl isi. #79
52. gaz. `saqarTvel os respubl ika- 2006. 29 ivl isi. #146
53. p.mamraZe. aventura. 08. 08. 08. Tbil isi. 2012. gv.60
54. gaz. `axal i Taoba- 2006. 3 agvisto. #212
55. gaz. `al ia- 2006. 27- 28 ivl isi. #87
56. gaz. `saqarTvel os respubl ika' 2008. 10 seqtemberi. #169

Tavi III

okeanedal eul ebi da ufskrul isken daqanebul i saqarTvel o

1. p.mamraZe. aventura. 08. 08. 08. Tbil isi. 2012. gv. 62- 63
2. iqve. gv.70
3. iqve. gv.72- 73
4. S.vadaWkoria. `vardebis revol ucia- da saxel mwi fo
kanibal izmi. 2012. gv.67
5. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 22- 28 seqtemberi. # 38
6. gaz. `yvel a siaxl e- 2009. 15- 21 ianvari #4
7. gaz. `saqarTvel os respubl ika- 2008. 24 ianvari. #13
8. gaz. `kvis qronika' 2008. 21- 27 ivl isi. #29
9. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 18- 24. #33
10. p.mamraZe. aventura. 08. 08. 08. Tbil isi. 2012. gv. 179
11. g.yaryaraSvil i. es Cveni samSobl o iwvis. Tb. 2009. gv.51- 56
12. g.mel iTauri. axl a xel isufl eba cdil obs, j arSi gaCeni l
ukmayofil ebas represiebi daupirispuros. gaz. `asaval -
dasaval i- 2008. 1- 7 seqtemberi. #35
13. k.kacitaZe. aseTi samarcxvino damarcxeba mTel samxedro

- istoriaSi ar maxsendeba. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008.
6- 12 oqtomberi. #40
14. g.yaryaraSvil i. es Cveni samSobl o iwvis. Tb. 2009. gv. gv.54- 55
 15. gaz. `versia- 2012. 10- 20 dekemberi. #145
 16. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 22- 28 seqtemberi. #38
 17. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 25- 31 agvisto #34
 18. ga. `asaval - dasaval i- 2012. 22- 28 oqtomberi. #43
 19. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 1- 7 seqtemberi. #35
 20. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 24- 28 agvisto. #33
 21. saqarTvel os mTavrobis angariSi. ruseTis federaciis
mier saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg ganxorciel ebul
srul masStabian agresiasTan dakavSirebiT. Tb. 2009. gv.70
 22. p.mamraZe. aventura. 08. 08. 08. Tbil isi. 2012. gv.203- 204
 23. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 1- 7 seqtemberi. #35
 24. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 18- 24 agvisto. #33
 25. gaz. `kvis qronika' 2008. 20- 26 oqtomberi. #42
 26. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 15- 21 seqtemberi. #37
 27. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2009. 10- 16 agvisto. #32
 28. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 15- 21 seqtemberi. #37
 29. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2012. 5- 11 noemberi. #45
 30. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2012. 15- 21 seqtemberi. #37
 31. Journ. `mebrZol i- 2012. #16.
 32. p.mamraZe. aventura. 08. 08. 08. Tbil isi. 2012. gv. 167- 168
 33. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 5- 11 seqtemberi. #45
 34. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2012. 18- 24 agvisto. #33
 35. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 1- 7 seqtemberi. #35
 36. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 18- 24 agvisto. #33
 37. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2008. 1- 7 seqtemberi. #35
 38. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2012. 22- 28 oqtomberi. #43
 39. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2012. 5- 11noemberi. #45
 40. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 15_ 21 seqtemberi #37
 41. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2012. 22_ 28 seqtemberi. #38
 42. gaz. `kvis qronika- 2008. 23_ 29 marti #12
 43. gaz. `asaval - dasaval i- 2012. 5_ 11 oqtomberi. #40

Tbil isi. 2013 wl is 20 oqtomberi

რუკები

რა გვყონდა და რა დავრცა!
მომაკვდავის სარეცელზე დანარცხებულ
საგარტველო!

მკითხველს ვთხოვ, ტვალში მიადევნოს აქ დაბეჭდილ რუკებს და შედარებით ანალიზი თავადვე გააკეთოს. ისიც გაითვალისწინოს, რომ საგარტველოს ზალმომრეობითი გასაბოვებისა და მარიონეტული მთავრობების, საგარტველოს ტერიტორიული ადმინისტრაციების პროფესიონალი არქიტექტორების (სერგო ორჯონიკიძე, ედუარდ სევერდნაძე, მიხეილ სააკაშვილი) მიზანმიმართული ზალისხმევისა და მორალური გადაწყვეტილებების (ყარსის ხელშეკრულება_1921 წ. 13 ოქტომბერი; მოსკოვის 1994 წლის 14 მაისის შეთანხმება; ნ.სარკოზ_მ.საკაშვილი_დ.მედევის შეთანხმება_2008 წლის 12 აგვისტო) შედეგად, 87 წლის განმავლობაში ტერიტორიული რაკატასტოფული ისრაფიტი დაუპატარავდით (იხ. რუკა #1 და #8. ცხრილი #1 და #2). რა ახლოს დავიდგა გარტველი ერის ტერიტორიული და ფიზიკური სიკვდილის გარდუვალობა.

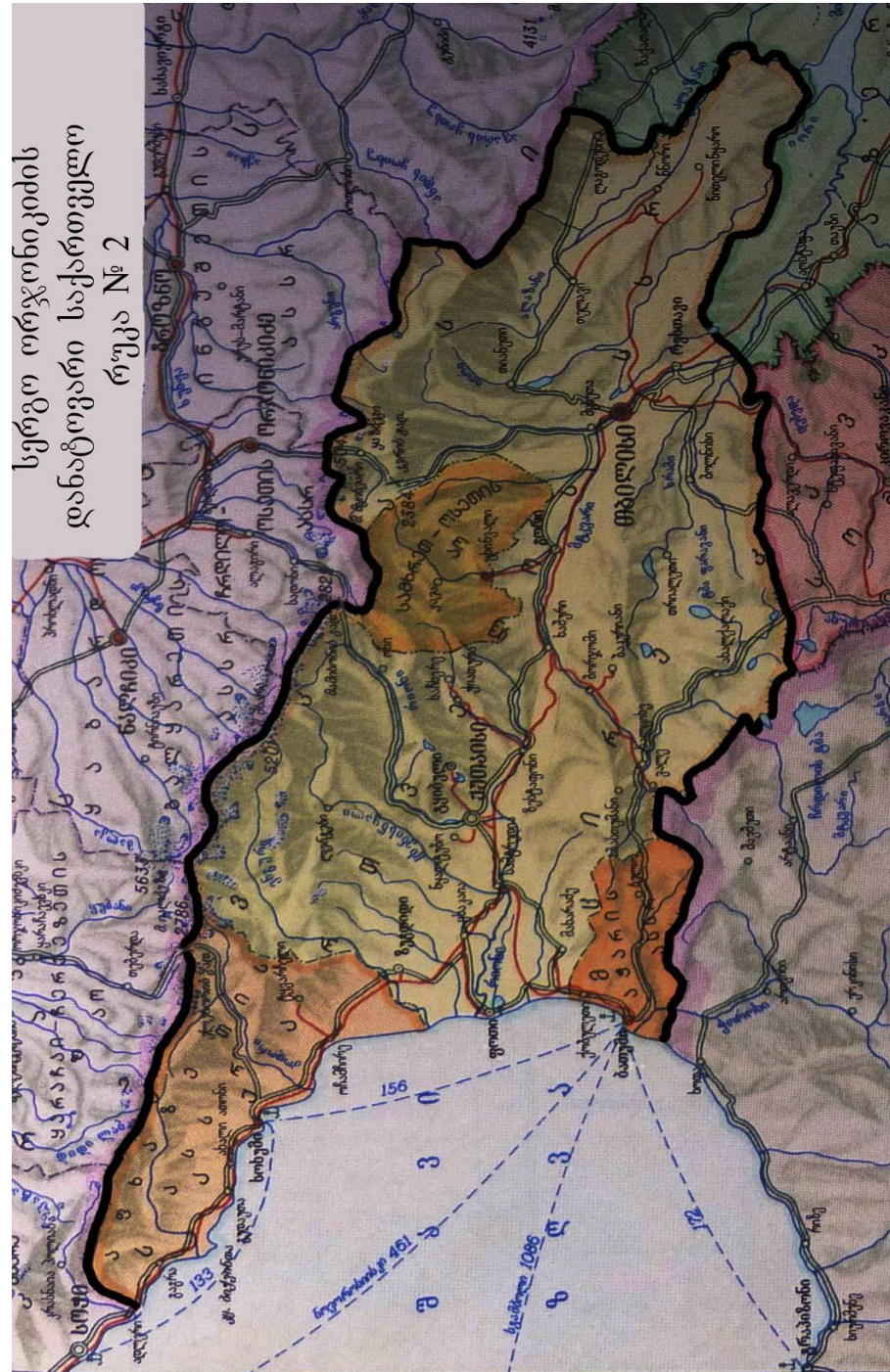
XIX საუკუნის დასაწყისში, ნაპოლეონ ბონაპარტის ბრძანებით: `ერის უზღუდვება მასინი უყება, როცა კუთვნილ ტერიტორიას მოვინაარმდეგეს ნებავი ობიექტების, ან ზალმომრეობით მიტაცებულ ის უკან დაბრუნებას არცდილობს.`

წრტილად, 30 წელიწადი და ორდენებით
ადვილად მოსაყიდო გარტველებო!!!...

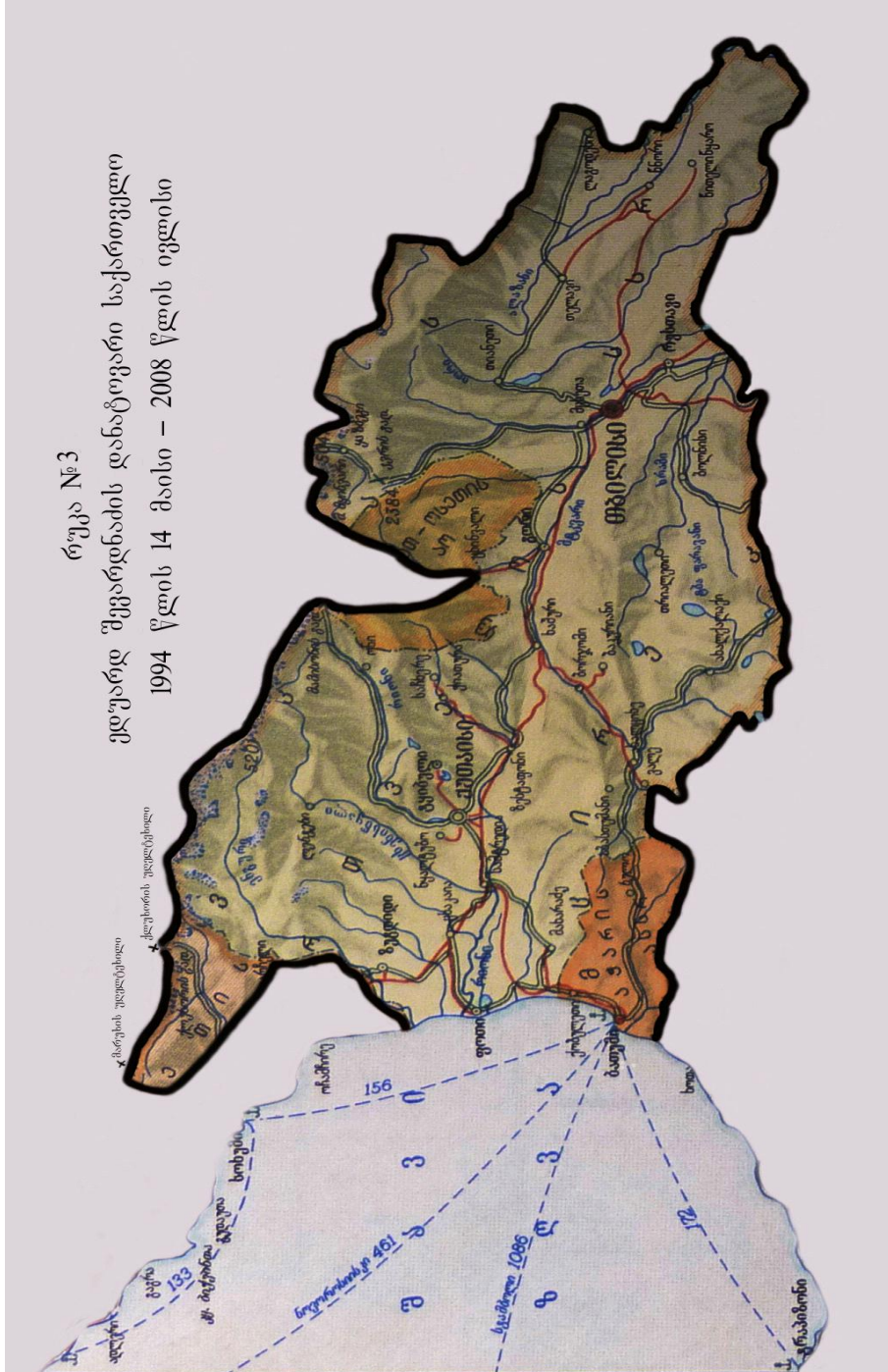
სოთა ვადაშკორია

საქართველოს პირველი რესპუბლიკის მთავრობის კონსტრუირებადი ტერიტორია 1920 წლის ივლისის მხაცვებით.
 რუკის ავტორები: ბუაჩხილაძე და ქახიანი. თბილისი 1920 წელი რუკა № 1



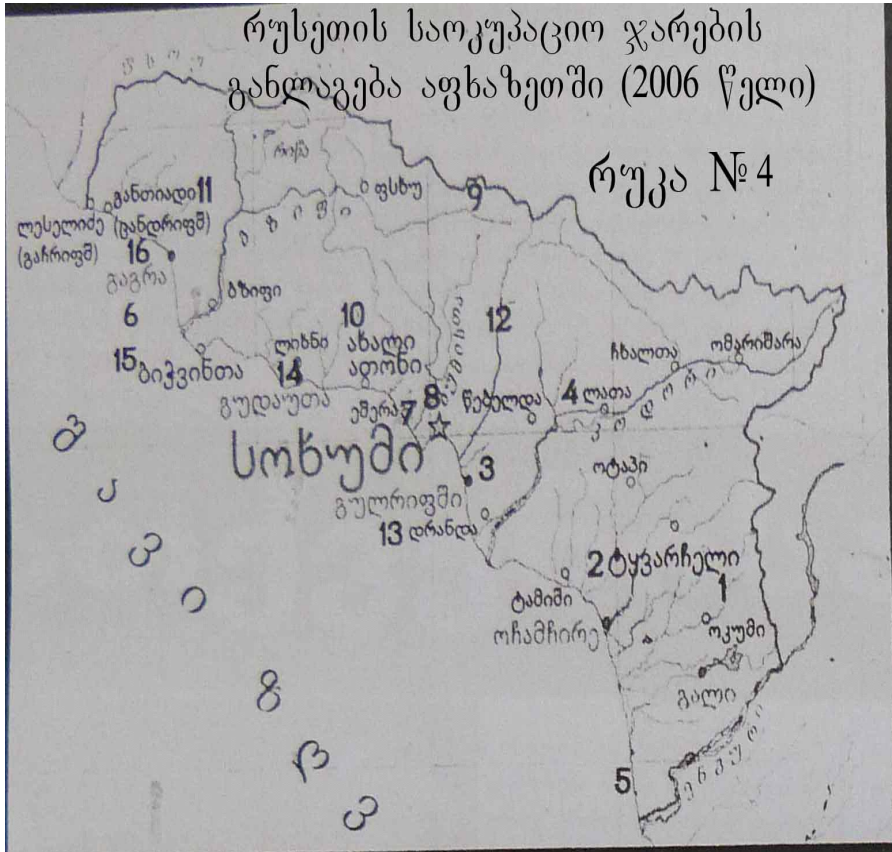


რუკა №3
 ედუარდ შეგვარდნაძის დანატოვარი საქართველო
 1994 წლის 14 მისი - 2008 წლის ივლისი



რუსეთის საოკუპაციო ჯარების
განლაგება აფხაზეთში (2006 წელი)

რუკა № 4

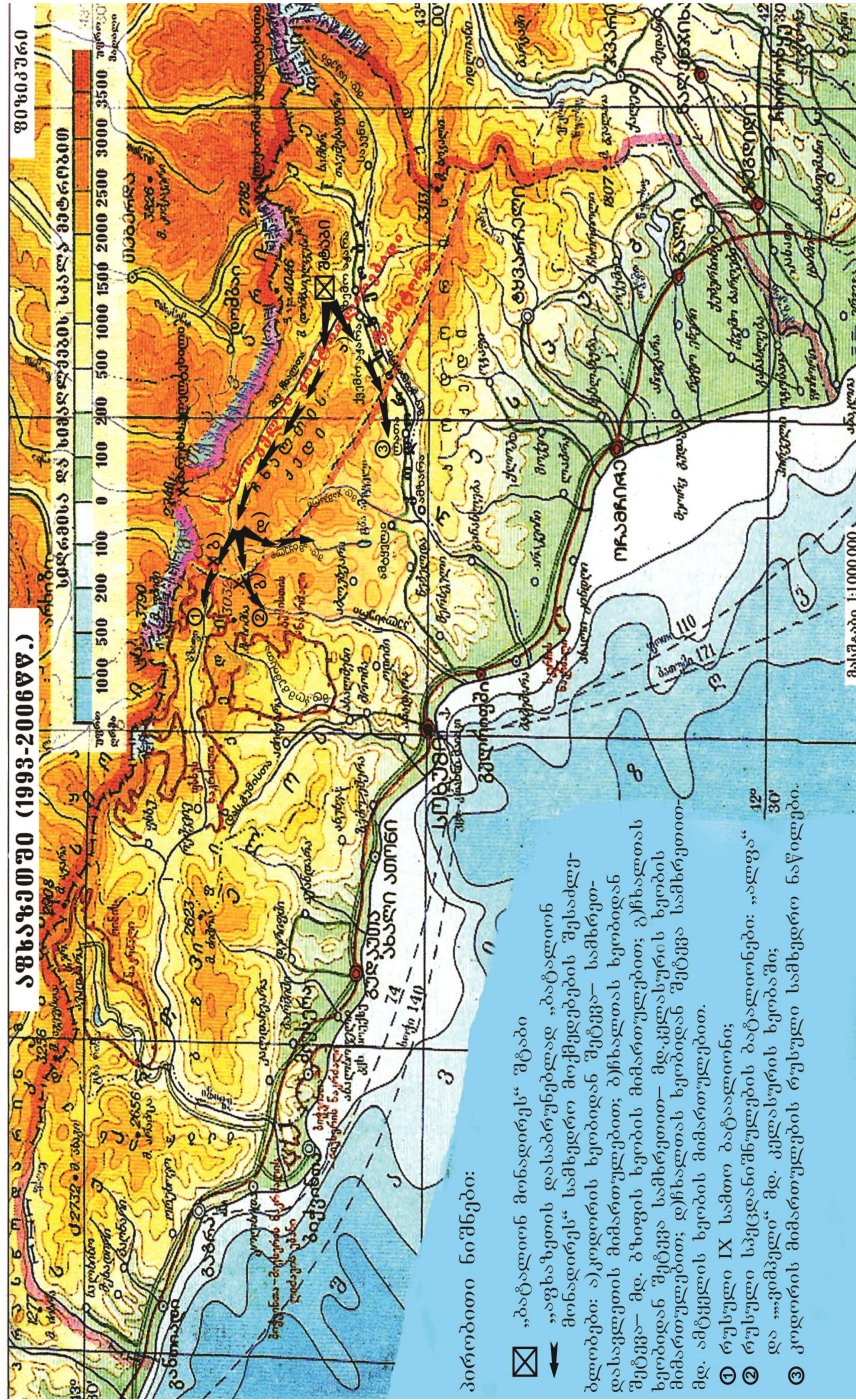


1. სატანკო ბატალიონი;
2. აღმოსავლეთის მიმართულების ფრონტის ნაწილები;
- 3-4. კოდორის მიმართულების ფრონტის ნაწილები;
- 5-6. საზღვაო დაცვის პერიმეტრი — საზღვაო-სამხედრო ძალები;
7. სამხედრო კომენდატურა;
8. სამხედრო პოსპიტალი;
9. სამთო ბატალიონი;
10. საარტილერიო ბატალიონი, სატანკო ბატალიონი;
11. ჩრდილოეთის მიმართულების ფრონტის ნაწილები;
12. სვეცდანიშნულების ბატალიონები — „ალფა“ და „ვიმპელი“;
13. გულრიფშის აეროპორტი — საავიაციო ნაწილი, საარტილერიო ბატალიონი;
14. გუდაუთის აეროპორტი — საავიაციო ნაწილი, სვეცდანიშნულების ბატალიონი;
15. „სამშვიდობო ძალების“ ბოლო ნაკადის ნაწილი;
16. „სამშვიდობო ძალების“ ბოლო ნაკადის ნაწილი და კაზაკი მეზრძოლები (2 ბატალიონი).

რუკა № 5

საქართველო კონტინენტური ტერიტორია

ახსნაზეთში (1993-2006წწ.)



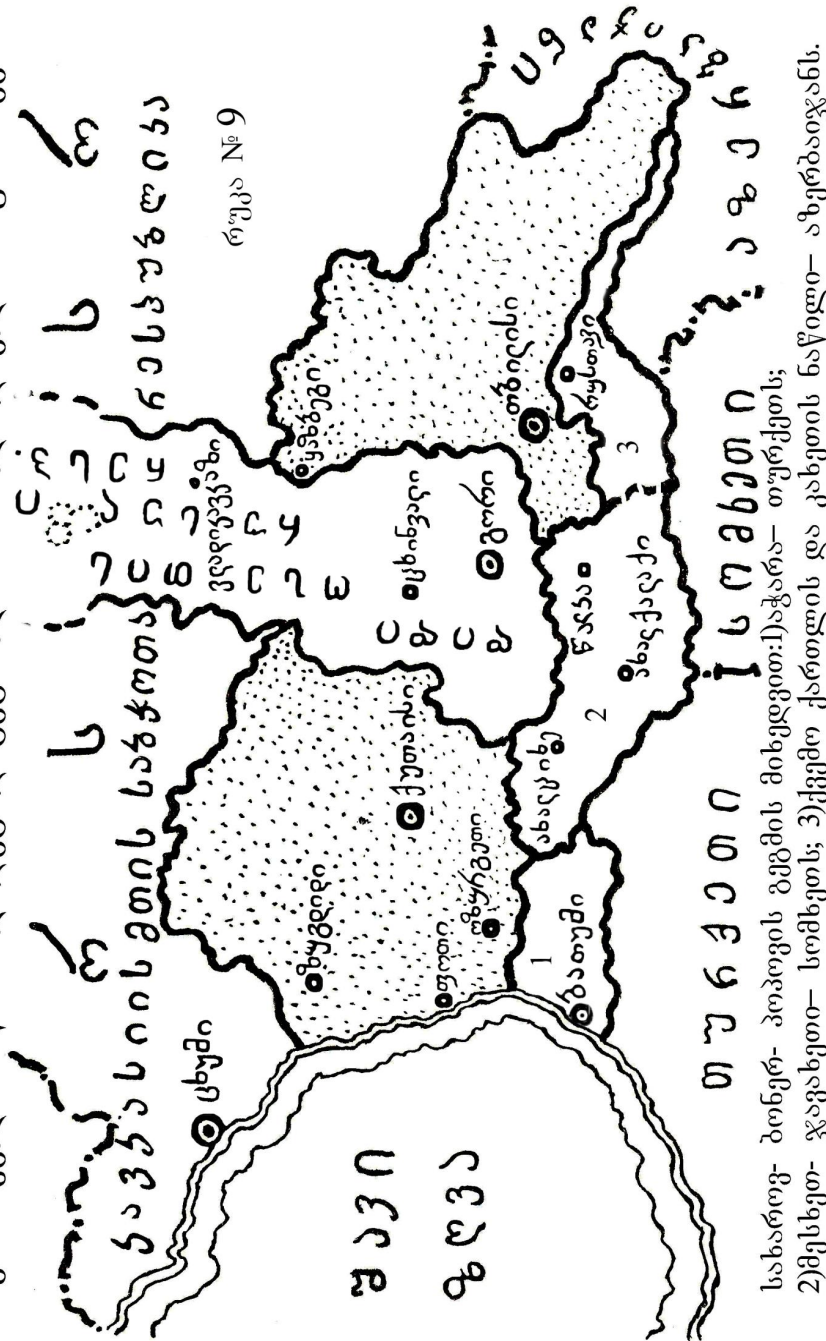


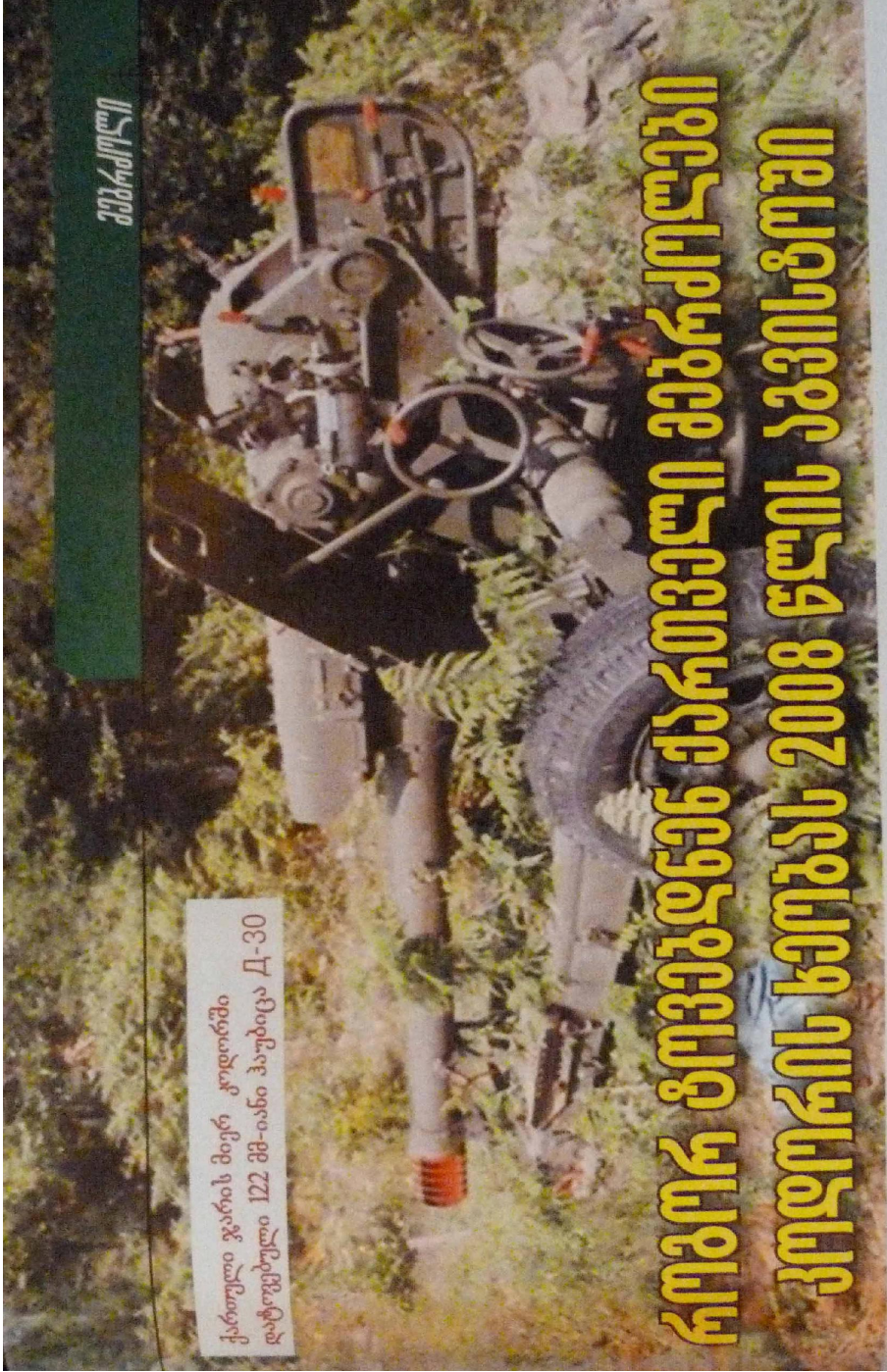
რუკა № 6
 კოდორის სამხედრო ოპერაცია.
 2006 წლის ივლისი

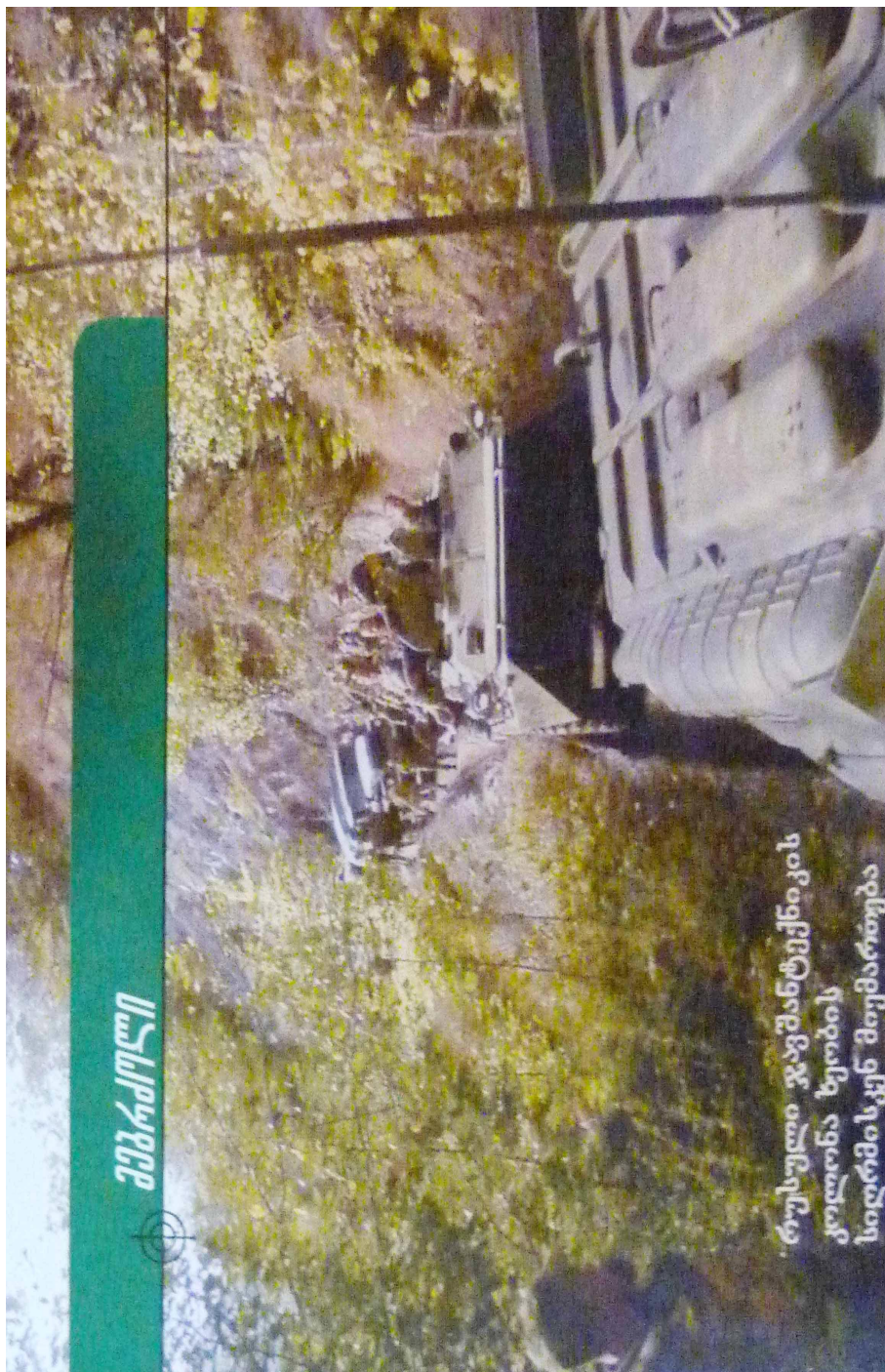
რუკა № 8
 საქართველოს მესამე რესპუბლიკა
 2008 წლის 12 აგვისტოდან დღემდე



საქართველოს წინააღმდეგ დაგეგმილი მოსალოდნელი საფრთხეები:







ქსკლუზიური ინტერვიუ კოდორის ხეობის ყოფილ მმართველთან

მანან კინციანიძე

„ვეკითხები ელსანის, რატომ ჩაბარე კოდორის ხეობა?!“

„ამდენჯერმე დამიკეს
ივორ გორგაძემ და
ტარიელ ონიანმა,
რომლებმაც, ვითომ საუბარი
უნდოდათ ჩემთან, ხეობიდან
გამიტყუეს. სინამდვილეში
კი დათქმულ ადგილას
დამხდნენ ნიღბიანები და
უკან აღარავინ დამბრუნა“

„მერაბიშვილთან
ერასდროს
მქონია საქმე.
კაცად არასდროს
ვთვლიდი მებას“

მიხეილ სააკაშვილის
„აღმშენებლობითი“
პიარი ზემო კოდორის ხეობაში
(2007– 2008)



batal ion `monadires- xel mZRvanel Ta da wevrTa sia

saqarTvel os Sinaurma da gareSe mtrebma, am ad-
ami anebis mosyi dva mi l i onebi Tac ver SeZl o. sam-
Sobl os siyvarul iT gul anTebul ni 13 wl is gan-
mavl obaSi unarCunebdnen Cvens qveyanas zemo kodor-
isa da Cxal Tas xeobebs, maruxisa da ql uxoris
uRel texil ebs.

Tuki TqvenSi qarTul i geni ar Camkvdara
da saqarTvel os gadarCenis cnobierebiT
momaval i Taobebis aRzrda gaqvT miznad
dasaxul i, qarTvel i eris winaSe gaweul i
damsaxurebisaTvis batal ion `monadires-
yofil wevrebs pativi mi ageT!!!

SoTa vadaWkor i a

kodori s xeobis damcvel i batal ionis
`monadi res~ meTaurebi:

emzar kviciani, zurab gerliani

asmeTaurebi

1. arRvliani daviT
2. gogiaSvili paata
3. devdariani Tamaz
4. korZaia Tengiz
5. margveliani roman
6. CarTolani Temur
7. Cofliani Temur

bagramianis saxel obis somxuri batal ionis
winaaRmdeg 1993 wl is 23_ 27 noemberis brZo-
l ebSi, batal ion`monadiredan~ daRupuli gmiri
mebrZol ebi:

1. arRvliani omar
2. gujejiani goderZi
3. gujejiani ermine
4. kviciani uCa
5. margveliani roman
6. pakeliani tariel
7. rezeniZe giorgi
8. stefliani avTandil
9. Tamaz jaWvliani

1993- 2004 wl ebis kodoris xeobis damcvel i
batal ionis oficerTa sia

- 1) arRvl iani Tamazi
- 2) arRvl iani daviTi
- 3) gerl iani murTaz
- 4)gvarmiani Jivl er
- 5) gurCiani gurami (marSn)
- 6) gurCiani spartak
- 7) gurCiani zurabi
- 8) guj ej iani j emal i
- 9) devdariani Tamazi
- 10) devdariani Temuri (ruJdan)
- 11) kviciani nora
- 12) kviciani JuJuna
- 13) kviciani Temuri
- 14) kviciani oTari
- 15) kviciani uCa
- 16) korZai a ol ia
- 17) miqiani paata
- 18) murRvl iani gia
- 19) murRvl iani j eiran
- 20) pakel iani rodami
- 21) pakel iani j emal i
- 22) pirvel i badri
- 23) stefl iani Temuri
- 24) fircxel iani adami
- 25) Cofl iani nodari
- 26) Cxetiani nodari
- 27) Cxetiani renato
- 28) Cxetiani daTo
- 29) Cxetiani I emin (goCa)
- 30) cal ani zefxan
- 31) cindel iani gia
- 32) cindel iani badri

- 33) wifl iani romani
- 34) wifl iani nodari
- 35) j aWvl iani gia

1992_ 2003 wl ebSi kodoris xeobis
 dacvisTvis gamarTul brZol ebSi
 daRupul i gmi rebi (arasrul i sia)

- 1) aval iani amiran sal ibes Ze 1964_ 1992
- 2) aval iani enver mixeil is Ze 1949_ 1992
- 3) aval iani nugzar mixeil is Ze 1952_ 1993
- 4) afrasiZe nuri biZinas Ze 1954_ 1993
- 5) aRvl iani omar il ias Ze
- 6) gerl iani boria daviTis Ze 1960_ 1992
- 7) gasviani sosl an Jul ias Ze 1968_ 1993
- 8) gerl iani oTar Sarmbes Ze 1963_ 1993
- 9) gerl iani mal xaz Taubis Ze 1962_ 2002
- 10) gerl iani miron arsenis Ze 1957_ 1993
- 11) gviCiani vaso SoTas Ze
- 12) gurCiani l evan il ias Ze
- 13) guj ej iani ermine aqvsentis Ze 1955_ 1993
- 14) guj ej iani sergo aTmurazas Ze 1951_ 1993
- 15) guj ej iani goderZi konstantines Ze 1975_ 1993
- 16) vibl iani Temur grisSas Ze 1959_ 1993
- 17) iveciani el dar oTaris Ze 1969_ 1993
- 18) kal andariSvil i amiran kol ias Ze 1964_ 1992
- 19) kvanWi ani il iko mixeil is Ze
- 20) kvanWi ani emzar qi Svardis Ze 1955_ 1993
- 21) kvanWi ani kaxaber vasil is Ze 1975_ 2002
- 22) kviciani revaz grigol is Ze 1954_ 1993
- 23) kviciani avTandil grigol is Ze 1958_ 1993
- 24) kviciani oTar mixeil is Ze 1961_ 1994
- 25) kviciani uCa romanozis Ze 1941_ 1993
- 26) margiani Suqri irakl is Ze 1962_ 1993

- 27) mil diani sergo vaxtangis Ze 1972_ 1993
- 28) pakel iani tariel anTuyis Ze 1928_ 1993
- 29) pirvel i l eri daniel is Ze 1964_ 1993
- 30) pakel iani Smagi raJdenis Ze
- 31) rezesiZe giorgi gerasimes Ze 1952_ 1993
- 32) subel iani nder j andaris Ze 1945_ 1992
- 33) stefl iani tariel maqsimes Ze 1959_ 1993
- 34) stefl iani avTandil maqsimes Ze 1965_ 1993
- 35) qal dani nodar l avrentis Ze 1955_ 1993
- 36) RvaCl iani nugzar akakis Ze
- 37) Cofl iani badri tristanis Ze 1972_ 1992
- 38) werediani giorgi parmenis Ze 1956_ 1993
- 39) werediani j ambul tataSis Ze 1960_ 1993
- 40) j aWvl iani Tamaz piribes Ze 1961_ 1993
- 41) j aWvl iani enver evgenis Ze 1952_ 1993
- 42) j aWvl iani badri nestoris Ze 1966_ 1993
- 43) j aWvl iani j eiran evgenis Ze 1966_ 1993
- 44) xarziani j eiran JorJis Ze 1963_ 2002

Sinaarsi

Sesavali _____ 5

Tavi I

kodori xeobis strategiuli mnisveloba da rusebis mxridan misi xelSi Cagdebis mcdelobis asaxva qarTul politiki azrovnebaSi _____ 11

Tavi II

batalion`monadires- gauqmeba, kodori samxedro operacia da qarTul politiki azri _____ 51

Tavi III

okeanedal eul ebi da ufskrulisken daqanebuli saqarTvelo _____ 188

\$ 1. 2008 wl is agvistos avanturis mizanimarTuli momzadeba da misi Sedegebi _____ 188

\$ 2. zemo kodori sa da Cxal Tas xeobebis mtrisadmi ubrZol vel ad Cabareba_ qarTvel TamourCeneli satkivari _____ 248

daskvnebi _____ 303

bol oTqma _____ 314

cxrilebi _____ 303

reziume (ingl isurenaze) _____ 325

damowmebuli wyaroebi da literatura _____ 338

rukebi. (ra gvqonda da ra dagvrCa_ momakvdavis sarecel ze

danarcxebul i saqarTvel o) _____ 342

batal ion `monadi res- xel mZRvanel Ta da wevrTa
siebi _____ 357

SoTamilias Zevadawkoria

kodoris xeobis dil emada qarTuli
sazogadoebriv _ politikuri azri
(1993_ 2010)

Tbilisi
2014

sabwdi qaral di 60 X 84 1/16
sarricxvo- sagamoncemi o Tabaxi 21,5

