

i vj avaxi Svi l is saxel obis Tbi l isis saxel mwifo universitetis social ur  
da pol itikur mecnierebaTa fakul teti

### I aura kutubiZe

2000-2005 wl ebis qarTul i presis Ziri Tadi sazogadoebriv-  
pol itikuri aspeqtobi

sadi sertacio naSromi  
akademuri xarisxis \_ Jurnal istiki s doqtori \_ mosapovebl ad

naSromi Sesrul ebul ia i vj avaxi Svi l is  
saxel obis Tbi l isis saxel mwifo universitetSi

samecniero xel mZRvanel i,  
fil osofiis doqtori Jurnal istikaSi,  
profesori marina vekua



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## Sesaval i

sadi sertacio naSromi, ZiriTadad, eyrdnoba 2000-2005 wl ebis presas (gazeTebi – “al ia”, “rezonansi”, “24 saaTi”, “dil is gazeTi”, “axal i Taoba”, “kviris pal itra”, “axal i versia”, “kviris qronika”, “jorjian Taimsi”, “mTavari gazeTi”, “dro”, “droni”, “meridiani”, “axal i epoqa”, “saqarTvel os respublika”, “xval indel i dRe”, “asaval -dasaval i”, “meridiani”/“axal i meridiani”, “7 dRe”/“axal i 7 dRe”, “marTal i gazeTi”, “ganaxl ebul i iveria”; Jurnal ebi – “aril i”, “imij i”, “sarke”, “Tbilisi sel ebi”) da Sesabamis literaturas.

Cveni presa, jerj erobiT, ar iZI eva imis saSual ebas, rom erTmaneTi sagan mkveTrad gavmij noT sazogadoebri-politikuri da bul varul i gamocemebi, an romel imi gamocemas Tamamad vuwodoT avtoritetul i, gavl eniani, akademuri, **sol iduri** (am SemTxvevaSi mixedvel obaSi gvaqvs ara mxol od romel imi cal keul i gamocemis profesiul i done, aramed misi tiraJic, gavrcel ebis areal ic da sxva parametrebi, romel ic erTianobaSi qmnis mis mimart sazogadoebis Sesabamis damoki debul ebas).

sadi sertacio naSrromSi “saxis I ingvisturi realizacia sagazeTo komunikaci aSi” (sakvl ev masal ad gamoyenebul ia 1998-2006 wl is britanul i da qarTul i gazeTebi), avtori, Tornike gogol aSvili, ase aj gufebs qarTul presas: **avtoritetul i** (“saqarTvel os respublika”, “Tbilisi”, “24 saaTi”, “axal i epoqa”), **bul varul i** (“yovel kvireul i qronika”, “idumal ebis samyaro”, “rao-rao”, “es sainteresoa”) da **Sual eduri** (“rezonansi”, “al ia”, “axal i Taoba”, “asaval -dasaval i”, “axal i era”). (13, 4) amasTan, aRni Snavs, rom saqarTvel oSi ar a gvaqvs gavl eniani gamocemebi, britaneTSi ki ar aris Sual eduri gazeTebi. SeiZI eba gansazRvreba “Sual eduri” marTI ac mivusadagoT im gamocemebs, roml ebSi c aRreul ia sazogadoebri-politikuri gamocemebisa da bul varul is standarti, Tematika, stil i, masal ebis mowodebis forma da a.S. magram ver daveTanzmebiT Tornike gogol aSvili, romel ic erT kategoriaSi aqcevs, magal i Tad “rezonanssa” da “asaval -dasaval s”, an avtoritetul gazeTad mi i Chevs gazeT “Tbiliss”, romel ic sociologiuri gamoki Txvebis mixedviT zogjer pirvel oceul Sic ar xvdeba (ki Txvadobis, ndobis da a.S. mixedviT). amasTan, misi kl asifikasiis areal Si saerTod ar moeqca iseTi gazeTebi, rogoricaa: “kviris pal itra”, “jorjian Taimsi”, “dil is gazeTi”, “axal i versia”, “xval indel i dRe”, “mTavari gazeTi” da a.S.

Cveni sadisertacio naSromis mizani da sagani ar yofila am mimarTul ebiT kvl evis warmarTva, magram am sakiTxze yuradRebas vamaxviI ebT imdenad, ramdenadac saWiro iyo mogveZebna kriteriumi saanal izo gamocemata kl asifikasiisaTvis \_ sazogadoebri-politikur Tematikastan maTi mimarTebisa da Sesabamisobis mixedviT. amgvar kriteriumad avirciet maTi interesebis areal Si sazogadoebri-politikuri Temebis primati (es, ra Tqma unda, yvel as Tanabrad ar exeba); rac Seexeba Cveneul gansazRvrebasi \_ "sainformacio amndis Semqnnel i gamocemebi", romel sac xSirad viyenebT naSromSi, es ukve gul isxmobs ara yvel a zemoaRniSnul, 20-ze met gamocemas, aramed imiT, roml ebic Sesabamis etapze reitinguli Skal is Tundac pirvel aTeul Si figurirebdnen da, Sesabamisad, upiratesoba hqondaT sazogadoebaze zemoqmedebisa da saTanado sainformacio ganwyobiS Sesaqnnel ad. xol o "masmediis fil agmanebSi" vgul isxmobT maral reitingul gamocemebiS (zogan, Sesabamis konteqstSi, pl us, tel ekompania "rusTavi 2"-sac, romel ic 2000-2003 wl is tel ereitingebSi erTpironvuli ideri iyo).

sainformacio suraTisa da sainformacio rezonansi garkveul i kanonzomierebis dasadgenad, Sedarebi sTvis vi Svel iebdiT qarTul i tel ekompaniebis sainformacio produqciasa da onlain-mediis meSveobiT \_ ucxouri mediis gamoxmaurebas saqarTvel oSi imdinare procesebze.

rac Seexeba 2000-2005 wl ebis qarTul i presis ZiriTadi sazogadoebri-politikuri aspeqtebis gansazRvras: CvenTvis TviTmizani ar yofila disertaciasi mocemuli aspeqtebis kvl eva; piriqiT, am aspeqtebis prioritetul oba gamokveTa swored kvl evisa da analizis procesSi. xazgasmiT unda aRvniSnoT, rom es, ra Tqma unda, ar aris presis aspeqtebis srul i (da srul yofili) suraTi. SevecadeT, paralebi dagveZebna am mimarTul ebiT Tanamedrove qarTul i presis Sesaxeb Seqnnil samecniero kvl evebSi (pirvel yovliisa, mixedvel obaSi gvaqvs sadisertacio naSromebi).

filoloiis mecnierebaTa kandidatis samecniero xarisxis mosapovebl ad Seqnnil i ioseb Wumburizis naSromi \_ "Tanamedrove qarTul i presis ZiriTadi tendenciebi" swored Cveni sakvl evi periodis identur periods exeba (2000-2006 wl ebi). misi naSromis Sinaarsi: "*ilias gza da mTavari Temebi*"; "*gazeTis pirvel i gverdi*", "*interviu – gabatonebul i Janri*", "*ena da stil i publ icisturi ostatobis zogierTi saki Txii*", "*vardebis revolucia*" da *qarTul i presa*" da Tavad kvl eva, cxadyofs, rom aq aris mcdel oba ara mxol od presis tendenciebis, aramed, Jurnal isturi ostatobis kvl evisac. Cveni interesis sagani am naSromTan mimarTebasi iyo \_ Tanamedrove presis

Ziri Tadi tendenci ebi dan ra moeqca kvl evis yuradRebis areal Si. ilia WavWavaZis mi er dasaxul i orientiri – “**mamuli, ena, sarwmunoeba**”, rogorc Wumburi Ze askvnis sakvl evad Serceul i sami gazeTis magal iTze, **ar qceul a Tanamedrove presis mTavar Temebad** (raSic savsebi T veTanxmebi T), sxva Ziri Tadi Tema (Tu ar CavTvl iT “vardebis revolucias”) naSromSi ar ikveTeba, ramdenadac Semdgom mkvl evaris interes i nacvl ebs Jurnal isturi ostatebis sferosken. (76)

Cveni sadisertacio naSromis areal Si moqceul i presis Seswavl am gamokveTa ramdenime Ziri Tadi aspeqti, romel ic figurirebs mTel saanal izo periodSi; pirvel yovlisa, mudmivi yuradRebis centrSi: **saxel isufl o brZol ebi, destabilizaciis Tema, sagareo faqtorebis gavl ena qveynis cxovrebaze** (saqarTvel o-ruseTi-aSS), **saarCevno kampaniebi, “vardebis revolucia” da misi Semdgomi rezonansi** da a.S. xazgasmi T aRvnis SnavT, rom mixedvel obaSi gvaqvs ara qveynis sazogadoebri v-pol itikuri aspeqtebis asaxva presaSi, radganac qveynis sazogadoebri v-pol itikuri cxovrebis romel im umni Svnel ovanesi aspeqti SesaZl oa arc iqces presis mTavar aspeqtad da piriqi T.

amTavi Tve unda Sevni SnoT, rom mediis prizmaSi gatarebul i mni Svnel ovani Tu umni Svnel o movl enebi Ziri Tadad mainc saxel isufl o brZol ebi konteqstSi gani xil eba. am Tval sazrisiT erTmaneTTan mWidro kavSirSi a saxel mwifos, xel isufl ebi, prezidentis, postSevardnaZistul i periodis, politikuri speqtris, kancel aria-parlamentis urTierTmi marTebis, saarCevno batal iebisa da sxva sazogadoebri v-pol itikuri Temebis medi aqcentebi; konfl iqtur regionebTan – afxazeTsa da e.w. samxreT oseTTan dakavSi rebul i sainformacio sababebi c umeteswi l ad swored politikur batal iebs ukavSi rdeba. arc qveynis orientaciisa da sagareo urTierTobebis Tematikaa dazRveul i politizebisa da personificirebis tendenci isagan. amdenad, saWi rod mi vi Cni eT disertaciis calke TavSi gagvemaxvi l ebin a yuradReba saxel isufl o brZol ebze, rac arsebi Tad ganapi robebda qveynis sazogadoebri v-pol itikuri vi Tarebis diskurss presaSi. aseve, naSromis yuradRebis areal Si moaqci eT destabilizaciuri procesebi, romel ic xSir SemTxvevaSi arc ganvi Tarebul a, magram sainformacio fonis Semzadeba aqturad mndinareobda (magal iTad, “saxel mwifo gadatrial ebi” scenarebis ganvi Tareba, panki sSi ruseTis intervenciis safrTxe da a.S.)

mi uxedavad imisa, rom sadisertacio Tema Ti Tqmis 5,5 wel s moi cav da 25-ze meti gamocemis mixedvi T Seqmni l suraTs, wi namdebare naSroms ara aqvs

srul i da, mi T ufro, qronol ogiuri, suraTis Seqmnis pretenzia. Cveni mi zani iyo yuradRebis areal Si mogveqcia is ZiriTadi aspeqtebi, romel Ta erTad Tavmoyra, Cveni azriT, ara mxol od presis, aramed, garkveul wil ad, qveyanaSi mimdinare tendenci ebsac asaxavs. sagul isxmoa erTi garemoebac: sadisertacio TemaSi warmodgeni l i presa, ZiriTadad, Seswavl il ia Tanmimdevrul ad, imave 2000-2005 wl ebSi; presis publ i kaciebis, da, saer Tod, am wl ebis qarTul i masmedi i s bevri aqcenti da matze dayrdnobi T ganvi Tarebul i prognozebi, drois axl andel i gadasaxedi danac marTebul i Cans; es garemoeba, vfiqrobT, ufro zrdis presis kvl evi s mniSvnel obas saqarTvel osaTvis am umniSvnel ovanesi periodis Seswavl i sa da gaazrebi saTvis.

## Tavi I

### ramdenime zogadi Strixi mediis arsisa da qarTul i presis daxasiaTebisTvis

#### • masobri vi komuni kaci i sa da masmedi i s Taobaze

Tanamedrove masmedi i s bunebi sa da specifi kis, mi si funqci ebi s Camoyal i bebi saTvis arsebi Tia misi arsis gaazreba ara mxol od masobri vi komunikaci ebi s Teori i s, aramed, zogadad, postindustiul i/postmodernistul i epoqi s paradigmebi s konteqstSi. gaazreba imisa, Cvens Tval win rogor Caanacvl a material isturi real oba virtual urma; rogor Seicval a urTierTmarTeba marketingul i urTierTobebi s ganmsazRvrel ma komponentebma (moTxovna produktze ukve mni Svnel ovanwi l ad emyareba ara auci l ebl obasa da saWi roebas, aramed Tavad marketingul i komunikaci ebi s mier warmoSobi moTxovni l ebas).

mosazreba gl obal izaci i s periodis masobri vi komuni kaci i s yovl i s SemZI eobi s Taobaze, Cveni azri T, TandaTan mi Tiur saburvel Si exveva. mi uxedavad imisa, rom masobri vi komuni kaci i s arsi s kvl eva Cveni kompetenci i sa da sadisertacio Temis fargl ebs sci l deba, mocemul i periodis presis anal i zi s marTebul obas mni Svnel ovnad ganapi robebs zogadad Tanamedrove sainformacio si vrci s Tavi sebureba da masmedi i s Sesazl ebl obebi. amdenad, Sevecdebi T mokl ed mimovi xi l oT i s Ziri Tadi maxasi aTebl ebi, romel Ta gaazreba warmodgenas gvi qmni s Tanamedrove medi i s bunebara da dan i Snul ebaze; amasTan, garkveul wi l ad gvexmareba Cvens real obaSi mi mdi nare procesebi s axsnasa da gacnobi erebaSi.

presis funqci i s gansazRvrisas SevecadeT SeZl ebi sdagvarad Tavi mogveyara tradici ul i Sexedul ebebi sa da Sedarebi T axal i gansazRvrebisaTvis. Tu pi rvel i nakadi presas masobri vi informaci i s, Jurnal istikis sistemi s Semadgenel nawi l ad mi i Cnevs, meore \_ masobri vi komunikaci i s saSual ebaTa nawi l ad. marTal i a, cneba "masobri vi" orivegan figurirebs da "informaci i s" cnebac "komunikaci i s" fundamentia, magram zogierTi mkvl evari maT Soris mkveTr mij nas avl ebs, zogi ki identur, an Ti Tqm i s identur cnebebad mi i Cnevs. (15; 21; 22; 57; 66; 67)

"media, masmedia, masobrivi informaciis saSual eban i da masobrivi komunikaciis saSual eban i umeteswi ad paral el ur cnebebad gamoi yeneba", \_ aRni Snul ia revaz surgul azisa da el dar iberis wignSi "masobrivi komunikacia" (66, 21), romel Sic Sej erebul ia masobrivi komunikaciis Tanamedrove Teoriebis Ziri Tadi koncefci ebi, \_ "termini "masobrivi komunikaciis saSual eban i" ufro srul ad gamoxatavs Tanamedrove presis, radiosha da tel eviziis social ur funqciebs, Tumca, angari Sgasawevia is mosazrebac, rom "Jurnal istikis" cnebas ufro "masobrivi informaciis saSual ebebi" Seesabameba. (saer Tod ki, Tu bol omde I ogikuri viqnebiT, unda vaRiaroT, rom "masobrivi komunikaciis saSual eban i" ufro zogadi, saer To cnebaa, xol o "masobrivi informaciis saSual eban i" misi is arsebiTi nawil ia, romel sac informaciis periodul i da operatiul i gavrcel eba eval eba)." (66, 21)

"rit gansxvavdeba Jurnal istika komunikaci ebi s sxva formebi sagan da raris misi Zi reul i sawyi sebi" \_ am probl emis garkveva dai saxes amocanad 1997 wl is ivni sSi, harvardis kl ubSi Sekrebil ma aSS-is wamyvani medi asaSual ebebi s gavl enianma warmomadgenl ebma da Jurnal istikis mowinave special istebma. "probl emi is aris, rom dRes mowmeni varT Jurnal istikis gaTqefisa komunikaci ebi s ufro did samyarosi. Cven unda vecadoT, rom Jurnal istika kvl av gamovyoT am didi samyarodan", \_ ase Seaj ama diskusia kol umbi is universitetis profesorma j ei ms kerim." (34, 11-12)

Jurnal isti paata nacvl i Svi l i, Tavis sadisertacio naSromSi \_ "qarTul i Jurnal istikis genezisisaTvis" sainteresod xsnis marSal makl uenis cnobil i formul is \_ "**The Medium is the message**" \_ arss (amasTan, misi Targmani \_ "mediumi aris mesiji" ufro zustad gamoxatavs makl uenis koncefci as, vidre misi qarTul i Sesatyvisi \_ "saSual eba aris Setyobineba"): "medi umi, anu komunikaciis saSual eba, Tavad aris mesiji (Setyobineba, ambavi, Sinaarsi) im Tval sazrisiT, rom igi gansazRvrav s da gamoxatavs drois ama Tu im konkretul monakveTSi social uri organizaciis princips, gvevi neba rogorc pirovnul i, ise sazogadoebrivi aRqmisi generatorad. sensorul i bal ansi s Secvl a xdeba Sinaarsi sagan damouki debi ad, komunikaciis erTi saSual ebi dan meoreze gadasvl is Sedegad da Sesabamisad. ase, rom makl uenis es cnobil i formul a SeiZl eba amgvaradac iqnas gagebul i: "masobrivi informaciis saSual eba Tavad aris informacia" da aqedan \_ gacil ebi T mni Snel ovani a aris, ra informacias gawdian, aramed is, vin gawdis, sad, rogor, da ra saSual ebi T; da ki dev ufro martivad \_ forma aris Sinaarsi." (54, 19)

komunikaciis saSual ebis arsisa da gavl enis gadmosacemad makl ueni ganmartavs: "komunikaciis saSual ebis gavl ena ZI ieri da intensiuri xdeba swored imis wyal obiT, rom mas "Sinaarsi" saxiT eZI eva i sev komunikaciis romel i me sxva saSual eba." (magal iTad, kinofil miS Sinaarsia romani, piesa an opera). (47, 22)

am postul atis gaazreba, Cveni azriT, uaRresad mniSvnel ovani a ara mxol od mediis/masobrivi komunikaciis/masobrivi informaciis rTul i da wi naaRmdegobrivi bunebis asaxsnel ad da gadmosacemad, aramed maTi dani Snul ebi sa da funqiebis gansazRvr i sTvisac. Tavs ufl ebas mi vcemT, masmedi asTan mi marTebSi makl uenis es mravl ismomcvel i "formul a" amgvarad davakonkretoT \_ Jurnal istika (misi ganStoebebiT) i sevea masobrivi komunikaciis saSual ebebis Sinaarsi, rogorc reklama, garTobis industria da a.S. aqedan gamodinare, advil i asaxsnel ia da al ogikurad aRar moCans "Jurnal istikis gaTqvefa komunikaciebis ufro did samyaroSi", masobrivi informaciis saSual ebaTa mTavar funqciad garTobis miCneva da sxva amgvari daskvna Tu Tval sazrisi, romel Ta erTi nawi l is moxmoba Cvens naSromSi c vcadeT; radgan am fonze ufro marTebul ia gaanal izeba, ganvi Tarebis ra stadiazea qarTul i presa, Sesabami sad \_ misi perspektivis gaazrebac.

masmediis SesaZI ebl obebze, mis funqiebsa da zemoqmedebis xarisxze msj el obisas i sev makl uens moSvel i ebT. wi gnSi, "mediis gageba", i gi wers, rom papi pius XII did mniSvnel obas ani Webda komunikaciis Tanamedrove saSual ebaTa seriozul i kvl evi s aucil ebl obas. 1950 wel s mas ubrZanebi a: "gadaWarbebul i ar iqneba Tu vi tyviT, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebis momaval i da misi Sinagani cxovrebis stabil uroba didwil adaa damoki debul i wonasworobi s Senarcunebaze \_ komunikaciis saSual ebaTa teqni kur simZI avreebsa da adami anis individual ur aRqmas/reaqci as Soris." (47, 25) makl uenis komentariT, saukuneebis manZi l ze am wonasworobi s Senarcunebi s uunaroba, komunikaciis saSual ebaTa zemoqmedebis qvecnobi erad da morci l ad miReba adami anebs maT "ukedl ebo tyveebad" aqcevda. (46, 181)

sazogadoebasa da individuali masobrivi komunikaciis total uri zemoqmedebis damkvidreb ul i Sexedul ebi s paral el urad, mkvl evarebi (sociol ogebi, fsiqol ogebi, fil osofosebi, kul turol ogebi...) sul ufro metad amaxvil eben yuradRebas ukuprocesze, masobrivi komunikaciis demasi fikaciis tendenciis gaCenaze (samomavl od, ufro gaZI ierebaze)

el vin tofl eri, cnobil i amerikel i sociol ogi da futurol ogi (Tavdapi rvel ad, Jurnal isti) Tavis naSromis \_ "mesame tal Ris" erT-erT Tavs

swored ase asaTaurebs \_ "masobrivi informaciis saSual ebaTa demasiifikasiacia". tofl eri ayal i bebs axal i, mesame tal Ris zeindustriul i civil izaciis (pirvel i tal Ra \_ agrarul i civilizacia, meore \_ industriul i) ni Snebs, gamowvevebs, safrTxeebs... es civilizacia ukve radikal urad cvl is industriul i civilizaciis masobrivi informaciis saSual ebaTa mier masobrivi cnobierebaSi Canergil unificirebul saxebs/xatebs da qcevis standartebs. magal i Tad, videoTamaSebi ara mxol od angrevs tel eauditorii masivs, aramed mil ionobiT adami ans aswavl is tel evizorTan TamaSs, misTvis "pasuxis gacemas", masze zemoqmedebas. es erTgvari varj iSi a, romel ic el eqtronul samyaroSi cxovrebisTvis gvamzadebs. am procesSi informaciis pasiuri mimRebi dan adami ani informaciis gamgzavni/gadamcemi xdeba da axl a is manipuli rebs tel evizoriT. video ki Ti Toeul momxmarebel s saSual ebas aZI evs Tavad iyos sakuTari produqciisa da sakuTari "saxeebis" Semqmnel i. ase rom, Zi evamosili tel eviziis tradiciul i masobrivi auditoria meCxeerdeba, demasifikasiredeba. (68, 22-26)

tofl eris "mesame tal Ris" daweridan or aTeul wel ze meti gavi da. masobrivi informaciis saSual ebebi jer i sev inarcuneben aqtual obas, magram yvel a sasicocxl o sferos kompiuterizacia, interneti marTi ac TandaTan aRrmavebs maT demasifikasiias. komunikativistebi da Jurnal istiki s mkvl evarebic varaudoben, rom moTxovni l ebebi Cveul ebriv masobrivi informaciul saSual ebebze TandaTan Semcirdeba da adgil s dauTmobs individual videos ufro daxvewi l interaqtiur saSual ebebs; rom axal i teqnologiebis bazaze warmqmnil i mul timedia (romel ic Sei Tavsebs Jurnal-gazeTebis, tel eviziis, radios, qsel uri gamocemebis SesaZI ebl obebs) adami ans saSual ebas miscems mocemul momentsi Tavad Searcios da mi iRos misi interesis da saWiroebis Sesabamisi informacia, teqsti, gamosaxul eba - bevduri, vizual uri Tu xmovani. (66, 21; 15, 267-271)

XIX saukunis SuaxanebSi bal zaki werda: "Jurnal izmi... Tanamedrove sazogadoebis rel iglaa"; "...Cven, RmerTi nefistofel is namdvi l ma mimdevrebma, ijariiT avi ReT sazogadoebrivi azris SeRebva..." (4, 66-68). faqtobrivid, am ironiul i fraziT bal zakma Jurnal istiki s/masmediis is umTavresi funqcia Camoayal iba, romel sac mTel i am saukunenaxevris ganmavl obaSi aqtual oba ar daukar gavs, oRondac transformirdeboda \_ sazogadoebrivi azris Seqmna/warmar Tva/manipul ireba...

masmediis funqciebis gansazRvrisas Ti Tqmis yvel a Tval sazrisSi saerToa postul ati, rom media unda emsaxurebodes sazogadoebas. adami anis

ufI ebaTa dacvis evropul ma sasamarTI om daadgina, rom presis Tavisufl ebas sagangebo dacva swirdeba, imisaTvis rom mas hqondes saSual eba Seasrul os "sazogadoebri vi guSagis sasicocxl od aucil ebel i rol i" da "gaavrcel os sazogadoebri vi interesis Semcvel i informacia." (35, 164)

gazeTebis msofl io asociaciis kvl evisa da informaciis marTvis ganyofil ebis direktori, tatiana repkova, masmediis funqciis gansazRvriras, sazogadoebis "modaraj e nagazis" (repkovas wignSi, "nagazis" nacvl ad, "ZaRI i" gvxddeba; al baT, Targmanis xarvezia, \_ l.k) rol s ase akonkretebs: "presisgan, romel sac xel i sufl ebis meoTxe sayrdens uwodeben, el ian, rom is metval yureobas gauwevs xel i sufl ebis sakanonmdebl o, aRmasrul ebel da sasamarTI o Stoeb (Sesabami sad \_ parlaments, mTavrobasa da sasamarTI os) da maT mi er xel i sufl ebis arakeTil sindiserad gamoyenebis nebi smi er SemTxvevas gamoamzeurebs." (62, 7-8)

mediis frangi mkvl evari, kl od-Jan bertrani masmediis eqvs funqciis gamoyofs:

1. **metval yureoba** (mediis funqciaa informaciis moZieba, gafil tvra, gaanal izeba, interpretireba da Semdgom misi gavrcel eba yvel asaTvis gasageb enaze. kerZod, medi am arCevnebs Soris drois interval Si Tval yuri unda adevnos sami pol itikuri saxel i sufl o Stos (aRmasrul ebel i, sakanonmdebl o da sasamarTI o) saqmi anobas);
2. **sazogadoebri vi komunikaciis uzrunvel yofa** (media warmoadgens saj aro forums debatebisTvis);
3. **msofl ios axal i ambebiT uzrunvel yofa;**
4. **kul turis gavrcel eba;**
5. **garToba;**
6. **gayidva** (media reklamis gavrcel ebis mTavari saSual ebba). (11, 23-25)

amerikel i pol itol ogebi, wignis \_ "amerikul i demokratiis" avtorebi (genet j anda, jefri m. beri, jeri gol dmeni) mi i Cneven, rom "masobri vi saSual ebebis mTavari funqcia garTobaa. Tumca, isini, aseve, asrul eben pol itikur funciebs: gadmoscemen axal ambebs, ukeTeben maT komentars, gavl enas axdenen moqal aqeta Sexedul ebebze, pol itikur dRis wesrigze da mosaxl eobis pol itikur social izaciaze." (77, 151)

mokl ed SevCer debiT masmediis rol ze samTavrobo komunikaci aSi. "aRmasrul ebel i xel i sufl ebis sazogadoebasTan urTi erTobis germanul model Si" erT-erTi qveTavi asea dasaTaurebul i \_ "marTva Tanamedrove masmediis pi robebSi", rac TavisTavad mi ani Snebs imaze, rom media gani xi l eba

ara samTavrobo komunikaciis konteqstSi, aramed piriqiT \_ samTavrobo komunikaci a gani xil eba mediis konteqstSi: "msofl i oSi m i mdinare yvel a saj aro movl ena mediis mier muSavdeba, amitom pol i tiki s monawil eni cdil oben pol i tiki ri si namdvi l is medial ur konstruqci a da misi TamaSi s wesebs m i esadagon." (3, 10) aqve gansazRvrul ia mediis funcia saj aro azris Camoyal i bebaSi: "... media pol i tiki ri monawil eebisa da komunikaciis simbol ur garemos qmnis: agebs pol i tiki r real obas, romel ic Tanabrad Tval saCinoa, rogorc moqal aqeebis, ise pol i tiki ri monawil eebisTvis da yovel dRiur kontaqts amyarebs politikasTan. pol i tiki sebi, biurokratebi, interesTa gamomxatvel ebi, erTmaneTs mediis saSual ebiT swavl oben... media adgens standarts, roml is mi xedvi Tac moqal aqeebi pol i tiki r monawil eebis afaseben." (3, 11-12)

saxel mZRvanel oSi \_ "saparl amento kontrol i usafrTxoebis seqtorze: principi pebi, meqani zmebi da praqtika" (parl amentTaSorisi kavSi risa (IPU) da SeiaraRebul Zal ebze demokratiul i kontrol is Jenevis centris (DCAF) mier gamocemul i) ganxi l ul ia mediis damoki debul eba **usafrTxoebis seqtoris mimarT** da parl amentis mier mediis faqtoris gamoyenebis mni Svnel oba; aRni Snul ia mediis wl il i xel i sufl ebis sami Stos gakontrol ebaSi, misi gavl ena saj aro debatebis Sinaarsisa da saki Txebis priorit etul obis gansazRvraSi da a.S. movixmobT ci tatas, romel ic gansakuTrebiT sayuradReboa saqarTvel os real obisTvis: "im qveynebSi, sadac media damoki debul ia samTavrobo institutebze, igi gacil ebiT ufro xSirad xdeba mmarTvel Ta propagandistul i miznebis msxverpl i. amgvar vi TarebaSi media ar war moadgens usafrTxoebis seqtorze demokratiul i kontrol is da gamWvirval obis uzrunvel myof erT-erT instruments." (63, 39)

masmediis arsis zogadi mimo xil vis am mcdel obas davasrul ebT misi zemoqmedebis fenomenis axsnis ki dev erTi rakursiT. cnobil i frangi moazrovne, "postmodernis gurud" wodebul i Jan bodriari, pirvel i ve wi gnSi "saganTa sistema" (pirvel ad gamoica 1968 wel s), mTI i anad masmediis zemoqmedebis "specifiur I ogikas" rekl amis zemoqmedebis identurad m i Cnevs da mas "Tovl is papis" I ogikas/fenomens uwodebs: Cven gwams ara rekl ami rebul i saqonl is Rirseba, aramed gwams rekl ama, romel ic Cvens darwmunebas cdil obs. momxmarebel ze gadamwyvet zemoqmedebas axdens ara rekl amis ritorikul i an informaciul i diskursi saqonl is RirsebaTa Sesaxeb; individi mgrZhobi area im naboZebi mzrunvel obisa da dacul obis farul i motivebis mimarT, romel sac "sxvebi" i Cenen misi darwmunebi sa da

gadabi rebi sTvi s. aqedan momdinareobs rekl ami s/masmedi i s savsebi T real uri qmedi Toba \_ misi I ogika ara mxol od STagonebis da refl eqsis I ogikaa, aramed aranakl eb mkacri I ogika rwmenisa da regresi i s. (9)

Cveni azri T, "regresia" am konteqstSi moxmobil ia ara "ukusvl i s", aramed im mni Svenel obiT, roml iTac i gi stil istikaSi aRni Snavs si tyvaTa ukuwyobas: anu, rekl ami rebul saqonel s vyidul obT ara imitom, rom rekl amam dagvarwmuna mis RirsebebSi, aramed, imitom rom "gywams rekl ama, romel ic Cvens darwmunebas cdil obs". i give exeba masmedi i s zemoqmedebasac; mis produqci as \_ informaci as, movi xmarT da vendobi T ara imitom, rom eWvmitanl ad gvjera yvel a informaci i s, aramed imitom, rom gywams masmedi i s, "romel ic Cvens darwmunebas cdil obs".

Ti tqos paradoqsia, rom im viTarebaSi, roca momxmarebel s ar sj era rekl ami s, i ci s misi mzakvrul i xasi aTi, is mainc yidul obs rekl ami rebul saqonel s; ufro meti c, rekl ama mas uCens moTxovni l ebas (Sesabami sad, moTxovnasac) i seT saqonel ze, romel ic xSi rad arc sawiroa misTvis, arc aucil ebel i da arc xel misawvdomi. Tvisobrivi gansxvaveba marTI ac ar aris masmedi as Tan mimarTebaSi \_ mas akritikeben, ar endobian, i cian, rom umeteswi l ad misi informacia emyareba subieqtur intrepretaciebs da ara ambis/movl enis amsaxvel faqtebs, magram, miuxedavad amisa, aratu moi xmar en masmedi i s produqts, aramed, cnobierad Tu qvecnobierad, emorci l ebian ki dec sainformacio inJineri i T model irebul "real obas" da Tavadac aqtiurad monawi l eoben mis SeqmnaSi.

erTi mxriv, usafri Txoebi s, dacul obi s Segrzneba (9, 34), romel sac badebs informaci i s fl oba da, meore mxriv, avtoritetul i azris gavl enis, sxvaTa azris damowmebis faqtori (73), saTanado vel s qmnis individuali Tu masebSi masmedi i sadmi rwmenis ganwyobi s Sesaqmnel ad. e.w. avtoritetul i, gavl eniani medi i s cnebac amas adasturebs: adami anebs swirdebaT avtoritetul i dadastureba/uaryofa/koreqcia TavianTi azrebi sa da Sexedul ebebi sa, an, sxvaTa azrisa da Sexedul ebebi s gaTval i swineba.

- axal i aTaswl eul i qarTul i medi i s zogadi Strixebi

dise rati i s am nawi l Si Sevecdebi T war movaCinoT, ra rol i ganesazRvra qarTul medias gardamaval periodSi, rogor Seesabameboda i s misTvis daki srebul funqci as; rogori iyo aTaswl eul i s damdegis da "vardebi s revolu ci i s" periodis media, ra kl i Seebsa da stereotipebs qmni da am periodis

presa; ra parametreib T gani sazRvreba, saer Tod, medi i s Tavisufi eba da damouki debi oba, raa saer To da ganmasxvavebel i am Tval sazri si T ganvi Tarebul demokratiebsa da qarTul si namdvil es Soris.

masmedi i s Tavisufi ebi s xarisxi queyni s demokratiul obi s barometrad i Tvl eba; ami tom, ucxoel i damkvi rvebl ebica da qarTvel i eqsper tebic saqarTvel oSi demokrati i s ganvi Tarebis procesis erT-erT mTavar maCvenebl ad Tavisufal i medi i s arsebobas asaxel ebdnen. oRondac, unda dava konkretoT, rom umTavresad cneba "Tavisufal i media" gamoi yeneboda, da inerci i T dRemde ase grZel deba, "si tyvi s Tavisufi ebi s" Tanabarzomier cnebad.

propagandistul i wnexis, partiul i da saxel mwifo diqtatisa da cenzuri sagan si tyvi s gaTavisufi ebi s Tavdapi rvel i etapi, qarTul ma medi am marTi ac sakmaod warmatebul ad ganvl o; magram am pirvel etaps unda mohyol oda medi i s mier finansuri da sare daqcio damouki debi obi s mopovebi s, si tyvi s Tavisufi ebasTan pasuxismgebl obi s Sexamebi s, profesiul i standartebi s damkvi drebi s da a.S. etapebi, roml i s gareSec "Tavisufal i media" mxol od formal uri cnebaa.

saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo sazogadoebi s ganvi Tarebi sadmi mi ZRvni I kvl evaSi pol i tol ogi gia nodia i yenebs definicias "damouki debel i media". amTavi Tve vi tyvi T, rom Tavi si WeSmari ti mni Svnel obi T es gansazRvreba qarTul medias namdvil ad ar miesadageba da es kargad Cans Tundac sadi sertacio naSromSi warmodgeni l i presis analizi Tac. Tumca, i gi gamoxatavs gansxvavebas sabWoTa da postsabWoTa periodis saqarTvel os (anu, dekl arinebul ad damouki debel i) medias Soris da, rogorc Cans, am Sinaarss deben masSi qarTvel i Tu ucxoel i Semfasebl ebi.

gia nodia aRni Snavs, rom: "**damouki debel i media**, i seve rogorc arasamTavrobo organi zaci ebi, saqarTvel oSi damouki debi obi s da demokratiul i institutebi s ganvi TarebasTan erTad Sei qmna. rogorc erTi s, i se meoris Casaxva paral el urad xdeboda 1980-i ani wl ebi s bol odan. **maTi warmateba** saqarTvel oSi, erTi mxriv, uSual od damoki debul ia liberaluri institutebi s ganvi Tarebis doneze; meore mxriv ki, amgvari ganvi Tarebis umTavresi indikatoria. rodesac bol o 10-15 wl i s manZi l ze saqarTvel oSi demokrati i s ganvi Tarebis Sedarebi T warmatebebze I aparakobden, upirvel es yovl i sa, swored medi i s da mesame seqtoris ganvi Tareba mohyavdaT amis yvel aze Tval saCino sabuTad. meore mxriv, rodesac "vardebis revol uci i s" Semdeg gaxSirda wuxi l ebi i mis gamo, rom revol uci am demokrati i s ganvi Tareba ki ara, misi garkveul i Sesusteba moi tana, amis erT-erT Zi ri Tad

gamoxatul ebas swored mediaSi pl ural izmis Sesusteba da mesame seqtoris aqtivobis da rol is daqvei TebaSi xedaven." (56, 48)

"vardebis revol uciis" Semdgom periodSi, martI ac, erTgvarad damuxruWda qarTul i masmediis ganvi Tareba. "vardebis revol uciia", qveynis demokratiul i ganvi Tarebisa da dasavluri Rirebul ebebis damkvidrebis ufro maRal fazasi gadasvl is dekl arirebiT, am procesisTvis stimul is mimcemi da xel isSemwyobi unda gamxdariyo. magram moxda piriqiT. Tumc, pl ural izmis Sesusteba, razec gia nodia amaxvil ebs yuradRebas, tel emediis magal iTze ufro Tval Si sacemia. presam (mi uxavedavd imisa, rom "vardebis revol uciis" Semdeg, sxvadasxva mizeziT, drois garkveul i interval iT, daixura iseTi Tval sacino gazeTebi, rogoric iyo "dil is gazeTi", "axal i epoqa", "mTavari gazeTi", "xval indel i dRe"), tel eviziasTan SedarebiT, mainc SeZl o garkveul i mral ferovnebisa da sakuTari poziciis Senarcuneba.

amdenad, saanal izo periodis presa pirobi Tad Sei Zl eba gavyoT "vardebis revol uciamde" da "vardebis revol uciis" Semdgom periodad. Tumc, es dayofa ar iqneba mxol od pirobiTi. Jurnal isti ia anTaZe (roml is anal itikuri publ i kaciebi gamorceul ia qarTul mediaSi), ayal i bebs arsebiT gansxvavebas, gamoxatul s xel isufi ebis, mediasaSual ebis mfl obel isa da Jurnal istebis urTierTmi marTebis Secvl iT: "revol uciamde ramdenime wl iT adrec da revol uciis dReebSic mediamfl obel i dainteresebul i iyo korufciasI Cafi ul i, dauZl urebul i xel isufi ebis real uri saxiS CvenebiT da Jurnal istebisagan iTxovda simartI es da mxol od simartI es. maSin Jurnal istebi, TavianT mediamfl obel Tan erTad, qmni dnen Sekrul gunds, romel ic Tavdauzogavad utevda xel isufi ebas. Tu warmovidgenT samkuTxeds, wveriT zeviT, xel isufi eba swored am wverze iyo ganTavsebul i, mediamfl obel i da Jurnal istebi ki qveda or kuTxeSi iyvnen "gamagrebul ni" erTmaneTis gverdiT da erTiani Zal iT ebrZodnen SevardnaZes Tu mis garemocvas.

revol uciis Semdeg samkuTxedi amoyiravda da daeSva wveriT qeviT. zeda or kuTxeSi erTmaneTis gverdiT moxvdnen xel isufi eba da mediamfl obel i, qveda wverSi ki aRmoCnda daucvel i Jurnal isti, romel sac es ori didi Zal a \_ erT gundad gaerTianebul i xel isufi eba da mediamfl obel i \_ gausaZl is tvirTad daawwa mxrebze." (1, 15)

\*

mocemul i periodis presis daxasi aTeba ar iqneba marTebul i misi winare periodi sagan gancal kevebiT. "80-ian iwl ebiS bol os da 90-ian iwl ebiS

dasawyis s presaSi si tyvis Tavi sufl eba Ziri Tadad politikuri movl enebis kritikul gaSuqebaSi gamoi xata da 1997-98 wl ebamde aseTad darCa. Tumca, gaçnda yviTel i presac, magram politikuri da yviTel i presa erTmaneTSi arareul a", \_ gigi TevzaZe am mosazrebis ganvi Tarebisas eyrdnoba giga bokerias, givi TargamaZisa da I evan ramiSvil is naSroms \_ "saqarTvel os presa 90-i an wl ebSi. nabij i Tavi sufl ebi saken". (24, 21). gigi TevzaZe, rogorc samoqal aqo seqtoris erT-erTi aqturi warmomadgenel i da, am SemTxvevaSi, demokratiul inovaciaTa centris mier Catarebil i kvl evis (presaSi profesiul i standartebisa da eTikuri normebis dacvis Ziri Tadi tendenci ebi) monawille da Semaj amebel i statiis avtori, analizebs postsabWoTa presis etapebs \_ samoqal aqo sazogadoebis garemodan → biznes garemoSi → saxel i sufl o sivrcesi. movi xmobT vrcel ci tatas, romel ic kargad axasi aTeb 90-i ani wl ebi s miwurul i sa da 2000-i anis damdegis qarTul presas.

"paradoqsia, rom 1990-1998 wl ebSi gazeTebis tiraji Semci nda. Tuki 80-i ani wl ebi s bol os yvel aze popul arul i gazeTis "dronis" dRiuri tiraji 30 aTass aWarbebda, 98 wl i saTvis saqarTvel oSi gamomaval i yvel a gazeTis dRiuri tiraji erTad 20-25 aTass Zi i vs Seadgenda. am paradoqsis axsna Sesazi ebel ia SemdegSi mdgomareobdes: presam daaRwi a Tavi komunisturi xel i sufl ebi s diqtats da social uri nisa im dros Camoyal i bebis procesSi myof samoqal aqo sazogadoebaSi ipova. es periodi (1990-1998) gamoirceva demokratiul i presis ganvi Tarebis xel Semwyobi grantebiT, treiningebiT. rogorc saqarTvel os samoqal aqo sazogadoebam, aseve demokratiul i qveynebis mTavrobebeba yvel aferi gaakeTes imisaTvis, rom saqarTvel os beWdvi Ti media samoqal aqo sazogadoebis nawil i gamxdariyo. (24, 21-22)... Sedegad, 97-98 wl ebSi mi vi ReT mciretirajiani, magram demokratiul i politikuri presa, romel ic erTmni Svnel ovnad aRiardebda demokratiul Rirebul ebebs da samoqal aqo sazogadoebis ganuyofel i nawil i iyo... gamomdinare samoqal aqo sazogadoebis simciridan, SeuZi ebel ic iyo meti tirajis mol odini gvqonoda. amitom, aqtual urad iqca beWdvi Ti mediis biznesad qcevis saki Tx. demokratiis erT-erTi mTavar i gamowveva dRevandel saqarTvel oSi is aris, rom vera da ver moxerxda biznesis gamoyvana xel i sufl ebi s garemodan da samoqal aqo sazogadoebis nawil ad qceva... beWdvi Ti mediis ganvi TarebaSi es procesi sagranto dabandebis Semci rebi T da politikuri (politikosebis) kapital is gazrdiT gamoi xata... samoqal aqo sazogadoebis garemodan biznes garemoSi moxvedril i beWdvi Ti media saxel i sufl ebo sivrcesi aRmoçnda." (24, 24)

swored beWdvi Ti medi i s bi znesad qcevis procesma gaaCi na qarTul presaSi "mral pol arul i" gazeTebi, rac srul i adac ar ni Snavs pl ural istur wonasworobas. rogorc g.TevzaZe wers, "es gamoi xateboda ara imiT, rom erT gazeTSi urTi erTsawinaaRmdego fil osofi i s mqone statiebi i beWdeboda, aramed imiT, rom erTsa da imave gazeTSi sxvadasxva stil i sa da paTosis statia erTmaneTis gverdiT iyo moTavsebul i \_ dawyebul i anal i tikiT, damTavrebul i srul i ad "yiTel i" weris stil iT... gansxvavebul i stil i ara erTi gazeTis, aramed erTi statiis fargl ebSi airia gazeTis magivrad, sagazeTo statia gaxda mral pol arul i da pol i diskursul i." (24, 22-23)

Sedegad, gazeTebis mral ricxovnebis mi uxedavad, ver Camoyal i bda mral pol arul i presa; cal keul i gazeTi gaxda erTbaSad yvel a saxi s mki Txvel ze gaTvl il i (oRondac, stiqiurad, zogadad audi toriisa da mki Txvel Ta kategoriis moTxovni l ebaTa Seswavl is gareSe). profesional izmis deficitis pirobebSi, mki Txvel Ta yuradRebis mi zidvas presa sensaciuri Seferil obis publ i kaci ebiT, skandal ebiT, e.w. kul uarul i informaciebiT cdil obda. amasTan, erTi mxriv, presaSi politikuri (pol i tikoebis) kapital i s dabandebam, meore mxriv, gazeTebis gayidvi sa da tirajis gazrdi s aucil ebl obam, maqsimal urad gazarda presis politizebis xarisxi da igi arsebiTad xel i sufl ebisaTvis brZol i s interess dauqvemdebara. kul turol ogi l el a iakobiSvi l i aRni Snavs, rom 2003 wl amde gacil ebiT adre "qarTul i kul turis reJimi politikur batal iebze gadaerTo", xol o 2003-i s noembris satel evizio sanaxaobebma "sainformacio uzrunvel yofis iseTi srul yofil eba SemogvTavaza, Tavad informaciul i civilizaciis Semoqmedsac rom SeSurdeboda." (26, 33-39)

es Sefaseba presasac kargad esadageba, im gansxvavebiT, rom mas, tel eviziastan SedarebiT, zemoqmedebis nakl ebi efeqti da areal i aqvs; Tumc, saerTo j amSi, presam, tel eviziastan unisonSi, Seamzada ni adagi postSevardnaZi stul epoqaSi "xaverdovani" gadasvl i sTvis; Semdgom ki tel e da beWduri medi i s gzebi erTmaneTs sagrZnobad dascil da.

"vardebis revol uci i s" Semdeg presaSi gaCnda terminebi "satel evizio mmartvel oba", "tel exel i sufl eba", rac pi rdapir miani Snebs imaze, rom axal i xel i sufl eba (pirvel rigSi \_ prezidenti) warmatebiT i yenebs tel eviziis Sesazi ebl obebs piarisa da propagandi sTvis; meore mxriv, presa permanentul ad a protestebs tel emedi i s prioritetur obasa da beWduri medi i s ignorirebas. "dil i s gazeTis" mTavari redaqtori, manana kartozia, bol o nomris

sare daqci o statiaSi, "ki Txvi sunariani xel isufi ebisa da yi dvi sunariani mki Txvel is" survil i Ta da imediT daemSvi doba mki Txvel s. gazeT "al ias", I ogos gverdiT, wamZRvarebul i aqvs prezident mi xeil saakaSvi l is si tyvebi "pi r dapi r minda gi TxraT gul wrfel ad, rom me qarTul gazeTebs Ti Tqmis ar vki Txul ob... samwuxarod, maTi done, didi i Svi aTi gamonakl i sebi s garda, Zal ian dabal ia." (2005 wl is dekemberi)

i sic unda aRni Snos, rom tel emedi i sadmi xel isufi ebis "gansakuTrebui i damoki debul eba", Ziri Tadad, misi Tavi sufl ebis areal is maqsimal ur SezRudvasa da kontrol Si gamoi xateba, presas am mxriv meti Tavi sufl eba aqvs, magram, mwiri material uri resursebiT uxdeba arsebobi satvis brZol a. "vardebis revol uci idan" sami Tvis Semdeg, presaSi gamoqveynda gazeTebs msofl io asociaciis mimarTva prezident saakaSvi l isadmi; masSi yuradReba maxvili deba saqarTvel oSi Jurnal istebze zewol i sa da Tavdasxmis fagtebze, rac mediaSi acens **SISIS sindroms** da, Sesabami sad, **Tvi Tcenzuras**. asociacia del ikaturad mi ani Snebs saqarTvel os prezidents Jurnal istebis profesiul i saqmanobis Tvis saTanado pi robebis Seqmnis aucil ebl obaze. ("jorj ian Taimsi", "xval indeli dRe", E26 Teberval i, 2004) amave periodSi "dil is gazeTi" aRni Snavda, rom "**demokratiul i da Ria sazogadoebis** I ozungiT mosul i revol uciuri xel isufi eba presisTvis Ti Tqmis yvel a informacias bl okavs." ("dil is gazeTi", 18.02.2004)

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amgvarad, gamoi kveTa konturebi, rogori iyo qarTul i mediis saxe aTaswi eul ebis mij naze, romel ic umni Svnel ovanesi etapi iyo qveynisa da, Sesabami sad, mediis ganvi Tarebis Tvis zogedad am periodis qarTul i mediis da, konkretul ad, presis, Sefaseba da, Semdgom, saanal izo periodSi (2000-2005 wl ebi) mis Ziri Tad sazogadoebri v-pol itikur aspeqtebze msj el oba, SeuZI ebel ia im parametrebis moSvel iebis gareSe, roml iTac, saer Tod, mediis Tavi sufl ebisa da damouki debi obis xarisxi fasdeba.

Tavi sufl eba da **damouki debi oba** Zal ze zogadi cnebebi a, magram, arsebul i Tval sazrisebis SejerebiT, swored esaa mediis demokratiul obis ganmsazRvrel i umTavresi faqtori. aRarafers vambobT imaze, rom am faqtorebis arsebolas, pirvel rigSi, qveynis demokratiul i ganvi Tarebis done da mediis funqci onirebis Tvis arsebul i garemo-pirobebi ganapi robebs.

mediis Tavi sufl ebisa da damouki debi obis parametrebze msj el oba, upirvel esad, informaciul i sferos marekul irebel normatiul aqtebze (saer TaSori so SeTanxmebebi, konvenciebi, oqmebi, konkretul i qveynis

kanonmdebl oba...) dayrdnobi T vi Tardeba. informaciul i samarTal i urTul es sferod i Tvl eba yvel a demokratiul qveyanaSi; mediis mkvl evarebi da profesional i praqti kosebi, umeteswil ad, mi cneven, rom normatiul i aqtebi gansazRvrav s mediis Tavisufi ebisa da damouki debl obis ufl ebas, magram real obaSi, aratu konkretul i qveyniS, aramed konkretul i mediasaSual ebiS SemTxvevaSi c ki, uaRresad rTul ia dadgena, ras gul isxmobs Tavisufi eba da damouki debl oba da rogor Sei Zi eba misi mi Rweva.

gazeTebis msofl io asociaciis kvl evisa da informaciis marTvis ganyofil ebiS direktori tatiana repkova, roml is gamocdil eba moicavs yofil social istur evropaSi cxovrebasa da Jurnal istad/redaqtorad muSaobasac da Tanamedrove mediis Teoriisa da praqtikis codnasac, erTmaneTs uxamebs mediis Tavisufi ebisa da damouki debl obis romantikul /ideal istur gansazRvrebebsa da pragmatul real obas. saqarTvel os mediasTan mimarTebaSi gansakuTreibiT sayuradReboa gardamaval i demokratiis vi Tareba: "ganvi Tarebad demokratiul qveynebSi damouki debel i mediis Seqmnis pirvel i etapi auci l ebl ad gul isxmobs samTavrobo sakuTreibisgan, kontrol isa da Carevisgan gaTavisufi ebas. si tyva "damouki debel i" ar gaxl avT absol uturad Tvi Tkmari da am SemTxvevaSi arcTu zustad esadageba Tavis pirvel ad semanistikur gansazRvrebas. ganvi Tarebad demokratiul qveynebSi presasTan mimarTebaSi es si tyva, Cveul ebriv, ni Snavs samTavrobo kontrol i sagan damouki debel s. magram es ganmar teba metis metad vi wroa.

i mis gamo, rom ganvi Tarebad demokratiul qveynebSi Jurnal istebs damouki debl obis sakmaod mwiri, an zogj er aranairi gamocdil eba ar gaaCni at, maT xSirad hgoniat, rom xel isufi ebiS kontrol i sgan Tavis daRweva, yvel anairi kontrol i sgan Tavisufi ebas ni Snavs; rom maT aravin akontrol ebs, maT Soris, arc gazeTis mmartvel ebi. samwuxarod, damouki debl obis maTeul i gansazRvreba arareal isturi da gauazrebel ia da, sabol ood, Jurnal istebisTvisve kargi araferi moaqvs. dRevandel rTul samyarosi damouki debl oba srul i verafriT iqneba." (62, 9-10)

mediis Tavisufi ebiS cneba saqarTvel oSiC sakmaod di dxans iyo asociirebul i "yvel afriSgan Tavisufi ebasTan". iqmnебoda STabeWdiI eba, rom Jurnal istebs yvel anairi informaciis mopovebiSa da gavrcel ebiS SeuzRudavi ufl eba aqvT. mediasaSual ebebis mfl obel ebi da Jurnal istebi mtkvneul ad gani cdi dnen normatiul i aqtebis mi Rebas, roml ebic aregul irebs informaciis saj aroobas/sai dumI oobas, saj aro informaciis xel mi sawdomobas, informaciastan daSvebiS ufl ebas da a.S. "saqarTvel os zogadma

admi ni straci ul ma kodeqsma" (mi Rebul ia 1999 wl is 25 ivni ss) sakanonmdebl o doneze mni Svnel ovnad moawesriga saj aro informaci as Tan ur Tier Toba, magram unda i Tqvas, rom, meore mxriv, mediis warmomadgenl ebi xSirad uci odnen, samarTI i anad Tu usamarTI od, xel isSemSI el biurokrati ul barierebs.

cnobi l ingl isur arasamTavrobo organizaciaSi, "artikl 19"-Si gaerTi anebul ma iuristebma Seqmnes da 1993 wel s gamosces unikal uri naSromi, romel Si c gadmocemul i da gaanal izebul ia masmediis samarTI ebrivi regul irebis da Tvi Tregul irebis sferoSi 11 demokrati ul i qveyni s gamocdi l eba (avstria, avstral ia, didi britaneTi, germania, espaneTi, kanada, niderlandebi, norvegi a, aSS, safrangeTi, Svecia); naSromSi, Sedarebi Ti anal izis metodi T, gadmocemul ia ara mxol od arsebul i normebi, aramed maTi gamoyenebi s praqtika, probl emebi sa da winaaRmdegobebi s CaTvl iT. am gamocdi l ebaze dayrdnobi T, Sei ZI eba i Tqvas, rom mraval gvarobisa da gansxvavebebi s mi uxedavad, arsebobs ramdenime Ziri Tadi piroba, romel ic saerToa demokrati ul i qveynebi s Tvis presis Tavi sufl ebi sa da damouki debl obis uzrunvel sayofad: registraci is liberaluri pirobebi (gazeTi s an Jurnal is daarsebi s Tvis araa sawiro mTavrobi s nebar Tva), informaci is saj arooba da xel mi sawdomoba, wyaros konfidencial oba da a.S. yvel aze mTavari da CvenTvis sayuradRebo, rac am naSromSi ikveTebaa, isaa, rom presis pasuxi smgebl obis ganvi Tarebis kval obaze, presasTan dakavSi rebul i konfi iqtebi samarTI ebrivi sferodan Tvi Tregul irebis sferoSi inacvl ebs, rac presis damouki debl obasTan erTad, misi avtoritetisa da prestiJis amaRI ebasac uwyobs xel s. (35)

kanonmdebl obis doneze, rogorc special istebi aRni Snaven, saqarTvel oSi presis Tavi sufl eba da damouki debl oba sakmari sad uzrunvel yofil ia (Tumc, tel emediis SemTxvevaSi, xel isufl eba axerxebs si tuaci is marTvas samauwyebi o licenzebi Ta da sakontrol o paketebi T). 2004 wl is 24 ivni ss, saqarTvel os parlamentis mier mi Rebul ma kanonma "sityvi sa da gamoxatvis Tavi sufl ebi s Sesaxeb", istoriis kuTvnil ebad aqcia "vardebis revol ucamde" arsebul i sasamarTI o praqtika, rodesac medi asaSual ebebs Sefasebi Ti msj el obisa da mamxi l ebel i fagtebis saj arod gacxadebi s Tvis sol idur jarimebs aki srebdnen. saqarTvel os saxal xo damcvel is aparatis mTavari special isti, giorgi gocirize wers, rom "saqarTvel o SeuerTda im qveyanaTa ricxvs, sadac cil i swamebam dekriminalizacia ganicada, anu amgvani qmedebi s Tvis gauqmida sisxl issamarTI ebrivi pasuxi smgebl oba da igi mTI i anad samoqal aqo kanonmdebl obis regul irebis sferoSi moeqca." (14, 28)

ara mxol od saqarTvel os, aramed ganvi Tarebul i demokratiebis praqti ka aCvenebs, rom liberaluri kanonmdebl oba sakmarisi ar aris presis Tavi sufl ebisa da damouki debl obi saTvis. tati ana repkova aRni Snavs, rom "Tavi sufal i da damouki debel i masobrivi informaciis saSual ebebis arseboba SesaZI ebel ia mxol od sxva demokratiul i tradiciebis arsebobasTan erTad." (62, 19) amasTan, igi mi iCnevs, rom profesional izmis dacva gacil ebi T did Zal i sxmevas moi Txovs, vidre damouki debl obisa: "msofl i oSi mi Rebul maval Jurnal isturi qcevis kodeqssa da sakuTar \_ reportoris da redaktoris \_ gamocdi l ebaze dayrdnobi T, xuTi si tyvi T SemiZI ia ganvsazRvro, rogori unda iyo profesional i Jurnal istika: **faqtobrivi, patiosani, mi umxrobel i, yovl ismomcvel i da Tanmi mdevrul i.**" (62, 26)

Tavi sufal i da damouki debel i mediis ganvi TarebisTvis samarTI ebriv garemoze aranakl ebi mni Svnel oba aqvs **biznes-garemos**; marTal ia, media specifiuri biznesia (ufro sworad, igi ar aris mxol od biznesi), magram mis funqci oni rebas arsebi Tad gansazRvrav sabazro kanonebi.

"mTI i anobaSi **media Sei ZI eba ganvi xi l oT, rogorc warmoeba, sazogadoebri vi samsaxuri da, agreTve, pol itikuri instituti...** dRes medias arcerTi zemoxsenebul i maxasiatEbl is ignorireba ar SeuZI ia. Sedigi aris **fundamenturi konfi iqti mewarmeobis Tavisufl ebasa da si tyvis Tavisufl ebas Soris...** am dil emis daZI eva iol i ar aris... mediis mizani ver iqneba mxol od ful is keTeba, i seve rogorc mxol od Tavisufl eba: **Tavisufl eba aucil ebel ia, magram ar aris sakmarisi.** mediis amocanaa **kargad emsaxuros yvel a moqal aqes**", (11, 9-10) \_ frangi mkvl evaris kl od-Jan bertranis mier Camoyal i bebul am formul aSi, faqtobrivad, mocemul ia "samsaxovani" mediis mTavari dil ema \_ misi si tyvis Tavisufl ebi s "ampl ituda" bi znessis Tavisufl ebi s "ampl itudi Tac" isazRvreba da, orive erTad \_ demokratiisa da sabazro ekonomikis ganvi Tarebis xarisxi T. demokratiul saxel mwi foSi, sadac xel i sufl eba xal xis mier arCeuil i da daqiravebul i msaxuria, bunebrivia, medi asac meti SesaZI ebl oba aqvs TavisimTavari amocanis \_ moqal aqeebi sa da sazogadoebis msaxurebis \_ gansaxorciel ebl ad.

saqarTvel oSi, rogorc zemotac aRvnisneT, bi znesi ar aris distancirebul i xel i sufl ebi sgan; presis bi znesad qcevis amocana imi Tac rTul deba, rom isedac mwiri sarekl amo bazari Ti Tqmis mTI i anad el eqtronul mediazea orientirebul i. 2003 wl i stvis sarekl amo bazari uzrunvel yofda mediis Semosaval s wel iwadSi daaxl oebiT 5 ml n aSS dol aris odenobi T, sai danac presis wi l i daaxl oebiT 20% iyo. (52, 65)

rogorc marina musxel i Svi I i aRni Snavs saqarTvel oSi demokratiis ganvi Tarebis Semaj amebel kvl evaSi, saqarTvel os ekonomikaSi didi a Crdil ovani seqtoris wil i; mediac umeteswil ad Crdil ovan seqtorSi funqci onirebs; Jurnal istTa xel fasebi metad dabali a, ris gamoc maRaI i kval i fikaciis kadrebi sxva sferoebSi inacvl eben; amasTan, "iqmneba moj adoebul i wre, rodesac sawyisi Tanxis ararseboba ar iZI eva biznesis ganvi Tarebis Sesazi ebl obas, xol o sawyisi investiciis miReba ukavSi rdeba garkveul i politikuri val debul ebebis aRebas, rac, sabol oo jamSi, produqciis xarisxis daqvei Tebas i wvevs." (52, 65-66) Sesazi oa, swored profesiul i presis ararsebobiT (da ara imdenad mosaxl eobis ekonomikuri siduxwiriT) aixsnas presis dabali tirajebi, rasac sociologiuri gamokvl evebic adasturebs.

biznesgaremos mouwesri gebl oba da materialuri probl emebi presas xSi rad aiZul ebs mimarTos e.w. farul reklamas, SekveTiI statiebs; mki Txvel is yuradRebis misaqcevad informaciaSi faqtebze metad figurirebs "sensaci ur-skandaluri" Seferil obis komentarebi; profesiul i da eTikuri standartebis darRveva Cveul ebrivi movl enaa beWduri gamocemebis umetesobisTvis. yovel i ve es saredaqcio damouki debl obazec uaryofiTad aissaxeba da, rac mTavarria, am viTarebaSi presa aratu emsaxureba moqal aqes, aramed arRvevs misi, rogorc medi amomxmarebl is ufl ebas \_ miRos sando da "ekol ogi urad usafrTxo" produqci a.

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cnobil i germanel i sociologi niki as I umani Tavis wignSi "masmediis real oba" aRni Snavs, rom masmedia "mosazrebebs movl enebze gani xil avs da aSuqebis, rogorc sakutri movl enas" (45, 167); dauzustebel, an mcdar faqtebs masmedia avrcel ebs rogorc namdvi l cnobebs, roml ebi c mudmi vad unda ganaxl des, raTa siyal be SeumCnevel i darcEs. axal i ambebis saxiT gadmocemul i informacia ki ewvmi utanel WeSmaritebad iTvl eba. I umani CamoTvl is kriteriumebs, romel sac iyeneben informaciis axal ambad/ni usad qcevisTvis: informacia axal i unda iyos; upiratesoba eniWeba konfl iqtebs; uaRresad mni Svnel ovani a normebis darRveva, romel ic masmediis interpretaciiT xSi rad skandal is saxes i Rebs da a.s.

qarTul i masmediis interpretaciul xasiaTze yuradRebas amaxvi l ebs sociologi iago kaWkaWiSvi l i; i gi ambobs, rom sainformacio gadacemebis erTmaneTTan Sedareba postmodernul i paradigmis i egitimurobaSi arwmunebs \_ "ar arsebobs real oba TavisTavad. i gi iseTia, rogoradac misi interpretacia

**xdeba.** xol o ramdenadac interpretacia bevria, real obac sxvadasxvanairia... sinamdvili e gawovili a interpretaci aSi." (31) magram raxan sociol ogia emyareba daSvebas rom obieqturi real oba (Tundac empiriuli, anu dro-sivrculi) arsebobs, iago kaWkaWi Svi l i msj el obas ase avi Tarebas: "e.i. Sesazi ebel ia visaubrot **real obis adekvatur da araadekvatur interpretaci aze.**"

Tundac, erTi mxriv, gazeT "saqarTvel os respubli kisa" da, meore mxriv, danarCeni gazeTebis ("al ia", "axal i versia", "rezonansi", "axal i Taoba", "jorjian Tamisi" da ssv.) zedapiruli Sedarebac ki adasturebs am Tval sazriss. 2000-2003 wl ebSi "saqarTvel os respubli kiT" Seqmnili surati ise diametal urad gansxvavdeba sxva gazeTebisagan, rom Znel ia daijero rom es erTi da i give qveynis real obis asaxva. "**saqarTvel os respubli kis**" **medi asuraTi**, **sabWouri inerciIT**, **stabil urobiSa** da **uZraobiS ganwyobas gvi qmniS**, daaxl oebiT aseTi sqemiT \_ "yvel aferi rigzea!", mTavaria "bunti ar i yos"; **danarCeni gazeTebis medi asuraTi**, siWrel is miuxedavad, **mudmi vi destabil izaciisa da nihil izmis ganwyobas amZafrebs**. xol o imis dadgena, romel i medi asaSual ebis interpretaci a real obis adekvaturi, an araadekvaturi, praqtikul ad SeuZI ebel ia.

aseTive mimarTeba iyo am periodSi tel ekompania "pirveli arxisa" da t/k "rusTavi 2"-is mier Seqmnili "interpretaciul real obebs" Soris. am ori medi asaSual ebis Sedareba sxva rami Tacaa sagul isxmo. disertaciis I nawil Si movi xmet maki uenis cnobil i formul a \_ "mediumi aris mesiji". "rusTavi 2" \_ anu mediumi/asaSual eba, erTis mxriv, Tavis komunikaciuri Sesazi ebl oebiT (vgul isxmobT si xSires, dafinansebas, material ur-teqnikur bazas, kadrebs...) ar aRemateboda "pirvel arxs" (mediums/asaSual ebas), magram "**rusTavi 2**", rogorc medi asaSual eba, TavisTavad iyo garkveul i mesiji, erTgvari kodi, romel ic ara mxol od mindinare procesebsa da sazogadoebis ganwyobaze axdenda zegavl enas, aramed, sxva medi asaSual ebebzec.

aqve mokl ed SevexebiT saer Tod "**rusTavi 2"-is** ganskutrebul da, SeiZI eba iTqvas, **eqskl uziur rol s**. j er ki dev 2000 wel s, mediis analizi warmoaCenda amgvar sqemas: sazogadoebri azris aqcentirebis funqcas asrul ebda "rusTavi 2". sainformacio programis \_ "kurieri 9 saatze" anonsi, zedmi wenviT gaTvl illi, politikurad da emociurad damuxtuli, tons aZI evda sainformacio amindis Semqnnel sxva medi asaSual ebebs (pirvel rigSi, "rezonanssa" da "al i as"); "Rami s kurieri" (11 saatze), pl ural izmis dacvis efeqtiT, ostaturad avi Tarebda mTavar aqcentebs. saTanado ganwyobis

Sesaqmnel fons qmni da ara mxol od dRis sainformacio gamoSvebebi, aramed, sxva gadacemebic da arxis strategiul i di zainic.

fil osofosi zaza firal iSvili, romel ic dawrili ebiT exeba mediis rol s 2003 wl is movl enebSi, Rrmad aanal izebs qarTul pol itikur si vrceSi "axal i pol itikuri aqtoris niSis" (romel ic swored "rusTavi 2"-ma dai kava) gaCenis winapi robebs: **gardamaval i xanis sazogadoebi saTvis** damaxasi aTebel ia "swrafad cval ebadi situaci iTa da rTul i social uri mdgomareobiT gamowveul i informaciul i SimSi l is gancda, rac rigiT adami ans total urad damoki debul s xdis el eqtronul i mediis funqcionirebaze... am dros Zi ieria cduneba imisa, rom moxdes el eqtronul i mediis rol is hiperbol izeba, rogorc sazogadoebri ganwyobil ebaTa mar Tvis instrumentisa... sazogadoeba mTI ianad damoki debul i xdeba ara mxol od mediis mier mi wodebul informaci aze, aramed, am informaciis interpretacia zec." (71, 172)

zaza firal iSvili kargad xsnis, rogor iqca "rusTavi 2" ara mxol od umni Svnel ovanes media aqtorad, aramed pol itikur aqtoradac: arxis mesveurebi fl obdnem sainformacio omis strategiaTa codnas; "agresi ul i toni T, ni SanTa sistemis profesional uri gamoyenebi T, Jurnal istiki saTvis auci l ebel i avantiurizmi T TandaTan mi aRwi es **sazogadoebri vi azris ukonkurento kreatorTa mdgomareobas.**" (71, 174-175)

aq, da disertaciis sxva monakve TebSi c.U "rusTavi 2"-is figurineba ganpi robebul ia bol o wl ebis qarTul mediasa da sazogadoebri v-pol itikur cxovrebaze misi udavod didi gavl eni T. amas Tan, qarTul i masmediis ganvi Tarebaze msj el obisas (gansaku Trebi T, "vardebis revol uciis" konteqstSi) ucxoel i Tu qarTvel i eqspertebis aTvl is wertil i tel eviziaa, ufro zustad, "rusTavi 2". garda amisa, rogorc zemoT aRvni SneT, qarTul i presis aqcentebi an pirdapir ukavSi rde boda, an didwil ad iyo ganpi robebul i swored am tel earxis mesij ebi T. zaza firal iSvili aRni Snavs, rom "rusTavi 2"-is mier SemuSavebul i gzavnil ebi, roml ebi c sainformacio gamoSvebebis anonsebSi xmi andeboda, meore dRes Ti Tqmis ucvl el i saxiT gadadi oda gaze TebSi. ufro metic, "rusTavi 2" qmni da movl enaTa im Ri rebul ebi T ierarqiasac, romel sac Semdeg ara mxol od beWdvi Ti saSual ebebi, aramed el eqtronul i mediis sxva aqtorebic i meorebdnen." (71, 174)

2003 wl is mediatendenci ebi s Semaj amebel statiaSi, "Tavi sufl ebi s institutis" war momadgenel s, Tamar kinwura Svil s "rusTavi 2"-is rol i samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis rangSi ayav: "is, rac dasavl eTSi ramdenime wel i wadi a samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis saxel iT iki debs fexs, saqarTvel oSi

gasul i wl is Jurnal istur novaciad iqca... Tu amerikaSi samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis ganvi Tarebis procesSi garkveul i katal izatoris rol i 11 seqtembris tragediamac Seasrul a, saqarTvel oSi anal ogiuri datviriTva 2003 wl is 2 noembiris saparlamento arCevnebs hqonda", \_ wers kinwuraSvi l i da, faqtobrivid, ayal ibebs im kriteriums, roml is wyal obiTac "rusTavi 2" "gamarj vebul i xal xis tel eviziad" iqca: "im viTarebaSi, roca poziciis arqona demokratiul i faseul obebis Ral atis tol fasi iyo, Jurnal istTa erTma nawil ma daarrvia qarTul mediaSi damkvidrebul i stereotipi, Ti Tqos obieqturoba Jurnal istikaSi imis sapi rissiro mtkicebaa, risi ganzraxvac pol itikosebs amoZravebT"; Tumc, ique dasZens, rom "postrevol uciur periodSi misi martooden "gamarj vebul Ta" tel eviziad gadaqcevis saSi Sroeba gaCnda."

amasTan, Tamar kinwuraSvi l i aRni Snavs, rom "sxva revol uciuri Zvrebi" qarTul mediaSi ar Seini Sneba; presaSTan mimar TebaSi ki Zunwi komentariT Semoi fargl eba imis Taobaze, rom zogierTi gamocema mki Txvel ze metad politikosTa viwro j gufzea orientirebul i. (32, 138)

aqedan gamodinare, al ogikurad aRar Cans erTi wl is Semdeg Jurnal "Tavisufi ebis" publ ikaci aSi saqarTvel os samoqal aqo seqtoris warmomadgenel Ta mosazreba, rom saqarTvel oSic unda daiwyos samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis eqsperimenti. anu, "samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis novaci am" ganvi Tareba veRar hpova araTu qarTul mediaSi, aramed Tavad "rusTavi 2"-is Semdegom praqtiKaSi. publ ikaci is avtori merab basil ai a aRni Snavs: saqarTvel os samoqal aqo seqtoris warmomadgenl ebi (roml ebi c basil ai as azriT, arcTu ise mraval ricxovanni arian) iziareben dasavl el mkvl evarTa mosazrebas, rom samoqal aqo Jurnal istika xal xisa da mediis urTierTobis Tvisobrivid axal i etapia da Tvl ian, rom "saqarTvel oSic unda daiwyos samoqal aqo Jurnal istikis eqsperimenti. am eqsperimentis arsi saTqmel ad martivia: Jurnal isti sazogadoebaze unda iyo sorientirebul i. sazogadoeba gacil ebi T mets unda ni Snavdes, vidre sainformacio bazari. Jurnal istma moqal aqeSi unda dai naxos ara informaciis momxmarebel i, aramed, imave sazogadoebis wevri, romel sac Jurnal isti Tavad ekuTvnis. profesiul miukerZoebl obas amofareba da sakuTari poziciis argamJRavneba, arcTu i Svi aTad Tavis motyueba da farisevl obaa." (6, .20)

"vardebis revol uciis" Semdeg, saqarTvel os arasamTavrobo organizaciaTa Tval saCino warmomadgenl oba, amerikis saerTaSoriso ganvi Tarebis saagentos (USAID) iniciativiT, bakurianSi Seikriba qarTul i saxel mwi fos, sazogadoebisa da mesame seqtoris mdgomareobasa da momaval ze

samsj el od. maT mier qarTul i mediis SefasebebSi xsendeba "cenzura", "mediis SezRudva", "dasusteba" da a.S. "gamarj vebul i xal xis tel eviziae" ki naTqvami a: "rusTavi 2" dums imitom, rom iq aris uamravi angarebi ani garigeba." (50, 36)

marTI ac, axal i xel isufl ebis mimarT media uCveul od Semwynarebl uri gaxda, magram es ZiriTadad mainc tel evizi as exeba. "vardebis revol uciis" Semdeg, rogorc aRvni SneT, tel eviziisa da presis gzebi sagrZnobl ad daSoriSorda: tel eviziis sabrzol o paTosi dacxra da wi na pl anze sanaxaobam gadmoiwi a, presam ki Sezl ebi sdagvarad Sei narCuna mi mdi nare movl enebis Sefasebisa da anal izis funqcia saerTod ki, postrevol uciur periodSi safuzvl ianad Seerya safuzvel i mediazeobas, anu mediis yovl isSemZI eobis imij s.

"vardebis revol uci idan" zustad rva Tvis Semdeg gazeT "rezonansSi" gamoqveynda publ ikacia saTauriT "mediis reqviemi postrevol uciur saqarTvel oSi". saTaurSi ukve gacxadebul ia mTavari saTqmeli, romel sac kul turol ogi I el a iakobiSvil i ase ayal i bebs: "Cvens sainformacio sivrcesi srul i dabneul obaa; TiTqosda cocxal i media, romel mac i coda, rogor "gaeCina" sazogadoebri organi zmSi axal i, "sxva" (anu sakuTari Tavis sxvagvari versia), dRes, vfiqrob, rom paral izebul ia srul i STabeWdil eba iyo imisa, rom qarTul sazogadoebri organi zmSi ori sfero \_ politika da Jurnal istika mainc inarcunebdia cocxal muxts. xSirad infantil urad, ufro \_ isteriul ad, magram mainc inarcunebdia am or sferos erTmaneTis mimarT hqonda interes da danarceni aRaraferi ainteresebedaT \_ sazogadoebri cxovrebis arc erTi sxva aspeqt. es iyo erTmaneTze orientirebul i Zal aufl ebis ori sivrci, roml ebic erTmaneTs asazrdovebdnen... dRes media-sivrci gamoeTi Sa sazogadoebri organi zmSi da politikis imedze datova qveyana, Ti Ton ki mis usi cocxl o iaraRad iqca." (85)

es, erTi Sexedvi T mkvetri Sefaseba, zedmi wenvi T gamoxatavs qarTul i sazogadoebri cxovrebisa da qarTul i mediis mTavar maxasi aTebel s \_ politikis primats; politi izebis tendencia tel emediisa da presis saerTo maxasi aTebel ia, Tumc, presisagan gansxvavebi T, postrevol uciur periodSi am Tval sazrisiT tel evizia ufro inertul i gaxda. I el a iakobiSvil i Sefasebac al baT, pirvel rigSi, swored tel emedias exeba, magram verc presam Sei narCuna "revol uci amdel i" dinamizmi, simZafre da aqtaul oba.

am SefasebaSi ki dev erTi arsebiti tendenciaa Camoyal i bebul i \_ sazogadoebri cxovrebis danarceni aspeqtebis ignorireba mediis mier, garda

politikuri batal iebisa. Tu ufro davazustebT, es gul isxmobs ara politikur debatebs, j ansaRi politikuri konkurenciis, politikuri speqtris farTod warmoCenas, aramed, **saxel isufl o brZol ebis qcevas central ur Temad**, da ara mxol od arCevnebis winare da momdevno periodebSi, roca, es mimarTul eba mediaSi TavisTavad iwevs wina pl anze.

"**presa** sazogadoebasa da xel isufl ebis Soris arsebul gamyof xazs zemoT, **xel isufl ebis siaxl oves imyofeba**", \_ acxadebda Jurnal isti ia anTaZe 2000 wel s, "dil is gazeTTan" interviuSi (es gazeTi did yuradRebas uTmobda qarTul i mediis av-kargze msj el obas da demokratiul i gamocdi l ebis gazi arebas), \_ "rodesac xel isufl ebis erTi Sto, nawili i an j gufi dapi rispirebul ia meoresTan, is presis segmentidan sakuTar samegobro wres kargad i yenebs am j gufTan dasaj axebl ad. swored es iwevs presis diskreditacias... samwuxarod, Cveul ebrivi adamianebi aravis ainteresebs. daxedeT nebi smieri gazeTis pirvel gverds da Tu Tqven ipoviT rigiTi adamani s suraTs, maSin uk an mimaqvs Cemi si tyvebi." (113)

saqar Tvel oSi demokratiis ganvi Tarebis Semaj amebel saeqsper to kvl evaSi, statia "masmediis" avtori marina musxel iSvil i askvnis, rom presa, rogorc samomxmarebl o produqt, "**Ti Tqmis mTI ianad politikazea mimarTul i da Ti Tqmis ar asaxavs mki Txvel is probl emebs...** es midgoma, erTi mxriv, asaxavs arsebul i politikuri sivrcis mkveTrad el itistur xasiats, meore mxriv, ki dev ufro amZafrebs mosaxl eobisa da politikuri kl asis gaucxoebas, zRudavs sazogadoebis unars, galazros mis winaSe mdgari gamowvevebi." (52, 67)

unda Sevni SnoT, rom presis orientireba politikaze ar gul isxmobs imas, rom Tundac am sferos igi yovl ismomcvel ad da mraval mxrivad aSuqebs; rogorc aRvni SneT, umeteswil ad presa gamoxatavs ara Tundac **xel isufl ebis interess, aramed xel isufl ebisaTvis brZol is interess**. amaze miani Snebs ia anTaZis aqcentic presis angaji rebul obaze. amasTan, es ci tata Sei cavs igive diskurss, rogor sac l el a iakobi Svil is interviu \_ **sazogadoebri cxovrebi s arcerTi sxva aspeqti, saxel isufl o dapi rispirebebi s garda** sabednierod, es Sefaseba yvel aze nakl ebad ekuTvnis "dil is gazeTisnair" gamocemas, roml is yuradRebis areal Si sazogadoebis cxovrebi s Ti Tqmis yvel a aspeqti xvdeboda da arc mxol od politikosebi iyvnen misi "**mTavari gmi rebi**". Ziri Tadar ki, qarTul i presa, sazogadoebri azris gamoxatvisa da sazogadoebri vi interesis sadaraj oze dgomis nacvl ad, ufro warmatebit manipuli rebs sazogadoebri vi azriT. es ki, ama Tu im formiT, mainc axdens gavl enas sazogadoebri vi azris, oRond \_ deformirebul is \_ formirebaze. "**presa**

saSual ebi T bevri destruqciul i idea mkvidrdeba. am procesSi Jurnal istebi uSual od arian Cartul ni. ver vi tyvi, rom gauTvi Tcnobierebl ad", \_ aRni Snavs Jurnal isti ia anTaZe zemoxsenebul intervieuSi. (113) ra rol i mi uZRoda presas ara mxol od destruqciul i ideebis damkvidrebaSi, aramed, **destabilizaciuri procesebis inicirebaSi**, am Temas sagangebod SevexebiT disertaciis erT-erT momdevno nakveTSi.

zemoT yuradReba gavamaxvil eT presis politizebis tendenciaze, am nakveTis dasawyissi ki \_ analitikuri da "yviTel i" stil is urTierTaRrevaze. politizebi sken midrekil eba ew. bul varul presaSi c SeimCneva, i seve rogorc Tval Si sacemi a **sazogadoebri v-politikur gamocemebad mi Cneul i Jurnal-gazeTebis "siyvi TI e"** \_ i affasi ani "sensaci ebi Ta" da "skandaluri ambebi T" gataceba da, rac mTavarria, daweril i Tu "dauwerel i" kanonebi sa da sazogadoebri normebis ugul ebel yofa, rom aRaraferi vTqvaT Jurnal isturi eTi kis normebze.

movi Svel iebT mveral naira gel aSvil is Sefasebas: "... Tu dasavl eTSi bul varul presas srul iad garkveul i social uri fena etaneba, kerZod: kul turul -intel eqtual ur samyaros srul iad mowyvetil i nawi l i sazogadoebisa, CvenTan am mxriv aravi Tari "fenovaneba" ar Seini Sneba". Cveni sazogadoeba nakl eb wunia da gul zizRiani a, rogorc danagvi anebul i ezoqucebis, i se **danagvi anebul i masmediis mimarT**: mdare gazeTebs "intel igencia" i seve i srutavs, rogorc orki asdamTavrebul i an daumTavrebel i xal xi". (112)

Jurnal isturi eTikis normebis dacva qarTul presaSi scil deba Cveni sakvl evi Temis fargl ebs, magram aq sail ustraci od movi xmobT erT publ ikacias, romel ic ara mxol od eTikis darRvevis, aramed "siyvi TI is" saukeTeso nimusia. miT ufro, rom igi gamoqveynebul ia maSindel sazogadoebri v-politikur gamocemebs Soris "pirvel viol inod" mi Cneul gazeTSi. "rezonansi" 2000 wl is 8 ivl isis nomerSi, meore gverdze, ganTavsebul ia publ ikacia saTauriT \_ "Cemi prezidenti Cemi mucel ia", qvesaTauriT \_ "SevardnaZes tual etSi qaRal dis magier 50-dol arianebi ukidi da kuWaSI il obis periodSi xmarobs". publ ikacias wamZRvarebul i aqvs Savi petitiT awyobil i idi: "Tbil isel i "gai Sni kebi" president SevardnaZis tual etSi daki debul 50 dol arianebze ocneboben". Semdgom es "ni usi" ufro sagul dagul odaa ganvi Tarebul i: "imas, Cvens damaqcevars, baton eduard SevardnaZes, ra uwirs, tual etSi al baT qaRal dis magier 50-dol arianebi ukidi da kuWaSI il obis periodSi xmarobs. gadmomi gdos batono is

gai masqnebul i ful i da gefi cebiT, arc mZRoI s wavarTmev rames da arc quCaSi davxvdebi vi nmes". (97)

es ni muSi sagangebod movixmeT ara mxol od eTikis darRveisa da "si yvi TI is" gamo. mTel i es publ ikacia, mi uxedadavd imisa, rom igi axal i ambebisTvis gankuTvni "territoriazea" ganTavsebul i, ra Tqma unda, aravi Tar ambavs ar Sei cavs, mi T ufro \_ faqts. da amgvari xasi aTis masal ebi (oRondac, ara yovel Tvis am zomamde wregadasul i) iSviaTi gamonakl isi ar iyo imdroindel i "rezonansiTvis". am garemoebaze imi tomac vamaxvi l ebT yuradRebas, rom Semdeg qveTavebSi xSi rad davi mowmebT am reitingul gazeTs da vanaxavT, rogori transformacia gani cada man sol idurobis mimarTul ebi T.

## Tavi II

### saqarTvel os saxel mwi fo presis prizmaSi

#### • saxel mwi fos imij i

axal i aTaswl eul is damdegs qarTul i masmedi i s fl agmanebSi saqarTvel o figurirebs, rogorc "arSemdgari qveyana", "saSi Si qveyana", "vi Tom qveyana", qveyana, romel ic "gasul ia mom saxureobi s zoni dan"; "saxel mwi fo" ki "arSemdgaris" konteqstSi c i Svi aTad xsendeba.

ver vi tyiT, rom amaSi bral i masmedi asa da Jurnal istebs mi uZRvodaT. es iyo kanonzomieri Sedegi \_ warmatebul i sainformacio omebis Sedegad daSi il i ssrk-i s Semadgenl obi dan gamoTavi sufl eb ul i postsabWoTaAqveyana da ideologiuri diqtatisa da cenzurisagan axal gamoxsnil i masmedia mzad ar iyo Tanamedrove sainformacio si vrcis zemoqmedebaze adekvaturi reagirebi saTvis.

saqarTvel os mi er damouki debi obi s dekl ar i reba, 90-i ani wl ebi s presaSi, xSi rad moixseni eboda, rogorc saxel mwi foebri obi s aRdgena. magram istoriul i saxel mwi foebri obi sagan xangrZl i vi droi smieri distanci rebi s gamo es cneba real obas ar Seesabameboda. 1994 wel s akaki baqraZe werda, rom qarTvel i xal xi "srul iad moumzadebel i aRmoCnda damouki debel i da Tavi sufal i cxovrebi saTvis", radganac "Cven damouki debi oba ori saukuni s wi naT ki ar davkargeT..., aramed bevr ad ufr adre... saqarTvel o kol oni ur mdgomareobaSi sul cota 1555 wl idan mai nc i myofeba." akaki baqraZe gvafrTxil ebda, rom damouki debel i da Tavi sufal i qveyni s aSenebas xangrZl i vi da sistematuri momzadeba swirdeba, upi rvel esad ki \_ "eris sul ier samyaroSi sakuTari Tavisadmi rwmeni s aRzrda", "sakuTari saxel mwi foebri vi energi i s" rwmena. (7, 391)

marTI ac, saxel mwi foebri vi Camoyal i bebi s Tanmdevma katakl izmebma am procesi sTvis moumzadebel i qveyni s sazogadoeba sakuTar Sesazl ebl obebSi daaeWva, masmedi i s fsi qol ogiurma zemoqmedebam ki, Tavis mxriv, saami sod saTanado foni Seqmna. Cveni azriT, bevr sxva faqtor Tan erTad, es ganapi roba yvel aze arsebi Tma "warsul i s gadmonaSTmac" \_ sabWoTa ideologi i s inerciam \_ rom yofiereba aris bazi s, cnobiereba ki \_ zednaSeni; am I logikiT, saxel mwi fo cnobiereba Sesazl oa Camoyal i bdes saxel mwi fos institucional uri, ekonomi kuri da a.S. gaZl ierebis kval obaze. bunebrivia, rom saxel mwi fos siZl iere saxel mwi foebri v azrovnebasac myar safuzvel s uqmni s;

magram, meores mxriv, ui medobi T, nihil izmi Ta da arasrul fasovnebis kompl eqsi T Sepyrobili xal xi saxel mwifos ver Camoayal i bebs. mediis rusi mkvl evari sergei korkonosenko wers, rom axal i "mecnierebaTa mecnierebis" – informaciol ogiis Semqmnel Ta Tval sazrisi T, "ara imdenad yofa gansazRvravsnobierebas, ramdenadac cnobiereba, informaciis formiT, gansazRvravsnamyaros." (33, 74)

XX saukunis 80-90-ian wl ebis qarTul i presiserT-erTi aqtualuri Tema – diskusia erovnul i ideologiiis Taobaze, axal i aTaswl eul i presaSic iCens Tavs, oRondac amj erad ukve marginalizebul i. anu, TandaTan cneba "erovnul obam" presaSi deval vacia ganicada.

"al baT istoriul ideaTa da istoriul strategiaTa uwyetobaa is Zal a, romelic ama Tu im sazogadoebas istoriis subieqtad hkrav da funqciional uradac miucens adgil s... Tu Tval s gadavavl ebT Cveni sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis bol o oci wl i storias, Znel i araa davrmundet, istoriul ideaTa rogori deficitis pirobebi gviwebs arsebobac da qarTul i saxel mwi foebriobis Senebac. es Zireul i saqme Ti Tqos raRac istoriul i momenti dan vi Rac sxvas gadavabareT da **fundamentur ideaTa mxol od importirebasRa vj erdebi T**," – aRni Snavs fil osofosi zaza firat i Svi I. (71, 101-105) marTI ac, iqneba STabeWdil eba, rom qarTul i mediis fI agmanebi, gansakuTrebit 2000-2001 wl ebis periodSi, erTgvarad niadags amzadeben "importirebul ideaTa" aRqmistvis. magal iTad, gazeTebis "rezonansi sa" da "al ias" publikaciebSi cnebebi – "saxel mwi fo", "erovnul i" Segnebul adaa ignorirebul i da Tu gamokrTeba aqa-iq, isic usaTuod uaryofiT konteqstSi. saqarTvel o gani xil eba qveynad, romel sac, Ti Tqosda, xel sayrel i geopolitikuri mdebareobis garda, arc ukani – warsul Si, arc win – momaval Si da, miT ufro, awmyoSi, saimedo, xel CasaWidi da saxel mwi foebriobis gamsazRvrel i sxva perspektiva ar hqondes. es tendencia yvel gan igrznoba – politikaze, religiaze, erovnul rekvizitebsa Tu kul turaze msj el obisas da avi Tarebs arsebi T azrs – rom erovnul oba Camorcenil obis, viwrokuTxurobis maCvenebel ia da xel s uSI is demokratiis ganvi Tarebas. saxel mwi fosadmi masmediis amgvar damoki debul ebas ukve bunebrivad mi vyavarT im kondici amde, roca cneba "arSemdgari qveyana" SeCveul i si tyva xdeba mki Txvel i sa Tu mayurebl iStvis da, cnobierad Tu qvecnobierad, gansazRvravsnis adekvatur reaqcias.

pirobi Tad, am periodis presa sam nakadad Sei Zi eba davyoT:

erTi mxriv, "al ia", "rezonansi", "axal i versia" qmnian kl i Seebs – saqarTvel o – arSemdgari qveyana, saSiSi qveyana, pankisi – terorizmis bude, SevardnaZe – mil oSevi Ci, wiTel i prezidenti, SevardnaZistebi – retrogradebi, Jvani as gundi – reformatorebi;

"asaval -dasaval i", "dro", "meoTxe", "marTal i gazeTi" – reformatorebs dasavl eTis emisrebad mi i Cneven, masonuri mmarTvel obis safiTxeze da Jvani a-saakaSvil i s warmomavil obaze msj el oben;

"dil is gazeTi", "kviris pal itra", "axal i Taoba", "meridiiani"/"axal i meridiiani", "droni", "ganaxl ebil i iveria" cdil oben erovnul i cnobierebis, saxel mwi fo azrovnebis gaaqtiturebas – tradiciul i Ri rebul ebebis Senarcunebi T.

mi uxedavad ricxobrivi upiratesobi sa, xsnebul gazeTebsa da pl us ki dev sxva gamocemebs ar SeuZl i aT gadafaron "al iasa" da "rezonansi" sainformacio zegavl ena, ramdenime arsebi Ti faqtoris gamo: gavrcel ebris farTo geografiul i areal is, tirajisa da reitingis garda, isini moqmedeben gansazRvrul i sainformacio strategi T, razec ukve vamaxvil ebdit yuradRebas t/k "rusTavi 2"-is magal iTze. (2001 wel s, kompania "nikkol o m"-is mier Catarebul i saqarTvel os mediabazris kvl evis Sedegad, "al ia", "rezonansi" da "axal i versia" I i deroben mki Txvel Tandobisa da ki Txvadobis reitingSi; xol o "al iasa" da "rezonanss", "kviris pal itrasTan" erTad, gavrcel ebris yvel aze farTo areal i aqvT.)\*

erovnul i da saxel mwi fo cnobierebis mosI is Sorsgaminul i procesi uwinarsad axal gazarobi sken iyo mimarTul i. pirvel rigSi swored maTze iyo gaTvl il i "dardubal as" serial i (t/k "rusTavi 2"), "rezonansi" "morige redaqtoris Canawerebi", "al ias" publikaciebi, roml ebic erTdroul ad aRvi vebda religiur nihiliizmsac da religiur eqstremizmsac; sainformacio amindis Semqmel i masmediis mTavari Temebi – destabilizaciis permanentul i safiTxe, qveynis cxovrebis yvel a sferosi mxol od uaryofiTis Zieba, ufrosi da saSual o Taobis mudmivi dadanaSaul eba komunistur droSi cxovrebi aTvis (im faqtoris ignorirebi T, rom maT droisa da qveynis arCeva ar SeeZl oT), saxel mwi fos diskreditaciisaken mimarTul i sainformacio kampania da a.s.

Tu am Tval sazrisiT Tundac "rezonansi" "morige redaqtoris Canawerebs" ganvixil avT, davrmundebi T rom gazeTis am miniaturul "savizi to

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\* kvl evis Sedegis gamoyeneba SeTanxmebul ia kompania "nikkol o m"-Tan.

baraTSi " akumul irebul ia udi desi sabrZol o muxti da Seuri gebl oba sistemi, mmarTvel obis, tradici ebi s, ufrosi Taobi sadmi da a.S. amasTan, misi enobri vi qsovili \_ Sav i umors Serwymul i si engi, "dardubal asac" exmaureba da kargad esadageba Tineij erul gemovnebasa da ganwyobasac. "Canawerebis" pozicia gamyarebul ia anSI agebad gaSI il i sapi rvel gverdo saTaurebi Ta da karikaturebiT, romel Ta mTavari "gmiria" prezidenti:

- "saqarTvel o sakoncentracio banaki a". ("rezonansi", 26 Teberval i, 2001).
- "orosnebis qveyana" \_ "rezonansi" yurs uwes orosnebis meTaur wi Tel prezidents. ("rezonansi" 6 april i, 2001).
- "aq odesRac saqarTvel o iyo..."; fotomontaji \_ saqarTvel os rukaze ganfenil i presidentis fotoportreti. ("rezonansi", 18 april i, 2001).
- "saqarTvel os xel isufi ebaSi erTi homosapiensic ar urevi a!"; karikatura \_ centrSi did gamoxrul Zval ze Semdgari prezidenti \_ pirvel yofili adami ani, CaquC-namgl iani avgaroziT. ("rezonansi", 14 april i, 2001)\* da a.S. presis publ i kaciebis meore nakadi qveyanaSi arsebul mZime vi Tarебas xsnis "importirebul i ideebisa" da erovnul i nihil izmis momZI avrebiT da am process, pirdapir Tu iribad, akavSirebs "dasavl uri yaidis" axal gazrda politikosebTan, anu e.w. reformatorebTan:
  - "samwuxaroa, rom is adami anebi, rom ebi c Ti Tqosda qmni an saqarTvel os xval indel dRes, erovnul i ideasTan damoki debul ebaSi nihil istebi arian. es wmi nda wyl is qarTul i paradoqsia, rom is msgavss, vTqvaT amerikel i, koSmarul sizmarsic ver naxavs. amaSi Cans Cveni gamoucdel oba \_ marTal ia, ki gagvaCnia saxel mwifoebri obis aTaswl ovani tradicia, magram istoriul i gamocdi l ebis deficits mainc ganvi cdi T". (161)
  - "Cveni qveynis ubedurebaSi Ziri Tadi wyl il is Semtanni qarTvel ebi arian. aqedan modis gancdac, rom qarTvel ebi arafis Rirsni varT. es tyuil ia, radgan maT metad seriozul i SemkveTebi hyavdaT. yovel i ve dakavSirebul ia erT did TeoriasTan, romel ic Seiqma dasavl eTSi, Zal ian saintereso institutebSi.  
es aris msofi io gl obal izaci is Teoria, romel sac erTi ki ara, SemkveTTa mTel i erTobl i oba hyavs, romel ic warmarTavs danarCen

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*disertaciis am monakveTSi gazeTebis/Jurnal ebi s da TariRebis aqve mi Ti Teba mni Svnel ovani a saerTo konteqstisTvis. amitom, aqac da Semdgomac, Izul ebul i varT davarRviOT periodikis damowmebis standarti.*

msofl i os... Si Svel i amerikani zmi emsaxureba qarTul i erovnul i saxel mwifoebri vi safuZvl ebi s moSI as. amas akeTeben smk sagangebo emisrebi, romel Tac I ideris statusi aqvT boZebul i". (130)

presis publ ikaciebis mesame nakadi cdil obs saxel mwifo azrovnebis Camoyal i bebis aucil ebl obisken mi apyros sazogadoebis yuradReba. (am mxri v yvel aze meti Tanmimdevrobi T gamoir Ceva "ganaxl ebul i iveria", romel is publ ikaciebi mowmobs saqarTvel oSi saxel mwifoebri obis Zi ieri tradiciis arsebobas. Tumc, am gazeTis periodul oba da statiebis specifika masobriv mki Txvel ze zemoqmedebis saSual ebas ar iZl eoda). am tipis publ ikaciebSi, pirvel yovl isa, SeimCneva erovnul i nihil izmis, saxel mwifoebri obis eWvqeS dayenebis gamomwvevi mizezebis gaanal izeba da im sayrdenis Zieba, romel sac unda daefuZnos eris fsiqol ogi uri wonasworoba.

erT-erT sagazeTo publ ikaciaSi pol itol ogi givi bol oTaSvi i Tanmimdevrul ad ayal i bebs im faqtorebs, romel Ta mixedvi Tac saqarTvel o arSemdgari saxel mwifo: "saqarTvel o ver uzrunvel yofs sazogadoebis integraci as, social uri erTi anobi saki Txebi s gadaWras, kanoni s uzenaesobas, moqal aqeta interesebis dacvas, gareSe Tavdasxmebi sgan qveyni s dacvas, ekonomiki s saxel mwifo regul irebas, kul turul -aRmzr del obi Ti funqci i s ganxorciel ebas da a.S. rac mTavaria, saqarTvel oSi ver Seiqmna saSual o fena. Sedegad, 5%-ia mdidartTa fena, danarceni I umpenprol etariatis donemdea dayvani l i." (91).

i give probl emebis saTaves mveral i erl om axvl edi ani gacil ebi T Rrma fesvebSi eZi ebs, asaxel ebs TiTqmis yvel a ZiriTad obiectur mizez-Sedegs da, rac mTavaria, cdil obs maTi warmoSobac da mogvarebac daukavSiros ara mxol od gareSe faqtorebs (rogorc es am tipis publ ikaciaTa umetesobaSi gvxddeba), aramed, dagvanaxos sakuTari bral eul obac da sakuTari Zal ebi s amoqmedebis gardauval i aucil ebl obac: "qaosi, romel Sic amJamad Cven vimyofebi T, mxol od Cveni bral i ar aris. Cven xal xs uamravi saxadi erTbaSad Seeyara, arada, maTgan TiToeul i SeiZl eboda sabediswero gamxdariyo. Cveni bral i aq is aris rom maT Cven ver vuvl iT, rogorc saxads, batonebs, ver vuqmni T mSvid garemos, piriqi T, vaavebT Cveni dapi ri spi rebi T, xmauri T. es saxadi uamravia: social uri wyobi s Secvl a, mopovebul i damouki debi oba, Tavisufi eba maval i mimarTul ebi T, pl ural izmi, kapi tal i s Tavdapi rvel i dagrovebis mwave procesi, eTnikuri probl emebis damouki debi ad regul ireba, Zvel i da axal i mental i tetis daj axeba, usamarTI od warTmeul i teritoriebi, orientaci is mkveTri Secvl a, mezobel saxel mwifoebTan urTierTobis

mogvareba, sarwmunoebri vi eqspansi ebi, megobrebisa da mtrebis garCevi s iZnel e, geopol itikuri mdgomareobis sirTul e da a.S. yovel i ve amas, am qaosur mdgomareobas, Znel ia mouZebno saerTo maCvenebel i, erTi an sayrdeni, romel ic Cven Cvensave TavSi unda vi povoT, radgan Cven Tu aseTi sayrdeni Sin ver vi poveT, maSin bunebrivia "megobari" qveynebis siZl iereSi unda vi povoT axal i "mfarvel i", anda Zvel s davubrundeT". (87)

es vrcel i ci tata movixmeT imis sail ustraci odac, presis WeSmari ti Tavi sufl ebis, damouki debi obisa da obieqturobis pirobebSi, ra ziri Tadi parametrebi unda qceul iyo mis prioritetad.

saxel mwifo azrovnebis gaaqtirebi sken mimarTul i publ i kaci ebi s nimusad movixmobT ki dev ert magal iTs \_ sazRvris dacvis departamentis Tavmj domaris, val eri CxeiZis intervius gazeT "kviris pal itrasTan". "Cven unda gvqondes naTI ad gamokveTil i erovnul i model i saxel mwifoebri obisa, dayrdnobil i istoriul tradiciebsa da fsiqol ogi aze. saqarTvel om didi saxel mwifoebis pol itikur TamaSebSi gamsvl el i an Sesawiri paikis rol i ki ar unda iTamaSos, aramed Cvens qveyanas sakuTari myari da Zl ieri adgil i, Tavi si misia unda hqondes am urTul es da Znel "saWadrako dafaze", \_ acxadebs maRal Cinosani saxel mwifo moxel e da mi iCnevs, rom saamisod saqarTvel os swirdeba **neutraliteti**. (interviu val eri CxeiZesTan, "kviris pal itra", 27 noemberi, 2000).F

mi uxedavad imisa, rom am periodisTvis (2000-2001 wl ebi) saqarTvel o dasavl ur Rirebul ebebsa da demokratiis mSenebl obaze orientirebul qveynad iTvl eboda, presaSi nakl ebad gvxvdeba publ i kaci ebi, roml ebSi c axsnil i a demokratiul i ganvi Tarebis arsi, gardamaval i demokratiis Tavisbureba da probl emebi, saqarTvel os wi naSe mdgomi konkretul i amocanebi da a.S. demokratia umTavresad xsendeba zogad konteqstSi, an, si tyvis Tavisufl ebis, pirovnebis ufl ebis Sel axvi sababi T. ra Tqma unda, gvxvdeba gamonakl i sebi c. magal iTis saxiT moviSvel iebT gazeT "axal i Taobis" publ i kacias \_ "**rodis ganvi Tardeba saqarTvel oSi demokratia?**", roml is avtori, Jurnal isti I ado mkerval i Svi l i profesiul ad warmarTavs msj el obas da qarTul i presisTvis Cveul i subieqtur-emociuri damoki debul ebis nacvl ad, movl enebis pragmatul xedvas iCens: "saxel mwifos wi naSe sul sxva amocanebi da mi znebi dgas. maTi formul ireba ki erTi si tyvi T SeiZl eba \_ **gadarCena** roca es probl emebi gadai Wreba, demokratiis damyarebisaTvis yvel a barieri moixsneba. qarTvel i eri Tavisi mental itetiT Tu fsiqol ogi iT yovel Tvis demokrati iyo da es misTvis axal i xil i ar aris... **saqarTvel oSi demokratia ganvi Tardeba mas**

Semdeg, rac wamoiwevs ekonomi ka, gaerTi andeba sazogadoeba da amarI deba erovnul i Tvi TSegneba. demokratia, rogorc wesi, si RatakeSi ar xarobs." (141)

2002 wel s saqarTvel oSi aSS-iS "wrTvniSa da aRWurvis" programiS dawyebam masmedi iS ganwyoba sagrZnobad gadaxara optimi zmi saken da, Sesabami sad, i kl o agresiam, sainformacio aji otajebma, Serbil da saxel mwi fosa da prezidenti saken mimarTul i uaryofiTi aqcentebi. am periodSi ukve "rezonansi" pirvel gverdebze aRar Cndeba sarkastul i karikaturebi "mTavari gmi riT" \_ "prezidentiT", Seicval a "morige redaqtoris Canawerebis" paTosic, saxel mwi fosa da prezidentis Seuracxmyofel i. SeiZI eba iTqvas, rom am Tval sazrisiT "rezonansi" erTgvari indikatoria, roml iS mixedvi Tac SeiZI eba vimsj el oT saxel mwi fos cxovrebaSi momxdar Tvisobriv cvl il ebaze. "wrTvniSa da aRWurvis programa ar unda CaiSal os" \_ ase asaTaurebs "rezonansi" wamyvani Jurnal isti el iso Cafize publikacias, romel Sic mkafid od gamoxatavs Tavis Jurnal istur pozicias da, faqtobri vad, ara mxol od mki Txvel s, kol egebsac mouwodebs saxel mwi foebri vi erTsul ovnebi sken: "... dRes saqarTvel oSi arsebul i situacia aravis, arc jariskacs, arc ers da arc bers imis ufl ebas ar aZI evs spontanuri da emociuri gadawyvetil ebebi miRos. erTi didi mwerl is Tqmisa ar iyos, samSobl o xawapuri ar aris da yvel anairi unda giyvades. unda giyvades gansakuTrebit maSin, roca is daZabunebul ia da uwirs. Cven ki xandaxan windauxedaobiTa Tu siCqariT, zogj er mizanmimarTul ad, iseT frazas da bral debas visvriT, rac saqarTvel os daxmarebis survi l s nebi smi er qveyanas gauqrobda". (164)

"rezonansisa" da zogierTi sxva gamocemis tonisa da aqcentis Secvl a ki dev erTma garemoebam ganapi roba \_ 2001 wl iS oqtomber-noembbris movl enebis (roml iS drosac zurab Jvani a parlamentis Tavmj domareobi dan gadadga) Semdgom periodSi sainformacio amindis Semqmnel i masmedi iS "monopol izebis" faqtori aSkarad Sesustda da, Sesabami sad, ganel da saxel mwi fosa da prezident SevardnaZis uaryofiT imij ze momuSave sainformacio muxti demokratiis, prodasavl urobis, korufciasTan brZol is Si rmis miRma aSkara saxel isufl ebo brZol is interesis gamJRavnebamac Sei tana koreqtivi Jurnal istTa garkveul i nawi l is xedvaSi. am daskvnis gasamyarebI ad movi Svel iebT arasamTavrobo seqtoris Tval sacino warmomadgenl is, gigi TevzaZis mosazrebas (wigni dan "saqarTvel o: Zal aufl ebis dabruneba") imis Taobaze, rom "Jvani asac swirdeboda liberaluri demokratiis sayrdeni", anu arasamTavrobo seqtorisa da medi iS "Ria mxardawera" "Zal aufl ebis sakuTari

sqemis" Sesadgenad. (25, .20) zurab Jvani as gavl enas mediaze momdevno nakveTebSi Sevexebi T, aq ki davZenT, rom es gavl ena parl amentis Tavmj domareobi dan misi gadadgomi T erTbaSad ar gaqarwyl ebul a, magram gacil ebi T Sesustda.

am qveTavis dasawyisiSi, "arSemdgari saxel mwifosTan" mimarTebaSi, Segnebul ad ar SevexeT **ruseTis faqtors**, radgan es, obieqturi faqtoris garda, **erTgvari kl iSea**, romel sac saanal izo periodis qarTul i presa mudmivad i Svel iebs da I amis yovel gvari ubedurebis saTaved saxavs. sagangebod gadmovanacvl eT es Tema qveTavis am monakveTSi, sadac qarTul presaSi saxel mwifo interesis gamoxatvis simptomebis gaCenas SevexeT. presis versiebs saqarTvel oSi ganviTarebul destabilizaciur situaciebTan ruseTis mimarTebis Taobaze erT-erT momdevno qveTavSi SvxebiT. aq ki movixmobT ara qarTul i an rusul i mediis interpretaciebs, aramed ruseTis "sagareo politikis nacionaliuri laboratoriis"<sup>\*</sup> internet-saitze 2002 wl is agvistosi ganTavsebul analitikur masal as \_ "pol itikuri situacia saqarTvel oSi". mis erT-erT qveTavSi \_ "saqarTvel os daxasiTeba da ruseTis interessebi", saqarTvel o asea warmodgenili: "amerikul da rusul masmediasi saqarTvel os axasiatben, rogorc "arSemdgari saxel mwifos". saqarTvel os saxel mwifos ar Zal uzs Tavad uzrunvel yos Tavisi mTI i anoba da usafTxoeba da mudmivad swindeba gareSe daxmareba... saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri vi sisustis Sedegad, ruseTisaTvis iseTi rutinul i procedurac ki, rogoricaa adgil obriTi TmarTvel obis arCevnebi, saqarTvel oSi i wewevs xel CarTul brZol as, qucis Setakebebs, srol ebs da **qveyanaSi situaciis destabilizaciis safrTxes qmnis**". am qveTavSi ganmartebul i ar aris, raSi mdgomareobs "ruseTis interes", magram, rogorc Cans, igul i sxmeba, rom igi isedac gasagebi a. (58)

rusi eqspertebis pozicii isgan diametal urad gansxvavebul ia nato-Si aSS-is yofil i el Cis, robert hanteris mosazreba saqarTvel oze. misi azriT, "saqarTvel o aravi Tar SemTxvevaSi ar aris arSemdgari qveyana da arc iqceva aseTad". igi saqarTvel os, winsvl i mixedviT, postsabWoTa qveynebis sameul Si an oTxeul Si Tvl is, eduard Sevardnazes ki \_ yvel aze demokratiul ad danarCen postsabWour i iderebs Soris. (118)

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\* xsenebul i laboratoria 2002 weI saa dafuznebul i; misi prezidentia cnobil i pol itol ogi da pol itteqnol ogi gl eb pavl ovski. rogorc Cans, i laboratoriam erT-erT pirvel sagareopol itikur faqtorad saqarTvel os faqtori miCnia da fundamenturad Selswavl a da gaaanal Iza misi saSinao da sagareo politikis TITqmis yvel a arsebi TI probl ema.

daaxl oebi T aseTi sainformacio ganwyobi Taa warmodgeni i saqarTvel os saxel mwi fos zogadi saxe presaSi "vardebis revol uci amde". Sedarebi sTvi sEsainterreso, rogor figurirebs am periodis saqarTvel o saeqsperto SefasebebSi. 2003 wl is mdgomareobiT, pol itol ogi gia nodia (saeqsperto naSromSi \_ "demokratiis Seqmnis ori mcodel oba saqarTvel oSi: TxuTmetwl iani gzin Sej ameba") saqarTvel os miakuTvnebs qveynebs, roml ebmac demokratiis mimarTul ebiT ramdenime sawyisi nabi j i gadadges da sadRac Sua gaze, "nacrisfer zonaSi" gaCerdnen; misi momavl is perspektiva sam scenars Soris meryeobs: seriozul i wi nsvl a demokratiis mimarTul ebiT; avtoritarul i sistemi sken dabru neba; ki dev di dxans darCena arsebul gaurkvev obaSi. (55, 38)

2005 wl is, anu postrevol uciuri saqarTvel o, "mSvi dobis, demokratiisa da ganvi Tarebi kavkasiuri institutis" gamocemaSi (koordinator-redaqtoebi gia nodia da al varo pinto sqol tbaxi), asea Sefasebul i: "saqarTvel o cnobil ia, rogorc pol itikurad arastabil uri saxel mwi fo, rac demokratiae gadasvl is (tranziciis) mralval jerad mcodel obaSi gamoixata... (xazi avtoris, \_ / .k.) 2003 wl is noembris vardebis revol ucia saqarTvel oSi demokratiul i transformaciis ki dev erTi mcodel obaa... mTavari gamowveva, rac saqarTvel os demokratiis wi naSe dgas, isaa, rom 2003 wl is noemberi saqarTvel os istoriaSi Sevides rogorc "revol ucia, romel mac yvel a revol ucia daasrul a." (xazi Cvenia, \_ / .k.) es gul isxmobs, rom unda moxdes demokratiul i institutebis konsolidacia da Zal aufl ebis konstituciuri cvl ac rutinul procedurad unda iqces." (64, 5-9)

"vardebis revol uciam", rogorc disertaciis pirvel nakveTSi aRvni SneT, masmedias daukarga wamyani pozicia, magram daexmara axal i funqciis SeZenaSi \_ mediis meSveobiT Camoyal i beba dai wyo saqarTvel os axal ma imij ma. saqarTvel o, pirvel rigSi, asociredeba cnobad saxel mwi fos Tan; qveyana, romel sac didi Zal isxmeva uxdeboda Tavi si arsebobi dasafiqsi rebl ad, saerTaSoriso yuradRebis obieqt gaxda mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs ara mxol od xmauriani sainformacio sababebi (vardebis revol uciis rezonansi, aWarasi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebi da a.S.), aramed saerTaSoriso Tanamegobrobiis saqmi ani dai ntereseba.

sani muSod movi Svel iebT Tundac sam sainformacio sababs:

2004 wl is ivni sSi, briusel Si, evrokavSir is egidiT gamarTul i saqarTvel os donorTa saerTaSoriso konferenciis gaSuqebis fonze, saqarTvel o presaSi figurirebs rogorc saxel mwi fo, romel sac evropa ukve

aRiqvams ara mxol od geografiul, aramed msofi mxedvel obriv da kui turul mezobi ad; rogorc qveyana, romi is mimarTaci ucxoel i partniorebi, dainteresebasTan erTad, kompetenturobasa da informirebul obasac amjRavneben.

**msofi i oSi Seqmnili vi Tareba unikaluri Sansia saqarTvel osTvis** – daaxl oebiT aseTia presis saerTo aqcenti. 1 miliardi dolari – donorebi sagan; 400 millionamde (sami wl is ganmavl obaSi) – “aTaswl eul is gamowvevis korporaciisgan”; 12 ml n – evrokavSirisgan; “mTavari gazeTi” azriT, donorebis amgvari xel gaSi iloba dasavl eTisagan saqarTvel os xel isuflebis dadebiT Sefasebaze miutiTebs. amave dros, **Tbiliss kategoriul ad afrTxil eben, rom miliardol ariani daxmareba ukanasknel i Sansia saqarTvel osTvis.** miuxedavad imisa rom qarTvel ebi sagan bol o aTi wl is ganmavl obaSi msgavsi Sinaarsis gancxadebebi araeTxel mousmeniat, briusel Si mainc irwmunes saqarTvel os premier ministris optimisturi progozi – “sam wel iwadSi saqarTvel o Tavad daexmareba sxvebs.” (“mTavari gazeTi”, 22 ivnisi, 2004) evropul i politikis centrSi gamosvl isas premierministrma zurab Jvani am aRni Sna, rom europam aRiara **saqarTvel os evropul i ambicia.** presa yuradRebas amaxvil ebs im faqtze, rom am centrSi Sexvedrisas Tval Si sacemi iyo ucxoel Ta kompetenturoba saqarTvel os saki TxebSi.

presis SefasebiT, **saerTaSoriso sazogadoebriobam es millionobiT dolari qarTul i revolu ciis Sedegis** – axal i qarTul i saxel mwifoebriobis ganvi TarebaSi daabanda; Cveni qveynis damouki deblobis mTavari garanti interesTa pragmatul i Tanxvedraa; raki investiciata raodenoba ukve aTni Sna cifrebiT gani sazRvreba, dasavl eTi saqarTvel os ase advil ad ar daTmobs. I uqsemburgSi, evrokavSiris sagareo saqmeTa ministrebis sabWos sxdomaze miRebul i gadawyetil ebiT, saqarTvel o, azerbaijansa da somxeTTan erTad, **oficial urad CaerTo “evropis samezobl o politikaSi”.** am gadawyetil ebiT evrokavSirma oficial urad daadastura, rom samxret kavkasi aSi midinare procesebSi ufro aqtur monawi leobas apirebs.

2004 wl is noember-dekemberSi, ukrainis “narinjisferi revolu ciis” rezonansiT, ara mxol od “vardebis revolu ciis” paraleli cndeba – presa argumentirebul ad msjel obs, ras gul isxmobda “qarTul i revolu ciis eqsporti”, ranisnit unda iqces saqarTvel o – jer ki dev susti da konfl iqturi regionebis mqone saxel mwifo, demokratiul i ganvi Tarebisa da stabil urobis misabaZ magal iTad mTel i regionisa da postsabWoTa sivrcisaTvis. Tanac, ukrainaSi saprezidento arCevnebis SedegebiT gamowveul ma revolu ciurma mRel varebam, romelic eqspertTa SefasebiT, metismetad

gaWi anurda, cxadyo, rom msgavsi procesis "iol ad mogvarebis" qarTul i model i marTI ac miesadageba dasavl el strategTa ideal isturi pol itikis Teori ebs.

2005 wl is maiSSi, aSS-is prezidentis j orj buSis viziti Tbilisi, momgebiani sainformacio sababi iyo presaSi **saqarTvel os imijis pozitiuri poziciioni rebisTvis**. "mTavar gazeTTan" intervieuSi, "gar damaval i demokratiebis" proeqtis xel mZRvanel i **brius j eqsoni** acxadebda, rom "saqarTvel o namdvi l ad I ideria kavkasiaSi, Savi zRvis regio nis qveynebSi, evropis erT nawi l Si da central ur aziaSi c. ukraina Tanal ideria." (120) j orj buSis vizitis rezonanss presaSi sagangebod SevexebiT di sertaci is erT-erT momdevno nakveTSi; aq ki yuradRebas gavamaxvi l ebT ki dev erT niuansze \_ "vardebis revol uci am" ara mxol od saqarTvel os sagareo imij ze moaxdina pozitiuri zegavl ena, qveynis Signi Tac arsebi Tad Seicval a saxel **mwi fosadmi** damoki debul eba \_ nihil izmi dan optimi zmi saken. aRsani Snavi a, rom "gorbi" \_ "gel ap internei Senal is" mier 2004 wl is miwurul s Catarebul i sociologiuri gamoki Txvis Sedegi T, **saqarTvel o, optimizmis mixedvi T, msofl ios 65** qveyanas **Soris meore adgil ze aRmoCnda.** (msofl ios 50-ze meti qveynis "gel apis" institutebi, yovel i wl is bol os adgenen mosaxl eobis optimizmis maCvenebel s, anu sazogadoebis damoki debul ebas momavl is mimarT. 2004 wl is optimist qveyanaTa aTeul i aseTi a: tunisi, vietnami \_ 72%, saqarTvel o \_ 71%, CineTi, hong kongi, quvei Ti \_ 70%, kosovo \_ 67%, panama \_ 66%, aSS \_ 65%, avstral ia \_ 61%.) (160)

### • dasavl eTi Tu ruseTi?

(saxel **mwi fos** orientaciis probl emis aspeqtebi presaSi)

saqarTvel os damouki debi obis saTavesTan, gasul i saukuni s 90-i ani wl ebi s damdegs, qarTul presas, gazeT "mamul is" winamZRol obiT, cxare diskusia hqonda gamarTul i \_ ra orientacia, saxel **mwi fo** mowyobis ra model i, ra ekonomi kuri strategia unda aerCi a saqarTvel os, rom i gi WeSmari t ad damouki debel (de iure, de fagto) qveynad Camoyal i bebul iyo. drom mal e gamoacina, rom dekl arinebul i damouki debi obis da Tavisufl ebi s gadazrda real ur damouki debi obaSi rTul i da winaaRmdegobrivi procesi a. am Temis ganvr coba Cveni Temisa da kompetenciis fargl ebs sci l deba; amdenad, Sevecdebi T mokl ed Camovayal iboT Temis ganvi Tarebi s dinamika saanal i zo periodis qarTul presaSi.

damouki debi obis gamocxadebis pirvel wl ebSi, azrTa svedasxvaobis miuxedavad, qarTul i presis meSveobi T gacxadebul i saerTo ideal i (Tu Sei ZI eba ase iTqvas), iyo **saqarTvel os neutraliteti**. miuxedavad imisa, rom mocemul drosa da sivrcesi es utopiuri idea iyo; miuxedavad imisa, rom mogvianebe T saqarTvel om oficial urad gaaJRera evroatl antikur sivrcesi integraci isken swrafva, neutralitetis Tema xangamoSvebi T i sev iCenda Tavs presaSi, oRondac, ara Jurnal isturi an saredaqcio iniciativiT; ZiriTadad, es ukavSi rdeboda saarCevno kampaniis periodebs, an, gamoi yeneboda nato-sTan saqarTvel os mimarTebi s gaaqtirebi sas "Temis gadasafarad."

saqarTvel os mier saerTaSori so aRiarebi s mopovebi sTaneve, saxel mwi foebri vi Tvi Tgamorkvevis procesSi, gaunda **dil ema \_ dasavl eTi Tu ruseTi?** amTavi Tve aRvnis navaT, rom wl ebi s manZi l ze, sagareo prioritetebeze msj el obisa Tu nebismieri sxva sababi T am Temis warmoSobis, presis aqcentebi, upiratesad, swored am ori pol usisken miemarTeba.

kvl evaSi \_ "saqarTvel o samxreT kavkasiis regionis konteqstSi", davi T darCi aSvi l i ase ayal i bebs saqarTvel os politikuri arCevani wi naaRmdegobriv xasiatS: "saqarTvel os adgil s samxreT kavkasiis regionul i politikis konteqstSi, upirvel es yovl isa, misi sagareo politikuri arCevani gansazRvrav. am arCevani ZiriTadi orientiria **diqotomia \_ dasavl eTi-ruseTi: pirvel is xibl i da meoris SiSi**. saxel mwifo institutebis sisustis fonze qarTul i sagareo politika, arsebiTad, gadarcenisatvis brZol a, arsebobis garantiaTa Ziebaa. amasTan, zogjer Znel i gasarkvevia, saqme exeba qveynis Tu saxel isufi ebo rejmis gadarCenas. Sedegad, politika ekl eqturobis el fers i Zens, Tumca mainc **dominirebs dasavl ur, evroatl antikur samyaroSi integrirebis ocneba**. saqarTvel os xel isufi ebas aqvs met-nakl ebad stabiluri idea \_ qveynisatvis dasavl eTsa da aRmosavl eTs Soris satranzi to koridoris funqci is SeZena." (17, 25)

Oveni saanal izo periodis aTvi is wertili stvis, anu 2000 wl istvis, saqarTvel os sagareo prioriteti \_ dasavl uri veqtori ukve gamokvetil i iyo, magram presaSi (iseve, rogorc qveynis sazogadoebriv-politikur cxovrebaSi) jer kidev ZI ieria rusul i faktoris gavl ena, ruseTis primati maSinac ki igrZnoba, roca mis ignorirebas cdil oben; ruseTTan mimarTebaSi yvel aze Tval sacinod ikveTeba qarTul i presis midrekil eba kl i Seebisa da stereotipebi saken; erT-erTi mTavari kl iSe \_ "**ori ruseTi**", romel ic wl ebi s manZi l ze figurirebda ruseTTan urTi erTobis Temis ganvi Tarrebis, bol o periodis qarTul presaSi Ti Tqmisi aRar gvxvdeba (igi Caanacvl a daskvnam, rom

araviani ori ruseTi ar arsebobs); samagierod, Ti Tqmis ucvl el i darca  
kl iSe \_ ruseTi "mtris xatis" rol Si. (Ti Tqos paradoqsia, magram didi  
ruseTi c aseTive warmatebiT qmnis saqarTvel osgan "mtris xats").

unda aRini Snos, rom presaSi ruseTi sadmi negatiuri damoki debul ebis  
gamoxatvas safuZvl ad udevs ara rusofobia (i SviaTi gamonakl i sebi s garda),  
aramed, aqcenti mis imperiul arsze. amastan, umeteswil ad, saqarTvel os  
masmediaSi antirusul i kampaniis gaZl iereba gamoZaxil ia rusul i masmediis  
antiqarTul i isteriisa. Tavis mxriv, qarTul i masmediis mier rusul i Temis  
uaryofiT konteqstSi ajiti reba ruseTSi hpovebs gamoZaxil s. oRondac, aSkaraa  
sainformacio omis uTanabroba. "vardebis revolu ciis" Semdeg, saqarTvel os  
saerTaSoriso rezonansiis gaZl ierebam es uTanabroba garkveul wil ad  
gaanei tral a. Cveni azriT, mi zanmi marTul i sainformacio strategiis wyal obiT,  
saqarTvel os xel isufi ebam moaxerxa ruseTi statusis, rogorc saqarTvel os  
teritoriale arsebul konfi iqtebSi "mesame mxaris", Secvl a da Riad uwoda  
mas konfi iqtebis monawi l e mxare, konfi iqtebis gamCaRebel i da, ufro metic,  
aneqsori. mi uxedavad amisa, 2005 wel s mi Rebul saqarTvel os erovnul i  
usafrTxoebis koncefciasi, ruseTi ganxil ul ia ara rogorc mteri  
saxel mwifo, aramed rogorc partniori, azerbaijanTan da somxeTTan erTad  
(strategiul partniorebad saxel deba aSS, ukraina da TurqeTi). (64, 45)

SevecdebiT, mokl ed mimovixi l oT presaSi sagareo prioritetebis asaxvis  
Ziri Tadi aspektebi. mTavari tendencia am TemasTan mimarTebaSi i sev da i sev  
Temis politizeba, personificireba da pirovnul /kl anuri dapi rispi rebebis  
Wri Si warmosaxvaa; am fonze ikargeba probl emis arsi da wina pl anze i wevs  
konkretul i mizani (arc Tu i SviaTad \_ umi znoba an probl emis gauazrebl oba),  
romel sac emsaxureba am Temis musireba Sesabamis konteqstSi.

2000-2001 wl ebSi Crdil oeT-dasavl eTi s vnebaTaRel va presaSi Ziri Tadar  
trial ebs, erTis mxriv, eduard SevardnaZisa da, meores mxriv, e.w.  
"reformatorebis" (anu, "moqal aqeta kavSiris" axal gazrdul i frTa, Jvani a-  
saakaSvil is gundi) garSemo sainformacio amindis ganmsazRvrel masmediaSi  
Seqmnil i suraTiT, orientaciis mixedviT saqarTvel os pol itel ita ase  
warmocindeba: prezidenti, misi garemocva (simbol urad \_ kancel aria) \_  
retrogradebi, anu ruseTze orientirebul ni; personal urad prezidenti  
eduard SevardnaZe \_ xan erT, xan meore mxares gadaxril i, xanac \_ am or  
pol uss Soris "moTamaSe"; e.w. "reformatorebi", anu Ziri Tadar smk-s  
axal gazrdul i frTa \_ "dasavl urebi", zurab Jvania \_ prodasavl uri l ideri;  
aRiarebul i "ruseTumeebi" \_ asl an abaSi Ze (igul isxmeba partia "aRorZinebac"),

soci al istebi, vaxtang rCeul i Svi l is I iderobi T, komunistebi, pantel eimon gi orgaZi s meTaurobi T, parl amentis vice-spikeri vaxtang goguaZe...

movi Svel iebT or vrcel citatas, roml ebSic, faqtobrivid, asaxul ia im periodSi dasavl ur-rusul i veqtorebi sadmi damoki debul ebis stereotipi:

- "Jvani a-saakaSvi l is gundma yvel aferi gaakeTa dasavl eTi sadmi snoburi, uki duresad provinciul i damoki debul ebis reanimirebisTvis. paral el urad, i give gundi yvel afers akeTebs ruseTTan urTierTobis rac SeiZI eba metad dasaZabavad. maTi msj el obis l ogika amgvaria: Cven rac SeiZI eba metad gavamwvavebT urTierTobas Crdi l oel mezobel Tan. Tu igi sapasuxod mimarTavs agresiul qmedebas, saqarTvel o, rasakvirvel ia, absol uturad verafers daupiri spirebs, magram mova civil izebul i dasavl eTi da Wkuas aswavl is ruseTs." (140)
- "es publ ikacia (saubaria zemoT citirebul publikaciaze \_ l.k.) agrZel ebs im anti dasavl ur propagandistul kampanias, romelic mi znad isaxavs saqarTvel os politikuri kursis sawinaaRmdego ideologiuri fonis Seqmnas \_ im azris damkvidrebas, rom dasavl uri civilizacia ucxoa qarTvel ebi satvis genetikurad, kul turul ad, eTnofsiqol ogi urad, istoriul ad, politikurad da seqsual uradac ki. samagierod, axl oa ruseTi. saTave da mizezi am kampaniis aris ruseTis survili, SeinarCunos samxedro bazebi da politikuri gavlena saqarTvel oSi, magram, jerjerobi T, Riad ver moqmedebs da kmayofil deba saqarTvel os xel isufl ebaSi da sazogadoebaSi arsebul i im Zal ebis xel Sewyobi T, romel Tac uxil avi Zafebi T marTavs." (135)

es ori diatral urad gansxvavebul i Tval sazrisi imi Tacaa sayuradRebo, rom erTis avtori saqarTvel os prezidentis mrCevel ia, meorisa ki \_ parl amentari (Jvanias gundis wvri). bunebrivia, rom kancel ariis moxel eebsa da parl amentarebs Tundac saxel mwifo politikis gamosaxatavad unificirebul i azrebi ver eqnebodaT (da arc unda hqonodaT), magram amgvari radikal izmi qveyni s orientaciis didmni Svnel ovan probl emasTan mimarTebaSi, presis meSveobi T tons aZI evda sazogadoebis aseve radikal ur damoki debul ebas.

amave periodSi (2000 wl is gazafxul ze), presaSi ikveTeba tendencia, rom saqarTvel o xdeba regionSi gavlenisaTvis ruseT-aSS-is brZol is asparezi. sayuradReboa gazeT "dronis" saredaqcio statia ("saqarTvel os adgil i da rol i kavkasi aSi aSS-sa da natos strategiul mimarTul ebebSi"), romel Sic ganxil ul ia ruseTis dumis dsT-s saqmeTa komitetis analitikosebis mier

dumisTvis wardgeni l i moxseneba. moxsenebi s avtorebi "SeSfoTebul i arian regionSi amerikul i da dasavl uri daswrebis gamo" da gul iswyromas gamoTqvamen ruseTis mmartvel i el itis mimart, romel mac saqarTvel oSi rusofil ia gaaCaRa. (101) gazeT "7 dRis" publ i kaci aSi vi Tardeba versia, rom postsabWour sivrceSi moskovi sa da vaSingtoni s konkuren cia, SesaZI oa, "afxazeTi sTvis iqces WeSmari tebis momentad"; vi nai dan konfl iqtis gadawyvetis Tval sazrisiT ruseTs afxazeTSi gacil ebiT meti berketebi aqvs, vidre yarabaRSi (raki iq misi "samSvi dobo Zal ebi" ar arian ganl agebul i), moskovi ueWvel ad Seecdeba "daaswros" amerikas am regionSi mainc". (162)

sagangebod aRvni SnavT gazeT "rezonansSi" gamoqveynebul erT publ i kacias, romel ic exeba msofi io politikis institutis evroaziul i kvl evis programis direktoris, ian bremeris "sakmaod arasaxarbi el o gancxadebas". movi xmobT citatas: "bremeris si tyvebiT, postsabWouri epoqi s sawyi s periodSi amerika cdil obda kavkasi aze ruseTis istoriul i gavl ena Seemci rebi na, regioni s energoresursebze dabali fasebi s gamo, Tumca, "vaSingtonma maSin ver gansazRvra, rogori iqneboda misi axal i, hegemonuri sagareo politika"... zogierTi proeqti, magal iTad, baqo-Tbilisi-jehanis mil sadeni, swored ruseTis gavl eni s daknnebi saken aris mimartul i, magram dRes msgavsi protesti Zal as kargavs... rac Seexeba saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanis nato-Si gawevrianebis perspektivas, profesor ian bremeris TqmiT, amis Soreul i SesaZI ebl obac ki ar arsebobs." ("rezonansi", 14 mai si, 2000).

SesaZI oa, bremeris mi er ganvi Tarebul i Tval sazrisi am etapze ufro aktualuri i yos, radgan, nato-Si gawevrianeba da baqo-Tbilisi-jehanis mil sadenis meSveobiT regionSi saqarTvel os geostrategiul i mni Svnel obis gamyareba, real obisan ufro daSorebul i perspektiva aRmoChda, vidre es im periodSi SeiZI eboda gvevarauda (presaSi ganvi Tarebul i versiebi s mixedviT, jer nato-Si da Semdgom evrokavSi rSi saqarTvel os gaerTi aneba 2008-10 wl ebisTvis iyo prognozirebul i).

regionSi gavl eni saTvis ruseT-aSS-i s brZol i s konteqstSi sain tereso iqneba gavixsenoT cnobi l i amerikel i politologis, semuel hanTingTonis koncefci a ruseTsa da dasavl eTs Soris bal ansi s gansazRvrisa, roml i s mixedvi Tac orive mxare unda SeTanxmdes principuli Tanasworobisa da Ti Toeul i s gavl eni sferoebi s Sesaxeb: "praqtikul ad es imas ni Snavs, rom ruseTi da Tanxmdeba evrokavSi risa da nato-s gafarToebas, maTSi centraluri da aRmosavl eT evropi s dasavl urqristianul i qveynebi s CarTvas, dasavl eTi ki val debul ebas ai Rebs ar gaafarToos nato ufro aRmosavl eTi T \_ Tuki ukraina

ar gai xl i Ceba or saxel mwi fod." hanTi ngTonis xedvi T, dasavl uri civil izaciis Zal is Sesanarcunebl ad, aSS-sa da evropul i saxel mwi foebis interesSi unda iyos ruseTis aRiareba marTI madi debi uri samyaros birTv saxel mwi fod, romel sac aqvs Tavisi samxreTi sazRvrebis usafr TxoebasTan dakavSi rebul i kanonieri interesebi. (78). rogorc er-erT momdevno nakveTSi ("buSis vizit is rezonansi presaSi") vnavaxavT, dasavl eTis/aSS-is swrafva gavl enis sferoebis gafarToebisken gascda am areal s; aman, arsebi Tad, ganapiroba Cveni qveynis dekl arinebul i dasavl uri orientaciis Tanmdevi katakl izmebi.

2001 wl is dekembri dan zemoTCamoyal i bebul ma "sqemam" (politeli tis sagareo orientaciis) presaSi, erTi Sexedvi T arc Tu i se mkveTri, magram, Cveni azri T, arsebiti transformacia gani cada; parlamentis Tavmj domareobi dan zurab Jvani as gadadgomis Semdeg axal gazrda "reformatorTa" sagareo orientacia ufro metad gaxda presis gansj is sagani; maTi "dasavl uroba" i sev figurirebs presis publikaciebSi, magram ufro intensiuri xdeba aqcenti maT "rusul kavSi rebze". gazeTi "droni", magal i Tad, mi ani Snebs am cvl il ebaze: "... amerikel ebi ukve acxadeben, rom mxars uWer en reformebs da ara "reformatorebs". (170); gazeTi "axal i meridiani" ki pindapir bral s debs axal gazrda reformatorebs: "Jvani a-saakaSvi l i-merabiSvi l is gunds misces daval eba, rom rogor me saqarTvel oSi gaRvi vdes samoqal aqo dapi ri spireba. maTi es ganzraxva Tu ganxorciel da, saqarTvel os auci l ebl ad daaCqeben. 1991-1992 wl ebSi rusebma erTxel ukve dagvacoqes. Tu i give ganmeorda, amas veRar gadavurCebiT. es aris ruseTis specsamsaxurebis gegma, Canafiqri, romel sac Jvani a-saakaSvi l is gundi asrul ebs. es aSkarad Cans". ("axal i meridiani", 14.12.2001).

"di l is gazeTis" analitikur publikaciaSi, romelic pozitiuri rakursiT warmoaCens "axal gazrda reformatorebs" da maT dasavl ur orientacias, amavdroul ad, rusul kavSi rebzec maxvil deba yuradReba: "i sini myral ad arc ruseTTan arian. amas mowmobs ara imdenad maTi saarCevno kampaniis rusul i finansebi, aramed irakl i CubiniSvi l is axl o kavSi rebi rusul politikur istebi iSmentTan da Zmebi beJuaSvi l ebis aseve aranakl eb intensiuri urTierTobebi rusul kapital Tan." (103)

"reformatorTa" "ormag standartze" politol ogebi c mi ani Sneben: "i sini yovel Tvis TamaSoben orive, anu, dasavl eTisa da ruseTis mimarTul ebi T", \_ acxadebs ramaz sayarel iZe "kviris pal itrasTan" intervieuSi. (117). am tipis mosazrebebze dayrdnobi T, "kviris pal itra" ayal i bebs sagul isxmo formul as,

rom saqarTvel oSi amerikul i ful iT rusul i interes i finansdeba. am formul as exmianeba mweral el izbar j avel iZis Tval sazrisic: "ruseti da dasavl eTi c mi xvdnen, mxol od erovnul tal Raze mosul xel isufl ebas SeuZi ia xal xis gaerTianebe, ami tomac "Semoagores" crunacionaluri moZraobis tal Ra, romel ic garedan imarTeba." (116)

orientaciis veqtoris qronol ogiur cvl il ebas, Jurnal isti ia anTaZe ase warmoadgens:

1992-1995 wl ebSi pol itikur procesebs mTI ianad ruseTi marTavda;

1995 wl is teraqtis Semdeg prorusul i Zal ebi s Seviwroeba da dasavl uri orientaciis Zal ebi s gaZI iereba daiwo. 1998 wl idan daiwo medasavl eTe Zal ebi s "gadasrol a" parl amenti dan mTavrobaSi; pol itikuri I ogikiT, erTiani processis meore etapi, anu dasavl uri orientaciis Zal ebi s gaZI iereba, unda dasrul ebul iyo Tavad Jvani as gadasvl iT aRmasrul ebel xel isufl ebaSi, kerZod, premier-ministris postze. meore etapi marTI ac maSin dasrul da, rodesac Jvania dasaxel da premierobis kandidatad, magram saxel isufl o Zal ebi s erTiani winaRmdegobi s Sedegad, premieri ver gaxda;

erTiani processis mesame etapi daiwo prezidentis gadadgomiT moqal aqetA kavSiris Tavmj domaris postidan. eduard SevardnaZi s es gadawyvetil eba unda mi vi Cni oT adekvatur reaqciad prodasavl uri Zal ebi s damarcxebaze. prezidenti yovel Tvis mi iCneoda medasavl eTe orientaciis burj ad. bol oxans ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis fonze ki mas ori arCevani Ra darCa: an unda miatovos medasavl eTeTa l i derad, magram damarcxebul i gundi sxva, axal i medasavl eTeebi T Caanacvl os." (82)

es anal itikuri publikacia 2001 wl is noembris movl enebamdea gamoqveynebul i. rogorc vxedavT, aq prezidenti eduard SevardnaZe da parl amentis Tavmj domare zurab Jvani a prodasavl uri Zal ebi s l i derabad arian warmodgeni l ebi; amave publikaciis I ogikiT, mocemul i periodisTvis orivem fiasko ganicada da prodasavl uri Zal ebi c damarcxdnen rac Seexeba SevardnaZi s or SesaZi o arCevans: Tuki CavTvl iT, rom 2002 wl isTvis opoziciur partiebad Camoyal i bebul i "gaerTianebul i demokratebi" (zurab Jvani as l i derobiT) da "erTiani nacionaluri moZraoba" (mi xeil saakaSvi l i s l i derobiT) dasavl ur rel sebze moZraobden da, sabol ood, "vardebis revol uci amde" mi iyvanes qveyana, xol o 2003 wl isTvis eduard SevardnaZe iyo faqtobrivi l i deri saarCevno bl okisa "axal i saqarTvel osaTvis" (romel ic dasavl uri orientaciit namdvi l ad ar gamoirCeoda), maSin gamodis, rom

parlamentis Tavmj domareobi dan zurab Jvani as gadadgomi T, faqtobrivid, "gaformda" eduard Sevardnazi distancireba (nebi Ti Tu uneblie) prodasavluri pl atformidan. es, erTi Sexedvi T rTul i logika, emyareba presis publ ikaci ebs anal izs, roml ebsac momdevno etapebze aratua SeaqvT sicxade saki TxSi \_ sabol ood mainc rogoria mmarTvel i politikuri elitis dispozicia sagareo orientaciisa da prioritetebis mixedvi T, aramed, suraTi ufrida ufrida winaRmdegobrivi xdeba; misi gaSifvra da waki Txva ki el odebasi Sesabamisi profilis profesional ebs, roml ebsac, SesaZI oa, mediaanal izic gamoadgeT saqarTvel os uaxlesi istoriis am umni Svnel ovanesi da urTul esimonakveTis aRsawerad.

- sagareo Temis ramdenime Ziri Tadi aspekti

euTo-s demokratiuli institutebisa da adami anis ufl ebebis ofisis mxardawerit Seqmni I kvl evaSi \_ "saqarTvel os politikuri I andSafti" (2005 wl is mdgomareobi T), postsabWoTa saqarTvel os sagareo politikis zogadi veqtorebi asea daxasi aTebuli: "damouki deblobis mopovebis Semdeg, Si da politikuri konfliqtebis miuxedavad, saqarTvel os sagareo politikis zogadi mmarTul ebebi ucvlelia. zviad gamsaxurdias, real urad, ar hqoni a saerTaSoriso politikis gansazRvrvis da gatarebis dro... rac Seexeba eduard Sevardnaze da mixeil saakaSvilis, orive maTganis umTavres prioritets warmoadgenda saerTaSoriso doneze SeerTebuli Statebisa da evropis politikuri da ekonomikuri mxardawera da saerTaSoriso institutebTan mWidro TanamSroml oba; mTavari amocana ki nato-sa da evrokavSiris wevrobis mopovebaa." (64, 40)

dasavl eTTan saqarTvel os integraciis Sansebis gazrdis pirdapi rproporsiul ad mZafreboda dazabul oba saqarTvel o-ruseTs Soris evrostrukturuba da nato-Si saqarTvel os gawevrianebis perspektivas, "wrTvnisa da aRWurvis programas", baqo-Tbilisi-jehanis navTobsadens, Sahdenizi gazzadens, jer prezident Sevardnazi da Semdgom \_ mixeil saakaSvilis dasavl ur aqcentebis "civil omis" msgavs vi TarebaSi gadayavda ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierToba.

pankisis xeoba da CeCeni "boevi kebi" erT-erTi mTavari sababi iyo ruseT-saqarTvel os Soris urTierTobis ukiduresad dazabvisTvis. 2001 wl is damdegisTvis rusul ma masmediam, romel mac safuzvi ani ideologiuri niadagi moumzada pankisis CeCeni "boevi kebis" I kvidaciis sababi T Cveni qveynis

teritoriaze samxedro moqmedebis dawyebis al baTobas (risTvisac qarTul i masmediac sakmao warmatebi T gamoi yena), saqarTvel o sainformacio al yaSi moaqcia. rusul mediaSi, ganskutrebit ki iseTi gamocemebSi, rogoricaa "trud" da "krasnai a zvezda", rusi generl ebi, ruseTis dumis warmomadgenl ebi, maRaL Cinosani saxel mwifo moxel eebi daufaravad saubroben ara mxol od pankisis xeobaSi "teroristebis budis" ganadgurebis amocanaze, aramed, ufr Sorsmimaval mizanzec \_ rom saqarTvel o SeiZI eba gaxdes "meore CeCneTi".

am vi Tarebas kargad asaxavs moskovSi gazeT "dronis" sakuTari korespondentis rusudan nikurazis publ ikacia \_ "**ratom "gamoamwyvdia"** ruseTma teroristebi pankisis xeobaSi?" es masal a imiTac aris sayuradRebo, rom misi avtori kargad informirebul i da saqmis kurssi myofi Jurnal istia, ruseTis saxel mwifo instanciebSi Sesabami si akreditaciis mqone. "rusul wyaroebze dayrdnobi T, boevikebis ganadgureba putins 2001 wl is gazafxul ze aqvs Cafiqrebul i da es operacia saqarTvel os teritoriaze Caivlis. ram SeiZI eba ixsnas saqarTvel o gardauval i omisagan? ruseTis masobrivi informaciis el eqtronul saSual ebebs Tu davuj erebT, "**savizo rejims im dResve gaauqmeken, Tu ruseTs teroristebis ganadgurebaSi saqarTvel o sakuTar teritoriaze xel s ar SeuSi is**"... ruseTis prezidentis srul ufl ebiani warmomadgenel i samxreTis federal ur ol qSi viqtorkazancevi acxadebs, rom "**dRes saqarTvel os teritoriaze 3000 CeCeni teroristi imyofeba da maT wi naaRmdeg brZol a zamTarSi dasrul deba**", \_ wers rusudan nikuraze aRniSnul statiaSi. (144)

bunebriva, rom, Sesabami sad, daZabul oba, gangaSis ganwyoba da omis mol odini i grZnoba qarTul i presis publ ikaciebSi da es is SemTxvevaa, roca ver vi tyvi T, rom Jurnal istebi sagangebod amwvaveben situacias. qarTvel i politol ogebi ar gamoricxaven ruseT-saqarTvel os Soris omis dawyebis saSi Sroebas. ramaz kl imi aSvil i, magal iTad, pankissi natos j arebis CayenebaSi xedavs gamosaval s; wi naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, misi azri T, "**ruseTis specsamsaxurebi yvel afers gaakeTeben, rom boevikebi mTI ianad gadmorekon saqarTvel oSi da Semdeg provokaciis mowyoba da konfi iqtiis gaCaReba mxol od "teqnikis" saqmeRa iqneba...** ami T rusebi CeCneTis probl emasac moiSoreben da saqarTvel os teritoriaze CeCneTis iseTive avtonomiis Seqmnac ar aris gamoricxul i, rogoric samxreT oseTis saxiT Seiqmna, 100 wl is winaT osebiT dausaxl ebel teritoriaze." (115) politol ogi gia nodia Tvl is, rom saqarTvel o, sisustis miuxedavad, aravi Tar kompromisz ar unda wavidet da

meored ar dauSvas saqarTvel os teritoriaze kavkasiis xal xebis meomrul i energiis gadmotana, i seve, rogorc afxazeTis SemTxvevaSi. (114)

aRsani Snavia, rom evropasa da msofi i oSi erT-erTi avtoritetul i da gavl eniani gazeTi **"fai neniSal Taimsi"**, romel ic im periodSi aqturad dainteresda saqarTvel osa da zogadad kavkasi aSi arsebul i geopolitikuri situaciiT, saqarTvel os urCevda evrokavSiris moxal i se qveynebi sagan swrafi reagirebis Zal ebi moeTxova ruseTis mosal odnel agresiasTan gasamkl avebl ad. sxva saqmea, real urad ramdenad ganxorci el ebadi da mizanSewonil i yo da aris saqarTvel osTvis amgvari perspektiva, magram am gazeTis publ ikaciebi CvenTvis upirvel esad imiT aris sayuradRebo, rom igi, erTis mxriv, gul isxmobs saqarTvel os yofnas dasavl eTis yuradRebis areal Si, da meores mxriv, adasturebs, rom ruseTis agresiis safrTxe ar aris mxol od saqarTvel os masmediis mier ajitierebul i Tema.

amave periods emTxveva **ruseTis prezidentis viziti** azerbaijanSi. baqoSi putinis vizitis gaSuqebisas ucxouri sainformacio saSual ebebi yuradRebas amaxvil ebdnen im faqtorze, rom am vizitisTvis prezidentma putinma, romel ic "maTraxiTa da Tafl akveriT" apirebs azerbaijanis dabrunebas **ruseTis orbitaze**, xel sayrel i momenti Searcia; bol o xans dasavl eTi ukmayofil oa azerbaijaniT: evropel i da amerikel i dipl omatebi azerbaijanis gamudmebiT adanaSaul ebdnen adami anis ufl ebaTa darRvevaSi; heidarl i evis mier Svil isTvis Zal aufl ebis gadacemiis ganzraxvac i wwevda dasavl eTis ukmayofil ebas; nato-sTan azerbaijanis daaxl oebis mcdel obamac ver gamoiRo politikuri Sedegi; dasavl eTi baqos yarabaxis saki TxSi somxeTisadmi mxardaweraSi c adanaSaul ebs. amasTan, **baqoSi vizitiT putinma** moaxdina demonstrireba imisa, rom kavkasia misTvis prioritetul i zonaa da am regionSi kreml is interesebis gasatarebl ad Sesazi oa arCeuI iqnes swored azerbaijanis da ara saqarTvel o, romel Tanac ukanasknel xans moskovma urTierToba ver aawyo. rusul onl ain-medi aSi baqoSi putinis vizits uwodeben Wkuasaswavl s "amerikasTan demonstraci ul ad damegobrebul i Sevardnazi reJi misTvis"; ara mxol od Jurnal istebi fiqroben ase \_ ruseTis dumis vice-spikeri I uki ni am vizits "saqarTvel osadmi ni Sni smogebadi" mi i Cnevs. saer To STabeWdiI ebiT, putins "kavkasiuri demarSi" umTavresad saqarTvel oze fsiqol ogiuri zemoqmedebisa da dasavl eTSi misi mxardamWerебisTvis kavkasi aSi ruseTis "Zvel eburi gavl enis" demonstrirebisTvis hqonda gaTvl ii i.

sagul isxmoa is faqti, rom qarTul ma presam amj erad ar ai taca ruseTi s gamowveva da, Cveul ebi samebr, myviral a sapirvel gverdo anSi agebad ar gardaqma. yvel aze mkveTri saTauri, romel ic am vizits exmaureboda, gazeT "dronis" pirvel gverdze iyo dabeWdiL i Cveul ebrivi sasaTauro standartiT: "ami er kavkasi is geopolitikuri centri – azerbaijan"; qvesaTauri – "saqarTvel o, rogorc Cans, samTa Soris mesame adgil ze CamoqveiTda". ("droni", 13 i anvari, 2001) gazeT "rezonanss", magal iTad, am vizitis konteqstSi saqarTvel o arc uxsenebia. mesame gverdze gamoqveynebul informaci aSi ("putini da al ievi kaspis zRvas iyofen", 10 i anvari, 2001) mTel i aqcenti kaspis probl emazea gadataniL i. qarTul i presis uferul gamoxmaurebas putinis xmaurian vizitze informaci is deficitiT ver avxsniT, radganac rusul i onl ain-media savse iyo vizitis amsaxvel i masal ebiTa Tu provokaci ul i xasi aTi s publ i kaci ebiT. SeiZI eba vi varaudioT, rom am vizitis fonze, presas sababi aRar hqonda saqarTvel osa da misi prezidentis negatiuri imij iT warmodgenisaTvis. saqarTvel osTvis ruseTi s prezidentis gverdis avl am masmedias sababi aRar dautova "Crdil oeTi dan amomaval i mzisa" da "ruseTi sagan marTul i SevardnaZis" TemiT manipuli rebi saTvis. Sedarebi sTvis gavixsenebT, rom eduard SevardnaZis moqnil i sagareo politika ruseTTan mimarTebaSi (romel sac yvel aze radikal uri oponentebi c ver uaryofdnen), politikuri da Jurnal isturi bomondisTvis damouki deblobis dakargvis safrTxesTan, ruseTi s vasal obasTan asoci redeboda da am Temas wl ebi s manZil ze prezidentis imij ze zemoqmedebi sTvis iyenebdnen. rogorc Cans, amj erad Jurnal istebma, roml ebsac xSirad uxdebaT "ormagi standartiT" moqmedeba, keTil gonivrul ad gverdis avl a amj obines saqarTvel osTvis putinis vizitis mimarTebaSaTvis.

paral el urad, imave dReebSi, presaSi figurirebs ucxour presaze dayrdnobiT momzadebul i publ i kaci ebi, roml ebic gamoxataavs saqarTvel oTi dasavl eTi s dainteresebas. "saqarTvel o am arastabil ur regionSi SeerTebul i Statebis da dasavl eTi s sakvanzo mokavSi rea, – werda gavl eniani amerikul i gamocema "uol sTriT j ornal", – ruseTi mezobel suverenul saxel mwifosi sakuTari Carevis sababs eZebs. aseT SemTxvevaSi ruseTs SeuZi ia gamoacxados, rom sakuTar teritorias icavs saqarTvel os teritoriidan moqmedi CeCeni teroristebisagan. magram jerjerobiT saqarTvel o am ankess ar egeba... prezidentma SevardnaZem rus samxedroebs ar misca saqarTvel os teritoriae operaci is Catarebis ufl eba." (159)

"saqarTvel o aris sasinj i qva, romelic ruseT-amerikas Soris urTierTobas gaarkvevs", \_ aRni Sna saqarTvel os el Cma aSS-Si Tedo j afariZem saqarTvel os parl amentis sagareo urTierTobaTa komitetSi Sexvedrisas. misi informaci iT, saqarTvel o TeTr saxl Si administraciis Secvl is areul procesSic ar daviwyebiAT, magram el Cma mi ani Sna, rom "Tu saqarTvel os unda ufro angariSgasawevi qveyana gaxdes, maSin Tavad unda gamoasworos Si da pol itika." (152)

aqve aRvni SnavT, rom erTi wl is Semdgom, 2002 wel s, nugzar saj ai as tragikul i gardacval ebis Semdeg, uSiSr oebris sabWos mdivnis Tanamdebobaze Tedo j afariZis kandidaturis dasaxel eba pol itikosTa, eqspertTa da Jurnal istTa didma nawi l ma prezident eduard SevardnaZis prodasavl uri kursis afiSi rebad mi i Cni a:

- "j afariZis kandidaturis dasaxel ebam parl amentarebi prezidentis prodasavl ur pol itikur orientaci aSi sabol ood daarmuna". ("rezonansi ", 07.03.2002).
- "es dani Svna saqarTvel os sagareo kursis da ZiriTadi orientiris xazgasma iyo. anu, SevardnaZem sabol ood aiRo dasavl uri kursi". ("axal i Taoba", 07.03.2002).
- "mTavari fsoni aSS-Si el Cze gakeTda da es ukve ni Snavs imas, rom saqarTvel om SevardnaZis mmartvel obis periodSi ukve sabol ood gadawyita sagareo kursSi dasavl eTisTvis mi eni Webina upiratesoba." ("axal i Taoba", 08.03.2002)
- "batoni Tedo j afariZis gamoCena qarTul pol itikSi dasavl uri xazis gagrZel ebad SeiZI eba mi viCni oT." ("al i a", 07.03.2002)

SedarebisTvis \_ 2000 wl is miwurul s, saqarTvel os Tan aSS-is axal i admi nistraciis damoki debul ebis rkvevis, saval uto fondis transis mi Reba- arni Rebis, ruseTTan uki duresad gamwvavebul i urTierTobi fonze, masmedia dasavl eTisagan saqarTvel os mi tovebas, qveynisa da piradad prezidentis sagareo pol itikis, anu "SevardnaZis erTaderTi koziris" gabankrotebas wi naswarmetyvel ebda.

saqarTvel os moqceva ruseT-amerikis strategiul interesebs Soris presis intensiuri ganxil vis sagani gaxda saqarTvel oSi maRaL Cinosani amerikel i da rusi samxedroebis erTdroul i vizi tebis sainformacio sababiT. gazeTi "izvestia"-c ki werda, rom "ori qveynis samxedro del egaciebis vizi ti saqarTvel os prioritetebe metyvel ebs".

Tbilisi ruseTi da amerikis interesebis mafio gadakve Tam presa aiZul a am Temis gaSuqebis, myvral a saTaurebi da gamomwewi Sefasebebis nacvl ad, met-nakl ebad zomieri toni aerCia. gazeTma "al iamac" ki amj obina Temaze \_ "ruseTi Tu dasavl eTi... i qneb nei tral iteti?" \_ sasaubrod prezidentis mrCovel gel a CarkvianisaTvis miemarTa da sol iduri interviu gamoeqveynebi na. saqarTvel os geopolitikuri daZabul obis yvel aze mkveTr momentebSi neutralitetis Tema TavisTavad Cndeba presaSi. amj erad, i seve rogorc "al iam", sxva gazeTebmac sagareo urTierTobebSi Caxedul respondentebis mimarTes am Temis gasaSuqebi ad.

gel a Carkviani mi Chevs, rom "dRes saqarTvel o gamocxadebul i neutralitetisTvis mzad ar aris"; sabari SeiZI eba mxol od samxedro neutralitetze, anu, saqarTvel o arc erT bl okSi ar unda iyos CarTul i. (167)

saparlamento fraqcia "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" Tavmj domare revaz adami ac fiqrobs, rom saqarTvel osTvis neutraliteti SeuZI ebel ia im pirobebSi, romel Si c Cven vCxovrobT. i gi momxrea, rom saqarTvel o nato-Si gawevri anebisaken mi iswrafodes, vi nai dan es marTI ac real uri usafrTxoebiTi qol gaa saqarTvel osTvis". (123)

gansxvavebul i pozicia aqvs parlamentis dsT-s qveynebTan urTierTobis qvekomitetis Tavmj domares, irakli i gogavas: "neutraliteti regionaluri usafrTxoebis arqiteqturis yvel aze kargi model ia. am SemTxevaSi, samxreT kavkasi a iqneba warmodgenil i erTgvari mSvidobi ani buferis saxiT or, istoriul ad dapi rispi rebul Zal as Soris, rogoricaa ruseTi da Turqeti." (122)

saintereso mosazrebebs avi Tarebs "dil is gazeTis" mimomxi vel i vano gamgebel i. misi azriT, rus politol og-analitikosTa mtkicebas, TiTqosda saqarTvel os neutraliteti ver uzrunvel yofs ruseTis usafrTxoebas Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi, sinamdvili eSi sul sxva mizezi aqvs \_ moskovs acofebs is real oba, rom pirvel ad 200 wl is ganmavl obaSi CeCnebma zurgs ukani "araruseTi" igrZnes. ruseTi pl anetis masStabiT veRar Cai Tvl eba aSS-is (dasavl eTis) metoqed, magram postsabWoTa sivrcesi maT daaxl oebiT Tanabari gavl ena aqvT, ruseTi SeiZI eba aWarbebdes ki dec. "neutraliteti Zal ian did Zal as gul isxmobs da moi Txovs. SesazI oa, saqarTvel osTvis amgvari statusi xel sayrel ic iyos, magram Cvens regionSi "neutraluri saqarTvel o" aRiqmeba rogorc buferi or pol uss Soris, amas ki arc erTi maTgani ar dauSvebs." (92)

neutralitetze msjel obis anal ogi ur daskvnas akeTebis gazeT "meridiannis" mimomxi vel i zvi ad arabul i: "saqarTvel os neutraliteti

mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda SesaZI ebel i, Tu igi daefuZneboda erTgvar pol itikur SeTanxmebas, an "geopol itikur Zal Ta bal anss" – regionSi moqmedi yvel a didi saxel mwi fos interesTa "paturi" Tanafardobi s (saWadrako terminiT) real obas. aseTi real oba ki ar arsebobs da al baT aRarc iarsebebs uaxl oes istoriul perspektivaSi." (zviad arabul i, "neitraliteti Tu nato?", "meridiiani", 14 Teberval i, 2001).

neitralitetis Temas ase vrcl ad sagangebod SevexeT ramdenime mizezis gamo: j er erTi, ase kompaqturad, erTbaSad ramdenime gazeTSi am Temis gaSI a saanal izo periodSi sxva dros ar gvxddeba; meorec, aq moxmobil i ci tatebidan da sxva publ ikaci ebi danac, Cans, rom Temis warmoSobas raime konkretul i safuzvel i ara aqvs; garda amisa, saqarTvel os neitraliteti amjerad ufro arareal istur perspektivad aris warmodgenil i, vidre wina wl ebSi am Temaze msj el obisas (gansakuTrebiT, gasul i saukuni s 90-i an wl ebSi); Tanac, saqarTvel oSi amerikel i da rusi samxedroebis erTdrooul i vizitebi, romel Ta sainformacio sababi Tac moxda neitralitetis Temis iniciereba presaSi, faqtobrivid, mediisTvis daxurul i Tema iyo. yovel i ve es gvafiqrebinebs, rom aseT unisonSi neitralitetis Temis warmodgena presaSi garkveul i taqtika iyo, roml is ganxorcil ebisas presa, SesaZI oa, garkveul amocanasac asrul ebda – an saxel mwi foebri vs, an – srul iad sawinnaRmdegos. (am SemTxvevaSi varaudis ufro dakonkretebis safuzvel s arc presa gvaZI evs, arc kompetencia da arc sadisertacio naSromis formati).

ruseT-saqarTvel os uki duresad daZabul i urTierTobi s pirobebSi gansakuTrebul i mni Svnel oba hqonda am ori qveynis prezidentTa Sexvedras, romel ic, rogorc i qna, Sedga 2001 wl is 30 noembers. misi Sedegebis Sefasebis radi kal urad gansxvavebul i iyo e.w. officiozi da danarCeni masmedia.

gazeT "saqarTvel os respubli kis" Sefasebi T, "saqarTvel o-ruseTis "grili urTierToba" axal fazaSi, imedi viqoni oT, daTbobis fazaSi Sevida... es aris Semobrunebis dasawyisi. es ar aris raRac axal i etapi, magram rodesac saqarTvel o-ruseTis xel Sekrul eba momzaddeba da mas xel s movawerT, maSin ki axal i urTierTobi s mSenebl oba daiwyeba." (154)

Tavad prezidentma eduard SevardnaZem, putinTan pirispir Sexvedras "ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierTobebSi Semobrunebis dasawyisi" uwoda, diplomati urad gaamarTI a putinis mkvaxe da uceremonio pasuxi pankisi s incidentis Taobaze da erTgvari kmayofil ebac ki gamotqva misdami ruseTis prezidentis piradi damoki debul ebis gamo. vizitis Semdgom, saqarTvel os

prezidentis orSabaTis tradičiul radiointerviuSi, putinTan Sexvedras ukve "saqarTvel o-ruseTs Soris TanamSroml obis di di gardatexis etapis dasawyisis" Sefaseba mieca: am Sexvedris gamoZaxil i iyo "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" yril obaze prezidentis mier kategoriu ad naTqvami: "**mezobel s veravin Segvicvl is, ruseTTan unda vi mezobi oT!**"

saqarTvel os prezidentisa da oficiozis optimizmi ver gazi ares damouki debel ma tel earxebma da presam.

"dil is gazeTma" eduard SevardnaZis pozicias "sasurvel is sinadvi led gasaReba" uwoda: "**gaugebaria raSi dasWinda SevardnaZes moskovSi misi stumrobis mxol od erTi rakursiT warmodgena da mi fuCeCeba imisa, ramac Cveni sazogadoeba dazafra da gaaogna, anu putiniseul bral debebze wayrueba...** prezidenti xom, amasTan, saxel mwifos suvereni tetis garantia! ami tom, ki dev erTxel gvin da gavimeoroT \_ rodesac saxel mwifos Rirsebas I axaven, **pirvel ma al baT swored misma prezidentma unda aimari os xma da datuqsul i bavSivi T TavCaRunul i ar unda ij des.**" (86)

gazeTebis: "rezonansis", "axal i versiisa" da "al ias" SefasebiT, **moskovuri voiaji saqarTvel osTvis warumatebel i iyo:**

- "rusul -qarTul urTierTobebSi tradičiul i scenari gaTamaSda \_ **moskovma Tbiliss ki dev erTxel dauqni a TiTi.** moskovSi Casul i SevardnaZe, romel sac qveyana rusul ma TviTmfrinavebma swored sai ubi led TariRis wina dRes daubombes, morcil ad ismenda prezident putinis sabral debo si tyvas... sagul isxmoa, rom or qveyanas Soris urTierTobis gaj ansaRebas mxol od ramdenime adami ani, prezidenti SevardnaZe, vaxtang rCeul iSvili, vi adimer gudevi da ki dev ramdenime qarTvel i maRal ci nosani amcnevs. **politikosTa da eqspertTa umravl esoba ki mi cnevs, rom saqarTvel o saomar mdgomareobaSia da ruseTis agresia, Sesazi oa, nebi smier dros ganmeordes.**" (104)
- "SevardnaZesa da putins Soris gamarTul i Sexvedra ruseTis axal gaza  
prezidentis gamarj vebiT dasrul da. saqarTvel os prezidenti, romel ic ruseTs rusul i TviTmfrinavebiT saqarTvel os dabombvis Semdeg estumra, teroristebisa da narkobaronebis mfarvel obaSi dadanaSaul es." (109)
- "tradičiul brifingze prezidenti uzomod karg xasiatze iyo. Tumca, gaugebaria, **warumatebel i moskovuri voijis Semdeg ra acinebda mas?** kreml is axal ma mepatronem qoSi ukuRma yara \_ ra dabombva, ris dabombvao. prezident SevardnaZes xmac ar amouRia. rusul i masmedia mas Semdeg saqarTvel os dascini s da amasxaravebs." (129)

amgvar fonze konstruqciul i iyo gazeT "dronis" moskovel i korespondentis mier momzadebul i publ ikacia, romel ic sagul i sxmo daskvni T mTavrdeba: "putin-SevardnaZis saj aro, si tyvieri paeqrobis mi uxedavad, rusi damkviri ebi aRni Snaven, rom "saqarTvel o gadaurCa ruseTTan real ur konfrontacias". ruseT-saqarTvel os Soris axal i urTierTobebis Camoyal i beba SevardnaZis epoqis dasrul s daemTxveva." (145)

am Sexvedram damatebiTi stimul i misca qarTul i politikuri speqtris Cveul debatebs dasavl eT-Crdil oeTis Temaze. magal iTad, ruseTis faqtori, tel ekompania "pirvel i arxis" pirdapi r eTerSi, "ganxeTqil ebis vaSI ad" iqca parlamentarebis \_ gia baramiZisa ("moqkavSiri") da j emal gogi tiziSTvis ("aRorZineba"); j emal gogi tizem ruseTTan "aRorZinebis", asl an abaSiZisa da, saer Tod, awaris damoki debul ebas, real isturi uwoda; am pozicisiis sapi ri spiro da kategoriul i iyo gia baramiZis Sefaseba \_ ruseTze didi mteri saqarTvel os ar hyavs, Tqven ki mas dauweqi To.

qarTvel ma social istebma da maTma l iderma vaxtang rCeul i Svi l ma gaaaqtiques TavianTi rusul i orientaciis afiSi reba. vaxtang rCeul i Svi l is Tval sazrisi aseTia: "Tu ruseTTan ar gamosworda urTierToba, TurqeTis guberniad gadavi qcevi T. me arc TurqeTis guberni oba minda, arc ruseTis, minda saqarTvel o gaxdes evropis Rirseul i wevri da amaSi, rogorc TurqeTi, aseve ruseTic unda dagvexmaros. dRes, roca putini Semotrial da saqarTvel osaken, gaCnda wi napi roba, rom aRvadginoT ruseTTan urTierToba, am dros xel s gviSi ian Cveni, qarTvel i politikosebi, vinc gvRupavdnen da dResac ruseTTan civi omis politikas atareben". (146)

SevardnaZe-putinis Sexvedris Sedegebs gul isxmobda, upirvel es yovl i sa, sagareo saqmeTa ministri irakl i menaRari Svi l i, roca 2001 wl is Sefasebisas erT-erT mTavar Sedegad ruseTTan urTierTobis darekul ireba, movl enebis negatiuri ganviTarebis SeCereba mi i Cni a. (t/k "I arxi", "me-9 arxi", 4-6 i anvis sainformacio programebi, 2002)

2001-dan 2002-i sken gardamaval i periodi gardamtxi etapi iyo Crdi l oeT-dasavl eTs Soris l avirebis (met-nakl ebi warmatebiT) dasrul ebisa da erTi konkretul i veqtorisTvis prioritetis miniWebis procesisTvis. 2002 wl is gazafxul ze SeerTebul ma Statebma dai wyo saqarTvel os SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi saTvis "wrTvni sa da aRWurvis" maval millionani programis ganxorciel eba. 2002 wl is noemberSi, nato-s prarlis samitze, saqarTvel om oficial urad ganacxada Tavis i survili \_ gamxdariyo nato-s wevri. saqarTvel oSi dai wyo regul arul i samxedro varjiSebis Catareba nato-s

programis – "partneroba mSvidobi saTvis" fargl ebSi, aSS-sa da Turqetis daxmareba samxedro teqni kiT, evrokavSir is mier ganxorciel ebul i teqni kuri daxmarebis programebi da a.S.

am procesebs win uZRoda 2001 wl is dekemberSi aSS-is Tavdacvis ministris, ramsfel dis viziti saqarTvel oSi. es faqt presiTvis erTgvari signal i gaxda imi saTvis, rom maqsimal uri TavSekaveba gamoeCinaT da morideboden radikal ur Sefasebebs. amj erad Jurnal istebi pozitivur kontestSi aqceven prezidentis I avirebis politikas da Tavadac cdi l oben mozomil i komentarebiT Semoifargl on. "**saqarTvel os xel isufl eba ecdeba, moqmdebis iseTi taqtika aircios, rom arc mwadi dawas da arc Samfuri.** savaraudod, Tavdacvis ministrTan (ramsfel dTan – l.k.) Sexvedris dros qarTul i mxare ecdeba, raketsawi naaRmdego Tavdacvis sistemi dan aSS-is gamosvl is Sefasebisas zomieri iyos da ruseTis gaRizianeba ar gamoi wvi os... maRaI Cinosani amerikel is saqarTvel oSi viziti, eqspertebis azriT, Seanel ebs im agresias, rac, Sesazl oa, ruseTma kavkasiis regionis mimarT gamoavl inos", – werda gazeTi "rezonansi." (105)

vizitis gaSuqebisas gazeTi "kviris pal itra" yuradRebas amaxvi l ebs ara mxol od qarTul i, aramed amerikul i mxaris TavSekavebul poziciaze: "**SevardnaZem erTgvari reveransi mai nc gaakeTa putinis misamarTiT** (ramsfel ds ruseTze krintic ar dauZravs, miuxedavad imisa, rom komentari sTxoves ruseTis aviaciis mier saqarTvel os teritoriis dabombvis Sesaxeb) da brZana: "miuxedavad imisa, rom putinma Secdoma uwoda vaSingtonis gadawyvetil ebas raketsawi naaRmdego xel Sekrul ebi dan gasvl astan dakavSi rebiT, putinis gamosvl a stabil urobis garantiebis samarTI ebrivi bazis Seqmnaze iyo aqcentirebul i, rac xel s Seuwyobs aSS-ruseTis TanamSroml obaso". (142)

am periodidan moyol ebul i **saqarTvel o-ruseTis urTierTobis peripetiebi qarTul masmedi aSi Ti Tqmis aRar gani xi l eba amerikasTan mimarTebis gareSe.** Tu wina wl ebSi politikosebis, saer Tod, sazogadoebisa da, Sesabami sad, Jurnal istebis aqcenti ori uki duresobiT xasiaTdeboda \_ ruseTi an dasavl eTi, es tendencia presaSi TandaTan Seicval a urTierTmimarTebiT – **saqarTvel o aSS-isa da ruseTis interessebs Soris.** es zogadi tendencia, ra Tqmunda, ar gamoricxavs am tipis radikal ur Sexedul ebebs: erTis mxriv, rusul i safrTxis metismetad gazviadebas da ruseTis areal Si darCenis warmodgenas gardauval aucil ebl obad; meores mxriv, amerikul i yovl issSemzl eobis gafetiSebas. masmedi aSi ufro da ufro mkveTrad warmocindeba tendencia, rom dasavl eT-saqarTvel os urTierTda interesseba

kvl avindeburad Zabavs saqarTvel o-ruseTis urTierTobebs da es daZabul oba dasavl eTTan saqarTvel os integraci is Sansebis gazrdi s pirdapi rproporciul ad mZafrdeba.

2002 wl is ivl is-agvistoSi, ruseTis provokaci ebi sa da mosal odnel i agresi is safrTxis gaSuqe bissas, qarTul presaSi arsebi Ti cvl il ebebi gaCnda \_ imata Jurnal isturma gansj am da anal izma, movl enebs Soris urTierTkavSir is dadgenisa da poziciebis Sej erebis mcdel obam; SesamCnevad gamkveTrda aqcenti saxel mwifoebriv interesze. am Tval sazrisiT gansakuTrebiT sayuradReboa gazeTi "rezonansi", romel mac, rogorc ukve aRvni SneT erT-erT qveTavSi, mni Svnel ovani rol i Seasrul a "wrTvni sa da aRWurvis" programisa da Crdil oatl anti kuri orientaci is Tvis saTanado sainformacio fonis Sesaqmnel ad (igive SeiZI eba iTqvas 2002 wl is mai sSi daarsebul gazeT "24 saatZec, romel ic, saerTod, gamoirCeva dasavl ur liberal ur Ri nebul ebebze orientaci iT).

"rezonansi" wamyvani Jurnal isti el iso Cafize "morige redaqtoris svetSi" mkafiod gamoxatavs Tavisi da redaqci is pozicias putinis mier saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mimarT gakeTebul i mkacri gancxadebis gamo: "ruseTis presidentis gancxadebaSi farul i muqara JRerda, man qarTvel i xal xi da xel isufl eba gamij na. keTil i xal xi, boroti xel isufl eba... am gancxadebi dan saqarTvel oSi saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis organi zebamde didi ruseTis Cekistur organo ebs erTi nabi j i Ra aSorebT... amxanag putinis gasagonad unda iTqvas, rom ramdenadac cudi xel isufl eba unda gvyavdes, misi lanZRva saqarTvel os moqal aqeebis prerogativaa. saqarTvel os prezi denti ruseTis presidentis gasal anZRi ar aris." (165)

Jurnal isturi aqcenti ruseTis presidentis farul muqaraze adekvaturia im real uri safrTxisa, rac presaSi pirdapi r i wodeba omis safrTxed. "saqarTvel o da ruseTi omis zRvarze" ("al ia", 01.08.2002), "ruseTi saqarTvel oSi oms iwyebis" ("qroni ka", 05.08.2002) \_ publ ikaci aTa amgvari saTaurebi, wina periodebi sagan gansxvavebiT, amj erad ar aris utri rebul i panki sis sababiT saqarTvel oze ruseTis gal aSqrebis ritorika gacil ebiT ufro ZI ieri iyo im periodis rusul sainformacio sivrceSi, vidre 2001 wl is damdegs. ni Sandobl ivia, rom 2001 wel s, saqarTvel oSi mosal odnel i rusul i agresi is Temaze msj el obisas, oficial uri moskovis pozicia Riad ar fiqsirdeboda, saqarTvel os teritoriis morigi dabombvis SemTxvevaSi ki Cndeboda bundovani mi ni Sneba rusi maRal Cinosani samxedroebis Tvi Tneburi moqmedebis Taobaze. amj erad qarTul masmedi as aRar dasWinda "ori ruseTis"

Temaze msj el oba, radgan oficialuri ruseTis pozicia "Savi generl ebis" Tval Taxedvas daemTxva:

- "ruseTis Tavdacvis ministrma sergei ivanovma xmamaRI a ganacxada, rom pankisis xeobis probl ema mxol od Zal i smieri metodebi T gadawydeba. "yel Si amomi vi da uazro mol aparakebebi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebasTan, \_ ambobs i avanovi, \_ panki sSi Cven uaxl oes dReebSi "specnatz" Sevi yvanT." ("xval indel i dRe", 31.07.2002)
- putinis mrCevel i sergei iastrJembksi: "qarTvel ebma pankisis xeoba "praxadnoi dvorad" aqcies da, droa, amas erTxel da samudamod daesvas wertili." ("xval indel i dRe", 31.07.2002)

qarTul i presis publ i kaciebSi (roml ebic, arsebi Tad, emyareba rusul i mediis masal ebs) koncentrirebul ia pankisis probl emasTan dakavSi rebi T ori ve mxaris \_ ruseTisa da saqarTvel os pozicia:

oficialuri moskovi panki sSi operaciis Catarebas ki aRar i Txovs, aramed moi Txovs; oficialuri ruseTi aSS-s sTxovs mxardaweras saqarTvel oSi anti teroristul i operaciis Casatarebl ad \_ saqarTvel om xom, bol os da bol os, aRiara CeCeni boevi kebis arseboba; ruseTis federaciis sabWo mzad aris Sesabamisi operaciisTvis nebis dasarTavad, xol o sahaero-sadesanto jarebi da maTi sardal i mxol od brZanebas el odebian specoperaciis dasawyebad; oficialuri ruseTis pozicias eTanxmeba CeCneTis mTavrobi s Tavm domare, romelic SesaZI ebl ad mi i Cnevs boevi kTa saqarTvel os teritoriale ganadgurebas; rac mTavaria, ruseTs ukve Semzadebul i aqvs sazogadoebri azri, romelic formul asaviT yal ibdeba rusul mediaSi gaCenil aseT mosazrebaSi: "amerikis gamocdi l eba gvi Cvenebs, rom terorizmTan brZol is dros erovnul i sazRvrebi suverenul i aRar aris."

saqarTvel os xel isufl eba jerj erobi T ruseTs uZal i andeba da pankisis xeobaSi samxedro operaciis Catarebis ufl ebas ar aZI evs da, Tavis mxriv, ruseTs adanaSaul ebs CeCeni mebrZol ebi s i arari T momaragebaSi.

arsebi Ti gansxvaveba ruseTisa da saqarTvel os urTierTdadanaSaul ebi sas is aris, rom ruseTi Tavis pozicias faqtebi T amyarebs, saqarTvel os mxareki, rogorc presa wers, "faqtebs sapnis buStivi T uSvebs xel i dan"; oficialuri Tbilisi xSirad urTierTgamomri cxav informaci ebs avrcel ebs, erTmaneTs ewinaaRmdegeba Zal ovani uwyebebi s komentarebic.

paral el urad, "qarTul safrTxes", romelic musirebda ruseTis sainformacio saSual ebi s, afxazeTSi rusul i samxedro Zal ebi s

koncentrirebiTa da daqiravebul CrdiI okavkasiel "moxal i seTa" gaaqtirebiT upasuxes (iseve, rogorc 2001 wl is oqtomber-noemberSi da 2001 wl is april Si). qarTul mediaSi gaCnda informacia, rom, amj erad, "moxal i seTa" raodenoba orjer metia, vidre afxazeTis omis dros; amave dros, tyvarcel Si afxazur-osuri erTobl ivi wrTvnebisTvisac emzadebi an... anu, rogorc yovel Tvis, movl enebis uki dures gamwvavebas pankisis sababiT, Tan daerTo afxazeTis koziris amoqmedeba \_ ori fronti erTdroul ad, pol i tiki, ekonomikuri da social uri fagtorebis maqsimal uri gamwvavebis Tanxl ebiT.

am fonze qarTvel i Jurnal istebi TavianT xel isufi ebas ruseTisaTvis adekvaturi pasuxis gauceml obaSi adanaSaul eben, Tumc, ukve saqarTvel os mxridanac iqnmneba movl enebisaTvis saxel is darqmeyis oficialuri precendent. "ufrosi Zmis rol i, romel sac SeuZl ia umcross yovel Tvis TavSi urtyas, mi uRebel ia. amas aravin aitans da arc Cven vapirebT," \_ amgvarad gamoxata oficialuri pozicia, ruseTis samxedro Tvi Tmfrinavebis mier pankisis xeobis teritoriis dabombvasTan da SemdgomSi ruseTis xel isufi ebi reaqciastan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os prezidentis pres-mdivanma kaxa imnaZem, special urad gamarTul brifingze, \_ "rodesac es uzarmazari samxedro manqana, romel ic ruseTs aqvs, ver axerxebs wesrigis damyarebas sakuTar teritoriale, maT isRa darCeniaT gantevebis vaci moZebnon, an Seqmnani mtris xati. yovel SemTxvevaSi aSkarad cdil oben, rom aseT mtris xataad warmocindes saqarTvel o, rogorc mizezi ruseTis yvel a ubedurebi sa. magram es aris maTi WeSmari teba, romel sac kategoriul ad ar eTanxmeba mTel i civil izebul i msofi io." (155)

prezidentma, eduard SevardnaZem, tradiciul radiointerviuSi mkafid od gamoxata pankisis problemis arsi: "is, rac xeobaSi xdeba, saqarTvel os arCevani ar yofil a da pankisis probleman ki ar ganapi roba CeCneTis movl enebi, aramed, piriqiT, CeCneTSi arsebul ma vi Tarebam ganapi roba mdgomareobis garTul eba pankisiSi"; xol o masmediisTvis gamarTul tradiciul brifingze \_ saqarTvel os mtkece pozicia: "pankisis problema xel ovnurad aris Seqmnili. Cven es problema Tavs mogvaxvi es. axla saqarTvel os aqvs Sesazi ebl oba rom pankisis problema damouki debi ad gadawyvi tos. gadawwyetT ki dec. mi gvaCnia, rom ucxoetis saxel mwi foebis samxedro Careva dauSvebel ia da arc davuSvebT."B(156)

ruseTis "sagareo politikis nacionaluri Iaboratoriis" internet-saitze ganTavsebul analitikur masal aSi ("politikuri situacia saqarTvel oSi") ruseTTan mimarTebaSi saqarTvel os poziciis gamyareba

amerikis mxardaweris faqtorTanaa dakavSi rebul i: "aSS-sTan samxedro TanamSroml obis faqtma mkveTrad aamaRI a qarTul i el itis Tvi TSefaseba da ubi Zga mas rusul -qarTul i urTierTobis Segnebul i gamwvavebi saken. SemTxvevi Ti ar iyo, rom boris pastuxovTan Sexvedrisas prezidentma SevardnaZem ruseTis warmomadgenel s mkveTri Seki Txva dausva: "Tqven ver xvdebi T, vis wi naaRmdeg waxvedi T?" (58)

gazeTma "rezonansma", saqarTvel os sagareo da saSi nao probl emebTan ruseT-aSS/dasavl eTis interesebis mimarTeba maval mxriv gaaanal iza ara mxol od agvistos, aramed mogvianebeTi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis konteqstSi. magal i Tad, ruseTis mier saqarTvel osaTvis Tavisi sahaero sivrcis gadaketvasa da Semotevebis morig gaaqtiurebas "rezonansi" akavSi rebs saqarTvel oSi aSS-is kongresmenebis stumrobasTan (romel Ta vizit is mi zani saqarTvel osTvis aSS-is mTavrobis Tanadgomis oficial uri dadastureba iyo) da baqo-Tbi l isi j eihani s mil sadenis mSenebl obis dawyebis Taobaze sabol oo gadawyvetil ebis mi RebasTan: "arsebobs informacia rom ruseTis specsamsaxurebi aqturad "averbovkeben" qarTvel samxedroeb, muSaoben politikur partiebSi... maTive xel SewyobiT xdeba religiuri dapi rispirebi sa da egzal tirebul i politikuri gancxadebebis ajiti reba. dRes saqarTvel om unda gadadgas Zal ian frTxil i da gonivrul i nabi jebi imi saTvis, rom am TamaSi dan mogebul i gamovi des." (169)

gazeT "rezonansTan" intervieuSi, saqarTvel os navTobis saerTaSori so korporaciis prezidenti giorgi Wanturia varaudobs, rom navTobsadenis mSenebl obis dawyebis gamo "ruseTis mxridan saqarTvel oze zewol a kidev ufro gai zrdeba": "ici T, ratom bombavs ruseTi saqarTvel os? ruseTma Zal ian kargad icis, rom saqarTvel o aris yvel aze central uri da gadamwyeti teritoria dRes geopolitikurad, social urad, politikurad, strategiul ad, razec gadis ara marto energoderefani, aramed gadis msofi io Rerzi"; "Cven ruseTs veubnebiT, rom es ar aris marto aRmosavl eT-dasavl eTis derefani. es aris Crdil oeT-samxreTis derefani c." (119)

rogorc aRvni SNeT, 2002 wl is noemberSi, nato-s prarisi samitze, saqarTvel om oficial urad ganacxada Tavisi survili – gamxdariyo nato-s wevri. 11 oqtombers, parlamentSi prezident eduard SevardnaZis moxsenebis msvl el obisas, darbazi erTobl ivad, protestul ad datoves fraqciebma da politikerponebma, roml ebic presam pirobi Tad gaaerTiana saerTo saxel wodebiT – "demarSistebi". xuTi saparlamento fraqciisTvis ("gaerTianebul i demokratebi", "nacionaluri mozaoba", "axal i memarj veneebi",

"tradicional istebi" da "axal i afxazeTi") mi uRebel i aRmočnda prezidentis saangari So gamosvl a, romel mac, opozicionerTa mtkicebi T, "qveyni saTvis arc erT saWirboroto ki Txvas ar gasca pasuxi." imave dRes oTxma opoziciurma fraqciam erTobl ivi preskonferencia gamarTa da sazogadoebas amcno, rom amieri dan maTi mi zani "saqarTvel oSi dRes arsebul pol i tiku mmarTvel obasTan erTobl ivi brZol a gaxdeba." presaSi meore dResve gačnda mosazrebebi, rom es aqcia spontanuri ar yofil a; "rezonansi" wera: "nacional ebi s" warmomadgenel i vano merabi Svi l i ar mal avs, rom opoziciurma fraqciatA gaerTi aneba SevardnaZis xel isufi ebi s damxobi saTvis moxda." ("rezonansi", 19.10.2002) politikosTa erTi nawil i da, Sesabami sad, presa, demarSs rusul i interesis gamoxatvad mi Cnevs, mediaSi i sev Cndebea terminebi: "mexuTe kol ona", "saSemodgomo destabilizacia", "qaosi", "areul oba" da a.S. zogan mi ni Snejbi Ta da qveteqstebi T, zogan ki pirdapir, opoziciis qmedeba natosTan saqarTvel os mimarTebasa da saerTaSori so energetikul i proeqtebis TemasTan dakavSi rda: "noemberSi saqarTvel om nato-Si Sesvl asTan dakavSi rebi T ganacxadi unda gaakeTos. ar aris gamoricxul i, rom opoziciis nabij ma istoriul i gadawyetyl ebi s miRebas SeuSal os xel i"; "rac Seexeba nato-Si gawevri anebas, misdami xel is SeSi as adgil i eqneba, magram ara imdenad, ramdenadac navTobsadeni s saki Txis gamo." ("rezonansi", 12 oqtomberi, 22 oqtomberi, 2002).

\*

"vardebis revolučiis" Semdeg qarTul da ucxour mediaSi ganvi Tarebul i sagareo aqcentebi, saerTo j amSi, amvar formul irebebamde dai yvaneba: saqarTvel os gamo aSS-sa da ruseTs Soris, Sesazi oa, civi omi daiwyos; ruseTs ar sura saqarTvel os gamo aSS-sTan Sej axebe; aSS saqarTvel os gamo ruseTTan urTierTobas ar daZabavs; vaSingoni ca da moskovic dainteresebul ebi arian, rom saqarTvel os aacil on qaosSi CaZirva da destabilizacia; saqarTvel oSi aSS-is interes \_ demokratiaa, ruseTis \_ arastabil uroba; aSS mxars ulvers burjanaZis model s \_ saqarTvel o-aSS-ruseTis samkuTxedis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, romel Sic partniorebi Tanasworufl ebi ani iqnebian; ruseTi saqarTvel osTan urTierTobaSi "samkuTxedebi s" da Suamavl ebi s wi naaRmdegi a.

mas Semdeg, rac prezident SevardnaZis mmarTvel obi s dr os saqarTvel o dekl ar i rebul ad adga dasavl ur kurss, i Rebda aSS-is samxedro Tu ekonomi kur daxmarebasa da mxardaweras; amasTan, iyo dsT-is wevri saxel mwi fo da arasodes uaryofda ruseTis faqtors, Rerzi \_ saqarTvel o-aSS-ruseTi (an \_

piriqiT) yovel Tvis iyo real uri da aqtual uri. am viTarebas yvel aze kargad gamoxatavs I ondonel i anal itikosis si tyvebi: "qarTvel ebi ukve di di xani a mi eCvi vnen, rom maT amerikel ebi anebivreben da rusebi aSineben, maTi xel mZRvanel oba ki erTsac aqzebs da meoresac." ("svobodnai a gruzia", 06.12.2003)

ruseTis interesma saqarTvel osTvis yvel aze kritikul momentSiC ki i Ci na Tavi: "gamal ebul i konsul taciebis dros, roca saqarTvel oSi xel i sufl ebis Secvl amde sul raRac ori saaTi rCeboda, ivanovma or qveyanas Soris CarCo-xel Sekrul ebis aucil ebl obaze gaamaxvi l a yuradReba", \_ werda "mTavari gazeTi". ("mTavari gazeTi", 25.11.2003) gansxvavebiT aSS-is pozici i sagan, ruseTis prezidentma SeSfoTeba gamoTqva imis gamo, rom saqarTvel oSi xel i sufl ebis Secvl a eduard SevardnaZeze Zi ieri zewol is Sedegad moxda da, amasTan, demonstratiul ad ganacxada, rom SevardnaZe diqtatori arasodes yofil a. rogorc Cans, am ganxadebis mi Rma i ki Txeba damoki debul eba im procesebis mimarT, romel mac saqarTvel oSi xel i sufl ebis Secvl a moaxdina ruseTis primatis gareSe. sagareo saqmeta ministris, igor ivanovis warmogzavna saqarTvel oSi upirvel esad amave konteqstSi j deba \_ ruseTma daafiqsi ra Tavis i mni Svnel oba saqarTvel oSi, anu is, rom mis gareSe am qveyanaSi arafe ri xdeba. es iyo Zal ze mni Svnel ovani mesij i, erTdroul ad orientirebul i sakutri v saqarTvel osa da dasavl eTzec. presis anal iziT ikveTeba, rom ruseTis faqtori momaval saprezidento da saparl amento arCevnebze, dasavl eTis Zal isxmevit, minimumamde unda Semci rebul iyo; rom amisaTvis, evropul i oj axi da aSS, arc finansebs daiSureben da arc sxva saxi s daxmarebas. paral el urad, presaSi ikveTeba "rusul i faqtoris" sxvagvari gavl ena \_ tradiciul ad, pirdapir Tu iribad, "rusul xel weraSTan" kavSi rdeba "dinami kuri qaosis" Seqmnis mcdel oba, roml is ganxorciel eba eWwqveS daayenebs "vardebis revolu ciis" monapovars da, el ementarul ad, CaSI is arCevnebs. rogorc "mTavari gazeTi" aRni Snavs, "rusul veb-gverdebze, j er ki dev SevardnaZis gadadgomamde ganTavsebul statiebSi, saqarTvel oSi arsebul i konfi iqtis saakaSvil i-burj anaZe-Jvani as sasargebl od gadawyeta ruseTisTvis yvel aze nakl eb sasargebl o scenarad aris Sefasebul i." ("mTavari gazeTi", 25.11.2003)

sagul isxmoa rusul i mediis aqcentebi saqarTvel os daSi is Sesazi ebl obis Taobaze: "radikal i nacionaI ebisa" da maTi I i deris, mixeil saakaSvil is xel i sufl ebaSi mosvl is SemTxvevaSi gardauval ia Seiararebul i konfi iqtis awarasTan; Tbilissi xel i sufl ebis Secvl is SemTxvevaSi awaris

sazRvrebis Caketvis muqara am regionis saqarTvel osagan gamoyofis pirvel i simptomi a; **javaxeTSi** dasaxl ebul somxebTan SevardnaZeEaxerxebda saerTo eni s gamonaxvas, qarTvel i radikal ebis nacinaluri gancxadebebi ki maT aSi nebT. somxebTan **SesaZI o Setakeba**, samxedro bazebis faqtoris gaTval i swinebi T, konfl iqtSi ruseTis **CarTvis winapi robas Seqmnis**; Tbilisi nacinaluri opozicii xel isufl ebaSi mosvl i SemTxvevaSi, afxazeTisa da **samxreT oseTis** konfl iqtEBIS mogvarebis **SesaZI ebl oba** ki dev di di xni T gadai wevs ukani. prezidentis rangSi saakaSvi i is gamocena "araRi arebul i qveynebis" xel mZRvanel obas ai Zul ebs ki dev erTxel wamoayenon ruseTis Semadgeni obaSi maTi Seyvanis saki Txi. saSi Si precendentis Seqmnis sababi T, ruseTi izul ebul i iqneba maT uariT upasuxos. kreml is mxridan sxvanair reaqcias im SemTxvevaSi unda vel odoT, Tu Tbilisi aSkara antirusul kampanias wamoiwyebi. rusul i internet-gamocemebi xel isufl ebaSi saakaSvi i is mosvl as ukavSi reben urTierTobis mosal odnel gauaresebas mezobel qveynebTan \_ azerbaijans da somxeTTan. somxeTTan dakavSi rebiT rusul i mediis aqcenti ki dev ufro mkveTria \_ Tu qarTvel i radikal ebi somxeTs bl okadas gamoucxadeben, ruseTis mokavSi re qveyanas ekonomikuri kol afsi el i s. "dil is gazeTi" aqveynebs rusul i Jurnal i s, "**i togi**"-s mosazrebas, rom **saqarTvel o dgas Zal ian seriozul i safrTxis winaSe** \_ daiSal os ramdenime saxel mwi fod. ("dil is gazeTi", 02.12.2003)

mediaSi aqtauluria aqcenti, rom **saqarTvel o kvl av rCeba ruseTisa da aSS-i s interesTa Sej axebis** (zogjer \_ urTierTdamTxvevis) asparezad. sayuradReboa, moskovSi nino burj anaZis (saqarTvel os prezidentis moval eobis Semsrul ebl i s) vizitis win rusul i mediis mier Seqmni i foni: SesaZI oa, saqarTvel osa da ruseTis urTierTobebi 2002 wl i s 11 seqtembris scenariT ganvi Tardes; "maSin ruseTis xel isufl ebam saqarTvel os, faqtobrivad, omi gamoucxada, Tumca, aSS-i s mKacri pozicii s gamo kreml i izul ebul i gaxda muqara mxol od muqarad daetovebina. rogorc Cans, kreml i da misi mesveuri **saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl ebis mdgradobas amjamadac** "kbi l s usinj avs" da cdi l obs imis garkvevas, kvl av dauwers Tu ara ase aqtiurad mxars TeTri saxl i oficial ur Tbilissi." ("mTavari gazeTi", 19.12.2003)

"vardebis revoluksiis" Semdeg saqarTvel os sagareo prioritetebsi ZI ierdeba **evropasTan** dakavSi rebul i aqcenti. "**saqarTvel o arc prorusul i iqneba da arc proamerikuli i, saqarTvel o iqneba proqartul i da proevropul i**", \_ ganacxada strasburgSi Tavisi pirvel i turnes fargl ebSi gamartul i Sexvedrebi sas saqarTvel os prezidentma mi xeli saakaSvi ma ("mTavari gazeTi",

29.01.2004); xol o evrokavSiri saparl amento asambl eis zamTris sesi aze si tyvi T gamosvl isas ase Camoayal i ba saqarTvel os axal i xel isufi ebis sagareo veqtori: "dRes Cveni erTaderTi ambi ciaa gavxdeT evrokavSiri sruI ufl ebiani wevri... saqarTvel os Zal i an di di xnis da kargi urTierTdamoki debul eba aqvs aSS-sTan. SeerTebul ma Statebma Cven gaci l ebi T meti daxmareba gagvi wi a, vi dre Cven vel odebodi T... Cven, aseve, urTierTdamoki debul eba da partni oroba gvaqs ruseTTan... me Tanaxma var gavaumj obeso ruseTTan urTierToba, vi megobro ruseTTan da megobrobi s xel i gavuwodo prezident putins, roca mas vewvevi ruseTSi." ("24 saaTi", 29.01.2004)

presam yuradReba mi aqcia sagareo aqcentebis mkveTr cvl il ebas da **axal** i xel isufi ebis "proevropul oba" axsna erTgvari dipl omatiuri TamaSiT, roml is meSveobi Tac Crdil oel mezobel s ar gaaRizianebs gamokveTi i amerikul i aqcentiT. ruseTTan mimarTebaSi prezident saakaSvil is sagangebo damoki debul eba marTI ac igrznoba presaSi: xazgasmi Taa aRni Snul i rom saakaSvil ma pirvel i vizitis prioriteti ruseTs mianiWa da ara aSS-s; i seTi STabeWdil ebac iqmneba, rom moskovSi saqarTvel os prezidentis vizitis momgebiani sainformacio suraTi ar unda daCrdil os aSS-Si misma vizitma (SeerTebul StatebSi mixeil saakaSvil is vizitis amsaxvel ma publ ikaci ebma zogierT gazeTSi me-4, me-5 gverdebisken gadainacvl a da, saerTo jaamSi, ar miuRia i seTi farTo gamoxmaureba, rogorc ruseTSi vizits). ruseTi sadmi si frTxil igrznoba saqarTvel osTvis Zal ze mni Snel ovani nato-s stambul is samitis (2004 wl is ivnisi) gaSuqebis; samitis amsaxvel masal ebSi presa aRni Snavda, rom nato saqarTvel osTvis kvl av prioritetia, magram, ruseTis faqtoris gamo, "icqare nel as" principi ufro misaRebia. rogorc Cans, "sainformacio TavSekavebac" nato-s Temis afiSi rebi sgan amiT aris ganpi robebul i.

mixeil saakaSvil is viziti ruseTSi, romel sac rusul ma medium ara mxol od warmatebul i, epoqal uric uwoda, miznad isaxavda: urTierTobis dawyebas "sufTa furcl i dan" ("putini da saakaSvil i wi namorbedebis qmedebebze pasuxs ar ageben"); dasavl eTTan saqarTvel os urTierTobis gamo ruseTis gaRizi anebis ganei tral ebas (saakaSvil i: "ruseTs saqarTvel osTan urTierTobaSi vercerTi qveyana konkurencias ver gauwevs"; "saqarTvel o ar aris aSS-i sa da ruseTis dapi rispirebis adgil i"); ekonomi kuri urTierTobis mogvarebas (saakaSvil i: "qarTul i brendebi rusul bazarze unda davabrunoT") zemoqmedebas ruseTis sazogadoebriv azrze (saakaSvil i: saqarTvel os imij i ruseTSi uki duresad Seryeul ia da Cveni mTavari amocana sazogadoebri i

**azris Secvl aa)** da a.S. presam sagangebod aRni Sna, rom saqarTvel os prezidentma evropul i orientacia am vizitis drosac wi na planze wamoswia da ruseTTan erTad evropaSi integraciis survil i gaaJReRa; amasTan, presa aRni Snavda, rom ruseTSi viziti im warmatebul i "piaris" nawili ia, roml iTac prezidenti axal i xel isufl ebis naklis dafarvas cdil obs; am etapze saqarTvel os gacil ebiT di di berketi aqvs vaSingtonis mxardaweris saxiT, vidre putinTan damegobrebaa. ("di l is gazeTi", "rezonansi", "24 saaTi", "mTavari gazeTi", 11-13 Teberval i, 2004)

aRsani Snavia erTi garemoebac \_ parlamentis Tavmj domarem, nino burj anaZem deputatebs sTxova mxari daewiratiParl amentis mier msofl io savaWro organi zaci aSi ruseTis gawevrianebis wi naaRmddeg adre mi Rebul i dadgenil ebis SeCerebisTvis. am Txovnas opoziciis protesti mohyva da presaSi aqcenti \_ proamerikel i politikosebis prorusul ebad gardaqmnis gamo. ("24 saaTi", 17.02.2004) am fonze gazeTi "al ia" wers, rom "saakaSvi l i ruseTi sTvis veeberTel a pozitiuri potencialis matarebel ia" \_ saqarTvel os magal iTi dsT-s qveynebs aSS-sgan gani zi davs; maT urCevni aT ruseTis umcrosi partniorebi iyvnen, vidre saqarTvel osaviT aSS-is kol oni ebi. ("al ia", 10.02.2004)

saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl ebis axal i sagareo politikuri kursis gamokveTi sTvis mni Svnel ovani iyo mixeil saakaSvi l is viziti safrangeTSi da novacia \_ saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministrad safrangeTis moqal aqis, salome zurabi Svi l is dani Svna. "evropa Cveni momaval ia, amerika ki Tvi TdamkvidrebaSi gvexmareba", \_ mixeil saakaSvi l is es pasuxi frangi Jurnal istebis ki Txvaze \_ "evropa Tu amerika", rogorc Cans, ara mxol od dipl omatiuri reveransia, aramed, erTgvari formulac saqarTvel os sagareo urTierTobebis perspektivis gansazRvrtsTvis.

2004 wl is martis presaSi ganvi Tarebul i mosazrebebi adasturebs, rom am urTierTobebis ampli tuda damoki debul ia ara mxol od amerika-evropaze, misi wonasworobis wertil s ruseTi gansazRvrav. ufro metic, safrangeTSi saakaSvi l is vizitic, upirvel es yovl isa, am Wril Si ganixil eba \_ rogorc xidi ruseTTan urTierTobis mogvarebisaTvis, rac aratu ewi naaRmdgeeba, aramed eTanjmeba ki dec aSS-is interess. "qveynis sagareo kursis umTavresi mimarTul eba ki evrokavSirSi integrireba da ruseTTan urTierTobis mowesrigeba iqneba", \_ aRni Snavda "mTavari gazeTi". \_ "prezidenti ar mal avs, rom mas ruseTTan urTierTobis da Tboba eCqareba da am misias im qveynis dipl omats andobs, roml is mTavrobasic oficial ur moskovTan kargi urTierToba aqvs. rogorc iirkveva, Sirakisa da saakaSvi l is pirispireba saubrisas

ruseTTan urTi erToba erT-erTi Ziri Tadi saki Tx i yofil a." ("mTavari gazeTi", 10.03.2004) "di l is gazeTi" werda: "mi xeil saakaSvi l is gancxadebi T, man Siraki sagan mi i Ro garantia, rom safrangeTi evropaSi integraciis procesSi dagvexmareba; gamocdi l i diplomatis, pirvel i emigraciis Tval saCino warmonadgenl ebis STamomavl is \_ sal ome zurabi Svi l is ministris postze dani Svna ki imeds aZl evs, rom saqarTvel os sagareo kursi warmatebul i iqneba. Tavad sal ome zurabi Svi l is formul irebi T, "es aris safrangeTis saCuqari saqarTvel osTvis, safrangeTi mzadaa axal i saqarTvel os mSenebl obaSi mi i Ros monawil eoba." ("di l is gazeTi", 12.03.2004)

martis presa sayuradReboa im Tval sazrisi Tac, rom modurad qceul i cneba \_ evroatl antikuri integracia konkretikas iZens, Cndeba axal i ni uansebi evrokavSi rsa da nato-sTan saqarTvel os mimar TebaSi. evrokavSi ri cal ke saqarTvel os misi wetrobis kandidatad ar gani xi l avda; saqarTvel o, mTI i ani samxreTkavkasiis regionis fargl ebSi, saxarbiel o vi TarebaSi ar imyofeboda. "vardebis revol uciis" Semdeg konservatiul i evrokavSi ri saqarTvel osadmi poziciebs icvl is da ar gamoricxavs mis CarTvas "far To evropis" iniciativaSi; Tumca, i sic aRini Sneba, rom es Znel ad misaRwevi da Soreul i amocanaa. eqspertebis varaudi T, Sesazl oa, ufro real uri iyos saqarTvel os nato-Si gawevri aneba.

**"afxazeTis sanapi roebTan natos samxedro fi oti daiwyebis patrul irebas"** \_ i uwyeboda 11 martis "rezonansi". amerikel i generl is j eims j onsis gancxadebi T, nato-s mi zani eqstremistul organi zaci aTa da kriminal ur daj gufebaTa moqmedebebis aRkveTaa. gazeTi am faqts akavSi rebs mi xeil saakaSvi l is gancxadebasTan \_ rom wl is bol omde saqarTvel o afxazeTis sazRvao akvatorias mTI i anad gaakontrol ebs. qarTvel i pol itol ogebis azri T, ami T nato-s surs Sav zRvaze Zal is demonstracia, fsi qol ogiuri zemoqmedebis moxdona, ruseTis gavlenisa da reaqciis mosinj va, mi zani ki \_ am gavlenis Semicirebis mcdel obaa. ruseTis reaqciis demonstrireba moxda martis bol os, aRmosavl eT evropis ramdeni me postsocial isturi qveynisa (bul gareTi, rumineTi, sl ovenia, sl ovakeTi) da postsabWoTa bal ti i spireTis nato-Si gawevri anebis gamo. am qveynebis nato-Si Sesvl as Tavis droze Zal ian ewinaaRmdegeboda ruseTi da misma samxedro da politikurma el itam mtkivneul ad aRiqa es faqti. amerikul i gazeTis "dei l i ni usis" mier gavrcel ebil i informaciiT, rusi generl ebi imuqrebian, rom dauyovnebl iv Camoagdeben nato-s Tvi Tmfrinavebs, Tu i sini bal ti i spireTis qveynebis Tavze gamoCndebian; ukrainul i internet-saagentos informaciiT,

ruseTSi gansakuTrebiT aRSfoTebT is faqt, rom nato I atviaSi radiol okaciuri dakvirvebis bazis aSenebas gegmav. ("rezonansi", 30.03.2004)

**ruseTis Temis primatiT** gamoirceva 2004 wl is maisis presa; eserTdroul ad ramdenime sainformacio sababma ganapi roba: saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministrisa da premier-ministris vizi tebi ruseTSi; saqarTvel o-ruseTis biznes-forumi; ruseTSi moRvawe ol i garqis, kaxa benduqiZis dani Svna saqarTvel os ekonomikis ministrad. amasTan, TurqeTSi prezident mi xeil saakaSviI is vizi tic, garkveul wil ad, presaSi ruseTis Temas ukavSi rideba.

sagareo saqmeTa ministr sal ome zurabiSviI is vizitisas moskovSi pirvel ad gacxadda oficial uri Tbilisis pozicia – **ruseTis bazebi** saqarTvel odan auciI ebl ad unda gavidnen samwl ian vadaSi. amiT nawil obriv gai fanta ewvi, Ti Tqos ruseTis uSi Sroebis sabWos mdi vnis, igor ivanovis pozitiuri Careva batumis krizisiSi iq ganl agebul i rusul i bazebis datovebis sanacvl od moxda. rusul bazebs, gamocdil ma qarTvel ma dipl omatma, msofl ioSi arsebul i teroristul i safiTxis fonze axal i definicia mouzebna – "**terorizmis samizne**". bazebis punqti gaxda mTavari saki Txi CarCo-xel Sekrul ebis proeqtze msj el obis drosac – ruseTi i Txovda xel Sekrul ebaSi asaxul iyo val debul eba, rom rusul i bazebis gayvaniS Semdeg saqarTvel oSi sxva qveynis bazebi ar ganTavsdeboda. sal ome zurabiSviI ma ganacxada, rom saqarTvel o ar apirebs sakutari teritoriaze arc erTi qveynis baziS ganl agebas, magram CarCo xel Sekrul eba ar aris is dokumenti, romel Sic msgavsi tipis gancxadeba unda gakeTdes. ("mTavari gazeTi", "dil is gazeTi", 8 maiisi, 2004) sal ome zurabiSviI is moskovuri vizitisa gaSuqebiSas presam yuradReba gaamaxvil a erTi SexedviT meorexarisxovan, magram axal i real obis gamomxatvel detal ze – qarTvel ma dipl omatma ara mxol od preskonferencia, aramed oficial uri mol aparakebebic qarTul enaze gamarta, rac imdenad uCveul o aRmoCnda ruseTis sagareo uwyebisTvis, rom TarjimniS miweva post-faqtum daswirdaT.

saqarTvel os premier-ministris, zurab Jvanias moskovSi vizitisa mizani, oficial uri versiT, ruseT-saqarTvel os ekonomikuri forumis Tema iyo, xol o araoficial urit – afxazeTi. presaSi viTardeboda varaudi, rom am vizitzae damoki debul i 26 maiSS mi xeil saakaSviI is gancxadeba afxazeTis Taobaze, ris Sesaxebac i gi wi naswar i uwyeboda. (rogorc Cans, aWaris probl emis mogvarebis eiforiam separatistul i regionebis probl emis gadaWris il uziac Seqmna, magram presidentis mier 26 maiSS warmotqmuli si tyvaSi konkretul i si axle afxazeTis Taobaze ar gaJRerebul a). saqarTvel os premier-

ministrTan Sexvedrisas ruseTis sagareo uwyeba kvl av mi ubrunda tradi ciul Temas \_ moTxovnas, rom saqarTvel om ormxrivi xel Sekrul ebiT daadasturos mesame qveynis samxedro Zal ebze uaris Tqmis saki Txi. moskovs afrTxobs Crdil oatl antikuri al iansis metis metad miaxl oeba sakutar sazRvrebTan. rogorc presa aRni Snabs, Jvani am miani Sna ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa ministrs, rom esec SeiZI eba ganxil vis sagani gaxdes, anu saqarTvel o am mxriv kompromisze wava, Tu ruseTi Seicvl is politikas afxazeTTan dakavSi rebiT. amave dros, zurab Jvani am Seaxsena ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa ministrs, sergei I avrovs, rom Tbilisi mzad aris, saqarTvel odan rusul i samxedro kontingentis gayvani sanacvl od, gai Tval i swinos moskovi interesebi da terorizmis wi naaRmdeg sabrzol vel ad Tbilisi Seiqmnas erTobi i vi anti teroristul i centri, Sesabamisi Zal ismieri strukturiT. ("dil is gazeTi", "24 saatI", "al ia", 25-27 maisi, 2004)

mixeil saakaSvil is viziti TurqeTSi, awaraSi ganvi Tarébul i movl enebis Semdeg, mni Svnel ovani iyo erTdrooul ad ramdenime faqtoris gaTval i swinebiT: TurqeTi saqarTvel os damouki debl obis pirvel i dReebidanve angari Sgasawevi da saimedo partnioria; asl an abasiZesa da centrs Soris urTierTobis garTul ebias ki ankaris poziciam saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas mni Svnel ovani samsaxuri gauwi a da abasiZem, didi mcdel obis miuxedavad, ver SeZI o yarsis xel Sekrul ebaze apel irebiT saqarTvel osTvis saxifato movl enebis provocireba. awaraSi central uri xel isufl ebis iurisdiqciis srul ad aRdgenis Semdeg TurqeT-saqarTvel os ekonomi kur urTierTobasac sul sxva datvirTva mieca. mixeil saakaSvil ma imedi gamoTqva, rom saqarTvel oSi, gansakuTrebiT ki awaris regionSi, Turqul i kaptal i warmatebiT imuSavebs. TurqeTis prezident ahmed sezerTan Sexvedrisas mixeil saakaSvil i axal i iniciativiT gamovida. man Sesazl ebl ad miicina saqarTvel o-TurqeTis damakavSi rebel i sarkinigzo magistral is amoqmedeba, romel mac saqarTvel o evropas, xol o TurqeTi central ur aziasa da ruseTTan unda daakavSi ros. mogvi anebiT presa aRni Snavda, rom TurqeT-saqarTvel os rkiingzis mSenebl obis perspektivam seriozul ad SeaSfoTa somxeTisa da ruseTis xel isufl eba, romel Ta interesebSi, pirvel rigSi, soxumi-Tbilisis sarkinigzo magistral is amoqmedeba Sedis. vizitis gamoi kveTa, aseve, ori qveynis damakavSi rebel i didi avtobanis mSenebl obis, savi zo rejimi is gamartivebis perspektiva; es ki im pirobebSi, roca TurqeTi da saqarTvel o evrokavSi risken miiswrafvian, daaCqarebs ara mxol od ekonomi kuri, aramed politikuri sistemebis integrinebasac. Sesazl oa, TurqeTi gaxdes evropasTan ara mxol od

saqarTvel os, aramed, zogadad kavkasiis damakavSi rebel i xidi. mni Synel ovani iyo mi xeil saakaSvi l is Sexvedra TurqeTis moqal aqeebTan \_ qarTul i warmomavl obis bi znesmenebTan, roml ebsac man ormagi moqal aqebobis mi Rebi sa da saqarTvel oSi maTi investiciebis dacvis garantia misca. (21 mai sis presa)

"millionerTa desanti saqarTvel oSi", "rusul i eqspedicia Tu rusul i eqspansia", "ruseTis megobrul i xel i Tu ekonomikuri eqspansia", "rusul i mowyal eba Tu imperiul i ganzraxva", "rogori rusi ufro saxifaToa \_ ful iani Tu uful o?", "rusul i biznesi rusul politikas xarks uxdis", "Ria TamaSi saqarTvel osa da ruseTs Soris" \_ es saTaurebi kargad gamoxatavs presis saerTo damoki debul ebas saqarTvel o-ruseTis biznes-forumi sadmi. "am Tvi TmfrinavTan erTad ramdenime millardi dolaris investicia "Camofrinda." maTgan saqarTvel oSi ramdeni ganxorci el deba, qarTul mxarezea damoki debul i", \_ Tvi Tmfrinavdan Camosvl iSTanave ganacxada ruseTis ekonomiki sa da ganvi Tarebi s ministrma german grefma. ("24 saaTi", 28.05.2004) grefis Sesaxeb presa gvauwyeb, rom igi "kreml is ekonomikuri agresiis erTerTi arqitektoria". biznes-forumi da bol o dros gaaqtiturebul i rusul i faqtori presas aZI evs safuzvel s "axal real obaze" msj el obisTvis: rogorc Cans, amerikas araferi aqvs sawinaaRmdego saqarTvel oSi rusul i kapital is Semosvl is, magram vaSingtoni mtkvneul ad reagirebs yvel a tendenciaze, rac, maTi azriT, xel s SeuSi is saqarTvel os teritoriis gavl iT navTobsadenisa da, gansakuTrebiT, gazsadenis, mSenebl obas. am konteqstSi gani xil eba prezident saakaSvi l is gancxadebac, rom strategiul i gazsadenebi da portebi privatizebas ar eqvemdebareba. Tumc, mas ar gamouri cxavs gazsadenis proeqtSi "gazpromis" monawil eoba \_ wil obrivi sawarmos SeqmniT, romel Sic rusul kompanias sakontrol o paketi ar eqneba. (29-31 mai sis presa, 2004)

zemoaRniSnul i vizitebi sa da, saerTod, qarTul politikaSi ruseTis rol is gaaqtiturebis fonze, presa intensiurad gani xil avs kavkasi aSi geopolitikuri koniunqturis Secvl i sa da saqarTvel os sasargebl od misi gamoyenebis SesaZl ebl obas. presaSi ikveTeba rusi politol ogebis SeSfoTeba da qarTvel ebis optimizmi, Tumc, maTi mosazrebebi erT wertil Si mainc ikveTeba \_ ruseTs am vi TarebaSi ar gaaCnia gansazRvrul i kavkasiuri politika, aseve, man ar icis, rogor aagos axal i urTierToba saqarTvel osTan. meore mxriv, figurirebs mosazrebac, rom putini saqarTvel oSi kapital s cvl is asl an abaSi Zesa da soxumis axl andel rejimsac el cinisdroindel figurebTan hqondaT urTierToba. am Tval sazrisiT moskovisa da Tbilisis poziciebi erTmaneTs emTxveva \_ putini cdil obs finansebi daimorci os da

gaakontrol os, saakaSvi l i \_ saqarTvel os iurisdiqcia aRadginos. amasTan, konfi iqtebis mogvareba dipl omatiuri Tval sazrisiTac momgebi an a ruseTvis, igi, bol os da bol os, Seasrul ebs samSvi dobo misias da dsT-is sivrcesa da, kerZod, kavkasi aSi sakuTar funqci ebs daafiqsirebs. garda amisa, presaSi gvxvdeba versiac, rom SesaZI oa aWarasa da afxazeTSi, ruseTis interesis dasakmayofil ebl ad, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba Tavisufal i ekonomikuri zona Semoi Ros; amasTan, cnos afxazeTSi rusul i biznesis mier Sesyidul i obieqtebi s kanoni ereba.

SesaZI oa, amgvari axsna nawi l obriv pasuxobdes ki Txvebs, romel ic aqturad musirebs 2004 wl is maisis presaSi \_ ratom Seasrul a ruseTma revoluciebad wodebul procesebSi pozitiuri rol i; ra daTmo saqarTvel om sanacvl od? saqarTvel os xel isufl eba prorusul ia Tu aSS-m moaxdina zemoqmedeba ruseTze? qarTul i presa, aWaris movl enebTan dakavSi rebiT msofl ios sainformacio saSual ebebis gamoxmaurebaze dayrdnobi T, aRni Snavs, rom saqarTvel oSi noembrisa da maisis revoluciebis mSvidobianad dasrul eba ori giganti saxel mwifos \_ aSS-isa da ruseTis garigebis Sedegia. politologi ramaz sayvarel i Ze saqarTvel os I oial obas ruseTis ekonomikuri politikisa da kapitalis mimarT aSS-is politikas ukavSi rebs. misi azriT, aseTi moqmedebi T vaSingtons surs ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierTobis simZime ar daawves aSS-s, rogorc es eqsprezident SevardnaZis dros iyo da Tbilisma ai Ros sakuTar Tavze am problemis mogvareba, ekonomikuri meqani zmebis CarTvi T. ("rezonansi", 29.05.2004) am mosazrebas amyar ebs aSS-Si salome zurabiSvi l is vizitisas kol in pael Tan Sexvedris Semdgom gakeTebul i gancxadebebi imis Taobaze, rom amerika ar aris winaRmdegi saqarTvel oSi arsebul i konfi iqtebi ruseTis daxmarebiT mogvaredes. es gancxadeba miT ufro mni Svnel ovani a imis gaTval i swinebiT, rom am Sexvedris Ziri Tadi Tema aWaris saki Txi, cxinval is regioni sa da afxazeTis problemi iyo. ("mTavari gazeTi", 02.06.2004)

presis analizisas Tval Si sacemia erTi garemoeba \_ evroatl antikuri integraciis Tema, romel ic wina periodSi figurirebda sagareo prioritetebis gansazRvrivas, erTgvarad Crdil Si moeqca. rogorc aRni SneT, evropis Temis gaaqtu rebiT saqarTvel os xel isufl eba cdil obda ruseTis Tavmoyvareoba nakl eb Sel axul iyo \_ dasavl eTisken saqarTvel os swrafvis gamo. rogorc Cans, am Tval sazrisiT "evroatl antikurma mesij ma" ukve Seasrul a garkveul i sainformacio da dipl omatiuri funqcia. amasTan, presaSi aqturdeba nato-s Tema, i sev da i sev ruseTis TemasTan mwidro kavSi rSi.

sazogadoebrivi azrisa da marketingul i kvl evebis asociacia "gorbis" informaci iT, 2004 wel s warmoebul i kvl evis monacemebiT, wina wl ebTan Sedarebi T, gamoki Txul Ta kidev ufro didi nawil i \_ 76% uWers mxars Crdil o-atl antikur al iansSi saqarTvel os gawevrianebis i ideas (kvl evaSi monawil eobda 2000 respondenti saqarTvel os masStabiT). pol itol og kaxa qenqaZes 3-4 wel iwadSi nato-Si saqarTvel os Sesvl a real urad esaxeba, ramdenadac, **saqarTvel o nato-s sami didi samomavl o iniciativis** (programa \_ partni oroba mSvi dobi saTvis, xmel TaSuazRvis dialogi, stambolis TanamSroml obis iniciativa) **gadakveTis wertil Si eqceva.** ("rezonansi", 23.06.2004)

nato-s Temas presaSi I ai tmotivad gasdevs am saki TxTan ruseTis mwave damoki debul ebi s aqcenti. mi uxedavad imisa, rom ivni sSi bri usel idan saqarTvel os del egacia mil iardi an i daxmarebis perspektiviT dabrunda, rusul i mediis yuradRebis centrSi moeqca ara imdenad es faqt, aramed, saqarTvel os Tavdacvis ministris, giorgi baramiZis, gancxadeba donori qveynebis winaSe \_ rom **saqarTvel o mzadaa natos jarebs Tavisi teritoria dauTmos.** amgvari gancxadeba TavisTavadac al ogikuri iyo, saqarTvel os prezidentisa da sagareo saqmeTa ministris mier araerTgzis dafiqsirebul i, diametral urad gansxvavebul i poziciis fonze. Sesabamisad, mediasac gauWi rda misi axsna. pol itol og paata zaqareiSvil is komentariiT, ministris gancxadebas iseTi datvirTva ara aqvs, rogoric prezidentis gancxadebas; meorec \_ aSS-s ruseTTan urTi erTobis gafuWeba ar uRirs, miT ufro, rom strategiul i Tval sazrisiT saqarTvel oSi bazebis ganl ageba bevs arafers moutans da TurqeTi absol uturad akmayofil ebs. ("rezonansi", 19.06.2004)

amave periodSi, xangrZl ivi pauzis Semdeg, ruseTsa da saqarTvel os Soris ganaxl da konsul taciebi samxedro saki Txebze. Tbil isma moskovs, samxedro bazebis nacvl ad, saqarTvel oSi rusul -qarTul i anti teroristul i centrvis Seqmna SesTavaza. samxedro eqspertebis varaudiT, CeCnur-inguSuri movl enebi ruseTs qmediTi erTobl ivi anti teroristul i centrvis Seqmni sken ubi Zgebs. ruseTis Tavdacvis ministri sergei ivanovi acxadebs, rom anti teroristul i centrvis Seqmna bazebis i ikvidaciis procesTan ar aris dakavSi rebul i (Tumc, Tavis droze amgvari centrvis Seqmnis idea ruseTis xel i sufl ebas ekuTvnoda). ruseTTan samxedro mol aparakebaSi warmatebis misaRwevad saqarTvel os mTavroba mzadaa oficial uradac daadasturos, rom qveynis teritoriaze ucxo qveynis bazebis ganl agebas ar apirebs. rogorc aRvni Snet, moskovSi vizi tis, saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministris sal ome

zurabi Svi I ma ganacxada, rom saqarTvel o ar apirebs sakuTar teritoriaze arc erTi qveynis bazis ganl agebas, magram CarCo-xel Sekrul eba ar aris is dokumenti, romel Sic msgavsi tipis gancxadeba unda gakeTdes. amj erad igi mi zanSewoni l ad mi iCnevs es pozicia CarCo xel Sekrul ebaSi dafiqsirdes. ("saqarTvel os respublika", "mTavari gazeTi", 23.06.2004) amasTan, vidre ruseTi s bazebis gayvanis saki Txi ar gadawydeba, saqarTvel os xel isufl eba SeuZI ebl ad mi iCnevs ruseT-saqarTvel os Soris CarCo-xel Sekrul ebi s gaformebas.

nato-s stambul is samit is win ruseTi bazebiT "valrobas" i wyeb; Tavdacvis ministri asaxel ebs bazebis gayvanis "SeRavaTian" Tanxas \_ 300 ml n dol ars, 500-is nacvl ad. gazeT "rezonansi" informaciiT, saqarTvel oSi darCenil or rusul bazaze \_ axal qal aqsa da baTumSi dasaqmebul i rusi samxedroebisa da saqarTvel os moqal aqeebis saerTo raodenoba daaxl oebiT 5000-ia. samxedro eqspert irakl i al adaSvi I is azriT, maTi gayvanisTvis 300 ml n dol aris dasaxel eba gadaWarbebul ia; miT ufr, rom samxedro mosamsaxureTa didi nawil i adgil obrivi mosaxl ea, romel Tac ruseTis moqal aqeoba mi iRes da, bazebis gayvanis SemTxvevaSi Tu saqarTvel oSi darCenas gadawyeten, maTze saqarTvel os xel isufl eba izrunebs. ("rezonansi", 23.06.2004)

nato-s samitze special uri komuni ke mi iRes, romel Sic aRni Snul ia, rom saqarTvel odan da mol dovadan ruseTis bazebis gayvana "evropaSi Cveul ebri vi SeiaraRebis Sesaxeb xel Sekrul ebi s" ratificirebis pirobebs Seqmnis. ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa ministri sergei I avrovi cdil obda al iansis moTxovnebis ignorirebas; mi si ganmar tebiT, "xel Sekrul ebi s ratifikacia iuridiul ad ar ukavSi rdeba bazebis gayvanis process. Tumca, rusi dipl omati imasac aRni Snavs, rom, "keTil i nebi s gamovl enis SemTxvevaSi, saki Txi Sesazl oa operatiul ad mogvardes." ruseTis saxel mwifo saTaTbi roSi ki acxadeben, rom keTil i neba saqarTvel os mxridan nato-Si integrirabaze uaris Tqmaa." ("mTavari gazeTi," 29.06.2004) saqarTvel om ara Tu uari Tqva nato-sken swrafvaze, aramed samitze damtkicda al iansTan saqarTvel os individual uri partniorobis programis samxedro nawil i da oficial urad gaxda cnobil i, rom agvistosi saqarTvel os oficial uri vizitiT ewvevoda nato-s general uri mdiani hop sxeferi.

nato-s stambul is samitze Sedga saqarTvel os prezidentis pirispire Sexvedra aSS-is prezidentTan, romel zec, presis versiiT, bazebis gayvanis saki Txzec i saubres. jorj buSisa da mi xeil saakaSvi I is Sexvedris Semdeg Jurnal istebisaTvis cnobil i gaxda, rom nato-s wewri qveynebis erTobl ivi komuni ke mouwodebs ruseTs daaCqaros saqarTvel odan da mol dovadan

samxedro bazebis gayvani s procesi. garda ami sa, komuni keSi saqarTvel o da zogadad kavkasia, moxseni ebul ia, rogorc nato-sTvis strategi ul ad mni Sveni ovani regioni. nato-s aseT damoki debul ebas ruseTis sagareo uwyebis xel mZranel ma arakoreqtul i uwoda da al iansi ruseTis mimarTul ebi T samxedro gaaqtirebaSi daadanaSaul a: "es organi zaci a axal saxel mwi foefs i Tvi sebs da sul ufro aZl ierebs Tavis Zal ebs ruseTis sazRvrebtan. nato angariSS ar uwevs ruseTis interesebs da cal mxriv gadawyeti l ebebs i Rebs", ganacxada ruseTis sagareo saqmTa ministrma da samiti protestis niSnad datova, ise rom xel i ar moawera dokumenti evroatl antikuri partniorobis ganaxl ebaze. I avrovis demarSis sapasuxod, saqarTvel os prezidentma ganacxada, rom konfl iqtebi kavkasiaSi swored ruseTis Seqmnil ia da mas aqvs imedi, rom prezidenti putini am saki Txebi real isturad miudgeba. ("xval indel i dRe", "24 saaTi", 30 ivnisi, 2004) am konteqstSi naTI ad gamoCnda is real uri mizezi, ris gamoc ruseTis prezidentma, mralval gnis mpatiJebis miuxedavad, Tavi aari da samitSi monawi l eobas.

sainteresoa, rom rusul i sainformacio portal i "regnum", publikaci aSi – "rusul i demarSi stambul Si", aRni Snavs, rom saqarTvel os prezidentma moaxerxa I avrovis demarSis Semdeg daZabul i situaciis ganmuxtva. marTal ia, man ganacxada, rom konfl iqtebis warmoqmnas mni Sveni ovnad ganapi robebda ruseTi, magram isic aRni Sna, rom "dReisaTvis ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierTobebi TanamSroml obisa da keTi l mezobl obis principebi T warimarteba. "regnumis" informaciiT, amis Semdeg I avrovma ganacxada, rom darbazi dan misi gasvl a politikuri mosazrebi T ar iyo nakarnaxevi. (Regnum.ru.29.06.04)

mixeil saakaSvil i samitis oficial ur gaxsnamdec acxadebda, rom "bol os da bol os warsul s unda Cabardes is dro, roca konfl iqtebze saubars yvel a Tavs aridebda" da mi znad i saxavda konfl iqtebTan dakavSi rebi T nato-s wevri qveynebis informirebas. samitis amsaxvel publikaci ebSi vxvdebi T informacias, rom aSS cdil obs evropis rol is gaaqtirebas kavkasiis konfl iqtebis mogvarebis procesSi. analitikosebis azri T, arsebobs ori gza an kavkasia unda iqces dasavl eTis da ruseTis TanamSroml obis pl accdarmad, an aSS-isa da ruseTis (ara mxol od!) interesTa dapi ri spiri rebis zonad. presaSi vi Tardeba mosazrebac, rom Zl ieri da keTi l ganwyobi l i saqarTvel o ruseTs samxreTi T mTel rig probl emebs avtomaturad mouxsni; kreml Sic Znel ad, magram acnobiereben, rom moZl ierebul i saqarTvel o sasargebl o iqneba Tavad ruseTisTvis. ("xval indel i dRe", "mTavari gazeTi", 29.06.2004)

politologi ramaz sayvareliZe, samitis Sedegebis komentirebisas, SeSfoTebas gamoTqvams im konfl iqturi ganl agebis gamo, rom i mixedvi Tac nato da saqarTvel o erTmaneTis mxares arian, xol o ruseTi \_ cal ke. aman SeiZI eba sirTul eebi warmoSvas, rogorc afxazeTis, ise oseTis mimarTul ebiT. ("rezonansi", 30.06.2004) am mosazrebis il ustraciad gamodgeba rusul i mediis gamoxmaureba stambul is samitze \_ gaRizianebe ara mxol od bazebis saki TxiT, aramed buSisa da saakaSvil is pirispir saubriT da im faqtiTAC, rom protokol iT gaTval i swinebul i fotos gadaRebisas buSi demonstratiul ad daudga gverdiT qarTvel kol egas.

stambul is samitis "damsaxurebaa" ruseTis federaciis uSiSroebis sabWos mdivnis, igor ivanovis ganxadeba, rom "xel isufl ebis Secvl a jer saqarTvel oSi da Semdeg aWaraSi, ar yofil a arc vardebis da arc xaverdovani revolucia. es iyo xel isufl ebis Zal iT Secvl a da orive SemTxvevaSi sisxl isRvrvis Tavidan acil eba ruseTis damsaxurebaa." ("mTavari gazeTi", 01.07.2004)

nato-s stambul is samits qarTul i presa qarTul i dipl omatiis warmatebad miCnevs; "dil is gazeTi" werda, rom prezidentma saakaSvil ma TurqeTi media-teqnol ogiebit dai pyro, igi srul yofil ad fl obs axal i epoqis teqnol ogiebs. prezident saakaSvil is SefasebiT, "saqarTvel osTvis iwyeba srul iad axal i etapi. dagvWirdeba dro, dagvWirdeba moTmineba"; "nato bil eTia evrokavSi rSi Sesasvl el ad." ("dil is gazeTi", "24 saatI", "mTavari gazeTi", 01.07.2004)

aqve aRvni SnavT, rom nato-s samitze sapatio stumris statusiT miweul i mi xeil saakaSvil isTvis stambul Si yofna mni Svnel ovani iyo TurqeTTan urTierTobis gaRrmavebis Tval sazrisiTAC. presis SefasebiT, TurqeTis xel isufl ebam saqarTvel osTan gansakuTrebui i damoki debul ebis demonstrireba moaxdina; mi xeil saakaSvil is stambul is erT-erTma municipalitetma sazeimo Sexvedra mouwyo, vardebiTa da koncertiT. Tavis mxriv, saakaSvil ma, frangul "I e mond"-Tan intervieuSi, ganacxada, rom europam unda Seafasos TurqeTis Rirsebebi da am Sefasebaze religiurma saki Txma gavl ena ar unda moaxdinos. TurqeTis evrokavSi rSi gawevrianebis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel o mas avtomaturad mi hyeba. stambul Si myof saqarTvel os prezidents oficial uri Sexvedra hqonda TurqeTis prezident axmed nej ef sezerTan. Sexvedraze gadawyda saqarTvel oSi Turq biznesmenTa askaci ani del egaciisa da TurqeTis premier-ministris Camosvl a da biznesforumis gamarTva. ("saqarTvel os respublika", 29.06.2004)

nato-s sami tis Temis gaanal i zebisas gazeT "axal versiaSi" yuradReba mi i pyro aseTma mosazrebam: "ruseTze rom aRaraferi vTqvaT, amerika dasayrdens ara mxol od kavkasi aSi, aramed mTI ianad axl o aRmosavl eTSi eZebs. qarTvel eqspertTa erTi nawil is mtkicebiT, ukve SemuSavebul ia dasavl uri gegma am procesSi fereidnel i qarTvel ebis CarTvis Tval sazrisiT. amerikas surs iranSi fexis mosaki debi ad da musul manuri fundamental izmis winaaRmdeg sabrzol vel ad ZI ieri pl accdarmi Seqmnas. daudasturebel i informaciiT, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam ukve misca Tanxmobla am procesSi fereidnel qarTvel Ta CarTvasTan dakavSi rebiT. am mizniT, qarTul i mxare fereidanSi special ur ideol ogiur muSaobas daiwyebi. aseve, **amerikul i dasayrdenis kuTxiT gani xi l ebian TurqeTSi mcxovrebi I azebic.**" ("axal i versia", 28.06.2004)

amave gazeTSi, prezident saakaSvi l is iranul i voi aJi sadmi miZRvni publ i kaci aSi, es mosazreba ukve saTaura da qvesaTaurSi figurirebs: "dasavl uri interesebi fereidanSi", "amerika iranSi politikur dasayrdens eZebs". publ i kaci is l idSi ki vki Txul obT: "saxel isufl o kul uarebSi" saubar i daiwo imaze, rom saqarTvel o iranSi dasavl ur interesebs I obirebs. I aparakia fereidanSi erTgvari samxedro-pol itikuri pl accdarmi Seqmnaze, romel sac amerika isl amisturi fundamental izmis winaaRmdeg sabrzol vel ad gamoiyenebs. saqarTvel os am gegmaSi mTavari ideol ogiis funqcia akisria." pol itol ogi ramaz sayvarel iZe, am mosazrebis komentirebis, ar gamoricxavs "fereidnul i kartis" gaTamaSebas, magram fiqrobs, rom buSis administracia am gegmi dan maincadamainc did Sedegs ar unda el odes; fereidnul i diaspora iranSi ar warroadgens iseT ZI ier warmonaqmns, rom man seriozul i rol is Sesrul eba SeZl os: "Tuki Tbil issa da moskovs Soris bol o periodSi damTbar urTierTobebs gaviTval i swinebT, ar aris gamoricxul i, saqarTvel o iranSi ara mxol od amerikis, aramed ruseTis interesebis I obistadac mogvevl inos," \_ aRni Snavs sayvarel iZe. misive Tqmisi, "kavkasi l regionSi Znel ad moi Zebneba qveyana, romel sac erTnairad miesvl eba rogorc iranTan da TurqeTTan, ise amerikasTan da ruseTTan. swored am faqtorebis gaTval i swinebiT, saqarTvel os Tavisufl ad SeuZl ia politikuri dambal ansebl is funqciebi sakutar Tavze ai Ros." ("axal i versia", 09.07.2004)

es versia uni adago ar Cans i mis gaTval i swinebi Tac, rom nato-s sami tis wina periodSi saqarTvel os tel earxebi ("mze", "imedi", "rusTavi-2") erTmaneTs aswrebdnen fereidnel ebsa Tu I azebze gadaRebul i axal i videofil mebis Cvenebas. aRsani Snavi a i sic, rom mi xeil saakaSvi l is stumrobam fereidanSi

ZI ieri emociuri foni Seqmna da es viziti ar gadaido agvistosi cxinvalis regionSi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis miuxedavadac.

saakaSvilisa da putinis araformaluri Sexvedra moskovSi, nato-s samitis I ogikuri gagrzel eba iyo. Sexvedram, presis informaciiT, dagegmiI ze gacil ebiT met xans gastana; saakaSvilicdil obda putinis darwmunebas, rom saqarTvel oSi nato-s samxedro baza ar amoqmeddeba, ruseTis bazebs "adami anuri pirobebis srul i dacviT gaacil ebs" da rom ruseTs SeuZl ia saqarTvel os Tan erTobl iv antiteroristul centrSi iTanamSroml os. rogorc Cans, putinis darwmuneba nawil obriv mainc moixerxda, radgan saakaSvilis gancxadebiT, kreml i Tanaxmaa saqarTvel os moqal aqeebisTvis savi zo reJimi gaamartivos. ruseTis prezidenti ki acxadebs, rom mzadaa gani xill os saqarTvel os konkretul i winadadebebi konfl iqtis (cxinvalis) mowesrigebis saki TxTan dakavSi rebiT; rom ruseTis uSi Sroebis sabWo da saqarTvel os uSi Sroebis sabWo daiwyeben praqtilkul i nabijebis gadadgmas erTobl ivi antiteroristul i centris Sesaqmnel ad.

presis publikaciebSi ar konkretdeba, SeTanxmdnen Tu ara prezidentebi cxinvalis konfl iqtSi ruseTis srul Caurevl obaze, Tumc, mixeil saakaSvil i acxadebs, rom "putini ketili ganwyobil ia da osebs ruseTis Carevis imedi aRar unda hqondeT". gazeT "izvestia"-sTvis micemul intervieuSi igi ambobs, rom ori qveynis urTierTobaSi imaze mni Svnel ovani saki Txebi arsebobs, vidre "samxreT oseTia". amiT saakaSvil i kokoiTis reJims miani Snebs, rom moskoviTvis cxinvalis regioni ar aris iseTi strategiuli mni Svnel obis, kreml s rom dasavl eTTan urTierTobis gafuWebad uRi rdes. MgazeT "axal i versiis" komentariiT, "ruseTs nato-s kompl eqsi aqvs gadasal axi da, rogorc Cans, prezidenti saakaSvil i cdil obs putins es problema maqsimal urad umtkivneul od moagvarebinos." ("axal i versia", 05.07.2004)G yuradRebas SevaCerebT erT ni uanszec: erTaderTi dokumenti, romel Tan dakavSi rebi Tac dsT-iS moskoviS aroficialuri samitis monawil e prezidentebma oficialuri pozicia gamoxates, yazaxeTis iniciativa iyo \_ euTo-s saqmanobis kritikul ad Sefasebis motxovna. es winadadeba ruseTmac moiwona. saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanis prezidentebma ki euTo-s sawinaarMdego gancxadebis mi Rebas mxari ar dauWires. K

2004 wl is oqtomberSi, saqarTvel os prezidenti mixeil saakaSvil i, am wl is bol o sagareo vizitiT, ewvia bal tiispireTis respublikebs \_ estoneTs, latviasa da litvas. vizitebis amsaxvel publikaciebSi ikveTeba, rom bal tiis qveynebTan mWidro TanamSroml oba evrostructurebSi saqarTvel os integraciis

erT-erTi realuri garantia. vi zitebis Sedegebi dan, rogorc Tavad prezidenti mi xeil saakaSvi i arni Snavs, gansakuTrebiT mni Svnel ovani a litvaSi xel moweli i deklaracia regionali i TanamSromi obisa da evropuli da evroatlantikuri integraciis sferosi Tanadgomis Sesaxeb: "es imas ni Snavs, rom nato-sa da evropis kavSiriSi i obisti gagvi Cnd... Cven erTobl ivi iniciativi gamovdivarT \_ 3+3 formatiT Sei qmnas sami kavkasiuri da bal tiispiriTis sami saxel mwifos axal i regionali i TanamSromi obis meqanizmi. es meqanizmi somxeTs, saqarTvel osa da azerbaijans yovel mxriv waadgeba. bal tiis sami qveyana dagvexmreba, rom Cveni interesebi evrokavSiriSi gaaJRebos, davuaxl ovdeT evropas da yvel a evropul organizaciiaSi Cveni xma mudmivad ismodes." ("24 saati", 15-16.10.2004) politologi soso cincaze yuradRebas amaxvil ebs im faqtorze, rom nato-s standartebTan mi axl oebis Tval sazrisiT bal tiis qveynebs didi gamocdiI eba aqvT. gasaTval i swinebel ia is garemoebac, rom ukrainaSi prorusul i Zal ebis gamarj vebis SemTxvevaSi Zal ian mni Svnel ovnad Seicvl eba am regionSi geostrategiul i paseansi. ("rezonansi", 13.10.2004)

yovel i ve zemoTqmuli saSual ebas gvaZi evs davaskvnaT:

"vardebis revoluuciis" Semdgom periodSi **sainformacio vel Si** diskursi \_ saqarTvel o-ruseTi-aSS Ti Tqos arsebi Tad ar Secvl il a, magram gansxvaveba mainc Tval Si sacemia; tradiciul i "rusul i faqtori" isev Zal aSi rCeba, magram ruseTis yovl isSemZi eobis fsiqol ogiur da sainformacio imijis TandaTan enacvl eba axal i rakursi \_ saqarTvel os probl emebis gasaRebi aRar Zevs mxol od ruseTSI; garda imisa, rom ara mxol od saqarTvel o, aramed dasavl eTic aucil ebl ad uwevs angariSS ruseTis faqtors, Tavis mxriv, ruseTsac uxdeba saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri vi interesida, pi rovnul ad, mi xeil saakaSvi i faqtoris gaTval i swineba. saqarTvel os prezidenti, erTi s mxriv, Tavis ufl ebas aZi evs "saxel i daaqvas" ruseTis damoki debul ebas saqarTvel os mimarT (magal iTad gamodgeba Tundac misi gancxadeba nato-s stambul is samitze), meore mxriv, paralel urad avrcel ebs mesijis, rom mas yovel Tvis aqvs prezident **putinis pragmatuli politikis**, masTan konstruqciul i dialogisa da megobrul i urTierTobis imedi. **putini**, **Ziri Tadad, pozitiur konteqstSi figurirebs, realisti politikosis imijiT.** rusul i mxaris "Zvel i mental obis" tipiur magal iTad ki, gamodgeba rusi parlamentaris mier qarTvel i Jurnal istebisTvis naTqvami fraza: "**Cvenma vovam Tqvens buSs afxazeTi da samxreT oseTi Caabara.**" ("24 saati", 11.06.2004) es fraza movi xmet ki dev erT tendenciaze misani Snebl adac \_ presaSi (2004 wl is

agvistos movl enebamde) marTI ac i grznoba ruseTi sa da aSS-is "garigebis" meSveobi T konfl iqtебis mogvarebis imedi.

**saqarTvel o-ruseTi s konfrontaci i sa da saqarTvel o-aSS-is partni orobi s dasabal ansebl ad wina pl anze i wevs ekonomikuri faqtori, rac, presaSi Seqmnil i suraTi s mixedvi T, momgebiania sami ve mxari sa da, pl us, evropisTvis.**

saqarTvel os "proevropul i" aqcentis gaZI iereba ara mxol od ruseTi s gaRi zi anebis (umTavresad, nato-sken saqarTvel os mi swrafебis gamo) gamanei tral ebel i mesij ia, aramed igi, amasTan, gamoxatavs, saqarTvel os mimarT evropis interesis gaaqt i urebasac.

diseptaci i s am nawi l Si SevecadeT SeZI ebi sdagvarad far Tod warmogvedgina presis sagareo-pol itikuri aqcentebi, ramdenadac, saqarTvel o iyo da aris qveyana, roml is arsebobasa da ganvi Tarebas, arsebi Tad, gansazRvrav s aerTaSori so koni unqtura. 2004 wl is pi rvel naxevarSi \_ aWarasi, agvistosi ki \_ cxinval is regionSi ganvi Tarebul movl enebTan ruseTi s, aSS-i sa da evropis mimarTebas ganvi xil avT Sesabamis qveTavebSi \_ "aWaris movl enebi \_ "vardebis revolu ciis" I ogikuri gagrZel eba" da "konfl iqturi regionebi"; xol o monakveTi \_ "saqarTvel oSi jorj buSi s vizit is rezonansi presaSi" asaxavs axal geopol itikur real obaSi saqarTvel os CarTvis perspektivas.

- **destabilizaci i s "sainformacio uzrunvel yofa"**

"Cemi kol egebis arcTu umni Svnel o nawi l i seqtember-oqtomberSi did sensaciebsa da cxel -cxel reportajebz gegmav... i wereba "serial ebi" haerSi datrial ebul denTi s sunze, saewvo Senaer Tebze, xal xi s azvirTebul tal Rebsa da areul obebze... Jurnal istebi mondomebi T cdi l oben, rogor me daaCqaron sasurvel i real obis dadgoma... bevri publ ikacia Tu satel evi zio gadacema xal xi s danamuseba da Segul i anebaa \_ amdens vi aparakobT, devebTan mebrZol gmi rebad gsaxavT da, aba Tqven i ci T, ar gamogWraT yel i, saSemodgomod mosavl is aRebas ar gadahyveT da "destabilizaci i s" gareSe ar dagvtovoTo...", \_ werda 2000 wl is ivl i sSi, gazeT "dros" mTavari redaqtori, marine gi gi nei Svi l i, publ ikaci aSi, roml is saTauri \_ "kol egebo, "nanatri" destabilizaci a i gvi anebi!" \_ pi rda pi r SexebaSi a Cveni sadisertacio naSromis am qveTavis dasaxel ebasTan. (96) "Jurnal istebSi", rogorc Cans, marine gi gi nei Svi l i Tavis kol egebs, gamomceml ebsa da gazeTebis xel mZRvan el ebs

gul isxmobis, romel Ta prioritetia dagegmva da sare daqcio politikis warmarTva.

qveTavis amgvari dasaTaureba CvenTvis Tvi Tmizani ar yofili a; arc Cven da arc moxmobili publikaciis avtori, ar vgul isxmobiT, rom destabilizaciuri procesebi Kjurnal istebis survil iTa da fantaziiT iyo inicierebuli; magram orive SemTxvevaSi igul isxmeba, yovel konkretul etapze, detabili zaciisTvis sainformacio fonis Seqmnis tendencia.

2000-2002 wl ebSi destabilizaciis dinami ka aseT suraTs qmni da:

- o I wre – 2000 wel i \_ prezident eduard Sevardnazi ar Cevi sTanave dawyebuli, misi da aRmasrul ebeli xel isufi ebis diskreditaciis kampanii dan – "Semodgomis destabilizaciame", anu, noember-dekembris "energetikul buntamde";
- o II wre – 2001 wel i \_ wl is damdegs pankisiSi ruseTis samxedro operaciis dawyebis safrTxidan kvl av "Semodgomis destabilizaciame", anu e.w. "noembiris revoluciame";
- o III wre – 2002 wel i \_ pankisis permanentul i safrTxisa da ruseTis agresiis fonze \_ kvl av sainformacio samzadisi "Semodgomis destabilizaciisaTvis".

destabilizaciis scenarebi am wl ebSi daaxl oebiT erTnai ri dramaturgiiT vi Tardeboda – "moqmedi vul kani" – pankisi, afxazeTi, kodori da ruseTis safrTxis mudmivi sainformacio ajiotaJi; "saTadarigo variantebi" – samegrelo, samcxe-j avaxeTi, socialuri ukmayofil ebis gamoxatvisa da demokratiis dacvis sababiT gamarTul i aqciebi, arasamTavrobo organizaci ebis aqtu robiTa da Sesabamisi sainformacio uzrunvel yofiT...

2000 wel s \_ aqciebi: rkingzis gadaketva, feroSenadnobTa qarxnis muSebis gaficva, "rusTavi 2"-is gadacema "60 wuTisa" da misi avtoris akaki gogiCaiSvi l is dasacavad, sasamarTi o reformis mxardasaWerad, presis Tavi sufi ebis moTxovni T; feTqebadi samegrelo ("qobal ias sindromi"); "zviadistebis" gaqceva cixi s respublikuri saavadmyofodan; devnil ebi, maval Svi l i anebi saxel mwi fo kancel ariis misadgomebTan; wl is miwurul s \_ "energetikul i bunti" politikuri moTxovnebi T...

2001 wel s \_ sainformacio fonis momzadeba pankisiSi ruseTis samxedro operaciis provocirebisTvis; muxrovani s amboxi; giorgi sanaias mkvl el obiT gamowveul i aqciebi; devnil ebi, maval Svi l i anebi, meanabreebisa da a.S. permanentul i aqciebi; erTi mxriv \_ i sev "rusTavi 2"-isa da presis Tavi sufi ebis dacvis sababiT dawyebuli masobrivi mRel vareba (studentobi s aqtu robiT), gadazrdili i "noembiris revoluci aSi" – mTavrobi sa da

prezidentis gadadgomis moTxovni T (rasac, sabol ood, Sedegad mohya parlamentis Tavmj domaris, zurab Jvani as gadadgoma da Ss ministris, kaxa TargamaZis gadayeneba Tanamdebobi dan); meore mxriv \_ kodoris, pankisisa da afxazeTis safrTxis uki duresi gawwaveba...

2002 wel i \_ pankisis garSemo si tuaci is ki dev ufro daZabva "wrTvni sa da aRwurvis programis" pasuxad, rusebis desanti kodorsi; dapi rispirebis piki "moqkavSi rSi", Jvani asa da misi gundis gadasvl a opoziciasi; adgil obri vi Tvi TmarTvel obis saarCevno kampani is gamoyeneba si tuaci is dasaZabavad, batal iebi central ur saarCevno komisiastan; bunti koj ris batal ionSi; kvl av saomari moqmedebebis provocireba erTdroul ad pankisis, kodorisa da afxazeTis mimarTul ebi T...

destabilizaci ur procesebs saerTo fons uqmni da **sainformacio amindis Semqmnel i mediis meSveobi T Camoyal i bebul i stereotipi** \_ rom saqarTvel o arSemdgari saxel mwifoa, rom saqarTvel o saSiSi qveyanaa.

2003 wel s, "vardebis revol uci is" winaperiodSi, winaswar iqmnебoda foni, rom saqarTvel oSi aucil ebl ad gayal bdeboda arCevnebi da xal xi quCaSi unda gamosul iyo; "xal xis quCaSi gamoyvana advil ia, Seyvana ki \_ Znel i ... 1991 wel s gamoyvanili i mosaxl eoba jerac gareT aris", \_ ambobda yofil i saxel mwifoa ministri da qristianul -demokratiul i kavSiris i ideri vaJa I orTqi fani Ze, ("axal i versia", 02.06.2003). ivl isSi, saqarTvel oSi **j eims bei keris vizitma**, qarTul politikur sinamdvil eSi mnisynel ovnad Secval a movl enebis ganvi Tareba. prezidentTan da opoziciuri partiebis i iderebTan ramdenime daxurul i Sexvedris Semdeg cnobil i gaxda, rom bei kerma saqarTvel oSi saparlamento arCevnebis Catarebis amerikul i sqema Camoitana da am sqemis pirobebze mxareebis dayol ieba moaxerxa. rogorc presa aRni Snavda, "**bei keris Camosvl am opozicias destabilizaci is gegma CauSal a**" da misma vizitma ki dev erTxel daamtkica, rom amerikis Ziri Tadi mizani saqarTvel oSi aris stabiluri saxel mwifos Seqmna.

\*

presaSi akumul irebul i mafri emotiuri muxti da destabilizaci is mol odini xSi rad win uswrebs sazogadoebis adekvatur ganwyobas da Ti Tqos erTgvari "**sasignal o gasrol is**" rol s asrul ebs. destabilizaci is dramaturgi is ganvi Tarebas, mis sainformacio uzrunvel yofasa da rezonanss, ganvixi l avT 2000 wl is magal iTze, radgan ara mxol od am wel s ganvi Tarebul i procesebi, aramed maTTan presis mimarTeba uaRresad saintereso da sagul isxmo suraTs qmnis.

"erTi wl is ganmavl obaSi social ur afeTqebas unda vel odeT", \_ erTi wl iT adre akonkretebs "rezonansi" destabilizaciis TariRs da iqve, pirvel gverdze, anSi agirebul i saTaurebiT amyarebs am prognozs \_ "haerSi denTis suni sul ufro da ufro mZafredeba", "SevardnaZes social uri afeTqebi sken mi vyavarT" ("rezonansi", 22.05.2000); "Semodgomaze "bunti" atydeba" ("axal i Taoba", 31.05.2000); "zedmi wenviT bevri aqcia moewyo gasul kvirias. arc Tu usafuZvl od Cndebea ewvi, rom es vi Racas awyobs" ("dro", 02.05.2000). sagazeTo statiebsa da "t/k "rusTavi 2"-is eTerSi musirebas iwybs "impiCmentis" cneba.

destabilizaciis dramaturgiul i xazis ganvi Tareba arc zafxul Si wydeba, sayovel Tao daZabul obis muxti ar unda ganeitral des. amitomac, zafxul Si wina pl anze iwevs samegrelos faqtori. prezidentis rwmunebul i samegreloSi, bondo jiqia, regionSi situaciis daZabvas garkveul destabilizaciur Zal ebs abral ebs da mTavrobis sxdomaze gadadgomas iTxovs (jer ki dev april Si gazeTi "al ia" werda, rom xel isufi ebiS mTavari berketi jerj eroBiT tyeSi gaxiznul i "TuTaSxi ebia"). zafxul Si es berketi \_ megrel i abragebis faqtori \_ el iavas mkvl el obis garSemo atexil i sainformacio ajiotajis fonze "amuSavda". "samegrelo o ar wamoegeba am ankesze!" \_ ganucxada Jurnal istebs akaki el iavas Zmam. zafxul Sive ki dev erTxel gaaqturda saprotesto aqciebisa da gamosvl ebiS tal Ra, romel Tagan Ti Toeul s, bunebrivia, Tavisi gamomwvevi obiecturi mizezebi hqonda, magram, Sesazi oa, "saSemodgomo speqtakli is repeticiis" funqciac eki sreboda.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom "politikuri Semodgoma" SedarebiT mSvi dobi anad daiwyo, met-nakl ebad mSvidi gazeTiS, "axal i Taobis" mi momxil vel ebic ki saSemodgomo destabilizacias gardauval movl enad mi iCneven. es termini magiuri parol iviTaa, romel ic, Tundac minavl ul i, mudmivad unda arseboddes, rom nebismer sawiro momentSi iyos Sesazi ebel i misi gaaqturiba, miT ufro, daTqmul dros. "jer simSvidea. saSemodgomo mRel vareba al baT gardauval ia, magram is saSiSi araris, Tu gansazRvrul normebSi Caj da. SeiZi eba iTqvas, rom auci l ebel icaa, magram saSiSroebis gamoricxvis Sesazi ebl oba ar arsebobs \_ areul obis Seqmnis foni arsebobs", \_ erTgvari ironizebiT wers "axal i Taobis" Jurnal isti ani mi rotaZe. (137).

saSemodgomo destabilizaciis prel udiis rol i isev "samegrelo os sindromma" Seasrul a, romel sac mal eve mohyva patimreibis gaqceva. "warsul is acrdil Ta" Tu "marad guSindel Ta" gaqceva cixis respublikuri saavadmyofodan, Sesazi oa, saqarTvel oSi mni Svnel ovan politikur procesTa katalizatorad iqces, \_ werda "dil is gazeTi" saredaqcio statiaSi, \_

"qarTul i demokratiis" Senoba SeiZI eba ZI ieri pol itikuri miwi sZvris Sedegad daingres, Tu "qobal ias sindromi" dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi (upirvel esad samegreli oSi) traibal izmSi gadai zrdeba an SeiaraRebul eqscsesebSi gamovl indeba." ("dil is gazeTi", "qobal ias sindromi", 3 oqtomberi, 2000).

"dil is gazeTi" imave nomerSi (isev saredaqcio stati iT!) patimrebis gaqcevis Tema sxva rakursi Tac Cndeba: "ar gamovricxav, rom es SemTxveva bevrad ufro seriozul i gegmis nawili iyos", \_ ganacxada parl amentis Tavmj domarem cixis saavadmyofodan patimrebis gaqcevis Taobaze. qveynis umarI esakanonmdebl o organoSi ellvi aravis epareba, rom kviris movl enebi qveyanaSi pol itikuri viTarebis ukiduresad daZabvaze aris gaTvl il i. amas zurab Jvani ac adasturebs: "gaangariSeba destabilizaciaze iyo", \_ axadebs igi... rezo adamia ufro kategorul ia da figrobs, rom gaqcevis mi zani xel isufi ebis damxoba da Semdgom ukve qveynis saTaveSi mosvl a iyo, rac bunebrivia, gareZal ebis daxmarebis gareSe warmoudgenel ia." (99).

presis anal itikur publ ikaciebze dayrdnobiT, oqtombris miwurul saqarTvel os pol itikur scenaze aseTi suraTi ixateboda:

- o 2000 wl is gazafxul ze gamokveTi i axal gazar da reformatorTa yovl isSemZI eobis imij i da saprezidento xel isufi ebis diskreditaciis safiTxe, faqtobri vad, uvnebel yofil ia. Tu varau debiT ufro Sors waval T, SeiZI eba warmovidginoT, rom es "dramaturgiul i xazi" \_ saprezidento arCevnebiS eduard SevardnaZis 80%-iani gamarj veba, arCevnebis damTavrebis Tanave dasavl eTis daewveba mis real obaSi, axal gazar da reformatorTa mier "brWyal ebis" naadrevi gamoCena, aRmasrul ebel i da sakanonmdebl o xel isufi ebis mkveTri dapi rispi reba (saxel mwifo ministris gadayenebis CaTvl iT), saSemodgom destabilizaciis safiTxis ajiti reba da Semdeg ganvi Tarebul i procesebi \_ saparlamento umravl esobaSi bzaris gaCenidan moyol ebul i misi rRvevis CaTvl iT \_ iyo komponentebi erTi mTI iani scenarisa (romel ic dai gegma an qveyni save Si gni T, an, mis fargl ebs gareT).
- o bol o xanebSi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis mTavari Sedegi \_ destabilizacia marTvadi a! marTvadi a umravl esobac da misi marTvis sadaveebs gardamaval i upiratesobiT fl oben prezidenti da zurab Jvani ac.
- o pol itikur asparezze gamoCenil i "axal i moZraoba" (daviT gamyrel iZisa da I evan gaCeCil aZis tandemiT) aRiqmeba rogorc SesakrebTa

gadanacvl eba, roml is mi zani \_ umravl esobis dabal anseba, nawi l obriv mi Rweul adac Sei ZI eba Cai Tval os, Tumc real ur pol i tikuR Zal ad an arsebiT si axl ed "axal i moZraoba" jer ar aRiqmeba.

- o saerTo procesebis fonze vakis majoritari deputatis arCevnebi mni Svnel ovan pol i tikuR datvirTvas iZens Zal Ta dabal ansebis Tval sazrisiT da am fonze, xmauriani gancxadebebiTa da "**mxedrionis**" xel axal i aRzevebis safrTxiT, pol i tikuR avanscenaze i sev gamodis j aba i osel iani .
- o ZI ierdeba foni **saparI amento respubl iki s** cnebis gaSinaurebisTvis. ORond wi na periodi sagan gansxvavebiT, roca es Tema **zurab Jvani asgan ini ci rebul ad iTvl eboda**, figurirebs mosazrebac, rom, SesaZI oa, Tavad prezidentsac awyobdes mis Semdeg mmartvel obis es forma, raTa aici l os ufunqci od darCena, memkvi dreze pasuxismgebl oba da, sxva Tu araferi, istoriaSi darc es saqarTvel os bol o prezidentad.

daaxl oebiT aseTi suraTiT iwureboda destabil izaciisaTvis daTqmuli periodis \_ Semodgomis ori Tve. Sina Tu gare stres-faqtorebis: patimrebis gaqcevis, "mxedrionis" gaaqt i urebis, CeCenTa mi er sazRvr is darRvevis, samxedro bazebi sa da savi zo rejmis probl emebis gamwvavebis mi uxavedavad, gaCnda imedi , rom Sei ZI eba destabil izacia aRar Sedges. oqtombris mi wurul s, Ti Tqos ni Sani misceso, vi Tareba mkveTrad Seicval a. gazeT "7 dReSi" gamoqveynebul i erTi statia, romel ic Ti Tqos korufciis Temas exeba ("**qarTul korufcias pinoCetiviT patiosani generl ebi swirdeba**"), unebl ied (ar gamovri cxavT, rom sagangebodac) Si fravs im taqtikur xazss, roml iTac unda ganvi Tardes movl enebi. movixmobT vrcel citatas: "korumpirebul i qarTul i saxel mwifos SemTxvevaSi es scenari ase gamoi yureba: ganvi Tardes procesebi I ogikuri gziT \_ xazini s dacariel eba, saxel mwifo struqturebis kvdoma da dezintegracia, stagnacia ekonomikaSi da biurokratiul i wnexis gazi iereba mosaxl eobas aiZul ebs gamovi des quCaSi da Camoagdos mtavroba. msgavsi ram moxda bul gareTSi, rumineTSi da sul axl axan iugosl avi aSi.

meore varianti \_ korufciisagan iZul ebiT gankurneba. swored iZul ebiT da veranai rad sxvanai rad, radgan is adami anebi, vinc korumpirebul i urTierTobebeiT mil ionian sasaxl eebs i Seneben da Sveicariis bankebSi angariSebi aqvT gaxsnill i, aseT urTierTobebs nebiT ar gawyeten. pir iqiT, i sini sakmao damcav meqani zmebs fl oben da saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi aamoqmedeben ki dec... cecxl saSiS nazavs saxel ad daerqmeva saqarTvel os gaTavisufl eba proamerikul i marionetul i xel i sufl ebi sagan, erovnul i xel i sufl ebi s

mosvl a saTaveSi, WeSmari ti faseul obebisa da tradi ciebis aRdgena. anu, kl anebis dafinansebi T da xel Sewyobi T "gvaCuqeben" nacional i sturi ritoriki T aRWurvi l mTavrobas, roml isac iqneba saxel i, saxravi ki visic iyo, imasve darCeba. aseT meqani zmebs fI oben korufciis kaTodebi da anodebi: Sss, prokuratura, uSiSroeba, kancel ariis nawil i. finansebs maTTan erTad fI obs is, vinc am uwyebebis daxmarebi T Soul obs ful s...

ramdenime axal gazar da progresul ad ganwyobil i parlamentari da imdenive progresul i politikosi aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebaSi aminds ar qmnian. isini qarTul politikur ukuneTSi obl ad mocimcime cicinateli ebivit gamoi yurebi an... ver iqna da ver gamoixata qarTul i sazogadoebri vi azri masobriv demonstraciebSi da mitingebSi... ase, rom jer kidev gausvrel da gul gautexel politikosebs erTi gza rCebaT: datovon saparlamento da samTavrobo komfortul i savarZi ebi da gavidnen xal xSi... daexmaron rigi T moqal aqeebs daZl ion SiSis da gul gril obis sindromi, daarwmunon sakuTar Zal ebSi. aseT SemTxvevaSi mi vi RebT zemoT ukve naxsenebi ukve iugoslaviis, rumineTis da sxvaTa variants." (121).

xel isufl ebaze "revolu ciuri Setevi" scenari rom Seini Rbos da bol omde arc "demokratiul i qveyni" imij i dair Rves, parlamenti qveyni s mowyobis axal i modeli s Temas aaqtiturebs. Tumc, am Temis ganvi Tarebac destabilizaciis wi sqvil ze asxams wyal s, radgan saparlamento respublikis Semorebis aucil ebl obas am ideis mxardamWeribi da masmedia xsni an sapreidento marTvel obis kri zisi T, ufrometric, diqtaturaSi gadazrdi T.

noemberi ori faqtoris \_ zamTrisa da energokrizisis dakavSi rebam bunebrivid mii yana saSemodgom o destabilizacia pikis wertil Tan. energobl okebis isteriul i CarTva-gamorTvis da energokrizisis cinovnikuri garCevebis procesze aRar Sevcerdebi T, magram yuradRebas isev i pyrobs masmedii s gul modgi neba (gansakuTrebi T "rusTavi 2"-is, "al iasa" da "rezonansi") kri zisis dinamikis daZabvisTvis.

Tbilisi, vakeSi dawyebul i aqciis organizatorebi da monawil eebi xazgasmi T amtkicebdnen, rom am gamosvl ebs aramc da aramc ara aqvs politikuri xasiati. presaSi ki aseTi suratia:

- "al ia", 13 noemberi, "xel isufl eba social ur naRmzea": "dRes mosaxl eoba el eqtroenergi as iTxovs, xval mTavrobis gadadgom as moi Txovs, zeg parlamentis garekvas da mazeg parlamentis Secvl as. mokl ed, didi Sansia imisa, rom social uri probl emebi T gawamebul ma mosaxl eobam saWiro SeZaxil is SemTxvevaSi politikuri protestic gamoxatos.

socialuri protestidan socialur buntamde nabij i faqtobrivad aRar darca. socialuri bunti ki politikuri buntis pindapirproporsiul ia." (127).

- "rezonansi", 15 noemberi, "Cabnel ebul i Tbilisi revoluciis Tvis emzadeba", "eduard damabnel ebel i" uSuqobas Seewirebal" – acxadebdnen mopi keteobi."

pirvel gverdze morige redaqtoris (I evan rami Svilis) tradi ciul CanawerSi prezidentis saxe asea parodi rebul i: "eduard damabnel ebel i" – ase monaTI es guSin vakel ebma Cveni di di mbrZanebel i da saWeTmypyobel i. zogma gauzrdel ma da xul i ganma imis Tqmac ki gabeda, eg damabnel ebel i ki ara, bnel iao. vi Racam mi ugo, ras ambob, bnel i rogor iqneba, safersi o aqvs damTavrebul io. atyda erTi sicili da xorxoci. prezidentis Rirsebis Sel axvasTan gvqonda saqme". (149)

- "rezonansi", 16 noemberi, "revoluciota xni T gadaido", "Zal aufl ebi s nawi i momitingeta da mopi keteTa sabWoeb gadaecaT". (unebl ied Cndebasi socialisturi revoluciis asociacia, cnobi i i ozungi T – "Zal aufl eba sabWoeb!").
- "rezonansi", 18 noemberi, "revoluciidan revoluciame erTi nabij ia". "revoluciabis" qvemoT ori fotoa ganTavsebul i: erTi saarqivo, SavTeTri, 1991-92 wl ebis Setakeba rusTavel ze; meore – axali, feradi, kadrSi – aqcia, qucaSi danTebul i koconi da xergili. pirvel gverdzeve – karikatura "mefesiSvel ia!!" – "mefis", anu, prezidentis, anu, sabWoTa kavSiris gmiris varskvl aviani diktatoris, ferxiTiT dayril i usul o bavSvebi. i qvea morige redaqtoris, I evan rami Svilis Canaweri – "guSin qveyanas bavSvebi marTavden": "...axl a ukve cxovel ebi s j gro varT da ara eri, radgan amdeni borotebis mere mxol od udenobiT gavgiJdiT da gavcofdiT. arc erTi idea arafrad ar Rirs. miT ufro, arc erTi bavSvis sicocxl ed ar Rirs deni. magram xval rom karikaturaze gamosaxul i surati real oba gaxdes, Cven Cvens gayinul soroebSi SeviyuJebi T." (150)
- "al ia", 16 noemberi, "bunti morca... geSinodeT!" pirvel gverdze fotomontaJI – marcxni, zviad gamsaxurdia momitingeta fonze; marj vni v – eduard SevardnaZe aqciis fonze. "SevardnaZis xel isufi ebas msgavsi krizisi arasodes hqonia. socialuri bunti faqtobrivad saxezea. socialuri buntidan politikur daumorci ebl obamde ki erTi nabij ia". (128).

- "al ia", 23 noemberi, pirvel gverdze, did Sav fonze (gverdis meoTxedze), uzarmazari SriftiT awyobil ia ori magiuri sityva "**saxel mwi fo gadatrial eba?!**", marcxni v kuTxeSi ki pawia minaweria \_ "deputatis skandal uri gancxadeba"; saTauris Sesabamisi masal a, saidanac vigeiT, rom Turme am "zeskandal uri" gancxadebis avtori parl amentari j emal gamaxariaa, gazeTiS me-3 gverdzea ganTavsebul i. "**TargamaZe da Zal ovani uwyebebi sagangebo mdgomareobis gamosacxadebl ad ezadeboden**, magram radganac sagangebo mdgomareobis Sesaxeb kanoni ar ician, gasul xuTSabaTsa da pariskevs bej iTad swavl obdnen. am gziT i sini faqtobri vad xel Si ai Rebden Zal aufl ebas... i sini, sxvaTaSoriS, parl amentSi eZebden kanons sagangebo mdgomareobiS Sesaxeb", \_ acxadebs gamaxaria.

destabilizaciis gamomwvev obieqtur da subieqtur mi zezebze msj el oba Cveni disertaciis fargl ebs sci l deba. aq mxol od davafiqsirebT im versiebs, roml ebic masmediis meSveobiT warmocinda. maTgan erT-erTi **saxel mwi fo gadatrial ebis zemoxsenebul i versiaa**, romel ic yvel aze mkveTrad "al ias" publ i kaciaSi iyo gamoTqmuli, Tumc, sxva formiT am versias "dil is gazeTSi c" vxvdebiT: "**xel isufl eba da saxel isufl o media** sakuTar mosaxl eobas xel isufl ebaSi maTi mosvl is wl ebiS gaxsenebiT aSinebs... nacvl ad imisa, rom qveyana qveyanas daamsgavlos, **mtris xatebis "weriT" aris garTul i**". (163).

amave gazeTSi, pol i tikoSebis gamoki Txis ("vis aZl evs xel s destabilizacia saqarTvel oSi?") Sedegad, am versias \_ **xel isufl ebis dadanaSaul ebas** \_ mxars uwers parl amentari el ene TevdoraZe; parl amentari giorgi TargamaZe xel isufl ebis orive ganStoebas adanaSaul ebs "**marTul destabilizaciaSi**"; irina sariSvili i-Wanturia ki \_ yvel a im Zal as, upirvel es yovl isa "**moqal aqeTa kavSi rs**", roml ebic "SevardnaZis politikidan wasvl is Semdeg arCevnebis gziT ver movl en xel isufl ebis saTaveSi"; parl amentari **mixeil nanei Svil i** aqcents ruseTze akeTebs: "ragind urTierTdapi ri spirebul i j gufebic unda iynen destabilizaciis msurvel ni, **maT zurgs uk**an, aSkarad Tu farul ad, **dgas ruseTi**... es varaudi ar aris. me, ubral od, vici, rom es asea"; "**respublikel Ta**" I ideri **daviT berZenSi** i xel isufl ebis **damxobas** wi naswarmetyvel ebs: "kar Tageni unda daingres... moqal aqeTa kavSi rs ar aris Si da rezervebi, roml ebic SevardnaZis reJims gaakeTi l Sobil ebda". (100)

Tu parl amentari j emal gamaxaria zurab Jvani as winaRmdeg moyobi l i saxel mwi fo gadatrial ebis varauds gamoTqvamda, parl amentari **fiqria CixraZe** piriqiT \_ Tavad Jvani as mi iCnevs destabilizaciis **xel is Semwyobad**: "...rac

Seexeba imas, rom Jvani a mi vi da vakeSi gamarTul i aqci is monawi l eebTan, aman Sei ZI eba i Tqvas, fsi qol ogiuri bi Zgi misca am saki Txis ki dev ufro metad gaaqt i urebas. yvel aze metad ganvl il i erTi wl is ganmavl obaSi vin saubrobda Semodgomaze mosal odnel destabilizaci aze. es iyvnen mmarTvel i Zal is warmomadgenl ebi, uSual od parlamentis Tavmj domare. Tu i sini amxel a informac ias fl obdnen, rom mai cdamainc energetikis Temaze moxdeboda es destabilizacia da mainc Ti Ti Titze ar daakares, e.i. xel i Seuwyves am situaci is eskal acias." (138)

zurab Jvani as mxridan aqciebis provocirebis Temas edp-s I ideri, irina sari Svi l i-Wanturiac avi Tarebs: "...Jvani as da "mixedrionis" mxridan aris es aqciebi provocirebul i... "moqavSirisTvis" SevardnaZis vadaze adre wasvl a prezidentobidan yvel aze real uri Sansia xel isufi ebaSi dasarCenad... maSin saxel mwi fos pirlvel i piri gaxdeba parlamentis Tavmj domare, romel mac sami Tvis Semdeg unda dani Snos axal i arCevnebi". ("axal i Taoba", 1611.2000).

"mixedrionTan" mimarTebaSi sayuradReboa "axal 7 dReSi" gamoqveynebul i vrcel i intervieu davi T berzeni Svi l Tan, romel ic jaba i osel i anTan dakavSirabiT aseT azrs avi Tarebs: "mind a gamsaxurdiasa da SevardnaZi sagan orgzis gamoyenebul jaba i osel ians vurcio, ise nu daxurdavdeba, amj erad Jvani as gamoayenebinos Tavi... Tu "mixedrions" aqvs perspektiva, maSin es imas ni Snabs, rom momaval Si saqarTvel o gadatrial ebis arenad gadai qceva". (90)

movl enebis ganzogadebisas Jurnal isti ia anTaZe saqarTvel os damouki debi obis wi naaRmdeg ganxorci el ebul da gansaxorci el ebel procesebs ruseTi sagan warmarTul ad mi i Cnev: "movl enebis ganvi Tarebis I ogika aseTia: ruseTma jer iol ad Cai Tria Cveni fufunebis moyvarul i xel isufi eba korufci is WaobSi; Semdeg prezidents Tavi si saparlamento umravl esobi sTvis "mkl avebi agrexina" Zvel i mTavrobi s dasamtkicebl ad (romel Tanac ruseTs "sakuTari angari Sebi" hqonda); bol os ki gamocxadda, rom mmarTvel i daj gufeba pol itikuri arenidan xal xma unda gandevnos". (81). am publ i kaci is I logiki T, ruseTis xel i T warmarTul i brZol is sami zned zurab Jvani ac i guli isxmeba.

sagul isxmoa, rom azrTa si Wrel isa da urTierTgamomri cxaobi s mi uxedavad, am publ i kaci ebs aqvs erTi saerTo \_ pol itikosebica da Jurnal istebic, aqciebi s gamomwvev mi zezebz metad, yuradRebas amaxvil eben imaze, visi agorebul ia destabilizaci is tal Ra. yvel a gamoTqvams varauds, rom arsebul i obieqturi mi zezebi s mi uxedavad, "uxil avi rejisoris" warmmarTvel i xel i igrznoba am yvel afri s uk an; xol o bral debebis vectori,

ara mxol od pirovnul i poziciebis sxvadasxvaobis, aramed, imis mixedvi Tac icvl is mimarTul ebas, Tu vis interessebs gamoxataven respondentebi, redaqciеби da Jurnal istebi.

\*

presis rezonansi 2001 wl is Semdgomis movl enebze, romel sac Sedegad parlamentis Tavmj domarisa da mTavrobis gadadgoma mohyva, mowmobs, rom ruseTi arc am SemTxvevaSi gamoiricxa "scenaris avtorobi dan". miT ufr, rom droSi saewvod daemTxva erTmaneTs terorizmSi saqarTvel os dadanaSaul eba, kodoris da pankisis dabombva, "rusTavi 2"-is incidenti, romel mac Tavisufal i mediis dacvis sababiT, maval ricxovani mitingebis tal Ra aagora da uceb gadaizarda politikur gamosvl ebSi, xel isufl ebisa da prezidentis gadadgomis moTxovni T.

"Tuki CeCeni boevikebi afxazeTSi saqarTvel odan moxvdnen, es imas niSnavs, rom maTi iq moxvedra isev rusebma uzrunvel yves saqarTvel os xel isufl ebasTan erTad. es e.w. operaciebi ki kideverTxel adasturebs, rom isini ruseTis mowyobil ia, romel ic gudauTis bazis Senarcunebas isaxavs miznad", \_ acxadebda parlamentari koba davi TaSvil i gazeT "axal TaobasTan" interviusi. ("axal i Taoba", 10.10.2001).

rusul onl ain-mediaze dayrdnobiT, rusul i provokaciis versias avi Tarebda gazeTi "axal i meridiani": "ni Sandobl i vi a, rom zogierT rusul internet-saitze informacia kodoris dabombvis Sesaxeb TviT sahaero dartymis ganxorciel ebamde 1 saatiT adre gaCnda. gasaTval i swinebel ia, rom "ru"-s internetportal ebs mkacrad akontrol ebs ruseTis mTavrobis Sesabamisi qvedanayofi da isini Zal i an xSirad, uSual od specsamsaxurebi dan sazrdooben. maSasadame, saqme gvaqvs winaswar dagegmi l provokaciastan. ruseTma ukve aamoqmeda sainformacio omis Zvel i meTodebi." (mamuka xurcize, "ruseTis qarTvel ofobiuri demarSebi yovel gvar kompromiss gamoricxavs", "axal i meridiani", 12 oqtomberi, 2001); "...erTi-ori bombi "srul iad SemTxvevi T" pankisis xeobaSic Camovardeba da meti ra unda destabilizacias saqarTvel oSi, miT umetes zamTarsi \_ uSuqobi sa da sicivis periodSi. saqarTvel oc Tavisdauneburad CaerTveba CeCneTis winaaRmdeg mimarTul agresiasi da Semdgomad amisa rac moxdeba.....qarTvel xal xs araerTxel aqvs nagrZnobi rusul i Ceqmisi simware." (166).

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Secvl is erT-erTi momdevno "rusul i scenaris" "fragmentebi" bevrjan gvxvdeba 2001 wl is noember-dekembris qarTul presasi da igi erTgvar krebit formas iRebs gazeT "axal versiaSi", roml is

publ i kaciis saTauric ("vin moqmedebda ruseTis scenariT \_ TargamaZe-patarkaciSvi l i Tu Jvania-saakaSvi l i?") mi anisnebs or savaraudo versiaze, mTavari mi zani ki masal is I idSi figurirebs: "pol i tol ogTa saerTo azriT (publ i kacia eydnoba pol i tol ogebis \_ I evan berzeniSvi l is, givi bol oTaSvi l is, ramaz kl imiaSvi l is, gia nodias mosazrebebs, - I .k.), ruseTi saqarTvel os mimarT Ria agresiul politikas ukve Riad da Seufaravad awarmoebs. rusul i pil i tikiuri istebi smentisaTvis SevardnaZeE dRiTidRe ufr muRebel i xdeba da amitom rusul sainformacio saSual ebebSiC antiSevardnaZistul i isteria iwyeba. araris gamoricxul i, ruseTis maRaL eSel onebSi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis Secvl is scenari iwerebodes." (134).

xsenebul i publ i kaciis mixedviT pirvel i versia aseTia: eqspertTa saerTo SefasebiT, seqtembris bol os afxazeTsa da kodorSi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebi mimarTul i iyo ara afxazeTis dasabrunebi ad, aramed, saqarTvel oSi xel isufl ebis Sesacvl el ad, ruseTSi SemuSavebul i scenaris mixedviT: CeCeni teroristebis xel iT moxdeboda afxazeTis romel i me regionis aReba da amamarj vebis gmi rad gamocxaddeboda maSindel i Ss ministri kaxa TargamaZe. qveynis mmartvel adac is mogvevlin neboda. amastan, ruseTi cdil obda "mourj ul ebel i" CeCnebi moeSorebina pankisTvis (romelic axl osaa CeCneTTan), Caesaxl ebina afxazeTSi da amT "ori kurdRel i erTad daeWi na".

meore versiis Tanaxmad, saqarTvel oSi xaverdovani revoluca i gegmeboda. studenturi gamosvl ebis ukan, ruseTis direktiviT, Jvania-saakaSvi l is gundi idga. SevardnaZis "gadasarCenad" ruseTi gai TamaSebda kuCmasa da al i evis anal ogs (roca maT "keTil i feriis" rol Si "Crdil oel i daTvi" moevlinat) da, am samsaxuris sanacvl od, saqarTvel os rusul orbi tazeE moaqcevda.

"axal i versiis" sxva publ i kaciis mixedviT, saqarTvel o afxazeTSi mdgomareobis garTul ebi sagan amerikaSi momxdarma teraqtebma ixsna da ruseTma saqarTvel oSi "meore xazic" gaxsna. es saqarTvel oSi rusul i kaptali s Semodinebas da am gziT xel isufl ebis Secvl as gul isxmobs." ("axal i versia", 01.10. 2001).

ki dev erTxel moviSvel iebT ruseTis "sagareo politikis nacionaliuri laboratoriis" anal i tiku masal as \_ "politikuri situacia saqarTvel oSi", romelic aRni Snul ia: "2001 wl is movl enebma uCvenes, rom "axal gazrda reformatorebs" SeuZi iaT TavianTi mxardawerisTvis masebis mobilizeba da masStaburi krizisis provocireba, magram maT ar Zal uZT xel isufl ebis xel Si aReba da situaciaze kontrol is Senarcuneba. 2001 wl is bol os swored

opozicias mouxda daTmoba." (58) maSin, roca qarTul i presa bWobda, visi mowyobil i y 2001 wl is "noembris revol uciad" wodebul i krizisi, rusi anal i tikozebi am saki Txs arc saTuod xdi an da arc ki Txvis ni Snis queS ayeneben, isini konkretul ad asaxel eben "adresats" – "axal gazar da reformatorebi".

presis analizi erTi SexedviT paradoq sul i daskvnis saSual ebasac i ZI eva: ruseTisaken mimarTul i bral debebis mi uxeda vav, "feTqebadsaSi Si movl enebis" inici rebiT zogierTi qarTul i gamocema I amis rusul is identuria. mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs ara faqtebis damTxveva, aramed aqcenti, masal ebiS provokaciul i xasi aTi. magal iTad, gazeTi "axal i versia" rusul medias bevrad aWarbebs Tundac pankisis Temis aji tirebaSi. iqmneba STabeWdi l eba, rom es gazeTi special urad amisTvi saa Seqmni l i; pirvel i nomridan moyol ebul i, farTo anSi agebiT, gamomwvevi saTauri rebiT, gverdi dan gverdze gardamaval i vrcel i masal ebiT, pankisis safrTxe i sea warmoCenil i, rom ruseTs isRa darCenia, dabombos xeoba (gazeTi pirvel i ve nomers, I ogos zemoT, I amis 100-punqtiani SriftiT awyobi l i "qistianoba" xsni da da es saTauri Tu mesij i, gverdi dan gverdze gadadi oda. am nomerSi, da zogierT sxva nomerSi c, mxol od am Temas erTdroul ad ramdenime sagazeTo gverdi eTmoba).

"axal i versia" gamonakl isi rodia. magal iTd, tel ekompania "rusTavi 2", pankisis erTi Tofis gavardni sTane, i se warmarTavda xeobi dan reportaJebs, rogorc frontis wina xazi dan; verc ki moaswro ruseTma wesierad saqarTvel os dadanaSaul eba terorizmSi, rom gazeTma "rezonansma" gaSi il gverdebze gamoaqveyna publ i kacia "masobrivi terorizmSi safrTxe kavkasi aSi" ("rezonansi", 02.10.2001), romel ic saqarTvel oSi am safrTxis gaaqt i urebis prognoziT mTavrdeba. xsenebul i masal a STambewdavadaa rekl ami rebul i gazeTi pirvel gverdze.

sadi sertacio naSromSi ukve xsenebul i presis mosazreba, rom saqarTvel oSi amerikul i ful iT rusul i interes finansdeba, Sesazi oa, amgvar vi Tarebasac gul i sxmobda, roca demokratiul i mediis ganvi Tarebi sTvis gamoyofil i dasavl uri grantebiTa da sxva saxiS daxmarebebiT moRonierebul i masmedia pol i tiki si tuaciebis gamwvavebiSa da SesabamSi manevri rebi sTvis gamoi yeneboda. Tumc, aqve unda Sevni SnoT, rom es ar iyo mxol od "garedan marTul i" procesi; am manevrs saxel i sufl o brZol aSi Si da pol i tiki Zal ebic mimarTavdnen, rac, sabol oo jaamSi, mniSnel ovnad azi anebda ruseT saqarTvel os urTi erTobasac da asustebda saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri obas.

- **afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis probl emis ramdenime aspeqt**

paradoqsi a, magram, saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI i anobis probl ema, afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis Tema, namdvil ad ar yofil a saanal i zo periodis presis arc ZiriTadi da arc mTavari aspeqt; mxedvel obaSi gvaqs ara presaSi am regionebis xsenebis sixSire, aramed, misi qceva Tundac i seT aqtaul ur da prioritetur aspeqtad, rogoradaca, magal i Tad, warmodgeni i presaSi saxel isufl o brZol ebi. ZiriTadar, am regionebTan dakavSi rebul i presis aqcentebi viTardeba destabilizaciuri procesebis, saqarTvel osTan ruseTisa da dasavl eTis mimarTebis konteqstSi da a.S. es viTareba, ra Tqmunda, ar aris ganpi robebul i presis daudevrobiTa da ugul i syurobiT. miuxedavad imisa, rom TiTqosda teritoriul i probl emis mogvareba umTavresi prioritetia, ar i grznoba rom saxel mwifo Tavisi saxel mwifoebri vi cnobierebis areal Si aqcevdes am regionebs, iqauri mosaxl eobis probl emebs. maSin, roca, erTis mxriv, mwaved vreagirebT matTvis ruseTis moqal aqeobis minWebaze, Cvenis mxriv, i give moqal aqeebi distancirebul i gvyavs saqarTvel os saxel mwifos sivrcidan, Sesabami sad, sainformacio areal i danac.

afxazeTi (ufro i Sviatad e.w. samxreT oseTi) presaSi moi xseni eba politikuri kapi tal is dagrovebisTvis, rogorc xel isufl ebis, aseve, opoziciis, mxridan, emociuri gancxadebebis doneze, pragmatizmis gareSe, an \_ samitingo-patriotul i paTosis gasaZi ierebl ad.

organizacia "Serigebis resursis" mxardaweriT Seqmni I uaRresad sayuradRebo naSromSi – "afxazeTi qarTvel i pol itikosebis wi nasaarCevno meni uSi" (naSromi eyrdnoba 2003-2004 wl ebi presis publikaciebs), xazgasmi Taa aRni Snul i, rom "afxazeTi ar yofil a wi nasaarCevno Tema, arc 2003 wl is saparlamento, arc 2004 wl is saprezidento, da arc 2004 wl is ganmeorebiTi saparlamento arCevnebis dros"; rom "afxazeTis Temam dakarga is simwave da aqtaul oba, rac mas ramdenime wl is winaT hqonda; rom "pol itikur partiebs dRemde ar warmoudgeniat am probl emasTan mimarTebaSi arc axal i ideebi, arc axal i konceptual uri damoki debul eba." (29, III)

90-i an da 2000-2002 wl ebSi c, afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis probl ema ZiriTadar i sev **eTnokonfi iqtaid iwodeba**, i seve rogorc rusul mediaSi; da presaSi umTavresad gvxvdeba mosazreba, rom **konfi iqtebis gasaRebi ruseTSi Zevs**. amave periodSi presaSi figurirebs termini "**gayinul i konfi iqtebi**" da mosazreba, rom ruseTs awyobs konfi iqtebis gayinva da arsebul i status qvos Senarcuneba, vidre Tundac maTi asocirebul wevrebad mi Reba, mi T ufro –

damouki debi obis aRia reba (magal i Tad, pol itol ogi ramaz sayvar el i Ze mi i Cnevda, rom ruseTs ar awyobs am konfl iqtebis bol omde mogvareba, raTa ar dakargos saqarTvel oze zewol is Sesani Snavi berketebi); 2002 wl idan, Ordil o atl antikuri integraciis vektoris gamokveTasTan erTad, presaSi konfl iqtebis mogvarebis imedi ufro da ufro ukavSi rdeba nato-Si saqarTvel os SesaZI o gawevri anebas; icvl eba defini ciac \_ **separatistul i regionebi**, eTnokonfl iqtebis nacvl ad; 2003-2004 wl idan, nato-s Temis gaaqt i urebasTan dakavSi rebiT, presaSi cndeba mosazrebebi, rom SesaZI oa, nato-Si mi gvi Ron mougvarebel i konfl iqtebiT, an \_ afxazeTisa da oseTis gareSe arasamTavrobo organi zaci aTa saangari So masal ebSi, konfl iqtol ogTa da pol itol ogTa l eqsi kaSi gamoi yeneba termini \_ **gandgomili i regionebi**, magram presaSi man fexi ver moi ki da. "gandgomili i regioni", Ziri Tadad, aWaris konteqstSi gvxddeba. "vardebis revolu ciis" Semdeg, saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri v sivrcesi aWaris dabrunebiSTanave, presaSi gaaqt i urda, daaxl oebiT iseTive scenariT, afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis SemoerTebis aqcenti da ruseTis ganxil va ara Suamavl ad, aramed konfl iqtis mxared.

sadi ser tacio naSr omis Sesabami s qveTavebSi nawil obri v asaxul ia afxazeTsa da e.w. samxreT oseTTan dakavSi rebul i aspeqtebi (sagareo urTi erTobaTa, destabilizaciis konteqstSi da a.S.). amj erad, mokl ed SevcerdebiT 2004 wl is agvistos "cxi nval is konfl iqtze".

"Cven dagvayenes amgvari real obis wi naSe \_ saqarTvel oSi SeiZI eba Zal i an mni Svnel ovani konfl iqt i daiwyos", \_ ganacxada 19 agvistos, cxi nval Si ganvi Tarebul movl enebTan dakavSi rebiT gamarTul sagangebo brif ingze, saqarTvel os prezidentma **mi xeil saakaSvill ma**, \_ "Cven bol o dReebSi gvi Sendnen ramdeni me simaRI idan, gvi Senda e.w. mesame Zal a, romel ic, ra Tqma unda, aravi Tari mesame Zal a ar aris. dRes dil iT, irakli i oqruaSvill is xel mZRvan el obiT, Cvenma nawil ma am Zal is ganadgureba, mwyobridan mTI i anad gamoyvana da am simaRI eebis dakaveba moaxerxa. am simaRI eebis dakaveba Cven saSual ebas gvaZI evs konfl iqtis zonaSi arsebul i Zal ebi s axal i gadaj gufeba movaxdinoT. Cven mzad varT, am simaRI eebis kontrol i sammxriv samSvi dobo kontingents gadavceT, romel Si c qarTvel ebic Sedi an.....amis Semdgom mowi naaRmdeges aRar eqneba sababi c ki, raTa gaamarTl os si tuaci is Semdgomi eskal acia. magram yvel as axsovdes \_ es mSvi dobi saTvis bol o Sansia." ("24 saatI", 20.08.2004)

prezidenti amgvari gancxadebis Semdeg, cxi nval is regioni dan qarTul i samxedroebis gamoyvani s gadawyveti l ebam SeaSfoTa adgi l obrivi qarTul i

mosaxl eoba; maT gzac ki gadauRobes samxedro ebs. "Tullosebi erT bombs Camoagdeben, Cveni jari 15 wuTSi cxinval Si iqneba", \_ ganacxada Ss ministrma irakl i oqruaSvi l ma.

"24 saatIs" informaci iT, "19 agvistos, feriscval ebis dRes, saqarTvel o did sisxl isRvras gadaurCa. rodesac Sinagan saqmeTa ministrma, irakl i oqruaSvi l ma qarTul -osuri konfl iqtis zonaSi arsebul i ramdenime strategiul i simaRI e daikava, ruseTis armis regul arul i nawil ebi, Turme, mzad iynnen saqarTvel os wi naaRmdeg saomari moqmedebebis dasawyebad. 40 Sveul mfre ni, 80-mde "beempe", aTeul obiT tanki, saxmel eTo da saavi acio desanti rokis gvirabTan iyo koncentrireb ul i da Setevaze gadasvl is brZanebas el oda. "Cven Zal ian seriozul i safrTxe avicil eT Tavidan", \_ ganacxada saqarTvel os parlamentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmj domarem, gi vi TargamaZem, romlis Tqmisi Tac, sami rusul i samxedro SenaerTi rokis gvirabTan isev srul sabrZol o mzadyofnaSi imyofeba. gi vi TragamaZem masmedias warudgina vi deomasal a, romel Sic naCvenebia, Tu rogor emzadebian ruseTis saj ariso SenaerTebi samxreT oseTis teritoriaze Sesawrel ad." ("24 saatI", 25.08.2004)

konfl iqtol og paata zaqareiSvi l is azriT, saakaSvi l is SeTavazeba, romel ic qarTul i SenaerTebis mier aRebul i strategiul i obieqtebis samSvi doboebisTvis daTmobas Seexeboda, meore swori nabij ia; pirvel i swori nabij i ergneTis bazrobis daketva iyo; danarceni yvel a nabij i \_ pirvel i ledi s regionSi Casvl a, gorsl tankebis Seyvana, bl okpostebis Seqmna \_ es iyo Secdomebis rigi, romel mac seriozul krizi samde mi gvi yvana. krizi si dan gamosvl isaTvis yvel aze swori prezidentis gadawyvetil eba iyo. ("rezonansi", 20.08.2004)

eqspertebi movl enebis ganviTarebis ramdenime variants gani xil avdnen; al eqsandre rondel is azriT, ruseTs aqvs sami gza: SeierTos e.w. samxreT oseTi, SeinarCunos iq status qvo, an dauTmos saqarTvel os. pirvel i \_ ar SeuZl ia, mesame \_ ar unda, rCeba meore \_ SeinarCunos status qvo, anu, gayinos konfl iqtis da amiT isargebl os \_ mudmivad akontrol os situaci a saqarTvel oSi. Tavdapi rvel ad qarTul i mxare konfl iqtis zoni dan zedmeti iaraRis gatanas moiTxovda, dRes ki yuradRebas saerTaSoriso kontrol is damyarebaze amaxvil ebs. eqspertTa varaudiT, Tu srul demil itarizaciaz ea saubari, maSin qarTul mxares, iseve rogorc osur da rusul mxareebis, konfl iqtis zonaSi 500 kaciani samSvi dobo misi is nawil i rCeba, rac isev ruseTs uxsnis xel -fexs; arsebul vi TarebaSi yvel aze sariskod qarTul i

sofl ebi dan xal xis dacl is procesi i Tvl eba. rusul -osuri strategi is ki dev erTi Canafiqri qarTvel ebsa da osebs Soris SedarebiT damTbari urTierTobis sabol ood gafuWebaa, rasac nawil obriv ukve Seesxa xorci, roca konfl iqtis zonaSi orive mxares pi rvel i msxverpl i gaCnda.

rac Seexeba msxverpl s, presaSi ar gvxdvdeba oficial uri cnobebi, gazeTebi sxvadasxva cifrs asaxel eben (magal i Tad, 19 agvistos "rezonansi" i uwyeba, rom samaCabl oSi srrol ebis dawyebi dan 26 qarTvel i jariskacia daRupul i); amasTan, aRni Snaven, rom orive mxare \_ cxinval ic da Tbil isic, cdil obs ar gaaxmauros mebrZol Ta daRupvisa da daWris faqtebi. paral el urad, prezidenti saakaSvi l i da xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebi xazgasmi T aRni Snaven samxedroebis profesional izmsa da simamaces.

cxinval is regionSi Seqmnili vi Tarebis formul ireba presaSi aeraTgvaria; movl enebis gaSuqebis "axal i versia", "al ia", "xval indel i dRe" xSi rad iyeneben gansazRvrebas \_ "omi", sxvebi am formul irebi sagan Tavs i kaveben. "xel isufl eba ar aRiarebs, rom es omia da kvl av konfl iqtis mSvbi dobi ani gzi T darekul irebaze saubrobs. aRni Snul si tuacias saparl amento opozicia mwave Sefasebas aZI evs... maTi gancxadebiT, konfl iqtis zonaSi real urad omi gvaqvs saxeze, romel sac aRiarebac ar swirdeba." ("xval indel i dRe", 20.08.2004)

parl amentis Tavdacvis da uSi Sroebis komitetis Tavmj domaris moadgi le ni ka rurua: "aravi Tari omi es ar aris. esaa mSvi dobis dasamyarebl ad da Cveni sakuTari moqal aqeebis sicocxl is dasacavad Catarebul i specoperacia. saerTod, omi, rogorc cnobil ia, cxaddeba. ar SeiZI eba omi gamoucxado Sens sakuTar teritorias! Cven konstituciur wesrigs vamyarebT sakuTar teritoriale, romel sac aRiarebs yvel a demokratiul i qveyana (amas, sxvaTa Soris, cnobs iseTi arademokratiul i qveyanac, rogoric ruseTia)." ("axal i Taoba", 20.08.2004)N

cxinval is regionSi Seqmnili ma krizisul ma vi Tarebam gaamwava ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierToba da, rogorc presa aRni Snavs, igi ara mxol od daubrunda "civi omis" mdgomareobas, aramed Ria dapi rispirebis saxe mi i Ro. qarTul mediaSi gaZI ierda negatiuri muxti kreml is imperial isturi pol itiki sa da prezident putinis mimarT, Tumc, rusul i mediis gaagresi ul eba saqarTvel os mimarT gacil ebiT Tval Sisacemia (prezidenti saakaSvi l i "izvestiam" hiti ersac ki Seadara).

"gorbis" direktor merab facul ias komentariT, sainformacio omma sagrZnobl ad Secval a saSual o rusi moqal aqis damoki debul eba saqarTvel oSi

mindinare movl enebis mimarT. 12-17 ivl iss ruseTis masStabiT Catarebul ma sazogadoebrivi azris gamoki Txvam (1500 respondent) aseTi Sedegi aCvena: prezident saakaSvi is mimarT ndoba, gasul i ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi, 27%-dan 11%-nde daeca; mi uxedavad anti qarTul i kampaniisa, mxol od 3 punqtiT Semcirda saqarTvel os mimarT ruseTis mosaxl eobis dadebiTi damoki debul eba \_ dRes mosaxl eobis 40% dadebi Tadaa ganwyobil i Cveni qveynis mimarT; gamoki Txul Ta umravl esoba \_ 53%, saqarTvel os mTavrobas aki srebs pasuxi smgebl obas ruseT- saqarTvel os Soris urTierTobis gamwavebisTvis; Semdegi \_ SeerTebul i Statebia, SedarebiT mokrZal ebul i maCvenebi iT \_ 15%; ruseTis mTavroba \_ 8%; oseTis \_ 5%. ("rezonansi", 20.08.2004)

ruseTis "mesame Zal ad" dasaxel ebi s Semdeg, saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebi s warmomadgeni ebi saubrobdnen imaze, rom maT xel T arsebul i mtkicebul ebebi s gamomzeurebiT ruseTs oficial urad daedeboda bral i separatistTa daxmarebaSi. saqarTvel os parl amentis Tavdacvis da uSi Sroebis komiteti i Svel iebda vi deokadrebs, romel zec asaxul i iyo rusul i desantisa da ruseTis regul arul i armi s nawi l ebi s gadmosxma rokis gvirabs aqeT; ruseTis federaciis sagareo saqmeTa saminstrom ki gaakeTa special uri gancxadeba, rom saqarTvel om ver moaxerxa im mtkicebul ebebi s gamomzeureba, rac ruseTs pindapi r daadanaSaul ebda cxinval is regionsi konfiqtis provocirebaSi.

Cxinval Si Seqnni l i saomari mdgomareobi s fonze oficial uri moskovi s pozicia gaurkvel i iyo, prezidenti putini poziciis Riad gamovl enas ar Cqarobda. 18 agvistos, soWSi gamarTul preskonferenciaz, putinma uaryo "Tezisi" imis Sesaxeb, rom konfiqtis ormxriv, qarTul -rusul i konfiqtis xasiat s iZens da saqarTvel oSi situaciis gamwaveba 1990-iani wl ebi s movl enebis recidivad gamoacxada. misi gancxadebiT, eThokonfi iqtebi dai wyo saqarTvel os mier damouki debi obis gamocxadebi s da afxazeTis da samxret oseTis avtonomi ebi s gauqmebis Taobaze "sul el uri gadawyvetil ebi T". putinma ganacxada imis Taobazec, rom aRar apirebs Semodgomaze saqarTvel oSi Casvl as. (19 agvistos presa, 2004)

qarTul ma sainformacio saagento "inter-presma" "kreml is erT-erTi yvel aze Tavxeduri politikuri demarSi" uwoda soWSi ruseTis prezidentis vl adimer putinis Sexvedras afxazeTis Tvi Tgamocxadebul i respubliki s premier-ministrsa da prezidentobis kandidat raul xajinbasTan. "putinma afxazeTis separatisti prezidenti ukve dani Sna", \_ wers gazeTi "rezonansi". ("rezonansi", 31.08.2004)

pol i tol og ramaz sayvarel iZis komentariT, ruseTs awyobs gamwwavebul i konfl iqtеби. mas konfl iqtis mospoba erT dReSi SeuZi ia, magram sur s meti daZabul oba am regionSi, raTa gavlenis SenarCuneba SeZI os. pol i tol ogi eWwobs, rom ruseTs kavkasiuri marwuxi swi rdeba imisTvisac, rom amerikasTan ekonomi kur saki Txebze i瓦ros kavkasi is sanacvl od. ("rezonansi ", 20.08.2004)

sabrZol o moqmedebebis Sewyvetis Semdegac, "axal i versia", roml is avtormac, gazeTis gancxadebiT, "yvel a Jurnal istisTvis daxurul gasaiduml oebul zonaSi SeaRwi a", aqveynebs special ur reportaJs \_ "rusul - osuri samxedro manqana sangrebs Txris da axal i omisaTvis emzadeba". ("axal i versia", 27.08.2004)

cxinval i isev cdil obs Tavisi pirobepi wauyenos saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebas \_ de faqto xel i sufl ebris informaciis departamentis xel mZRvanel i irina gagl oeva iwunebs euTo-s moqmedi Tavmj domaris, sol oman pasis mier Jvania-kokoiTiS Sexvedris adgil ad SeTavazebul qveyanas \_ bul gareTs; gagl oevas gancxadebiT, es qveyana saqarTvel os iaraRs awdis da Sexvedris CatarebisTvis yvel aze Sesaferis neutral ur teritoriad moskovs asaxel ebs. ("axal i Taoba", 31.08.2004)

"al ias" politikuri mimomxil vel is informaciiT, saqarTvel oze zemoqmedebebisTvis kreml i, tradi ciul ad, moskovSi myofi figurebis gaaqt i urebasac gegmav. mal e moskovSi axal i politikuri partia dafuzneba, romel Si c Tavs moiyris yvel a ganawyenebul i CinoVni ki. "imas, rac ver moaxerxa igor gi orgaZem SevardnaZis wi naaRmdeg, axl a abaSi Ze, kokoiTi da xaj inba erTad ganaxorciel eben, oRond ukve saakaSvi l is wi naaRmdeg." ("al i a", 31.08.2004) "al i a", aseve, aqveynebs intervius afxazeTis umarI esi sabWos yofil Tavmj domaresTan, Tamaz nadareiSvi l Tan, roml is informaci iTac mzaddeba dokumenti dsT-is sivrcesi afxazeTis da samxreT oseTis suverenitetis aRi arebis saki Txis ganxi l visTvis. ("al i a", 31.08.2004)

paral el urad, presa aRni Snavs, rom maSin, roca cxinval is regionSi separatistebi qarTul sofl ebs bombavdnen, prezident saakaSvi l is parl amentis Tavmj domarisa da saqarTvel os sagareo uwyebis araer TgziS mimarTvis mi uxedadav, saerTaSori so organi zaci ebi, maT Soris evrokavSi ri, evrosabWo da euTo, konkretul i pozici is dafiqsi rebi sagan Tavs i kavebdnen. (agvistos Sua ricxvebSi euTos samdivnos mier gamoqveynebul gancxadebaSi zogadad naTqvami a, rom qarTul -osuri konfl iqtis zonaSi saomari moqmedebebis eskal acia da adami anebis daRupva mkacrad unda dai gmos). rusul i agresi iisa da saerTaSori so dumil is fonze presaSi ikveTeboda eWvi \_ xom ar

darCeba saqarTvel o kvl av marto, ruseTis imperial isturi zraxvebis pirispis, rogorc es araerTxel momxdara.

konfl iqtis zoni dan jaris gamoyvanis Taobaze saqarTvel os prezidentis gadawyveti l ebis Semdeg Ti Tqmisi yvel a evropul ma struqturam Tavisi pozicia ukve Ri ad daafiqsira. gansakuTrebiT gaaqtiurda evrokavSiri, romel mac ganaxada, rom "aRiarebs saqarTvel os ufl ebas, gaakontrol os sakuTari sazRvrebi, mat Soris ruseTis sazRvarze myofi roki s gvirabi". ("axal i versia", 23.08.2004)

amerikis SeerTebul ma Statebma mouwoda samxreT oseTis konfl iqtis yvel a mxares da euTo-s sxva partniorebs – maqsimal urad gamoyenon saqarTvel os mier cxinval i dan jaris gamoyvaniT Seqmnili i pozitiuri momenti da Seqmnan mol aparakebebis efeqturi meqani zmi saki Txis pol itikuri gadawyvetisaTvis, roml is fargl ebSic Senarcunebul i iqneba samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri statusi saqarTvel oSi. "saqarTvel os unari, ganaxorciel os seriozul i reformebi, damoki debul ia mSvidobasa da stabil urobaze", – naTqvami iyo aSS-is saxel mwifo departamentis gancxadebaSi. ("rezonansi", 24.08.2004)

cxinval is konfl iqtis gamwvavebas, sainformacio Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel osTvis erTi arsebiTi Sedegi mohyva: saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mier ruseTis aRiareba konfl iqtSi dainteresebul mxared, rasac rezonansul ad mohyva ucxour mediasSi adekvaturi aqcentis gaCena.

"mTavari gazeTi" formul irebit, e.w. samxreT oseTSi ganvi Tarebul ma movl enebma ruseT-saqarTvel os ketili mezobl uri Tanacxovrebis "ganaxl ebul i idea" sapnis buStivit gaaqro. saqarTvel os parlamentma ruseTi msofl ios wi naSe qarTul -osur konfl iqtSi monawil e, dainteresebul mxared oficial urad daasaxel a da Sesabamisi gancxadebis safuZvel ze saerTaSoriso organizaci ebs cxinval is regionSi ruseTis samSvidobo mandatis Sesawyvetad daxmareba sTxova. ("mTavari gazeTi", 14.08.2004)

### Tavi III

#### saxel isufi o brZol ebi \_ presis ZiriTadi Tema

es monakveTi, Sei ZI eba iTqvas, wi namdebare sadisertacio naSromi s centraluri nawili ia, radgan, rogorc ukve aRvni SneT, saanal izo monakveTSi presa ZiriTadad asaxavda saxel isufi o batal iebs da gamoxatavda xel isufi ebisaTvis warmoebul i brZol is interess. ki dev erTxel aRvni SnavT, rom mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs presis mTavari tendenci ebi da mTavari Temebi, romel ic saerToa mTel i am periodisTvis. xel isufi ebis samive Stoc (sakanonmdebl o, aRmasrul ebel i da sasamarTI o), gansakuTrebiT \_ parlamenti da mTavroba, presis yuradRebis sagani umTavresad am konteqstSi xdeba.

saxel isufi o brZol is veqtorebi da etapebi, pi robi Tad, ase ikveTeba:

- o parlamentisa da mTavrobi s dapi rispireba (2000-2001 wl ebi)
- o dapi rispireba mmartvel i partiis \_ "moqavSiris" wi aRSi (2000-2001)
- o dapi rispireba politikur Zal ebsa da interesebi Soris ("moqavSiris-aRorZineba", "gaerTi anebul i demokratebi" - "nacionaluri moZraoba" \_ "moqavSiris" da a.S.) \_ 2000-2003 wl ebi
- o pi rovnul i dapi rispirebebi

am dayofis pi robi Toba upirvel esad gul isxmobs imas, rom institucionaluri dapi rispirebi sa da, ufronet, qveynis orientaciaz eazrTa sxdadasxvaobis SemTxvevaSic, real urad, ikveTeba ara konceptualuri, aramed pi rovnul i faktori (magal iTad, parlamenti-kancelariis dapi rispireba Jvani a-SevardnaZis dapi rispireba; gardacvl il i nugzar sajaias nacvl ad, uSi Sroebis mdavnad aSS-Si saqarTvel os el Cis, Tedo jafarizis dani Svna gani xil eba SevardnaZis prodasavl urobi snad da a.S.). "Zvel sa" da "axal s", e.w. retrogradebsa da e.w. reformatorebs Soris dapi rispirebac, sabol oo jamSi, pi rovnul dapi rispirebamde dadis da aRmoCndeba, rom aqac wi na pl anze xel isufi ebisaTvis brZol is interesia da ara mxol od sabWouri memkvi dreobi dan gaTavisufi ebi sa da qveynis demokratiul i gardaqmni s mi zani.

fil osofosi gigi TevzaZe, Tavis fil osofiur-politikur eseebSi ("Zal aufl ebis simulacia" da "saqarTvel o: Zal aufl ebis dabruneba"), postsabWoTa saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebs gani xil avs, rogorc "demokratiis da liberaluri momavl is simul acias". **eduard SevardnaZis** "reliqturi xel isufi eba" (romel ic Tavdapi rvel ad Tvi Tonac aqtiurad monawili eobda "simulaciuri orbi tebis" SeqmnaSi) "...ufrTxoda, erTi mxriv,

dasavI eTs, romel sac warmoebul simul aciaSi liberaluri demokratiis garantis rol i hqonda miniWebul i, xol o meore mxriv, samoqal aqo sazogadoebas, romel ic amave simul aciis scenarSi demokratiis ZiriTadi damcvel is saxiT iyo warmodgenili." (xazi avtoris, \_ I .k.) (25, 33-34)

gigi TevzaZis eseisturma xedvam gansakuTrebiT miipyro Cveni yuradReba ori ZiriTadi mizeziT: erTi, rom igi ara mxol od fil osofiis doqtoria, aramed, samoqal aqo seqtoris gavleniani aqtori da mcodne postsabWoTa saqarTvel oSi mindinare procesebisa; meorec, zemoaRni Snul eseebSi ganvi Tarebul i Tval sazrisebi "dokumenturad" dasturdeba bol o 10 wl is gamavl obaSi Cvens mier warmoebul i mediaanal iziTa da mediamonitoringiT.

"simul irebul i demokratiis" Tema SemTxveiT ar Semovi taneiT disertaciis am nawil Si. erTi SexedviT, is "saxel mwifos" nakveTs ufro esadageboda, magram rogorc qvemoT vanaxavT, sabWoTa "fantomuri" real obidan (merab mamardaSvili) "simul irebul" real obaSi saqarTvel os gadanacvl ebis gza swored saxel isufl o brZol ebis wina xazze gadis. rogorc gigi TevzaZe wers, "simul aciis proeqti xel s aZl evda yvel as \_ maTac, visac Zal aufl ebaSi mosvl a undoda, da maTac, visac ar undoda wasul iyo Zal aufl ebidan: anu, es awyobda rogorc im gunds, romel ic Jvanias garSemo yal ibdeboda, aseve im gundsac, romel ic Tavs ikrebda SevardnaZis garSemo." (25, 36)

- zurab Jvanias "pol i tikuri goni" \_ miTi Tu real oba

saxel isufl o brZol ebis ZiriTadi peripetiebis ganxi l vamde mokl ed SevexebiT winapi robas im politikuri personis da gundis formirebisa, romel ic, eduard SevardnaZesTan tandemSa Tu masTan konfrontaciaSi, 2000-2003 wl ebSi arsebi Tad gansazRvravda politikuri speqtris konfiguraciasac da saxel mwifos saSi nao Tu sagareo politikis veqtorebis mimarTul ebas; xol o "vardebis revoluciis" Semdgom periodSi, zurab Jvanias gardacval ebamde (2003-is noembridan 2005-is Tebervl amde) \_ mi xeil saakaSvi l Tan tandemSi (da Ria Tu farul i konkurenciis pirobebSi), mar Tavda postSevardnaZistul saqarTvel os.

sagangebod unda SevcerdeiT 2000 wels "dil is gazeTis" sam nomerSi saerTo saTauriT ("qarTul i politikuri goni \_ miTi Tu real oba", avtori \_ irakli i l i Tani Svil i) gamoqveynebul sam publikaci aze: "Jvanias hqonda politikosi saTvis aucil ebel i ramdenime Tviseba" (25 maiSi), "yvel aze Zi ieri da perspektiuli figura... SevardnaZis Semdeg" (26 maiSi), "vin gadasZal avs \_

Jvani a Tu SevardnaZe" (30 maisi). unda aRiniSnos, rom es aris kargad gaazrebul i anal itikuri statiebi, romel Ta avtori goni vrul ad aanal izebs da sagangebo pativs mi agebs saqarTvel oSi dabrunebul i eduard SevardnaZis sakadro pol itikas, Sei ar aRebul i "saZmoebis" TareSis periodi dan moyol ebul i "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" saarCevno gamarj vebamde, da am fonze damaj erebl ad warmoaCens zurab Jvani as pol itikuri zrdi s etapebs:

**I periodi** \_ Jvani am erovnul i moZraobis qaoSi T mocl periodSi Seqmna partia, romel ic Tavisi miznebi T izidavda xal xis interessac, dasavl eTi s mxardawerasac... saxel mwifo sabWoSi man zustad aircia orientirebi da i swavl a aqcentebis dasma iq, sadac saWiro iyo da rogorc saWiro iyo... paral el urad, man Seqmna patara, magram erTgul i da mobil uri gundi.

**II periodi** (1995 wl is Semdeg) \_ man unakl od aiTvis akul uarul i intrigebis, syl ebis teqnol ogia, "dayavi da ibatones" principi: daxl iCa edp, riTac didwil ad gaanei tral a "moqavSiris" Ziri Tadi konkurenti... zurab Jvani am Sesani Snavad Sei grZho gundurobis principis momgebi anoba da aqcenti gadai tana ara mxol od sakuTari personis rekl ami rebaze (rogorc amas irina sari Svi l i akeTebda), aramed **asparezze gamoi yvana** da Sesani Snavi imij i Seuqmna Tavis gunds araeTi axal i saxel iT \_ mi xeil saakaSvi l i, mi xeil maWavariani, nino CxobaZe, revaz adamia, nino burj anaZe, el ene TevdoraZe da sxi. amasTan, Ti Toeul s gamorCeul i funqcia daakisra, riTac mosaxl eobis faqtobri vad yvel a fenaze imuSava...

Jvani am Sesani Snavad aawyo urTierTobebi dasavl eTTan. igi **demokratisa da reformatoris imij iT sargebl obs**, aqvs gavl eniani kontaqtebi dasavl eTi s pol itikur da ekonomikur wreebTan da erT-erTi upirvel esTagania, visac dasavl eTi postSevardnaZistul i saqarTvel os I iderad aRiqvams... amasTan, Jvani am ki dev erTxel goni vrul ad gaTval a da pozici ebi gaimyara regionSi saqarTvel os umTavres partnior Tan \_ azerbaijanTan, sadac mas aracveul ebrivi finansuri da pol itikuri kavSirebi aqvs... erT-erT praqtikul da momgebi an nabi j ad Jvani as unda CaeTval os presasTan da arasamTavrobo organi zaci ebTan zedmi wenviT daxvewi l i urTierTobebis awyoba... am periodSi igi Camoyal ibda udavod seriozul , angari Sgasawev, gamWriax, gonler da Zi ier pol itikosad.

**III periodi** \_ zurab Jvani as morigi, mesame "xuTwl eul i" \_ Jvani as Stabi maqsimal urad cdil obda prezidentis winasaCevno kampani i saTvis (2000 wl is saprezidento arCevnebi \_ I .k.) ar gaekarebina saxel mwifo kancel ari i s Sesabamisi struqturebi. rogorc Cans, Jvani as surda saarCevno kampani i s Tel i simZime maqsimal urad aeRo TavisTavze, raTa arCevnebSi sasurvel i Sedegis mi Rwevis

SemTxvevaSi, madl obis ni Snad prezidenti sagan aseve maqsimumi gamoeTxova... Jvani a iTxovda mTavrobis, faqtobrivid, srul ad dakompl eqtebas; anu, rac Sei ZI eba meti saxel i sufl ebo berketis xel Si aRebas postSevardnaZistul epoqaSi I ideris poziciis SesanarCunebl ad...

Jvani as win udevs, saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi, "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" daxvewa-gadaxal i sebis, an, uki dures SemTxvevaSi, Tavisi birTvis safuZvel ze axal i kongl omeratis (amj erad myari) Seqmnis procesi. (131; 132; 133)

ganxi l ul i publ ikaciebi ar ai deal ebs zurab Jvani as yvel a Tvi sebas da politikur nabij s, yuradRebas amaxvi l ebs mis mier Tundac im periodSi daSvebul arsebi T Secdomebz (eduard SevardnaZis SesaZl ebl obebis saTanadod Seufasebl oba da misi Zal aufl ebis droze adre SezRudvis mcdel oba, sul swrafoba, Sesaferi droisa da momentis verSerCeva...), ri Tac ufro met damaj erebl obas i Zens.

davubrundeT gigi TevzaZis zemoxsenebul eses, romel Sic kargadaa axsnil i, rogor Caj da Jvani as faqtori SevardnaZis saxel i sufl o teqnol ogiaSi: SevardnaZes "swirdeboda adami ani, vinc pasuxi smgebl obas ai Rebda mis gadawyvetil ebebze. aseTi kaci ki, arsebul kandi daturebs Soris, mxol od Jvania iyo. ase iqca Jvani a aTkaciani fraqciis I ideridan Zal aufl ebis moziared \_ martali a, jerjerobiT mxol od pasuxi smgebl obis aspeqtSi, magram yvel aferi imaze miuti Tebda, rom mal e gadawyvetil ebis nawi l ic misi sakuTreba gaxdeboda." 1995 wel s Jvani a parl amentis Tavmj domared airCies da man "Zal aufl ebis sakuTari wil ic miRo"; "... es iyo pirvel i SemTxveva, rodesac SevardnaZem aSkarad gayo Zal aufl eba: parl amenti Jvani as Caabara demokratiisa da Zal aufl ebis simul irebisatvis, xol o aRmasrul ebel i xel i sufl eba \_ I ekisVi l s, Zvel i xel i sufl ebis subieqtebis gamocdi l i meTodebi T sakontrol od." (25, 19-20)

am masal ebis Sej ereba warmodgenas iZl eva ara mxol od Jvani as Zal aufl ebis anatomiaze, aramed kargad Si fravs sadisertacio naSromis am nawi l Si aRweril i saxel i sufl o brZol ebis ganvi Tarebis kanonzomierebas da amasTan, saSual ebas gvaZl evs am sqemas SevudaroT Sesabami si procesebis proeqcia presaSi.

- parlamentisa da mTavrobis dapi rispireba

2000 wl is april -maisSi, tel ekompania "rusTavi 2"-ma, "rezonansma", "al iam", "dil is gazeTma", gaamZafres xel isufi ebisakanonmdebl o da aRmasrul ebel Stoebs Soris warmoSobil i daZabul oba; rogorc "al ia" werda, "SevardnaZe am ori saxel isufi o Stos uTanxmoebis epi centrSi moeqca. orTabrZol a Ti Tqos daSantaJebis formasac ki iZens. SantaJis obieqtad isev SevardnaZes i yeneben." ("al ia", 30.04.2000)

sagazeTo statiebsa da satel evizio eTerSi musirebda amgvari formul irebebi: "impiementis mcdel oba", "prezidentis ufl ebebis seriozul i sekvestri", "prezidentma konstitucia daarrvia", "sakanonmdebl o sabotaji", "sabotajis momwyobi ministrebi", "samTavrobo portfel ebis uzurpaciis mcdel oba momaval Si saprezidento taxtis dasapyrobad" da a.S.

konstituciis Tanxmad prezidentis inauguriaciis Semdeg isedac ufl ebamosil ebamoxsnill i saxel mwifo ministrisa da mTavrobis gadadgomi s moTxovnas parlamentis mxridan, aqturi Jurnal isturi mxardawera mohya, xol o parlamentis iniciativa mTavrobis pasuxismgebl obis Semswavl el i droebiTi sagamoZiebo komisiis Seqmnis Sesaxeb, xmauriani Jurnal isturi ajiotajis sababad iqca. Jurnal isturi tendencia, tradiciul ad, saTaurebSive gamJRavnda: "me var qurdi, ese igi me var xel isufi ebaSi" (igul isxmeba mTavroba, - l.k.) ("rezonansi", 24.04.2000); "kancel ariaSi saWiros verafers gagagebi neben"; "xel isufi Ta arakompetenturobisa da danaSaul ebrivi qmedebis Sedegad saxel mwifo biuj etidan mil i onebi gadis" ("dil is gazeTi", 12,13.04. 2000); "hyavs Tu ara saqarTvel os mTavroba?"; "parlamenti mkvdris dasafli avebaze uars acxadebs" ("dil is gazeTi", 28.04.2000).

parlamenti-kancel ariis dapi rispireba rom isev da isev personal uri saxel isufi o brZol aa, kargad iki Txeba "rezonansi" pirvel i gverdis anSi agSi - "pasuxismgebel i pirvel rigSi SevardnaZea", da kari katuraSi, romel zec gamosaxul ni arian ringze dacemul i lorTqi faniZe, gamarj vebul i, muStSemarTul i mokrive Jvani as ZI evamosil i figura da mis iRI iaSi SeyuJul i daCi avebul i prezidenti. ("rezonansi", 06.05.2000)

zurab Jvani as real uri konkurentis, saxel mwifo ministr vaJa lorTqi faniZis gadadgoma Tanamdebobi dan Cai Tval a ara mxol od lorTqi faniZis damarcxebad, aramed prezident SevardnaZis wagebul raundad. mai si s TveSi, "rezonansi" da "al ias" Ti Tqmisi yovel nomerSi, pol i ti kosebTan interviuebSi, Jurnal istebi daJinebi T akeTeben aqcents

"prezidentis impiCmentis model obaze"; sa informaci o sababad i yeneben xel mowerebis Segrovebas parl amentSi \_ mTavrobis saqmi anobis Seswavl is moTxovni T.

"mmar Tvel partiaSi didi aurzauria. prezidentis siyvarul iT erT muStad Sekrul i "moqal aqeebi" erTmaneTs daupiri spirdnen... rodesac xel mowerebma 120-s gadaWarba, saqmem saxumaro el feri dakarga. rogorc Cans, aRmasrul ebel i xel isufi ebi saTvis damiznebul i es iniciativa prezidentma uSual od mis wi naaRmdeg wamowyebul aqci ad aRi qva. saqme xom mis mi er dani Snul i mTavrobis codvaTa gamoSkaravebas exeba", \_ werda "rezonansi". ("rezonansi", 14.05.2000)

am fonze muSavdeba mTavari Tema \_ postSevardnaZistul i momaval i, romel ic erTdroul ad ramdenime mimarTul ebiT aqcentirdeba:

- o sazogadoebrivi azris Semzadeba da ni adagi s mosinj va xel isufi ebi saTaveSi "axal gazar da reformatorTa" mosvl isatvis;
- o sazogadoebrivi azris gaaqt i ureba prezidentis wi naaRmdeg;
- o fsi qol ogiuri zemoqmedeba prezidentsa da mis garemocvaze.

"al ias" pirvel gverdze Cndeba anSi agi \_ "paatas prezidentobisTvis amzadeben?", Sesabamisi masal a ki Si da gverdebSi a gadasrol il i da gvauwyebi, rom "raionebSi gavrcel ebul i moarul i xmebiT, paata SevardnaZes safuzvel s umzadeben did politikaSi mosvl isatvis." ("al ia", 13.04.2000)

aseve anSi agiT amj erad "rezonansi" i uwyeba, rom "paata SevardnaZe politikaSi mosasl el ad emzadeba", aqvea mTel gverdze ganfeni l i saTauri \_ "ratom midis Tanamdebobi dan eduard SevardnaZe?" efekturad mowodebul i es saTaurebi masal is wauki Txavadac qmnis STabeWdil ebas, rom prezidenti midis da rogorc "mefe", memkvidred Tavis vajs tovebs. gazeTis meore gverdze ganTavsebul publ ikaci aSi saubaria saqarTvel os mdgradi ganvi Tarебis saagentos Camoyal i bebis Taobaze, roml is prezidenti paata SevardnaZe i qneba da am statuss "rezonansi" eqspertebi gani xil aven, rogorc winapi robas politikaSi mosasl el ad \_ "rogorc Cans, SevardnaZe umcrosma aqtur politikaSi mosavl enad momgebi ani pozicia Searcia." rac Seexeba prezidents wasvl as Tanamdebobi dan, gazeTis mesame gverdze irkveva, rom "SevardnaZes amj erad ar ufiqria prezidentobis mitoveba. is, ubral od, "moqal aqetakavSiris" Tavmj domareobaze ambobda uars." ("rezonansi", 09.05.2000) momdevno nomrebSi "rezonansi" i sev agrZel ebs Temas \_ eduard SevardnaZis mi er "pl acdarmis momzadeba" Svi l isatvis "taxis gadasacemad"; "al ia" ki, "moarul

xmebzə" dayrdnobiT, jer avrcel ebs, Semdeg ki uaryofs "SevardnaZis avadmyofobis ambavs."

"al iasa" da "rezonansis" mier inicireibul i Temis \_ presidentis Semcvl el is "Jurnal isturi Ziebis" areal i TandaTan farTovdeba da presaSi gani xi l eba xel isufl ebis saTaveSi axal i Zal is mosvl is ramdenime varianti:

- o SevardnaZes aranairi Zal a da survill i radikal uricvl il ebebi saTvis ara aqvs; yvel aze saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi, is mxars dauwers axal gazrdebis mier wamowyebul reformebs da politikur cxovrebaSi parlaments ufro meti funqciis aReba mouwevs; (125) Jvani as gunds saparl amento mmartvel oba urCevnia, radgan Jvani as ar gaaCni a saprezidento qarizma; (110)
- o ministrTa kabinetis SemoRebit, premier-ministris rangSi, Jvani a meore kaci gaxdeba pirvel i kacis funqciiT; (111)
- o SevardnaZe gai meorebs el cinis nabij s; misi memkvidre iqneba is, vinc putini vi T Seinarcunebs arsebul rejims da xel s ar axl ebs mis garemocvas. SesaZl oa es iyos "samarTal damcavebi s bosi" kaxa TargamaZe. (158)

sagangebo yuradRebas mi vaqcevT "tradicional istTa" I ideris, parlamentar akaki asaTianis iniciativas \_ ministrTa kabinetis SemoRebi saTvis sakonstitucio cvl il ebebis Taobaze. movi xmobT citatas gazeT "al ias" publ i kaci i dan, romel ic imi Tac aris saintereso, rom afiqsirebs presidentis orbi tidan axal i Taobis biznesmenebis, parlamentarebis \_ I evan gaCeCi l aZisa da daviT gamyrel izis, distancirebas: "gaCeCi l aze-gamyrel izis dueti imasac amtkicebs, rom saxel mwifo ministrad zurab Jvani as wasvl is SemTxvevaSi, is yvel a saki Txze pasuxismgebl obas ai Rebda da Sedegic ukeTesi iqneboda. kul uarul i informaciiT, axl andel i saxel mwifo ministri, arseni Svi l i, Tanamdebobas ha da ha, erT wel Si gamoemSvi dobeba da Jvani ac aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebis ol impze arCevnebamde cota xni T adre gadainacvl ebs. Tumca... ministrTa kabinetis ideam cota xni T kul is ebs mi Rma gadainacvl a amdenad, SesaZl oa, "tradicional istebis" Tavgamodebam da xel mowerebis Segrovebam fuWad Caiaros. asaTians Tu mis damkvetTs am etapze imedebma ar gaumarTi a, radgan "mas" (igul isxmeba eduard SevardnaZe \_ I .k.) ase surs." (148)

ministrTa kabinetis Temam erTgvarad fatal uri rol i Seasrul a zurab Jvani as pirovnul da politikur biografiaSi. 2001 wl is gazafxul ze isev sakonstitucio cvl il ebebis inicireba, oRondac amj erad presidentis mxridan, da, mis mierve, ministrTa kabinetis SesaZl o xel mZRvanel ad zurab Jvani as

kandidaturis dasaxel eba is strategiul i svi a aRmoCndi, romel mac Jvani as mier mogebul i seriozul i raundebis Semdeg (jer niko I eki Svi l i s, Semdeg vaJa I orTqi fani Zi s gadadgoma saxel mwifo ministrobi dan), **Zal Ta bal ansi mis sawi naaRmdegod Secval a.**

"Zal ian ucnaurad moxda Tavis droze, rodesac ministrTa kabinetis koncefcia Semovi da prezidentis mxridan... **maSin CemTvis ucnauri iyo, rom ratomRac dasaxel da Cemi saxel i da gvari, maSin rodesac struqtura saer Tod ar iyo mi Rebul i.** exl a daaxl oebiT i give xdeba, oRond srul iad sapi ri spiro mimarTul ebi T. i sev dai sv a prezidentis mxridan, rom aucil ebel ia kabinet Semovi RoT saswrafod, magram, amave dros, saswrafod moxda **asl an abaSizi s** gvaris dasaxel eba", \_ es gancxadeba tel ekompania "pirvel i arxis" eTeriT gaakeTa 2001 wl i s 16 noembers, "noembris revol uciad" wodebul i movl enebis Semdeg parl amentis **Tavmj domareobi dan gadamdgarma zurab Jvani am.** (143)

amj erad zurab Jvani am axsna orive SemTxvevaSi am iniciativis mi Rma nagul isxmevi saxel i sufl o brZol i s teqnol ogia ("bunebrivia, rom Tu amj erad kabinet daukavSirdeba ki dev romel iRaca konkretul politikoss, am SemTxvevaSi awaris liders asl an abaSizi s, masac hyavs Zal ian bevri mowinaaRmdege da vfiqrob ara naki ebi, vidre zurab Jvani as da i sev moxdeba am struqturis Cagdeba"), magram gacil ebi T adre axsna presam (jer ki dev maSin, roca Jvani am, prezidentis winadadebaze da Tanxmeba Tavisi **politikuri pasuxi smgebl obisa da Tavganwi rvi s sademonstraci od gamoi yena).**

peri odi \_ 2000 wl i s noember-dekembbris "energetikul i bunti dan" 2001 wl i s "noembris revol uciamde" ("noembris revol uciad" wodebul i movl enebi ganxil ul ia disertaciis IIOTavis qveTavSi \_ "destabilizaciis sainformacio uzrunvel yofa"), gamoirceoda saxel i sufl o dapi ri spirebebis gansakuTrebul i simZafriTa da presaSi maTi asaxvi s gansakuTrebul i mraval ferovnebi T. amave periodSi, sainformacio amindis Semqmnel **medi aSi irRveva zurab Jvani as medi azeobis, misi gundis erTianobis, "moqkavSiris" siZi ieris da a.S. mi Tebi;** Jvani as gundi dan distancirebas da reitingul Skal aze aRmasvl as iwyebi mi xei l saakaSvi l i, paradoqsi a, magram medi is Setevi s fonze, presaSi momgebi anad pozicioni rebs eduard SevardnaZi s persona.

- **dapi ri spireba mmartvel i partiis \_ "moqkavSiris" wi aRSi**

xel i sufl ebi sakanonmdebli o da aRmasrul ebel Stoebi Soris urTierTobis daZabvis Semdgom sainformacio kampani i s yuradRebi s centrSi

qveynis mmarTvel i partia, mis Signi T urTi erTdapi ri spirebis, Zal Ta axal i gadanawi l ebi s probl emebi eqceva. masmedia odnav anel ebs, magram mai nc ganagrZobs prezidentisa da misi Zal aufl ebi s diskreditacias \_ Jvani asa da misi gundis imij is ganmtkicebi s xarj ze.

sagul isxmoa, rom mTel i am procesebis periodSi prezidenti eduard SevardnaZe mkveTr reaqcias axdens mxol od mTavrobi s wi naaRmdeg 120 parl amentaris xel moyeris kampani aze, romel sac t/k "rusTavi 2"-is, gazeTebis \_ "rezonansi sa" da "al ias" Jurnal istebi "prezidentis impicmentis mcdel obaze" aqcenti rebi sTvis yeneben.

masmedi i s fl agmanebi s mier axal gazrda reformatorTa demokratiul obisa da yovl isSemZI eobi s imij is Seqmnis mi uxedavad, 2000 wl is zafxul idan masmedi aSi aqa-iq Cndeba mini Snebebi da mosazrebebi Jvani as gundis "kl anur diqtaturaze", "inkubatorul i meTodi T SerCeul i axal gazrdebi s asakobriv kritisze", axal gazrda reformatorebi s fsevdoevrop ei zmis a da kosmopol itizmis kritika da a.S. magram Ziri Tadi foni rCeba i give \_ "postepoqisTvis" mzadeba da prezidentis memkvidreze marCiel oba, "moqkavSi rSi" ganxeTqi l ebi s, prezident-Jvani as dapi ri spirebis, prezidenti sagan partiis mosal odnel i datovebi s da a.S. Temebi s aji tireba.

2001 wl is damdegi dan xel isufl ebi s damxobi s sul i skveTeba nel deba, magram masmedia amjerad xaverdovani revolu ci s versiebs amuSavebs; Zi ierdeba panki sis sababi T saqarTvel os teritoriaze ruseTis samxedro konfi iqtis gaCaRebi s safrTx e; parl amentis sagazafxul o sesi aze prezidentis gamousvl el oba amZafrebs mis wi naaRmdeg mimarTul sai nformacio kampani as da masmedia kvl av amuSavebs "el cinis variantisa" da qveynis pirvel i piri s rangSi parl amentis Tavmj domaris movl inebi s versiebs. Tumc, paral el urad, Cndeba versia, rom politikur krisiss ara prezidenti, aramed parl amentis Tavmj domare Seewi reba. "rusTavi 2", "al ia" da "rezonansi" aqamde tabudadebul zurab Jvani as personas kantikuntad ukve uaryofi T konteqstSi ixseni eben da aaqt i ureben mi xeil saakaSvi l is personi sadmi interess.

am fonze "rezonansi" "mTavar i snaperis" \_ morige redaqtoris "gasrol a", romel ic, im periodSi, mowmendi l caze mexis gavardnas hgavda, aRa rc i se SemTxevi Ti mogveCveneba. man zurab Jvani as personi sadmi e.w. damouki debel i medi i sa da sazogadoebi s mimarTebaSi, udavod Seasrul a "sasignal o gasrol is" rol i: "Ovens politikur speqtrSi aris kidev erTi "geniosi", romel ic aqamde sufta gamodi oda yvel a WuWyidan da raxan azri ara aqvs arc i umors, arc anal izs, radgan sxva gza ar aris, swored mas unda

SevZaxo: "ei, Sen Savt...a maimuno, vis qonebas ani aveb, Se martI a pederasto!" ("rezonansi", 18.02.2002).

es ci tata mraval mxriv sagul isxmoa; jer erTi, "rezonansi", romel ic civni avs ar uSvebda zurab Jvani asken, am "emociuri SeZaxi I iTa" da bil wsi tyvaobi T amJRavnebs, rom arc aqamde mi aCnda es persona umwi kvl o arsebad; meorec \_ "rezonansi" Riad i meorebs i give "bral debas", romel sac moskovSi mxovrebi politol ogis, vaxtang Wkuasel is mier ufro "civil urad" da zogedad naTqvams (da "rezonansi sagan" cecxl ze navTdasxmuls), di di skandal iD da sagangebo saparl amento ganxi l va mohyva (2000 wl is noemberSi).

"rezonansis" Semdeg nomersi Jvani asa da mis Tanagundel reformatorebs ukve erTdroul ad Seuties morige redaqtorma da gigi mesvetem:

- "aRvni Snavdi, rom mal e "Jvani as gundi" marto ert kacs \_ koba davi TaSvi l s daerqmeoda. saqme is aris, rom **saakaSvi l is** gaminstrebis Semdeg **revol uciuri gardaqmnebis droSa** parl amentSi am axal gazrda kacma ai taca da Jvani as gundis garegnul saxedac iqca. Tumca, rogorc Cans, Tavad **Jvani as** am dros sul ac ar erevol ucieba da Sesabami sad, mis **gundSi revol uci onerebisTvis adgil i ar aris.**" (al eko cqitiSvi l i, "morige redaqtoris Canawerebi", "rezonansi", 19 Teberval i, 2001).
- "sazizRar situaci aSi varT: gvegona, erTi Taoba midi oda da modi oda meore, romel ic qveyanas Tavis adgil s daumkvi drebda l okal urad iq, sadac aris da gl obal urad iq, sadac misi adgil ia \_ evropaSi. SevcdiT. bol o aTwl eul is axal ma saxeemba ieri icval es. Tqves, rom varT "qarTvel ebi, e.i. evropel ebi", magram aRmoCnda, rom **arc evropel ebi** arian da **miT umetes, arc \_ qarTvel ebi.** es adami anebi gvi an dai badnen, adre rom dabadebul iyvnen, kl asikuri komkavSi rul i liderebi i qneboden." (gigi mesvete, "koreqtul i sveti", "rezonansi", 19 Teberval i, 2001).

sagangebod mi vapyrobT yuradRebas mesij s "**revol uciuri**", romel ic, Cveni azri T, saqarTvel os politikur cxovrebaSi (Sesabami sad, politikur spetrSi) Tvisobrivi cvl il ebebi sa da "xaverdovani revol uciis" teqnologiuri procesebis mauwyebel i unda i yos. es ar aris "**revol uciis**" xsenebi T gamowveul i asociaciuri paraleli. es cneba qarTul presaSi isedac xSirad figurirebda, oRondac, rogorc vnaxet, destabilizaciuri procesebis konteqstSi. aq ki xazgasmul ia "**revol uciuri gardaqmnebi**", romlis **droSa** parl amentSi **axal gazrda mixeil saakaSvi l ma ai taca;** Jvani as ki, Turme, "sul ac ar erevol ucieba", ufro metic, aRmoCnda, rom igi "**arc evropel ia**" da "**miT**

umetes, arc \_ qarTvel i"; Sesabami sad, mis gundSi revol uci onerebisTvis adgil i ar aris."

Tu ufro Sors waval T, Tamamad Sei ZI eba Tqma, rom presis Tvisobrivi anal iziT Sesazl o iyo prognozireba imisa, rom 2001 wl is "noembri s revol ucias" parl amentis Tavmj domare, zurab Jvania Seewi reboda (amaze presa pir dapi r mi ani Snebda ki dec); rom gardauval i iyo radikal uri opoziciis saxiT mixeil saakaSvi l is mxardamWerTa Camoyal i beba, Jvani a-saakaSvi l is politikuri gzebis daSoriSoreba... sxvaTa Soris, presis "saavtoro frazaa" "**pol itikuri daswrobana**", roml iTac aRini Sneboda xel isufi ebi dan opoziciaSi gadasul i Jvani asa da saakaSvi l is farul i Tu aSkara qi Spi; Tumc, presa imasac xazgasmi T aRni Snavda, rom isini ganwirul ni arian erTi anobi sTvis, rom maT erTmaneTi swi rdebaT.

am Tval sazrisis gansamtki cebi ad gamodgeba "merabiSvi l is incidentTan" ("merabiSvi l geit is") dakavSi rebul i sainformacio aurzauri, romel ic presis publ i kaciaTa erT nawil Si araorazrovnad daukavSi ra mixeil saakaSvi l is:

- "ki dev erTi tendencia, romel ic merabiSvi l is Temis aji tinebiT masmediaSi gamoi kveTa, aseTi a: **reformatorebad wodebul gunds bol o dReebSi Zal ian xSi rad saakaSvi l is** gundad moixseni ebdnen. jer ki dev wi na parl amentSi dasaxel ebul gunds mxol od Jvani as saxel Tan aigi vebdnen; am parl amentis moRvaweobis bol o periodSi gunds Jvani a-saakaSvi l is saxel i ewoda. dRes gundis I i derad mxol od saakaSvi l is dasaxel eba (misi gaaqtiturebis fonze) aSkarad migvani Snebs imaze, rom saqarTvel oSi prezidentobis ambi cia ki dev erT kacs gauCnda". (147).
- "saakaSvi l ma Tavi si saarCevno kampania Zal ian adre dai wyo. Ti Toeul i misi moqmedeba, manerebi imaze metyvel ebs, rom mas Tavi si Tavi prezidentobis real ur kandidatad war moudgenia." (89).
- "...merabiSvi l i "moqal aqeebis" siaSi saakaSvi l is rekomenaci iT moxvda da 'igi dRemde saakaSvi l is arsebul i Tu ararsebul i gundis wevrad i Tvl eba. magram "**ratomRac**" saakaSvi l ma merabiSvi l i ar dai cva." (79).

bol o citataSi si tyva "ratomRac" SemTxveiT ar aris Casmul i brWyal ebSi. ami T redaqcia Tavis pozicias, damoki debul ebas gamoxatavs da igi ar unda i yos Znel ad asaxsnel i. prezidentobis mosurne axal gazrda politikoss, mixeil saakaSvi l is, misi eqscentriul obisa da gunduri principebis erTgul ebis miuxedavad, am etapze aRar awyobs radikal is imij i. igi ukve premier-ministrobis real ur kandidatadac saxel deba (gazeTi "axal i Taoba", magal i Tad, am Temaze pirvel i gverdis anSi ags misi gvariT iwyebi \_

"saakaSvi I i, Jvani a Tu I ekiSvi I i?"). am vi TarebaSi misTvis prezidentis gul is mogeba gacil ebi T mni Svnel ovania, vidre megobris sarisko gamoqomageba.

am mosazrebas "dil is gazeTis" publ i kaci ac adasturebs: "...partiis ("moqal aqeTa kavSiris", \_ I .k.) **radikal uri frTis** iseTi warmomadgenel i, rogoric mixei l saakaSvi I ia, prezidents iqiT umtki cebda imas, Tu rogori warmatebul ia saqarTvel os mier ganvl il i gza sxva danarcen postsabWoTa saxel mwi foeks Soris. "mas ver vakadreb, rom **megobari** davuZaxo (saakaSvi I am si tyebSi **Sevardnzes** gul isxmobs, \_ I .k.), magram Cveni urTierTobebi mai nc gansakuTrebul ad mi maCni a..." (107).

"merabiSvi I geit tad" wodebul, **saxel isufl o brZol is umniSvnel ovanes raunds**, qvemoT ganvixil avT; aq ki davubrundeT iseT Tebervl is "rezonanss". zemoTganxi l ul publ i kaci ebs gazeTis momdevno nomerSi ve mohyva intervieu "rezonansi" gamomcemel sa da mTavar redaqtor mal xaz ramiSvi I Tan; gamovyofT sam sagul isxmo moments am maval mxri v sayuradRebo publ i kaci i dan:

upi rvel esad unda aRvni SnoT, rom ramiSvi I i mxol od im mki Txvel s ubodi Sebs msujuqad, "**visac examusa amgvari gamoTqmeliT daxunZi** ul i "rezonansi" waki Txva"; meore \_ publ i kaci i qvesaTaurad gamotanil ia fraza, romel ic korespondent-respondentis Seki Txva-pasuxSi arsad figurirebs: "rezonansi" i seve ar aris "moqal aqeebis" (igul isxmeba "moqal aqeTa kavSiri", \_ I .k.), rogorc **CineTis imperatoris**. am kategoriul i frazis adresatad Sesazi o oponentebi ar unda igul isxmeboden. es ufr o imis gacxadebaa, rom **amieridan** "rezonansi" Tavs moval ed aRar Tvl is gundruki ukmios parl amentis Tavmj domares. amas intervius bol o pasuxic adasturebs: "rezonanss" veravin akontrol ebs da, ami tom, CvenTan "msujuq reJi mSi" moxseni eba aravis aqvs dabevebul i." **DDDDGGG**

da bol os \_ publ i kaci i saTaurad gamotanil i fraza, rom "gazeTSi di di emociuroba revoluclas iwevs. raki Ra redaqtor-gamomcemel s savsebi T gaazrebul i aqvs sazogadoebri azrze zogedad gazeTisa da, konkretul ad, "rezonansi" zegavl enis faktori, cxadia, gazeTis sxva publ i kaci ebs, Tundac, Cvens mier am naSromSi ganxi l ul i (magal i Tad, qveTavSi \_ "saxel mwifos imij i" da ssv.) "morige redaqtoris Canawerebis" sabrZol o muxtzeb eqneboda warmodgena. i sic unda aRini Snos, rom publ i kaci aTa sxva adresatebis, gnebavT i give prezidentis (romel sac ara metaforebi T, aramed gvar-saxel iT I anZRavda im wl ebSi, I amis yovel nomerSi) Seuracxyofi T daxunZi ul "rezonanss" aranairi formiT bodiSi ar mouxdia mki Txvel i sTvis.

erTi Tvis Semdeg "rezonansi" aqveynebs intervius parlamentis "axal i fraqciis" Tavmj domaresTan, davi T gamyrel iZesTan. intervius Temaa "rezonansis" gamoZieba Sss-is saqmi anobasTan dakavSi rebiT. publ ikaci is dasawyisSi Savi SriftiT xazgasmul ia **gamyrel iZis** si tyebi: "es pirvel i SemTxveva araa, rodesac "moqal aqeTa kavSir iS" erTi gundi, konkretul ad ki, Jvani as gundi, sagazeTo publ ikaci ebs aqturad iyenebs Tavis i mizni saTvis... samwuxaro isaa, rom mmarTvel i partia da Jvani as gundi mxol od cal keul publ ikaci ebze, mxol od im statiebze reaginebs, romel ic maT awyobT Tavis konkretul i mowinaaRmdegis dasamar cxebi ad." (124).

"rezonanss", rogorc "Tavisufal da obieqtur gazeTs" (Tavisive redaqtor-gamomceml is SefasebiT) al baT ar SeeZl o Seemokl ebina, an Seecval a respondentis mosazrebebi. Tumc, imis gaTval i swinebiT, visgan ra pozicia iyo mosal odnel i, zurab Jvani as oponentebi, rogorc wesi, "rezonansis" furcl ebze Ti Tqmisi ar xvdebonen; da Tu gamonakl isi mai nc moxdeboda, masal is mowodebis forma ar iqneboda amgvani.

SemTxvevi Ti arc "monarqist" Temur JorJol ianTan interviusi gamoTqmul i mosazrebi s gamoqveyneba unda i yos: "zvi adistebi ... Jvani as mi er daCmorebul i xal xia... eseni (saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas gul isxmobs, \_ l.k.) yvel afers akeTeben imisaTvis, raTa saqarTvel os xel isufl ebaSi somexi moiyanon, Tanac iseTi somexi, romel ic Tavis somxobasac uaryofs." (giorgi kal andaZe, "SevardnaZe qurdi, damnaSave da teroristia", "rezonansi", 19 marti, 2001).

"vaSington postSi" gamoqveynebul statias, romel Sic parlamentar vano merabi Svi l is meSveobiT gacxadda, rom SevardnaZes amjamad si tyva "reformis" gagonebac ar surs, igi daRI il ia da ar gaacnia politikuri neba raimes Sesacvl el ad, qarTul masmediaSi didi ajiotaji mohyva presis SefasebiT, es publ ikacia iyo **axal gazrda reformatorebis** mier prezidentis gamowveva saj aro duel Si.

Jurnal istebisa da politikosebi sgan gamoTvl il i nebi smieri SesaZl o variantis (reformatori ministrebis, an piriqiT \_ korufciaSi eWvmi tanil i ministrebis daTxovna; "moqal aqeebis" dasj a \_ "moqkavSir i dan" prezidentis gasvl iT; yvel afris ucvl el ad datoveba da a.S.) ganxorciel ebi s SemTxvevaSi prezidenti wamgebi an mdgomareobaSi unda aRmoCenil iyo; man ki mi iRo iseTi gadawyvetil eba, romel sac anal itikosebi, yvel a SesaZl o variantis gamoTvl is Semdeg, araprognozi rebads, anu eduard SevardnaZis, rogorc "politikuri di dostaSi", gamoucnob svl as uwodebdnen; **sakonstitucio cvl il ebebi s**

ini ciativa ministrTa kabinetis SemoRebisTvis, ris gamoc 2000 wl is maisSi akaki asaTi ani parl amentSi xel mowerebs agrovebda, amJamad Tavad prezidentma wamoayena; Tanac, wi naswar gaaxmaura premier-ministris Sesazi o kandi datura \_ zurab Jvani a. presam am nabij s "Sokis faqtori" uwoda, romel mac "partiis Sida saxel isufl o interesTa konfi iqtebi, praqtikul ad, stop-kadrSi gayina". (106)

prezidentis iniciativam kargi sakbil o gauCina masmedias politikuri intrigebis da personal iebis Temaze mraval ferovani mosazrebebis ganvi TarebisTvis. miuxedavad imisa, rom i sini xSir SemTxvevaSi erTmaneTs gamoricxavs, politikosebis, politol ogebis, analitikosebis da Tavad Jurnal istebis msj el obaSi ikveTeba saerTo tendendi ebi c, roml ebi c pirobi Tad ase SeiZI eba davaj gufOT (gazeTebis: "al ias", "rezonansis", "axal i Taobis", "dilis gazeTis", "axal i epoqis", "meridianis", "axal i 7 dRis", "dronis", "saqarTvel os respubli kis" publikaciebis da televiziis sainformacio programebis mixedvi T):

- o eduard SevardnaZem "udaod ZI ieri svl a" gaakeTa, romel mac "**uaRresad daZabul i politikuri atmosfero myisierad ganmuxta**"; prezidentis admi I amis Ri ad dapi rispirebul i misive partiis axal gazrda l iderebi umal mol bnen; **Jvani as SevardnaZis di skredi tacis gegma CaeSal a**; Tanamdebobebi sa da Zal Ta xel axal i gadanawi l ebi s Sesazi o perspektivam umal CaaxSo axal gazrdebis agresia da qveyanas ki dev erTxel daanaxa, rom mTel i e.w. reformatorul i gancdebi sxva arafe ri iyo, Tu ara maT mier mTel i saxel isufl ebo sivrcis srul i gakontrol ebi sken swrafva;
- o prezidentma zustad gaTval a dro da kvl av **gamoamJRavna qarTul i politikuri speqtris Rrma codna**; am nabij iT SevardnaZem ki dev erTxel moaxdina Tavis i Sesazi ebl obebis demonstrireba. i gi aRia rebul i strategia, "srul yofil ad fl obs marTvis teqnologi as, politikur manevrebSi warmoudgenl ad ZI ieria" da politikur brZol aSi mas badal i ara hyavs.
- o ZI ieri saprezidento xel isufl eba Cveni qveynis mental i tetis Sesabamis i a da arsebul vi TarebaSi i gi mmartvel obis yvel aze momgebi ani forma a. rac Seexeba warmodgeni l i variantiT mosal odnel axal ganl agebas, i gi qmnis safuzvel s ara prezidentis ufl ebamosi l ebi s, aramed prezidentis mni Svnel obis gazrdisaTvis da mni Svnel ovani momentia saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebri vi dafuznebi s procesSi.
- o politikosTa da Jurnal istTa sakmaod didma nawi l ma mosal odnel i cvl il ebebi sadmi skeptikuri damoki debul eba gamoxata, CaTval a es nabij i satyuarad, "**SevardnaZis axal fandad**", opozitsiisTvis "**saxravi Zval is**"

gadagdebad; drois gayvanis taqtikad, qveynis probl emebi sagan sazogadoebis yuradRebis mowyvetis mcdel obad, "moqkavSiris" intrigebis da ambi ciebis dasakmayofil ebel da ara saxel mwifo interesis gamomxatvel nabi jad; demokratiuli i procesebi dan ukan daxevi s simptomad; yvel aze radikaluri Sefaseba daaxl oebiT ase formul irdeba: SevardnaZe "xel isufl ebis narkomani a" da amiT xel isufl ebaSi yofnas ixangrZI i vebs; "am nabij iT man damarcxeba aRiara".

- o sakonstitucio cvl il ebebze msj el obisas gačnda versiac, rom, Sesazi oa, arc Tavad ideis avtors \_ prezidents surdes sakuTari ideis ganxorciel eba. sinamdvil eSi SeiZI eba yvel aferi es mxol od da mxol od saxel mwifo ministrisTvis ufl ebamosil ebis gazrdiT da saxel mwifo ministrad zurab Jvani as dani SvniT dasrul des, rac maincadamai nc saxarbiel o perspeqtiva ar aris Jvani asTvis (SevadaroT \_ Svi di Tvis Semdeg parlamentis Tavmj domareobi dan gadamdgari Jvani as zemoTmoxmobil i gancxadeba).

dabol os, yvel aze sayuradRebo versia, romel mac presaSi icina Tavi, ufrro siRrmiseul i iyo, ar iyo gaTvl il i "masobrivi auditoriisTvis" da, amdenad, sainformacio ajiotaJs ar daeqvemdebara. am versi iT, prezidentma daačqara Jvani as gundisTvis xel isufl ebis "xaverdovani gadacemi s" procesi.

"guSindel i da dRevandel i viTareba ise gansxvavdeba erTmaneTi sagan, rogorc ca da dedamiwa", \_ mraval mni Snel ovnad ganuxada Jurnal istebs "moqkavSiris" erT-erTma reformatorma Iiderma mixei l maWavari anma. (102) marTI ac, presaSi "merabi Svi l gei tad" monaTI ul i "vaSington postis" gaxmaurebul i publikacia da misi media- da politikuri rezonansi, gardamtexi etapi aRmočnda saqarTvel os politikur istebi smentSi Zal Ta axal i gadanawi l ebi sTvis. amasTan, Cveni azriiT, es is momentia, roca presam Tavisi Sesazi ebl obebi maqsimal urad gamoi yena movl enaTa ganvi Tarebis pl ural istur-analitikuri suraTis warmosačenad.

## Tavi IV arCevnebi da politikuri speqtri

amerikel i politol ogebi, wignis "amerikul i demokratiis" avtorebi (genet j anda, jefri m. beri, jeri gol dmeni), miicneven rom demokratiul i arCevnebis vi TarebaSi "masobrivi informaciis saSual ebebis mTavari funciaa xel i Seuwuos xal xi sgan xel isufl ebisaTvis informaciis gadacemis, upirvel es yovl isa, sazogadoebrivi azris Seswavl is safuzvel ze." (77, 151)

Sei ZI eba vTqvaT, rom qarTul i presa "xal xi sgan informaciis gadacemis" (oRondac, ara sazogadoebrivi azris Seswavl is safuzvel ze) amocanas ufro adekvaturad pasuxobda dekl arirebul i damouki debi obis pirvel wl ebSi (gasul i saukunis 90-iani wl ebis Suaxanebamde), roca periodul i gamocemebi stiqiurad, magram maqsimal uri mraval ferovnebiT warmoaCendnen partiul poziciebsa Tu sazogadoebis warmomadgenel Ta Tval sazrisebs, xSirad, kategoriul ad urTierTgamomricxavsc. Cveni azriT, im etapze, cenzurisa da erTpol arul obisagan daxsnil ma beWdurma si tyvam erTgvari "**Tvi Tnabadi pl ural izmis atmosfero** Seqmna, roca qveynisTvis arsebiTi probl emebi Tu umni Snel o saki Txebi erTnairi pol emikuri JiniTa da emoti urobiT gani xil eboda. rac Seexeba iseT publ ikaciebs, rogoric iyo, magal iTad, akaki baqraZis publ icisturi weril ebi gazeT "mamul Si" da sxva periodul gamocemebsi, aq ukve Rrmad da Tanmi mdevrul ad anal izdeboda yovel konkretul etapze arsebul i viTareba, wanamZRvrebi, mocemul i iyo Seqmni i situaciis gadal axvis avtoriseul i xedva, movl enebis ganvi Tarebis prognozi da a.S.

90-iani wl ebis meore naxevidan da, gansakuTrebiT, 2000 wl idan, presa ufro metad iqca xel isufl ebisaTvis brZol is iaraRad. am Tval sazrisiT igi, sazogadoebisTvis Sesabamisi mesijebis gadacemis, Sesabamisi **procesebis inicirebis instrumentis rol s ufro warmatebiT asrul ebs, vidre sazogadoebasa da xel isufl ebas Soris mediatoris komunikaciur funcias.**

Jurnal isti maia toraze, romel mac Tavis i sadi sertacio naSromisTvis - "Tanamedrove presa da arCevnebis probl ema (Jurnal isturi aspeqtebi)" mimoixil a da gaaanal i za 1990-2004 wl ebis qarTul i beWdviTi gamocemebi, wers, rom "winasaarCevno periodSi masobrivi informaciis saSual ebebi mowodebul ni arian orgvari TanamSromi obisaTvis: a). mas "iyeneben" saarCevno kampaniaSi "moqmedi subi eqtebi" informaciis gadasacemad; b). i sini Tvi Ton moi poveben da

gadascemen informaci as masobriv audi torias. informirebis orive forma emsaxureba sabol oo mizans \_ amomrCevel Ta srul gamorkvevas, arCevnebSi maT real ur monawil eobas da Tavisufal i arCevanis gamoxatvas." (69, 7)

Raxan konkretul ad arCevnebis Tema presaSi Cveni kvl evis sagani ar iyo, kategoriul ad ver Sevewi naaRmdegebiT mai a toraZes, magram 2000-2008 wl ebSi qarTul i presis permanentul monitoringsa da anal izze muSaobis gamocdl eba gvaZl evs ufl ebas vTqvaT, rom saarCevno kampani ebis periodSi masobrivi audi toriis informirebis amocana, maTi srul i gamorkvevis mizniT, al baT arc dausaxavs miznad qarTul medias. is, ra Tqma unda, raRac doziT, nebiT Tu unebl ied, asrul ebda am funqci as, magram arc arCevnebis "moqmed subieqtebs" hqondaT mediis meSveobiT informaci is gadacemis met-nakl ebad Tanabari ufl eba da saSual eba da verc media iyo Semwe amomrCevel Ta "srul i gamorkvevi sa" da maTi "Tavisufal i arCevanis gamoxatvisATvis". amisTvis, mas arc bi znes-damouki debi oba uw yobda xel s da arc \_ saredaqcio.

amasTan, mai a toraZe aRni Snavs, rom mis mier Seswavl il masal aTa nawi l Si "aSkarad SeimCneva dakveTis, politikuri SantaJisa da gaminul i provokaci is mowyobis mcdel obis kval ic (xazi Cvenia \_ I.k.)", magram amis mtki cebul eban ar gaaCnia, ramdenadac "sainformacio saSual ebebi amas sakmao profesional izmiTa da kanonebis saTanado muxl ebi s momarj vebiT axer xeben." (69, 24)

SavsebiT veTanjmebiT kol egas, miT ufro rom amgvari tendencia ara mxol od saarCevno kampani is periodSi iCens Tavs qarTul presaSi. e.w. farul i rekl ama da dakveTil i publ ikaciebi rom erTi SexedviT sol iduri gamocemebisTvisac ar aris ucxo, amaSi Tundac fiarkompani ebsi ramdeni mewl iani muSaobis gamocdl eba marwmunebs (presis anal izze rom aRaferi vTqvaT).

Meores mxriv, qarTul i presa arc mdidari gamomceml ebiT aris ganebi vrebui, arc saxel mwi fo subsidirebiT (iriBiT TuU pirdapiriT, rasac sxvadasxva formiT axorciel eben, magal iTad, norvegia, safrangeTi da evropi s xva qveynebi presis dasacavad monopol izebis safrTxisagan da pl ural izmis Sesancunebl ad), arc maRaI i tiraJI uzrunvel yofs maT arsebobas (ramdeni me iSviaTi gamonakl i sis garda). Sesabami sad, bazris ul mobel i kanoni aiZul ebs sainformacio saSual ebebs Semosavl is amgvar wyaros mimarTon. saarCevno kampania ki amisaTvis yvel aze xel sayrel i periodi a.

Saanal izo periodSi saqarTvel oSi Catarda 2 \_ saprezidento, 2 \_ saparl ameto da 1 \_ Tvi TmmarTvel obis arCevnebi. amasTan, sayuradReboa

"postasl anuri" aWaris umarI esi sablos arCevnebi, romel ic pirvel ad Catarda aWaris mmartvel i partiis, "aRorZinebis" hegemoniisa da, ufrro metic, monawil eobis gareSe, da met-nakl ebad realuri konkurenciis pirobebSi; amdenad, mi zanSewoni ad mi vi Cni eT, mokl ed am arCevnebzec gagvemaxvi ebinayuradReba.

- 2000 wl is sapreidento arCevnebi

1999 wl is saparlamento arCevnebi "moqal aqeTa kavSi rma" STambeWdavi upiratesobiT mougo (41,7%) "aRorZinebas", romel ic (26%-iT) "Ziri Tadi opozicia" gaxda; saarCevno barieri gadal axa bl okma "mrewvel oba gadaarCens saqarTvel os". presa aqturad iyo CarTul i wi nasaarCevno batal iebSi da, rogorc maia toraze aRni Snavs zemoxsenebul sadi sertacio naSromSi, "Tavisufi ebis maRal i xarisxiT", politikuri subieqtebis strategiisa da saarCevno taqtikis codniT aSuqebda saarCevno process. (69)

2000 wl is sapreidento arCevnebi sadmi interesi ki presaSi ganel da; igrznoba, rom presidentobis ori woniani kandidatis \_ asl an abasiZisa da jumber patiaSvil is fonzec, eduard SevardnaZe mainc ual ternativo kandidatad gani xil eba. sainteresoa, rom gansxvavebiT 1999 wl is saparlamento arCevnebi sagan, roca "aRorZinebi sagan" "mtris xati" iqmnебoda, amjerad presis publikaciebi umTavresad jumber patiaSvil zea aqcentirebul i da misi persona skandal ur konteqstsic xSirad figurirebs. jer ki dev 1995 wl is arCevnebSi patiaSvil is saxel i aqturad ukavSi rdeboda 9 april is tragedias, mis mimarTebas am periodis movl enebTan; 2000 wel s, amastan erTad, presaSi axal i kompromatebic gaCnda \_ patiaSvil isa da xabelSvil is (kompartiis yofili maRal Cinosani, iseve, rogorc jumber patiaSvil i) dapi rispirebis detal ebi, patiaSvil is Sesazi o bral eul oba partiis quTaisis qal aqkomis pirvel i mdivnis, mamuka asl ani kaSvil is TviTmkvl el obaSi da a.s.

TiTqos paradoqsi, magram asl an abasiZem bol o momentSi moxsna sakuTari kandidatura da eduard SevardnaZes dauWi ra mxari, Tavisi Tanabl okel is, patiaSvil is sawinaaRmdegod. es faqti ki dev erTxel adasturebs presis "moarul Tval sazriss" imis Taobaze, rom SevardnaZe da abasiZe warmatebiT iyenebdnen pirovnul i Tu partiul i dapi rispirebis faqtors momgebiani garigebebisTvis; gansakuTrebiT, xel i sufi ebis SenarCunebi saTvis brZol is yvel aze arsebiT momentebSi.

naSromSi \_ "saarCevno procesebi saqarTvel oSi", daviT usufaSvi l i da  
gia nodia aRni Snaven, rom "2000 wl i s saprezidento arCevnebi, Sesazi oa,  
yvel aze uaresi iyo saqarTvel os saarCevno istoriasSi: rogorc saSi nao, i se  
saerTaSoriso damkvirvebl ebma aRni Snes, rom amomrCovel Ta aqturopis done  
Tval saCinod dabal i iyo, bi ul etenebis ukano Cayram ki masobrivi xasi aTi  
mi i Ro." (70, 26)

2000 wl i s saprezidento arCevnebis gaSuqebaze metad sayuradReboa i s  
garemoeba, rom saarCevno kampani i s damTavrebi s Tanave presam da tel ekompania  
"rusTavi 2"-ma aqturad daiwes saubari ara mxol od arCevnebis Sedegebis  
gayal bebaze, aramed, Seteva prezidentze (Ziri Tadad, "al i am" da "rezonansma")  
da foni Seqmna misi diskreditaci i saTvis.

"SevardnaZis gamyal bebl ebi ori centridan imarTeboden", "prezidentma  
aSS-i s saxel mwiffo departamentis sil ac iwnia"; "arCevnebze yuTSi 5000  
biul eteni Cavyare", "studenti gogona mTel i Tve beweds urtyamda da mTel i  
dRe arCevnebs ayal bebda" \_ sapi rvel gverdo anSi agebi T i uwye boda "rezonansi".  
("rezonansi", 14,15.04.2000); tel ekompania "rusTavi 2"-i s formul i rebi T, es iyo  
"cariel saarCevno yuTebSi dagrovil i 80%". (t/k "rusTavi 2", programa "post  
skriptumi", 06.05.2000)

rogorc Cans, amomrCovel Ta inertul obisa da e.w. administraciul i  
resursis aqturi gamoyenebis fonze mi Rebul i maRai i Sedegi (eduard  
SevardnaZem es arCevnebi 79,3%-iT moigo, mi sma Ziri Tadma konkurentma, j umber  
patiaSvi l ma ki xmebis 16,7% mi i Ro) gaxda sababi zemoxsenebul i  
medi asaSual ebebisaTvis prezident SevardnaZeze aqturi SetevisTvis. "al ia"  
wi naswarmetyvel ebda, rom "SevardnaZis reJims avtoritarul i da  
total i tarul i daerqmeva, sadac pol i tiko sebs sdevnian... istoria ityvis, rom  
SevardnaZis epoqaSi pol i tikuri terori mZvinvarebda." ("al ia", 11-12.04.2000)  
(publ i kaci aSi amis magal iTad naxsenebia dedaqal aqis prokuraturis mi er  
sisxl i s samarTI i s saqmis aRZvra, arCevnebis boikotisaken momwodebel i  
prokl amaciebis gamo, magram "pol i tikuri teroris mZvinvarebis"  
damadasturebel sxva faqts i gi ar Seicavs).

"SevardnaZe \_ diadi kombinatorobi dan diad eqsperimentatorobande",  
"SevardnaZe avtoritari zmis fskerze eSveba" \_ amgvari saTauri ebi anSi agebadaa  
gaSi i l i "rezonansis" pi rvel gverdebze, umeteswi l ad, karikaturebis  
Tanxi ebi T. magal iTad, saTauri T \_ "prezidenti mal e pi rvel i Rami s  
ufl ebasac moi Txovs" \_ karikaturaze gamosaxul ia moxuci mefis gverdi T  
Camwkri vebul i sapatarzi oebi ("rezonansi", 26, 28.04.2000) da a.S.

yuradRebas SevaCerebT erT garemoebazec \_ ara am konkretul etapze, aramed Semdgom periodSi, saxel isufi o brZol ebis amsaxvel publ i kaci ebSi, gvxvdeba mosazreba, rom zurab Jvani as gundma TavisTavze ai Ro wi nasaarCevno kampanii warmarTva, saarCevno Stabis faqtobrivi monopol izebi T; es maT saSual ebas aZI evda saprezidento arCevnebis warmatebit dasrul ebis Semdeg, ufro meti saxel isufi o berketi moeTxovaT.

- 2002 wl is adgil obrivi arCevnebi

P

**"politikuri miwiSzvra"** \_Aase ewoda presaSi arCevnebis wi na periodSi ganvi Tarebul politikur movl enebs. wi nasaarCevno daZabul obam gaarRvi a susti adgil ebi (iseve, rogorc miwiSzvram) da I ogikur dasasrul amde mi iyvana "moqavSi rSi" jer farul i dinебiT mimdinare da bol os zedapirze amofrqueul i mZafri dapi ri spiri rebi sa da mmartvel i parti i dan (anu, rogorc mas uwodebdnen \_ "saprezidento parti i dan") e.w. reformatorebis gamoyofis procesi.

"saarCevno bunkeri", "sacvl ebis gamofena parl amentSi", "politikuri antisantiaria", "politikuri korufcia", "politikuri bal agani" \_ amgvari Sefasebebi T dafiqsinda presaSi saqartvel os parl amentis 8 mai si skandal uri sxdoma, romelic saarCevno vnebaTaRel vis erTgvar "general ur repetici ad" iqca. am sxdomis gaSuqeba presaSi imiTaca sintereso, rom aqedanve i kveTeba da TandaTan mZafreba presaSi arCevnebis gayal bebis Tema. am motivs avi Tareben Tavad arCevnebi monawil e partiebi, ori Ziri Tadi mimarTul ebi T \_ erTis mxriv, gayal bebebSi urTierTbral deebi T da, meores mxriv \_ prezidentisa da xel isufi ebis dadanaSaul ebi T. yvel aze sintereso isaa, rom arCevnebis Semdeg gayal bebane msj el oba ara mxol od damarcxebul i, aramed gamarj vebul i Zal is prioriteta dac rCeba.

gazeT "qroniks" publ i kaci i s anonsi pirvel gverdze konkretul ad miani Sneys arCevnebis gayal bebis meTodebze: "**beWdi sdamrtymel ebi, buterbrodebis mimitanebi, SuqisCamqrobebi, vi Tom fexmZime qal ebi da "bozebis mobil uri j gufebi".** masal aSi ganvi Tarebul ia varaudi, rom "arCevnebi aprobi rebul i meTodebi T gayal bdeba", Tumca, "**Saqri T arCevnebis mogeba ukve istoriis kuTvni I ebaa.**" gazeTis amave nomerSi, "Jurnal isturi gamoZi ebis" rubriki T, dawvri l ebi Taa ganxil ul i central uri saarCevno komisi i s "wvl il i" arCevnebis total ur gayal bebaSi da misi meTodebi. (153)

gazeTi "axal i versia" pi rvel gverdze aqveynebs fotokol ajs "**gayal bebis diriJori**". diriJoris rol Si **prezidentia**, xol o publ i kaci ebSi \_ "vin udi riJorebs arCevnebis gayal bebas?" da "saarCevno pol itikuri bazari kol meurneobi s bazars hgavs" \_ "arCevnebi s gayal bebi s unikal ur meTodebze" da "gayal bebi s wyaroebzea" saubari. saarCevno eqsperti nugzar i vani Ze mi i Cnevs, rom "arCevnebze kontrol is mTel i Zal aufl eba jerjerobi T prezident SevardnaZis xel Sia"; pol itol ogi ramaz kl imiaSvi l i ki Tvl is, rom "bol omde obieqturi arCevnebi ar Catardeba, magram **arc total uri gayal beba iqneba.**" (95)

arCevnebi s gayal bebi s aji otaJis, partiebi s urTi erTqi Spi s fonze saarCevno kampani i s mi mdinareobi sas, da, Sesabamisad, presaSi, ukana pl anze i wevs mTavari \_ el eqtoratis interes, partiebi s saarCevno programebi, romel Ta mixedvi Tac unda gansazRvros amomrCovel ma maTi SesaZI ebl obebi. presis publ i kaci ebi s Sej erebi T i kveTeba mosazreba, rom es programebi dapi rebebs ufro hgavs, araa gaTvl il i real ur perspektivaze, mokl ebul ia konkretul dasabuTebas, ra meqanizmebi T unda moxdes maTi ganxorciel eba. yuradRebas iqcevs "axal i versi i s" publ i kacia \_ "**gabruvdiT, dabol diT, magram foci an kanfets nu daxarbdebi T**". Jurnal isti rusiko gi gaSvi l i (romel ic, amasTanave, saarCevno Temaze gamoqveynebul i bevri sxva masal i s avtoricaa), kompaqturad gani xi l avs arCevnebi s monawil e Ziri Tadi pol itikuri subi eqtebi s: "nacional uri moZraobi s", "I eboristebi s, "axal i memarj veneebi s", "aRorZi nebi sa" da "**mrewel ebi s**" programebs. (94)

wi na arCevnebi sagan gansxvavebi T, roca partiebi s "sastarto mdgomareobi s" ganxi l va "moqal aqeTa kavSiri s" primatis fonze xdeboda, amj erad adgil obrivi arCevnebi s yvel aze skandal ur Temad swored "**moqkavSiri**" iqca: misi dayofa "**mamal azistebad**" da "**zuristebad**", maT Soris xel Cartul i brZol a central uri saarCevno komisi i s mi sadgomebTan, sasamar TI o procesebi da a.S. am procesis amsaxvel publ i kaci ebSi yvel aze xSiri rad csk (central uri saarCevno komisia) figurirebs: "**ceskom moqal aqeTa kavSiri s arCevnebi saken gza gadauketa**" ("rezonansi", 14.05.2002), "**I omi naZem moqkavSiri gaauqma**", ("axal i Taoba", 14.05.2002), "**csk-m moqal aqeTa kavSiri s orive frTa mostexa**" ("al ia", 14.05.2002), "**moqkavSi rebi csk-dan garicxes**" ("dil i s gazeTi", 14.05.2002) da a.S.

saarCevno kampani i s periodSi erTi Sexedvi T yvel aze "araordinal uri" iyo "axal i memarj veneebi s" gadawyvetil eba \_ saarCevno kampani aze uaris Tqm i s Taobaze. magram maT amis kompensacia swored masmedi i s meSveobi T moaxdi nes.

arCevnebis "pi kur periodSi" Ti Tqmisi yvel a yovel dRiur Tu yovel kvi reul gazeTSi gvxvdeba "axl ebi" Tema, ssvadasxva rakursiT. amasTan, bevran sarekl amo wesiT dai beWda publ ikaci ebi "axal i memarj veneebis" iniciativiT Seqmnili daxmreebis fondis, miwi Szvr i sagan dazarebul TaTvis binebis SeZenis Sesaxeb da a.S.

saarCevno kampaniis periodSi gansakuTrebui mni Svnel oba eniWeba i seTi sainformacio sababis Seqmnas, romi is meSveobi Tac politikuri partiebi da personebi Zal dautanebl ad, SekveTil i statiebis gareSec xdebi an presis yuradRebis obieqtebi. "aRorZinebisTvis", magal iTad, aseTi sababi iyo j ondi baRaTurias iniciativiT warmarTul i kampania "el eqtrokavSiris" mi er gaTi Sul i oci aTasi abonentis dasacavad. rogorc saarCevno paTosi moi Txovs, j ondi baRaTuria am movl enebs qveynis pirvel pirs ukavSi rebs, xol o "20 aTasi abonentis SesaZl o gamorTvaze srul pasuxi smgebl obas qal aqis mers da finansTa saministros aki srebs." (80).

yuradRebas SevaCerebT presaSi gamokveTil tendenciaze, rac metnakl ebad exeba arCevnebSi monawil e yvel a mxares. mxedvel obaSi gvaqs prezidentsa da, zogadad, xel isufl ebasTan, politikur Zal Ta umetesobis negatiuri mimarTeba, rogorc erTgvari saarCevno kapitali. politologi gi a nodia, Jurnal "imij Si" gamoqveynebul intervusi, aRni Snavs, rom "...sxva qveynebSi c adgil obriv arCevnebs mosaxl eoba i yenebs xel isufl ebi sadmi saprotesto ganwyobis gamosaxatavad da aqac i give moxda. xol o saparlamento da sapresidento arCevnebs sazogadoeba Tvi sobri vad sxva kriteriumebiT afasebs." (108)

presis zogadi Sefasebi T, 2 ivnisis arCevnebi postSevardnaZistul i periodi saTvis politikuri speqtris mzaobis dasadgeni erTgvari testic iyo. wi na arCevnebisagan gansxvavebi T, amjerad presam, saarCevno batal i ebi paralel urad, el eqtoratsac miapyro yuradReba. es gansakuTrebi T i Tqmisi "dil is gazeTis" misamarTi T, romel mac amomrCevlis faqtors araerTi sayuradRebo publ ikaci a uZRvna. movi Svel iebT erT ci tatas: "partiebis umetesobas mxol od axla gaaxsenda xal xi. arada partiam, romel sac gamarj veba unda, saWi roa dasabuTebul ad ganmartos, rom xel isufl ebi saTvis brZol aSi xal xi unda iyo mizani da ara saSual eba!" (93)

arCevnebSi, Tbilisis masStabi T, gamarj veba moi poves "nacional urma moZraobam" da "I elboristul ma partiam", romlebic "xel isufl ebi gansakuTrebi T mwave kritikaSi ejibreboden erTmaneTs, xol o regionebis umravl esobaSi ukeTesi Sedegi T gamoi rCeodnen "axal i memarj veneebi",

roml ebi c "nacİonal uri moZraobis" da Jvani as j gufis Ziri Tadi oponentebi iyvnen da, Sesabami sad, prezidentis farul sayrdenad i TvI ebodnen." (55, 50) "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" (romel sac arCevnebamde cota xni T adre Jvani as gundi gamoeyo) dabal i Sedegi mosal odnel i iyo, magram TbII isSi aRebul i xmebis mxol od 2% (qveynis masStabiT ki 2%-ze nakl ebi), yvel aze pesimisturi prognozis fonzec Soki smomgvrel i aRmočndä.

rogorc pol itol ogi gia nodia aRni Snavs, es arCevnebi "Zal Ta axal i ganl agebis pirvel gamocdad iqca", xol o arCevnebis Semdeg "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" Tavmj domared saxel mwifo ministris, avTandil j orbenazis arCeva moaswavebda am partiis, rogorc "xel isufl ebis garSemo konsol idirebul i "nomenkl aturul i" gaerTianebis rekonstruqcii s mcdel obas." (55, 50-51)

Cveni azri T, masmediisa da samoqal aqo sazogadoebis Tvisobrivad axal etapze gadasvl as unda moaswavebdes arCevnebis Catarebi Semdeg saarCevno kampanii s, arCevnebis uaxl oesi da samomavl o Sedegebis, misi politikuri, sociol ogiuri, fsiqol ogiuri da sxva aspektebis gaanal izeba presaSi. gazeTma "xval indel ma dRem" arCevnebis Semdeg "el eqtoratis privatizebis" Tema wamoswi a, gazeTebi \_ "axal i epoqa" da "dro" regionebSi arCevnebis m mindinareobiT dainterestnen (rogorc yovel Tvis, amj eradac adgil obri vi arCevnebis gaSuqebis presa Ziri Tadar dedaqal aqSi m mindinare procesebiT Semoi fargl a).

sagangebod unda SevcerdeT presaSi gamoqveynebul i sociol ogiuri kvl evebis Sedegebze. maiSSi gamoqveynebul i monacemebis Sedarebisas Tundac m mindinare wl is Tebervl is monacemebTan, yvel aze Tval Si sacemia sam TveSi "nacİonal uri moZraobis" reitingis zrda \_ 2,3%-dan 10,3%-mde. "gorbisa" da "nea intermedias" mier maisis TveSi gamoqveynebul i partiebis reitingebi maSinve izI eoda sayuradRebo varaudebis ganvi Tarебis saSual ebas, xol o arCevnebis Sedegebi Ziri Tadar daemTxva maTi wi naswari kvl evebis Sedegebs. arCevnebma daadastura "gorbis" mier saqarTvel os regionebSi Catarebul i gamoki Txvebis mTavari Sedegi c \_ saqarTvel os regionebsa da dedaqal aqSi memarcxene Zal ebis el eqtorati swarbobs! aseve, gamarTI da sociol ogiur gamokvl everbze dayrdnobili i varaudi dedaqal aqis sakrebul os koaliciuri mmartvel obis Taobaze, wi naswari monacemebi Ta da real uri SedegebiT Ti Tqmisi identuria el eqtoratis inertul obis maCvenebel ic. sazogadoebri vi azris kvl evisa da marketingis asociacia "gorbis" xel mZRvanel is, merab façul i as SefasebiT, "piar-kampaniebis teqnol ogia sakmaod dai xvewa da nel -nel a mivdivarT im si tuaci amde, rac 20 wl is win hqondaT dasavl eTis qveynebs." (126)

2002 wl i s adgil obrivi arCevnebi manamde Catarebul i yvel a sxva arCevnebi sagan gamoirCeoda imiT, rom saarCevno kampania da misi gaSuqeba presaSi mmdinareobda intensuri sociologiuri kvl evebisa da Tundac el ementarul i saarCevno teqnologi ebi s moSvel i ebiT. Sesabami sad, Tu aqamde qarTul presaSi "piaris" Temas erTgvarad amorf ul i saxe hqonda, amj erad gacil ebiT adekvatur konteqstSi da ufro xSirad xsendeba (presaSi, umTavresad, "fiaris" (PR) nacvl ad ixmareba rusul i dan kal kirebul i "piari", l.k.). aqve Sevni SnavT, rom politikosebisa Tu Jurnal istebis ZiriTad samizned iqca PR kompania "nikkol o m"-i. erTni mas kancel ariis (igive SevardnaZis) marTul ad mi i Cneven, saakaSvil i sa da sxvaTa wi naaRmdeg ("axal i Taoba", 05.04.2002), meoreni sapi rispiros amtkiceben \_ rom saakaSvil i s warmateba "nikkol o m"-is damsaxurebaa, rom misi scenariT ganvi Tarda adgil obrivi arCevnebis batal i ebi". ("axal i Taoba", 06.06.2002) Tavad "nikkol o m"-is qarTul i warmomadgenl obis xel mZRvanel i giorgi RambaSi Ze ki Tvl i s, rom "yvel a politikuri partiis umTavresi sazrunavi arCevnebi sTvis sazogadoebi s momzadeba unda i yos". ("saqarTvel os respublika", 30.05.2002).

siaxl ea isic, rom arCevnebis Sedegebze msj el obisas presam yuradReba miaqcia politikuri reklamis formasa da Sinaarss, mis Seusabamobas CvenSi ukve arsebul i reklamis kanonis moTxovnebTan (Jurnal i "imij i", #4, 2002); ufro metic, presis cal keul publ i kaciebSi gamoi kveTa politikuri reklamis Taobaze saqarTvel os kanonmdebl obaSi arsebul i xarvezis probl emac.

dasasrul, Tval Si sacemia ki dev erTi ni uansi \_ arCevnebis dros presaSi gacil ebiT xSirad irRveva Jurnal isturi eTikisa da, saer Tod, adami anuri urTierTobebis daweril i Tu dauwerel i kanonebi. es gansakuTrebiT i grznoba e.w. SekveTil masal ebSi (farul reklamasi), ramdenadac SemkveTis, anu, erTi romel ime mxaris interesis gamoxatva uci l obl ad i wvevs ara mxol od sapi rispiro mxaris interesis Sel axvas (xSir SemTxvevaSi, Seuracxyofasac), aramed, mki Txvel i SecdomaSi Seyvanasac; ramdenadac, farul i reklamis pirobebSi mki Txvel i mocemul masal as aRiqvams ara rogorc kerzo interesis gamomxatvel s, aramed, rogorc presis pozici as.

- 2003 wel i \_ permanentul i saarCevno rejimi

am qveTavSi ganxi l ul i periodi da procesebi erT-erTi umni Svnel ovanesi a sadi sertacio naSromis saanal i zo monakveTisTvis; "vardebis revol uci iT"

dagvi rgi nebul ma am periodma da masTan dakavSi rebul ma mediaaqti vobam far To gamoxmaureba hpoval Semdgomi periodis publ i kaciebSi (saqar Tvel osa Tu mis fargl ebs gareT) da araer Tgzs moeqca saj aro ganxil vebisa Tu debatebis areal Si (Tsu Jurnal istikis mimarTul ebisa Tu sxva umaRI esi saswavl ebl ebis studentTa samecni ero da sakval ifikacio naSromTa Temebadac iqca). amdenad, Sevecdebi T, am qveTavSi ufrro metad zogadi suraTi warmovadgi noT.

disertaciis wina nawil ebsa da qveTavebSi warmodgeni i mediaproeqci a da, saer Tod, Sesabami si periodis mediis analizi, saSual ebas gvaZl evs er Tgvari reziumes saxiT Camovayal iboT imdroindel i viTarebis konturebi:

**sazogadoebis politizebis da politikis personifidirebis maral i xarisxi**, sakanomdebl o da aRmasrul ebel xel isufl ebaSi momZl avrebul i **Tvi TI obirebis** (sakuTari biznesisa Tu kontrabandis xel Semwyobi kanonebi sa da samTavrobo gadawyetil ebebis mobil izeba) da **I obirebis tendencia**, korufciis maral i done, qveynis cxovrebis yvel a sferos \_ ekonomikis, biznesis (Soubiznesis CaTvl iT), social uri sferos, ganaTI ebis, kul turis da a.S. ganuyrel i kavSiri Dpol itikastan.

politikuri speqtris e.w. opoziciuri nawil i, met-nakl ebi aqtiurobi Ta da warmatebi T, marTal ia, akritikebda prezidentisa da mTavrobi s politikas, magram wamyvan politikur partiebsa da personebs Tavadac ar hqondaT gamokvetil i qveynis saxel mwi foebri vi moyobi sa Tu ekonomikis ganvi Tarebis konceptual uri programa, sabazro ekonomikis normal uri ganvi Tarebis uzrunvel myofi prioritetebi, social uri dacvis programebi... Tumc, opozicioneri politikuri liderebi acxadebdnen, rom momaval i etapi unda iyos ekonomikis politiki sagan gaTavi sufl ebis, korufciis aRmofxvris, ministrTa kabinetis SemoRebi T saxel isufl o bal ansis uzrunvel yofis periodi da a.S.

politikuri da biznesinteresebis dapi r i spirebi sa Tu Tanxvedris faqtorebi Ziri Tadar fokusir deboda **postSevardnaZi stul periodze** \_ momaval sakanomdebl o xel isufl ebaSi poziciebis gamagrebi sa da garkveul i samomavl o garantiebis Seqmnis, gavl enis sferoebis SenarCunebi sa da gadanawi l ebi s mimarTul ebi T (qveynis sagareo kursis, orientaciisa da politikuri orientirebis gaTval i swinebi T).

2003 wl is saarCevno periodi mkveTrad gansxavdeboda wina parlamentis arCevnebi sagan, upirvel esad imiT, rom, faqtobrivid, es iyo er Tgvari general uri repeticia 2005 wl is saprezidento arCevnebi sa; anu "uSevardnaZeo saqar Tvel osTvis" pl acdarmis mosamzadebel i procesi. am faqtoris

gaTval i swinebi T, eqsper tTa prognozebi ori sapi r i s p i o mimarTul ebi T vi Tardeboda:

erTni Tvl idnen, rom eduard SevardnaZe Seecdeboda qveynis ganvi Tarebis momaval i model is TavisTavze morgebas da qveynis marTvis sadaveebis Senarcunebas sxvagvar konstituciur rangSi, an \_ xel i sufl ebis sadaveebis gadacemas, "rusul i model iT" Tu sxva formiT, im pirovnebisa Tu pol itikuri Zal i saTvis, romelic misi reputaciisa da oj axis xel Seuxebi obis garanti i qneboda;

meore mimarTul eba avi Tardebda Tval sazriss, rom eduard SevardnaZem pol itikur speqtrs Tavisufal i ganvi Tarebis saSual eba misca da met-nakl ebad bunebrivi da Tavisufal i konkurenciis pirobebSi moamzada igi qveynis marTvisTvis. am Tval sazriss safuZvel s umagrebda is garemoebac, rom 2001 wel s prezidenti gadadga qveynis mmartvel i partiis \_ saqarTvel os moqal aqeTa kavSiris Tavmj domareobi dan; ar SeuSal a xel iakanonmdebl o organosi misi dasayrdeni saparlamento umravl esobis daSi is process; arcevnebSi arcevnebSi "moqal aqeTa kavSirisTvis" "qul ebis dagrovebaSi" xel Sewyobas da a.S.

real urad arcevnebis wina periodSi Seqmnili i vi Tareba, Cveni azriT, zemoTCamoyal ibebul i orive Tval sazrisis erTgvari nazavi iyo. arcevnebTan da postSevardnaZistul periodTan dakavSi rebiT prezident eduard SevardnaZis erT-erTi bol odroindel i pozicia ase formul irdeboda: "saerTaSoriso organizaci ebi gvexmareboden i mitom, rom Cveni saxel mwifo kursis sjeraT. saqarTvel os mier aRebul i kursi ar unda Seicval os. amis didi imedi aqvs Cvens megobrebs. es rwmena ar unda SeiI axos. dRes mni Svnel oba ara aqvs, momaval i prezidenti vin iqneba. mTavaria, rom axal i parlamenti prezidentis saxel mwifo kursis mxardamWerTa mier dakompl eqtdes. Cven ganwyobil i varT sabrzol vel ad da dawyebul saqmes bol omde mi vi yvanT." ("rezonansi", 24.09.2003)

aRsani Snavia, rom amgvari poziciiTve axsna Tu gaamarTI a eduard SevardnaZem 2003 wl is april is damdegs Camoyal ibebis procesSi myofi saxel i sufl ebo bl okisadmi Tavisi mxardamWerTa: "Cven unda gavxdeT nato-s, evrokavSiris wevri da a.S. am kursis ewwqves dayenebis mcdel oba aris. arian aSkara mowinaaRmdegeebi da Seni Rbul ebi. is safrTxe, rac Tval naTI iv ar Cans, magram Sei Zi eba daemugros qveyanas, me maiZul ebs CaverTo am procesSi. am etapze ar vapirebdi, magram gaaqtitureba aucil ebel ia... Tu kursi ar Seicval a, me bevri saqme aRar damrceba. raRac garkveul i dro \_ 6 Tve, erTi wel i, iqneb

saWiro i yos gamocdi l ebi s gazi arebi sTvi s." ("saqarTvel os respublika", 08.04.2003)

drois am gadasaxedi dan SeiZI eba vivaraudoT, rom am frazebs mi Rma i ki Txeba mzaoba (SesaZI oa, Semdgomi perspektivi s codnac) xel isufl ebi s xaverdovani gadabarebi saTvi s da, nawi l obri v, axsna "xel isufl ebi s narkoman" (rogorc mas uwodebdnen) eduard SevardnaZi s mSvidobi ani "Si n wasvl i sa", noemberSi ganvi Tarebul i da 23 noembers bol o kondici amde misul i procesis Sedegad.

am qveTavi sTvi s SemTxvevi T ar gvi wodebi a "**permanentul i saarCevno reJimi**"; faqtobrivid, wl i s damdegi danve dai wyo pol itikuri subieqtebis saarCevno samzadisi da saarCevno dispozici i s konturebis gamokveTa; xol o qveyni s cxovreba mTel i wel i warimartA, rogorc erTi an si saarCevno kampani a; Sesabami sad, amgvar reJi mze gadaerTo masmedi ac.

saqarTvel os parlamentSi gamarj vebi saTvi s 14 partia da 7 saarCevno bl oki ibrZoda, Tumc, gamarj vebi s real ur pretendentad mi i Cneoda 7-8 subieqti.

pol itikuri speqtris dayofa poziciad da opoziciad am saarCevno kampani i s periodSi ufro paradoqsul i iyo, vidre wi na arCevnebis dros. sakmarisi iqneba Tu vi tyvi T, rom gaerTianebul i opozici i s SesaZI o l i derad presaSi figurirebda parlamentis Tavmj domaris, nino burj anaZi s kandidatura, romel ic real urad gaxda konkretul i opoziciuri bl okis (raxan opozici a ver gaerTi anda), "burj anaZe-demokratebis" l i deri; igi saarCevno kampanias bol omde warmarTavda parlamentis Tavmj domaris rangSi da, zogadad xel isufl ebi s mwave kritikis, i viwyebda im faqts, rom Tavad iyo qveyni s meore piri. saxel isufl ebo bl okis (roml is wamyvani Zal a iyo yofil i mmarTvel i partia \_ "moqal aqeTa kavSiri") saarCevno kampanias, faqtobrivid, aseve maRal i postidan, warmarTavda misi l i deri, saxel mwifo ministri avTandil j orbenaze (arCevnebamde ori Tvi T adre bl okis oficial uri l i deri gaxda eqs saxel mwifo ministri vaJa l orTqi fani Ze).

sami opoziciuri partia, roml ebic wi na saarCevno reitingebSi l i derobdnen, faqtobrivid, yofil i mmarTvel i partiis \_ "moqal aqeTa kavSiri s" wi aRi dan iyo aRmocenebul i:

"**saakaSvi l i-naci onal uri moZraoba**" \_ wi na parlamentSi "moqal aqeTa kavSiri s" si iT gasul i, eqs iustici i s ministri saakrebul os i mJami ndel i Tavmj domaris, **mixe l saakaSvi l i s l i derobi T;**

bl oki "burj anaZe-demokratebi" – parlamentis Tavmj domaris nino burj anaZisa da parlamentis eqs Tavmj domaris, yofili mmarTvel i partiis erT-erTi i deris, **zurab Jvanias** xel mZRvanel obiT;

"axal i memarj veneebi" – wi na mowvevis parlamentSi aseve "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" si iT gasul i biznesmenebis, **davit gamyrel iZisa** da I evan gaCeCil aZis i derobi T.

gacil ebi T Zvel i, "I eiboristul i partia" (ucvl el i i deris, **Sal vanTel aSvili** is xel mZRvanel obiT), romelic aseve i derobda saarCevno reitingebSi, zemoxsenebul politikur Zal ebs opoziciad ar mi i Cnevda da mat mudmi vad adanaSaul ebda xel isufl ebasTan al iansSi.

"aRorZinebas" ("demokratiul i aRorZinebis kavSirs") (romelic wi na arCevnebSi "moqal aqeTa kavSiris" Ziri Tadi konkurenti iyo) danarCeni opoziciuri Zal ebi saxel isufl ebo partiad Tvl idnen, rogorc aWaris avtonomiuri respublikis mmarTvel partias, Tavad "aRorZineba" ki Tavs WeSmari t opoziciad mi i Cnevda.

e.w. saxel isufl ebo bl oki – "axal i saqarTvel osaTvis", ramdenime subieqtisagan Sedgeboda, romel Ta Soris iyvnen damouki debi obis pirvel wl ebSi Seqmnili i, warsul Si saTanado avtoritetis mqone partiebi: erovnul - demokratiul i partia (edp), qristian-demokratiul i kavSiri, "mwvaneTa partia"; amasTan, yofili mmarTvel i partia – "moqal aqeTa kavSiri", social isturi partia da sxva subieqtebi.

didid opoziciuri gaertianebis Seqmna, romlis mol odini Zal ian mzl avri iyo sazogadoebaSi, yvel aze metad pirovnul ma ambiciebma Seafexa – yvel a zemoxsenebul iiders (I evan gaCeCil aZis garda), afisierebul ad TuaraafiSierebul ad, presidentobis ambicia hqonda (aRmoCnda, rom wl ebi Semdgom es ambicia gaCeCil aZesac gauCnda).

Ti Tqmis yvel a politikuri partia identificirdeboda i derTan da ara Tavis samoqmedo kredosTan pirovnul i faqtori amjeradac ganmsazRvrel i iyo el eqtoral uri arCevanisTvis.

"I okomotivis" fenomeni dominantur faqtorad rCeboda 2003 wl is saparlamento arCevnebis winac. ramdenime saarCevno subieqtma am rol is Semsrul eblis saxel i Tavis saxel wodebaSi c ki Seitana: "burj anaZe-demokratebi", "saakaSvi i-nacionaluri moZraoba", "patiaSvili-erToba", racimaze miani Snebs, rom im droisTvis i deris fenomens jer ki dev eni Weboda upiratesoba partiul Tu bl okis programasTan da ideol ogiasTan Sedarebi T", – aRni Snavs gi vi kapanaZe Tavis naSromSi "qarTul i media da demokratizaciis

procesi saqarTvel oSi". kapanaZe marTebul ad Seni Snavs, rom "yvel aze Zi ier "I okomotivad" CvenSi **qarizmatul i I ideri** yal ibdeba." (30, 176-177) davZenT, rom ara mxol od CvenSi, qarizmatul i I ideris prioritetul oba, pol itteqnol ogTa azri T, damaxasi aTebel ia saer Tod postsabWoTa sivrcisTvis.

Raxan pol itteqnol ogi ebi vaxseneT, unda aRini Snos, rom am Tval sazrisiT 2003 wl is arCevnebi aSkarad gamoirCeoda. 2001-2002 wl ebi presaSi "aqsonenkos mil i oniT" dafinansebul i "imij meikerebi", "imij -kontaqti" da "sitni kovis receptebi" skandal ur konteqstSi figurirebda zurab Jvani asa da reformatorebTan mimarTebaSi (1999 wl is saparlamento arCevnebTan dakavSi rebiT) da saarCevno procesebTan "piaris" mimarTeba mxol od negatiur faqtord aRiqmeboda. ver vityvi T, rom qarTul i media, el eqtorati da arCevnebSi monawi l e subieqtebi erTbaSad Tanamedrove yaidaze gadaewyvnen da saTanadod gaacnobi eres saarCevno teqnol ogi ebi s mni Svnel oba da misi Sesabami soba Cvens real obasTan; magram media ufro xSi rad mimarTavs komentarebisTvis Sesabami si sferos special istebs; marTal ia, pol itikuri I ideri jerj erobiT ar gani xil eba, rogorc marketingul i produqt, magram presaSi Cneba cneba "pol itikuri produqt" \_ cnobad da reitingul pol itikosebTan mimarTebaSi.

am mxriv yvel aze Tval saCinoa SedarebiT xanmokl e periodSi nino burj anaZis strategiul i (saarCevno) imij is Camoyal i beba, razec presa gansakuTrebiT amaxvil ebda yuradRebas. "**nino burj anaZis sensaciuri reitingi**" \_ farTo anSI agiT i uwyeboda "al ia", "ai-pi-em-is" monacemebiT pol itikosTa reitingSi nino burj anaZis "erTmni Svnel ovani" I iderobis faqts. (168)

"**burj anaZe, rogorc pol itikuri produqt**, Jvani asa da SevardnaZis miera Seqmni l i, \_ werda Jurnal i "sarke", \_ "SevardnaZe Tavis i gancxadebebiT da kul uarul i pol itikiT yvel afers akeTebda saami sod. man ar dauSva opozicii is gaerTianeba burj anaZis irgvli v. mogvianebebiT gaakeTa gancxadeba, rom burj anaZe kargi Tavmj domarea, amis Semdeg mkacr kritikaze gadavi da. es TavisTavad parlamentis Tavmj domaris reitingze dadebiTad ai saxeboda. batonma zurabma amiT ostaturad isargebl a da gasaocari ram moxda \_ pol itikuri organizacia, romel sac 7%-iani barieris gadal axvis aranairi Sansi ar hqonda, burj anaZesTan Serwymis Semdeg wi nasaarCevno maraTonis favoriti gaxda." (136)

avanscenaze nino burj anaZis gamoyvana da zurab Jvani as Crdil Si yofna presaSi upiratesad axsnili ia imiT, rom Jvani as ara aqvs qarizma, i gi am

Tval sazrisi Tac ver Seedreba maRaI i reitingis mqone mi xeI saakaSvi I s. aqve aRvnI SnavT, rom qarizmatul obasTan erTad, mi xeI saakaSvi I i, rogorc politikuri i ideri, asociirdeba, pirvel rigSi, korufciasTan mebrZol gmirTan, reformebTan (gansakuTrebi T sasamarTI o reformasTan), radikal ur cvl il ebetan da a.S. ki dev erTxel davi mowmewbT gigi TevzaZis fil osofiur-politikur eses ("saqarTvel o: Zal aufl ebis dabruneba"), romel Sic igi zurab Jvani asa da mis partias gani xil avs "**simul irebul i demokratiis**" konteqstSi, "nacional ur mozraobasTan" dakavSi rebiT ki aRni Snavs, rom is "sakuTar momaval s liberal ur-demokratiul gardaqmnebs ukavSi rebs. mi si wevrebisaTvis cxadia, rom isini verasodes daupiri spireben maT wi naaRmdeg arsebul ful s ufro met ful s. xol o im SemTxvevaSi, Tu daupiri spires, maTi unikal oba, anu maqsimal uri demokratizaciis da liberal izmis tal Raze xel isufI ebaSi mosvl isaken mimarTul eba, gaqreba: **did ful s didi kompromisebi mosdevs.**" (25, 29)

amasTan, presaSi figurirebs mosazrebebi, rom saarCevno teqnologi ebi gamoi yeneba ara mxol od saarCevno warmatebis mi saRwevad, aramed, sazogadoebrivi procesebis marTvisTvisac, Tundac, destabilizaciuri situaci ebi provoci rebisTvis. "xval indel i dRis" publikaciis saTauri da qvesaTauri kargad gamoxatavs winasaarCevno ganwyobas – "sareitingo omi momTabare el eqtoratisTvis", "sazogadoebrivi azris manipulaciiT destabilizacia mzaddeba"; publikaci aSi ki vki Txul obT: "kvl evi Ti centris "analitikosis" xel mZRvaneli, giorgi okribel aSvi I i darwmunebulia, rom reitingebis omi SeiZI eba mZime SedegebiT dasrul des. amas SeiZI eba mohyves destabilizacia, an uares SemTxvevaSi, baqos movi enebi ganvi Tardes; "rodesac reitingebis mixedviT partias 20% aqvs da is arCevnebSi 7%-ian bariers ver gadal axavs, ra Tqma unda, es destabilizaciisTvis motivacia iqneba". ("xval indel i dRe", 24.10.2004)

"sociologiuri omi", "reitingebis keteba", "reitingebiT manipulireba" – mediis I eqsikonSi gaCenil i amgvari cnebebi imaze mi ani Snes, rom am arCevnebSi sociologiuri gamoki Txvebi erTgvarad manipulirebis saSual ebad iqca. presa werda imis Taobaze, rom winasaarCevnod Catarebul i sociologiuri kvl evebiT Seqmnili suraTisa da arCevnebze real urad mi Rebul i Sedegebis gansxvavebul oba gaxdeba destabilizaciuri situaciis gamomwvevi Ziri Tadi mizezi; rom saqarTvel oSi gamogoniI gamoki Txvebze ufro di di moTxovniI ebaa, anu konkretul i partia sociologiur samsaxurs ukveTavs ara gamoki Txvas, aramed pir dapi r Sedegs. ra Tqma unda, sociologiuri samsaxurebi

amas kategorial ad uaryofen, samagierod, partiebi, romebic mediis saSual ebiT gavrcel ebul i sociologiuri gamoki Txvebis SedegebiSi xSirad arian mowinave poziciebze, erTmaneTs gamoki Txvis SedegebiS gayal bebaSi adanaSaul eben:

"me am reitingebis oms undobl obas vucxadeb, radganac masmediis saSual ebiT gadmocemul i progozebi konkretul i partiebis mier aris dakvetili i", \_ ganacxada mi xeil saakaSviI ma"; "aRsani Snavia, rom Sal vanTel aSviI s amj erad saakaSviI s gul wrfel obaSi ewvi ar epareba: "saakaSviI s es teqnoLOGiEBi ar eswavl eba. is bantiani biWi rom hyavT (goCa cqitisi \_ "rezonansi"), imis daxmarebiT ayal bebdnen da rac undodaT, imas swerden. axl a es biWi Jvani as bankSi gadabargda da miSas aRar swyal obs. ami tomac aris gabrazebul i. visac reitingi ara aqvs, gayal beba imas swiindeba. "gel apma" Caatara gamokvl evebi da am kvl evebiT pirvel adgil ze Cven varT... reitingi aqvs mxol od leiboristul partias." ("rezonansi", 19.09.2003)

arCevnebamde ramdenime dRiT adre mediaSi gansakuTrebiT gaaqturda sazogadoebri vi azriT manipul irebis Tema. zogierTi eqsperti azerbaijanSi arCevnebiS Semdeg momxdar sisxl ian dapi rispirebas arapi r dapi r egzi tpol ebsac ukavSi rebs (arCevnebiS dRes gamoqveynebul i erT-erTi egzi tpol is mixedviT opoziciuri partiis kandidati i iderobda); marTal ia, dapi rispirebis provocirebaSi sociologiuri j gufi arafet SuASia, magram am monacemebs SeeZI o gaemZafrebina arCevnebiS Sedegebi sadmi undobl oba.

mediaSi ikveTeba Tval sazrisiC, rom teqnoLOGiEBiS gaaqtu rebam el eqtoral uri sivrcis Camoyal i bebazec iqonia zegavl ena, gazarda amomrCevl is mzaoba arCevanisTvis. kvl eviTi centrals "analitikosi" mier Catarebul i gamoki Txvis SedegebiT, prognozirebul i iyo, rom saqarTvel os masStabiT arCevnebiS monawil eobas mi i Rebda mosaxl eobis 78,7%. ("xval indel i dRe", 24.10.2003) sagul isxmoa PR kompania "nikkol o m"-is xel mZRvanel is, giorgi RambaSi ZiS mosazreba, romelic mi Cnevda, rom "dRes aris Camoyal i bebul i el eqtorati da "karusel ebis" dro saqarTvel oSi wavid". misi azriT, wi na arCevnebi sagan gansxavebiT, ar igrznoba prezidentis gansakuTrebul i mxardawera saxel isufl ebo bl okisadmi. prezidentma mi aRwi a mTavars - gazrdili ia arCevnebiS monawil eobis el eqtoral uri moTxovna. amasTan, giorgi RambaSi Ze Tvl i da, rom saubari xel isufl ebi sagan marTul destabilizaciada arCevnebis CaSI aze i sev da i sev cnobi i teqnoLOGiEBiS Sedegia. (t/k "imedi", programa "arCevani", 03.10. 2003)

sainformacio teqnol ogiebis mkvl evari goča Cogovaže aRni Snavda, rom "politikuri partiebi da bl okebi Tvi Trekl amisa da sakuTari ideebis sail ustraci od sul ufro farTod iyeneben Tanamedrove sainformacio teqnol ogiebs... rac Seexeba imas, ramdenad cvl i an es teqnol ogiebi qarTul politikur speqtrs; Tu SevadarebT dasavl eTi s wi nasaarCevno batal iebs saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebs, me vi tyodi, rom CvenTan Ziri Tadi aqcenti keTdeba pi rovnebebze, maT Tvis sebebze, warmoSobasa da Sesazi ebl obebze, roca dasavl eTSi debar tebi imarTeba ufro partiebisa da bl okebis programebis Sesaxeb." (Jurnal i "Tbilisi sel ebi", 20.10.2003)

dissertacii pirvel nawil Si yuradRebas vamaxvil ebdiT mediis faqtorze, romel mac Seanzada ni adagi postSevardnaZi stul epoqaSi "xaverdovani" gadasvl iSTvis, SemdgomSi "gamarj vebul tel eviziad" wodebul i "t/k "rusTavi 2"-is gansakuTreb ul wvl il ze "vardebis revol uciaSi" da a.S. el eqtoral ur arCevanze mediis zemoqmedebis sail ustraci od movisvel iebT Tanamedrove amerikis erT-erTi gavleniani da warmatebul i politikuri konsul tantis, dik morisis (al baT sakmarisi iqneba Tu vi tyiT, rom igi xel mRvanel obda 1996 wel s president bil kl intonis meore vadit arCevi s kampanias) mosazrebas. is aRni Snavs, rom "amerikel ebi dRes warmoadgenen sainformacio narkomanebi sagan Semdgars el eqtorats", romel sac informirebul obis maral i done sakuTar politikur pozicias uyal i bebs. Sesabamisad, amerikel ebi politikurad ufro da ufro damouki debi ebi xdebian da el eqtoratis didi wil i \_ 40 procenti, es is adamianebe arian, roml ebi c ar arian arcerTis mxardamWerebi \_ ori Ziri Tadi politikuri parti idan (respublikel ebi da demokratebi, \_ I.k.), da xmas ar aZi even maT programebs. (51, 11-14) el eqtoratis damouki debi obis faqtors dik morisi amerikis saxel mwifos demokratiul obis maCvenebl ad mi iCnevs.

"demokratia \_ es aris arCevnebi, xol o arCevnebiT Cven imis dadgenas vcdil obT, Tu saiT unda wavid es qveyni s ganvi Tareba", \_ aRni Snavs I eSek bal cerovi Ci Tavis wignSi \_ "saxel mwifo gardamaval periodSi". (5, 12)

rogorc vxedavT, arCevnebi da amomrCevl is damouki debi obis faqtori qveyni s demokratiul obis ganmsazRvrel i erT-erTi mTavari kriteriumia. amfonze pasuxismgebl oba da rol i mediisa, romel ic zegavl enas axdens el eqtoral ur arCevanze, uaRresad mni Svnel ovania. es Tema SemTxveiT ar wamogvi wevia wina planze; "vardebis revol ucia", roml iTac dasrul da 2003 wl is permanentul i saarCevno rejimi, Cveni azri T, TavisTavad iyo "politieqnol ogiuri produqt". amdenad, varcieT am mimarTul ebiT presi s nakl ebad Seswavl il aqcentebze ufro metad gagvemaxvil ebin yuradReba, vi dre

saarCevno batal iebze, "kmaras" aqci ebze, "amerikul saarCevno receptze" (presis formul ireba), romel ic saqarTvel oSi jeims bei kerma Camoitana (7-9 ivl isis presa, 2004) da a.S.

rac Seexeba mediis wli s "vardebis revol uciis" momzadebasa da ganxorciel ebaSi, miuxedavad imisa, rom am Temaze Ti Tqos bevri iTqva da daiwera, mi gvaCnia, rom es Tema sagangebo kvl evebs imsaxurebs. Aam Temas mokl ed Cvenc SevexeT disertaciis sxva TavebSi, aq ki movi Svel iebT mai a torazis mosazrebas zemoxsenebul i sadisertacio naSromidan ("Tanamedrove presa da arCevnebis problema"): "2003 wl is 2 noembris arCevnebze **xmebis** gayal bebis wi naaRmddeg amomrCevl is gaaqtitureba masobrivi informaciis saSual ebaTa damsaxurebaa." (69, 17)

\*

arCevnebi saqarTvel os gamocdaa demokratiaSi \_ es damoki debul eba saparl amento arCevnebi sadmi yvel aze mkafid od ikveTeba presaSi. eqspertebis (maT Soris \_ dasavl el i eqspertebis) SefasebiT, postsabWoTa sivrcesi Catarebul arcerT arCevnebs aseTi interesi ar gamouuwvevia amaze metyvel ebda ucxoel damkvirvebel Ta sarekordo maCvenebel ic \_ 2000-ze meti.

oqtomberSi saqarTvel oSi vizitad myofma senatoria j on makkeinma ganacxada, rom aSS-is mizania saqarTvel oSi samarTI iani da gamWvirval e arCevnebi Catardes: "saqarTvel o amerikel ebi satvis Tavisufi ebi simbol oa da kargi iqneba, Tu is arCevnebis Semdegac aseTad darCeba." man aRni Sna, rom "amerikas am arCevnebSi ar hyavs sakuTari kandi datura". sagul isxmo iyo makkein is fraza: "Tu qveyana sxvas sTxovs sakuTari Tavisufi ebi dacvas, kargavs Tavisufi ebas." ("mTavari gazeTi", 06.10.2004)

"erovnul -demokratiul i institutis" direktori mark mal eni mi i Cnevda, rom "arCevnebis bedi mxol od saqarTvel os moqal aqeta xel Sia"; rom "arCevnebis samarTI ianobis gansazRvra imis mixedviT, Tu ra procenti mi i Ro erTma partiam da ra \_ meorem, ar SeiZi eba. rogorome yvel a partia erTnairi pasuxi smgebl obiT unda CaerTos arCevnebis samarTI ianad Catarebis uzrunvel yofaSi."

saqarTvel osadmi dasavl eTis damoki debul ebi sa da arCevnebis urTierTmi marTebam gansakuTrebui i mni Svnel oba SeiZina baqos movl enebis Semdeg. saqarTvel os mediaSi gaCnda mosazrebebi, rom saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba saqarTvel os SemTxvevaSi ise l ojaluri ar iqneba, rogorc

azerbaij anTan **mimarTebaSi**. es varaudi daadastura 21 oqtombers Tbil isSi vizi tad myofi euTo-s moqmedi Tavmj domaris iap de hoop sxeferis gancxadebam, rom evropa saqarTvel oSi saparl amento arCevnebis Catarebis process gansakuTrebit gaakontrol ebs; rom am dRes gamoCndeba, ramdenad myari da safuzvl iania saqarTvel os ambiciebi \_ evroatl antikur sivrceSi qveynis srul i integraciisa. ("mTavari gazeTi", 22.10.2003)

paral el urad, anal itikosebi ar iviwyebden ruseTis faqtorsac (konteqstiT \_ "saqarTvel o \_ ruseT-amerikis gzaj varedini") da prognozirebdnen, rom arCevnebTan dakavSirebiT, ruseTi ecdeba ufro gaamwavos procesebi saqarTvel oSi da destabilizaciis saSi Sroeba al baTobi dan real obad aqci os.

arCevnebis wi na dReebSi opoziciis mxridan gaZl ierda aqcenti, rom arCevnebis gayal beba I amis gardauval ia da, Sesabamisad, aseve gardauval ia masobrivi gamosvl ebi, romel ic, Sesazl oa, **destabilizaciasi** gadai zardos. azerbaijanSi saprezidento arCevnebis Semdgom ganvi Tarebul ma movl enebma, SeiZl eba iTqvas, saqarTvel oSi winaswar moaxdina saparl amento arCevnebTan dakavSirebul i "destabilizaciuri mol odinis" provocireba.

arCevnebis moaxl oebasTan erTad presaSi ufro xSirad Cndeba sagangaSo ganwyobis Semqnnel i saTaurebi: "zugdi dSi devnil ebsa da adgil obri vebs Soris sisxl isRvra i gegmeba?"; "vanSi arCevnebi, Sesazl oa, CaiSal os" ("rezonansi", 23.10.2004), "arCevnebis gayal bebiT ukmayofil oebs SevardnaZe baqos scenars umzadebs"; "arCevnebis dRes deni ar iqneba" ("xval indel i dRe", 23.10.2004), "opozicia mosaxl eobas fsiqol ogi urad amzadebs arCevnebis Semdeg qucaSi gamosayvanad"; "wi nasaarCevno kampania danaSaul ebriv xasiatS Rebul obs" ("axal i Taoba", 24.10.2004), "I agodexSi wi nasaarCevno dapi ri spi reba mwavdeba" ("24 saat" 24.10.2004) da a.S.

situaciis daZabvis sababad iqca saarCevno siebi, roml is gayal bebaSi, jer ki dev arCevnebamde, erTmaneTs adanaSaul ebdnen xel isufi eba, opozicia, central uri saarCevno komisia da arasamTavrobo organi zaci ebi. garda amisa, Seqnnil i situaciis axsnisTvis gasaTval i swinebel ia ki dev erTi faqtori \_ opoziciuri partiebi erT sivrceSi "TamaSobdhen", seriozul i pol itikuri Zal is ganacxadi minimum 7 politikur Zal as mainc hqonda (maTi saerTo "saarCevno wil i" daaxl oebiT 70-75%-s Seadgenda). "SedegebiT ukmayofil o organi zaci ebi aucil ebl ad gaakeTeben mkveTr gancxadebebs. **opozicia aris cxra, saxel isufi ebo bl oki \_ erTi. erTma rom gaimarj vos, rva ukmayofil o iqneba, an SeiZl eba cxrave iqnes ukmayofil o**", \_ aseT komentars akeTebda

saxel i sufl ebo bl okis spikeri (warsul Si erovnul i moZraobis erT-erTi l ideri), irina sariSvili-Wanturia, arCevnebamde ramdenime kvi riT adre. ("xval indel i dRe", 24.10.2003)

2 noembers, saparl amento arCevnebTan erTad, saqarTvel oSi, faqtobrivid, referendumic tardeboda \_ amomrCevel s unda epasuxa ki Txvaze: "**mxars uWerT TuU ara parl amentarTa raodenobiS 150-mde Semci rebas?**"

arCevnebamde gamokveTi i sazogadoebrivi azri, eqspertTa da Jurnal istTa mosazrebebi erTmaneTs emTxveoda im Tval sazrisiT, rom parl amentis raodenobrivi Semci reba auci l ebel ia; magram azrTa sxvadasxvaoba iyo referendumis arCevnebTan erTad Catarebis mizanSewoni l obis gamo. iurist daviT usufaSvili is mosazrebit, es referendumi pl ebiscit is funqcas Seasrul ebda, radgan referendumi sagan gansxvavebiT, misi Sedegis dauyovnebl iv Sesrul eba ar moxdeboda, parl amentarTa raodenobiS Semci reba axal i mowvevis parl aments ar exeboda; parl amenti gai Tval i swinebda e.w. referendumis Sedegebs da mi i Rebda Sesabamis gadawyvetil ebas. saqarTvel os prezidenti eduard SevardnaZe referendumis aki srebda ara mxol od parl amentis raodenobrivi Semci rebis, aramed, qveyanaSi **sakonstitucio reformebis ganxorciel ebi satvis niadagis momzadebis** funqcas. pirvel rigSi, igul i sxmeboda **ministrTa kabinetis SemoReba**, roml is auci l ebl obaSi erTsul ovani iyo xel i sufl ebac da **opoziciac**. (aqve aRvni SnavT, rom referendumis SedegebiT, saqarTvel os amomrCevel Ta 99%-ma xma misca parl amentarTa ricxvis Semci rebas).

2 noembris arCevnebma, romel sac baqos movl enebis msgavs ganvi Tarебas uwi naswarmetyvel ebdnen, el eqtoratis mosal odnel ze meti aqtiurobit Caiara da mi uxedavad arCevnebis momdevno dRis simSvi disa, 4 noembris saRamos, destabilizaciuri situaciis zRvarTan mi vi da. bl ok "burj anaZe-demokratebis" mowodebas \_ "davicvaT demokratiul i opoziciis xmeli", pirvel i SeuerTda bl oki "saakaSvili-nacional ebi". I iderebis meTaurobit, aseul obiT mxardamWerT erTad, i sini quCaSi gamovidnen da mi tingi gamarTes.

central uri saarCevno komisiis wi naswari monacemebit mi Rebul i Sedigi (romelic uaxl ovdeboda erT-erTi saarCevno egzitpolis Sedegs) saxel i sufl ebo bl okisTvis \_ 24%, i seve, rogorc opoziciuri partiebis saerTo savaraudo procenti (70%-mde), met-nakl ebi real obiT asaxavda politol ogebis mi er wi naswar prognozirebul Sedegebs. wi naswari monacemebit, bl oks \_ "saakaSvili-nacional ebi", romelic parl amentSi umravl esobiT mosvl as gegmavda (i seve, rogorc "leiboristebi" da "burj anaZe-demokratebi").

saxel i sufl ebo bl oks Tanabari procenti hqonda. arCevnebis wi na periodSi reitingebis pirvel -meore nomrad myofi "burj anaZe-demokratebis" willi, 8%-is fargl ebSi meryeobda, rac mat wi nasaarCevno ambiciebs namdvi l ad ar Seesabameboda; Tumc, bevri eqsperti mi i Cnevda \_ rom ara personal urad nino burj anaZis mkveTrad mzardi reitingi, am bl okis mTavari subieqt \_ "demokratebi", 7%-iani barieris vergadal axvis sfrTxis wi naSe idga.

yvel a saxis winasvari monacemebiT (cesko-s winasvari monacemebi, arasamTavrobo organizacia "samarTI i ani arCevnebis" paral el uri daTvl is SedegiT, ori, erTmaneTi sagan damouki debel i egzi tpol is SedegebiT), parlamentSi moxvedra Ti Tqmis garantirebul i hqondaT: saxel i sufl ebo bl oks "axal i saqarTvel osaTvis", bl ok "saakaSvi i-nacional ebs", "demokratiul i aRorZinebis kavSirs" ("aRorZinebas") da "I eboristul (Sromis) partias". 7%-iani barieris gadal axvis Sansi hqondaT bl ok "burj anaZe-demokratebsa" da "axal memarj veneebs", matze nakl ebi, magram Teoriul i Sansi \_ bl oks "mrewvel oba gadaarCens saqarTvel os".

rogorc mosal odnel i iyo, saerTaSoriso damkvirvebl ebma saqarTvel oSi Catarebul i arCevnebi (azerbaijanul i arCevnebi sagan gansxavebiT) uSeRavaTod, saerTaSoriso standartebis moTxovnebiT Seafases da aRni Snes, rom igi ar Seesabameboda am standartebis. "mi gvaCni a, rom qveynis mosaxl eoba ufro karg saarCeveno sistemas da ufl ebebis Sesabamis dacvas imsaxurebs, rac samwuxarod, guSin ar ganxorciel da", \_ aRni Sna 3 noembers gamarTul brifingze euTo-s moqmedi Tavmj domaris sagangebo koordinatorma **brius j orj ma**. aSS-i saerTaSoriso respublikuri institutis prezidenti **j orj fil soni** yuradRebas amaxvil ebda arCevnebisas gamovl enil probl emebze: amomrCovel Ta si ebi, saarCevno administraci ebis arakompetenturoba, administraciul i resursebis gamoyeneba, politikuri partiebis ideologiis ararseboba. (t/k "rusTavi 2", 03.11.2004)

daZabul obis eskalacia gamoiwvia cesko-Si awaris avtonomiuri respublikis monacemebis Sesvi am, romi is mixedvi Tac arCevnebis wi nasvari Sedegi Tavdayira dadga \_ "aRorZinebam" gauswro saxel i sufl ebo bl oksa da "nacional ur moZraobas" da pirvel adgil ze gadainacvl a. SesaZl oa, es iyo "babuebis" (SevardnaZe-abaSi Zis) ki dev erTi garigebis Sedegi \_ morigi manevri xel i sufl ebi s SenarCunebi saTvis.

vi Tareba uki duresad daiZaba ara mxol od dedaqal aqSi, aramed, regionebSi c. Tbilisi, parlamentis win dabanakebul momitingeTa rigebi geometriul i progresiTi zrdeboda. momitingeTa skandireba \_ "mi Sal!", "mi Sal!" \_

"nacional ebi s" momxreTa primatze mi ani Snejda, xol o eduard SevardnaZi sadmi mimarTul i "gadadeqil!" imis ni Sani iyo, rom yovel gvari ukmayofil eba \_ politikuric, social urica da pirovnul ic, prezidentis gadadgomis moTxovnaSi akumul irda.

14 noembris movl enebis ganvi Tarebam farTo masStabi mi i Ro \_ dedaqal aqSi aTi aTasobiT adami ani Seikriba, Ziri Tadad \_ "nacionaluri moZraobi sa" da "burj anaZe-demokratebis" mxardamWerebi; mogvi anebiT maT "zviadi stebis" erTi frTa SeuerTda. aqciebis mndi nareobis mTel periodSi gansakuTrebui aqtu robiTa da radikal izmiT gamoirCeoda axal gazrdul i moZraoba "kmara" (roml is dafinansebasac presa soross ukavSi rebdar)... mi uxedavad i mave dRes prezident eduard SevardnaZis mier gakeTebul i sagangebo gancxadebi sa, rom igi ar dauSvebs samoqal aqo oms, mi uxedavad opoziciis liderebis mudmivi mowodebi sa, rom aqci as mSvi dobi ani xasi aTi hqonoda, Zal ian mcire iyo imis al baToba, rom arCevnebis Semdgomi aTdRiani daZabul i vi Tareba da ukompromiso saprotesto ganwyoba seriozul i destabilizaciis wyarod ar iqceoda. maval aTasiani mitingi, romel sac "saqarTvel os bedis gadawyvetis" misia ekisreboda, "si-en-en"-is, "bi-bi-si"-s, "evronius"-isa da sxva sai informacio saSual ebebis meSveobiT, msofl io sazogadoebri obis interesis sagani gaxda. mitingma, faqtobri vad, "vardebis revol uciis" general uri repeticiis rol i Seasrul a \_ Tavisi masStabu robiT, organizebul obiT, mSvi dobi ani xasi aTi T, mSvidad daSI iT. presaSi es movl ena Sefasda imis mauwyebi ad, rom saqarTvel os samoqal aqo sazogadoebam am etapze "gamocda Caabara". (15 noembris presa). rac Seexeba "vardebis revol uciis" Sefasebasa da mni Svnel obas, es Tema ganvi Tarebul ia disertaciis Semdgom nawi l Si \_ "vardebis revol ucia" da postrevol uciuri periodi".

- 2004 wl is saprezidento da xel axal i saparlamento arCevnebi

"Segnebul ad ar vamaxvil ebT yuradRebas 2004 wl is saprezidento da saparlamento arCevnebze. es iyo postrevol uciuri periodi, roca moqal aqetA politikuri arCevani "vardebis revol uciis" dReebSi gamJRaVndi. arCevnebi saerTaSoriso organizaciata didma nawil ma samagal iTod aRiara, Tumca, codva gamxel il i sj obs \_ am dReebSi asarCevi arc araferi iyo, radgan revol uciis ei foriis periodSi opoziciuri azri qreba" (xazi Cvenia - I .k.), \_ aRni Snavs mai a toraze zemoxsenebul sadisertacio naSromSi. (69, 46)

Cvenc vi zi arebT am mosazrebas, magram mainc SevaCerebT yuradRebas 2004 wl is arCevnebi s gaSuqebara, radgan am TemasTan dakavSi rebul i publ i kaci ebi, aqcentebi da ni uansebi avsebs presaSi postrevol uciuri vi Tarebi s asaxvis saerTo suraTs da aCvenebs, rom "vardebis revol uci as" arsebi Tad ar Seucvl ia saqarTvel os pol itikuri cxovrebisa da presis mTavari orientiri – saxel i sufl o brZol ebi s primati, pi rovnul i faktoris dominirebi T.

mi uxedavad imisa, rom "vardebis revol uci is" processi da, gansakuTrebi T, bol o dReebSi, gamoi kveTa mixei l saakaSvi l is, rogorc revol uci is l ideris, saxe, funqcia da mni Snel oba, revol uci is meore dResve dai wyo presaSi versiebi s ganvi Tareba saprezi dento kandi daturis Taobaze; ra Tqma unda, figurirebs mixei l saakaSvi l i, magram xsendeba nino burj anaZec. gazeTi "xval indel i dRe", magal i Tad, werda, rom "savar audod, qveyanaSi arsebul i pol itikuri Zal ebi s umetesobi s Tvis met-nakl ebad mi saRebi saprezi dento kandi datura nino burj anaZeEi qneba. mas upi ratesobas mi ani Weben, rogorc saakaSvi l ze gacil ebi T nakl ebra di kal ur figur as." ("xval indel i dRe", 26.11.2003)

mixei l saakaSvi l is saprezi dento Rir sebebi s ganxi l visas Ziri Tadad yuradReba maxvi l deba mis qarizmatul obaze, ual ternativobaze, gambedao baze, emoci uro baze (gavi xsenoT vaxuSti koteti Svi l is cnobi l i naTqvami – "qarTvel ebi emociuri xal xi varT da emociur prezidents virCevT"), infantil uro baze, "amerikis mier Seqmni l imij ze"... gvxdvdeba ramdenime mkveTrad gansxvavebul i Sefasebac; magal i Tad, pol itol og soso cincaZes saakaSvi l i britanel premiers, dizrael s agonebs, romel sac "axal gazrdobaSi bevi Soki rebaSi mohyavda Tavisi eqstravaganturi radikal izmi T, xol o istoriaSi Sevida erT-erT brwyinval e premierad, roml is drosac britaneTma suecis arxi Cai gdo xel Si." ("rezonansi ", 06.12.2004)

revol uci is momdevno dReebSi presaSi aSkarad Tval Si sacem a mi xei l saakaSvi l is radikal izmis da agresiul obis xarisxisa da ambi ciurobi s Sesusteba am Tval sazrisiT yvel aze momgebi anad igi gazeT "24 saaTi s" 24-25 noembri s nomrebSi a warmodgeni l i (yuradRebas i pyrobs misi efekturi fotoc, gawonasworebul da mSvid pozaSi); aRsani Snavi a, rom erT-erT publ i kaci aSi saakaSvi l i maRa l Sefasebas aZl evs eqsprezidents: "**SevardnaZe di di pi rovnebaa**"; "**prezidenti uki duresad Rir seul ad iqceoda**". ("24 saaTi ", 24.12.2004) (gadauWarbebl ad Sei Zi eba i Tqvas, rom SemdgomSi, gaprezi dentebamde Tu prezidentobis, mixei l saakaSvi l i kategoriul ad uaryofda eduard SevardnaZi s personas, moi xseni ebda mxol od mkveTrad uaryofi T konteqstSi da

yovel i axal i saqmis wamowyebi sas mis I eqsi kaSi xazgasmi T figurinebda – “pirvel ad saqarTvel oSi”...)

revol uciis Semdgom dReebSi mediis yvel a saSual eba exeba **mixeil** **saakaSvi l is Sesazi o i kvidaci is** Temas ama Tu im konteqstSi. “jorj ian Taimsis” publ i kaciis (“arCevnebamde saakaSvi l s moki aven?”) provokaci ul aqcentebSi zurab Jvani a xsendeba, rogorc Sesazi o “damkveTi”: “mkvl el obis ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi winaswar i codeT, rom **Jvani a damkvetad giorgaze s daasaxel ebs, Tundac im SemTxvevaSi, rom am mkvl el obis uk an Tavad idges.**” (“jorj ian Taimsi”, 04.12.2004) mixeil saakaSvi l ze Sesazi o Tavdasxmis versiebs amZafrebs usafrTxoebis motiviT krvani sis rezidenci aSi misi gadayvani s faqtic.

amasTan, presaSi gvxdvdeba mi ni Snejebi **“marTvad qaosze”** da misi dakavSi reba saprezidento arCevnebis CaSi is safrTxesTan, xsendeba igor gi orgaZe da, ra Tqma unda, ruseTi. pol itol og paata zaqareiSvi l is mosazrebi T, “...momxdari afeTqebebi c, gasrol ebic da rai onebis mixedvi T ganxorciel ebul i satel efono teroric, profesional ebis mier zedmi wevni T kargad dagegmi l da ganxorciel ebul sadazvervo-sadi versio operacias ufro hgavs, vidre “revanss”. movl enaTa ganvi Tarebis j allvi swored imis mmani Snejebi ia, rom procesi ucxo qveynis, kerzod ki, ruseTi s specsamsaxurebi dan i marTeba.” (“kvi ris pal i tra”, 15.12.2003)

saprezidento arCevnebTan dakavSi rebi T presa avi Tarebs mosazrebebs, rom I amis **anegdoturi kandidaturebis** arseboba saakaSvi l s karg fons ar uqmni s. erTaderTi kandidatura, romelic ase Tu ise angari Sgasawev konkurentad gani xi l eba, **Temur SaSi aSvi l ia.** saarCevno kampaniis dasawyisSi, satel evizio gamosvl ebsa Tu sagazeTo interviuebSi, Temur SaSi aSvi l i xazgasmi T aRni Snavda, rom qveyanaSi unda damTavrdes yovel gvari dapi ri spireba, agresiul i toni T saubari; ar unda gabatondes xunvebinuri stilli, qveyanas akademuri toni da simSvi de swirdeba. igi acxadebs, rom is ar aris amxel a Zal aufl ebis mqone prezidentis institutis momxre; am Zal aufl ebas ver gauZl o gamsaxurdiam, verc msofl io mni Svnel obis politikosad cnobil ma SevardnaZem gauZl o. gaprezidentebis SemTxvevaSi igi mi znad isaxavs **zecentral izebul i sistemis dangrevas.** (t/k “rusTavi-2”, t/k “iberia”, 15.12.2003)

yuradRebas SevaCerebT Temur SaSi aSvi l Tan dakavSi rebul ramdenime aqcentze: presaSi gaJRenda versia rom, Sesazi oa, misi **saarCevno kampania boris berezovskim daafinansos** da amasve ukavSi rebodes rusi ol igarqis bol o skandaluri viziti Tbilisi. (“axal i epoqa”, 05.12.2003); Temur SaSi aSvi l Tan

kompromisi da saer To enis gamonaxva **asI** an **abaSiZes** dasWinda imitom, rom **SaSi aSvi l i s meSveobi T** daamarcxos **aWaraSi mi xeil** saakaSvi l i; an ki dev, **SaSi aSvi l i s meSveobi T mdgomareobi** dan gamovi des da **aWaraSi saarCevno ubnebi s gaxsnas mi zezi mouzebnos;** rom nino burj anaZis mamas **SaSi aSvi l Tan satel** efono saubari hqonda da mas axl ad Camosayal i bebel **mTavrobaSi sakmaod maRaI i posti SesTavazes.** ("axal i versia", 24.11.2003)

sapreidento arCevnebi s paTosma \_ "yvel ani arCevnebze!" da prezidentobis kandidatis faqturma ual ternativobam, presas **sabWoTa periodis arCevnebi** gaaxsena, xol o ukve arCevnebi s winaswarme Sedegma (da \_ sabol oomac) gaaCina **paral el i** aseve "absol uturi maCvenebl iT" arCeul zviad gamsaxurdiasa da eduard SevardnaZesTan. meore mxriv, presaSi ikveTeba amgvari motivacia \_ am maCvenebl iT xal xis imedi, cvl il ebis survill i gani sazRvra; amasTan, **96%-i** ani gamarj veba el eqtoratis ukanknel i imedis gamoxatul ebaa.

ras el odeba sazogadoeba prezidentisagan? am ki Txvaze yvel aze kompaqtur pasuxs ayal i bebs Jurnal isti da mediis eqsperti ia anTaZe. i gi gani xil avs **sam fenas**, romel ic sxvadasxva Sedegs el is: **pirvel i** (SesaZI oa, yvel aze mraval ricxovani) \_ 4 i anvris arCevnebi sagan **Tavisi oj axis keTi l dReobas** el odeba; **meore** \_ arCevnebs **pirad keTi l dReobas** ar ukavSi rebs; is xel isufl ebis gundur pasuxismgebl obas da qarTul i saxel mwifos Tanmimdevrul nabij ebs moel is; **mesame** \_ **ewwiT eki deba** xel isufl ebas da miaCnia, rom arCevnebi s mimart mol odini aRemateba dRevandel i I iderebis SesaZI ebl obebs. anu, es imas ni Snavs, rom sazogadoebi s erTi nawi l i arCevnebi sagan el odeba **prezidentis gmirobas**, meore nawi l i \_ **samTavrobo** gundis swor nabij ebs, mesame nawi l i \_ samoqal aqo monawi l eobi T xel isufl ebis legitimacias. ia anTaZe yuradRebas amaxvil ebs im garemoebaze, rom 4 i anvris arCevnebSi yvel aze **cotaa im moqal aqeebis raodenoba**, romel ic arCevnebi sagan **arafers** el odeba da swored es aris **axal i xel isufl ebis** axal i pasuxismgebl oba Tavisi qveynisa da xal xis winaSe. (84)

\*

sapreidento da saparl amento arCevnebi s mimart **partiul i speqtris** damoki debul ebam gamokveTa misi revol uci is Semdgomi mdgomareoba \_ **daqsasul oba, dabneul oba** da **mkveTri pozicii s arqona!** cneba "opozicija", romel ic revol uci amdel periodSi c pirobiTi iyo, ki dev ufro bundovani gaxda. revol uci amdel i periodis opozicji s nominantebi \_ "nacional ebi" da "burj anaZe-demokratebi" saxel isufl ebo partiad transformi rdnen.

Sesabami sad, dai wyo gamoTavi sufl ebul i opoziciuri "niSi s" aTvi sebis procesi. mokl ed ganvixil avT, presaSi asaxul i suraTi mixedvi T, rogoria politikuri speqtris axal i konfiguracia.

revol uciis pirvel dReebSi presa yuradRebas amaxvi l ebda avansenis mi Rma darCenil i politikuri Zal ebis mxridan revanSi sa da "kontrrevol uciis" safiTxeze. am Tval sazrisiT mosal odnel i iyo yofil i saxel isufl o bl okis ("axal i saqarTvel osaTvis"), "I ei boristebis", "aRorZinebis", "axal i memarj veneebis" saprotesto ganwyobis gaZl iereba \_ Tundac, erTmaneTi sagan damouki debl ad, an saer To0Zal isxmevi T. magram, presa ufro politikuri Zal ebis amorful obasa da gaurkvev obas gamokveTs, vidre politikur procesebSi maTi I ogikuri monawil eobis, an, minimum, sakuTari funqciis gamarTI ebi saTvis mzadyofnas.

yofil saxel isufl o bl okis revol uciastan dakavSi rebi T erTi ani pozicia ar daufiqsi rebia; saxel isufl o bl okis mTavar i subieqtis \_ "moqkavSiris" l iderma da eqssaxel mwifo ministrma avTandi l jorbenazem, Tanamdebobi dan gadadgomis as gakeTebul gancxadebaSi, moxerxebul ad auara gverdi partiul pasuxi smgebl obas; mxol od is aRni Sna, rom politikidan wasvl as ar apirebs da mzad aris iTanamSroml os "yvel a sufTa politikur Zal astan". xol o ra bedi eweoda 1995 da 1999 wl is mowvevis parlamentebSi hegemoniis mqone partias, darCeboda Tu ara, da ra formiT, politikur scenaze, amis Taobaze presaSi ar gvvxdeba arc jorbenazisa da arc "moqkavSiris" romelime aqturi wevris gamokveTi l i pozicia. Tumc, Zvel i parlamentis yvel a "moqkavSir el i" deputati erTsul ovnad Caeba ufl ebamosil eba gagrzel ebul i parlamentis muSaobaSi da uprobl emod misca xma dRis wesrigSi dayenebul yvel a sakiTx. axal i aliansis Seqmnis Taobaze ganacxadi gaakeTes axal gazar da Taobis warmomadgenel ma "moqkavSir el ebma" \_ irakl i gogavam da zviad mukbani anma, magram Ziri Tadar ami T Semoi fargl a maTi aqtu roba politikur da sainformacio sivrcesi.

bl okis erT-erTi aqturi subieqtis \_ social isturi partiisa da misi l ideris vaxtang rCeul i Svi l is transformacia amgvaria \_ rCeul i Svi l ma partiis saxel iT gancxadebebis gakeTebis ufl eba, Semdgom ki \_ partiac irakl i mindel s gadaabara; Tavad ki politikidan wasvl a da arasamTavrobo seqtorsi "gadabargeba" gadawyita (arCevnebamde darCaAparl amentis vice-spikerad). "al i astan" interviusi i gi acxadebs, rom si tuaci i sgangari debas amj obi nebs; baqo-j ei hani sadmi mi ZRvnili i monografiis daweras fiqrobs; sapresidento arCevnebis boikots ar gegmavs da arc aravis mouwodebs amisken.

(“al ia”, 13.12.2003) social isturi partiis pozicias ki irakl i mindel i gamoxatavs, romelic acxadebs, rom Tu aWaris regioni arCevnebSi monawil eobaze uars ganacxadebs, “social istebi” yvel afers gaakeTeben imisTvis, rom 4 ianvris vadamdel i sapreidento arCevnebi Cai Sal os. (“rezonansi”, 05.12.2003)

saxel isufl o bl okis spikeris, **irina sariSvil i-Wanturias** CamoSoreba edp-s I iderobi dan presaSi Ziri Tadad Sefasebul ia, rogorc izul ebiTi nabij i; igi partiis mTavarma komitetma edp-s Tavmj domaris moval eobi dan gadaayena, Tumc, darCa partiisa da komitetis wevrad. “Rami s mzeris” pi r dapi r eTerSi sariSvil ma aRni Sna, rom zurab Jvani a di di xani a i brzvis edp-s dasakuTrebisTvis. (t\k “mze”, “Rami s mzero”, 16.12.2003) mediaSi gvxvdeba irina sariSvil is gancxadeba mis mier “mesame Zal is” Camoyal i bebis Taobaze, magram, presis varaudiT, rogorc Cans, man veravin dai Tanxma, verc baTumi sagan mi i Ro daxmareba da “mariotSi” gamarTul preskonferenci azec marto darCa.

“aRorZineba”, romelic 1999 wl is mowvevis parl amentSi “moqavSiris” Semdeg yvel aze met mandats fI obda da Tavs WeSmari t opozici ad mi i Cnevda (centrisa da regionis dapi r i spirebis fonze), ostaturad gadavi da axal i xel isufl ebis rel sebze \_ saarCevno ubnebis daxurvamde ori saaTiT adre uari Tqva sapreidento arCevnebis boikotze da arc momaval i saparl amento arCevnebis vada da Catarebis pirobebi gauprotestebia; amdenad, presis publ i kaci ebSi “aRorZineba” opozici is statusiT aRar gani xi l eba. (saparl amento arCevnebSi gamanadgurebel i damarcxebis Semdeg ki “aRorZineba” saer Tod gaqra saqarTvel os pol i tiki ri sceni dan).

presaSi gaCnda varaudi, rom momaval i saparl amento arCevnebi saTvis “axal i memarj veneebi” da “mrewvel ebi” (romi ebic 2 noembris arCevnebi saTvis gaerTi anebaze ver SeTanxmdnen) erTobl iv koal icias Seqmnian. “mrewvel ebi” vardebis revolu ci is dros ar gamoCeni l an, samagierod, parl amentis pirvel i ve sxdomaze gamocxaddnen; mogvianebeiT demarSi s pol i tika Secval es “axal ma memarj veneebmac”.

erTaderTi **mkveTri pozicia I ei boristebma gamoxates**, maT boikoti gamoucxades 1999 wl is mowvevis parl amentis Sekrebas da momaval arCevnebs; Seqmnii i viTarebidan gamosavl is mosazebnad ki aucil ebl ad mi i Cnies: “2 noembers arCeuil i parl amentis dauyovnebl iv Sekreba, Tavmj domared arapol i tiki ambiciebis mqone pirovnebis arCeva, konstituciuri kongresis Seqmna zvi ad gamsaxurdias uzenaes sabWosTan erTad, axal i konstituciisa da saarCevno kodeqsis mi Reba da axal i saparl amento da sapreidento arCevnebis

dani Svna." ("xval indel i dRe", 26.11.2003) I eiboristebi s l iderma, Sal va naTel aSvi l ma ganacxada, rom arCevnebi s bedi ukve gadawyetyl ia da mudam Jvani a-saakaSvi l is wi naaRmdegi iqneba. presaSi figurirebs mosazreba, rom revol uci am I eiboristebi Zal ian daazaral a. 2 noembris arCevnebi s Semdeg naTel aSvi l is mier dakavebul ma pozici am I eiboristebi el eqtorati aSkarad daakargvina.

ase rom, revol uci is momdevno dReebSi presaSi gaJRerebul i "revanSistul i safrTxe", isev presaSi asaxul suraTze dayrdnobi T, momdevno dReebSi aRar figurirebs. gazeT "al ias" daskvni T, "real urad revanSistebi sakmaod sustebi da daqsaqsul ebi arian". ("al ia", 11.12.2003)

rac Seexeba gamarj vebul i opozici is wi aRSi momxdar cvl il ebebs, ar gamarTl da Ziri Tadi subieqtebi s ("nacional uri moZraoba", "burj anaZe-demokratebi") gaTi Svis prognosi, magram 17-18 dekembri s mediaSi oficial urad gacxadda "tradicional istebi sa" da edp-s mier axal i pol itikuri koal ici is Camoyal i beba. mi xeil saakaSvi l is sapreidento kandidatad wamoyenebi s faqtisadmi "tradicional istTa" l ideris, akaki asaTianis mkveTrad uaryofiTi damoki debul ebis afiSi reba Tavdapi rvel ad mediaSi gaJRenda, rogorc bl ok "burj anaZe-demokratebi s" rigebsi erTgvari ganxeTqi l ebis mauwyebel i; magram mal eve dafiqsirda is garemoebac, rom asaTianma es gadawyetyl eba zurab Jvani as Tan SeTanxmebi T mi i Ro. am faqts "mTavari gazeTi" axal i xel isufl ebis mier "opozici is Ziebis" konteqstSi gani xil avs: "akaki asaTiani, Sesazi oa, memarj vene Zal ebis gaerTianebas Caudges saTaveSi da axl i koal ici is Camoyal i bebi T axal xel isufl ebas seriozul i opozicia Seuqmns. pol itikur wrebsi imasac amboben, rom asaTianis opozicioneroba revol ucloneri l iderebis mier Sedgeni l i programis nawili ia da ara tradicional istTa Tvi TSemoqmedeba. am versi is mimdevarTa azri T, xel isufl ebas, romel ic jer ki dev ar aris legitimuri, bunebrivid gazi ierebul i opozici is eSini a da upiratesobas mis mier Seqmnis aniWebs." ("mTavari gazeTi", 03.12.2003)

saxel mwifo ministri zurab Jvani a miesal ma koal ici is Seqmnas. misi Sefasebi T, bol o dros saqarTvel oSi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebi s Semdeg mni Svnel ovani a gamoi kveTos is Zal ebi, roml ebic saqarTvel os axal xel isufl ebas seriozul oponirebas gauwevs: "saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas urCevnia oponentebad i seTi adami anebi hyavdes, roml ebTanac Sesazi ebel i iqneba kamaTic da davac, oRond \_ Zi ier qarTul saxel mwifoze orientirebul principiebze." ("rezonansi", 18.12.2004)

xom ar aris es zurab Jvani as mxardamWer i gaerTi aneba mi xe i  
saakaSvi l is wi naaRmdeg? \_ Jurnal ist inga grigol ias am Seki Txvas akaki  
asaTi anma ase upasuxa: Cven varT ukve axal i xel isufl ebi s oposicia, me  
mimaCnia, rom oponi reba saWi roa. Cven vxedavT, ra Sedegi mi Ro ruseTma,  
faqturad iq gaimarj ves: komunistebma, moFaSisto el ementebma, e.w.  
centristebma (romel ic, sinamdvil eSi, saxel isufl o partia). me vTv i, rom  
Cven Tan meti mzaobaa evropul i tipis politikuri urTierTobebis  
Camoyal i bebi saTvis; memarj veneoba saWi roa memarCxene speqtris  
gawonasworebi saTvis. Cvens sazogadoebaSi aris moTxovna erTiani pl atformis,  
erTiani xedvis **centristul i Zal** is Camoyal i bebaze. (t/k "mze", "Ramis mzera",  
15.12.2003)

axal Seqmnili i koaliciia memarj vene politikuri organizaciis statusi T  
wartsda oficial ur prezentaciaze da mTavar amocanad "qveyanaSi gamefebul i  
social isturi ideebis" wi naaRmdeg brZol a gamoacxada. akaki asaTi ani amaSi  
gul isxmobda mi xe i saakaSvi l is "nacionaluri moZraobi s" wi nasaarCevno  
dapi rebebs gadasaxadebis gauqmepisa da xel fasebis gaormagebis Sesaxeb.  
momdevno dReebSi maT "opoziciuri statusi" **sapreidento arCevnebis  
boikotiT** gaimyares; akaki asaTi anma saakaSvi l is prezidentad arCevas "**tomis  
bel adis arCeva**" uwoda.

gazeTi "24 saaTi" erTgvari ironizebi T exmaureba koaliciis Seqmnis  
faqts, mas "xel mocarul i politikosebis alianss" uwodebs, xol o akaki  
asaTi an \_ "politikur don Juans". ("24 saaTi", 17.12.2003)

qarTul politikur speqtrSi siaxl e iyo "vardebis revolu ciis" Semdeg  
Camoyal i bebul i partia "Tavi sufl eba", romel mac partiis I ideris,  
konstantine (koko) gamsaxurdias personiT mi ipyro yuradReba. presa aRni Snavda,  
rom partiis wevTa gvar-saxel ebi cnobadobis Tval sazrisiT arafismTqmeli a,  
samagierod, zviad gamsaxurdias vaJis gamoCena politikur asparezze  
amomrCevl ebSi Tavi sebur **sentimental izms** da "zviadisturi" el eqtoratis  
**xmebis mokrebas** gamoi wvevs. presaSi gvxdveba koko gamsaxurdias aRqma, rogorc  
saqarTvel os "suli eri prezidentis", rogorc "simbol os" da ara rogorc  
"politikuri I ideris"; rogorc momdevno **sapreidento arCevnebis erT-erTi**  
"mTavari moqmedi gmiris", romel ic, SesaZl oa, "sorosel ebi s seriozul  
konkurentad" Camoyal ibdes da a.S. politol ogebis Sefasebi T ki, man Camosvl a  
daagvi ana; i gi saerTod ar monawi l eobda arafersi, emigraci idanac SeiZl eboda  
raRacis gamoxatva; mas ara aqvs raime mkafio mesiji; "24 saaTi s"

presombudsmeni, nodar I adaria sarkastul ad Seni Snavda, rom gamsaxurdias arc saxel i aqvs sakuTari, arc gvari da arc garegnobao.

Tavad gamsaxurdia amocanad i saxavda xel isufl ebis konstruqciul i opoziciis rol is Sesrul ebas, partiis prioritetad ki Tvl ida marTI madi debluri sarwmunoebis dakanonebas, saarCevno pl atformad \_ sakanoNdebl o vakuumis amovsebas, centrsa da regions Soris kompetenciebis gamij vnas.

ni Sandobl ivia, rom arCevnebis wi na dRiT prezident saakaSvi l is "eqstremaluri Casvi a samegrelos regionSi" presaSi dakavSi rebul ia swored koko gamsaxurdias faqtortan, romel mac "seriozul i konkurencia gauwi a mmarTvel ebs da es ar SeiZI eboda kancel ariis yuradRebis centrSi ar aRmoCenil iyo." ("al ia", 30.03.2004) arCevnebSi "Tavisufl ebis" mier mi Rweul i Sedegi presaSi erTdroul ad fasdeba, rogorc warmatebul i axal Seqmni l i partiisaTvis da rogorc warumatebel i. presisTvis micemul interviuebSi koko gamsaxurdia xazgasmi T aRni Snavda, rom misi partia ar Camoyal ibebul a mxol od saparl amento arCevnebSi monawil eobi sTvis; magram faqtia, rom man maSinve, rogorc ki winaswari Sedegebi T saTuo gaxda "Tavisufl ebis" mier saarCevno barieris gadal axva, Ti Tqmisi ukomentarod datova saqarTvel o da i sev Svei cariaSi gaemgzavra, mami s \_ zvi ad gamsaxurdias sai ubi l eo saRamos wi nadRiT.

faqtobri vad ual ternativo saprezidento arCevnebis Semdgom, presaSi gaCnda aqcenti momaval i parl amentis erTp partiul obis saSiSroebaze. am faqtorze ucxoel i eqspertebi da ucxouri mediac amaxvi l ebdnen yuradRebas. radio "bi - bi - si " - s komentari T, "noembris revolu ciis Sedegad opozicia praqtikul ad gaqra... arsebobs seriozul i saSiSroeba, rom momaval i parl amenti erTp partiul i iqneba... movl enebis amgvari ganvi Tareba seriozul saSiSroebas qmnis. 85% - IT arceul i prezidenti arc ise sasi amovnoa, magram mainc mosatmenia. ai, parl amenti, romel Sic yvel afers erTi Zal a wyvets \_ es ubral od Zal ze saSiSia!" (radio "bi - bi - si", "xval indel i dRe", 09.01.2004) evrosabWos monitoringis j gufis xel mZRvanel i maTias i orSi acxadebs, rom "ZI ier xel isufl ebas opoziciac ZI ieri unda hyavdes." ("dilis gazeTi", 07.01.2004) presaSi, gvxvdeba informacia, rom aSS dainteresebul ia saqarTvel oSi opoziciis arsebobi T da ami saTvis or mil ionamde Tanxas gamoyofs.

saparl amento arCevnebamde erTi Tvi T adre presis publ ikaci ebSi ikveTeba "revolu ciuri sameul is" interesTa dapiri spireba; Jurnal isturi msj el oba imis Taobaze, rom \_ "nino burj anaZes agdeben", rom Jvani asa da

saakaSvi l s ar surT burj anaZis gaZl iereba da, mosal odnel ia, igi parl amentis Tavmj domaredac aRar airCion \_ Sesazl oa, gazvi adebad da provokaciul aqcentad migveCnia, rom ara Tavad nino burj anaZis mier Catarebul i preskonferenciis amsaxvel i publ ikaci ebi. presis komentarebiT, burj anaZe pirvel ia, vinc "I iderTa Soris dadebul i SeTanxmebis darRveisa" da "kul uarul i SantaJis" Taobaze al aparakda: igi acxadebs, rom didi pasuxi smgebl oba aqvs xal xis wiNaSe, ar unda qveynis interesi pirovni interesebs gadaayol os da amis gamo bevrjer wavi da daTmobebeze \_ daTmo sakonsti tucio cvl il ebebis dros, daTmo siebis dros; magram, misi moTmi neba aavso im faqtma, rom "burj anaZe-demokratebisTvis" gankuTvni l i 40%-i ise dakompl eqtda, rom masSi aRmoCnda Jvanias 26 kandi dati, burj anaZem ki 14 adami anis "gayvana" Zl i vs Sezl o. saer Todac, burj anaZis TqmiT, SeTanxmebi samebr, parl amentSi misi azri unda yofil iyo dominanturi, zurab Jvanias aRmasrul ebel xel isufl ebaze unda gaekeTebina ufro meti fokusireba, man xom, faqtobri vad marTi ac daakompl eqta mTavrobis Ziri Tadi nawi l i. ganawyenebis mi uxedavad, burj anaZeExel axl a gaopozi ci onerobaze ar I aparakobs, samagierod, am Temas aqt i urad avi Tar eben Jurnal istebi.

siebis sababi T mkveTrad dapi ri spirebul Jvani a-berZen Svi l s kompromisze wasvl a mouxdaT. rogorc presa aRni Snavs, maTi ganxeTqil ebis mi zezi aWaraze gadamwyeti zegavl enis mopoveba da am regionSi xel isufl ebis sadaveebis xel Si Cagdebaa. davi T berZen Svi l s, Sesazl oa, arc moexada bodiSi zurab Jvani asTvis, magram sxvanai rad mas Seezl o koba davi TaSvi l i bedi gaezi arebi na.

axl a pol itikaSi axal i wesrigi myardeba \_ an mi i Reb am wesebs, an bankroti xdebi. jerj erobiT, saakaSvi l sa da Jvanias erTmaneTi Zal i an swirdebaT, ami tomac am did pol itikur interess nebi smieri SeiZl eba Seewi nos, \_ ase l agdeba, sabol oo j amSi, presis aqcentebi.

martsi, rogorc presa aRni Snavs, dasrul da nebayofl obi Ti samTvi ani moratoriumi axal i xel isufl ebis kritikaze (romelic tel eviziaSi ufro sagrZnobi iyo, vidre gazeTebSi); presaSi fiqsirdeba sakmaod mwave mosazrebebi, imis Taobaze, rom, faqtobri vad, partia da bel adi erTi da i givea, wi nasaarCevnod dari gebul gazeTsac ki "saakaSvi l i" hqvi a. ("al ia", 23.03.2004); saakaSvi l is pol itikis naklad mi i Cneva, rom noembris arCevnebi sagan gansxvavebiT, martsi mTel i saarCevno kampania mxol od mis garSemo datrial da. ("axal i versia", 29.03.2004); rom "nacional uri moZraobis" xel isufl ebaSi mosasvl el ad naxevari saqarTvel o ibrZoda... da dRes am principi T moqmedeben \_ arcerTi aranaciona l i Cvens gverdi Ti!" ("rezonansi", 22.03.2004) da a.S.

rac Seexeba saparl amento arCevnebis Sefasebas presaSi, movi Svel iebT erTgvar mini-daij ests:

- evropel ma damkvi rebl ebma arCevnebi evropul standartebTan mi axl oebul ad Seafases; evrosabWos saparl amento asambl ei s del egaciis xel mZRvanel ma maTias iorSma mas qarTul i paradoqsi uwoda, radgan arCevnebi, erTis mxriv, imedi smomcemia, Sedegi (erTp partiul i parl amenti) ki \_ damafiqrebel i. ("dil is gazeTi", 30.03.2004)
- "di di wmena qarTul politikur I andSaftze \_ misi sabol oo gaTavisufl eba warsul is acrdil ebi da narCenebi sagan". ("24 saaTi", 29.03.2004)
- "opozicia mosaxl eobis vendetas Seewira"; 28 marti \_ axal i aTvli is wertil i qarTul politikaSi, modis axal i politikuri speqtri. ("mTavari gazeTi", 30.03.2004)
- opozicia wagebul ia imiT, rom liders ver irCevs; sanam lideri ar eyol eba, igi ver gaxdeba xel isufl ebis Tavis tkivili; sadac saakaSvil i-Jvani as gundia \_ opoziciasi Tu xel isufl ebaSi, is mxarea ZI ieri. ("al ia", 30.03.2004)
- koba daviTaSvil i, parl amentari: demokratiul ma revol uci am moi tana es antidemokratiul i situacia da Cven mi vi ReT raRac saSual o ruseTsa da TurqmeneTs Soris. ("rezonansi", 30.03.2004)
- I el a iakobiSvil i, kul turol ogi: CemTvis katastrofaa, roca 95 procenti mosaxl eobisa erTnairad fiqrobs... eifori am, rom maRal i procentebiT aris arCeul i, daRupa "moqal aqeTa kavSiric" da zviadistebi c. ("dil is gazeTi", 29.03.2004)

arsebul i prognozebis sapi rispirod, saxel isufl ebo sameul ma SesZi o Tanxmobi s SenarCuneba. Tumc, presaSi vxvdebi T mosazrebebs, rom iseve rogorc saparl amento siebis SemTxvevaSi, amjerad, Sesazl oa, maT Soris uTanxmoebis sababad iqces saparl amento komitetebis gadanawi l ebi saki Txil; mi T ufro, rom arsebobs e.w. prestijul i da araprestijul i komitetebi. bol o wl ebSi prestijul i komitetebis umravl esobas Jvani as gundi akontrol ebda.

- arCevnebi postrevol uciur aWaraSi

"vardebis revol uciis" Semdgomi periodis presaSi intensiurad vi Tardeboda mosazreba, rom aWaraSi gavl enis mopovebisTvis konkurencia "ganxeTqil ebis vaSI ad" iqceoda "nacional ur moZraobasa" da "respublikel ebs" Soris da, Sesabamisad, gaxdeboda saxel isufi ebo umravl esobis rrvevis dawyebis sababi. mi uxedavad imisa, rom arCevnebSi monawili e partiebi Ti Tqmis Seguebul ni iyvnen damarcxebas da saarCevno kampaniasac ar awarmoebden, "respublikuri partiis" lideri davi T berzeni Svi i amtkicebda, rom Rirseul konkurencias gauwevda "nacional ebs". wi nasaarCevno periodSi "respublikel ebi" aqturad cdil obden xazgasmas, rom isini warmoadgenen erTaderT partias, romel ic wl ebis manZi ze Tanmimdevrul ad ebrZoda aWaraSi "aRorZinebasa" da asl an abasizes. "maT Rirseul ad atares reJimi sagan Tavisufali aWaris idea", \_ werda gazeTi "axal i 7 dRe". ("axal i 7 dRe", 18.06.2004)

presaSi figurirebs mosazreba, rom aWaris amomrCovel ma ar icis ras irCevs, radgan saqarTvel os parlamentma arCevnebamde ver moaswro aWaris statusTan dakavSirebul i sakonstitucio cvl il ebis proeqtis mi Reba. yvel aze radikal uri SefasebiT, arCevnebi ukanoona, radgan irCeven organos, roml is ufl ebamosil eba jer dadgenili ar aris. paral el urad, vxvdebiT amgvar mosazrebasac \_ mTavaria, rom aWaraSiakanonmdebl o organos irCeven da arni Snaven.

parlamentSi aWaris statusisa da arCevnebis Taobaze seriozul ukmayofil ebas Ziri Tadar fraqcia "memarj vene opozicia" afiqsirebda (Tu ar CavTvl iT personal urad koba davi TaSvi i sa da zviad ZiZiguris opoziciur aqturopas). davi T gamyrel iZe acxadebda, rom 20 ivnisis arCevnebiT praqtikul ad gaformda xel isufi ebis survili da I legitimiroba gadaeca saxel mwi fo sabWos (I evan varSal omiZis xel mZRvanel obiT), romel ic arCevnebamde regionSi droebiT funqciias asrul ebda.

parlamentis Tavmj domare nino burj anaZe politikur Secdomas uwodebs aWaris umaRI esi sabWos arCevnebSi "respublikel ebis" damouki debi ad monawili eobas, radgan aWaraSi demokratiis dasamyarebli ad "nacional ebi" da "respublikel ebi" erTad i brZodnen da es erToba unda SenarCunebul iyo. saparlamento umravl esobi dan "respublikel ebis" wi naaRmdeg yvel aze mkveTrad nodar grigal aSvi ma gail aSqra: "politikuri ambi ci ebs gamo berzeni Svi ma da misma Tanamoazreebma aWaraSi meore politikuri centris Seqmna scades..

saxel mwi foSi ramdenime centris Seqmna aris boroteba, romel ic qveyanas ciudad Semoubrundeba." ("mTavari gazeTi", 22.06.2004 )

aWaris arCevnebis Sedegi gaxda mizezi imisa, rom "respubl ikel Ta" 6-kaci an Semadgeni obidan oTxma datova saparlamento umravl esobi s rigebi (I evan berzeni Svi l ma \_ komitetis Tavmj domaris postic). "respubl ikel ebs" Tavis Wkuaze veravin gvatarebs, demokratiul i sivrcis SezRudvas yovel Tvis Sevewi naaRmdegebi T; minda viqoni o imedi, rom rac aWaraSi moxda mxol od da mxol od dabali rangis axal i nomenklaturis iniciativa iyo, \_ aRni Snavda arCevnebis Sedegis komentirebisas "respubl ikel i" ivl iane xaindrava. ("kviris pal itra", 28.06.2004)

arCevnebis Sedegebis Sefasebis presaSi vxvdebi T mosazrebas, rom es iyo pirvel i demokratiul i arCevnebi aWaraSi ("mTavar gazeTs" es Sefaseba sapi rvel gverdo anSI agSi aqvs mocemul i: "pirvel i demokratiul i arCevnebi abaSi Zis Semdeg"); amasTan, publ i kaci ebs saTaurebSi ve i kveTeba kritikul i paTosi: "aWarul i arCevnebi cema-tyepisa da nacional ebisa da respubl ikel ebs dapi rispirebis fonze", "ri T hgavs nacional uri moZraoba moqal aqeTa kavSirs?" ("rezonansi", 21.06.2004); "aWara: arCevnebi cema-tyepis Tanxi ebi T" ("axal i Taoba", 21.06.2004); "arCevnebis Sedegebi pol i tikur daZabul obas gazrdis" ("dil is gazeTi", 21.06.2004); "Zirs asl ani, maRI a miSa!" ("axal i versia", 21.06.2004); "nacional ebma gadaamli aSes" ("xval indel i dRe", 22.06.2004).

presaSi figurinebs piradad mixeil saakaSvi l is faqtori arCevnebSi "nacional uri moZraobis" Ti Tqmisi erTpironul gamarj vebaSi (Tu ar CavTvl iT "respubl ikel ebs" mier mopovebul or adgil s); erTis mxriv, mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs am tipis Sefasebebi:

"aWaris mosaxl eobis mTavari orientiri, partiul siaSi Seyvanil Tu majoritar kandidatebze metad, saqarTvel os prezidenti iyo, roml is mimart siyvarul i aWaraSi gansakuTrebit igrZhoba." ("24 saaTi", 21.06.2004); "aWaram prezidentis xaTriT misca xma" ("mTavari gazeTi", 01.07.2004) pol i tol ogi soso cincaze: "dRes mixeil saakaSvi l i imdenad popul arul ia, rom mis winaaRmdeg wasvl a xarakirs niSnabs. visac ar unda gaemarj va, saakaSvi l is kursis gamtarebel i iqneboda, radgan mosaxl eoba dRes sasikeTod mxol od am gzas mi i Cnevs." ("saqarTvel os respubl ika", 23.06.2004)

meore mxriv, presaSi yuradReba maxvil deba winasaarCevno kampaniaSi prezidentis pirad aqtu robaze, zogadad im faqtze, rom xel isufl ebs maRal Cinosnebi arCevnebSi monawil eobden rogorc mxareebi. "rezonansi" pol i tikuri mimomxil vel i mi ani Snebs safiTxeze, rom "nacional uri moZraoba",

Sesazi oa, mal e "moqal aqeTa kavSi rs" daemsgavso; rom zviad gamsaxurdi a Tavis droze i seTive medroveebma daRupes, rogorbic amjamadac mravl ad arian mmarTvel partiaSi. ("rezonansi", 21.06.2004)

"abaSi Zis diqtaturis gadmonaSTebTan brZol aSi aWaris axal ma xel isufi ebam unebl ied Tavad Sei Zi na axal i kol eqtiuri diqtatoris saxe. aWaris mosaxl eoba ra Si Si Ta da mowi webi Tac saubrobda abaSi Zis xel isufi ebaze, imave mowi webi T da moridebi T saubrobs axal xel isufi ebaze. rogorc ver bedavdnen gaeprotestebinaT Zvel i xel isufi ebi s ukanonobebi, aseve, Tval s xuWaven axal ukanonobebze, ris gamoc, SesakrebTa gadanacvl ebi T j ami ar Secvl il a." (axal i Taoba, 21.06.2004)

"erTaderTi adami ani, romel ic aWarul i mmarTvel ebidan sazogadoebaSi simpatiebs iwevs, I evan varSal omi Zea \_ nakl ebi saubriTa da meti saqmisi keTebi T gamorCeul i adami ani." ("rezonansi", 21.06.2004)

parlamentar koba davi TaSvi l s, romel ic winasaarCevno periodSi xel mowerebs agrovebda aWaris avtonomiis gauqmebis Taobaze pl ebi scit is CatarebisTvis, aWaris Tvi TmmarTvel obam probl emebi Seuqmna. parlamentis mier mi Rebul sakonsti tucio cvl il ebas aWaris statusTan dakavSi rebi T, davi TaSvi l ma "iuridiul i kretini zmi" uwoda da ganacxada, rom kvl av gaagrZel ebs xel mowerebis Segrovebas aWaris avtonomiis gauqmebis Tobaze. ("axal i Taoba", 30.06.2004)

aWarul i arCevnebis erTgvari reziume Sei Zi eba isev presis Sefasebi T Camovayal ibiT: aWarasI mosaxl eobam presidents dauWira mxari da sanacvl od xel isufi ebi sagan mxol od imas iTxovs, rom axal i asl an abaSi Ze da "aRorZineba" ar mii Ros. ("mTavari gazeTi", 01.07.2004)

## Tavi V

### "vardebis revol ucia" da postrevol uciuri periodi

am Tavis saxel wodeba erTgvarad pirobiTia, ramdenadac cneba "vardebis revol ucia" ar gamoxatavs mxol od 2003 wl is 23 noembers momxdar movl enas. mas Si eifivit mosdevs Semdgomi procesebi, romel Ta aTvl is wertil ad swored "vardebis revol ucia" iTvl eba da roml ebic, pirdapir Tu iribad, am cnebaSi erTi andeba.

"2003 wl is noemberSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba Seicval a mSvi dobiani, magram arakonstituciuri gzi T... xel isufl ebis Secvl is es epi zodi "vardebis revol uciis" saxel iT Sevi da istoriaSi, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobisa da saerTaSoriso Tanamegobrobi s udidesma nawi l ma "vardebis revol ucia" CaTval a mni Svnel ovan ni Sansvetad, romel ic saqarTvel os demokratiul i Rirebul ebebi saken Sebrunebas moaswavebda", \_ ase Seafasa "vardebis revol ucia" mesame seqtoris cnobil ma warmomadgenel ma, politol ogma gi a nodiam saangari So naSrromSi "samoqal aqo sazogadoebi s ganvi Tareba saqarTvel oSi: mi Rwevebi da gamowvevebi". (56, 17)

"vardebis revol ucia", rogorc mis Semdgom ganvl il ma periodma acvena, maSindel i Tu Semdgomi Sefasebebis urTierTgamomricxaobi s mi uxedavad, iyo kargad damuSavebul i teqpol ogiuri sqemis mixedvi T ganvi Tarebul i procesi, romel Sic moxda erTdroul ad ramdenime arsebi Ti faktoris fokusireba – postsabWoTa mmarTvel obis Secvl a, personal urad SevardnaZi s mimart dagrovil i negatiuri energiis ganmuxtva, dasavl ur interesze orientirebul i ara mxol od xel isufl ebis, aramed sazogadoebi s Camoyal i bebi s model oba da, rac mTavaria, postsabWoTa sivrceSi, demokratiul i ganvi Tarebi s kal apotSi qveyni s da sazogadoebi s mSvi dobiani gadasvl is model is real obad qceva; regionSi saqarTvel os saxiT dasavl uri forpostis dafuzneba.

marTali a, "vardebis revol ucia" qarTvel i xal xis arnaxul i mobilizebi T, SevardnaZi s xel isufl ebis Secvl is gardauval i survili Ta da korufci is aRmofxvris amARI ebul i sul iskvetebi T warimart; magram TandaTan, igive presis meSveobi T, mkafiod gamoi kveTa suraTi, rom es iyo Tanamedrove msofl ios gl obal uri procesebi s kanonzomieri ganvi Tarebi s Sesabami sad dasaxul i model i, roml is gansaxorciel ebl ad saqarTvel os SerCeva SemTxvevi Ti ar yofila.

"21-e saukunes Tavisi moTxovnebi aqvs da Tavisi tempi. masdemokratiis procesma \_ demokratiis masobrivi variantis eqsportis da misi gl obal uri damki drebis procesma \_ mTel i pl aneta unda moiarios, raTa harmoni zdes Tavisufal i da aratavisufal i samyaro da sayovel Tao usafr Txoeba dasadgurdes", \_ wers apol on sil agaze gazeT "24 saaTSi" gamoqveynebul publ i kaci aSi, romel Sic uaRresad sainteresod da kompaqturadaa Camoyal i bebul i ara mxol od am procesisa da "samodel o qveynad" saqar Tvel os arcevis kanonzomiereba, aramed is kriteriumebi, riTac "sastarto qveyana" gani sazRvra; gaanal i zebul ia mogebisa da wagebis bal ansi, revol uci is Semdgom etapze warmoqmili i wi naaRmdegoba qveynis sagareo da saSinao prioritetebs, gl obal ur da l okal ur amocanebs Soris; revol uci is gadarcenis, revol uci is warmatebisa da misi Semdgomi periodis aRmSenebl obis (da ara ngrevis) unisonSi mosvl is aucil ebl oba:

"Cven aRmovndiT procesebis avangardSi... revol ucia rom ar yofil iyo, Cven ara ubral od pasiuri, aramed urol o monawil e vi qnebodi T ganvi Tarebis gl obal uri procesebisa... Cven ar gveqneboda is saerTaSoriso avtoriteti, romel ic bevrad aRemateba im SesaZl ebl obebs, rasac Cveni farTobi da mosaxl eobis raodenoba gansazRvrav. Cven ar gveqneboda saerTaSoriso funqcia, romi is qonis Sansi mcire erebs advil ad ar eZl evaT." (65)

swored am rol ma ganapi roba "ar Semdgar idan" "sanimuSomde" saqar Tvel os saxel mwi fos imijis transformireba da pozicionireba qveynis gareT (upirvel esad da warmatebul ad) da sakuTriv saqar Tvel oSi (nakl ebi warmatebi T).

"vardebis revol uci asTan" mimarTebaSi, ara mxol od imdroindel mediasSi, aramed, mogvianebebi T gamoqveynebul publ i kaciebsa Tu naSromebSi, ikveTeba saerTo Tval sazrisi, rom yvel a SesaZl o mizez-Sedegis mi uxavedavad, mTavari faqtori iyo cvl il ebebis rwmena da mol odini. am Tval sazrisiT sainteresoa fil osofos zaza firal iSvil is mier 2003 wl is Semdgomaze ganvi Tarebul i procesebis gaazreba "qarTul i pol itikis Teatral ur dial eqtikaSi": "wminda kul turol ogiuri azriT mni Svnel oba ara aqvs, Tu vin da ra mizniT dadga maradi ganaxl ebis politikuri speqtakli, an, saerTod, dadga Tu ara. zustad aseve, mni Svnel oba ara aqvs, am revol uciur karnaval s rai me real uri Sedegi mohyva Tu ara. mTavari is aris, rom Cvens adamianebSi, mi uxavedavad ganvl il i aTwl eul ebis ganmavl obaSi gadatani i tragediebi sa, imedgacrulebebi sa, teritoriebis dakargvisa, mi uxavedavad politikosebis sruli ad ukeTuri mcdel obebi sa, Tavisi miznebi saTvis gamoeyenebi naT maTi gul ubryvil o da mi T

ufro ZI ieri rwmena, rom amqveynad raime mainc Sei ZI eba sai keTod Sei eval os, adami anebs ar daukargavT is infantiluri idealizmi, roml is gareSec SeuZI ebel ia amqveynad arseboba." (71, 186-187)

zaza firal iSvili s azriT, "ganaxl ebis am farul i mol odinis simbol izeba" ikisra "mesame pol itikurma istebi ismentma", ubral o adami anebma ki mas i seve gamoucxades ndoba, rogorc Tavis droze wina ors \_ zviad gamsaxurdi asa da eduard Sevardnazi s politikur istebi ismentebi ucxadebden. (71, 186-187)

dissertaciis wina TavebSi mocemul i 2000-2003 wl ebi s periodis medi asuraTi gvi Cvenebi s, rogor emzadeboda postSevardnazi stul i periodi sTvis axal i politikuri Taoba, rogor moamzades ni adagi Sevardnazi s epoqi dan postepoqaSi "xaverdovani" gadasvl i sTvis arasam Tavrobo organi zaci ebma da medi am; zemoT yuradReba SevaCereT imazec, ra faqtorebma ganapi roba saqarTvel os adekvaturoba axal i msofl io wesrigis dramaturgi aSi Tundac erTi mokrZal ebul i rol is Sesasrul ebl ad.

amasTan, Tu postsabWoTa periodi dan (gansakuTrebiT ki 90-i ani wl ebi s Suaxanebi dan) dRemde saqarTvel os mier rTul i katakl izmebiT gamovi l gzas da mediaSi mis asaxvas gonebi s TvaliT erT fokusSi movaqcevT, SegviZI ia vTqvaT, rom "vardebis revoluciis" mosamzadebel i samuSao Cveni qveyni s yofierebisa da cnobierebis TiTqmisi yvel a ganStoebas moicavda. (SesaZI oa, erT-erTi ucxouri organizaciis mier grantis gamoyofa "xmiT natirI ebi s" Sesaswali ad, pi r dapi r Tu iribad amave mizans \_ Cveni eThofsi qiki s niuansebSi wdomasac emsaxureboda).

Tu ufro Sors waval T, aRmoCndebe, rom Tundac sainformacio omi (da ara mxol od!), romel sac rusul i media axorciel ebda (rezonansul ad \_ qarTul i c!) saqarTvel oSi destabilizaciuri procesebis inicierebistvis, saqarTvel os, rogorc "arSemdgari qveyni s" imijis Seqmni sa da damkvi drebisTvis, sabol oo jamSi, saTanado fons uqmni da sazogadoebis ganwyobis mimarTvas radikaluri cvl il ebi sTvis motivaciis Sesaqmnel ad es faqtori rom erT-erTi ganmsazRvrel i iyo "vardebis revoluciis" ganxorciel ebi sTvis, amis faqtobrivi masal a, SeZI ebi s dagvarad, wi namdebare sadisertacio naSromSi caris mocemul i.

"vardebis revoluciia" rom strategiul i teqnologiebi s Tanamedrove standartebi T ganxorciel ebul i procesi iyo, es, ra Tqma unda, Cveni saavtoro mosazreba ar aris. miuxedavad imisa, rom am Temaze Tundac presaSi ar aerTi publ i kacia gamoqveynda da ar aerTi naSromis yuradRebis centrSi moeqca,

vfigrobT, am procesis Seswavl a da gaanal i zeba Sesabamisi dargebis special istTa fundamentur kvl evas im saxurebs.

tel emediisa da, saer Tod, masobrivi komunikaciis mkvl evari el dariberi, naSromSi "tel evizia da xel isufl eba ("vardebis revol uciis" gakveTi l ebi)", "vardebis revol uciis" "mediareJisuris" Teoriuli aspeqtibis fonze, restrospektiul ad aRadgens am procesis ganvi Tarebas "virtual ur real obaSi". Sesabami sad, misi daskvnebi sayuradReboa ara mxol od tel eviziis rol is kvl evi s Tval sazrisiT. eiberis SefasebiT, "Tavisi geopolitikuri mdgomareobis gamo qveyana msofl ios zesaxel mwifoebis farul i dapi ripirebis (Tu mori gebis) obiectad iqca, rac udi des gavl enas axdens aq mimdinare yvel a social ur-politikur Tu ekonomikur movl enaze. politikuri procesebi Ziri Tedad finansdeba da imarTeba garedan. garedan Semodis masobrivi cnobierebit manipulirebis uaxl esi politikuri teqnologiebi da warmatebit xorciel deba qarTul real obaSi." (28, 38)

zemoTmoxmobil a.sil agaZis statiaSi "vardebis revol ucia" ganxil ul ia, rogorc "ganvi Tarebis gl obal uri procesebi" saqarTvel os CarTvis saukenTeso saSual eba; eiberi politikuri procesebis "garedan marTvaze" akeTebi aqcents. am Tval sazrisiT sayuradReboa jaba devdarianis narkvevi "saerTaSoriso daxmarebis gavl ena saqarTvel oze" (romel ic Sesrul ebul ia saqarTvel oSi demokratiul i mSenebl obis Ziri Tadi tendenciebis Semaj amebel i saeqsperto proeqtis fargl ebSi da asaxavs ara mxol od avtoris, aramed, eqspertebisa da praqtkosebis Sejerebul Tval sazriss). "ganvi Tarebi sa da demokratiis daxmarebis Tanamedrove kritika or Ziri Tad arguments eyrdnoba. pirvel is mixedviT, ganvi Tarebi daxmareba kol oniuri azrovnebis gagrzel ebaa; misi mizani \_ "dasavl uri demokratiis" magal iTis "ganvi Tarebel" samyaroSi gadatana, rac kaTol i kur-protestantul i Rirebul ebebi sa da procesebis brmad gadmoRebas emyareba. zogierti mkvl evaris azriT, radgan ganvi Tarebi sa (da demokratiis) daxmareba kol onial uri azrovnebis gadmonaSTia, is emsaxureba nacional uri el itis daTrgunvas dasavl uri dominionebis mier. es argumenti, romel ic Zal ian waagavs damoki debul ebi s Teorias, dRei saTvis antiglobalisturi I ogikis mni Svnel ovani nawili ia. daxmarebis zedmeti "prodasavl urobiis" Sesaxeb saqarTvel os radikal ur politikur da sazogadoebri v wreebSi c xSi rad saubroben." (18, 31-32)

daxmarebis kritikis meore forma, \_ aRni Snavs j .devdariani, \_ swored daxmarebis programebis ganxorciel ebi s gamocdil ebi s mqone profesional ebi sagan modis. maTi azriT, "donorebs uyvarT ama Tu im qveyanaSi

arsebul i real obis xel ovnurad moqceva maTTvis misaReb CarCoebSi da ar Zal uZT an ar surT qveynis Si da pol itikaze TavianTi programebis gavl enis kritikul i Sefaseba." (18, 32)

marTal ia, proeqti "demokratiis ganvi Tareba saqar Tvel oSi" moi cavs 2003 wl amde periods, magram, rogorc aRvni SneT, "vardebis revol ucia" ar yofil a spontanuri aqtisi da **ganvi Tarebiisa** da **demokratiis daxmarebis** xarisxma saqar Tvel oSi arsebi Tad gansaz Rvra misi Sedegebi. amasTan, jaba devdarianis narkvevSi mocemul i Sefasebebi da daskvnebi erTgvari gasaRebia im urTier Tgamomri cxavi Tval sazrisebi sa (da realuri Sedegebi sac), roml ebic "vardebis revol uciis" garSemo vi Tardeboda da dRemde vi Tardeba.

dasavluri domini onebis mier nacinaluri elitis daTrgunva, anu "kol onialuri azrovnebis gadmonaSTi", razec j.devdariani amaxvi l ebs yuradRebas, Sesazi oa, iyo gamozaxili cnobili amerikeli politol ogis semuel hanTingTonis Tval Taxedvisa (misi 1996 wels gamoqveynebul i naSromi "civilizaciata Sej axebe" gansakuTrebit aktualuri gaxda 11 seqtembris teraqtis Semdeg). hanTingToni miCnevs, roml dasavl eTi unikaluria da ara universaluri; universal izmis Iogikuri Sedegia imperial izmi; dadga dro, dasavl eTi gaTavisufi des universal izmis il uziisagan; rwmena dasavluri unikalurobis Sesaxeb aramxol od mcdari da amoraluria, aramed saSi Sic; modernizacia da ganvi Tareba arc moi Txovs da arc unda ganapi robebedes vesternizacias (piriqiT, igi unda iwweddes adgil obriv kul turaTa aRorZinebas); dasavl eTis Iiderebis umTavresi pasuxismgebl oba ara sxva civilizaciata dasavluri gardaqmna, aramed dasavluri civilizaciis unikaluri niSnebis dacva da ganaxlebaa. es pasuxismgebl oba, pirvel rigSi, ekisreba yvel aze Zi ier dasavlur qveyanas \_ aSS-s; saxel mwi fo moRvaweebs mxol od maSin SeuZi iAT nayofierad Secval on real oba, roca aRi areben mas da kargad esmit igi; amerikuli elita uaRresad nel a aRiqvams Seqmnili real obebs; buSisa (buSi ufrosis, - l.k.) da kl intonis administraciebi mxars uWerden mul tivilizaciuri integraciis gegmebs, roml ebic an ugunuri iyo, an iwweda gauTval iswinebel ekonomikur da politikur Sedegebs... (78)

mil ton fridmani (romlis wigni \_ "kaptalizmi da Tavisufi eba", XX saukunis 50-i an wl ebSi Seqmnili, dRemde liberaluri msolfi mxedvel obis klasikur naSrromad iTvl eba) saerTaSoriso zeerovnul i monopoliebis diqtaturas iseTive safrTxed Tvl is Tavisufi ebiSTvis, rogorc saxel mwi fo diqtaturas. Liberalizmi ebrZvis Tavisufi ebiis yovel gvar SezRudvas \_ saxel mwi fo ebrivs, korporaciul sa Tu zeerovnul s. zeerovnul i diqtatis

pirobebSi, marTal ia, si tyvis, sindisi sa da saqmi anobi s pirobiTi Tavisufi eba dacul ia, magram mxol od garkveul fargl ebSi, garkveul zRvramde, roml is gadal axvis mcdel oba adami anebisTvis did riskTan aris dakavSirebul i. kapi tal is centrebSi \_ saerTaSoriso korporaci ebSi uzomo Zal aufi ebaa koncentri rebul i. maT mier yvel a saSual eba gamoi yeneba sazogadoebis manipuli rebisTvis. isini fi oben masobriv sainformacio saSual ebebs, maT gavl ena aqvT sasamarTI oebsa da saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebze, bazrebze ki maT gareSe arafebi xdeba... (72)

wi namdebare sadisertacio naSromis bol o qveTavSi ("saqarTvel oSi j orj buSis vizitis rezonansi presaSi") vnaXavT, rom Tbilisi vizitis aSS-is prezidentis, j orj buSis mier warmoTqmuli si tyvebis mTavari sakvanzo si tyva "Tavisufi ebaa".

zemoTganxil ul i Tval sazrisebi SemTxvevi T ar dagvi kavSirebia "vardebis revol uciastan". misi winare da Semdgomi movl enebi cxadyofs, rom demokratiis, liberal izmis da Tavisufi ebis "eqsporti" SesaZI oa warmatebul i iyos im SemTxvevaSi, Tu saxel mwifosa da sazogadoebas gacnobierebul i aqvs ara mxol od misi SesaZI o Sedegebi (pozitiurica da negatiuric), aramed am procesebis kanonzomiereba da Sesabamisi moqmedebis amplituda \_ moqceul i maT gardauval obasa da Cvens SesaZI ebl obas Soris. Tundac presis magal iTi cxadyofs, rom gamonaklisis saxiT procesebis amgvari aRqma gvxdveba, magram umeteswi l ad maTi Tanmdevi probl emebi aRiwereba zerel ed da martivad \_ "gl obal izaciis", "masonebis", "sorosis", "Savi piaris" da a.S. xsenebi T, an "mtris xatis" Seqmni T.

\*

23 noembers "vardebis revol uci T" dasrul ebul i procesis gaanal izeba presaSi mraval mxrivi da, xSir SemTxvevaSi, urTierTgamomricxavi Sefasebebi Taa mocemul i; vecdebi T, SeZI ebi sdagvarad, garkveul i Iogiki T daval agoT Zi ri Tadi aqcentebi.

pirvel yovl isa, al baT unda gamovkveToT is obiectur-subiecturi mizezebi, roml ebic safuzvl ad daedo revol uci as. rac Seexeba sababs, is jer ki dev arCevnebamde karga xni T adre iyo gansazRvrul i \_ arCevnebis gayal beba xel i sufl ebis mier, amomrCevl is samoqal aqo ufl ebebis Sel axva.

mediaSi Seqmnili suraTiT ikveTeba mTavari mizezi, romel ic revol uci is qvakuTxedi gaxda \_ eduard Sevardnazi s mimart Iamis paTol ogiuri siZul vil i, rwmena da imedi, rom Tundac saxel i sufl o sivrcidan misi

moSorebis faqti ukve sasikeTo movl ena iqneboda qveyni sTvis. am mi zezma erT fokusSi mouyara Tavi yvel a faqtors \_ social urs, politikursa Tu pirovnul s.

revol uciis meore dResve presaSi, erTis mxriv, gamoikveTa sul i skveTeba, rom gamarj vebul ebs ar asamartI eben; meores mxriv, im dResve dai wyo msj el oba xel isufl ebis Secvl is procesis **samarTI ebri** aspeqtetebze.

mainc ra Sei ZI eba ewodos 23 noembris movl enebs?

dekl arirebul ad, es iyo **xaverdovani, usisxl o revol ucia:**

**"vardebis revol ucia"** ("24 saaTi", 24.11.2003); **"vardebiani, usisxl o da uekl o revol ucia"**, **"xaverdovani revol ucia"**, **"mSvi dobiani revol ucia"** ("rezonansi", 24.11.2003); **"revol ucia usisxl od"** ("axal i versia", 24.11.2003); **"vardebis revol ucia" uekl od"** ("kviris palitra", 24.11.2003); **"kul turul i revol ucia"** ("mTavari gazeTi", 24.11.2003)

sayuradReboa axal gazrda iuristTa asociaciis prezentis **Tina xi daSel is** formul ireba: "imas, rac dRes moxda, iuridiul da yvel a enaze hqvi a **usisxl o revol ucia.**" ("rezonansi", 24.11.2003)

presaSi aranakl ebi intensiobiT figurirebs aqcenti, rom am procesebs **"xaverdovnebis"** gansazRvreba ar miesadageba; es ufro gadatrial eba, anu xel isufl ebis Zal iT Secvl a iyo: gazeTi "jorjian Taimsi" am process saxel **mwi fo gadatrial** ebas uwodebs da aqcents akeTebss aSS-iS saxel **mwi fo** departamentis somxuri I obis dafinansebaze, roml is mizani a kavkasi aSi somxeTis qceva mesamexarisxovani saxel **mwi fodan** pirvel xarisxovnad. (27.11.2003). momdevno dReebSi amave gazeTSi Cndeba formul ireba \_ **samxedro gadatrial** eba, romel Sic aqturad monawil eobda uSi Sroebis iatakveSa razmi. ("jorjian Taimsi", 04.12.2003). gazeTis amave nomerSi pi arteqnol ogi dimi tri moni ava acxadebs, rom **axal i xel isufl eba**, jerjerobiT, ufro **virtual uria**, vidre "real uria", an "faqtobri vi". ("jorjian Taimsi", 04.12.2003) **saxel mwi fo gadatrial** eba, romel sac uamravi iuridiul i darRvevis gasamarTI ebl ad "revol ucia" ewoda, \_ aseT mosazrebas vxvdebiT gazeT "axal TaobaSi". ("axal i Taoba", 06.12.2003)

politikosTa Sefasebebi dan yvel aze radikal uria Sal va naTel aSvili; **"leiboristebis"** I ideri **"vardebis revol uciias"** xel isufl ebis uzurpaciad aRiqvams da aqcents akeTebss **sorosis rol ze**, gl obal istur Zal ebze, ruseTis teritorial interesze, baqo-j ei hanis navTobsadenze... ("dil is gazeTi", 26.11.2003); aseve mkveTria "aRorZinebis" warmomadgenel Ta Sefaseba; magal iTad, cotne bakurias azriT, es iyo **kancel ariaSi dagegmi** i **"revol ucia"**, Zvel i

SevardnaZis Secvl a "axal gazar da SevardnaZiT". ("jorjian Taimsi", 04.12.2003); qristianul -demokratiul i kavSiris I ideri vaja I ortqi fani Ze mi ani Snebs qveyanaSi **diktaturis damyarebis safrTxeze**. ("axal i Taoba", 26.11.2003)

aqve aRvn SnavT, rom aqcentebi "vardebis revol uciastan" **sorosisa** da "gl obal isturi Zal ebis" mimarTebaze kidev didxans vi Tardeboda presaSi. sanimuSod movi xmobT citatas yvel aze radikal uri mosazrebiT: "msofl io politikis istoriaSi pirvel ad moxda, rom saxel **mwifo iqca ara romel im Zi** ieri qveynis, aramed kerzo **piris** sakuTrebadi; sorosis mizania ara mxol od "axal i evropis" gegmis ganxorciel eba, anu aSS-is gavl enis gaZi iereba evraziaze, aramed merkantil uric \_ **saqarTvel os, rogorc satransporto derefnis yidva.**" ("axal i Taoba", 31.03.2004)

sakonstitucio sasamarTI os yofil i Tavmj domaris, iusticiis sabWos wevris, avTandil demetraSvi l is gansazRvrebiT, "qveyana **samarTI ebriv I abiri nTSi** imyofeba, sai danac gamosaval i Znel ad mosaZebni a, Tumca, Sesazi ebel i. am probl emis Tavi da Tavi imis gansazRvraa, ramdenad I egitimuria dRevandel i xel isufi eba... **nino burj anaZis mier saqarTvel os prezidentis** moval eobis **Semsrul ebl ad Tavis gamocxadeba**, rom arafeti vTqvAT imaze, rom prezidents Tavisi gadadgomis Sesaxeb gancxadeba gakeTebul i ar hqonda, **aral egitimuri iyo.**" (Jurnal i "sarke", 03.12.2003)

"amjerad **kidev arsebobs Sesazi ebl oba** qveyana da brundes konstituciur si vrces", \_ wers "dil is gazeTi" ("dil is gazeTi", 08.12.2003) da es mosazreba mediaSi gamonakl isi ar aris. es TavisTavad gul isxmobT, rom media erTgvarad aRi arebs arsebul i situaciis arakonstituciurobas, magram pirobi Tad i Rebs mas, rogorc postSevardnaZistul i periodis "aTvl is wertil s".

paral el urad, presaSi **domini rebs azri**, rom revol uciis **mTavari gmiri xal xi iyo**, rom **mTavari Sedegi iyo** sazogadoebis gaerTianeba, misi gaxl eCis **safrTxis** Tavidan acil eba. pirvel rigSi, am faqtors xazgasmiT aRni Snava Tavad "**mTavari revolucioneri**" mixeil saakaSvi l i: "...**mTavari gmiri arc saakaSvi l ia, arc SevardnaZe.** **mTavari gmiri xal xia, romel mac guSin sakuTari xel iT Seqmna istoria." ("24 saat", 24.11.2003) politol og kaxa kacitazis SefasebiT, "**qarTvel i eri Sedga...** procesebis **mTavari Semoqmedi Tavad qarTvel i eri iyo.**" ("**mTavari gazeTi**", 24.11.2003)**

istorikosebis SefasebiT (profesorebi: merab vaCnaZeEda vaxtang gurul i), xal xi gaaerTiana ara romel im pol itikuri figuris siyvarul ma, aramed uki duresma gaWi rvebam. es iyo SevardnaZis kraxi da ara is, rom yvel a erTad saakaSvi l s, Jvani as an burj anaZes gahyva. mni Svnel ovani a, rom yvel aferi

usisxl od damTavrda. erTi adami anis sisxl ic rom daRvri iyo, amas j allvuri reaqcia mohyveboda da samoqal aqo omSi gadavi Cexebodi T; mni Svnel ovani a, rom sazogadoeba erTi an darCa, radgan faqtobrivid dapi rispi neba iyo ara sazogadoebaSi, aramed xal xsa da xel isufl ebas Soris. ("mTavari gazeTi", 25.11.2003)

igive xal xis faqtoris gaTval iswinebiT, politologi soso cincazeEyuradRebas amaxvil ebs **xal xis totaluri ndobis transformacilis safrTxeze**, romelic, Sesazi oa, daemuqros axal xel isufl ebas, Tu man uaxl oes xanebSi ver moaxerxa maTTvis micemul i dapi rebebis Sesrul eba. ("rezonansi", 06.12.2003)

sagul isxmoa, rom gavl enian ucxour mediaSi ganvi Tarebul mosazrebaTa maval ferovnebis miuxedavad (romel sac, aseve, gvacnobs qarTul i presa), sabol oo jamSi, saqarTvel oSi momxdari procesebi dadebiTad Seafases da axal xel isufl ebas mxardawera gamoucxades evrokavSi rma da evroparl amentma, aSS-is saxel mwifo departamentma. Tumc, dipl omatiur komentarebsa da TavSekavebul SefasebebSi kvl av dominirebs aqcenti \_ rom saqarTvel os, momaval i arCevnebis samarTI ianad CatarebiT, i sev (ukve meored) eZI eva Sansi demokratiul qveynad Camoyal ibebisaTvis; samomavl od Sepirebul i ucxouri daxmarebebic am faqtorze iqneba damoki debul i. i seve rogorc qarTul i media, ucxouric maRal Sefasebas aZI evs revolucrii procesebis dros sazogadoebis aqturopisa da erTsul ovnebis faqtors.

2 noembris arCevnebamde saqarTvel oSi Camosul i matias iorSi acxadebda, rom TuUsaqarTvel o ar Caatarebs samarTI ian da demokratiul arCevnebs, Sesazi oa, saqarTvel o evrosabWodan garicxon Seusrul ebel i val debul ebebis gamo. 18 dekembers, saqarTvel oSi evrosabWos saparlamento del egaciis xel mZRvanel is rangSi myofma iorSma preskonferenciaze ganacxada, rom axal i xel isufl ebisaTvis evrosabWos winaSe aRebul i val debul ebebis Sesrul ebis moTxovna 2004 wl is Teberval Si (am dros iwureboda val debul ebebis Sesrul ebis vada \_ l.k.) usamarTI oba iqneba da axal xel isufl ebas evrosabWo nakisri val debul ebebis Sesrul ebas axal vadebSi mosTxovs.

amasTan, sayuradReboa matias iorSis gancxadeba momaval i sapreidento arCevnebis Taobaze, romelic, rogorc Cans, evrosabWos poziciiasac gamoxatavs: "saqarTvel oSi dagegmi i arCevnebi ar iqneba srul yofil i. iqneba bevri Secdoma da xarvezi, magram erTmaneTisagan unda ganvasxvavot xarvezi da gayal beba. mTavaria, rom saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebis ganzraxva aris mtkice \_ Catardes samarTI iani arCevnebi da yvel a damrRvei

da gamyal bebel i gamovl indes da daisaj os." ("mTavari gazeTi", 19.12.2003) anu, evrosabWom, faqtobri vad, mxari dauwira "vardebis revol uciis" Sedegad mosul xel isufl ebas da TiTqmis upirobod misca Sansi da erTgvari SeRavaTic revol uciuri procesis I egiti maciisa.

- postrevol uciuri/postSevardnaZistul i xel isufl ebis Sefaseba  
(presis aqcentebi)

mi uxedavad imisa, rom "vardebis revol uciis" Sedegad xel isufl ebaSi mosul "triumvirats" (mixeil saakaSvili, zurab Jvania, nino burj anaZe) i sev saxel isufl o partiis – "moqal aqeta kavSiris" wi aRidan pol itikur avanscenaze karga xnis damkvidrebul i personebi warmoadgendnen, revol uciurma eiforiam maT sxva Zal a da Saravandi SesZina, Tvisobri vad gansxvavebul i, vidre xel isufl ebaSi Cveul ebri vi "saarCevno rotaciis" gziT mosvl isas eqnebodaT.

axal i xel isufl ebis mimarT presa Semwynarebl uri gaxda. SesaZI oa imitom, rom am periodis Tvis man amowura "negatiuri resursi", romel ic Zvel i xel isufl ebis winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i da warmatebiT Seasrul a Tavisimisi a revol uciuri procesebisa Tvis xel sayrel i fonis Sesaqmnel ad; SesaZI oa imitomac, rom formirebis procesSi axal i xel isufl eba TavisTavad imsaxurebda taimauts; da al baT imitomac, rom sainformacio sivrcis Camoyal i beba da marTva saqarTvel oSi didwil adaa dakavSirebul i im pol itikur Zal astan, romel ic "vardebis revol uciis" Semdeg xel isufl ebaSi movida.

unda iTqvas, rom presa, pol itikuri speqtrisagan gansxvavebiT, postrevol uciur eiforiaSi ar aRmoCenil a da droul ad auRo al Ro pol itikur koni unqturas.

revol uciis Semdgom TiTqmis ar Secvl ill a qarTul i real obisa da, Sesabamisad, medi i stvis damaxasia Tebel i pol itizebisa da personifiki rebis tendencia; gansxvavebaa isaa, rom presis mTavari Tema – xel isufl ebidan SevardnaZis wasvl a, Secval a xel isufl ebaSi saakaSvili s mosvl is Temam.

faqtobri vad, 2003 wl is dekember sa da 2004 wl is i anvarSi i SviaTi a gazeTi personal urad mixeil saakaSvili sa da, saer Tod, axal i xel isufl ebis Taobaze mosazrebebis gareSe. Ziri Tadad presaSi dominirebs axal xel isufl ebasTan dakavSirebul i cvl il ebebis mol odini. erTgvari Sejerebul i daij esti naTel

warmodgenas qmnis postrevol uciuri xel isufl ebiS garSemo presaSi Seqmni I sainformacio fonze:

- "reformatorebi, rogorebic arian mi xeil saakaSvi l i, nino burj anaZeEda zurab Jvania, momaval i saqarTvel os imedi da amerikis SeerTebul i StatebisTvis kargi siaxl ea... dRes reformistul ad ganwyobil i iderebs aqvT Sansi, rom dasavl eTis daxmareba gacil ebiT ufro efekturad gamoiyenon." (erik mil eri, anal itikosi, aSS; "24 saaTi", 03.01.2004)
- "Cveni optimizmis safuZvel ia sami faktoris erTianoba, romel sac CvenSi dRemde ar hqonia adgil i. pirvel ia \_ xel isufl eba, romel ic saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis, qarTvel i erisa da qveynis interesebs dal cavs, misi damouki debi obis, ganviTarebi sa da ganmtkicebi saTvis ibrZol ebs; meore \_ qarTvel i xal xis neba \_ mxari dauWiros xel isufl ebas... mesame \_ saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba energiul ad gamoxatavs axl andel i xel isufl ebisa da saqarTvel os mxardaWeras. da amitomac unda davijeroT, rom 2004 wel i \_ axal i epoqis dasawyisi i qneba saqarTvel oSi." (dimi tri Svel iZe, istorikosi, "mTavari gazeTi", 05.01.2004)
- "saqarTvel oSi erTpartiul i demokratia damkvidrda. xel isufl ebiS yvel a Stos akontrol ebs erTi xel isufl eba da, rac samwuxaroa, arc apirebs am situaciis Secvl as, piriqiT, "revol uciuri xel isufl eba" cdil obs maqsimal urad mokl e vadebSi daniSnos axal i saparl amento arCevnebi, raTa... erTkl anuriakanonmdebli o xel isufl eba mi i Ros." ("axal i Taoba", 08.01.2004)
- "mosaxl eobis 96%-is mier arCeul mi Sas SeuZl ia Tu unda koncentraciul i banakebi gaxsnas, mai nc taSs daukraven, magram ramdenad demokratiul i da normal uria daSineba, terori da mokvl iT damuqreba ori dRis win arCeul i axal gazrda da "demokrati" prezidentisagan, Znel i saTqmeli a... guSin kanoniT j er argaprezidentebul i saakaSvi l i yovel gvari moridebis gareSeEdirektivas aZl evda iusticiis ministrs, rom cixeSi SesaZl o destabil izaciisas gamoeyenebi na iaraRi da moekl a patimrebi." ("axal i Taoba", 13.01.2004)
- "axal ma xel isufl ebam icis, rac unda gaakeTos da konkretul i programac gaaCnia... mi xeil saakaSvi l s ukve didi xani avicnob. is aSkarad Zal ian Wkiani, Semoqmedi adami ania... noembriS Semdeg man yvel aze Zal ian di di STabeWdi l eba moaxdina. mas kargad Camoyal ibebul i ideebi da xedva aqvs da kargad icis, ra unda. mas Zal ian kargi monacemebi aqvs da vusurverb warmatebebs, radgan misi warmatebebi pir dapir aris

dakavSi rebul i qarTvel i xal xis warmatebasTan." (in pasko, aSS-i s saxel mwifo mdivni s moadgi l e, "24 saaTi ", 15.01.2004)

- "ar vfiqrob, rom mixei l saakaSvi l i evropul i donis politikosia. ori Tvis ganmavl obaSi Sevi swavl e yvel a is interviu, romel ic man misca dasavl ur, rusul Tu qarTul medias. jerj erobiT misTvis gauwonasworebl oba sauKeTeso daxasi aTebaa. meqmneba warmodgena, rom es is pirovnebaa, romel ic gancxadebebs sakuTari ganwyobi l ebebi dan gamomdinare akeTebs... is, rom man moaxerxa aseTi saxis revol uci is moxdena, metyvel ebs, rom udaod niwieri pirovnebaa Zal ze specifiur sferosi." (andrei babicki, rusi Jurnal isti, "mTavari gazeTi ", 15.01.2004)
- "saakaSvi l i gamoyenebiTi xasiaTis politikosia... saakaSvi l Si marTI ac aris bevri ram amerikul i tipis politikosia \_ maT Soris popul izmis seriozul i dozac. politikur organi zaci asTanac arakl asi kuri midgoma aqvs \_ misi organi zacia saarCevnod aqtiumrobs da arasaarCevno periodSi minavl ebul ia. arCevnebis dros amotivtivebul i aktivi saxel isufi o strukturebSi midis, mere icxril eba \_ vinc ar moswons, daundobl ad iSorebs da Semdegi arCevnebisaTvis axal i aktivi Cndeba \_ es amerikul i midgomaa." (ivl iane xaindrava, politol ogi, "24 saaTi ", 16.01.2004)
- "saakaSvi l ma jer ki dev inauguraci amde daiwo sakuTari kl anis Camoyal ibeba, kl anis, romel ic ufro Sekrul ia da ufro vrcel i. SevardnaZis kl ani sul sami ode aTeul adami ans Tu aerTi anebda... saqarTvel om marTI ac imperatori aircia." ("axal i Taoba", 19.01.2004)
- "jer ukurTxebel i prezidentis pirvel i nabi j ebi sazogadoebaSi badebs ellws da arctu ise sasi amovno asociaci ebs warsul Tan... saakaSvi l i sagareo frontze Ti Tqmis iseTive gancxadebebs akeTebs, rogorc misi wi namorbedi ". ("axal i versia", 19.01.2004)
- "dasavl eTi saqarTvel os ndobas ucxadebs... saqarTvel os xel isufi ebi s axal i Taoba dasavl eTis produqtia ganaTI ebi s, msofl mxedvel obisa da mental i tetis mxriv." ("rezonansi ", 20.01.2004)
- "davosSi, sabol ood, mxol od saakaSvi l i Cavi da, roml is mi zani erTi a \_ msofl io sazogadoebaze axal i efektis moxdena da axal i ekonomi kuri daxmarebebisa da investici ebi s mozi dva... Tu saakaSvi l i Sveicari i dan inauguraci is aTvis axal i proeqtebiTa da Sesazi o investici ebi T xel clamSvenebul i Camova, es warmateba mxol od mis damsaxurebad Cai Tvl eba da, Sesabamisad, misi reitingi c erTi-orad gai zrdeba. es ki ,

mixeil saakaSvi i s "pi arSCI kebi s" azriT, mis mesianur warmomavl obas ki dev erTxel gausvams xazs." ("di l i s gazeTi", 21.01.2004)

- "j erj erobi T, Cven ar gadav sul varT postrevol uciur fazaSi, rodesac unda Sewydes Zal i s demonstrireba da xel i sufl eba kanonier da samarTI ebriv saqmianobas Seudges. amisaTvis pirvel rigSi saWiroa, mixeil saakaSvi ma Tavi igrZnos ara gamarj vebul i xal xis i iderad, aramed saqarTvel os presidentad. man unda gaacnobieros, rom igi srul iad saqarTvel os presidentia. maT Soris asl an abaSiZis prezidenticaris da eduard SevardnaZi sac." ("xval indel i dRe", 21.01.2004)
- "j orj sorosi mzad aris, qarTvel Cinovni kebs xel fasebi gadauxados. rogorc axal i xel i sufl eba ambobs, es kargia da waadgeba saqarTvel os korufciis aRmofxvraSi... ratom ar surs axal xel i sufl ebas aRiaros, rom sorosis ful i s gareSe i sini ver aamuSavebdnen marTvad arasamTavrobo organi zaci ebs \_ "Tavisufl ebis instituts", "axal gazrda iuristTa asociacias" da "kmaras"; rom sorosis gareSeE ver moi povebdnen seriozul gavl enas sainformacio saSual ebebze da verc revol uciias moawyobdnen. ar j obia saqarTvel om axl ave i codes, riTi unda gadauxados soross "si keTi saTvis?" ("axal i Taoba", 23.01.204)

rogorc vxedavT, yuradRebis centrSi mixeil saakaSvi ia da, revol uciuri ei foriis mi uxedavad, presaSi sakmaod kritikul i damoki debul ebac igrZnoba mis mimarT. paral el ebi Zvel xel i sufl ebasTan da aqcenti mixeil saakaSvi i s erTpironvul i mmarTvel obis safiTxeze, gazeT "al ias" publ i kaciaSi ("eduardis nakval evze") ufro Sors midis da aq ukve "diktatura" da "faSi zmi c" xsendeba: "guSi n tel ekompania "imedis" eTeriT saakaSvi ma pirvel ad aRiara, rom i s aravistTan ar apirebs ufl ebebis gayofas: "aranairi ufl ebebis gayofa ar iqneba. ubral od, moxdeba raRac funqciebis del egireba. xal xma me amircia da yvel a umTavresi saki Txil qveyanaSi prezidentma unda gadawyvit os. man Tavad unda gadawyvit os, ra aris mni Svnel ovani." demokrati i s saxel mZRvanel oSi aseTi ram ar weria. iq yvel aferi kanonis enaze xdeba. rogorc Cans Cveni axal i prezidentic ar apirebs demokratiul ad cxovrebas. aseTi fraza Tavis droze gamsaxurdiamac Tqva, misi reJimi "provincial faSi zmad" monaTI es; SevardnaZes si tyvebi T atraferi uTqvams, sul xal xis saxel iT I aparakobda, magram samagierod misi marTvis stil i moinaTI a diktaturad da Camoagdes." ("al i a", 10.01.2004)

mixeil saakaSvi i s saprezidento ufl ebamosi l ebi s Taobaze msj el obi sas politol ogi soso cincaZec i Svel iebs paral el ebs, oRondac gansxvavebul

konteqstSi: "5 i anvridan, faqturad, saqarTvel oSi Zal aSi Sedis Zvel i amerikul i sakonstitucio principi \_ xel isufl ebis yovel gadawyvetil ebaze erTpironvul ad pasuxs agebs prezidenti. am fuZemdebl ur principze, rogorc Cans, sxva azri gaañda rogorc pirvel , aseve meore prezidents. gamsaxurdia acxadebda, rom is pasuxs ar agebda "axal gazrda energetikosTa kavSiris" qmedebaze da "karvis qal ebze". avtomatur rejimSi ibanda xel s SevardnaZe, rogorc ki Jurnal istebi mis uaxl oes garemocvaze Camougdebdnen si tyvas." ("rezonansi", 09.01.2004) Zvel i romis, aSS-iS, britaneTis istoriul i anal ogebis moSvel iebiT, soso cincaZe anviTarebs mosazrebas, rom "**mixeil saakaSvili rigiT arCevnebSi gamarj vebul i prezidenti ar aris, is triumfatoria** am terminis srul i mniSvnel obiT." triumfatorebs ki Zal ze mZime j vris zidva uxdebodaT da arCTu i SviaTad, sul martos.

anal i tikoS ia anTaZiS mesij ebi, rogorc wesi, mediaSi SemTxveiT ar Cndeba. amj erad "axal versiaSi" gamoqveynebul i (da radio "Tavi sufl ebis" eTeriT gadacemul i) publ ikaciis saTauri \_ "**iracionaluri aqcentebis tradicia qarTul pol itikaSi**" ukve TavisTavad migvani Snebs mis mTavar aqcentebze:

- o oTx dekembers mixeil saakaSvili ma saprezidento saarCevno kampania **iracionaluri aqcentebiT daiwyo;**
- o saakaSvili i ar aris pirvel i qarTvel i pol itikosi, romel ic Tavis optimizms rel igiuri TariRebisa da pol itikuri movl enebis damTxvevas ukavSi rebs. eduard SevardnaZis meore saprezidento vadac swored **iracionaluri aqcentebiT da masTan dakavSi rebul i imedebiT daiwyo;**
- o maSin **iracionaluri wnexi aSkarad gamoyenebul i iqna pol itikur iaraRad,** raTa ubral o adamians protestis gareSe, marTI ac gardauval bediswerad mieRo qveyanaSi gamefebul i usamarTI oba da ganuki Txaoba; Cven vnaxeT, riTi dasrul da xel isufl ebisa da xal xis interesTa realuri konfl iqt;
- o I ogikuria, rom nebismieri xel isufal i, romel ic **racionalur pol itikas iracionaluri aqcentebiT Caanacvl ebs, damarcxdeba.**
- o es **gafrTxil eba amj erad ekuTvnis mixeil saakaSvili s, romiS momaval prezidentobasac saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba cvl il ebebis mol odiniT da imediT xvdeba.** (83)

axal xel isufl ebaze ufro konkretul i da sagnobrivi msj el obis (da kritikul isac!) sainformacio sababi presisaTvis gaxda **sakadro pol itika.** sakadro cl il ebebTan dakavSi rebiT presaSi Cndeba bol Sevi zmis asociaci ebi ,

paral el ebi Sevardnazi sakadro politikastan, Tval sazrisi, rom axal i xel isufi eba am mimarTul ebiT Zveli politikis memkvidrea. kadrebze msj el obisas, bevrgan figurirebs Tval sazrisi, rom es saki Txi "nacional ebi sa" da "demokratebis" dapi rispirebis sababi; gvxdeba mosazrebebi, rom kadrebis dani Svna naCqarevad xdeba, ar iyo auci l ebel i mni Svnel ovani sakadro cvl il ebebis ganxorciel eba prezidentis inauguraci amde; i qmneba STabeWdi l eba, rom gamarj vebul i Zal ebi erTmanetis daswrebas da sakuTari poziciebis gamyarebas cdl oben; kadrebis SerCeva xdeba ara profesional izmis da gamocdil ebis, aramed, revol uciuri damsaxurebis mixedviT da a.S.

"mTavari gazeTi" wers, rom "zurab Jvani am da mixeil saakaSvi l ma... saxel mwi fo Tanamdebobebi 50-50-ze gadainawi l es. gadanawi l eba moxda ise, rom rogorc Jvani as, aseve saakaSvi l s, aqvT urTi erT kontrol is saSual eba." ("mTavari gazeTi", 16.01.2004) aqve vki Txul obT \_ "es periodi Zal ze gvagonebs bol Sevi zmis pirvel etaps, roca yvel gan Tavisianebe gaamweses."

"axal i Taoba" i uwyeba, rom "nacional ebi sa" da "demokratebis" dapi rispireba sakadro politikis garSemo Sei Zi eba ki dev gamwawdes. droebi Ti mTavrobis mier warmoebul i sakadro politikiT ukmayofil o nacional ebma mixeil saakaSvi l s ul timatumic ki wauyenes. amj erad i sini finansTa ministris zurab noRai del i s wi naaRmdeg il aSqreben... am dReebSi noRai del Tan seriozul i uTanjmoeba mouvi da Tavdacvis saminstros erT-erT maRaL Ci nosans... rogorc amboben, im maRaL Ci nosans noRai del i saTvis aseTi ram uTqvams: "Sen Jvani as daval ebas asrul eb da xel fasebs special urad ar arigebe. da gindAT, rom xal xi saakaSvi l i s wi naaRmdeg ganawyOT." ("axal i Taoba", 03.01.2004)

"dil i s gazeTi" mkveTrad akritikebs "nacional ebi s" kadrebis, romi ebic SemdgomSi xel isufi ebis "Zal ovan" sayrednad iqcnen: "...prokuraturas nacinal ebSi yvel aze "uSi Sari" irakli oqruaSvi l i daepatroneba. marTal ia, moral ze l aparaki axl a moduri ar aris, magram saki Txavia, ramdenad aqvs mas general uri prokuroris postis dakavebis ufl eba maSin, roca mis mimarT orj er iyo saqme aRZrul i: erTi \_ ramdenime wl i s wi naT, roca i s advokati iyo da meore \_ axl axan: wi nasaarCevno periodSi gorSi momxdari incidentis dros mas da erT nacinal s yaCaRobaSi edebodaT bral i... rac Seexeba meore ufrO "saSiS kadr" \_ vano merabiSvi l s, jer erTi, igi iuristi ar aris, morec, mas ara aqvs Sesabamisi gamocdil eba... Cndebe ki Txva \_ ris mixedviT arCevs axal i xel isufi eba kadreb? ra Tqma unda, revol uci i s organizebaSi Setanil i wl il i s mixedviT. vano merabiSvi l i s dawinaureba am CarCoebSi c ar Tavsdeba,

radgan revol uciis dReebSi igi tribunaze arc gamoCenil a. ase rom, **sakadro qaoSi grZel deba.**" ("dil is gazeTi", 13.01.2004)

vano merabi Svi l i s SesaZl o maRaL Cinosnoba "axal i Taobis" gakvirvebasac i wvev: "... erTma gadawyvetil ebam pol itikuri speqtri, da ara marto i s, srul SokSi Caagdo. axal mTavrobastan daaxl oebul ma wyarom gaavrcel a informaci, rom deputati vano merabi Svi l i axl o momaval Si uSi Sroebis sabWos mdi vani gaxdeba." ("axal i Taoba", 14.01.2004)

i raki i oqruaSvi l i s mosal odnel zeobaze "mTavari gazeTi c" amaxvi l ebs yuradRebas: "oqruaSvi l i prokuraturaSi saakaSvi l i seul reformebs ganaxorciel ebs, rom i s mixedvi Tac prokuraturas funqciebi gaezrdeba da i s yvel a Zal ovante "zeorganos" funqci as Seasrul ebs"; "sazogadoebaSi mi Tqma-moTqmaa, "oqruaSvi l i Tu nebaze mi uSves, naxevari saqarTvel o ci xeSi aRmoCndebao." ("mTavari gazeTi", 16.01.2004; 17.01.2004)

"axal i Toba" aqcents akeTebs kadrebis gamoucdel obasa da umwi fr obaze: "ekonomiks ministrma ekonomika ar i cis"... 28 wl i s iraki i rexviaSvi l s, romel sac 14 wel ia saqarTvel oSi ar ucxovria, i mis gamo, rom sorosTan muSaobda, Tbil i sis aeroportSi Camosvl i s Tanave ministris portfel i gadasces"; "iustici i s saminstro sauKeTeso magal iTia i misa, Tu rogori Sei Zl eba aRmoCndes araprofesi onal Ta sabavSvo gundi. erT-erT sakvanzo Tanamdebobaze iustici i s ministrma zurab adei Svi l ma 21 wl i s biWi danis Sna. es biWi, aseve, naciona l uri moZraobi s aqtivistia... mesame presidentma ki dev ufro dawia asakobrivi cenzi da I amis ufroskl asel ebs Caabaros xel isufi eba." ("axal i Taoba", 18.01.2004; 19.01.2004)

"saqarTvel oSi axal i danis Svnebis mTavari tendencia i saa, rom parlamenti ministrobis kandi datebi sagan ar i Txovs programmebs, sadac mkafid i qneba Camoyal i bebul i, rogor unda gardaiqmnas esa Tu i s uwyeba... rCeba STabelldi l eba, rom axal i xel isufi eba sakuTari Tavisatvis maRaL i xarisxis garantiebs i Txovs, xal xisTvis ki dabali xarisxis garantiebsac sj erdeba. "vardebis revol uci as" aseTi gagrZel eba namdvil ad ar ekadreba", \_ askvi s gazeTi "axal i versia" sakadro politikaze msj el obis as. ("axal i versia", 26.01.2004)

#### • "triumvirati"

"triumvirati", "troika", "trio" \_ ase moi xseni eba mediaSi revol uciis gamarj vebul i sameul i. 23 noembris Semdgom dReebSi presa did yuradRebas uTmobs ni no burj anaZis, zurab Jvani asa da mi xei l saakaSvi l i s

urTierTmi mar Tebis, maT Soris Zal Ta Tanafardobis, pol itikur Zal Ta axal da momaval ganl agebaSi TiToeul i maTgani s funqci i sa da potenci i s Taobaze mosazrebebi sa da versiebi s ganvi Tarebas.

mi xei l saakaSvi l i \_ prezidenti, zurab Jvania \_ premier-ministri, nino burj anaZe \_ parl amentis Tavmj domare. funqciebi s amvar ganawi l ebas presa revol uci amde gaci l ebi T adre varaudobda; am sqemi s ganxorciel ebi s real uri perspektivis gaCenis Semdgom ki Ziri Tadi aqcenti gadadis maTi Sesazi ebl obebi s Sefasebaze. gamovyofT ramdenime tipi ur Sefasebas, erTmaneTi sagan diametral urad gansxvavebul mosazrebas da im Tval sazrisebs, romel ic, Cveni azri T, sayuradRebo mesij ebs Sei cavs.

fsiqol ogi, akademi kosi SoTa nadiraSvi l i ase afasebs zogadad I ideris faqtors da, konkretul ad, sami ve pol itikur personas:

"sazogadoebrivi azri zogj er aracnobi erad yal ibdeba da saWiroa, rom pol itikurma I iderebma zogj er Tavad Seqmnan da gamoxaton i s azri, rac sazogadoebas gaaCni a... Tu vinmem amis gakeTeba SeZl o, xal xi mas I iderad da gmirad Tvl i s.

nebisyofis Tval sazrisiT, saakaSvi l i saocrad Zi ieri pirovnebaa da aRmoCnda, rom intel eqtual uric aris...

saakaSvi l s gverds umSvenebs Jvania, romel ic Zal ian gamocdi l i pol itikosi a. Tu man kargi mi zani dai saxa, bevri kargis gakeTeba SeuZl ia.

qal i s gamoCena ki saswaul i iyo. nino burj anaZeETavisi kacuri intel eqti Ta da nebisyofi T simpaTi ebs imsaxurebs da rogorc qal i \_ gavl enas axdens. mere gaCnda asoci aciebi Tamar nefesTan, tetcerTan \_ es yvel aferi xel s uw yobda mis portrets. oponentebma masTan sabrzol vel ad araswori meTodebi aircies \_ rom is sxva wridan aris da a.S. susti argumentebi ki mowi naaRmdeges aZl ierebs...

swored qal ma gaanel a Jvani asa da saakaSvi l is farul i mtroba prezidentobisTvis. yovel Tvis Canda, rom burj anaZeE saakaSvi l s rol s dauTmobda, radgan saakaSvi l i amas imsaxurebda es erTmaneTi sadmi pativi scemas ni Snavs." ("24 saaTi ", 28.11.2003)

fsiqol og nodar sarj vel aZi s mosazrebi T, "sami ve udavod saintereso figuraa... maT didi pasuxi smgebl oba aqvT da didi istoriul i rol i SeuZl iaT Seasrul on. sami ve SevardnaZi s mowafea? arian da arc arian.

saakaSvi l ma, Tundac SevardnaZi s Cais dal evi T, kargad gaSifra, misi adgil i s dakaveba rom surda. bunebrivia, am Tval sazrisiT i s SevardnaZi s mowafea, Tumca, ufr o Tvi Tmyofadi.

Jvani a aSkarad yvel aze niWieri moswavl ea. is kargad gamoi wvr Tna, yvel aze ukeT Sei Tvi sa SevardnaZis nabij ebi. Jvani a namdvil i pol i tiko sia, SevardnaZis msgavsad, pol i tiku ri intrigebis specia l isti. SemTxvevi Ti ar aris, parl amentSi saakaSvi l i rom Sevi da da ara Jvani a.

rac Seexeba **burj anaZes**, man seriozul i principul oba gamoi Cina bol o dros.

unda vaRiaro, rom es sameul i dRevandel pol i tiku r speqtrSi yvel as **sj obs.**" ("mTavari gazeTi", 05.12.2003)

"j orj ian Tai msi" saakaSvi l s, Jvani asa da burj anaZes "xel i sufl ebaSi Zal iT, agresi iTa da amerikul -rusul -somxuri pol i tiku ri kapi tal iT mosul pol i tiku r tyupebsa" da "ocdameerTe saukuni s orj oniki Zeebs" uwodebs da maT mni Svnel obas aseTi Tanmi mdevrobi T al agebs: "pol i tiku ri cxvris faris saTaveSi Jvani a dgas, Semdeg modis **burj anaZe** da, bol os, xel i sufl ebi s Zal adobrivi damxobi s real uri avtori mixeil **saakaSvi l i.**" ("j orj ian Tai msi", 27.11.2003)

presis publ i kaci ebSi, pi r dapi r Tu mni Snebi T, figurirebs Tval sazrisi, rom I iderebis pirovnul i ambicia (aq, umTavresad, Jvani a-saakaSvi l s gul i sxmoben) feTqebadsaSi Si muxtis matarebel ia da Zal aufl ebi s gadanawi l ebi saTvis brZol a, Sesazl oa, iqces gamarj vebul i Zal i s ganxeTqil ebi s faqtorad. amasTan, presaSi yuradReba maxvil deba I iderebis pasuxi smgebl obis da pol i tiku ri Segnebi s faqtorze, romel mac unda gaanei tral os es safr Txe:

"bevri el oda, rom revol uci is mogebis Semdeg opozici i s erTianobas safr Txe daemuqreboda, I iderebis pirovnul ambici ebze maRI a dgoma gauWi rdebodaT. magram, rogorc aRmo lnda, opozici am am meore gamocdasac gauZl o da funciebi s ganawi l eba umtkivneul od moxerexda \_ yovel SemTxvevaSi, garegnul ad mainc. is, rom opozici am am SemTxvevaSi c Sei narCuna erTianoba, mi uTi Tebs imaze, rom I iderebi, pol i tiku ri simwi fis Tval sazrisiT, ufro gai zardnen da, jerjerobi T mainc, acnobi ereben im pasuxi smgebl obas, romel ic xal xis wi naSe ai Res." ("24 saaTi", 27.11.2003)

saprezi dento arCevnebi s Semdeg nino burj anaZeEer Tgvarad medi i s Crdi l Si moeqca, mi uxedavad imisa, rom inauguraci amde igi kvl av asrul ebda prezidentis moval eobas. pirvel i "ceremoni ul i triumphis" Semdeg, marTal ia igi kvl av xvdeba Zal i an bevr maRal i rangis ucxoel stumars da es Sexvedrebi a i saxeba presaSi (gansakuTrebi T, "saqar Tvel os respubli kaSi"), magram misi personis mi mart interes i aSkarad Senel da. soci ol ogiuri samsaxuri s "ai-fi-

emis" xel mZRvanel i goCa cqi tisvili aRni Snavs, rom arCevnebis wina periodTan Sedarebi T, **burj anaZis reitingma daiwia**. ("al ia", 20.01.2004). yuradRebas iqcevs isic, rom mixeil saakaSvili nino burj anaZes xazgasmul i famili arobiTa da Ti Tqos agdebi Tac moi xseni ebs – "nino mopl akunebda!" ("vardebis revol uciis" dRes), "**nino kargi gogoa**" da a.S.)

nino burj anaZis personaze kvl av amaxvil ebs yuradRebas ucxouri media (gansakuTrebiT, rusul i) da, Sesabamisad, es momenti qarTul presaSi cai saxeba. ruseTis tel eviziam ( ) **nino burj anaZe 2003 wl is mTavar adamianTa Soris daasaxel a;** saqarTvel oSi mas "**rkinis ninos**" uwodebeno – aRni Sna sainformacio programis wamyvanma (Tumc, es termini 23 noembri Semdgom qarTul presaSi swored rusul i mediis masal ebiT momzadebul publ ikaci ebsi figurirebs, – l. k.) da paral el i **Tamar mfeſtan** gaavl o. ("kviris pal itra", 05.01.2004) "**mTavari gazeTiſatvis**" micemul interviusi, cnobil i rusi Jurnal isti andrei babicki, **nino burj anaZes** revol ucionerTa Soris yvel aze gawonasworebul **pol i tikoſs uwodebs** da aRni Snavs, rom es evropul i donis pol i tikosis Tvis sebaa. ("**mTavari gazeTi**", 15.01.2004)

72 dRiani saprezidento misiis dasrul ebis sababiT nino burj anaZe cotaxni T i sev aRmoCnda mediis yuradRebis centrSi. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas misi personisadmi amjeradac (da saer Todac!) "**mTavari gazeTi**" i Cens; magal iTad, gazeTis 17 i anvris nomris mTavari Tema nino burj anaZis personaa. misdami mZRvnili ramdenime publ ikaciaSi aseTi aqcentebi ikveTeba:

nino burj anaZe erTaderTi qal ia, romel mac mtkiced daimkvidra adgil i qarTul pol i tikaSi; **sazRvargareT**, maT Soris ruseTSic, mas yovel Tvis gul Riad i Rebdnen. pirovnul Rirsebebs, mis mimarT ndobis faqtors, ganaTI ebil i da simpaTiuri qal is imijic emateboda; burj anaZes xel i sufl ebaSi SevardnaZis memkvidredac gani xil avdnen; **burj anaZis imij ma mosaxl eobaSi warmateba moutana zurab Jvani as gunds**; vardebis revol uciis dros, sakuTari kavSi rebiT ucxoeTsa Tu qveynis Signi T, parl amentis Tavmj domaris statusiT, burj anaZe **mnisvnel ovnad exmareboda revol ucionerebs**; 23 noembers burj anaZes qveynis da procesebis marTvaze pasuxi smgebl obis aReba mouwia; legitimaciis ukmari sobis vi TarebaSi man, TanamoazreebTan erTad, Tavi gaarTva probl emebis met-nakl ebad mogvarebas da, Sei ZI eba i Tqvas, **gamocda Caabara**; pol i tikoſta prognозiT, prezident SevardnaZis epoqaSi misi erT-erTi realuri Semcvl el i saakaSvili **mmarTvel obis drosac darceba prezidentobis potenciur kandi datad.** ("**mTavari gazeTi**", 17.01.2004)

"saqarTvel om da msofl iomac, qal batoni nino, rogorc prezidenti, mi iRo da moiwona ki dec. sazRvargareT mas "qarTvel i rkinis I edic" uwodes", \_ aRni Snavs "dil is gazeTi". amave publ i kaci aSi gvxvdeba "sarwmuno wyaros" informacia, rom nino burj anaZeEser i ozul ad emzadeba (dRes Tu ara, xval mainc) Tavisi gundis Sesaqmnel ad. ("dil is gazeTi", 20.01.2004)

"pol itikur samais" Soris arsebul i daZabul obisa da momaval i dapi rispi rebis Tema presaSi, Ziri Tadad, saakaSvi l i-Jvani as urTierTmi mar Tebis fonze vi Tardeba, magram aqa-iq personal urad burj anaZec xsendeba; "j orj ian Taimsi" wers, rom saakaSvi l is samomavl o mizani iqneba **Tavi dan moi ci l os "intrigebSi gawrTvnill i Jvania da burj anaZe."** ("j orj ian Taimsi", 08.01.2004)

saxel isufl o l iderTa revol uciuri sameul is mesame wevris \_ **zurab Jvani as** persona postrevol uciuri periodis presaSi uSual od aris dakavSi rebul i sakadro pol itikis, mosal odnel i sakonstitucio cvl il ebebis, anu, premier-ministris postis SemoRebis, aseve, pol itikur sameul s Soris mosal odnel i uTanxmoebisa da Zal aufl ebis ganawi l ebis TemebTan. aqve unda aRvni SnoT, rom "vardebis revol uciis" momdevno TveebSi, i seve rogorc nino burj anaZis, **zurab Jvani as personis mimar Tac interesи presaSi sagrZnobl ad Senel da** (Tu ar CavTvl iT gazeT "j orj ian Taimss", romelic far Tod anSI agirebul skandal ur publ i kaciebs uZRvnis Jvani as personas).

**zurab Jvani as popul arobi s kl ebas pol itol ogi ivl iane xaindrava ase xsnis:** **Jvani asadmi ndobi s xarisxi pol itikur da arasamTavrobo wreebSi daeca da i sini amaSi damnaSave ar arian \_ iyo dro, roca am wreebSi Jvani as di di mxardalWera hqonda, magram man, garkveul wil ad, ver gaamarTI a; 1995 wl is meore naxevari da momdevno ori wel i pozitiuri dinamikis wl ebi iyo; maSin axal gazar da reformatorad wodebul i jgufis l ideri Jvania iyo, misi xel mZRvanel obiT parl amenti nayofierad muSaobda; magram man ver SeZl o aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebi saTvis gadamwyveti brZol is gamarTva \_ Tu moi gebdnen, xom kargi, Tu arada, wagebis SemTxvevaSi maTi saxiT progresul i Zal ebis konsol i dici i centri Seiqm neboda; **Jvani am Sevardnazi s orbi taze moZraoba arcia;** man, arsebi Tad, im periodSi dai wyo moedni s mosufTaveba imi satvis, rom 2005 wel s prezidentobi s ual ternativo kandi dati yofil iyo; es misi strategiul i Secdoma iyo; man dakarga ndobac da pol itikuri mokavSi reebi c. ("24 saaTi ", 16.01.2004)**

nni Svnel ovan saxel isufl o postebze Jvani a-saakaSvi l is kadrebi s ganTavsebaze msj el obi sas presaSi, erTis mxriv, gvxvdeba mosazreba, rom Jvani as ufro di di sakadro resursi aqvs; meores mxriv, aris am tipis

Tval sazrisic \_ revol uciis mTel i simZime "nacional ebma" ai Res Tavis Tavze, dabal i reitingis Jvani a ki qveynis meore piri xdeba da Tavis i kadrebiT akompl eqtebs xel i sufl ebas.

rogorc aRvn SNeT, zurab Jvani a "j orj i an Taimsi" sagangebo yuradRebis obieqtia, oRondac, skandal ur konteqstSi; Jvani a figurirebs, rogorc "zviad gamsaxurdias xel i sufl ebis damxobis aqturi monawili e, roml is mier umZimesi danaSaul is Cadenis faqts mowmeebi adastureben"; rogorc baqo-j ei hani s proeqtis farul i da aqturi mowi naaRmdege, mezobel i qveynis interesebis sasargebl od. ("j orj i an Taimsi", 08.15.22.2004)

saxal xo frontis Tavmj domare nodar naTaZeEzurab Jvani a korufciul i qmedebebis Tanamonawili ed da Tanaorganizatorad mi iCnevs da darwmunebul ia, rom amis gamo dai xureba korufciasTan dakavSi rebul i yvel a real uri saqme, romel ic prokuraturaSi Seva. ("axal i Taoba", 20.01.2004)

- aWaris movl enebi \_ "vardebis revol uciis" I ogikuri gagrzel eba

"vardebis revol uciis" Sedegebis Sefasebisas, revol uciis wl i sTavze da Semdgomac, axal i xel i sufl ebis mTavar warmatebad mi iCneva aWaris faqtobrivi dabruneba saqarTvel os konstituciur sivrcesi. Cveni azriT, amas gacil ebiT ufro mniSvnel ovani Sedegi mohyva \_ aWaris dabruneba ara mxol od konstituciur, aramed erTi ari saxel mwi fo cnobierebis vel Si.

axl a, roca 2008 wl i agvistos movl enebis Semdeg afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis dabruneba saqarTvel os saxel mwi foebrev sivrcesi ufro daSorda real obas, vidre es Tundac "vardebis revol uciis" Semdgomi perspektiviT i saxe boda, aWarasi ganvi Tarebul i procesebis mediareetrospektiva da anal i zi ufro sayuradRebo xdeba. mi T ufro, rom am Temis asaxva presaSi, jerj erobiT, araa Seswavl il i da gaanal izebul i. Tanac, droismieri distancirebis Semdeg i se moCans, TiTqos yvel aferi erTi xel i sTavze mogvarda. presaSi asaxul i vi Tareba ki gvi Cvenebs, rom es procesi rTul i saSinao da sagareo peripetiebis Tanxl ebiT mimi dinareobda. amdenad, saWirod CavTval eT ufro vrci ad warmogvedgina aWarasi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis medi asuraTi.

"vardebis revol uciis" dReebSi ve da revol uciis Semdgom, aWaris Tema i sev gaxda is "mTavari safrTxobel a", romel sac qarTul politikaSi damkvi drebul i tradi ciT, xel i sufl eba momgebi anad i yenebda rTul si tuaci ebSi manipul irebisa da movl enaTa simZimis centridan yuradRebis

"sxvagan" gadatani saTvis. centrsa da regions Soris bunebrivad arsebul i probl emebis gamwvaveba orive mxarisTvis xel sayrel situacias qmni da saTanado sazogadoebrivi azris Sesaqmnel ad.

"aWaris avtonomias da central ur xel isufl ebas Soris wi naaRmdegobrivi, xandaxan ki metad mwave urTierToba qarTul i saxel mwi foebri obisa da demokratiis erT-erTi mwave probl emaa, \_ wers daviT darciaSvi i narkvevSi "saqarTvel os dedaqal aqi da regi onebi" (naSromi Sesrul ebul ia saqarTvel oSi demokratiul i mSenebl obis ZiriTadi tendenciebis Semaj amebel i saeqsperto proeqtis fargl ebSi, \_ l.k.), \_ es wi naaRmdegobebi separatizmis kval ifikaci as namdvil ad ar imsaxurebs. saami sod mas mTavari komponenti - nacion al izmi akl ia. dapi rispireba mmartvel i el itebis donezea, mas ar axl avs sazogadoebis mobilizacia eTnikuri an konfesiuri ideebis doneze. magram i sic aSkaraa, rom aWara ar erideba saqarTvel os konstituci asTan wi naaRmdegobaSi Sesvi as." (16, 18)

mi uxedavad imisa, rom aWarasTan mimarTebaSi presaSi gvxvdeboda termini \_ "separatistul i regioni" an \_ "aWarul i separatizmi", bunebrivia, igi ar iyo afxazuri da osuri separatizmis tol fasi viTarebis gamomxatvel i. Tumc, samive am regionis xel isufl ebas aerTianebda ruseTTan mimarTebis faqtori. rogorc daviT darciaSvi ic aRniSnvs zemoT damowmebul naSromSi, "aWaris avtonomiis I ideri xazgasmiT ruseTis erTgul ia, ritac aSkarad upirispireba Tbilisis prodasavl ur kurss." (16, 81)

aWaris Temis dominireba presaSi ar Semoi fargl eba mxol od operatiul i sainformacio sababebiTa da arsebul i viTarebis analiziT; publikaci ebsi ikveTeba bol o wl ebSi centrsa da regions Soris urTierTobis Camoyal i bebis procesi da Sedegad miRebul i model i, romelic fons qmnis aWarasi ganvi Tarebul i movl enebis I ogikuri axsnisTvis:

pirvel i konflikti prezident zviad gamsaxurdi asa da mis mierve dani Snul asl an abaSiZes Soris 1991 wl isTvis warmoi qmna. maSin xel isufl eba Tbilissa da baTumSi erTnairad myife iyo da rom ara 1991-1992 wl ebsi cnobil i movl enebi, SesaZI oa, abaSiZis mmartvel obas seriozul i probl emebi Seqmnoda;

1992-1995 wl ebSi afxazeTSi damarcxebul da dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi gamsaxurdi as momxreebTan mebrZol xel isufl ebas abaSiZisTvis aRar ecal a da swored am periodSi moi pova man absol uturi Zal aufl eba aWaraSi;

saqarTvel os Zvel i xel isufl eba, i seve rogorc axl andel i, dainteresebul i iyo gaekontrol ebina baTumis porti da sarfis sabaJo, anu

abaSiZis xel i sufl ebisa da siZi ieris mTavari sayrdeni. amistvis iribi zewol is formebs mimarTes (magal iTad, prioritetis mi ni Weba foTis portisTvis), magram amgvar formebs aWaris xel i sufl eba mai ncadamainc ar dauzaral ebia; ami tomac, **Tbil issa da baTums Soris urTierTobam pol i tiki** TamaSis saxe miRo; prezidenti SevardnaZe jer abaSiZis xel i sufl ebas da "aRorZinebas" abal ansebda "moqavSi rel i" reformatorebiT, Semdgom ukve "aRorZinebiT" abal ansebda opozici aSi gadasul Tanagundel ebs;

"vardebis revol uci i sas" abaSiZis "desantma" ver gadaarcina central uri xel i sufl eba, samagierod, amgvarma aqtu robam da aWaraSi arsebul i viTarebis Senarcunebis amocanam gaaRrmava konfl iqtis centrsa da regions Soris; ufro metic, faqtobrivid, man miRo saxel mwifos ganviTarebis or SesaZi o mimarTul ebas Soris msofl mxedvel obrivi konfl iqtis xasiaTi.

"Col oqis incidentma saxel i daa rqa wl ebs manZiI ze Camoyal i bebul probl emas da naTel yo, rom "SeuZi ebel ia adami anebi cxovrobdnen erT saxel mwifosi da erTdroul ad ori sxvadasxva sistemi pirobebSi". ("24 saaTi", 19.03.2004)

aWara erTgvari testi gaxda, romel mac gamoamJRvna: saqarTvel os axal i xel i sufl ebis ZI ieri da susti mxareebi, rogorc sagareo, i se saSinao frontze; farul i da afiSi rebul i Si da brZol ebi Tu sagareo konfrontacia; sazogadoebis erTsul ovnebi sa da saerTaSoriso mxardaweris faqtori. SevecdebiT Tanmi mdevrul ad ganvixi l oT aWaraSTan dakavSi rebul i da aWaraSi ganviTarebul i procesebi. pirvel rigSi, SevexebiT orive mxaris \_ centrisa da regions, ufro konkretul ad, mi xeil saakaSvi l i sa da asl an abaSiZis pozicias, motivacias, urTierTmi marTebas.

asl an abaSiZis damoki debul eba "vardebis revol uci i sas", eduard SevardnaZisa da axal i xel i sufl ebis mimarT presis publ i kaciebSi zogadad ase yal i bdeba:

aSS-m eduard SevardnaZeEaiZul a gadamdgariyo da saqarTvel os xel i sufl ebaSi "demokratebi" moi yvana; saqarTvel oSi ruseTisa da aSS-is interesebi erTmaneTs Seej axa; amaSi SevardnaZea damnaSave, radgan mas rom erTi politikuri xazi gaetarebina, Tavis adgiI ze darCeboda; saqarTvel os yofil i prezidentis aTwl i anma TamaSma qveyana saval al o Sedegebamde mi iyvana; saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba mal e gamofxizl deba; es axal i rejimi ufro swrafad da uaresad dasrul deba, vidre wi na.

amasTan, presaSi Cndeba "mesij i aWaridan" \_ rom asl an abaSi Zi saTvi s axal i xel isufi ebidan yvel aze kompromisul i varianti zurab Jvani asTan mol aparakebaa, mixeil saakaSvi l is "pol itikuri ena" ki "aRorZinebas" ar esmis.

jer ki dev saprezidento arCevnebis wina dReebSi mi xeil saakaSvi l ma mkafi od gamoxata Tavisi pozicia aWaris mimarT: me ar davuSveb, rom saqarTvel oSi iyoS ori mTavarsardal i; me mzad var wavi de daTmobaze, magram daTmoba ar moxdeba saxel mwi foebriobis xarj ze. ("axal i Taoba", 03.01.2004); xol o safrangeTSi vizitad myofi mixeil saakaSvi l is gancxadeba (qarTul diaspriasTan Sexvedrisas) imis Taobaze, rom igi ver moiTmens "feodal ebi s ukmayofili o burtyuns" da aWarasi srul i kontrol is damyarebas apirebs (xval indel i dRe, 10.03.2004), mkafio "mesij i" iyo ara mxol od asl an abaSi Zi da aWarisaTvis, aramed, afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis separatistul i xel isufi ebi sTvi sac.

"vardebis revol uci is" Semdgom asl an abaSi Zis dauyovnebl iv vizits ruseTSi da mis gasaiduml oebul Sexvedrebs afxazeTisa da e.w. samxreT oseTis separatistul xel mZRvanel obasTan, mediaSi Ziri Tadar orgvari tipis gamoxmaureba mohya: erTi \_ rom es aris ruseTis Sorsgami znul i scenaris nawi l i \_ saqarTvel odan aWaris CamoSorebis mcdel oba da, sabol oo j amSi, saqarTvel os danawevreba; meore \_ ruseTis faqtors asl an abaSi Ze iyenebsE "savaWro Temad", rom avtonomiis Signi Tac Seqmnas Sesabamisi ganwyoba da centrisa da saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis winaSec moaxdinos Tavisi Sesazi ebl obebis demonstrireba. am vizits maSinve mohya pirvel i Sedegi \_ 2004 wl is 9 dekembers, ruseTis federaciam aWaris avtonomiuri respubliki s mxovrebTaTvis cal mxrivi gadawyvetil ebi T aamoqmeda savi zo mimosvl is gamartivebul i reJimi.

"vardebis revol uci is" Semdeg, pirvel rigSi, gamoi kveTa konkretul i problema \_ momaval saprezidento da saparl amento arCevnebTan aWaris mimarTeba. presaSi ikveTeba mosazreba, rom Tu arCevnebSi aWara monawi l eobas ar mi i Rebs, maSin arCevnebi kanongareSea. asl an abaSi Zem scada arCevnebis Tema maqsimal urad gamoeyenebi na manipuli rebisa da manevrirebi sTvis. erTis mxrivi, igi acxadebda, rom axal xel isufi ebas legitimurad ar Tvi l is da maT ar eqvemdebareba; meores mxrivi, presis versi iT, abaSi Ze satel efono saubarSi Jvani as gaurigda, rom aWaris mosaxl eoba saprezidento arCevnebSi monawi l eobas im SemTxvevaSi mi i Rebs, Tu saparl amento arCevnebi gazafxul i sTvis gadai deba. mogvianebiT, hei dar al i evis dakrZal vaze baqoSi myofma asl an abaSi Zem ganacxada, rom boikots ucxadebs arCevnebs. ukanknel

wuTebSi igi erTgvar demonstraciul kompromisze wavid, roca sapreidento arCevnebis boikotireba gadafiqra da saarCevno ubanze gamoxadda.

ramdenime dRis Semdeg moskovSi asl an abaSiZis morigi vizi ti presaSi Sefasda, rogorc sakuTari **xel isufl ebis** gadarcenis mcdel oba. ruseTis dedaqal aqi dan gacxadebul i abaSiZis pozicia ufro mkveTri da Tamami iyo: misi gancxadebi T, **saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl eba cdil obs social ur-ekonomikuri probl emebid dan xal xis yuradRebis gadatanas aWaris regionze.** asl an abaSiZe Seqmni l si tuacias 1992 wl is identurs uwodebs. sagul isxmoa misi miniSneba **yarsis xel Sekrul ebaze**, "roml is Tanaxmadac, saqarTvel osa da aWaras Soris arsebul i yvel a winaaRmdegoba aWaris parlamentis gadawyetyl ebis Tanaxmad unda mogvades." ("mTavari gazeTi", 16.01.2004)

amasTan, presis varaudi T, asl an abaSiZe angariSS uwevs im faqtors, rom misi yofna-aryofnis saki Txi, **saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis garda**, moskovsa da vaSingtons Soris konsul taciebzecaa damoki debul i; amitom igi uk an dasaxev gzasac itovebs da acxadebs, rom aWara aucil ebl ad mi Rebs monawil eobas 28 martis arCevnebSi, vi nai dan aWara saqarTvel os ganuyofel i nawil ia.

presaSi, aseve, vxvdebi T mosazrebas, rom asl an abaSiZem al Ro auRo j er SevardnaZis, Semdeg saakaSvi l is mmartvel obas; igi aravis gul istvis arapi rebs centrTan urTierTobis gafuWebas \_ akaki CxaiZesac Tmobs da l evan mamal aZesac. ("al ia", 17.01.2004)

paral el urad, presis publ i kaciebSi (saTaurebSi c!) Cndebea miniSneba aWaraSi revoluuciuri sul iskvetebis gaCenisa da "revoluuciSi gadazrdi" safrTxeze: "**aWaraSi mini revolucia mwifdeba**", "**aWaraSi erTi wiTel i vardi ukve Segdebul ia**", "**vardebis revoluici esporti baTumSi**", "**baTumis universitetis kedl ebze warwera \_ "kmara" gaCnda**" da a.S. presaSi gaCnda publ i kaciebSi, roml ebSi c aWaris warmomadgenl ebi (Ziri Tadad, erTi da i give pirovnebebi) gmoben asl an abaSiZis qmedebebs. amgvar ganwyobas intel igenci is saxel iT axmovaneben aWaris universitetis profesorebi mi xeil maxaraZe da nugzar mgel aZe.

mi xeil maxaraZe: "**aWaris mosaxl eoba Zal ian saRad azrovnebs, i sini ar CaerTvenen ZmaTmkvl el omSi, roml iskenac abaSiZe ubi Zgebda, maT eSini aT Tavisufal i azris gamoxatvis... abaSiZeExel isufl ebis SesanaCunebl ad sisxl isRvrasac ar moeri deba.**" ("axal i Taoba", 13.12.2003)

nugzar mgel aZe: "...misi es nabij ebi Cveni kuTxis gankerZoebi saken mimaval i gegmis nawil ia... marTal ia, xal xi aq xmas ar i Rebs, magram vici, rom sazogadoebis didi nawil i am politikur svlebs, romel sac "**aRorZineba**"

axorciel ebs, mxars ar uwers... im gzas, romel zedac abaSi Ze axl a saubrobs, SeuZI ebel ia qarTul i cnobi erebis adami anma mxari dauWiros." ("axal i versia", 15.12.2003)

2004 wl is sapreidento arCevnebis Semdeg **aWaraSi** mosal odnel i revol uciuri cvl ii ebebis aqcenti presaSi ki dev ufro gaZl ierda: "saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl ebis mTavari pol itikuri "Setyobineba" ukve ase JRers \_ "kmara asl an abaSiZis parpaSi!" ("mTavari gazeTi", 08.01.2004); "**aWaris** sofi ebSi xel isufl ebaze Setevistvis emzadebian" ("dil is gazeTi", 13.01.204); "abaSiZe da misi reJimi atavizmia" ("24 saaTi", 16.01.2004); "yinul i daiZra" da aWaraSi opoziciuri sociumi amoZravda" ("dil is gazeTi", 16.01.204); "revol ucia dinj ad, magram saocrad droul ad miiwevs aWarisaken." ("xval indel i dRe", 22.01.2004)

aWaris Taobaze pol itol ogebis, politikosebis, fsiqol ogebis da a.S mosazrebebSi gvxddeba am Temisadmi **frTxil i damoki debul** eba: rom, SesaZI oa, aWaraSi "kmaras" gaaqtireba naadrevi iyo, iq jer amisaTvis niadagi ar aris Semzadebul i; rom "vardebis revol ucia", Tbilisi sagan gansxvavebi T, aWaraSi ufro dramatul ad ganvi Tardeba; rom **axal xel isufl** ebis aWarisT ar unda daewyo, radgan amas gamoZaxili mohyveba soxumSi; aWaris probl ema afxazeTis probl emis Semdeg unda mogvades.

sapreidento arCevnebis Semdeg presam ukve asl an abaSiZis SesaZI o Semcvl el ze daiwyo msj el oba. presaSi gaCnda mesij ebi: "**aWarul ma saki Txma**" "nacional ebsa" da "**demokratebs**" Soris arsebul i bzari gamoacina"; "Jvani asa da saakaSvi i s gundebs Soris, aWaris I ideris savarZi is sababi T, skandal i mwi fdeba"; "Jvani a surmani Zes abaSiZis adgil isTvis amzadebs" da a.S. "**aWaraSi** sazogadoeba ukve samad aris gaxl ecili i \_ asl an abaSiZis, davi T berZeni Svi i sa da edvard surmaniZis mxardamWerebi", \_ wers "xval indel i dRe" ("xval indel i dRe", 27.01.2004) ufro zusti iqneba Tu vi tyvit, rom \_ oTxad, vinai dan edvard surmaniZis xel mZRvanel obiT Camoyal i bebul i axal i organizacia "**demokratiul i aWara**" (zurab Jvani as Tanadgomi T), faqtobrivid, daupiri spinda revol uciuri xel isufl ebis miier "nacional ebs" rezerviT Seqmnili moZraobas \_ "**Cveni aWara**", romel ic mxars uWerda aWaris SesaZI o I ideris ki dev erT kandidats, fotis portis xel mZRvanel s, j emal inaSvi s.

gacil ebiT ufro farul i da saxifaTo dapi rispi reba gamoamJRavna e.w. "Col oqis incidentma"; rogorc "al ia" aRni Snavda, "**Col oqi simbol urad amerika-ruseTis samxedro dapi rispi rebis pol i goni**" gaxda. ("al ia", 18.03.2004). presis publikaciebis mixedvi T, es fraza ar aris mxol od Jurnal isturi

ganwyoba da arc aWara iyo mxol od simbol uri pol ighoni. Col oqTan Seqmni i eqstremaluri situacia (specrazmTan erTad aWarisken mimaval saqarTvel os prezidents aWaris sazRvarTan, Col oqTan, Caxergil i gza da abaSiZis Seiararebul i momxreebi gadaeRobnen), erTis mxriv, mosal odnel ic iyo, magram, meore mxriv, erTgvarad daCqarebul i, fataluri Sedegis didi al baTobiT.

presaSi bunebrivad gaCnda ki Txvebi: **xom ar iyo es seriozuli** i SeTqmuli eba mi xeil saakaSvi l is winaaRmdeg; prezidentis CixSi Seyvani s, qveyni s SigniT Tu gareT misi diskreditaciis mcdel oba; vin urcia prezidents aWaraze forsi rebul i Seteva; aWaris ekonomikuri bl okada (anu TviTbl okada) xom ar iyo provocirebul i trasekas proeqtisa da saqarTvel os politikuri imijisTvis safRTxis Sesaqmnel ad.

am ki Txvebze pasuxebis gacemas isev presa cdi l obs. ikveTeba ramdenime mosazreba: **prezidenti SecdomaSi Seiyvanes araswori informaciebiT**; bokeria da berzeniSvi l ebi saakaSvi l is aWaraze Setevas urCevdnen; prezidentis aCqareba, SesaZl oa, koba xabazsac emyarebodes, romel ic msuquqad warmoudgenda mas baTumSi arsebul vi Tarebas" (di l is gazeTi, 16,17.03.2004; axal i Taoba, 18.03.2004); "vin daexmara prezidents Tavi gaeSarJebina msofl io sazogadoebri obis Tval Si \_ sakuTari qmedebebi Tu premier-ministri, romel ic iSvi aTad Tua saakaSvi l is politikis bol omde gamtarebel i." ("jorjian Taimsi", 18.03.2004); "erT-erTi versiiT, saakaSvi l is politikuri gabiTurebis gegma unda SeemuSavebi na misive TanamebrZol zurab Jvani as, romel ic abaSiZesTan ufro axl oa, vidre saakaSvi l i." ("axal i Taoba", 18.03.2004)

"jorjian Taimsi" yuradRebas amaxvi l ebs saakaSvi l is frazaze – "gadawyveti l eba gvi an Rame mi vi Re"; avi Tarebs versias, rom, SesaZl oa, baTumi s da saakaSvi l is moqmedeba erTi dai give pirvel wyarodan iyo inicierebul i da askvnis, rom "msgavsi sainformacio operaciis Catareba da kval is dafarva SesaZl ebel ia mxol od saxel mwifo struqturebSi seriozul i poziciebis fl obis SemTxvevaSi." ("jorjian Taimsi", 25.03.2004)

im seriozul safRTxeze, rac SeiZl eba Col oqTan warmoSobi l si tuacias mohyol oda, msj el obda ara mxol od qarTul i, aramed ucxouri presac. gaCnda paral el ebi afxazeTTan, mini Sneba "samoqal aqo omis" SesaZl ebl obaze (rusul mediaSi), rusul i Carevis safRTxeze, amerikis SeSfoTebaze... "**presidentma saakaSvi ma Tanamdebobaze mosvl idan ori Tvis Semdeg iniciereba gaukeTa Tavis pirvel kri ziss**", \_ aRni Snavda "ni u-i ork Taimsi". ("rezonansi", 19.03.2004)

am fonze miT ufro mni Svnel ovani a is gamoxmaureba, romel ic kri zisis daZl evas mohyva: "**mi xeil saakaSvi l is triumfaluri svla Col oqid an**

baTumamde"; "saakaSvi l ma "aWarul i gamocda" xuTze Caabara"; "tel ekompani a "evroni usma" saakaSvi l is guSindel mol aparakebebs pi rvel i seriozul i gamarj veba uwoda prezidentad arCevi s Semdeg." ("di l is gazeTi", 19.03.2004); "prezidentma saxel mwi foebri vi gadawyvetil eba mii Ro da konfl iqtis mSvi dobi anad moagvara"; "Col oqi \_ xel ovnuri rubikon i gadal axul ia" ("mTavari gazeTi", 19.03.2004); "vardebis revol uci aze aranakl eb mni Snel ovani gamarj veba" ("24 saatI", 19.03.2004); "es iyo saakaSvi l is gamarj veba angari Si T 2:1"; "saqarTvel om bewvis xidze gaiara" ("kvir is pal itra", 22.03.204); "Zal ian mokl e droSi saqarTvel om orjer gaiara bewvis xidze da Tavi dan aici l a ZmaTa sisxl isRvra" ("rezonansi", 22.03.2004); "foTi-qobul eTis gzaze xal xi presidents saxel mwi fo droSebi Ta da wi Tel i vardebi T egebeboda." ("komersant.ru", "kvir is pal itra", 22.03.2004)

aqve unda Sevni SnoT, rom rusma Jurnal istebmac ver auares gverdi aWaraSi saqarTvel os prezidentTan mosaxl eobis gul Tbil i Sexvedris faqts da isic ki aRni Snes, rom "Col oqi Cabarda". ("ntv", "gazeta.ru") rusul ma onl ain-gazeTma sagangebod aRni Sna Col oqis "sasazRvro punqtis" gadaketvis mi uxedavad, aWaraSi manqani T Sesvl is faqti, rogorc saakaSvi l is principul obis ni Sani.

daxurul kars mi Rma mi xeil saakaSvi l isa da asl an abaSi Zi s oTxsaati an dial ogis Sedegad mi Rueul SeTaNxmebas, kri zisis mSvi dobi an daZl evas Tan erTad, ki dev erTi mni Snel ovani Sedegi mohyva \_ **aWaris mosaxl eobaSi Si Si s sindromis gadal axva**. am fsi qol ogiurma faqtorma, rogorc Cans, arsebi Ti mni Snel oba iqoni a saparl amento arCevnebis Sedegebze.

aWarisaTvis brZol is meore etapi swored saparl amento arCevnebs ukavSi rdeba.

presaSi vxvdebi T aqcents, rom aWaris Temis gaaqtitureba "saarCevno piaria", "saakaSvi l sa da abaSi Zes Soris daZbul obas revol uci is Crdi l Si moxvedril i partiebi saarCevno triukad naTI aven. es xmauri grigal iviT aris \_ midis da Tan el eqtoratis xmebs agrovebs", \_ "al ias" anal i tiki ri publ i kaci is avtori, qeTi xatiaSvi l i, partiebis mosazrebas sakuTari argumentebi Tac aZl ierebs \_ saakaSvi l s uyvars xmauri da mZvinvareba; es misi stiqia; 2 noembris saarCevno ekonomi kuri dapi rebebi: mcire biznesis gadasaxadebi sagan gaTavi sufl eba ori wl iT, xel fasebi sa da pensi ebi s gaormageba \_ axl a pol i tiku ma frazam Secval a \_ yvel aferi saqarTvel os gaerTi anebisTvis; aWaris I omTan dapi ri spirebis fonze politika ufro aqtauluri xdeba." ("al i a", 23.03.2004)

presaSi musirebda saparlamento arCevnebis dRisTvis awaraSi situaciis uki duresad daZabvis prognosi. amdenad, mTel i saarCevno procesis asaxva medi aSi awaris Temis primatiT mimdinareobda. 28 marts, mTel i dRe, tel ekompaniebi avrcel ebdnen informacias awaraSi arCevnebis total uri gayal bebis Taobaze; sabari iyo imazec, rom TiTqos baTumis quCebSi tankebi dadi oda; amgvari gancxadeba central uri saarCevno komisiis Tavmj domaremac gaavrcel a. am fonze, awaraSi sagangebo vizi tiT myofma premier-ministrma **zurab Jvani am**, saRamos, asl an abaSi ZesTan TaTbiris Semdeg, "saxel daxel o komentari" gaakeTa. man awaraSi Seqmni I vi Tarebas normal uri uwoda da aRni Sna "mxol od wriI mani darRvevebi" ("axal i Taoba", 29.03.2004); "Cveni mi zani a, sabol ood davusvaT wertil i tyuil mi Tqma-moTqmas", \_ aRni Sna **Jvani am**" ("rezonansi", 29.03.2004) Jvani asTan erTad asl an abaSi Zis mi er gakeTbul gancxadebaSi figurirebda informacia, rom zurab Jvani am prezidents daureka dezinformaciis Sewyvetis Txovni T. "ar Sei Zi eba dezinformaciebze aigos gancxadebebi. arian Zal ebi, romel Tac simSvi de xel s ar aZi evT. yvel aze Zal ian awaris xel isufl ebas unda, rom aq, awaraSi arCevnebi maRal doneze Catardes", \_ ganacxada asl an abaSi Zem. ("axal i Taoba", "rezonansi", 29.03.2004) presas SeumCnevel i ar darCeni a Seusabamoba awaraSi mosal odnel vi Tarebas, arCevnebis dRes gavrcel ebul sagangaSo informaci ebsa da zurab Jvania s mier baTumi dan gakeTbul gancxadebas Soris.

wl ebis manZiI ze saxel isufl ebo partiis mTavar konkurentad da bevri sxva partiis "politikur I okomotivad" mi Cneul i "aRorZinebis" darCenas parlaments mi Rma, da am faqtis "uxmaurod" datovebas, presaSi daaxl oebeTi aseTi rezonansi mohya: arCevnebis CaSI a arc asl an abaSi Zes awyobda; igi fl obda informacias mosal odnel i gamanadgurebel i damarcxebis Sesaxeb, ami tomac, wi naswar iWenda Tadarigs da arCevnebs TavisTvis umni Svnel os uwodebda; **abaSi Zem arcia daeTmo "aRorZineba"** xel isufl ebi s SenarCunebis sanacvl od.

saparlamento arCevnebis Sedegad "aRorZinebis" gasvl as saxel isufl ebo avansceni dan ucxouri mediac gamoexmaura. britanul i "gardiani" am faqts saqarTvel os axal gazar da prezidentis gamarj vebad mi iCnevs: "rodesac cnobi l i gaxda, rom meamboxe awaraSi probl emurma arCevnebma mSvi dobianad Caiara da avtonomiis I ideri maTi Sedegebis kanoni erebaze da Tanxmda, cxadi gaxda, rom saqarTvel os axal ma prezidentma mixeil saakaSvi I ma karieris pirvel i msxvi I pol itikuri krisis gadal axva SeZI o." ("gardiani", 29.03.2004) rusul i "izvestia", piriqiT, arCevnebis Sedegs asl an abaSi Zis Tvis xel sayrel ad

warmoačens: "parl amentis mandatebis SewirviT da imis moixerxebiT, rom saqarTvel os xel iSufl ebas aWaraSi viTarebis provocirebis saSual eba ar misca, abaSi Zem araTu xel iSufl eba SeinarCuna, aramed viTareba Tavis sasargebi odac Semoabruna." ("izvestia", 30.03.2004)

diametral urad gansxvavebul Sefasebebs qarTul presaSi c vxvdebi T:

"28 marts... I ogikur dasasrul amde mi vi da noembris liberaluri revolucia"; "Zal ian didi rol i Seasrul a aWaris movl enebma... saqarTvel os politikur scenaze abaSi Zisa da misi "aRorZinebis" faqtori aRar arsebobs." ("24 saaTi", 29.03.2004)

"asl an abaSi Zes SeeZI o arCevnebis gayal beba (uares SemTxvevaSi, CaSI a). amisTvis mas seriozul i berketebi hqonda, magram... man seriozul i politikuri nabi j i gadadga da dainteresebul sazogadoebas daanaxa, rom is aris regionis i ideri." ("dil is gazeTi", 30.03.204)

presis SefasebebSi yuradReba maxvi l deba aWaraSi arCevnebis procesisa da Sedegis politikur faqtorze; publikaciata umetesobaSi swored esaamTavari kriteriumi da meore pl anzea aWaraSi arCevnebis samarTI i anad Catareba-arCatarebis momenti. sainteresoa, rom saerTaSori so damkvirvebel Ta Sefasebebi ufro del ikaturia, vidre adgil obri vebis euTo-s damkvirvebel Tamisi ebris xel mZRvanel ebma aRni Snes, rom aWaris xel iSufl ebas ar ucdia demokratiul i arCevnebisTvis auci l ebel i pirobebis Seqmna.

arasamTavrobo organizacia "arCevnebisa da mmartvel obis institutis" direktorma nugzar ivani Zem "xval indel dResTan" intervjuSi ganacxada, rom gaurkvevel ia, is Sedegebi, romel ic aWaridan Camova, "es iqneba aWarl ebris neba, Tu centrsa da regionis metTauris Soris Semdgari mol aparakebis produqt." ("xval indel i dRe", 31.03.2004) aWaraSi arCevnebis Sedigi, mol odinis sawi naaRmdegod, ar gauprotestebiaT asl an abaSi Zesa da "aRorZinebas"; Tumc, rusul sainformacio sivrcesi gaiJRera aqcentma, rom asl an abaSi Zem saqarTvel os prezidenti arCevnebis fal siifikaciis mcdel obaSi daadanaSaul a.

saparl amento arCevnebSi "aRorZinebis" damarcxebisa da asl an abaSi Zis erTgvari kompromisis fonze, aWaris Temis intensioba presaSi unda Semcirebul iyo, magram ase ar momxdara; piriqi T, presis aqcentebis mixedvi T, aWara axal i xel iSufl ebris sagareo aqtivobis areal Si c xvdeba.

2004 wl is april Si, prezident mixeil saakaSvi l isa da premierministr zurab Jvanias vizi tebi ukrainasa da aSS-Si, iqca im faqtorebad, romel mac gamokveTa ara mxol od sagareo, aramed saSinao politikis ganmsazRvreli i orientirebi. piri vel rigSi, vgul isxmobT aWaris probl emas. saerTaSori so

damoki debul ebis faqtori, rogorc Cans, arsebi Tad gansazRvravda rogorc centraluri, aseve regionis xel i sufl ebis nabij ebs Semdgomi urTierTobi sken.

aWaris I iderTan uTanzmoebis warmoqmnis Tanave saqarTvel os axal gazrda xel i sufl ebas yvel aze aqturad evrosabWosa da euTo-s eqsper tebi uwednen konsul taci ebs, Tumc, rogorc "mTavari gazeTi" aRni Snavs, "beberi kontinentis" tradiciul ma liberal izmma Tbiliss misaRebi Sedegi ver moutana. ruseTs, evropisa da amerikis daaxl oebiT erTnairma poziciam, romelic dial ogis gziT dapi rispirebis mogvarebas aniWebda upiratesobas, xel i sufl ebas al ternatiul i meTodebis mosinj va STaagona." ("mTavari gazeTi", 28.04.2004)

aSS-Si zurab Jvani as vizit is warmatebas Tu warumatebl obas presa swored asl an abaSiZesTan dakavSi rebiT amerikis poziciis Camoyal i bebas ukavSi rebs. "aSS-Si vizit ad myofi premieri Jvania ZiriaTad yuradRebas swored aWaris avtonomiasa da mis I iderze amaxviI ebs da cdil obs vaSingtongi daarmunos, rom asl an abaSiZe, "SevardnaZis xel i sufl ebis gadmonaSTi" da "narko-trefikingis mamamTavari", "korufciis winaRmdeg mebrZol" axal xel i sufl ebas seriozul probl emebs uqmnis da, rogorc Cans, amerikis oficialuri wreebisagan specoperaciis Catarebis "nebarTvas" i Rebs." ("xval indel i dRe", 29.04.2004) presaSi sxvaganac gvxvdeba aseTi varaudi amerika, aWaris sakiTxis mSvi dobi ani mogvarebi sken mowodebis garda, ar gamori cxavs maT mier gawrTnil i batal i onebis gamoyenebas saWi roebi samebr, qveynis SigniT arsebul i viTarebis mosagvarebl ad. presis prognoziT, amgvari, Tundac Teoriul i Sansi, saerTaSoriso mxardaweris deficit, mis winaRmdeg arsebul i wamgebi ani sainformacio foni, asl an abaSiZisTvis martI ac SeiZi eba iqces Semdgomi kompromisi sababad.

Tavis mxriv, asl an abaSiZe aqturad i yenebs "yarsis kozirs" da aramxol od ruseTs, TurqeTsac axsenebs am xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval i swinebul val debul ebebs. rusul ma sainformacio saagento "interfaqsma" gaavrcel a interviu asl an abaSiZesTan. aWaris I ideri Riad mouwodebs ruseTs, rom aseT viTarebaSi man ubral od ki ar unda dai cvas aWara, aramed val debul ia es gaakeTos. abaSiZis TqmiT, "arsebobs yarsis SeTanzmeba, romelic Turqul mxares aval debul ebs aWara dai cvas. yarsamde iyo moskovi s xel Sekrul eba, romelic ruseTs imaves aki srebda." ("dil is gazeTi", 13.03.2004)

bunebrivia, am fonze presaSi gaaqturda yarsis xel Sekrul ebi s Tema, romelic komentirebisTvis Jurnal istebma iuristebs, istorikosebsa da politol ogebs mimartes. maTi mosazrebebi ase j gufdeba: erTni Tvl ian, rom

xel Sekrul eba ukve **Zal adakargul ia**, meoreni \_ rom mai nc **angari Sgasawevia**, oRondac im SemTxvevaSi, Tu aWaris **avtonomiis gauqmebis saki Txi** dadgeba.

saerTaSoriso samarTI is profesoris, I evan matariZis komentariT, ruseTi yarsis xel Sekrul ebis **monawile saxel miffo ar aris**, igi mol **aparakebis monawilea**; ruseTs, yarsis xel Sekrul ebis Tanaxmad, aranairi val debul eba da moval eoba ar mi uRia da wesiT, mas **aWarasTan aranairi** val debul eba-moval eobani ar akavSi rebs; aWaris avtonomiis statusi, yarsis xel Sekrul ebis mixedviT, bevrad ufro sxvanairad gamoiyureba, vidre sinamdvil eSia \_ igi gul isxmobs **ara erovnul -teritoriul avtonomias**, aramed **administraciul**, anu **kul turul da religiur avtonomias**; TurqeTis mxares SeuZl ia moi Txovos aWaris avtonomiis dacva, Tu masze uars vi tyviT, oRondac xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval i swinebul i avtonomiis fargl ebSi; xel Sekrul eba ki ar iTval i swinebda parlaments, umarI es sabWos, presidents... yarsis xel Sekrul eba uvadoa da **saqarTvel osa da TurqeTs aqvT misi denonsaciis ufl eba**, magram saki Txavia, am SemTxvevaSi daTanxmdeba Tu ara TurqeTi saqarTvel osTvis aWaris dabrunebas; es saxifaTo perspektivaa. ("dil is gazeTi", 26.03.2004)

yarsis Temas ruseTic aaqtiturebs. "1921 wl is ruseT-TurqeTis moskovis xel Sekrul ebis mixedviT, **ruseTs SeuZl ia aWaras saerTaSoriso subiectis statusi mi aniWos**", \_ acxadebs dsT-is qveynebis institutis xel mZRvanel i mi xai l al eqsandrovi. ("j orj ian Taimsi", 18.03.2004) amasTan, presa, "baTumur wyaroebze" dayrdnobiT, avrcel ebs informaciebs, rom qobul eTis sanapiroze rusi **samxedroebi** gamoCndnen; rom baTumi's aeroportidan cariel i sabrzol o Tvi Tmfrinavi afrinda da naSuaRamevs **SeiaraRebul i samxedroebiT** datvirtTul i ukon dabrunda; rom "baTumi's rusul samxedro bazaze samxedro wrTvnebi daiwyo"; rom baTumi's portSi Sevida da gadmoi tvirtTa rusul i gemi, romel ic sabrzol o teqni ki Ta da cecxl sasrol i iaraRiT iyo savse". (xval indel i dRe", 12.03.2004; "rezonansi", 17.03.2004) Col oqis incidentamde aWarasi saqarTvel os vizis gareSeECamovi da moskovis meri iuri I ujkovi; mkveTrad antiqarTul i ganwyobis rusi deputatebi \_ andrei savel ievi da viktor al qsnisi Col oqTani SeiaraRebul mosaxl eobas Sexvdnen da i sini "gmi rebad" gamoacxades.

meore mxriv, presa gani xil avs **amerikasTan** dakavSi rebul aspeqtebs. "**mTavari gazeTi**" avi Tarebs versias, rom "prorusul i aWarul i ankl avis moSi a okeanis mi Rma dai gegma... sawiro iyo iseTi fonis Seqmna, romel ic abaSiZis xel i sufl ebis ruseTTan absolutur damoki debul ebas gaaSi Svl ebda da politikuri arenidan prorusul i strukturis etapobrivi CamoSoreba

daiwyeboda... aSS-i s saxel mwifo depar tamentis gancxadebis "mesij ebi": mowodeba mSvi dobi saken \_ asl an abaSiZis sayuradRebod, mi ni Sneba amerikel ebi s mi er gawrTni "komandosebsa" da pankisis warmatebul operaciaze \_ ruseTisTvis; "Si da frontze" Tbiliss baTumTan "omi" faqtobri vad mogebul i aqvs, amerikel ebma ician, rom axl a "sagareo frontis" gaxsnis droa." ("mTavari gazeTi", 19.03.2004) amave gazeTis mi xedvi T, arsebobs sapi ri spiro versiac \_ roml is mixedvi Tac amerikel ebi aWaris movl enebis gamo faqtis wi naSe dadgnen da saj arod pozicia imi tom daafiqsires, rom saqarTvel os sagareo imij i SeenarcunebinaT. magram es versia ellws iwevs Tundac imis gamo, rom daju erebel ia qveyanaSi, sadac situacias kargad akontrol ebdnen, amerikul dipl omatis faqtis wi naSe daeyenebina Tavi.

"Col oqis kriszse" TurqeTis "meoradi" gamoxmaurebac aSS-sTan kavSi rdeba. situaciis gamwvavebi sas asl an abaSiZe da misi mxardamWeribi ki dev erTxel Seecadnen Tbilisze "Turqul i TemiT" moexdinaT zewol a. sapasuxod, TurqeTis sagareo saqmetTa ministrma gaakeTa oficial uri gancxadeba, rom ankara mxars uWers saqarTvel os central uri xel isufl ebi s kurss da yvel am pativi unda sces saqarTvel os teritoriul mTI i anobas. Cveul ebri vi dipl omatiuri formatis mqone am gancxadebis fonze Soki smagvari ef eqti moaxdina azerbaijanSi TurqeTis el cis gancxadebam imis Taobaze, rom saWi roebis SemTxvevaSi TurqeTi samxedro kontigents Seiyvans aWaris teritoriae. presaSi vxvdebi T informaci as, rom rusebma es gancxadeba mi iChies amerikel ebTan SeTanxmebul ad da saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi s samxedro mxardameris tol fasad.

rac Seexeba ruseT-saqarTvel os oficial ur urTierTmi marTebas: ruseTis prezidentma vl adimir putinma 27 marts, soWSi gamarTul brifingze, mni Svnel ovani yuradReba dauTmo saqarTvel os. misi gancxadebebi aSkarad megobrul i xasiatIs iyo. ruseTis prezidenti amtkicebda, rom aravi Tar SemTxvevaSi ar Caereva saqarTvel os saSinao saqmeebSi da, aseve, gamori cxavda aWaris probles mis mogvarebaSi Carevas. ybadaRebul i yarsis xel Sekrul eba putinmac moiSvel ia ruseTis poziciebis gansamtkeble ad \_ prezidentma aRni Sna, rom ruseTi am xel Sekrul ebi s Sesrul ebi s erT-erTi garanticaa. putinis am gancxadebebs win uZRoda prezident mi xeil saakaSvi l is mi er madl ierebis gamoxatva moskovi sa da piradad prezident putini sadmi \_ aWaris movl enebis gamo saqarTvel os mimarT dakavebul i poziciisTvis.

iurist daviT usufaSvil is komentariiT, "amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi SevardnaZesac imave pi robas uyenebda. ruseTTan urTierTobi s gamwvaveba maT

dResac i seve ar aZI evT xel s, rogorc adre. amerikasTan megobrul i urTierToba swored ruseTTan urTierTobi s mSvi dobi ani mogvarebis gzae gadis." ("kviris pal itra", 22.03.2004)

rogorc vxedavT, aWaris probl ema presaSi ar gani xil eba mxol od Si dasaxel mwi foebri v saki Txad; saqar Tvel os sagareo veqtorebi sa da prioritetebis gansazRvrisas aRar dgas al ternativa \_ aSS Tu ruseTi? axal i xel i sufl ebis mTavari amocanaa erTmaneTs warmatebi T Seuxamos sagareo politikis sami Ziri Tadi veqtori \_ evropaSi integracia, ruseTTan keTi l mezobl oba da amerikasTan sani muSo partni oroba.

\*

saqar Tvel os parl amentis arCevi s Semdeg saqar Tvel os axal i xel i sufl eba dadga arCevanis wi naSeE\_ an unda daabrunos aWara saqar Tvel os sakonsti tucio sivrcesi (rac abaSi Zis Zal aufl ebis dasasrul s ni Snabs), an Senarcundes wl ebis ganmavl obaSi arsebul i orxel i sufl ebianoba, anu ormagi sakonsti tucio sivrcesi (rac mi uRebel ia mixeil saakaSvil i sTvis).

april Si, sainformacio vel i sakmaod gaj erda agresiul i, Zal i smieri qmedebis momaswavebel i sagazeTo saTaurebi Ta da mesij ebi T: "aWaraSi specoperacia dagegmi l ia" ("xval indel i dRe"); "omi?! sabrzol o operaciis ra sqemas xazaven samxedroebi aWaris Sturmis SemTxvevaSi" ("al ia" pirvel gverdze aqveynebs "sabrzol o rukas"); "cxaddeba sagangebo mdgomareoba", "aWaraSi specoperaciebis Catareba i gegmeba" ("jorj i an Taimsi") da a.S.

amasTan, presaSi erTmaneTis paral el urad vi Tardeba provokaciul i aqcentebi da konstruqciul i dial ogisken mimarTul i gancxadebebi da orive mxare arc Tu i SviaTad imowmebs mediis mier gavrcel ebil informacias.

aWarasTan dakavSirebul mraval ricxovan publ i kaci ebSi, ikveTeba ori mTavari aspeqtSi; erTi, rom centrsa da regions Soris dapi rispi rebis gamwvaveba aZI ierebs umarTavi procesebis ganvi Tarebis, permanentul i dapi rispi rebis procesebSi ruseTis arapi rdapiri CarTvis da a.S safiTxes;

meores mxriv, ikveTeba xel i sufl ebis, piradad prezidentis pozicia, rom es aris ara centrsa da regions Soris Seqmnili i probl ema, aramed, dapi rispi reba aWaris mmartvel kl anTan; mixeil saakaSvil i gancxadebi T, Tu asl an abaSi Ze gani arardeba, aWaraSi demokratiul i procesebi daiwyeba. ("kviris pal itra", 12.04.2004) igrznoba, rom xel i sufl ebis strategiaa probl emis gadatana pironul aspeqtSi.

am fonze, gazeT "24 saaTSi" qveyndebeba saqar Tvel os prezidentis komentari, romel Sic i gi ar gamori cxavs Zal i smier moqmedebas: "provokaci ebs

ar wamovegebi T. Cven rodis ra nabi j ebs gadavdgamT, es aravisTan SesaTanxmebel i ar aris da xel isufl eba Tavad mii Rebs gadawyvetil ebas", \_ acxadebs saakaSvili da ganmartavs, rom Zal is gamoyenebaze xel isufl eba fiqrobs, Tumca, mxol od uki dures SemTxvevaSi. ("24 saaTi", 17.04.2004) unda aRini Snos, rom, faqtobrivid, es iyo pasuxi aWaris avtonomiis meTauris qmedebaze, romel mac konfrontacilis gza arcia da uari ganacxada ukanono SelaraRebul i formirebebis ganiaraRebaze (asl an abaSiZe: "saxal xo razmel ebs iaraRi manam eqnebaT, sanam saqarTvel oSi demokratia ar damyardeba").

"central ur xel isufl ebas aqvs yvel a saTanado resursi regionSi wesrigis dasamyarebl ad", \_ acxadebdnen asl an abaSiZesTan Sexvedris Semdeg premier-ministri zurab Jvania da uSiSroebis sabWos mdi vanni vano merabiSvili.

warumatebel i aRmoCnda saqarTvel oSi evrosabWos specialuri warmomadgeni is pl amen nikol ovis mcdel obac, romel ic ramdenime Tvis ganavil obaSi cdil obda mediatoris rol is Sesrul ebas.

aWarisaTvis brZol is mesame etapze xel isufl eba i sev erTdroul ad aaqtiurebs saSi nao da sagareo meqani zmebs.

"24 saaTi" i uwyeba: "Cveni aWaris" I iderebma aRni Snos, rom presidentTan saubris Semdeg opozicia ki dev ufro erTiani da koordinirebul i gaxda da mzadaa aWarasi masobrivi saprotesto aqciebis dasawyebad. koba xabazis gancxadebi T, presidenti abaSiZis wi naaRmdeg pol itikur brZol as gaagrZel ebs, opozicia ki abaSiZes masobrivi saprotesto aqciebi T Seawuxebs." (24 saaTi, 16.04.2004)

rogorc qveynis SigniT, ise saerTaSoriso arenaze aqturdeba aWaris Tema narkotikebis konteqstSi:

- "narkomaniisa da narkotikebi T ukanono vaWrobis sawinaaRmdegod strasburgSi gamarTul Sexvedraze eqspertebma probl emuri regionebis CamonaTval Si saqarTvel oc daasaxel es. **narkotranzit is erT-erT cxel wertil ad ki aWara saxel deba.** Tuki dadasturda aWarasi narkotrafikis arseboba, maSin gamoricxul i ar aris, am regionSi didZal i iaraRis warmomavil obac swored narkovaWrobas ukavSi rdebodes. es Tema ramdenime dRis win sagareo saqmeta ministrma sal ome zurabiSvil mac wamoswi a. Sesabami sad, Znel i warmosadgeni ar aris, ra pozicias dai kavebs dasavl eTi aWaris mimarT." ("axal i versia", 19.04.2004)
- "saqarTvel os Zal ovani ministrebis gancxadebi T, cotac da aWaris xel isufl eba kol umbiis narkokartel s daemsgavseba. general ur prokuraturaSi acxadeben, rom narkobi znesis Tval sazrisiT, aWaris

avtonomiuri respublika erT-erTi sol iduri regionia, sadac xdeba rogorc narkotikebis gadazi dva, i se narkotikebis warmoeba." ("rezonansi", 21.04.2004)

asl an abaSi Zem, am kampaniis sapasuxod, centrs daaswro, aWaris uSi Sroebis saministro gaauqma da ganaxada, rom saministros bazaze anti teroristul i da antinarkotikul i centrebis Seqmnas apirebs.

saqarTvel os parlamentma, aWaraSi Seqmnili mZime kritikul i viTarebis gamo, specialuri dadgenil eba miRo. "172 deputatis mxardaweril i dadgenil ebis mixedvi T, saqarTvel os prezidentma da mTavrobam unda uzrunvel yon qveynis erTiani konstituciuri sivrcis xel Seuxebloba, aWaris avtonomiuri respublikis teritoriaze saxel mwifo xel isufl ebis organoebis mier konstituciur ufl ebamosil ebaTa normaluri ganxorci el ebis Sesazi ebl oba da adamianis ufl ebaTa darRvevis aRkveTa"; asl an abaSi Zem ki ganaxada, rom "centraluri xel isufl eba misi fizikuri ganadgurebis operacias gegmavs da amgvari safrTxis Tavidan asacil ebl ad ruseTisa da aSS-is presidentebs, ruseTis saTaTbi rosa da aSS-is kongress mimarTavs da centrsa da regions Soris konfl iqtis mowesrigebis procesSi ECarTvi saken mouwodebs." ("xval indel i dRe", "mTavari gazeTi", 24.04.2004)

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis pirvel ma pirebma baTumis 25-e brigadis metauri, generali dumbaZe qveynis mtrad da moral ated gamoacxades; misi suraTebi prezidentis brZanebi T.e.w. samarcxvino bozze gaakres. generalis dapati mrebis brZaneba saqarTvel os uzenaesma sasamarTI om gasca da ganaCenis gamotani dan erT saaTSi es gadawyvetil eba mTel rig qveynebs ecnobaT. "oficialuri Tbllisis aRSfoTeba gamoliwvia general dumbaZis gancxadebam special ur briefingze, rom is asl an abaSiZes aRiarebs mTavarsardi ad da mas emorciil eba. 25-e brigadis TiTqmisi mTel i Semadgeni oba Tbllissi Camovi da da central ur xel isufl ebas daeqvemdebara." ("axal i Taoba", 25.04.2004)

am faqtma centri-regionis konfrontaciasi detonatoris rol i Seasrula avtonomiuri respublikis senatma gadawyvetil eba miRo aWaraSi komendantis saatlis amoqmedebis Taobaze. 25 april s cnobil i gaxda, rom aWaris xel isufl ebam Col oqis administraciul sazRvarze damatebi Ti samxedro Zal is mobilizeba dai wyo." ("kviris pal itra", 26.04.2004)

sagento "inter-presi" avrcel ebs cnobas baTumSi ramdenime aTeul i rusi formianis Camosvlis Taobaze. "es xdeba im dros, roca oficialuri moskovi irwmuneba, aWaris konfl iqtSi ruseTi ar Caerevao. Tumca, rusi generali teti, maT Soris, cnobil i Sovinisti generali al qsnisi putinis sawi naaRmdego

pozicias aviTarebs da ambobs, rom Tuki aWaraSi disl ocirebul rus samSvi doboebs nebi smieri saxiT probl emebi SeeqmnebaT, maT cecxl is gaxsnis ufl eba aqvT. al qsnisis am gamosvl as abaSiZisTvis sakeTil dReo gagrZel eba mohyva dumASIC", \_ werda "axal i versia". ("axal i versia", 26.04.2004)

- "Col oqis administraciul sazRvarze daakaves da avtonomiis teritoriale ar Seusves Tbilisi dan gagzavnili 60 tona sasuqi. sofi is meurneobis ministri daviT ServaSiZe, romel ic piradad mi yeboda tvirtTs, amaod eTaTbira Col oqTan misul aWaris ministrTa sabWos Tavmj domares rostom jafarizes. abaSiZis xel isufl ebam sasuzze uari Tqva. sasuqis gareSe darCenil i maRal mTiani rai onebis \_ qedis, xul osa da Suaxevis mosaxl eoba ki a protestebs aWaris xel isufl ebiis gadawyvetil ebas da avtomagistral ebze moZraobiis paral izebiT imuqreba. "Sewydes Col oqizacia" \_ am I ozungiT saprotesto aqcia moZraoba "Cveni aWaris" ofisis win gamarTa aqciis organizatori opoziciuri moZraobiis mxardamWer i 50-mde qal batoni iyo. saprotesto aqcia abaSiZis rezidenciis winac gamarTa stiqiisagan dazaral ebul ma mraval Svilianma oj axma." ("rezonansi", 28.04.2004)
- "aWaris meTaurs samxedroebis Semdeg politikuri gundis wevrebic toveben. baTumis yofil i meri asl an smirba abaSiZes ganudga da misi gancxadebis mixedviT, aWaraSi daumorcil ebl obis erT-erT i iderad unda mogvevlinos." ("mTavari gazeTi", 28.04.2004)
- "abaSiZis rejimi nel -nel a sustdeba da, Sesabami sad, axl ovdeba dro, rodesac isedac gaWi anurebul i "aWarul i krizisi" unda gadawydes. savraudod, central ur xel isufl ebas abaSiZis wi naaRmdeg ori scenari aqvs: pirveli \_ mSvi dobiani mini-revolucia, romlis Sedegadac, xel Seuxebi obis garantiis safasurad, abaSiZem politika da saqrTvel o nebiT unda datovos; meore scenariT, savraudoa specoperaciis Catareba." ("mTavari gazeTi", 28.04.2004)
- "parlamentis Tavdacvisa da uSiSroebis komitetis Tavmj domarem givi TargamaZem preskonferenciaze ganacxada, rom aWaraSi kvl av daiwo fizi kuri angariSSworeba da parlamentar Tamaz diasamizis dakavebis faqtSi piradad monawil eobda aWaris Ss ministri jemal gogitze. saparlamento umravl esobis i ideri mai a nadiraZe mi ani Snebs, rom abaSiZis mmartvel oba droebiTia da saaTebs iTvl is." ("axal i Taoba", 29.04.2004)

- "did sirTul es ar warmodgens aWaris pirvel i piris I i kvi dacia, magram Cven yvel afers vakeTebT, rom vi Tareba sisxl isRvrvis gareSe gamoswordes. xol o, Tu iZul ebul ebi gavxdi T Zal a gamovi yenoT, maSi n msxverpl i minimal uri iqneba", \_ saqarTvel os Zal ovani saminstroebis TanamSroml ebi ukve Riad saubroben samxedro operaciis Catarebis Sesaxeb." ("jorjian Taimsi", 29.04.2004)

presaSi asaxul i amgvari vi Tarебis fonze, 29 april s, tel ekompania "imedis" sainformacio gamoSvebaSi, asl an abaSi Zem mouI odnel i simSvi di TEganacxada, rom mxareebi dial ogis formas unda daubrundnen \_ eqspertebsa da saerTaSori so organizaciebis warmodgenel Ta monawi leobi T, Caisa da yavis Tanxl ebi T. (t/k "imedis", sainformacio programa "qronika", 29.04.2004)

30 april s ki, baTumSi, uzenaesi sasamarTI os win gamarTul i mitingi erTobl ivi Zal isxmevi T daarbies specdani Snul ebis razmra, aWaris Si nagani jaris nawiI ebma, policiam da samTavrobo dacvam. sasamarTI osTan SekrebiI momitingeebi ukanonod dakavebul i "Cveni aWaras" I iderebis da ki dev ramdenime piris gaTavi sufl ebas i Txovdnen. ("24 saaTi", "xval indel i dRe", 01.05.2004)

politol og soso cincaZis komentari T, asl an abaSi ZeEyvel afers akeTebs, rom saakaSviI i rogorme wyobi dan gamoi yvanos da Secdoma daaSvebinos. mi i Rebs Tu ara central uri xel isufl eba konfl iqtis iaraRis Zal iT mogvarebis gadawyvetil ebas, Col oqTan saswrafod gañdeba ruseTis jari, Tumca, ruseTis droSis nacvl ad, "aRorZinebis" droSas gadmoki deben. cincaZis azri T, ar aris saWiro saqarTvel os prezidentis garemocvis aCqareba. kursi, romel ic xel isufl ebam aWaris I ideris winaaRmdeg ai Ro, gamarTI ebul ia; mal e abaSi Ze srul izol aci aSi aRmoñdeba; 20-30 dRis win al ternativa ar Canda, axl a ki, Tu xel isufl eba Tavis kurss Tanmiddevrul ad ganaxorciel ebs, Zal is gamoyenebis auciI ebl oba Semci rideba. ("xval indel i dRe", 01.05.2004)

warmodgenil i suraTis fonze ukve mouI odnel obad aRar aRiqmeba 2 mai ss Col oqi sa da aWaris sazRvar Tan mdebare ori xi dis afeTqeba; rogorc qarTul i tel ekompaniebi i uwyeboden, abaSi Zi s samsaxurSi myofi gadamdgari generlis netkaCovi s xel mZRvanel obi T da, savraudod, asl an abaSi Zi s gankargul ebi T.

sagangebod SekrebiI uSi Sroebis sabWosTan moTaTbi rebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os prezidenti mi xeiI saakaSviI i asl an abaSi Zes 10 dRis vadas aZi evs sakonsti tuclo sivrcesi dabrunebisa da gani ar aRebis dawyebis Tvis. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi i tovebs ufl ebas gamoi yenos Tavi si saprezidento ufl ebamosiI eba axal i arCevnebis dani Svnis Taobaze da xal xs misces aWaris

xel isufi ebis arCevi s saSual eba; saqarTvel os prezidenti xazgasmi T aRni Snavs rom I aparakic ar aris avtonomiis statusis Secvl aze.

3 maiss gavrcel ebul i informaciiT, asl an abaSiZe kvl av saubrobs Tbil isTan dial ogze da acxadebs rom, xi debis afeTqeba prevenciul i Roni sZieba iyo Tbil i si dan samxedro muqaris sapasuxod.

"xi debi afeTqebul ia, ukandasaxevi gza moWri l ia", "abaSi ZemEWaris mosaxl eoba mZevl ad ai yvana", "feodal i al yaSi", "abaSi Ze sakuTar teritoriaze prezident saakaSvi l is mZeval ia" \_ amgvari paTosiT aSuqebda gazeTi "axal i versia" 2 maiss, aWaris xel isufal Ta brZanebiT, avtonomiis administraciul sazRvarze xi debis afeTqebis faqts. ("axal i versia", 03.05.2004) afeTqebas wi n uZRoda Col oqis administraciul i sazRvrisa da sarfis sabajos Caketva da aWaris xel isufi ebis mier informaciis gavrcel eba, rom foTis samxedro wvRTnebis Semdeg centri Savi zRviT CaqvSi desantis gadasxmas apirebs.

aWarasi daZabul obis eskal aciam pi ks mi aRwi a; baTumSi Sekrebi l i maval aTasi ani mitingis monawi l eTa da asl an abaSiZis "specnazis" Sej axebis safrTxe, Sesazi oa, real obad qceul iyo. magram, 2003 wl is noembris "vardebis revol uciis" msgavsad, movl enebi mSvi dobiani gziT ganvi Tarda \_ asl an abaSiZem xel isufi eba da baTumi ukomentarod datova da "xel Seuxebi obis garant" igor ivanovTan erTad moskovSi gafrinda, vajiSvi l sa da uaxl oes garemocvasTan erTad. presis SefasebiT, igor ivanovma meored Seasrul a saqarTvel oSi saSuamavl o misia da amiT ruseTs regionSi Tavis i mni Svnel obis dafiqsi rebi s saSual eba mieca.

presa maxvil gonivrul ad Seni Snavs, rom "babuebi s" (SevardnaZisa da abaSiZis) qarizma Seiwira mSvi dobianma revol uci ebma da orive SemTxvevaSi es gi orgoba dRes moxda. saqarTvel os prezidenti mi xeil saakaSvi l i ki, eqvs TveSi ori usisxl o revol uciis l iderobis wyal obiT, Sesazi oa istoriis saxel mZRvanel oebSi c Sevides \_ profesional i revol uci oneris saxel iT. xol o revol uciis mTavar mamoZravebel Zal ad, noembris msgavsad, kvl av xal xi dasaxel da.

ara mxol od am qveTavSi moSvel iebul i sail ustraciio masal a, aramed, saer Tod am periodis presis analizi mowmobs, rom movl enebis ase ganvi Tareba prognozi rebadi iyo da garkveul kanonzomierebas emorcil eboda. Cven yuradRebas vamaxvil ebdiT eqspertebis mosazrebaze, rom probl ema ara mxol od asl an abaSi ZeSi a, arsebiTi probl emaa mental uri SeuTavsebl oba, mdgomareoba, roca erTi saxel mwifo erTdroul ad Tvisobrivad sxvadasxva droSi da sxva

wyobis pirobebi cxovrobs, am faqtors TavisTavad unda gamoewvi a "Signi dan afeTqeba", revolu ciuri situaciis bunebrivi gagrZel eba awaraSi.

daskvnis saxi T aRvni SnavT, rom "vardebis revolu ciidan" moyol ebul i, vidre "awaris revolu ciame" (presis termini) awaris saki Txil qarTul i presis centraluri Tema iyo. ver vityvi T, rom amj erad presa xel s uwyobda centrsada regions Soris konfrontaciis gamwvavebas da daZabul obis eskal acias. es is SemTxveva, roca Ti Tqmisi yvel a yovel dRiuri da yovel kvireul i gazeTi informirebis amocanasac warmatebiT arTmevda Tavs da awaris Temas poziciebi sa da aqcentebis maqsimaluri maval ferovnebiT aSuqebda. aucil ebl ad unda aRvni Snot, rom awaris movl enebis gaSuqebis presas aSkarad etyoba pasuxismgebl obis grZnobis amaRI eba, saxel mwi foebri vi ganwyoba, erTgvari si frTxil e fagtebis interpretaciis da informaciiT manipuli rebis SeZI ebi sdagvarad minimalizeba.

ra Tqma unda, awaris Temam mal e dakarga aqtaul oba, magram cotaxans ki dev SemorCa presis furcl ebs, amj erad, awaris avtonomiis momavlisa da asl an abasiZi sagan gamoTavisufi ebul saxel isufi o sivrcesi politikuri konkurenciis sainformacio sababebi T.

- saqarTvel oSi j orj buSis vizitis rezonansi presaSi

aSS-is prezidentis, j orj buSis saqarTvel oSi vizitis mizani da, Sesabami sad, vizitis mni Svnel oba, ramdenime Ziri Tadi mimarTul ebi T unda ganixi oT:

- uSual od saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaSi
- regionTan mimarTebaSi
- axal i geopolitikuri real obis konteqstSi

am SemTxvevaSi CvenTvis aTvl is wertili saqarTvel osTan mimarTebaa, magram mTI ianobaSi aSS-is prezidentis viziti aRmosavl eT evropaSi mediaSi ganixi l eba regionis transformaciis, axal i axl o aRmosavl eTis formirebis, dasavl eTis politikuri Rirebul ebebisa da institutebis aRmosavl eTisken gadatani sa da sxva Sorsmimaval i strategiul i miznebis erTobl i obaSi.

axal geopolitikuri real obaSi politikuri eqspertebebi gul isxmobdnens dasavl eTis mier mZl avri "geopolitikuri kedlis" (romelic unda gaxdes nato-ruseTis sazRvari) aRmarTvas \_ bal tiidan kavkasi amde da kavkasi idan centraluri aziisaken; geopolitikuri RerZis qvakuTxedi qveynis rol i saqarTvel os akisria; rogorc eqspertebebi aRni Snavdnen, SemTxvevi Ti ar iyo,

rom Tavis turne prezidentma buSma swored am geopolitikuri RerZis qveynebze aago, amasTan, turnes marSrutiT moaxdina imis demonstrireba, Tu ramdenad mni Svnel ovania dRes misTvis saqarTvel o.

am bol o mosazrebas adasturebs "vaSington TaiMsis" publ i kaci a, romel sac gazeTi "rezonansi" imowmebs aSS-is prezidentis vizitis Sefasebis: "kavkasis respublikaSi buSis viziti imaze mi ani Snebs, rom mas axsovs saqarTvel o es interes ganpi robebul ia strategiuli ogikiT: saqarTvel o esazRvreba CeCneTs da masze gadis mil sadeni, romel ic kaspis sanavTobo sabadoebs msofli io bazrebTan akavSi rebs. saqarTvel os strategiuli mdebareoba am patara qveyanas aSS-is energetikuli sagareo politikis komponentad aqcevs." ("rezonansi", 12.05.2005)

vizitis mizanze msj el obisas, qarTul presaSi gl obal uri politikis aspeqtetebze metad, konkretul i aqcentebi ikveTeba, umTavresad \_ regionSi ruseTi Sevi wroebisa da iranis winaaRmdeg pl accdarmad saqarTvel os Sesazi o gamoyenebis amocana. qarTvel i samxedro eqspertebi aRni Snaven, rom iranamerikis urTieTobaSi saqarTvel os wli i mizerul i namdvi l ad ar aris, magram am rol is gazvi adebac ar Rirs. sayuradReboa, rom politikuri gaTvlebis gamoyenebis Tval sazrisiT, vaSingtoni sTvis al baT saqarTvel o bevrad ufro mni Svnel ovania, vidre samxedro Tval sazrisiT. presis formul irebit, amerikas saqarTvel o "iranTan mSvi dobi anad dasamegobrebl ad" swirdeba (am Temas SevexeT qveTavSi c \_ "sagareo Temis Ziri Tadi aspeqtobi").

buSis vizitis wina periodSi, april Si, saqarTvel oSi iranis vice premierisa da biznesmenTa del egaciis stumroba presam al ogikurad mi i Cni a ("megobroba Tu Ral ati, xel isufl ebis ucnauri TamaSebi: win dasavl eTi saken... iranTan erTan"); buSis viziti dan mokle xanSi ki Tbilisi, amerikul i dafinansebiT, qarTul sacavebSi dacul i iranul i kul turis i SviaTi nimuSebi \_ Y"yaj arTa portretebi" gamofina \_ iraneli stumrebia da yaj arul i xel ovnebis eqspertis, cnobil i amerikel i profesoris (iranul i warmoSobis) monawili eobiT. Tu gavi Tval iswinet iranTan saqarTvel os warmatebul ekonomikur urTieTobebs, keTiI mezobl ur damoki debul ebas da iranSi mxovrebi fereidnel i qarTvel ebis faqtors (romlis Sesazi o gamoyenebaze aSS-is xel isufl ebis mier, presa jer kidev 2004 wel s mi ani Snebda), zemoxsenebul i versia arc Tu ise usafuzvl od JRers.

aSS-is prezidentis vizitis winaperiodi da Semdgomi, sainformacio gamoxmaurebis Tval sazrisiT, erTi saerTo maxasiateliT \_ emociuri damoki debul ebis primatiT gamoirCeva; Tumc, winaperiodi ufro majorul ia

(ragind paradoqsul adac unda JRerdes es mosazreba), vidre vizi tis Semdgomi. Sesazi oa, esec i give emociuri faqtoriT avxsnaT \_ qarTul i sazogadoeba, rogorc sainformacio suraTi cxadyofs, umTavresi probl emebis gadawyvetis imeds busis vizi tze amyar ebda da, Tanac, dauyovnebl iv.

arsebul i mol odinis mTavari ganmsazRvrel i, rogorc Cans, mainc is iyo, rom busi SeaSinebda ruseTs, Sesabami sad \_ afxaz da os separatist i iderebs, da misi vizi ti safuzvl ad daedeboda ruseTis samxedro bazebis gayvanisa da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTI ianobis probl emis uswrafs mogvarebas.

**vizi tis Semdgomi rezonansi saqarTvel os sainformacio sivrcesi** mosal odnel ze xanmokl e da zedapirul i iyo (vidre, vTqvaT, konkretul i, personal uri saxel i sufl ebo dapi rispirebis rezonansia xol me) da, Ziri Tadar, busis verbal uri da araverbal uri komunikaciis ganxil vas eZRvneboda, ori Ziri Tadi mimarTul ebiT \_ qarTvel ebma "kul turul SokSi" CavagdeT busi, gadavri eT xinkl iT da, saer Tod, stumarTmoyvrul i da ucheul od ketili ganwyobil i daxvedriT; busi aseTi aravis unaxavs! meore mxriv, erTgvari angarebiTi mol odini \_ aba vntaxoT, ras gagvi keTebs sanacvl od.

sxaTaSoris, amerikis prezidentis mimarT qarTvel ebi s gansakuTrebui i damoki debul eba ucxouri mediasaSual ebebis yuradRebis centrSic moeqca, oRondac, ara mxol od qarTul i sufrisa da kul turis Sefasebis konteqstSi:

"busi enTuziazmiT iyo aRsavse, radgan Tbili isuri daxvedra bevrad gansxvavdeboda im saprotesto aqci ebi sagan, rom ebi Tac mas sxvadasxva qveynebSi mi egebenen", \_ werda gazeTi "gardiani", saagento "asoSieited presze" dayrdnobiT. ("al ia", 10.05.2005)

"Ti Tqmisi yvel gan var namyofi, sadac busi prezidentis rangSi yofil a, magram aquurma daxvedram yovel gvar mol odins gadaWarba. es iyo yvel aze uTbil esi daxvedra, rac mas odesme hqonia", \_ komentars akeTebs si-en-en-i s korespondenti mai kl beni gani. ("24 saaTi", 11.05.2005)

"moskovski komsomol ecma" publ ikacia ase daasaTaura \_ "j orj Zi evamosi l ma busma saqarTvel oSi kargad moil xina": busi ise SeZra aborigenebis cekvebma, rom iq daaxl oebiT erTi saaTi darca. sul mal e man musikis hangebze taSis kvra da Tavis qnevac dai wyo, bol os ki yvel asaTvis moul odnel ad erTi cekvis dros scenaze avi da da mocekvaveebs xel i CamoarTva. protokol i SemdegSic araerTxel dai rRva: busi da saakaSvi i restoranSi dagegmi l i 30-40 wutis nacvl ad, saaTnaxevari darCnen. busis Tavgadasavl ebi saqarTvel oSi meore dRes gagrzel da da masobrivi uwesrigoba gamoiwi a." ("axal i versia", 13.05.2005)

gazeTma "24 saaTma", publ i kaci aSi \_ "j orj buSis viziti dasavl uri mediis Tval iT", Tavi mouyara ucxouri mediis Sefasebebs: "saqarTvel o \_ Tavisufi ebis Suqura"; "buSi saqarTvel oSi ruseTis gasaRizianebl ad"; "buSi xotbas asxams qarTul demokratias"; "aSS saqarTvel osTan erTad" Tavisufi ebis gziT ivl is" \_ aseTi saTaurebiT i uwyeboden dasavl uri sainformacio saSual ebebi amerikis prezidentis saqarTvel oSi vizitis Sesaxeb... sainformacio saagento "bi -bi -si": "preskonferenciaze amerikis prezidentma "vardebis revol ucias" Tanamedrove istoriis mni Svnel ovani momenti uwoda. buSis TqmiT, am usisxl o revol uciam mTel msofi ioSi aRafrTovana xal xi". Tbil isSi myofi "bi -bi -si"-s korespondentis TqmiT ki, saqarTvel o Tval sacino magal iTs warroadgens amerikis sagareo politikis Ziri Tadi mimarTul ebis \_ demokratiis mTel s msofi ioSi gavrcel ebis Tval sazrisiT... msofi ios yvel a met-nakl ebad cnobi l i medi asaSual eba aSS-i s lidoris saqarTvel oSi vizitis emociuri datviriTviT i wyebi movl enis gaSuqebas. aSkaraa dasavl uri presis gakvirveba \_ amerikel liders xom arctu didi pativiT xvdebi an evropel ebi. guSindel i dRis erTi Tval Si sacemi momenti is iyo, rom Ti Tqmis yvel a seriozul i gamocema nakl eb adgil s uTmobs movl enis politikur anal izs da mxol od vizitis aRweriT Semoifargl eba. al baT, es gasagebi caa \_ j orj buSis saqarTvel oSi Camosvl a mni Svnel ovani gzavnili iyo, romel ic garkveul anal izs sawiroebs." ("24 saaTi", 11.05.2005)

am umni Svnel ovanesi vizitis anturajis dawri l ebiT ganxi l va qarTul i Tu ucxouri mediis mier, erTi s mxriv, bunebrivicaa; rac Seexeba anal izs, es qarTul i presis "aqil evsis qusl ia"; magram saertTo fonze gamoirCeva gazeTi "24 saaTi" (SeiZI eba vTqvaT, rom "rezonansic"), romel mac amj eradac moaxerxa vizitis Sedegebis gaanal izeba, am procesSi qarTvel i da ucxoel i eqspertebis maqsimal uri carTviT.

pirvel yovl isa, aRsani Snavi a zbignev bJezinskis eqskl uziuri interviu gazeT "24 saaTi Tvis". misi mosazrebebi ara mxol od naTel s hfens saqarTvel oSi buSis vizitisa da mis mier warmoTqmul i si tyvebis mni Svnel obas, aramed, erTgvarad avsebs ki dec da, Cveni azriT, aranakl ebad mni Svnel ovan mesij ebsac Sei cavs:

"yvel aze mni Svnel ovani cvl il eba, romel ic moxda, xel i sufl ebaSi axal i Taobis mosvl aa. axal i politikuri liderebi gacil ebiT nakl ebad arian sabWoTa periodis produqtebi, vidre maTi winamorbedebi. magram es wel i wadnaxevris win moxda. axl a ki sawiroa gamarTul i sistemis SeqmniTa da praqtikul i politikis gziT imis demonstrireba, rom saqarTvel oSi

demokratia moqmedi real obaa. saqarTvel os axal ma demokratiam unda daarwmunos saerTaSoriso sazogadoeba, rom mas Seswevs unari, moagvaros is probl emebi, romel ic sabWoTa kavSirma dautova. warsul is narCenebi, maT Soris separatizmi, ar unda gani xil ebodes, rogorc normal uri movl ena. am konteqstSi, saqarTvel om aseve unda daarwmunos saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba, rom misi demokratia mtkicea, rom is emyareba ara emotiebs, aramed konstituciiT gamyarebul kanonmorcil sistemas. saqarTvel os xel isufi ebam unda acvenos, rom rogorc sagareo, ise saSinao politikaSi misi gadawyvetil ebebi momwifebul, pasuxismgebl obiT savse, kargad gaazrebul politikas eyrdnoba da ara emotiur, mkveTr da radikal ur Jestebs." (24 saati", 17.05.2005)

aseve sayuradReboa kol umbi is universitetis profesorisa da sagareo urTierTobaTa sabWos ufrosi eqspertis, stiven sestanovicis Sefaseba: "me vfigrob, rom saqarTvel om acvena erT-erTi yvel aze mni Svnel ovani politikuri, social uri da intel eqtual uri dinamizmi, romel sac adgil i aqvs yofil sabWoTa respublikebSi." amasTan, sestanovici yuradRebas amaxvi ebs im probl emebze, roml ebi c, SesaZI oa, saqarTvel oSi demokratiis ganvi Tarebas Seeqmnas: "Cven viciT, arsebobs pretenziebi, rom parlamenti ar aris pl ural isturi, probl emebia mediaSi, iseve rogorc samoqal aqo sazogadoebaSi. axl a Cven vcdil obT, SevafasoT, aris es Cveul ebrivi pretenziebi, romel ic yvel a demokratias axasiaTeb, Tu saxezea marTI ac Zal aufl ebis zedmeti konsolidacia, rac demokratiisTvis safrTxes Semcvel i SeiZI eba iyos. da Tu Zal aufl ebis es konsolidacia ar Seicavs safrTxes, romel ic momaval Si probl emebs Seuqmnis demokratias, maSin amerikaSi aRel vebis safuZvel ic ar iqneba. patara qveynisTvis Zal ian Znel ia, amerikis SeerTebul i StatebisTvis geopolitikuri mni Svnel oba Seinarcunos, Tu mas demokratiul i faseul obebi ar gaaCnia. saqarTvel osTan Cvenma urTierTobam acvena, rom maSinac ki, rodesac patara saxel mwifo xar, Tu Sen atareb igive Rinebul ebebs da gaqvs igive xedva, amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis Tanasworufl ebiani partniori xar." ("24 saat", 24.05.2005)

yuradReba mi vaqci oT bJezi nski sa da sestanovicis saerTo0Tval sazriss – saqarTvel om, praqtikul i politikis gziT, unda moaxdinos imis demonstrireba, rom saqarTvel oSi demokratia moqmedi real obaa; unda ecados, rom Zal aufl ebis koncentraciiT ar Seuqmnas safrTxe demokratias; unda daarwmunos saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba, rom misi demokratia mtkicea; rom mas Seswevs unari, moagvaros sabWoTa kavSiris mier datovebul i probl emebi

(maT Soris, separatizmis probl ema). sxvanairad, aseT patara qveyanas gauWi rideba amerikis SeerTebul i StatebisTvis geopol i tikiuri mni Snel oba Seinarcunos.

gavi xsenoT, rom "vardebis revol uci amdec", 2003 wl is sapari amento arCevnebis wina periodSi, presaSi aqturad musirebda qarTvel i da ucxoel i pol i tikoebisa da eqspertebis saerTo Tval sazrisi, rom saqarTvel os kapital i demokratiaa, rom mas, azerbaijan sagan gansxvavebiT, aravin apatiebs demokratiul i faseul obebis Sel axvas.

al baT zedmeti ar iqneba imis gaxsenebac, rom bJezinski mier model irebul evraziis "did saWadrako dafaze", mTavari geostrategiul i figurebis (safrangeTi, germania, ruseTi, CineTi da indoETi) gverdiT, "principul ad mni Snel ovan geopol i tiku centrebad" saxel deba ukraina, azerbaijan, samxreT korea, TurqeTi da irani (am kvalifikasi aSi, rogorc Tavad bJezinski aRni Snas, ar xvdeba iseTi didmni Snel ovani qveynebi, rogoricaa didi britaneTi, iaponia da indonezia). (12, 56)

Tu erTmaneTTan davakavSi rebT, erTis mxriv:

regionis transformaciis, axal i axl o aRmosavl eTis formirebis, dasavl eTis politikuri Rirebul ebebisa da institutebis aRmosavl eTisken gadatani sa da sxva Sorsmimaval i strategiul i miznebis erTobl i obas; amocanas \_ dasavl eTis mier mZI avri "geopol i tiku kedlis" (romelic unda gaxdes nato-ruseTis sazRvari) aRmarTvisa \_ bal tiidan kavkasi amde da kavkasi i dan centraluri azi isaken;

meores mxriv, Tbilissi prezident buSis mier warmotqmuli si tyvebis mesj ebs: "i medis momcemi cvl il ebebi \_ baRdadi dan bei ruTame da bei ruTi dan bi Skekamde... Tavisufi eba Savi zRvi dan kaspi is zRvi sken, sparseTis yureSi da ufro Sorsac mili wevs; es TqveniT aris gamoweul i da Tqveni warmatebis magal iTze maTac didi imedi ezl evaT... qarTul miwaze danTebul i cecxi i mTel msofl i oSi Rvi vdeba."

da amas davumatebTYstiven sestanovis "formulas", rom "patara qveynisTvis Zal ian Znel ia, amerikis SeerTebul i StatebisTvis geopol i tiku mni Snel oba Seinarcunos, Tu mas demokratiul i faseul obebi ar gaachnia", erTad moi yris Tavs ara mxol od buSis evropul i turnesa da saqarTvel oSi vizitis mizani da mni Snel oba, aramed is rol i da funqciac, rac "vardebis revol uci am" ganusazRvra saqarTvel os. oRondac, xazgasmiT aRvnis SnasT, rom esaa ara "saWadrako dafit" mni Webul i, aramed "demokratiis sanimuSo qveynis" rol iT SeZenil i funqcia. sxvaTa Soris, erTaderTi postul ati, rac

ucvl el ad figurirebs sainformaci o amindis Semqmnel qarTul medi aSi bol o wl ebi s manZil ze, swored isaa, rom **saqarTvel os kapi tal i demokratiaa**.

(amgvari Tval sazrisis ganviTarebis ufl ebas isev presa gvaZI evs, roml is cal keul masal ebSi zogj er SeuZI ebel ia I ogikis moxel Teba, magram erTobl iobaSi, anal i tiki ganxi lvisas, bevri sayuradRebo ram i kveTeba).

vizit is mniSvnel obaze msj el obi sas presaSi figurirebs Tval sazrisi, rom TavisTavad vizit is faqt i **mTavari mesij ia sxva qveynebisTvis**, upirvel esad – ruseTisTvis, rom amerid an **saqarTvel os Tan urTi erTobi sas dabal ansebul i politika unda awarmoon**; rom **viziti safuZvl ad daedeba regionSi saqarTvel os rol is gamokvetas**.

aSS-is saxel mwifo mdivnis, kondol iza raisis SefasebiT, saqarTvel oSi aSS-is prezidentis jorj buSis **vizit is mTavari mizani aSS-is mxridan saqarTvel os damouki debi obis, teritoriul i mTI ianobis da misi axal gazar da demokrati i saTvis mxardaweris demonstrireba iyo**.

gazeT "24 saaTTan" intervieuSi zbignev bJezinski ambobs, rom "prezident buSis **viziti rigasa da Tbil isSi did strategiul mesij s atarebda**. es mesij i ki aseTi a – ruseTma pativi unda sces Tavisi mezobl ebi s politikur damouki debi obasa da teritoriul mTI ianobas. es aris fundamenturad mniSvnel ovani mesij i. ("24 saaTi", 17.05.2005)

rusi politologi sergei markovi ki acxadebs, rom: "**buSis vizit is dakavSi reba Tbil isis pozicii s erTmniSvnel ovan mxardawerasTan politikuri Secdoma iqneboda**": "vfigrob, am vizits ramdenime Sedigi aqvs. upirvel esad, buSma srul ad dauWira mxari saqarTvel os moqmed xel isufl ebas mis swrafvaSi evroatl antikuri integraci isken, nato-sa da evrokavSi rTan maqsimal uri TanamSroml obi saken. man, aseve, dauWira mxari saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi s im ideologiur Tezisebs, roml ebi c am swrafvas ukavSi rdeba, kerZod – qveyanaSi Tavisufl ebi sa da demokrati i s ganviTarebis aucil ebl obas. garda amisa, aSS-is prezidentma mTI ianobaSi mxari dauWira saqarTvel os pozicias rig gadamwyet saki TxebSi, rogoric aris afxazeTTan da samxreT oseTTan urTi erTobe bi da saqarTvel oSi ruseTis samxedro bazebis probl ema. imavdroul ad, jorj buSma gadaxeda Tavis pozicias da **ruseTis interesebi s I obistis rol Si mogvevl ina, miuti Tatra saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas**, rom es probl emebi (rusul i bazebi da avtonomiebTan urTi erTobe bi) mxol od mSvi dobi ani mol apara kebebi s gziT unda mogvades. ami T man garkveul wil ad, arapi r dapi r gaakritika saqarTvel os xel mZRvan el oba... ar aris aucil ebel i, yvel gan, sadac i geben amerikel ebi, waagon rusebma. vgul isxmob **saqarTvel os**

samxedro moqmedebubs afxazeTsa da samxreT oseTSi, romel Tac me kol onial ur avantiurebs vuwodeb. mi viCnev, rom afxazeTi arasodes yofil a saqarTvel os nawili. is yovel Tvis iyo saqarTvel os nawili didi ruseTis imperiis Semadgeni obaSi. es istoriul i faqtia." ("xval indel i dRe", 12.05.2005)

gazeTi "xval indel i dRe" wers, rom "**separatistebi amerikis prezidentis viziTiT gamoweul i SeSfoTebis dafarvas cdil oben**". amerika saqarTvel os teritoriul mTI ianobas aRiarebs da sxva saxel mwi foebSac mouwodebs, pativi scen saqarTvel os suverenitets - aseTi Sinaarsisa iyo buSis mimarTvis erTi-erTi nawili. rogorc irkveva, afxazuri da osuri mxare am gancxadebam seriozul ad Seafiqriana da original uri gamosaval ic apovnina: soxumsa da cxinval Si figroben, rom buSma dipl omatiurad da SefarviT, magram mainc gamoxata, rom "pativs scems osi da afxazi xal xis swrafvas demokratiisa da Tavisufi ebi saken". ("xval indel i dRe", 12.05.2005)

amasTan, aSS-is prezidentis viziTi, qarTul i da ucxouri presis SefasebiT, kargi fiari iyo ara mxol od saqarTvel os saxel mwi fosa da misi xel i sufi ebi sTvis, aramed, Tavadjorj buSisTvis.

am Tval sazrisiT sagul isxmoa "niu iork Taims" saredaqcio statia, saTauriT \_ "ra SemTxvevaSi miaCniAT amerikaSi prezidentis viziTi warmatebul ad": "sasi amovno sanaxavi iyo, rogor Tbil ad xvdebonen prezident buSs I atviis dedaqal aq rigaSi, ra zRva xal xi mizida man saqarTvel os dedaqal aq Tbil isSi. Tumca, yofil i sabWoTa kavSiris qveynebSi Tavisi turnes Sedegad man zedmi weniT miaRwi a mizans mxol od im sferoSi, rac exeba urTierTobebs sazogadoebri obasTan, magram ver miaRwi a arsebiT saki TxSi. roca ruseTze vsaubrobT, amerikisTvis umTavresi sagangaSo saki Txi - birTvul i usafrTxoebaa da am frontze, rogorc Cans, vizi tis aravi Tari warmatebisTvis ar migvi Rwei a." ("xval indel i dRe", 12.05.2005)

gazeT "24 saaTSi" gamoqveynebul statiaSi \_ "buSi STabeWdiI ebebs kongress uziarebs", moxmobil ia aSS-is prezidentis si tyvebi \_ "fantastikuri Segrznebaa, idge 150 aTasi, Tavisufi ebi moyvarul i adamianis winaSe", Tumca, aRni Snul ia rom buSma gacil ebiT meti dro dauTmo moskovSi mi Rebul i STabeWdiI ebebis gaziarebas. samagi erod, "aSS-is saxel mwi fo mdi vni s tel ei ntervius gacil ebiT "emociuri" nawili saqarTvel oSi vizi tis STabeWdiI ebebis moyol as mieZRvna. I ari kingma saxel mwi fo mdi vns "xel yumbaris istoriazec" sTxova komentaris gakeTeba, razec qal batoni raisis pasuxi sakmaod mSvidi iyo \_ "amis Sesaxeb mogvianebiT Sevi tyveT. cxadia, gamoZieba mi mdinareobs. vfigrob, saqarTvel os uSiSr oebris samsaxuri

Cvens uwyebasTan erTad imuSavebs imis gasagebad, Tu ra moxda. magram es SemTxveva veranairad Secvl is imas, rac iq xdeboda; da minda gi TxraT, rom Zal ian amaRel vebel i iyo moedanze yofna". ("24 saaTi", 13.05.2005)

rac Seexeba xel yumbaras, gazeTi "xval indel i dRe" moswrebul ad wers, rom "aufeTqebel i xel yumbara msofl io presis furcl ebze afeTqda": "informacia, rom 10 maiSS, prezident buSis Tbilisuri vizitisas, Tavisufl ebis moedanze misi si tyviT gamosvl amde arctu didi xniT adre, tribuni dan 30 metris daSorebiT viRacam xel yumbara isrola, pirvel ad rusul ma saagentoebma gaavrcel es. guSin gancxadeba gaavrcel a TeTrma saxl ma, rom xel yumbara, romel ic TbilisSi, Tavisufl ebis moedanze aSS-iS prezidentis jorj buSis gamosvl is dros aRmoacines, prezidentisTvis safrTxes ar warmoadgenda." ("xval indel i dRe", 12.05.2005)

yuradRebas mi vaqcevT erT informacias, romel ic "yviTel i Seferi obisaa", magram saWi rod CavTval eT misi moSvel ieba saerTo mozai kis Sesaqmnel ad. "buSis vizit is dReebSi muzeumi dan firosmani Sedevrebi sai dumlo viTarebaSi gaitanes", \_ gavamcnobs "jorj ian TaiMSI". "buSi saqarTvel oSi Camovi da: qarTul ritms sxeul i moxdenil ad aayola, 19-naoWi ani xinkal i "repeteTi" miirTva da "gamZRari" gafrinda! sxvata Soris, amerikis prezidenti mxol od qarTul i kerzebiT ar danayrebul a, Tan uamravi politikuri saCuqari, Zvel i qarTul i wignebi da ferwerul i Sedevrebic gaiyol a." ("jorj ian TaiMSI", 12.05.2005)

ni Sandobl ivia, rom vizit is gaSuqebi sas amjerad qarTul presaSi yuradReba ar maxvil deba mosal odnel material ur daxmarebasa Tu yofis gaumj obesebis pragmatul interesze. presaSi figurirebs Tval sazrisi, rom saqarTvel o moeqceva Zal ian didi yuradRebis qveS mTel i msofl ios mxridan, Sesabami sad, es amcirebs im saSi Sruebas, rom xel isufl ebam arademokratiul i gziT gaagrzel os moqmedeba. amasTan, viziti Sefasebul ia, rogorc Zal ian kargi reklama zogadad qveynis, qarTul i biznesisa da qarTul i produqciisaTvis; rogorc winapi roba qveynis arasandoobis koeficientis ki dev ufro Semcirebisa da ucxouri investiciebis raodenobis mni Svnel ovani zrdisaTvis da a.S.

presis analitikur publikaciebSi, erTi mxriv, ikveTeba Tval sazrisi, rom Cveni qveynis mosaxl eobas am vizitTan dakavSirebiT gadametebul i mol odini hqonda; buSis viziti saqarTvel osTvis mxol od avansad SeiZi eba Cai Tval os. mafioa amerikis prezidentis poziciac \_ is megobari qveynisTvis datvuri samsaxuris gawevas ar apirebs, amitom Cveni gasakeTebel i Tavadve unda

gavakeToT. amerikis daxmarebis formati ara ruseTTan dapi rispirebis, aramed TanamSroml obis pirobebSi unda warimartos – is, risi mi Rwevac SeiZI eba mSvidobi ani gziT, konfrontaciis mizezi ar unda gaxdes.

meore mxriv, qarTvel eqsperTTa SefasebiT, buSis vizi ti damagvengvinobel i etapia im samuSaosi, rac saqarTvel o-ruseTis sabol oo gamij vnisTvis mimdinareobda, anu moskovi nel -nel a Seagues azrs, rom saqarTvel os daTmoba mouwevda. jorj buSis vizi ti ni Snavs, rom amerika Tavis geopolitikur interesebze uaris Tqmas ar apirebs. amerikas kavkasi aSi ZI ieri partnori swirdeba. amitom mis interesebSi saqarTvel os teritoriu i mTI i anobac Sedis. amdenad, SeiZI eba imis prognozireba, rom dakargul i teritoriebi uaxl oes oTx-xuT wel iwadSi davibrunoT. Tumc, es imazec iqneba damoki debul i, ramdenad sworad Seasrul ebs qarTul i mxare ucxoel eqsperTTa rekomenadi ebs, rogor saxel mwifo politikas warmarTavs separatistul i regionebis mosaxl eobasTan, ramdenad principuli da Sedegiani iqneba kontrabandasTan brZola, ra strategias daupiri spirebs saqarTvel os xel isufi eba Crdil oeTidan mosal odnel provokaci ebs da a.S. nebismi eri uxesi Secdoma, romel sac am procesSi xel isufi eba dauSvebs, momental urad iqneba gamoyenebul i ruseTis mier da xel s SeuSI is Cvens dasavl el partniorebs.

am zogadi suraTis fonze, Cveni azriT, uaRresad mni Svnel ovania presis Sefasebebis Sejereba Tbilisi prezident buSis mier warmoTqmuli si tyvebis (parlamentSi gamarTul brifinga da Tavisufi ebis moedanke) ZiriTad mesij ebsa da sakvanzo si tyvebTan.

ZiriTadi mesij ebi:

- *Tqven i iderebi xarT!*
- *saqarTvel o \_ sanimuSo magal iTia regionSi*
- *"vardebis revol ucia" ZI ieri momenti iyo Tanamedrove istoriaSi*
- *saqarTvel o Tavisufal i da damouki debel i qveyanaa*
- *Tqveni yvel aze mni Svnel ovani wvl ii i Tqveni ve magal iTia*
- *Tqveni qveyana aSS-is erT-erTi seriozul i mokavSi rea*
- *Tqven demokratiul sazogadoebas aSenebT*
- *amMaxal saqarTvel oSi kanonis uzenaesoba gaimarj vebs da Tavisufi eba TiToeul i moqal aqis ufl eba iqneba*
- *Tqven irCeVT Tavisufal momaval s da igive miznis ganxorciel ebasI sxva qveynebsac exmarebi T*

- *Tavisufal i sazogadoebi s Seneba Taobebis samsaxuria*
- *15 wel i daswirda brZol as, sanam am qveyanaSi Tavisufi eba da samarTI i anoba moi ki debda fexs*
- *i medis momcemi cvl il ebebi \_ baRdadi dan bei ruTamde da bei ruTi dan bi Skekamde*
- *Tavisufi eba Savi zRvi dan kaspi i s zRvi sken, sparseTi s yureSi da ufro Sorsac mi i wevs; es TqveniT aris gamowveul i da Tqveni warmatebi s magal i Tze maTac di di i medi eZi evaT*
- *qarTul mi waze danTebul i cecxl i mTel msofi losi Rvi vdeba*
- *Tavisufal i sazogadoebibi xom mSvidobian sazogadoebebs warmoadgenen*
- *rogorc Tavisufal qveynebs, amerikasa da saqarTvel os didi pasuxi smgebi oba akisri aT*
- *Cveni moval eobebi c Tavisufi ebisaTvis gl obal ur brZol aSi iwyeba*
- *udi desi qarTvel i patrioti zurab Jvania \_ gl obal uri demokratiul i revol uci i s didi i ideri gaxda*
- *saqarTvel os i iderebma l cian, rom konfi iqtebis mSvidobiani mogvareba aucil ebel ia transatl antikur al iansSi integraci i saTvis*
- *saqarTvel os damouki debi obasa da teritoriul mTI i anobas yvel a qveyana unda scemdes pativs*
- *Cven gyavT megobrebi saqarTvel oSi da yovel Tvis dagexmarebi T Tqveni miznebi s misaRwevad*
- *Tqven gyavT megobrebi amerikasi*
- *Tavisufal i da demokratiul i qveyni s Senebisas amerikel i xal xi Tqvens gverdi Taa! (j orj buSis si tyva, warmoTqmuli i Tbilissi, Tavisufi ebi s moedanze, gamoqveynebul ia gazeT "24 saaTSi", 11.05.2005; bri f ingze warmoTqmuli i si tyva \_ gazeT "saqarTvel os respublikaSi", 11.05.2005)*

sakvanzo si tyvebi	
buSi	saakaSvi l i
Tavisufi eba, Tavisufal i – 30	Tavisufi eba, Tavisufal i – 20
saqarTvel o, qarTvel i – 28	saqarTvel o, qarTvel i – 43
amerika, amerikel ebi – 9	amerika, amerikel ebi – 18
demokratia – 8	demokratia – 11

mSvi doba, mSvi dobi ani _ 8	mSvi doba, mSvi dobi ani _ 3
revol ucia, revol uciuri _ 5	revol ucia, revol uciuri _ 1
damouki debl oba _ 4	damouki debl oba _ 1
nato _ 4	nato _ 3
pasuxi smgebl oba _ 3	pasuxi smgebl oba _ 3
istoria, istoriul i _ 3	istoria, istoriul i _ 8
megobroba, megobari _ 3	megobroba, megobari _ 4
"vardebis revol ucia" _ 2	"vardebis revol ucia" _ 2
afxazeTi, samxreTYoseTi _ 1	afxazeTi, samxreTYoseTi _ 3
teritoriul i mTI ianoba _ 1	teritoriul i mTI ianoba _ 2
konfl iqtebis mogvareba _ 1	konfl iqtebis mogvareba _ 1
momaval i _ 2	momaval i _ 4

j orj buSisa da mixeil saakaSvil is mier warmoTqmuli si tyvebis anal izi Cveni kompetenciisa da am statiis fargl ebs sci l deba, amdenad, yuradRebas SevaCer ebT mxol od ramdenime ni uansze.

rogorc vxedavT, orive prezidentis gamosvl ebSi didi upiratesobi T figurirebs cneba "*Tavisufi eba*", masTan Sedarebi T "*demokratia*" gacil ebi T i SviaTad xsendeba; amasTan, "Tavisufi eba", gansakuTrebi T aSS-is prezidentis si tyvaSi, "*mSvi dobasTan*" asoci rdeba ("*Tavisufal i sazogadoebi xom mSvi dobian sazogadoebibs warroadgenen*"); "Tavisufi ebas" (da ara demokratias) prezidenti buSi xatovnad Tavis i qveyni s savi zi to baratS uwodebs.

*"pasuxi smgebl obas"* orive prezidenti sul 3-j er axsenebs, magram uaRresad mni Svnel ovan konteqstSi; aSS-is prezidenti, "*Tavisufi ebisaTvis gl obal ur brZol aSi*", pasuxi smgebl obis Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel os amerikis gverdi T ayenebs, I amis Tanabari statusiT: "*rogorc Tavisufal qveynebs, amerikasa da saqarTvel os didi pasuxi smgebl oba akisriaT da Cvens moval eobebi er Tad Sevasrui ebT.*"

sagul isxmoa, rom aSS-is prezidenti gacil ebi T xSirad axsenebs "*saqarTvel os*" da "*qarTvel s*" (28-j er), vidre Tundac saqarTvel os prezidenti (anu, maspi nzel i, sxva faqtorebze rom arafieri vTqvaT) \_ "*amerikas*" (18-j er).

"rezonansi" mTavari redaqtori I aSa tuRuSi, buSis vizit is Sedegebi sadmi mi ZRvnili saredaqcio statiaSi, pirvel rigSi, swored aSS-is

prezidentis mier warmotqmuli si yebis mesij ebs euyrdoba: "pasuxi smgebl obaa is umni Svnel ovanesi si tyva, romelic yvel aze aqtual uria qarTul i saxel mwifosTvis. Zal ian sapasuxi smgebl oa is rol i, romelic saqarTvel os "vardebis revoluciis" Semdeg ganusazRvra amerikis prezidentma buSma, kerZod, didi regionis transformacjis xel Sewyobis: "saqarTvel oSi ganxorciel ebul i demokratiul i procesebi centraluri aziis transformacias Seuwyobs xel s". saqarTvel os saxel mwifos, aseve, gaaCnia pasuxi smgebl oba im moqal aqeebis mimarTac, romelic saqarTvel oSi cxovroben." ("rezonansi", 11.05.2005)

am publ ikaci aSi l aSa tuRuSi konfl iqtебis mogvarebasTan dakavSi rebul (da ara mxol od!) sayuradRebo informacjias gvTavazobs (sagul isxmoa, rom Semdgom wl ebSi ganvi Tarebul ma movl enebma daadastura misi marTebul oba): "Cvenma wyarom, romelic uSual od eswreboda saakaSvi l is buSTan Sexvedras, gvi Txra, rom daxurul Sexvedraze buSma pir dapi r ganacxada, rom gvircevs, rogorc megobari, Tanac winaswar, teritoriali mTI ianobis probl ema mxol od mSvi dobi ani gziT movagvaroT da rom is ver dauwers saomar moqmedebebs mxars. Tanac, amas ambobs dRes imisaTvis, rom xval rame ar iyos gaugebari. Tumca, ique iTqva, rom isini aucil ebl ad dagvexmarebian konfl iqtis mowesri gebisas. es iqneba Zal ian realuri daxmarea, oRond mSvi dobi ani formebiT. cota xnis win, natos general urma mdivanma sxeferma ganacxada, rom saqarTvel os nato-Si gawevrianebis perspektivebi realuria, miuxedavad mis teritoriale konfl iqtetan dakavSi rebul i viTarebisa. moki ed, man Tqva, Zal ian mkafiod, Tanac pirvel ad, rom nato-s kari Riaa saqarTvel osTvis. zogierTma politikosma saqarTvel oSi ratomRac es gaigo ise, Ti Tqos saqarTvel os iReben nato-Si afxazeTisa da cxinval is regionis gareSe. saqme isaris, rom nato-s arc erT oficial ur dokumentSi ar weria, rom konfl iqtis, anu, saqarTvel os msgavsi si tuacia, aris qveynis am organizaci aSi gaerTi anebis Semaferxebel i faktori. probl ema ara samarTl ebrivi, aramed politikuri xasiatisa. amdenad, mni Svnel ovani dasavl eTSi dai naxon, rom saqarTvel oSi Seuqcevadi procesebia, rogorc saxel mwifos mSenebl obis (rac buSmac aRni Sna), aseve, samSvi dobo procesis Rrmad (Seuqcevl ad) ganvi Tarebisa." ("rezonansi", 11.05.2005)

rogorc dasawyisSive aRvni SneT, buSis vi zi tTan dakavSi rebul gamoxmaurebebSi emocia sWarbobs da amgvari publ ikaciebi gamonakl i sis saxiT gvxvdeba. Sesabami sad, sainformacio sivrcesi igrznoba erTgvari ukmarobis

ganwyoba \_ rom saqarTvel os teritoriul mTI i anobasTan dakavSi rebi T aSS-i s prezidentma mkveTrad ar gamoxata Tavis pozicia.

Tu erTad davaj gufebT j orj buSis gamosvl ebSi am probl emasTan dakavSi rebul mesij ebs, aseT suraTs mi vi RebT:

- saqarTvel os I iderebma i cian, rom konfli iqtebis mSvi dobi an mogvareba aucil ebel ia transatl antikur al iansSi integraci i saTvis;
- saqarTvel os damouki debl obasa da teritoriul mTI i anobas yvel a qveyana unda scemdes pativs;
- Cven gvyavs transatl antikuri megobrebi saqarTvel oSi da yovel Tvis dagexmarebi T Tqveni mi znebis mi saRwevad;
- ...vi saubreT regionul i saki Txebi s mSvi dobi an mogvarebaze, romel ic Tqvens qveyanas awuxebs;
- moxarul i var, rom meqneba saSual eba vi muSao baton prezidentTan, Tu igi mommarTavs aseTi TxovniT, mxari davuWiro iseTi probl emebis gadaWraSi, rogoricaa afxazeTi da samxreT oseTi;
- imeds gamovTqvam, rom TanamSroml obis safuZvel ze SegviZl ia es probl emebi mSvi dobi anad mogvarebOT;
- darwmunebul i var, rom saqarTvel os Cveni daxmarebi T SeuZl ia seriozul progress mi aRwi os maTi mogvarebis saki TxebSi.

uaRresad sayuradRebod gveCveneba afxazeTsa da e.w. samxreT oseTTan mimarTebaSi ara mxol od prezident buSis, aramed saqarTvel os prezidentis, mi xeil saakaSvil is mesij i:

"mi uxedavad vardebis revoluciis warmatebisa, Cvens qveyanaSi aris mxareebi, sadac qarTvel ebs warTmeul i aqvT *Tavisufi* eba.

afxazeTsa da cxinval is regionebSi Cveni moqal aqeebis izol aciaSi yofnas wertili i unda davusvaT, maT unda mi vceT Tanabari Sesazi ebl obebi, raTa demokratiisa da *Tavisufi* ebis pirobebSi ganvi Tar dnen."

rogorc vxedavT, saqarTvel os prezidentis motivacia *Tavisufi* ebaa da ara vTqvaT, istoriul i samarTI i anobis aRdgena (sxvaTaSoris, istorias man didi rol i daakisra Tavis gamosvl aSi, magram ara dakargul i teritoriebis konteqstSi).

"*Tavisufi* eba" ki, prezident buSis si tyvaSi aseTi "sqemi Taa" ganfenil i: 1989 wel s wamowyebul i brZol a *Tavisufi* ebi saTvis qarTvel ebma 2003 wel s Rirseul ad daasrul es; Sedegad \_ *Tavisufi* i da damouki debel i qveyana \_ saqarTvel o regionSi sani muSo magal i Ts war moadgens; *Tavisufi* i da

demokratiul i qveynis Senebisas amerikel i xal xi qarTvel ebi s gverdi Taa da saqarTvel os ar mouwevs am gzi s marto gavl al!

*Tavisufal i* sazogadoebibi xom, aSS-i s prezidentis formul irebiT, mSvi dobi an sazogadoebebs warmoadgenen da, rogorc zemoT aRvni Snet, *Tavisufi ebisaTvis* gl obal ur brZol aSi prezidenti buSi saqarTvel os Tavis mokavSireb mi iCnevs.

I ogi kurad, buSisa da saakaSvil i s mesij ebi s saerTo reziume aseTia: Tu "WeSmari ti Tavisufi ebis Senebisas" "qarTul miwaze danTebul i cecxi i mTel msofi ioSi Rvi vdeba!", "RmerTis mier miniWebul i ufl ebiT" sargebl obis saSual eba "Tavisufi ebawarTmeul qarTvel ebsac" unda mi eceT.

gazeT "24 saaTis" presombudsmani, nodar I adaria, sainteresod anal i zebs aSS-i s prezidentis saj aro gamosvl as, misi si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, "maval i profesional is Sromis nayofs", "mSvenier i kompozici i sa da damafiqrebel i Sinaarsis", uaRresad adamianuri da Sinaurul i dasawyisis mqone si tyvas, mis Setyobi nebebsa da niuansebs. paral el urad, I adaria "saxel daxel od SeTxzul si tyvas" uwodebs Tvisufi ebis moedanze prezident saakaSvil i s gamosvl as, romel ic, Cveni azriT, Tundac afxazeTisa da ew. samxreT oseTis probl emis amgvari rakursiT warmodgenis gamo, namdvi l ad artovebs "saxel daxel os" STabeWdil ebas.

unda aRvni SnoT, rom sagangebo mzadebam aSS-i s prezidentis Sesaxvedrad, sabWoTa kavSiri s komparti i s genmdi vni s, breJnevis vi zitebi s (saqarTvel oSi) asociaci ac gaaCina presaSi. sayuradReboa, rom mol odini s sawi naaRmdegod, prezident saakaSvil i s gamosvl ebi \_ parlamentSi gamarTul briefingze Tu Tavisufi ebis moedanze, arRvevs "qveSevrdomul i" da "vasal uri" mimarTvebis stereotips da piriqiT \_ erTgvari zomieri ambi ci urobi Tac aris gaj erebul i. samagierod, dacul ia qarTul i eTnosi s Tvis damaxasi aTebel i \_ istoriis mimarT amaRI ebul i, romantikul i da erTgvarad mi Tol ogi zebul i damoki debul ebi s stereotipi.

2005 wl i s 30 maiss, moskovSi, mi Rweul i qna SeTanxmeba saqarTvel odan ruseTis samxedro bazebis gayvanis Taobaze. sakvirvel ia, magram presas es umni Svneli ovanesi fapti ar daukavSirebi a buSi s vi zit i s SedegTan. samagierod, presas yuradRebi dan ar gamohparvia saqarTvel os prezidentis mier tonis mkveTri Serbil eba ruseTis mimarT.

"saqarTvel os unda ruseTTan mwidro, megobrul i, keTi l mezobl uri urTi erToba", \_ ganacxada mixei l saakaSvil ma saxel mwifo kancel ariaSi gamarTul briefingze da bazebis gayvanis Taobaze mi Rweul SeTanxmebas

**istoriul i movl ena uwoda:** "mimacnia, rom prezidentma putinma gamoicina gamedaoba, acvena mSvenieri politikuri al Ro, moaxdina saRi azris demonstrireba da gadadga Tamami politikuri nabij i da me ar Semizlia, es ar davi naxo. saqarTvel o mzad aris yvel a saki Txi \_ usafrTxoebis, terorizmTan brZol is, ruseTis geopolitikuri interesebis i seTi gaTval i swinebis saki Txi, sadac isini mTI i anad emTxveva saqarTvel os interesebis (da aseTi gadakveTis Zal ian bevri veqtori arsebobs), srul i masStabiT gaiTval i swinos da yovel gvari daZabul oba Cvens urTierTobaSi warsul s Cabardes." ("saqarTvel os respublika", 31.05.2005)

saqarTvel oSi aSS-is prezidentis vizitis faqtorma garkveul i periodiT (april -mai si) gaaneitral a presaSi xel isufl ebi sken mimarTul i negatiuri muxti da xel i Seuwy o mis garSemo met-nakl ebad pozitiuri ganwyobis koncentracias; ivnisis TveSi ki suraTi mkveTrad Seicval a da xel isufl ebi mimarT konfrontaciul i damoki debul eba sakmaod gamZafra. Ti Tqmisi wel i wadnaxevris manZil ze ufunqci od darCenil i politikuri Zal ebi (ra Tqmunda, ar vgul isxmobT mmartvel partias \_ "nacional ebs") da samoqal aqo seqtori gamococxl dnen da TandaTan xel isufl ebasTan oponirebis reJimsi gadaerTven. ara mxol od am ni Sni T, aramed, saer Todac, "vardebis revoluciis" Semdgomi periodis presistvis (iseve rogorc qveynis, xel isufl ebisa da sazogadoebisTvis) j orj buSis viziti erTgvari mijna iyo, romel mac amari ebul notaze daasrul a revoluciuri eiforiis periodi.

Cveni Seswavl isa da kvl evis sagani iyo **drois informaciul i anal ogis – presis** mier gamokveTil i Ziri Tadi sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri aspeqtebi da aqcentebi. ramdenad Seesabameba es anal ogi saqarTvel os maSindel sazogadoebriv-pol itikur viTarebas? Tu am naSromSi araerTxel damowmebul gigi TevzaZis wigns ("saqarTvel o: Zal aufl ebis dabruneba") movi Svel iebT da gavixsenebT, rom eduard Sevardnazi periodis saqarTvel os **demokratia** iyo "simul irebul i", xol o "**Tavisufal i masmedia**", arasamTavrobo organizaciEbTan erTad, iyo **simul acis real obis damadasturebel i agenti** (25, 40), maSin unda vTqvaT, rom media sakmao warmatebiT asrul ebda demokratiis "Sirmis" rol s.

meore mxriv, Cveni kvl evis Sedegi gvaZl evs saSual ebas davaskvnaT, rom mocemul real obaSi, arsebul i Sesazl ebl obebiT, qarTul ma presam mainc moaxerxa Seeqma met-nakl ebad adekvaturi mediasuraTi saanal izo periodSi (2000-2005 wl ebi) ganviTarebul i sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri procesebisa. da am suraTis Seqmniis meTodebi, xerxebi, formebi, profesiul i done da a.S. imdenad Seesabameba Tanamedrove mediis standartebs, ramdenadac saqarTvel oSi "gardamaval i demokratiis" xarisxi Seesabameba ganviTarebul i demokratiis moTxovnebs. ufrro metic, presa saqarTvel os demokratiul i ganviTarebis maCvenebi adac iTvl eboda. davi mowmebt mai a torazis zemoxsenebul sadisertacio naSroms: "saerTaSoriso organizaciEbisa da eqspertebis mier presa bol o aTwl eul Si sazogadoebis yvel aze **demokratiul segmentad mi i Cneoda.**" (69, 2)

Ziri Tadi sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri aspeqtebi, romel ic prioritetul i iyo saanal izo periodis presiTvis, sadisertacio naSromis sarCevSi vea mocemul i da aRar gavimeorebT; amasTan, Cven SevecadeT disertaciis Ti Toeul monakveTSi ve gadmogveca Sesabamisi daskvnebi; ramdenime zogadi daskvna ki, 2000-2005 wl ebis qarTul i presis Taobaze, ase SeiZl eba Camovayal iboT:

- raodenobrivi simravl is miuxedavad, saanal izo periodis presa ar qmni da qveynis sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri cxovrebis plural istur suraTs; mral ri cxovani gamocemebi dan "sazogadoebrivi azris generatoris" funqci as, umeteswi l ad, 3-5 gamocema asrul ebda (gansakuTrebi T, 2000-2003 wl ebSi);
- si tyvis gaTavisufi ebis pirvel i etapis gadasvl a Tavisufi ebasTan pasuxi smgebl obis Sexamebis momdevno stadi aze, saxel mwi fo interesis gamoxatvis simtomebi, qarTul presaSi Seini Sneba 2002 wl idan, roca

saqarTvel o akeTeb s ganacxads nato-Si Sesvl i s survil ze, roca saqarTvel oSi, aSS-i s daxmarebi T, iwyeba "wrTvni sa da aRwurvi s programma" da a.S.

- saanal i zo periodis presa gamoirCeva pol i tizebis maRa l i xarisxiTa da personificirebis tendenci iT; gamocemebis umetesoba midreki l ia "si yvi TI i saken" (Sesabami sad, skandal ebisa da "sensaci ebi saken"); ami s gamo umTavresad presis yuradRebis areal Si eqceva ara sazogadoebri vad aqtual uri, aramed "kul uarul informaciebsa" da "sarwmuno wyaroebze" agebul i Temebi; wina pl anze wamoweul ia presis interpretaciebi da ara verificirebul i faqtebi;
- Ti Tqmisi s yvel a umni Svnel ovanesi aspeqti qveyni s sazogadoebri v pol i tikuri cxovrebia gani xil eba saxel i sufl o brZol ebisa da pirovnul i dapi rispirebis Wril Si; personebze orientireba ar niSnas imas, rom presis yuradRebis areal Si sazogadoebri obis farTo warmomadgenl ebi eqcevian; presis yuradRebas iqcevs mxol od saxel i sufl o personebis garkveul i kategoria, pol i tikosebi, i sev presis meSveobi T generirebul i e.w. cnobadi saxeebi.
- ara mxol od informaciis, xSi rad komentaris pi rvel wyaros dadgenac SeuZl ebel ia, radganac presa i Svel i ebs "eqspertTa azrs", roml is mi Rmac zogjer, Sesazl oa, i sev Jurnal istis, an gamocemis pozicia igul i sxmebodes. rac Seexeba eqspertebs, aqac ori uki duresoba Seini Sneba \_ an wl ebi s manzil ze mudmivad erTi da igive eqspertebs mimarTaven Ti Tqmisi s yvel a Temisa da saki Txis komentirebis Tvis (magal i Tad, ramaz sayvareli Ze, gi a nodia, soso cincaZe, paata zaqarei Svil i, ramaz kl imiaSvil i da a.S.); an, ama Tu im dargis Cveul ebrivi special isti warmodgeni l ia eqspertis rangSi; raxan sazogadoebri v-pol i tikuri aspeqtebi prioritetul ia, Sesabami sad, presaSi eqspertebi figurireben Ti Tqmisi yovel dRe, ara mxol od mmdinare procesebis, aramed, nebismeri pol i tikuri Tu skandal uri frazis komentirebis sababi T.

Sei Zl eba iTqvas, rom "vardebis revolu ciis" wina periodSi (2002-2003 wl ebi), presam, saerTo j amSi, sakmaod kargad gaarTva Tavi sazogadoebis samoqal aqo aqtivobis gazrdis funqci as, dasavl uri orientaci isaken swrafvas; Sesazl oa, zedmeti il uziac Seuqmna TavisTavsa da sazogadoebasac, rom isini, qveyni s pol i tikuri cxovrebis "saqmisi kursSi" arian (detal ebisa da kul uarul i Worebis CaTvl iT), maSin, roca es "aisbergis wveri" iyo da Cveni

qveynis sazogadoebri v-pol i tiki ri cxovrebis ganmsazRvrel i procesebi, arc Tu i SviaTad, wyal qveSa mdinarebiT mi edi neboda. presam, movl enebisTvis wi n gaswrebac ai Zul a sazogadoebas (ar daal oda saarCevno rotacias) da didi wvl il i Sei tana "vardebis revol uci aSi".

amasTan, rogorc sadisertacio naSrromis pirvel TavSi aRvni SneT, "vardebis revol uci is" Semdgom periodSi erTgvarad damuxruWda qarTul i mediis ganvi Tarebis procesi; cenzurisa da Tvi Tcenzuris garda (rac tel emedi asTan mimarTebaSi ufro aSkaraa), mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs profesiul i donis daweva; es, Jurnal istTa profesiul i kadreibis sxva sferoebSi gadanacvl ebis garda, Cveni azriT, imanac ganapi roba, rom am etapze media (gansakuTrebiT, presa) aRar gani xil eba iseT mni Svnel ovan aqtorad, rogoradac "vardebis revol uci is" wi na periodSi.

j erj eroBiT CvenSi samoqal aqo sazogadoeba ar misul a im kondici amde, rom masmedias sazogadoebis interesis gamoxatva "ai Zul os". amasTan, mediisTvis araxel sayrel i biznes-garemo ganapi robebs sazogadoebri v-pol i tiki ri presisa da e.w. bul varul is daaxl oebas, an sul ac erTmaneTSi aRrevas; amdenad, usamarTI oba iqneba rom medias davakisroT mTel i pasuxi smgebl oba pol i tizebis maRaL i xarisxis, sazogadoebis "fxizel i guSagis" funqciis versesrul ebis, sazogadoebri vi cxovrebis aspeqtebi saTvis gverdis avl is gamo. ar unda vecadoT il uzi is Seqmnas, Ti Tqos Jurnal ists SeeZl os Tavisi damkvetis/damqiravebl is, xol o redaqcias – gamomceml is/mepatronis interesis ignorireba.

"probl ema is ki ar aris, rom masobriv sainformacio saSual ebebs ar SeuZl iaT axal i ambebis xarisxiani gaSuqeba, aramed is, rom sazogadoeba amas arc iTxovs", – amboben "amerikul i demokratiis" avtorebi – qeneT j anda, jefri m. beri da jeri gol dmeni. (77, 151) "moqal aqeebi Tanabari cinizmiT gai msWval nen mediisa da politikis mimart, radgan es ukansknel ni mxol od erTmaneTTan awarmoeben dial ogs da maT am urTierTobaSi aranairad arc monawi l eobs xal xi", – esec amerikel i mkvl evarebis – Luis a fridl endis, j ei rozenis da liza ostini s Tval sazrisia. (6, 13-14)

ara mxol od es citatebi, aramed bil kovaCisa da tom rozenstil is cnobil wignSi ("Jurnal istikis el ementebi") asaxul i, aTaswl eul ebi s mij naze amerikul i mediasi vrcis vi Tarebis Seswavl is Sedegad mi Rebul i suraTi da daskvnebi ("farTo sazogadoebri vi interesis dakmayofil ebis nacvl ad, Cveni profesia zians ayenebs sazogadoebaso") (34, 10-11), bevri ramiT gvagonebs qarTul i mediis wi naSe mdgom probl emebs. paradoqsi a, magram faqtia, rom

demokratiul obis etal onad miCneul amerikul mediasa da "gar datexis asakSi" myof qarTul medias saerTo konceptual uri probl ema aqvT; rom sazogadoebis interesebi dan gadaxveva mxol od qarTul i mediis dil ema ar aris. oRondac, gansxvaveba i saa, rom Cvenma mediam "mokl eze mowra" da gamotova ganvi Tarebis is etapi, romel mac dasavl uri media sazogadoebis "fxizel guSagad" Camoayal iba.

demokratia, upirvel esad, arCevanis Tavisufi ebis uzrunvel yofaa. qarTul i presac, Cveni azriT, maSin gadava ganvi Tarebis ufro maRaI etapze, roca Sei qmneba j ansaRi konkurenciisa da pl ural izmis garemo da farTo arCevanis saSual eba miecema ara mxol od medi amomxmarebel s, aramed, Tavad mediasaSual ebebsa da Jurnal istebs.

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