

**ვაჟა ჰაპასკირი**

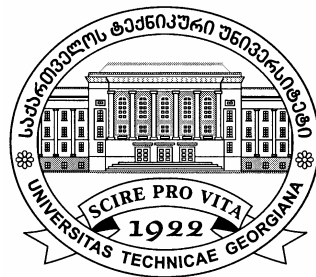
**სახელმწიფო, პოლიტიკა  
და მასშტაბი**

„ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტი“

საქართველოს ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტი

ვაჟა პაპასკირი

სახელმწიფო, პოლიტიკა  
და მასმედია



დამტკიცებულია სტუ-ს  
სარედაქციო-საგამომცემლო  
საბჭოს მიერ

თბილისი  
2009

სახელმძღვანელო გათვალისწინებულია უმაღლესი სასწავლებლის სტუდენტებისა და პროფესორ-მასწავლებელთათვის. ნაშრომში განხილული და შეფასებულია მასმედიის, სახელმწიფოსა და პოლიტიკის ურთიერთიმართების საკითხები, რომლებიც ნათელ წარმოდგენას იძლევიან XXI საუკუნის მასმედიისა და პოლიტიკური ცხოვრების მრავალ ასპექტზე.

ნაშრომი შეეხება როგორც მასმედიას, ასევე სახელმწიფო მმართველობასა და პოლიტიკას. მასში განხილულია მასმედიის ზნეობრივი შინაარსი. აქცენტირებულია ის საწყისი, რომელიც ამ უკანასკნელს მუდმივი სრულქმნილებისაკენ უბიძგებს. გაანალიზებულია მასმედიური აქსესუარების სხვადასხვა დეტალები.

განსაკუთრებულადაა განჩნობილი მედიისა და სახელმწიფო პოლიტიკის ურთიერთკავშირი, სახელმწიფო მმართველობითი სისტემები. ქრესტომათიულ ნაწილში მოტანილია ადგილები ქართული სახელმწიფო პოლიტიკის ისტორიიდან, სადაც ხელშესახებადაა გადმოცემული როგორც ქართველთა, ასევე უცხოელთა ის პოლიტიკა, რომელიც საუკუნეების მანძილზე ინერგებოდა ერის ისტორიაში.

ნაშრომში დიდი ადგილი უჭირავს ანტიკური ეპოქის მოაზროვნეების - არისტოტელეს, პლატონის, დემოკრიტეს შეხედულებებს სახელმწიფო მმართველობასა და სახელმწიფო პოლიტიკაზე.

ავტორი მადლობის გრძობითაა გამსჭვალული ყველა იმ პიროვნების მიმართ, რომელთა შრომა გამოყენებულია აღნიშნული წიგნის როგორც თეორიული, ასევე ქრესტომათიული ნაწილის შექმნისას.

წიგნი ასევე დახმარებას გაუწევს ნებისმიერ პირს, რომელიც დაინტერესდება ზემოაღნიშნული საკითხებით.

მეცნიერ-რედაქტორები: სრული პროფესორი მურმან პაპაშვილი  
ასოც. პროფესორი მამუკა შელეგია

რეცენზენტები: სრული პროფესორი ვაჟა შუბითიძე  
ასოც. პროფესორი ლია ქათამაძე

კორექტორები: მანანა დევედარიანი  
ციხანა კობახიძე

© საგამომცემლო სახლი „ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტი“, 2009

ISBN 978-9941-14-455-4

<http://www.gtu.ge/publishinghouse/>



ყველა უფლება დაცულია. ამ წიგნის არც ერთი ნაწილი (იქნება ეს ტექსტი, ფოტო, ილუსტრაცია თუ სხვა) არანაირი ფორმით და საშუალებით (იქნება ეს ელექტრონული თუ მექანიკური), არ შეიძლება გამოყენებულ იქნას გამომცემლის წერილობითი ნებართვის გარეშე.

საავტორო უფლებების დარღვევა ისჯება კანონით.

## **Si naar si**

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>Tavi 1.</b> tkbil -mware masmedi a. . . . .  | 5          |
| <b>Tavi 2.</b> pol itika - adami anuri<br>xel ovneba. . . . .                                 | 16         |
| <b>Tavi 3.</b> masmedi uri aqsesuar ebi . . . . .   | 32         |
| <b>Tavi 4.</b> mWevr met yvel eba da masmedi a. . . . .                                       | 80         |
| <b>Tavi 5.</b> pol itikuri gadawyvetil ebebi s<br>real izacia masmedi is mi er. . . . .       | 95         |
| <b>qrestomaTi a.</b> . . . . .  | <b>103</b> |
| <b>Tavi 1.</b> aristotel e saxel mwi fosa<br>da pol itiki s Sesaxeb. . . . .                  | 105        |
| <b>Tavi 2.</b> aristotel e _ "ni komaqes eTi ka" _<br>pol itikuri kvi nt esenci ebi . . . . . | 127        |
| <b>Tavi 3.</b> pl atoni saxel mwi fosa<br>da pol itiki s Sesaxeb. . . . .                     | 139        |
| <b>Tavi 4.</b> pl atoni _ "saxel mwi fo" _<br>kvi nt esenci ebi . . . . .                     | 154        |
| <b>Tavi 5.</b> demokrite saxel mwi fosa<br>da pol itiki s Sesaxeb. . . . .                    | 162        |
| <b>Tavi 6.</b> pol itikuri da patriotuli<br>azris kvi nt esenci a. . . . .                    | 169        |
| <b>Tavi 7.</b> bibli uri si br Zne. . . . .   | 189        |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>Tavi 8.</b> kol xi oratorebi.....                                   | 194        |
| <b>Tavi 9.</b> qarTuli saxelmwifo<br>politikis istoriidan.....         | 208        |
| <b>Tavi 10.</b> "Jurnalistikis elementebi".....                        | 278        |
| <b>Tavi 11.</b> darwmunebis ostatoba.....                              | 299        |
| <b>Tavi 12.</b> politikuri ideologiebi<br>(terminTa ganmarTEbani)..... | 304        |
| <b>I eqsikoni</b> .....  | <b>332</b> |
| <b>gamoyenebuli literatura</b> .....                                   | <b>395</b> |

# Tavi 1

## **t kbi l -mwar e masmedi a**

XX saukunis 80-iani wl ebidan pol itikurma da so-  
cial urma procesebma saxe ucval es mTel samyaros. isto-  
riam gansakuTrebiT "umata svl as" XXI saukunis dasawyisSi.  
aSkara Seiqna, rom msofl io stabil uroba aramdgradma  
samyarom Secval a. mindinare procesebma msofl io sazoga-  
doebas SesTavazes axal i, erTmaneTTan mWidrod dakavSire-  
bul i gamowvevebi. am real obidan gamomdinare Tanamedrove  
sazogadoebrivsa Tu pol itikur cxovrebaSi masmediis rol i  
srul iad axl eburad ganisazRvra. Secvl il ma Rirebul e-  
bebma igi metad CarTo social ur Tu pol itikur dapiri-  
spirebebSi. gaxada erT-erTi ZiriTadi monawil e im pro-  
cesebisa, romel mac unda Camooyal ibos gawonasworebul i  
da tol erantul i msofl io axal i sazogadoeba.

pol itikuri miswrafebebis real uri arsi sazogadoe-  
bas masmediuri saSual ebebiT miewodeba, rac mniSvnel ovdad  
zrdis mis rol s. XXI saukunis dasawyisSi kidev ufro  
metad warmocinda gaZl ierebul i interesi am uaRresad  
mniSvnel ovani fenomenisadmi. isini - saxel mwifo pol iti-  
ka da masmedia, urTierTobis srul iad axal formaze gada-  
vidnen, rac gul isxmobs umWidroes TanamSroml obas rogorc  
sagareo, aseve saSinao pol itikaSi. kerZod, saxel mwifom  
masmediisagan sazogadoebrivi Tanxmobis uzrunvel yofa  
moiTxova. masmedia saxel mwifos mmarTvel obis anu pol i-  
tikis universal uri arqiteqturis umniSvnel ovanesi naw-  
il i gaxda.

masmedias kargad esmis, rom saxel mwifos erT-erTi safuZ-

vel i moqal aqeTa Soris Tanxmoba da maTi interesebis dacvaa, amdenad sazogadoeba, romel ic warmoadgens "cocxl ebis, gardacvl il ebis da jer ardabadebul Ta mTl ian j aWvs" masmediuri zrunvis ZiriTadi sagania, roml is ganxorciel ebisas igi emyareba samoqal aqo sazogadoebis polititur Sexedul ebebsa da saerTaSorisod aRiarebul fa-seul obebs.

masmediis nebismier warmomadgenel s unda axsovdes, rom cxovreba cval ebadi da daudgromel ia, WeSmariteba ki cvl il ebeps "nakl ebad megobrobs", radganac, Tavisi bunebiT, maradiul i wesrigis binadaria.

masmediam saxel mwifo politikus sxvadasxva sferos kvl evisas aucil ebl ad unda gaiTval iswinos TiToeul i maTganis individual uroba da isic, rom politika zogjer erTianobis, zogjer ki igi sapirispiro ideebisa da Teoriebis macdunebel i nazavia, sadac TiToeul faqts Tavis l ogikur uzrunvel yofasTan erTad intel eqtual uri Zal ebi da Rrma adamanuri vnebani gansazRvraven.

saxel mwifo politikus erT-erTi ZiriTadi niSani gaxl avT is, rom igi qveynis, dRevandel obisa Tu momavl is, umTavresi, gansazRvrel i faqtoria, rac aucil ebl ad moiTxovs mniSvnel ovani sakiTxebis marTebul , swor gada-wyvetas. masmediam aucil ebl ad "yuri unda ugdos" am rTul da faqiz process, Tumca "kerpTTayvanismceml uri" damokidebul eba romel ime politikuri subieqtisadmi ar unda iqonios.

saxel mwifo politikasTan urTierToba masmedias mraval tkbil -mwares ganacdevinebs. es ukanasknel i yovel Tvis "ar mihyeba" l ogikur anal iza da xSirad agebul ia ara mx-ol od kl asikur gamocdil ebaze, aramed spontanurad Seqm-nil i politikuri situaciis pragmatul ad gamoyenebis survil iT ganisazRvreba.

politikuri el ita saxel mwifo politikis marTvis

centrad moiazrebs pol itikosTa im wres, romel sac Tavad meTaurobs. bunebrivia, masmedias ainteresebs "am gaer-Tianebs" yovel i "axal i faqti", raTa Tval smoridebul i pol itikuri Sexedul ebebi droul ad gaiTavisos. amave dros srul iad gaumarTI ebel i iqneboda masmediis varaudi imis Sesaxeb, rom pol itikuri gundi am "sasurvel s" mas "droze adre" gaumxel s. koordinebis xarisxi saxel mwifo pol itikasa da masmedias Soris cval ebadia, SeiZl eba iTqvas, aramyaric, radgan cval ebadia Tavad pol itika, romel sac saxel mwifo mimarTavs.

*masmediisagan pol itikis "Seswavl a" ni Snavs im impul sTa gaazrebas, romel mac moZraobaSi moiyvana esa Tu is pol itikuri azri.*

faqtia, rom cal keul pirovnebaTa pol itikuri "temperamenti" zogjer gadamwyvet zegavl enas axdens saxel mwifo pol itikaze. rig SemTxvevaSi, TiToeul i maTgani sakuTari interpretaciiTaa "gatacebul i", rac safrTxes uqmnis saxel mwifo pol itikis mTavar mizans, radganac erTiani ideis drosac ki Tval Si sacemia uamravi, gansxvavebel i Sexedul ebebiT aRWurvil pol itikosTa simravle.

saxel mwifos pol itikuri orientacia didad gansazRv-ravs mis "qcevas" saerTasoriso arenaze, migvaniSnebs mis mier aRiarebul moralur principebze, tradiciul kavSirebsa da mosal odnel qmedebze.

pol itika transformirebadia da kargad fl obs gardasaxvis xerxebes. Tumca, am cval ebadobiT mizani ucvl el i rCeba.

*pol itika amouwurav SesaZl ebl obaTa xel ovnebaa, romelic adamiანის გონის უმარი es safexurze miuTitebs.*

pol itikis cval ebadoba mTI ianadaa damokidebul i cxovre-  
biseul real obaze, romel ic drois Sesabamisad icvl is  
pol itikuri TviTdamkvidrebis xerxebsa da meTodebs.

*pol itika xSirad "maradiul i bavSvis" STabelWdiI eba-  
sac stovebs, mizezi amisa - misi "gauTavebel i Wirveu-  
I obaa".*

nebismieri pol itikuri mimarTul eba ibadeba da viTardeba.  
masmediis upirvel esi sakvl evic swored am procesSia. am  
gzaze igi xSirad Tavidan ver aicil ebs damabrkol ebel  
winaaRmdgobebs, romel ic iqneba manam, sanam iarsebebs ori  
"dapirispirebul i" mxare \_ masmedia da pol itika.

marTal ia, maT Soris Znel ad miirweva harmonia, magram  
misken l tol va, orives saSual ebas miscemda sakiTxTa arsebi-  
Ti mxarisaTvis "miewvdinaT xel i". es iqneboda maTi yve-  
laze srul qmnil i urTierTsemecneba. amave dros isic  
cnobil ia, rom "azrTa gamriged" masmedia mxol od maSin  
moiazreba, rodesac igi sazogadoebis maRal i ndobiT sarge-  
bl obs.

masmediis nebismier warmomadgenel Si intel eqtual ur  
TvisebaTa siuxve misi srul qmnil ebis niSania. es uka-  
nasknel i ki grZnobad-konkretul samyarosTan mniSvnel o-  
van wil nayarobaze migvitiTebis.

masmediisagan saxel mwifo pol itikis (ise rogorc nebis-  
mieris) swori aRqma da sazogadoebaSi aqcentireba xel s  
uwyobs mis gavrcel ebasa da Sesabamis sivrceSi kidiT  
kidemde ganfenas.

eTikuri, eTetikuri da intel eqtual uri normebis  
damkvidreba pol itikaSi safuZvel s uyris adekvaturi  
bunebis mqone masmediis arsebobs. Tu saxel mwifo pol i-  
tika "gonivrul moqmedebaTa anarekl ia", maSin masmedias  
mtkice safuZvel i uCndeba moqmedebisa da ganvitarebi-  
saTvis.

pol itika garkveul i piri an piriTa "Semoqmedebis nayofia", romel ic Tavidanve irCevs mTavar mizanTan misaRwev gzebs, aucil ebl ad iTval iswinebs SesaZl ebel garTul ebebs - "gverdiT movl enebS", roml eblc, rogorc wesi, aucil ebl ad iCenen TavS procesis msvl el obisas, amdenad pol itikuri "Canafiqri" Tavidanve Seicavs rogorc aucil ebl ad gasaxorciel ebel s, aseve "dasaTmobsac".

suverenis rol i saxel mwifo pol itikaSi udidesia, igi maqsimal urad unda Seecados rom pol itika, romel sac is meurveobs, misi "sidiadis Sesaferi" iyos. marTebul ad warmoqnil i pol itikuri idea, msgavs pol itikasa da l iders Sobs da, piriqiT.

*pol itikaSi xel aRebiT mowoneba iseve ara sworia, rogorc xel aRebiT uaryofa.*

pol itikam masmediis saSual ebiT marTal is, utyuari motivebiT aRWurvil is, Zal mosil eba unda SeiZinos, raTanakl ebi winaaRmdegobiT SeZl os sasurvel is miRweva. nebis-mier saxel mwifo pol itikaSi arsebobs mudmivi da cval e-badi interesi. isini maSin axdenen mTel i sazogadoebis "eqspansias", rodesac moiazrebian swori, marTebul i azris simbol od. erTiani ideis cxovel myofel oba gansakuTrebul i xibl iT warmoaCens pol itikisa da masmediis urTierTkavSirs. Jurnal isti RirsebiT unda epyrobodes nebis-mieri ideis safuZvel ze warmoSobil sxvadasxva azrs, radganac "pl ural izmi friad gonivrul i kompromisia, romel ic Tavidan agvacil ebs monizmis siZnel eebS da, imavdroul ad, dasaSvebs xdis garkveul wesrigs".

**[pl atoni, timeosi. Tb., 1994, gv.147]**

pol itikis erT-erTi Tviseba misi siWrel e da mraVal -ferovnebaa, swored es faqtori gansazRvravs rogorc mis

konfiguracias, aseve Sinagan samyaros, rogorc aRvniSneT, es ukanasknel i adiamanis gons emyareba. romel ic Tavisi bunebiT mTI ianad racional uria. swored igi fl obs da Seimecnebs sabol oo Sedegebs. gza, romel sac pol itika gaivl is sawyisidan finiSamde \_ sakmaod rTul ia da aucil ebl ad iTxovs mudmiv Tanadgomas. "sazrdo" romel ic mas ama Tu im monakveTze miwodeba dazRveul unda iqnas "yovel gvri mankierebisagan", araswori informaciisagan. masmediuri wyaroebi am funqciis brwyinval e Semsrul ebel ni arian.

svadasxva pol itikur ideaTagan TiToeul i Taviseburad iRwvis "qaosis mosawesrigebl ad". isini gvTavazoben gegmas, romel mac idea real ur Zal ad unda gadaaqcios. amave dros sapirispiro pol itikur azrTa uwyveti brZol a garkveul i ukompromisobiTac xasiaTdeba, isini gamudmebiT ej axebian, isxl eten da irekl aven erTmaneTs.

nebismieri pol itikuri koncefciis ganxil visas upirvel esi adgil i eTmoba real obis grZnobad aRqmas, Semdgom \_ gonivrul gansjas, romel Taganac prioriteti aucil ebl ad unda mieniWos ukanasknel s, radganac swored is gvaZl evs WeSmarit warmodgenebs. rac Seexeba grZnobad aRqmas, igi TiTqmis yovel Tvis "gvatyvevebs", radganac emociazea gaTvl il i. gonivrul i gansja, marTal ia, metnaki ebad dacl il ia emociebisagan, magram real obiTaa aRsave.

***pol itikis fundamenturi principi svadasxva xerxebi-Ta Tu saSual ebi T misTvis sasurvel is damkvi drebaa.***

mtki cebul ebebi s moZi ebi sa da Tvi Tdamkvi drebi s "ekli i angzaze" pol itikas "surs" masmedi a moi azros im mokavSi red, romel ic mudmi vad mxars dauWers mas. es ki zogjer "tkbil -mware masmedi as" sakmao uxer xul obas uqmnis, radganac igi "cudad egueba" vasal ur mdgomareobas da mTel i Zal iT

obi eqtur obasa da si mar TI eze dayr dnobi TI i der obi sa-  
ken mi uwevs gul i. ami to mac pol itikuri el ita masmedi i sa-  
gan xSir ad ver gr Znobs Ser madi ni s fenomens, arc Tu ise  
i SviaT ad xdeba safuZvel i maT Soris krizisul i urT-  
ierT obebi s Camoyal i bebi sa.

***masmedia da pol itika samar adJamod "arian gawir ul ni"  
TanamSroml obisaTvis.***

rogorc pol itikis, aseve masmediis srul qmnil i xati  
warmoudgenel ia maTi urTierTkavSiris gareSe. pol itikuri  
speqtri masmediasTan urTierTobisas Tavisi gonebrivi  
sidiadis, Sinagani sinatifisa da daxvewil obis demonstri-  
rebas axdens, raTa am ukanasknel is simpaTia moi povos.

masmedia, romel sac srul ad damsaxurebul ad uwode-  
ben goni er ebi s sxivosan Suqs, Tavi si j adoqr ul i xibl iT  
da momxi bvl el i mSveni er ebi T exeba epoqi s yvel a aspeqtsa  
da sazogadoebis yvel a struqtur ul Wril s, awvdis mas  
fasdaudebel i nformacias.

masmediuri Tval sazrisiT yovel i pol itikuri mov-  
l ena kavSirSia rogorc saxel mwifoebri v interesebTan,  
aseve wmi nda adami anur vnebebTan, romel sac moqal aqeTa  
j gufi an cal ke i ndi vi di gamoxatavs, amdenad masmedia is  
meqani zmi a, romel i c pi rvel i gr Znobs rogorc pol itikur,  
aseve social ur bi Zgebs.

svxvadasxva masmediuri wyaroebi WeSmaritebis wvdomis  
gansxvavebul xerxebsa da saSual ebebs iyeneben. vinc yve-  
l aze Rrmad Caswvdeba probl emis Zireul i aspeqtebis yve-  
l aze obieqtur suraTs, is pi rvel i gamoavl ens CvenTvis  
saintereso faqts.

saxel mwifo mmarTvel obiTi sistemis ganCxrekvisas

sainformacio wyaroebi gansakuTrebul sibrZnes unda mima-  
rTavdnen. gaazrebul i urTierTkavSiri masmediasa da sax-  
el mwifo pol itikas Soris mTI ianad gamoricxavs im sax-  
ifaTo cdomil ebebs, roml ebic ki SeiZl eba, nebsiT Tu un-  
ebl ieT, warmoiSvas maTi Tanaarsebobis gzaze.

cxovrebiseul ma diplomatiam didi sifrTxile da  
windaxedul oba SesZina masmedias, amitom igi Tavis tradici-  
ul damokidebul ebas pol itikasTan mudmivad xveys da  
srul yofs.

masmedias unda axsovdes rom yvel aze Tamami azrebi  
da ideebi yvel aze daucvel ni da mi usafarni arian. amitom  
maT avtorebs gansakuTrebul i SorsmWvretel oba da  
winaswari gansjis unari unda axasiaTebdeT. ramdenadac  
martosulia Tamami azri dasawyissi, imdenad mraval-  
ricxovani xdeba igi gamarj vebis Semdeg, radganac sakacob-  
rio istoriasiarasdras gamoil evian "qvegamxedvarni".

masmedia val debul ia, gonivrul i dasabuTebis meSveobiT,  
ama Tu im pol itikur iniciativaze, WeSmariti warmodgena  
miawodos sazogadoebas. amave dros masmedias kargad unda  
axsovdes rom nebismieri azris araswori interpretacia  
iwveys real obis sapirispiro aRqmas, romel ic friad arasa-  
survel i SedegiT mTavrdeba.

masmediam, sanam igi sabol oo verdiqts gamoitans, pol i-  
tikur Zal Ta survil ebi aucil ebl ad unda "Seuwonos-  
woros" sazogadoebriv azrs, riTac Tavidan aicil ebs "pir-  
wminda SemTxveviTobebs", roml ebic massa da pol itikur  
wreebs Soris konstruqciul i urTierTobis moSl is mizezi  
SeiZl eba gaxdes.

masmedia "maradmaZiebel i azris" matarebel ia, romel ic  
"cdil obs" momavl is miseul xedvas "Seuwonos" saxel mwi-  
fos pol itikis interesebi. mas kargad esmis rom pol i-

tika udidesi sazrisis mqonea da rom am sazriss miseul i "ganmartebac sWirdeba". pol itika, romel ic warmoadgens azrTa da Sexedul ebaTa srul yofis xel ovnebas, maqsimal urad cdil obs koncentrirebul i, mtkice da gamZl e forme-bi mianiWos Tavis namoRvawars. SemoqmedebiTi energia, romel ic ama Tu im pol itikur mimarTul ebaSia Cadebul i, gajerebul ia miznis Sesuferisi TvissebebiT: saxel mwifo interesebiT, pol itikuri pativmoyvareobiT, Zal aufl ebis wyurvil iT, rel igiuri rwmeniT an social uri konfl iqte-biT. pol itikosis xedvasa da cxovrebisadmi damokidebul ebas gansazRvravs ara mxol od piradi ganwyoba, aramed saxel mwifo interesic.

am procesSi masmediur saSual ebebs eniWebat udidesi pasuxismgebl oba, raTa sazogadoebis TiToeul wevrs mieces saSual eba sakuTari Tval iT Seafasos momxdaris an mosaxdenis yovel i detal i.

*masmediis survil i - daeufl os pol itikis "metyvle faqtebs" - saSual ebas miscems mas drosa da sivrcesi sworad gansazRvros Tavis moqmedeba, radgananebismieri pol itika saxel mwifosa da sazogadoebis saer To miswrafebebis produqtia.*

masmedia unda Seecados ipovos is gasaRebi, roml iTac aixsneba tabu im mniSvel ovan faqtorebze, roml ebic praqtikul ad gansazRvraven saxel mwifo pol itikuri manqanis moZraobas.

masmedia unda daxel ovndes sinamdvil isa da WeSmaritebis wvdomis yvel a niuansSi, raTa daicvas Tavi garkveul i wreebis axirebul obisagan.

masmediam unda Seiswavl os da sakuTar gonebiT unda Seafasos sxvadasxva pol itikur procesTa istoria, anu SeimuSaos codna imis Sesaxeb Tu ra moutania pol itikur

svl as bednierebisa Tu ubedurebis saxiT, raTa masze dayrd-nobiT SeZl os warsul isa Tu momavl is swori komenti-reba.

*Tu xel ovneba da mecniereba mZl avri iaraRia adamia-nis arsis amosacnobad, pol itika namdvil ad warmoad-gens TiToeul i maTganis cxovrebis da arsebobis fundaments, romel mac Tavis droze ganapiroba maTi amgvarad ganviTareba.*

masmedias iotisodena "saerToc ara aqvs" simSvidesa da kmayofil ebasTan. yovel SemTxvevaSi es Tvisbebi, misi bune-bidan gamomdinare, namdvil ad ver gamodgeba aqtiuri poziciis SesanarCunebl ad.

masmediam Semoqmedebis gzaze, upirvel es yovl isa, unda gamoiyenos is garemo, romel sac zedmiwevniT icnobs. mas-mediuri niWis erT-erTi gamoxatul eba j avariani sityvaa. sityvismier xatSi Zal umad unda igrZnobodes wrfel i sindisi, romel ic zogistvis tkbil i iqneba, zogistvis – mware. masmediam pol itikuri moZraobis is marcval i unda SearCios, romel ic yvel aze ukeT gamoxatavs mis dedaazrs.

*masmediuri publicistika ar unda uqmnides arc mis avtors da arc mkiTxvel s pasiurobisa da gul arxeinobis grZnobas, radganac masmediuri cxovreba, pirvel yovl isa, ni Snavs mudmi v si fxiZl esa da profesikul i arCevani sadmi erTgul ebas.*

masmedia qmnis suraTs pol itikis Sesaxeb, cxovreba mis-Tvis is sarkea, saidanac kompl eqtdeba misi "mxatvrul i til os" yvel a personaJi.

dauRal avi Sroma masmediisaTvis yvel aze metad niS-neul ia, radgan survil i pol itikur "TamaSebSi" monawil e-obisa arasdros kvdeba, ise rogorc \_ Tavad pol itika.

pol itikuri sakiTxebis kvl evisas masmedias gansakuTre-  
bul i pasuxismgebl oba da argumentacia sWirdeba, radganac  
es sakiTxi Zal ze del ikaturia.

arc erTi masmediuri wyaro, arc erTi Jurnal isturi  
naRvawi araa dazRveul i Secdomisa da uzustobisagan, rac  
xSirad mosdevs faqtebis interpretacias. amave dros mas-  
medias unda axsovdes, rom sasurvel i azris interpreta-  
cia dasaSvebia mxol od da mxol od im proporciiT, romel ic  
ar dauSvebs faqtis namdvil i bunebis kardinal ur cval eba-  
dobas. faqtis pirvel adi komentirebisas masmediam Tavi  
unda Seikavos orWoful i, saeWvo Sefasebisagan, romel ic  
SeiZl eba gaxdes "Semdgomi garTul ebebis" biZgi. yovel  
masmediur wyaros unda axsovdes rom azris "proporciul o-  
bis dacva" da faqtisadmi swori midgoma misi warmatebis  
utyuari safuZvel ia.

## Tavi 2

### pol itika \_ adami anuri xel ovneba

pol itika saxel mwifo mmarTvel obis umTavresi RerZia, romel ic gansazRvravs ama Tu im qveynis saSinao Tu saga-reo kurss. masmedia saxel mwifo pol itikasTan mimarTeba-Si aucil ebl ad icavs "Caurevl obis" pol itikas manam, san-am aRniSnul i pol itikuri kursi sazogadoebisaTvis mis-aRebia. im SemTxvevaSi Tu sazogadoebis mniSvnel ovani nawil i gamoTqvams ukmayofil ebas saxl mwifo pol itikis mimarT, maSin masmedia val debul ia ikisros Suamaval is rol i, romel ic daaregul irebs maT Soris urTierTobebs da da-exmareba orive mxares konsesuis miRwevaSi. Tu mowinaaR-mdege mxareebi (saxel mwifo mmarTvel oba da sazogadoeba) ver rigdebian saxel mwifos pol itikuri veqtoris gansa-zRvraSi. maSin masmedia cdil obs ufro Rmad Caswvdes am sakiTxs da orive mxaris survil iT Seudges im utyuari al ibis moZiebas, roml ebze dayrdnobiTac xel isufl ebam unda ganaxorciel os saxel mwifo pol itikis axal i kursi.

saxel mwifo pol itika es aris uzarmazari struqtura, romel ic sxvadasxva pol itikuri da arapol itikuri ganStoebebisagan Sedgeba, TiToeul i maTgani garkveul sferos kurirebs, romel Ta erTobl ivi qmedebiTac yal ib-deba sakiTxisadmi erTiani midgoma da saxl mwifo pol i-tikis gansazRvra. saxl mwifo pol itika moicavs perspeq-tiul da mimdinare aucil ebel gegmebs, romel Ta ganxor-ciel eba saxel mwifo moxel eebis mier sxvadasxvagvari midgomiT gamoirCeva.

masmedia saxel mwifo pol itikis "Semswavl el i mecniere-

baa", igi interesdeba saxel mwifos ara mxol od strategiul i mimarTul ebiT, aramed sxvadasxva umniSvnel ovanesi proeqtebis ganxorciel ebiT. amdenad, masmediis warmomadgenel i, romel ic am Temaze muSaobs "axl os dgas" mmarTvel o-biT el itasaTan da met-nakl ebad icnobs im "Sida samzareul os", romel ic faqtiurad warmarTavs saxel mwifo pol itikas. masmedia val debul ia Tval -yuri adevnos am procesis gamWvirval obas. man unda warmoaCinos is pol itikuri xerxi an xerxebi, romel sac mimarTavs saxel m-წივო პოლიტიკა -თვითმყოფალობის შესანარჩუნებლად. თუ qveynis pol itikuri mmarTvel oba Seecdeba misTvis arasa-survel i niuansebis dafarvas mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis Sesaxeb. maSin masmediuri saSual ebebi val debul ni arian sazogadoebas damaj erebl ad auxsnan momxdari da, xal xTan erTad, moiTxovon pasuxi saxel mwifo mmarTvel o-bis maRal i eSel onebidan.

saxel mwifo pol itika, rogorc ukve zemoT aRvniSneT, rTul i strukturaa, ris gamoc masze masmediis "kontroli" advil ad ver ganxorciel deba. mmarTvel i eSel onebi (nebsiT Tu unebi iT) xel s uSI ian mis "bej iTobas" ama Tu im sakiTxis Seswavl isas, riTac isini arRveven masmedi-isaTvis miniWebul saerTaSoriso ufl ebebs, rac aucil e-bl ad mkacri Sefasebis safuZvel i unda gaxdes. saxel mwifo pol itika moicavs qveynis rogorc saSianaos, aseve sagareo pol itikuri procesebis erTobl iobas. masmediis warmomadgenel i, romel ic am sakiTxze muSaobs aucil e-bl ad unda iyos safuZvl ianad garkveul i, rogorc erTi, ise meore sakiTxis "pol itikur qsovil Si". kanonTa "mSra-ლი" codna ver miscems Jurnal ists imis saSual ebas, rom man amomwuravad Seiswavl os da daasabuTos ama Tu im sakiTxis marTebul oba; saxel mwifo pol itikuri el ita, marTal ia, ar aris val debul i yovel i axal i gadawyvetil eba SeuTanxmos medias, Tumca umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebis

ganxorciel ebisa da gadawyvetail ebis miRebisas mmarTvel i eSel oni val debul ia presis, tel eviziis, brifingebisa da sxva masmediuri saSual ebebiT auwyos sazogadoebas momx-daris an mosaxdenis Sesaxeb. roml is upirvel esi Semfasebel i swored masmediuri wyaroebia, roml ebsac mocemul i periodisaTvis sxvaze metad xel ewifebaT sakiTxis simwvave da mniSvnel oba. amdenad masmedia "mudmivad akontrol ebs" saxel mwifo pol itikas da cdil obs maqsimal urad gamWvirval e gaxados misi qmedeba.

saxel mwifo pol itika mudmivad eZebis "sasurvel partnors" masmediaSi, radganac am ukanasknel s yovel Tvis SeuZl ia sazogadoebis gul isyuris mipyroba da saxel mwifo pol itikaSi damaj erebel i saxeebis Seqmna. verc erTi masmediuri gamokvl eva ver eziareba srul yofil ebas movl enaTa pasiuri aRqmis gziT. masmediur saSual ebaTa aqtiuri goni, misi subieqturi xasiaTi, misi sindisi aris winapiroba faqtis obieqturi SefasebisaTvis, "usul o" da "utyvi", mSral i masal is ametyvel ebisaTvis. masmediis uaxl oesi megobari unda iyos is "eTikuri fenomeni", romel mac konkretul i, mxol od zedapirul ad xil ul i sagani, pasiuri sferodan cocxal, aqtiur formaSi unda gadaiyvanos. misi mizani real obas mij aWvul i sinamdvil is maqsimal urad ametyvel ebaa.

sxvadasxva masmediuri xerxebi SeiZl eba erT j adosnur sityvaSi iqnas asaxul i, roml is saxel ic masmediuri xel ovneba iqneboda, Jurnal istika cxovrebis dinamur process asaxavs, misi Semoqmedeba danaxul is, mosmenil isa da aRweril is Tanagancdaa. amdenad, igi uaRresad dial oguri da dial eqtikuria.

masmedia ar SeiZl eba saxel mwifo pol itikis "mona" iyos da Tavisi "baton-patronis" neba-survil is gaTval iswinebiT cvl ides pol itikisadmi damokidebul ebas. WeSmariti principebis gareSe masmedia daemsgavseba im gul -

qva mematiānes, romel ic "samefo karis" uSual o dakveTas asrul ebs. igi aramc da aramc Tavis damokidebul ebas ar unda icvl ides pol itikurad "momgebianobisa" gamo, yovel Tvis unda xedavdes feierverkebis miRma arsebul real obas, roml is gauTval iswinebl obac srul absurdamde miiyvans. masmedia Sinaganad unda grZnobdes pol itikur l abirinTebSi arsebul (SesaZl ebel ) dapirispirebebs. saxel mwifo pol itika, romel ic mraVal waxnagovania, yovel Tvis iqneba masmediis "noyieri samoqmedo obieqti". Jurnal isti arasdros unda gaxdes "afeqtebis mona". man aucil ebl ad unda gamoiyenos konstruqciul oba da pol itikuri gamWriaxoba samoqmedo l ogikis asagebad. saxel mwifo pol itikis "gadmocema" metyvel ebs igavuri stil iT, masmediisTvis ar unda iyos ucxo, tabuirebul i, vinaidan igi mas saSual ebas aZl evs zogjer bevrad ufro meti Tqvas, vidre Ria teqstiT gadmocemul i real oba. maRal i professional izmi aris is gasaRebi, roml iTac masmediis warmomadgenel ma unda SesZl os saxel mwifo pol itikis arsebit nawil Si garkveva. amasTanave mas yuradRebis gareSe ar unda darCes arc erTi umniSvnel o faqti, radgan "is rac arsebobis Rirsia, Secnobis Rirsicaa". masmedia saxel mwifo pol itikasTan mimarTebaSi ar unda iyos "fardis axdis" moml odine, arc yovel iveSi eWvis Setanaa masmediis amocana. igi ganuxrel ad unda iRvwodes Tavis wvl il is clankvidrebisaTvis mTavari probl emis gaSuqebasa Tu gaanalizebaSi, gaxdes erT-erTi mTavari subieqti da sayrdeni saxel mwifo pol itikis principebis sworad Camoyal ibebisa. "gverdidan tkboba" masmediis udides Secdomad unda CaiTval os, amave dros zomierebac bevrad gansazRvravs masmediur warmatebas, Tumca oqros Sual edis Zebna yovel Tvis araa momgebiani da igi xSirad masmediuri inertul obis safuZvel ic ki xdeba.

pol itikisa da masmediis urTierToba arsebitad Tavs

iyris konkretul i saxel mwifo movl enis irgvl iv, igi mxol od maSin xdeba am procesis Rirseul i monawil e, rodesac orive mxare mowadinebul ia WeSmaritebis dasadgenad.

masmedia, romel ic sazogadoebaze zemoqmedebis yvel aze qmediTi instrumentia, uaRresad didi pasuxismgebl obis matarebel i subieqtia, romel zedac bevradaa damokidebul i saxel mwifo pol itikisa Tu sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis nebismieri waxnagis swori, marTebul i aRqma, romel ic gansakuTrebul i sifrTxil iT da gaazrebul obiT unda iqnas mitanil i sazogadoebis TiToeul wevramde. masmediisTvis mTavari faseul oba adamiania. WeSmariti masmediuri moral i yovel Tvis ugul ebel yofs mikerZoebis princips. moral uri da esTetikuri sqemebi udides zegavl enas axdenen masmediaze da mis msofl mxedvel obas maradJam gonier sawyisze afuzneben. Jurnal isturi asaxvis ideal s aucil ebl ad unda gansazRvravdes Tanamedroveobisa da real obis umZafresi ganca. asaxvis obieqtis universal uroba, iseTi, rogoric saxel mwifo pol itikas axasiaTebis, masmedias yovel Tvis udides impul ss aniWebs.

masmediis damokidebul eba saxel mwifo pol itikisadmi konstruqciul i principebiT unda xorciel debodes. saxel mwifo pol itika, romel ic Sedgeba mudmivi da cval eba di interesebisagan masmedias "saSual ebas aZl evs" iyos movl enaTa centrSi, radganac pol itika es aris adamianebis gansakuTrebul i moRvaweoba, sadac yvel aze metad vl indeba maTive buneba, Tu ramdenad arian isini sxvadasxva mniSvnel ovan sakiTxTa mimarT subieqtturni Tu obieqtturni.

sazogadoebas da saxel mwifo pol itikas erTi sabol oo mizani aqvT – Zl ieri saxel mwifos Seqmna. ideis erTiano-ba saxel mwifo mmartvel obas aniWebs marTvis procesebis SeuzRudavad warmarTvas manam, sanam imave sazogadoebas ar

gauCndeba eWvi imisa, rom saxel mwifo mmarTvel obaSi dominantobs subieqturi, mxol od mmarTvel i Zal isaTvis sasurveli politika.

mediis, masobrivi komunikaciis saSual ebebis swori da efeqturi gamoyeneba uaRresad mniSvnel ovania saxel mwifo politikis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebaSi, vinaidan igi yvelaze ufro efeqturi gzaa sazogadoebaze "gavl enis mosaxdenad".

"politika moicavs sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis yvela sferos. misi codna aucil ebel ia adamianebisaTvis. rasac cxadyofs aristotel es sityvebi: "adamiani aris politikuri arseba da swored politika gansazRvravs mis ZiriTad sacicocxlo interesebsa da cxovrebis arss".

**politikas randeni me funqcia aqvs:**

- sazogadoebis mTli anobisa da stabil urobis uzrunvel yofis funqcia;
- erToblivi moRvaveobis mobilizaciisa da efqturobis funqcia;
- mmarTvel obisa da regulaciis funqcia;
- racionalizaciis funqcia;
- politikuri socializaciis funqcia;
- humanitaruli funqcia.

politika aris adamianta moTxovnil ebebidan da interesebidan gamomdinare sazogadoebis TandaTanobiti modernizaciis saSual eba.

politikuri sistemisa da politikuri xel isuflebis ZiriTadi institutia saxel mwifo. amitom, politika unda miviCnioT saxel mwifo saqmeebSi monawil eobad, an saxel mwifo moRvaveobis ZiriTad Sinaarsad da formad.

politikas aqvs ori ZiriTadi mxare: 1. saSinao da 2. sagareo.

saSinao pol itika gul isxmobs erovnul -saxel mwifoeb-rivi pol itikuri mowyobis formebs, erovnul -pol itikur interesebs, adamanTa pol itikur ufl ebebs da Tavisu-fl ebis sakiTxebis.

sagareo pol itika \_ saerTaSoso pol itikur urTier-Tobebs, romel ic ganisazRvreba saxel mwifos sagareo-pol itikuri mimarTul ebebiT.

saSinao da sagareo pol itikis mizani unda iyos erovnul i da saxel mwifo interesebis ganxorciel eba, damoukidebl o-bisa da suverenitetis ganmtkiceba.

pol itika, Tavisu arsiT da funcionierebiT mecnier-basa da xel ovnebas wadmoadgens. igi mecnierebaa im Sexed-ul ebiT, rom pol itikuri cxovrebis mowyoba da modern-izacia Rma mecnierul gaazrebazea damokidebul i. pol i-tikis, rogorc xel ovnebis Sinaarsi moicavs kompromis da konsensusis miRwevas, manevrireas da dafarul i pro-cesebis amocnobis unars.

pol itika interesTa Tanxvedris xel ovnebaa. mosaxl e-oba (masa), sazogadoeba (sociumi), garkveul momentSi Sei-ZI eba am interess ver acnobierebdes, magram igi pol iti-kosebma unda gaacnobieron. pol itikas mrisxane, umowyal o kanonebi aqvs, am kanonebis ignorirebas, upasuxismgebl obas da gul arxeinobas igi aravis apatiebs. pol itikaSi racional uri gaTvl a araTu sasurvel ia, aramed raciona-l uri sawyisis gareSe pol itika saerTod ar arsebobs. swored amitom Tqva XX s-is udidesma moazrovnem a. ain-Stainma aseTi sityvebi: "pol itika fizikaze bevrad rTu-ll i mecnierebaa" \_ da israel is prezidentobaze uari ganacxada.

pol itikaSi zogj er cinizmi imarj vebs, xol o "gul Cvi-l oba" da "keTil Sobil eba" sibriyvisa da sil aCris "si-nonimia".

ukompromisoba da radikal izmi, pol itikaSi umecrebis,

primitivizmis gamovl inebaa, vinaidan igi manevrisaTvis auci-  
l ebel sivrces aRar utovebs pol itikoss. es sivrce  
mistvis ki, marTI ac, sasicoxla oa, vinaidan "SesaZl ebel is  
miRweva" \_ pol itikis ZiriTadi kanonia.

[i. kvesel ava, e. gvenetaZe, "pol itol ogia".  
Tb., 2004. gv. 3-5]

saxel mwifo pol itika gul wrfel ad unda usmendes  
sazogadoebis im ganwyoba-midrekil ebas, romel ic masmedi-  
am mas piruTvel ad unda miawodos, raTa man droul ad  
SeZl os saTanado sakontaqto gzebis povna; saxel mwifo  
pol itika, romel ic, upirvel es yovl isa, moqmedebs qveynis  
subieqturi interesebis gaTval iswinebiT, amave dros unda  
icnobdes im obieqtur sinamdvil es, romel ic drois am  
monakveTSi sazogadoebis umTavres interesebs gamoxatavs.  
masmedia is Sual eduri rgol ia, romel sac SeuZl ia adami-  
anebis maJorul i mdgomareobidan nihil isturSi gadayvana  
da piriqiT. srul i harmoniis miRweva mxol od maSinaa  
SesaZl ebel i, rodesac sazogadoebrivi da saxel mwifo  
pol itikis interesebi identuria.

saxel mwifo pol itika gaazrebul moqmedebaTa mwyobri  
sistematica, romel ic nakl ebadaa gaTval il i "wvriil pol i-  
tikur SegrZnebebze", Tumca maTi gaTval iswineba interes-  
Ta sferoSi didad waadgeba saxel mwifo pol itikis mes-  
veurT. stabil uri saxel mwifo pol itika qveynis mar-  
Tvel TaTvis pirdapiri garantiaa sazogadoebisagan mxardaW-  
eris misaRebad. roml is mosapovebl adac masmedia Seucv-  
l el ia, radgan igiyvel aze ukeTaa informirebul i sazoga-  
doebrivi yofierebis saWirboroto sakiTxebze, masmedia  
Tavadaa am informaciis mompovebel i da mxil vel ic. man  
arasdros unda imuSaos WeSmariti, swori mimarTul ebis  
sawinaaRmdogod anu marTebul i saxel mwifo pol itikis  
sazianod. aseve rogorc ar unda daexmaros mas \_ saxel m-

wifos, arsebitis micqmal vaSi. masmedia mxol od da mxol od samarTl ianobas unda msaxurobdes.

masmedia uaRresad dinamiuri sociumia, romel ic sazogadoebis yvel a sferos, yvel a fenas moicavs, amitom nebismieri movl ena am farTo speqtrSi misi monawil eobit xorciel deba, igi "warmarTavs" adamianta qmedebas miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad, magram sazogadoeba ama Tu im Jurnal istur producias, maSin "aRiqvams srul ad", rodesac TavadaC "mzadaa" am informaciis misaRebad. es ukanaskneli gansakutrebit uwyobs xel s sazogadoebas nebismieri sakiTxisadmi individual uri azris Camoyal ibebaSi. rogorc vxedavT, masmediis monawil eoba sazogadoebis marTvaSi srul iad gamokvetil ia da aucil ebel i.

politika Tavisi arsit zneobriobis ideal i ver iqneba, radganac saxel mwifo interesebi zogjer (nebit Tu unebliet) zneobriobidan gamomdinare, ver iqneba ideal uri, rac masmediasac kargad esmis. Tumca politikosisagan mis upirvel es motxovnad umaRl esi samarTl ianobis dacva rCeba.

masmediis mier saxel mwifo politikis "daqumacebuli" aRqma angrevs masSi arsebul mTavar racional urmarcval s. igi SeiZl eba gadaiqces saxel mwifos winsvl is an ukusvl is xel ovnur saSual ebad.

saxel mwifo politika ar unda iyos masmediisaTvis SeuRwevadi bastioni da arc morRveul godol iani cixesimagre. saxl mwifo politikam sworad unda gansazRvros is Tu meramdene godol ze "SieZl eba miuaxl ovdes" masmedia saxel mwifo politikis "dedaazrs".

nebismier politikur gadawyvetil ebas swirdeba realizacia, roml is gareSec igi azrs mokl ebul ia. Tvit detal urad damuSavebul i sakiTxic ki aucil ebl ad saWiroebs dasabuTebasa da sazogadoebamde marTebul ad mitanas. masmediam swored es funqcia unda Seasrul os. rig SemTxvevaSi ganmartos is "bundovani azri" da simbol o, romel ic

dipl omatiurad, pol itikuri l eqsikiTaa SeniRbul i. mas-  
medias Zal uZs didi mowiwebac aRZras nebismieri sakiTx-  
isadmi da didi siZul vil ic, radgan azris interpretaci-  
is xel ovnebas da SesaZl ebl obas is yvel aze ukeT fl obs.  
sazogadoebrivi azris koncentracia da sasurvel ze aqcen-  
tireba yvel aze ukeT swored masmedias exerxeba. saerTod  
pol itikisaTvis, da miT umetes saxel mwifo pol itiki-  
saTvis, ucxo araa azris gamoxatvis iseTi l literaturu-  
l i forma, rogoric al egoriaa, roca Tavad movl ena ar  
saxel deba, magram SefarviT iTqmeba ufro meti, ufro Rrma  
da WeSmariti azri, vidre misi pirdapiri fiqsirebisas.

masmedia saxel mwifo pol itikis refl eqsis gamoxatu-  
l ebaa. es refl eqsi icvl eba imisda mixedviT, Tu ras  
moiTxovs aRniSnul i droisTvis saxel mwifo interesi da  
samoqal aqo sazogadoeba. samyaros (saxel mwifos) pol i-  
tikuri cvl ebadoba masmediisagan moiTxovs ara mxol od  
mWvretel ur damokidebul ebas real urad arsebul i faqte-  
bisadmi, aramed im probl emis siRrmiseul wvdomas, romel -  
ic safuZvl ad daedo aseT saxecvl il ebas. imisaTvis, rom  
am kuTxiT masmediuri kvl eva sworad warimarTos, auci-  
l ebel ia winaswari gansazRvra da Camoyal ibeba im inter-  
esebisa, romel Ta safuZvl iani Sej erebiT masmedia SeZl ebs  
zemoT aRniSnul cvl il ebaTa mizezebis dadgenas. amave  
dros mas kargad unda axsovdas, rom dRes sazogadoebrivi  
cxovrebis yvel a sfero gaj erebul ia sxvadasxva pol i-  
tikuri interesebiT.

saxel mwifo pol itikisadmi sazogadoebis interesis  
aRzeveba-daqveiteba masmediis prerogativaa. sazogadoebis  
ndoba Jurnal isturi korpusisadmi WeSmaritad didia,  
radganac gul wrfel i sityvebiT gadmocemul i azri adami-  
anebs exmareba maTive gonebaSi arsebul i "dafarul i saun-  
jis" aRmoCenaSi.

masmediam unda SeZl os pol itikuri da social uri

cxovrebidan iseTi "metyvel i" faqtebis moZieba, rom masSi zustad Candes cal keul politikur gadawyvetil ebaTa xasiaTi da sul iskveTeba. amgvარი masal is Segroveba, da jgufeba, Sefaseba da Semdgomi gamoyenebisatvis "momwifeba" masmedias saSual ebas aZl evs mizezTa erTian jaWvSi yovel arsebitS Tavisi adgili miuCinos.

politikur movl enaTa gamomwvevi Zal ebis Semecnebit masmedia izl eva mTlian panoramas ara mxol od momxdarissas, aramed logikuri final is mTel process, dasawyisidan dasasrul amde.

utyuari argumentebiT gajerebul i masmediuri masal a xel s uwyobs ama Tu im saxel mwifo politikis sworad gansazRvras, misi kursis Sefasebas garkveul drosa da sivrceSi.

azrebisa da gancdebis sworad warmarTva masmediuri kul turis safuzvel Ta safuzvel ia. masmediuri daskvnebi unda eyrdnobodes rogorc deduqciur, aseve induqciur meTodebs, raTa Sesazl ebel i gaxdes ama Tu im politikuri aqtis organuli mTlianobis aRqma. saxel mwifo politikis rTuli konstruqcia, romel sac masmedia xan erTi mxridan, xan ki meore mxridan aSuqebis, mistvis arc Tu ise advil ad SeRwevadia, radgan ar xdeba interesTa Tanxvedra. mizezi amisa saxel mwifo politikis masmediaseul interpretaciaSia, romel ic Tavisi gansj iT, arc Tu ise iSviaTad, gansxvavebul ia saxel mwifo politikur moRvaweTasofl mxedvel obisagan.

da radgan masmedias ar uyvars Temis tabuireba, igi yovel mxriv cdil obs, ama Tu im sferoSi sacino gaxados TviT yvel aze "gasaidumli oebuli poziciac" ki saxel mwifo politikisa. masmedias kargad esmis, rom saxel mwifo politikis yovel i cal keul i el ementi daunawevrebel i mTel is nawil ad unda iqnas gagebul i. saxel mwifo politikas sxvadasxva miznebi gansazRvraven, roml ebic

icvl ebian mizezobriobisa da miznobriobis mixedviT, ise rom saxel mwifo pol itika masmediis winaSe warmosdgeba mTel i Tavisi "nairsaxeobiTa da feradovnebiT". Tu masmedias surs saxel mwifo pol itikis mTI iani suraTis ageba, igi ara mxol od am pol itikis istoriiTa da perspeqtiviT unda dainteresdes, aramed am movl enasTan dakavSirebuli uamravi sxva faqtebiTac.

saxel mwifo pol itikis srul i suraTis Seqmna SesaZl ebel ia mxol od da mxol od masze warmodgenis mudmivi srul yofiT. masmediam sworad unda gaiazros saxel mwifo pol itikis rogorc dadebiTi, aseve nakl ovani mxareebi, rac saSual ebas miscems mas aRematebodes "ubral o cnobaTa momwodebel s". sivrcisa da drois mixedviT saxel mwifo pol itikis gansazRvra urTul esi procesia, romel zec mTI ianadaa damokidebul i qveynis rogorc awmyo, ise momaval i. igi ar unda midiodes real obis sapirispirod, radgan swored amdagvari universal uri interesebiT daxunZl ul i saxel mwifo pol itika SemorCeba sakacobrio mexsierebas. saxel mwifo pol itika mudam izidavda masmediis yuradRebas; es urTierToba dRes gansakuTrebul fazaSia Sesul i da srul iad warmoudgenel i xdeba romeli ime maTganis "damoukidebel i arseboba".

saxel mwifo pol itika, da gansakuTrebiT sagareo, aucil ebl ad konkurentunariani unda iyos, raTa man SeZl os sakuTari interesebis ganxorciel eba. es ukanasknel i sagareo pol itikaSi eZebs sasicocxl od mniSvnel ovans, mistvis gansakuTrebul ad Rirebul s. erovnul i interesebi saxel mwifos mudmivad ubizgeben iseTi pol itikisaken, romel ic iqneba garanti misi Semdgomi ganviTarebisa. vinaidan saxel mwifoTa saerTaSoriso pol itika, romel ic agebul ia TiToeul i subieqti saxel mwifos interesebis gaTval iswinebiT, emsaxureba da aregul irebs ama Tu im konkretul i qveynis pol itikur viTarebas.

nebismieri saxel mwifos sagareo pol itika individualizmissa da subiqetivizmissa principibTan erTad ver ascdeba sxva saxel mwifoTa interesebis gaTval iswinebas. Tumca rac ufro ZI ieria saxel mwifo, miT ufro nakl e-badaa mimarTul i amdagvari interesebis gaTval iswinebisen.

saxel mwifo pol itika eyrdnoba gaazrebul saxel mwifoeb-riv gegmas, strategias, raTa uzrunvel yos erovnul i interesebis ganxorciel eba. aseTi probl emebis gadaWra Tavistavad rTul i amocanaa. rac aiZul ebs saxel mwifo mmarT-vel obas imoqmedos situaciis Sesabamisad da probl emebis arMocenebis kval obaze, raTa saxel mwifo pol itikis "simS-vid e da uryeoba" Zireul ad ar mosustdes. simwyobre moqmedebisa am ukanasknel s aniWebs harmoniul erTxmov-anebasa da mdgradobas. warmatebul i saxel mwifos Seqmna saxel mwifo pol itikis amosaval icaa da mizanic. "masmediuri CarTvebi" ki am process impuls aZl even axal i SemoqmedebiTi CanafiqrisaTvis. am ukanasknel is Rvawl i mxol od maSin SeaTrTol ebs da aRanTebis sazogadoebas, rodesac igi Zireul ad Tanaziaria im emociebisa, roml is gadmocemasac igive sazogadoeba Tavdauzogavad eswrafo-da. marTal ia, saxel mwifo pol itikisa da masmediis "sul ieri Serwyma" arc Tu ise advil ia, magram nebismieri maTgani unda Seecados am miznis gansaxorciel ebl ad pirvel i, nebay-ofl obiTi nabij is gadadgmas. epoqam da misma umTavresma movl enebma mTel i Tavisi sicxovel iT asaxva unda povon rogorc saxel mwifo pol itikaSi, aseve masmediaSi.

masmedias kargad aqvs gaTval iswinebul i rom yovel i goniTi aqti fsiqol ogiur procesebisac moicavs. amdenad igi saxel mwifo pol itikasTan mimarTebaSi unda daeyrd-nos rogorc zogad, aseve social ur fsiqol ogias, raTa SeZl os ama Tu im movl enis kanonzomierebis axsna. radga-nac qveynis strategiul i mimarTul ebis gansazRvraSi um-

niSvnel ovanes gavlenas axdens cal keul i pirovneba an pirovnebaTa jgufi, masmediam aucil ebl ad unda gaiTval - iswinos individis fsiqol ogia.

nebismeri masmediuri Zal a, nebsiT Tu unebl ieT, ama Tu im zomIT, warmoadgens garkveul pol itikuri azrovnebis "mimdevrobas", Tundac maSin, rodesac acxadebs, rom srul miukerZoeblobas iCens ideur-pol itikuri procesebis mimarT. miuxedavad didi mcdel obisa, rom masmedia mTI ianad Tavisufal i iyos pol itikuri angaJirebisagan, Znel ad misaRwevia, radganac pol itikuri Tu nakl ebad pol itikuri fenomenis kvl evisas masmediis maTdami midgoma ganisazRvrebamisi, Tundac sakuTari, ideur-pol itikuri damokidebul ebiTa da orientaciiT.

ra Tqma unda, masmediuri saSual ebebi Tavisi simpaTiebiT da antiPaTiebiT xSirad ver Secvl ian sakvl evi obieqtis mTavar arssa da mimarTul ebas, magram arc Tu ise iSviaTia maTi azris gamoyeneba srul WeSmaritebamde misaRwevad.

masmediuri saSual ebebi, Tundac yvel aze demokratiul i principebis erTgul ni, amave demokratiul i ideol ogiiT gansazRvraven Taviant moqmedebas, isini faqtebis Sefasebisas ver darCebian am amosaval i debul ebis aqcentirebis gareSe. anu darCebian demokratiul ad ideol ogizirebul ni, rac sapirispiro Tval Taxedvidan gamomdinare sul ac ar niSnavs WeSmarit azrs.

Tu dRes saxel mwifo da saxel mwifoTaSorisi pol itika warmoudgenel ia ideol ogiis gareSe, maSin masmediuri wyaroebi, roml ebic miznad isaxaven saxel mwifo pol itikis kvel evas, Tavistavad aRmoCndebian ama Tu im ideol ogiasTan pirdapir kavSirSi an winaaRmddegobaSi. amdenad masmediuri kvl eva sakiTxisadmi midgomis pl ural izmiTac xasiaTdeba.

saxel mwifo pol itika arc Tu ise iSviaTad mimarTavs masmedias, rogorc mtkicebisa da dasabuTebis specifiur

aparats, romel sac xel ewifeba misive interesebisa da ideol ogiis Sesabamisi "miTebisa da simbol oebis" Seqmna \_ ganmartos, daasabuTos, uaryos an gaamarTI os pol i- tikuri real oebi, Seasrul os sazogadoebaSi integraci- ul i an gammij navi funqcia.

nebismieri pol itikuri gadawyvetil eba asaxvas pou- l obs sazogadoebis yovel dRiur cxovrebaSi. es ukanasknel i ki Tavis TavSi moicavs udides energias, romel ic nebismi- er dros SeiZl eba "daiZras" SemoTavazebul i pol itikis sasargebl od, an sawinaaRmdegod. am Zal is formirebaSi ki masmediis rol i Seufasebel ia, radganac igi "momwesrige- bel ia" im procesebisa, romel ic sazogadoebasa da pol i- tikas Soris mimdinareobs.

masmedias Tavisufl ad SeuZl ia amoicnos am "dafarul i energiis" SesaZl ebel i ganviTareba, igi sazogadoebasTan erTd aris mayurebel i, Tanamonawil e da Semfasebel i im pol itikuri procesebisa, romel sac saxel mwifo sTava- zobs Tanamoqal aqeebs.

pol itikisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i saxifaTo mimzidvel oba masmediasac atyvevebs da xdis im procesebis Tanaziars, roml is ganxorciel ebasac igi gamudmebiT el tvis. am kuTxiT masmediuri wyaroebi pol itikisaTvis sargebl obis momtani da Rirebul ebis matarebel i saSual ebebia. masze bevradaa damokidebul i Tu raoden cocxal , nayofier "moZRvread" mogvevel ineba saxel mwifo pol itikuri veqtoris axal i mimarTul ebebi. am mxriv masmedia im sazogadoebrivi moZRvris rol s asrul ebs, romel sac yvel aze ufro metad xel e- wifeba moqal aqeebisaTvis "aRmzrdel obiTi funqciis" Catareba.

masmedia am mimarTul ebiT pol itikisadmi erTiani esTe- tikuri sistemis Camomyal ibebel icaa, riTac mniSvnel ovnad uwyobs xel s sazogadoebrivi azris orientirebas ama Tu im pol itikuri azris sasargebl od.

masmediis principi misi obieqturobaa. zneobrivad ukompromiso bunebis wyal obiT masmediis mier asaxul sa da warmoceni s l aitmotivad gasdevs real obiT gaj erebuli sityva, romel sac Tan erTvis gul wrfel obisa da emociurobis el ementebi. masmedia, romel ic asrul ebs didaktikur-informaciul funqcias sazogadoebaSi mTlianad aRiarebs da icavs obieqturobisadmi rwmenis primats.

imisaTvis, rom saxel mwifo pol itikaSi masmedia "gansakuTrebiT pativscemis subieqti" gaxdes saWiroa man Tanxmobis beWedi mxol od imaze dasvas, rac SesaZl ebel ia saukunis epitaftiad iqces.

saxel mwifo pol itika masmediisTvis araCveul ebrivad saintereso situaciebis ganZTa uZiro skivria.

## Tavi 3

masmediuri "aqsesuarebi"

- sindisi
- eTika (moral i)
- esTetika
- saRiazri
- logikuri msjeloba
- dai ntereseba da si Rmi seuli kveli
- neba (survili)
- obieqturoba da WeSmari teba
- samarTlianoba
- swori, mar Tebuli azrovneba
- informaciuloba

naSr omi s am TavSi saubar ia im aucil ebel Tvi-  
sebebze, romel ic masmedi is war momadgenel s pr ofe-  
si ul i moval eobi s Sesr ul ebaSi mni Svnel ovan samsa-  
xurs gauwevs. es is sando sazomebi a, roml ebi Tac  
SesaZl ebel i xdeba WeSmar i ti Ri rebul ebi s pi ruTv-  
nel i Sef aseba.

Jurnal istika aris Tanacxovreba iseTi fundamenturi mimarTul ebi sa, rogoricaa: sociologia, fil osofia, filologia, fsiqologia, istoria, politika da ekonomika. masmediis upirvel esi mizani adami anTmsaxurebaa. isaa RmerTisagan gansaxier ebuli samyaros codva-madl iserTerTi Semfasebeli da gamomaaSkaravebeli, romel sacxel ewifeba mravali koliziuri movlenebis WeSmariti asaxva. cxovrebi mraval waxnagianobam saSual eba misca mas aReqva da aRwera sazogadoebis yofiTireal obac da idealuri srul yofilebac. masmedia sazogadoebis gunebaganwyobas gamoxatavs damis "gauTavebel probl emebs" ganuwyvetliv "mkurnal obs." amitomac am ukanasknelis interesis sferos sazogadoebis yofiTiarqiteqtura, socialur da politikur sakiTxTa mraval pol usianobawar moadgens. masmedia aRbeWdavs sinamdvilis obieqtur saxeebs da iswrafis \_ maqsimal urad realuri iyosigi. adami ani mTel i Tavisi socialuri Tupolitikuri moqmedebi T masmediuri Semecnebis obieqtia, rogorc zogadi, mecni eruli gansj isaTvis, aseve im konkretul moqmedebaT agamo, romel sac igi yovel dRiur, yofiT situaciaSi Cadis. masmediis qmedeba maSinaa keTil zni ani, rodesac es ukanaskneli Sejer ebul -Sewonasworebul gonebasTan dawvyilebul ad, harmoniul ad moqmedebs.

wammarTveli sawyisi Tavi danve unda mi vmarTOT azris zomieri da samarTliani gamoxatvisaken. popul arobis survil ma masmedias ar unda "dauXSos" gonebasTan Semaer Tebeli arc erTi arxi, mi uxedavad imisa, rom survilimZl eTamZle, uaRresad Tavneba da urCi adami anuri Tvi sebaa. mizanSewonilia, rom masmedi amjer ki dev maSinganWvritos mTavari, rodesac igi "embrionuli mdgomareobis" gamonaklebad xil ulia.

## s i n d i s i

moral uri norma, moral uri moval eoba, moral uri Segneba da moral uri pasuxismgebl oba saTaves swored sindisidan iRebs, misi warmoSoba ki sazogadoebis formirebis adreul safexurs ukavSirdeba da Tan sdevs kacobriobas uZvel esi droidan dRemde. moral uri norma adamanisaTvis zneobrivi moTxovna da aucil ebl obaa, xol o Jurnal istisaTvis ormagad aucil ebel i, radganac swored masmediaa Semfasebel i da damaregul irebel i adamanTa urTierTdapirispirebisa. moral is Camoyal ibeba xdeboda saukuneebis manZil ze ara saxel mwifo dekretebisa da kanonebis daxmarebiT, aramed "bunebrivad", sazogadoebis yvel a fenis monawil eobiT. rac kidev erTxel amtkicebs azrs moral is Tavankarobis Sesaxeb.

*visac sindisi ar awuxebis, yovel Tvis ipovis mist-vis zurgSeqcevis sababs.*

masmedias gansakuTrebul ad unda axsovdes mraval SegonebaTagan erTi umTavresi: "rasac ver xedav, imaze arc unda il aparako. \_ il aparakeT, rogorc l aparakoben sxvebi, magram ifiqreT mxol od ise, rogorc Tavad fiqrobT".

[b. paskal i, azrebi. Tb., 1981 gv. 251]

amave debul ebis araerTgzis ganmeorebas vxvdebiT bl ez paskal is "azrebSi", sadac igi xazgasmiT aRniSnavs: "Seni Seni azri unda gqondes, Seni farul i azri, da yvel afers misi mixedviT unda afasebde, magram aSkarad mxol od ise unda msj el obde, rogorc msj el obs yvel a, rogorc msj el obs brbo, rogorc msj el obs xal xi".

[b. paskal i, azrebi. Tb., 1981, gv. 266]

sindisi is adamanuri grZnoba, romel ic uangarod da gamudmebiT gvTavazobs samsaxurs; mTavaria SeviyvaroT da gul wrfel ad gamoviyenoT igi. gamomdinare iqidan, rom gul i da goneba Tanabrad grZnobs udides pasuxismgebl obas sindisis winaSe, ormagad SeuZl ebel ia am ukanasknel is ignoreba, radgan igi arasdros mogvcems mosvenebas. da Tu mas "davkargavT", maSin mzad varT yvel aferze vimsj el oT, yvel aferze dabej iTebiTi azri gamovTqvaT, radgan sakvrel - Sexsnil i fantazia ganusazRvrel ufl ebas gvaniWebs.

*sindisi \_ moZRvaria, romel sac gvinda da Tu ara, yovel wuTs vabarebT angari Ss.*

adamanis bedniereba da gul damSvideba praqtikul ad maszea damokidebul i, vinaidan RirsebaSel axul i sindisi Tavisi sisastikiTa da ul mobel obiT aSkarad gamoirCeva.

*Sinagani, adamanuri wesrigi sxva ara aris ra, Tu ara cxovreba da moqmedeba sindisTan erTad.*

cnobil ia, rom sindisi Tavisi sikerpiT gamoirCeva, misTvis arsebobs mxol od erTi \_ WeSmaritad sayovel Tao kanoni. marTal ia, igi itans "bedis dacinvas", Tavnebobas, damcirebas da xSirad emsgavseba usamarTI od daCagrul gmirs, magram sindisi sabol ood \_ yvel gan da yovel Tvis imarj vebs.

*sindisi moral is dedaa.*

## esTetikuri

nebismeri formis masmediuri moRvaveoba gansazRvrul ia garkveul i interesiT, roml is sabol oo mizani \_ sikeTis qmnaa. masmedias kargad esmis, rom mSvenieri da srul yofil i arsebiTad urTierTdamokidebul ebaSi ufro vl indeba da ara mxol od cal ke sagansa an movl enaSi. esTetikuri, upirvel es yovl isa, mizanSewonil ia kargTan da keTil Tan, maRal sul ierTan.

imisaTvis, rom masmediam sakuTari Semoqmedebis esTetikuri mxare uzrunvel yos, igi Tavad unda iyos sul ieri mSvenierebis matarebel i. koncefciebi, roml iTac igi moqmedebis unda gaj erdes iseTi "esTetikuri proporciebiT", roml ebic xel s Seuwyoben "mSvenierebis principiS" danergvas real obaSi.

imis gamo, rom masmedia "mij aWvul ia" real ur yofasTan, igi aqtiuradaa CarTul i mis sxvadasxva struqturaSi - social urSic da pol itikurSic. mkiTxvel isTvis esTetikuri tkbobis miniWeba masmediis erTerTi upirvel esi movaleobaTagania, misTvis sul erTi ar unda iyos Tu ra proporciiT miewodeba sazogadoebas esTetikuri fenomeni.

masmediam maqsimal urad unda gazardos esTetikuri zemoqmedebis areal i da SesaZl ebl obani, radganac am ukansknel is gavl ena sazogadoebaze metad mniSvnel ovania. sxvadasxva "didaqtikur meTodTa" Soris man upirvel esoba esTetikurs unda mianiWos, radagan adamianis, pirovnebis intel eqtze swored es ukanasaknel i agebs pasuxs.

masmediam xel i unda Seuwyos mis damkvidrebas sazogadobis yvel a fenaSi, radganac esTetikurTan Serwyma niSnavs iseTi sazogadobis Camoyal ibebas, romel ic aRsavse iqneba keTil Sobil uri ubral oebiT, gansxvavebul i azris mimarT mimtevebl obiTa da Sinagani kul turiT.

“grZnobadi mizidul oba, amaRel vebel i aRtyineba”, pl atonis azriT, aris esTetikuri tkbobis pirvel i, fizikuri, srul yofil ebiT gamowveul i impul si.

esTetikuri aRqmis **pirvel i safexuri** ar aris TviTk-mari, radgan mSvenieri sxoul ebi droSi arseboben, war-maval ni arian, amitom grZnobad doneze sil amazis idea ver gamovl indeba.

**meore safexuri** \_ adamianis sul ieri mSvenierebis do-nea; aq, faqtobrivad, eTikur-esTetikurTan gvaqvs saqme. am safexuris anal izis dros pl atoni askvnis, rom mSvenier sul ebs aramdgradoba da Wirveul oba axasiaTebT, amitom mSvenieris ideis miRweva am donezec SeuZl ebl ad miaCnia.

**mesame safexuri** mecnierebasa da xel ovnebas ganekuTvneba, roml ebi ganaxorciel eben mTel i kacobriobis gamocdil e-bis momcvel codnas. magram, pl atonis mixedviT, xSirad mecnierebisa da xel ovnebis romel ime saxe nakl ovnebas avl ens, radgan kacobriobis gamocdil eba Zal ze mraval -ferovania.

dabol os, **meoTxe done** \_ es sibrZnis, sikeTis umaRl esi sferoa. aq pl atoni zRvrul s uaxl ovdeba, sadac say-ovel Tao sikeTeSi gaerTianebul ia real uri samyaros yve-l a goniTsawvdomi srul yofil eba”.

[d. foxcveraSvil i, mxatvrul i cnobierebis ganviTarebis etapebi. Tb., 2003, gv. 25]

## eTika (moral i)

nebismieri faqtis moral uri Sefasebisas masmediis warmomadgenel i afiqsirebs sazogadod aRiarebul normebTan aw ukve momxdaris Sesabamisobas an Seusabamobas. Tu moral uri norma rigiT adamians miuTitebs, rogor moiqces igi garkevul situaciaSi, maSin, masmediis warmomadgenel i \_ metadaa val debul i mTel i pasuxismgebl obiT "daeqvemdebaros" eTikur normasa da sindisis karnaxs. Jurnal isti, rogorc subieqti, ver dakmayofil deba mxol od "mSral i kanonebiT" da sakiTxTa Sefasebisas aucil ebl ad win wamoswevs moral ur mxares. masmedia cdil obs moral uri normis dacvit moxdes ama Tu im procesis Sefaseba, rogorc Tavisi, aseve saxel mwifo Zal ismieri organoebidan.

"pol itika Tu moral i? \_ ai, maradiul i dil ema, romel ic gansazRvravs yovel gvare sazogadoebrivi wyobil ebis Sinagan bunebas, imis mixedvit, Tu am ori social uri Zal - idan romel ia wamyvani, warmmarTvel i, gezis mimcemi, ese igi, pol itika mTI ianad iqvemdebarebs moral s, mTI ianad Trgunavs da araraobamde dahyavs igi, Tu nawil obriv mainc xel mZRvanel obs eTikuri principebiT. TviTkmarobis rac ufro met tendencias amJRavnebs pol itika, rac ufro srul ad xdeba sazogadoebrivi cxovrevisa Tu cnobierebis erTpirovnul i mfl obel i, rac ufro unaSTod isrutavs yovel gvar faseul obas da sakuTar Tval sazrisamde dahyavs yvel a Tval sazrisi, miT ufro gariyul i da ganapirebul i rCeba yvel a sxva social uri Zal is moqmedeba".

[pl atoni, "adreul i dial ogebi". "sokrates apol ogia". baCana bregaZis winaTqma, "nekeri". 1997, gv. 309]

masmediis principi al truiatul ia. swored mas efuzneba nebismieri Jurnal isturi qmedeba, radganac sikeTis qmna adamianis arsebobis safuzvel Ta safuzvel ia.

*moral i adami anTa Soris urTierTmowiwebisa da pativiscemis dauwerel i kanonia, romel ic Tavisi arsebobiT win uswrebs yvel a kanonmdebl ur aqts, romel ic ki adami anis gonebiT Seqmnil a. igi tradiciebze, adaT-wesebze dayrdnobiTa da gaazrebiT Seqmnil i war mosaxvismieri "borkil ebia".*

erTi SexedviT, moral i SeiZl eba mogveCvenos aramyar, cval ebad kategoriad, radganac icvl ebian is kriteriumebi, roml ebze dayrdnobiTac sazogadoeba ayal ibebs Tavisi damokidebul ebas ama Tu im procesisadmi. amave dros kacobriobam Tavisi arsebobis manZil ze SeZl o iseTi moral uri normebis Camoyal ibeba, romel ic ar ganicdian saxecvl il ebas zemoaRniSnul mizezTa gamo. "moral ur borkil s" SeiZl eba vuwodoT "aucil ebl obis borkil i", vinaidan adami anTa Soris arc Tu ise iSviaTia "misi darRvevis msurvei i".

moral i, upi rvel es yovl isa, xal xuri si brZnea, romel ic Seuqmnia kacobriobas adami anTa si Sl egi sa gamo. arc erTi moral uri norma, romel ic dRemde arsebobs sasxvaTa-Soriso fiqrze dayrdnobiT araa Seqmnil i. moral i es aris adami anisa da adami anurobis bunebaze aTaswl ovani dakvirvebis Sedegad Seqmnil i war mosaxviTi WeSmariteba, romel ic Tavisi droze safuZvl ad daedo (mraval sxva faqtoRebTan erTad) dedami waze arsebul yvel a moqmed kanons.

sazogadobis udidesi umravl esoba nebayofl obiT mxol od da mxol od moral ur principebs emorCil eba da aravin miiCnevs am ukanasknel s arasasurvei, umkacres sakrvel ad, vinaidan swored maszea dafuZnebul i namdvil i adami anuri buneba.

sazogadobas ar axasiaTebis moral uri principebis sis-

woreSi eWvis Setana, amitomac yovel i Cvengani TiTqmis qvecnobierad vaRiarebT mis uzenaesobas da nebismieri qmedebis dros maqsimal urad vcdil obT davicvaT igi, Tumca arc Tu ise iSviTia SemTxveva misi uxeSi gaTel visa, rac mkveTrad aisaxeba sazogadoebis ganwyobaSi ama Tu im kerZo SemTxvevis an konkretul i pirovnebis Sefasebisas.

*xal xi, sazogadoeba da brZenkaci \_ ai is qvakuTxedi, romelic eTdroul ad moral uri principi bis Semoqmedicaa da matarebel ic.*

moral i, upirvel es yovl isa, adamanuri Rirsebis monapovaria, am ukanasknel ma igi azrovnebase dayrdnobiT Seqmna.

masmedi uri eTika, upirvel es yovl isa, gul isxmobs moral ur siwminde, faqtebis damajerebl obas, esTetikur wesrigs, moqmedebis gaazrebul obasa da mizansewoni l obas. imisa gamo, rom masmedia uarresad zemoqmedebs sazogadobriv cxovrebase, mas informaciul Tanertad didaktikuri funqciacki sria. igi CvenSi mraval i faqtorisadmi pasuxismgebl obas "arvi Zebs". Aasaxvis forme bis mraval -ferovneba, roml sac masmedia fl obs, eTikur Rirebul ebebs eqvemdebar eba.

eTika is regul atoria, romelic awesrigebs masmediis damokidebul ebas nebismieri sakiTxisadmi. eTika masmediis sulieri moZRvaria, romelic ucvenebs mas imumTavress, ritac sazogadobasTan kavSirisas unda ixel mZRvanel os. masmedia, romelic yovel dRiurad "iWreba" adamanis fsiqol ogiaSi universal uri SesaZlebl obis matarebel ia. misi asxvis obieqti Zalze masStaburia – saxel mwifopolitika, sxvadasxva social uri sakiTxebi, kul turul i

memkvidreoba, yovel dRiuri yofa, sazogadoebis wevrebis piradi da kerZo cxovreba – yovel ive es zrdis masmediis SemecnebiTsa Tu gavl enis sferos. igi, rogorc mraval i sxva ram, gamocdil ebis safuZvel ze viTardeba.

pol itikuri da social uri sakiTxebis urTierTdamokidebul eba, maTi harmoniul i da kontrastul i urTierTmimarTeba masmedias saSual ebas aZl evs warmoiCinos safuZvel i da macocxl ebel i Zal a yvel a im procesebisa, saidanac isini warmoiSven. masmedia aseve “ayal ibebs”, “warmoaCens” da aRnuxavs saxel mwifos cxovrebis yovel dRiur process.

*masmediur eTikas aucil ebl ad unda gansazRvravdes rogorc warsul is, aseve Tanamedroveobisa da momavlis umZafresi ganca.*

masmedia, romel ic sazogadoebaze zemoqmedebis yvel aze qmediTi instrumentia uaRresad didi pasuxismgebl obis matarebel ia, romel zedac bevradaa damokidebul i sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis nebismieri waxnagis swori, marTebuli i aRqma, romel ic aseve “frTxil ad” da gaazrebul ad unda iqnas mitanil i sazogadoebis TiToeul wevramde. masmediisTvis mTavari faseul oba adamiania, WeSmariti masmediuri moral i yovel Tvis ugul ebel yofs mikerZoebis princips. moral uri da esTetikuri sqemebi udides zegavl enas axdenen masmediaze da mis msofl mxedvel obas mudmivad gonier sawyisze afuZneben.

masmediis damokidebul eba saxel mwifo pol itikisadmi konstruqciul i principebiT unda xorciel debodes. saxel -mwifo pol itika, romel ic Sedgeba mudmivi da cval ebadi interesebisagan masmedias “saSual ebas aZl evs” iyos movl enaTa epicentrSi, radganac pol itika es aris adamianebis gansakuTrebul i moRvaweoba, sadac yvel aze metad vl indeba

maTive buneba, Tu ramdenad arian isini subieqtorni da magrZnobiareni.

pol itikasa da adamianTa Soris social uri urTierTobis process safuZvl ad udevs nebsiT gamoxatul i eTikuri moqmedeba. sazogadoebas da saxel mwifo pol itikas erTi sabol oo mizani aqvT – Zl ieri saxel mwifos Seqmna. rogorc aRvniSneT, ideis erTianoba saxel mwifo mmarTvel obas aniWebs marTvis procesebis SeuzRudavad warmarTvas manam, sanam imave sazogadoebas ar gauCndeba eWvi imis Taobaze, rom saxel mwifo mmarTvel obaSi dominantobs subieqturi, mxol od mmarTvel i Zal isaTvis sasurvel i pol itika.

mediis, masobrivi komunikaciis saSual ebebis swori da efeqturi gamoyeneba uaRresad mniSvnel ovania saxel mwifo pol itikis warmatebiT ganxorciel ebaSi, vinaidan igi yvel aze ufro efeqturi gzaa sazogadoebaze “gavl enis mosaxdenad”.

masmediis saSual ebebTan swori, gaazrebul i mimarTeba saxel mwifo pol itikis mniSvnel ovan nawil i unda iyos. mxol od amdagvari midgoma ganapirobebs masmediis maqsimal urad da efeqturad gamoyenebas. Uunda gvaxsovdes, rom diskreditaciis mizniT mediis “gamoyeneba” obieqturobis princips ukan svevs. masmedias, romel ic warmoadgens sazogadoebis yovel dRiurobis warmomCens da misi interesebis gamomxatvel s, miznad ar unda hqondes romel ime kerZo, pol itikuri Tu ekonomikuri daj gufebis l obireba. saxel mwifo mmarTvel obam mediasTan urTierTobis damyareba mxol od misaRebi, saerTaSoriso normebiT aRiarebul i meTodebiT unda ganaxorciel os.

Tu saxel mwifo mmarTvel obiTi organoebi, subieqturi moTxovnebis gaTval iswinebiT “qmnian” saxel mwifo pol itikas, maSin rezul tati amgvari qmedebisa qveyanaSi aucil ebl ad iqneba axal i, Sina pol itikuri dapirispirebebi, roml ebic uaRresad daZabaven social ur atmosferosac,

ris gamoc wina pl anze wamoiwevs nakl ebad kontrol irebadi sxvadasxva moqal aqobrivi da sazogadoebrivi initiativebis ganxorciel ebis survil i.

sazogadoebrivi azris konsol idaciisa da ganvitarebi-saTvis masmediuri saSual ebebis gamoyeneba usazRvrod zrdis mis rol s, radganac masmedia warmoaCens qveynis yvel aze ufro saWirboroto da mtkivneul sakiTxebs. aq ki eTikuri normebis dacva masmediis mxridan aucil ebel ze aucil ebel i xdeba. aqedan gamomdinare, masmedia aucil ebl ad unda darCes miukerZoebeli da obieqturi da am principebze dayrdnobiT asaxos sazogadoebisa da saxel mwifo politikis moTxovnebi.

masmediuri Semoqmedeba ar SeiZi eba iyos sinamdvil is "civi suraTi", radagan igi Tavisi bunebiT uaRresad eqspresiul ia. Jurnal istisagan obieqturi sinamdvil is saxedqmnis procesi maqsimal urad mcire droSi xdeba, ris gamoc Jurnal isturi narkvevi SeiZi eba nakl ebad fl obdes esTetikuri tkbobis fenomens, magram man aucil ebl ad unda moaxerxos umTavresi \_ sazogadoebis droul i informireba, romelic, upirvel es yovl isa, aRsavse iqneba WeSmariti SegrZnebebiTa da momxdari faqtis real izmiT.

*saxel mwifo politikis kvl evisas masmedias, ufro metad unda ainteresebdes misi ukufenebi, vinaidan mTavari saTqmeli yovel Tvis iqaa, sadac mas yvel aze nakl ebad el ian.*

masmedia Tavisi bunebiT uaRresad eqspresiul ia, gansakuTrebiT ki obieqturi sinamdvil is saxedqmnis procesSi. ris gamoc Jurnal istebisagan gansakuTrebul i SegrZnebebis gamovl enas, informaciis mowodebis operatiul obasa da dasmul i sakiTxis sicxades moviTxovT.

masmedias kargad esmis rom cxovrebis (saxel mwifo

pol itikis) normal uri msvl el obis fiqsirebasTan er-  
Tad Zal zed sainteresoa araordinal uri situaciis aRwe-  
ra. amitom igi exarbeba wonasworobidan gamosul is Sesa-  
xeb msj el obas, amit igi Zal ze hgavs xel ovnebas, masac xom  
nakl ebad moswons fsiqol ogiurad gawonasworebul i ada-  
miani, pirovneba mistvis bevrad ufro sainteresoa umaRI e-  
si mZvinvarebisa da mwuxarebis dros. pol itikac zogj er  
swored maSin xdeba udidesi interesis Semcvel i, rodesac  
es ukanasknel i gamodis akademiurobidan.

## saRi azri

azri \_ Si nagani xmi s kar naxia, romel sac yovel adami ans mudmi vad sTavazobs Cvens sul Si ganTavsebul i meore "me". saRi azri gansazRvr avs Jurnal istis pol itikur mrwamss, ayal i bebs mis "gemovnebas", riTac Tavisi wvl il i Seaqvs masmedi uri ms ofl mxedvel obis SemuSavebasa da Camoya- l i bebaSi .

saRi azri naTel i gonebis si maxvil esTanaa wil nayari , i seT gonebasTan, romel sac advil ad SeuZl ia real ur o- bis ganCxreka da l ogiki s princi pi T msj el oba im si namd- vil i s Sesaxeb, romel sac si tuacia sTavazobs. i seve rogorc msj el oba, saRi azri c l ogiki s princi pi Taa Sei araRebu- l i . igi Seucvl el i instrumentia WeSmar itebaSi SesaRwe- vad. ramdenadac Si naganad Rr ma da l amazia azri , mi T ufro sai nter esoa mi s Sesaxeb msj el oba.

*saRi azri \_ "gaRviZebul i gonebis" produqtia. mas kacobriobis istoriis manZil ze uamravi mteri hyolia, hyavs da eyol eba.*

masmediam xel i unda Seuwyos azris demokratizacias, sikeTis borotebaze gamarjvebas, winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi sazogadoebaSi ganviTarebas daiwyebis TandaTanobiTi degra- dacia, romel ic mTl ianad daarRvevs im arqiteqturas, romel ic masis sxvadasaxva fenebs aertianebs. saRi azri gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas izens pol itikur Tu so- cial ur daZabul obaTa aRmofxvrisas. igi xdeba erT-erTi saSual eba sasurvel i wonasworobis aRsadgenad. Tu saRi azri partniorul sawyisebze ar ganviTardeba, maSin igi Tavidanve ganwirul ia kvdomisaTvis, radgan misi ganxor- ciel eba aucil ebl ad gul ismobs ama Tu im sakiTxis gada- wyvetaSi sxvadasxva mxareTa Tanamonawil eobas.

saR azrSi subieqturi sawyisis monawil eoba im mdgo-

mareobis proporciul i unda iyos, romel ic real urad arsebobs. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi igi gadaiqceva "im moZRvreb- bad", romel sac ganxorciel eba arasodes uweria.

masmediurma saRma azrma real ur sinamdvil esTan unda dagvaaxl oos, adamianTa WeSmariti grZnobebi unda gad- mogvces. igi aucil ebl ad unda iyos real obis, grZnobebis da gul istqmis erTianobis simbol o, winaaRmdeg SemTxveva- Si misi JReradoba imdenad ganel deba, rom mowinaaRmdege azri misi neitral izaciisaTvis drosac ki ar daxarj avs.

saRi azri dinamikuri wonasworobiT unda xasiaTde- bodes, vinaidan srul ad warmoudgenel ia sxvanairi swraf- va srul yofisaken. saRi azri sworad moazrovne gonis nayofia. nebismieri qmedebis koordinireba swored maszea dafuZnebul i, amitom "doqtrina", romel ic gonidan modis gansazRvrul ia im SesaZl ebl obebiT, romel ic real urad arsebobs, ama Tu im sakiTxis mosagvarebl ad drois am monakveTSi.

nebismieri masmediuri qmedebisas saRma azrma dominan- turi pozicia unda moipovos. ZiriTadi tendenciebi, romel - sac masmediuri potencia emsaxureba, mxol od maSin miaRw- evs sicxadesa da garkveul obas, rodesac winaswar, azro- brivad Camoqnil -Camoyal ibebul i meTodebiT moqmedebis. saRi azri nakl ebad erTveba eqsperimentSi, Tumca isic unda aRiniSnos, rom igi mraVal i cdis da SesaZl ebel is Se- jerebiTaa miRebul i. saRi azri yovel Tvis aRsavsea mova- l eobis grZnobiT, amitomacaa misi yovel i nabiji uaR- resad mozomil i da asgzis ganWvretil i.

saRi azri momavl is fundamentia, am kuTxiT mas udide- si pasuxismgebl oba eniWeba. amitomacaa igi agebul i mkacr l ogikaze da gamonakl isis daSveba ver Zal uZs. gonebis mowesrigebul i xel mZRvanel obiT igi ayal ibebs im aucil ebel principebs, romel sac nebismieri masmediuri naazrevi unda emorCil ebodes.

saRi azri zogjer dadgenil i normebis TamamdambRvevad gvevl ineba, rac aucil ebl obiTaa ganpirobepul i. kerZod, "axal i real izmi" zogjer aSkarad miuTitebs mas aucil ebel koreqciaze.

me Tavisufl ad SemiZl ia warmovidgino uxel o, ufexo, uTavokaci (radgan mxol od cda gvarwmuneps, rom Tavisuflro saWiroa, vi dre fexebi), magram ar SemiZl ia warmovidgino kaci, romel sac daxsul i aqvs azrovnebis unari: es kaci ar iqneba, aramed qva, anda pirutyvi.

[bl ez paskali, "azrebi". Tb., 1981, gv. 266]

instiqti da goneba \_ ori sxvadasxva bunebis ni Sani.

[i qve, gv. 267]

ariTmetikul i manqanis moqmedeba ufro moazrovne ar sebis moqmedebas waagavs, vi dre cxovel ebi sas, magram manqanas ara aqvs sakuTari neba, cxovel ski aqvs.

[i qve. gv. 266]

Cven ufro uyoymanod unda vemorCil ebodeT gonebas, vi dre nebismer mbrZanebel s, radgan vinctewi naaRmdegeba gonebas, ubeduria, xolo vinctewi naaRmdegeba mbrZanebel s, CerCetia da Steri.

[i qve, gv. 267]

adami ani sidiade \_ esaa misiazrovnebis unari.

[i qve, gv. 267]

adami ani mxol od l erwami a, umweo l erwami, magram es l erwami azrovnebs. mis gasasresad sul ac araa saWiro samyaros risxa: sakmari sia qaris Semoberva an wvimi s wve-Ti. magram adami ani, Tundac samyaros mi er gasresili, ma inc ufro Rirseul ia da keTil Sobili, vi dre misi gamsresi,

vi nai dan gr Znobs Tavis aRsa sul sac da sakuTar umweobasac samyar osTan Sedar ebi T, samyar o ki ar afers ara gr Znobs.

maSasadame, mTel i Cveni Rir seba \_ azrovnebaa. swored azri gvamar Tl ebs Cven da ara dro da si vr ce, roml ebSi ac Cakar gul ni var T, rogor c qr Tl i s mar cvl ebi. maS, vecadoT vi azrovnoT Rir seul ad. ai, zneobi s safuZvel Ta safuZvel i.

[i qve, gv. 267]

moazrovne l erwami (adami ani) \_ Cveni Rir seba si vrci s daufleba ki ar aris, aramed gonivrul ad azrovnebi s unari. ramdeni mi wac unda Sevi Zino, ufro mdi dari ar gavxedbi, imi tom, rom si vrci s meSveobi T samyar o momi cavs da myl apavs me, maSi n r odesac, azri s meSveobi T me Tvi Ton movi cav samyar os.

[i qve, gv. 267]

azrovneba \_ udi desi Rir sebaa, da si br Zne i saa, rom WeSmar ite bas ar uRal ato... aucil ebel ia mi hyve sayovel - Taos.

herakl ite efeoseli.

sadac azri naTel ia, naTel ia monaTxr obic,  
da saWi ro si tyvac maSi n modis, Ti Tqos Tavis Tavad.  
ni kol a bual o (1636-1711) \_ frangi  
poeti, poezi s Teoretikosi.

adami anma unda gamoTqvas Tavis i azrebi. es ufl eba ki ara, moval eobaa.

persi bi Si Sel i (1792-1822) \_  
ingl iseli poeti.

aravin araa dazRveul i, rom sisul el e Tqvas., magram  
cudia, rocamas mofi qrebul ad amboben.

mi Sel monteni (1533-1592) \_ frangi  
fil osofosi, mwer al i.

yvel afris Tqma bol omde \_ sisul el ea, magram, rasac  
ityvi, Sens fi qrs unda gamoxat avdes.

mi Sel monteni (1533-1592) \_ frangi  
fil osofosi, mwer al i.

j i utoba da sicxare kamaTSi \_ sisul el is sarwmuno  
TamaSi a.

mi Sel monteni (1533-1592) \_ frangi  
fil osofosi, mwer al i.

*A*

## I ogikuri msj el oba

masmediuri kvl evis principi pebis specifikuri Tvisebebi maqsimal urad vl indeba im SemTxvevaSi Tu Jurnal istis mier winaswar gansazRvrul ia im procesebis kanonzomierebani, roml ebic arsebiTad qmnian asasaxi obieqtis ZiriTad konstruqcias.

masmediur "msj el obaze" dayrdnobiT SemuSavebul i nebis-mieri azri Tavisufi ad, SeuboWavad unda gamoxatavdes mis damokidebul ebas ama Tu im movl enasTan, rogorc social urTan, aseve pol itikurTan.

*azris Tavisufali, uprobl emo gamoxatva masmediis arsebobisa da moqmedebis aucil ebeli da umTavresi pirobaa.*

msjel obis swori da marTebul i warmarTva, misi gaazrebul i Casma samoqmedo procesSi, am ukanasknel s swori daskvnis miRebis utyuar saSual ebas aZl evs. faqtis I ogikuri Sefaseba Jurnal ists sakvl evi sakiTxisadmi swor refl eqss uyal ibebs.

rodesac msjel obisa da gansjis obieqti pol itikuri cxovrebis romel ime sfero xdeba, maSin masmediuri analizis wili ertiorad izrdeba da, igi sainteresostan ertad, sazogadoebriv azrsac gamoxatavs.

Zl ieri gancda, romel ic masmediurma namuSevarma unda mogvaniWos, pirdapirproporciul ia avtoris I ogikuri azrovnebis, romel ic myarad unda iyos Semecnebul i, gaazrebul i da ganCxrekili. igi ganuxrel ad unda rCebodes sazogadoebisaTvis obieqturi suraTis warmomGen wyarod.

zneobrivi kmayofil eba nebis mier masmediur saSual ebas maSin eufl eba, rodesac sazogadoebis azri da misi

daskvna l ogikurad identuria. masmedia l ogikis wyal o-  
biT "mis Tanaziarsa da Tanamonawil ed" xdis sazogadoeb-  
is sxvadasxva fenebs, roml ebic Zireul ad arian daintere-  
sebul i am sakiTxiT.

unikal uri principi, roml is meSveobiTac masmedia ikrebs  
Tavis "momxreebs" \_ aris adamanuri gonisa da azrovneb-  
is Tavisufl eba. masmediam unda moaxerxos "sxvadasxva  
dasaSvebi Sedegebidan" (aseve l ogikis daxmarebiT) umTavre-  
sis prognozireba. l ogikur j aWvze dayrdnobiT warmoa-  
Cinos is real oba, romel ic yvel aze metadaa dasaSvebi am  
sakiTxis irglv iv.

masmediuri wyaroebi sazogadoebas aniWeben unikal ur  
rol s da maTi "dakveTiT" aqtiurdebian sxvadasxva socia-  
l ur da pol itikur sakiTxebze. masmediuri wyaro, romel ic  
xal xis survil is sawinaaRmdegod "daiwyebis muSaobas"  
imTaviTve ganwirul ia. kacobrioba j er ar icnobs iseT  
sazogadoebas, romel sac ar SeeZl os masmediuri azris  
"sworad aRqma". msj el oba, romel sac masmediis nebismieri  
warmomadgenel i iyenebs aucil ebl ad real ur safuZvel ze  
unda idges, radganac warmosaxviTi ideebi cudad prog-  
nozirebadia da xSir SemTxvevaSi \_ TiTqmis gamoucno-  
bi.

masmediuri wyaroebi sazogadoebas exmarebian kaTarzis-  
Si - sul is ganwmendaSi. Tu mavani da mavani sxvadasxva  
istoriul epoqaSi ganwmendis saSual ebad cecxl sa da  
musikas iSvel iebdnen, masmedia, amgvari magiuri Zal is  
simbol od marTal sityvas miiCnevs.

marTal i si tyva Sewonasworebul i msj el obi sa da  
sxvadasxva l ogikur faqtTa Sej erebi s uSual o produq-  
tia. igi mniSvel ovanwil ad mi gvani Snebs im mosal odnel  
Sedegebze, romel ic momxdar isa gamo Sei Zl eba warmoCi ndes.  
arc erTi masmediuri wyaro, romel ic am principi ebs ar  
iyenebs, ar iqneba dazRveul i faqtis araswori inter-

pretaciisagan. amastan erTad masmediurma wyarom unda gaaRviZos adami anis goni s l o g i k u r i a z r o v n e b a d a m a s z e d a y r d n o b i T m i i y v a n o s i g i s w o r , l o g i k u r d a s k v n a m d e .

masmediisa da pol itikis urTierTkavSiri uwyvetia da warmo adgens "mraval winaurTierTobaTa" Sedegs, romel - ic (Tavis mxriv) gaxdeba safuZvel i maTi Semdgomi urTierTkavSirisa. maSasadame, masmediuri wyaroebi ara mxol od pol itikuri Tu social uri cxovrebis JamTaaRmwerel ni arian, aramed axal i, momaval i moqmedebebis katal izator - nic.

masmediuri msjel oba gansakuTrebul ad, frTxil ad unda moekidos saxel mwifo pol itikis romel ime segmen - tis "ganCxr ekvas", v i n a i d a n a r S e i Z l e b a s a x e l m w i f o p o l i - t i k i s S e f a s e b a e r T i r o m e l i m e e p i z o d i s C v e n e b i T , r a g i n d n i S a n d o b l i v i c a r u n d a i y o s i g i . T u m a s m e d i a m a i n c g a d a - w y v e t s a C v e n o s " y v e l a z e m n i S v n e l o v a n i w a m i " s a x e l m w i f o p o l i t i k i s a , m a n m T e l i Z a l e b i s k o n c e n t r a c i i T s a c n a u r i u n d a g a x a d o s s r u l i a r s i p o l i t i k u r i v e q t o r i s a .

## **daintereseba da siRrmiseul i kvl eva**

mSvidi, gawonasworebul i mdgomareobis aRwerisas masmedia xasiaTis gamovl enis Tval sazrisiT "nakl ebad efeqturia". misi xel wera "mZafrdeba" social uri Tu politikuri simwvavis dros. radganac cxovrebis normal uri msvl el obis aRwera bevrad ufro "mosawyenia", vidre "araCveul ebriv" movl enaTa emociuri fiqsireba.

politikuri azartul oba, misi Zl ieri vneba yvel aze ukeT Cans gamZafrbul i situaciebis aRnusxvisas da ara mdore, mSvidi cxovrebiT gaj erebul i yofis aRbeWdvisas.

*Tu masmedi uri naRvawi adamiანis ganwyobis stabil urobas "ar arRvevs", SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom aq enamoSvebul obasTan ufro gvaqvs saqme, vidre masmedi ur xel ovnebasTan.*

masmedia Tavisi aqtual uri, el itarul i sityviT adamiანis sul ieri fenomenis amaRl ebas unda uwyobdes xel s. imisa gamo, rom politikა xasiaTdeba aramdgradobiT, masmedia, romelic ამ procesebis gaTavisebისკენ mudmivad ილ-tvis, aSkarad grZnobs SesaZl ebel cdomil ebebs; masmedias, miuxedavad didi survil isa, ar Zal uZs "aTasgvari nakl isa da mankierebisagan" srul ad gankurnos Tavisi "sayvarel i sagani", ise rogorc amas simarTl e akeTebს.

*masmedi ამ kargad icis, rom simarTl is mospoba SeuZl ebel ia, ამi tom yovel mxriv cdil obs maqsimალ urad mi uaxl ovdes mas da Tu es SeuZl ebel i xdeba, maSi n ამ nakl s sakuTar Tavsac umალ avს da sxvasac.*

masmediis mizani ar SeiZl eba iyos Tavisi "msusxavisacecebis" saSual ebiT "msaj ul Tagan ganusjel is" afi-

Sireba, Tumca Tval -yuris devneba amgvari procesebis ganvitarebisadmi misi erT-erTi, aucil ebel i moval eobaTagania. am gzaze masmediam unda daZl ios "macdunebel Zal -Ta" umwvavesi Semoteva, raTa sazogadoebas miewodos "SemRvreveI i" real oba. masmediam TviTanal izi keTil gonivrul fiqrs unda dauqvemdebaros.

*stili, romliTac masmedia esaubrebda sazogadoebas, gamoricxavs imperatiul obas.*

saxel mwifo politikis Sesaxeb masmediaSi saubari imdenad aris dasaSvebi, ramdenadac igi saxel mwifosa da sazogadoebis keTil dReobas emsaxureba. Jurnal isturi kvl eva mizanswrafuli, mizanmimarTuli moqmedebaa, romelic STabeWdil ebaTa original uri asaxviTa da, empiriaze dayrdnobiT qmnis WeSmariti Zal is mqone masmediur narkvevs. am ukanasknel s gaazrebuli pozicia saSual ebas aZl evs mkveTrad gamijnos gl obal uri politikis sasicocxlo interesebi yovel dRiuri sinamdvil isagan. mizezobrivi damokidebul ebaTa Secnoba masmedias saSual ebas aZl evs imoqmedos swori, utyuari daskvnebis gakeTebisaTvis, radgan es ukanaskneli Tavisi bunebidan gamomdinare, maxvil i xedviTa da Sinagani SeRwevadoBiT gamoirCeva.

masmedia nakl ebad unda eqceodes emociebisa da grZnobad aRqmaTa tyveobaSi, rodesac mistvis faqtis mxol od da mxol od zedapiruli nawilia gacnobierebuli. politikuri procesebis siRmeSi SesaRwevad aucil ebel ia real obis aqtiurad da SemoqmedebiTad aRqma, Tumca isic cnobil ia, rom masmediis yovel dRiur damokidebul ebas sinamdvil esTan svadasxva mizez-faqturi gansazRvavs. da mainc, masmediuri kvl eva, uwinares yovl isa, svadasxva politikur movl enaTa safuZvl ebisa da mizezebis SecnobaSi unda xedavdes Tavisi upirvel es moval eobas. masme-

diam unda gvaziaros real ur sinamdvil es, mis pirvel - mizezsa da sworad moqmedebis principebs. man Tavidan unda moiSoros gamorCeul i "simpaTiiT Wvreta" romel ime obieqtisadmi, radganac es ukanasknel i mistVis Zireul ad SeuTavsebel ia.

masmedia gvawvdis pol itikur Tu social ur sakiTxTa mdidar, cocxal da feradovan suraTebis. mas Zal uZs "saWiro SemTxvevaSi" sazogadoebis Tval sazrisi "Secval os" da xal xisa da saxel mwifo pol itikis msofi xedva "erTmaneTs moargos", an piriqiT. masmedia araa dainteresebul i ama Tu im pol itikuri substanciis TviTnebuli Secvl iT. igi unda xasiaTdebodes gl obal uri anal izis unariT, romel ic saSual ebas miscems mas, swrafad da sworad gaiTavisos sakiTxis istoriul i, tradiciul i mxare da samomavli o perspeqtiva. rodesac masmedia gaTavisufi deba Tavisi "uSual o survil ebisa da moTxovnebisagan" da Rmad Caixdavs pol itikur Tu sxva saganTdasabamSi, aSkarad dainaxavs nebismieri movl enis mizez-SedegTa real ur, uwyvet j aWvs.

masmedia daucxrobl ad il tvis pol itikis dafarul i azris amosacnobad. pol itikuri programebisa Tu social - uri institutebis kvl evisas masmediis interess warmoadgens ara mxol od faqti, aramed misi Semoqmedic da aRmasrul ebel ic. masmediis azri pol itikur procesebze im warmodgenasac efuzneba, romel ic, misdauneburad, amave pol itikis SemoqmedebTan real uri urTierTobisas yal ibdeba.

amave dros masmedias Zal uZs myiseul ad Secval os sazogadoebis damokidebul eba im pol itikuri personis mimarT, romel ic miseul Sexedul ebaTa CarCoSi ar j deba.

*pol itikuri procesebis marTebul i suraTis Seqmna, Sesazl ebel ia ara "erTj eradi warmodgeni T", aramed am suraTis mudmivi srul yofi T.*

Tu masmediur wyaros surs iqonios swori warmodgena nebismier pol itikur procesze, man bevrad ufro meti unda "iSromos", vidre cnobis mompovebl oba an faqtis aRnusxvaa, radgan es ukanasknel i mxol od maSin miaRwevs sawadel s Tu misi azri, pol itikuri procesebis mimarT gamoTqmul i, urTierTsawinaaRmdego debul ebebis real uri sapirwonea.

nebismier pol itikur svl as moeZebneba uamravi, sxvadasxva interpretacia, masmediam ki am uamravTagan unda miagnos im erTaderTs, romel mac sinamdvil eSi warmoSva es procesi. movl enaTa mizezebis kvl evisas masmedias srul i-ad kanonierad "surs" uswrafesad amoicnos esa Tu is safuZvel i momxdarisa, radganac igi droiT SemosazRvrul - Semofargl ul ia da caitnots mudmivad ganicdis. am dros sandoobis xarisxi masmediam mxol od da mxol od obieqtur, real ur ganWvretaze dayrdnobiT unda daadginos, am niSnIT unda SeirCes mosal odnel i moqmedebis ganviTarebis swori varianti. masmedia unda Seecados ganmartos amgvani pol itikuri moqmedebis sazrisi.

pol itikur moZRvrebaTagan zogierTs yofiereba aqvs manam, sanam esa Tu is konkretul i procesi aqtiur moqmedebaSia, nawil i ki samaradJamod imkvidrebs arsebobis ufl ebas, romel ic TandaTanobiT istoriis kuTvnil ebaSi gadadis da samudamod Tavsdeba eris mexsierebaSi.

masmediam qveynis cal keul i pol itikuri procesi amave saxel mwifos pol itikis "saerTo sarkeSi" unda dainaxos.

miuxedavad imisa, rom azrovneba bunebiT zogadia, masmediam misi CarTva kerZo, konkretul sferoSic aucil ebl ad unda SeZl os, radganac es ukanasknel i, masmediur produqts I ogikurobasTan erTad Tval saCinoebasa da azris xatovanebasac aniWebs.

*sakacobrio istorias is politikosebi da politikuri procesebi SerCebian, roml ebmac cxovi ad warmosaxes epoqis politikuri Tu social uri vnebebi.*

amave dros, SeuZl ebel ia Jurnal istma srul ad warmoa-Cinos politikur sakiTxTa simwvave, Tu Tavad ar iqneba wil nayari am procesebTan. sazogadoeba, arc Tu ise iSvi-aTad, masmediur wyaroebze dayrdnobiT afuznebs Tavis moqal aqeobriv moval eobas. amitomac am ukanasknel is nebis-mieri miniSneba, Ria Tu farul i, gansazRvravs sazogadoebis damokidebul ebas saxel mwifo politikisadmi.

aSkaraa, rom arsebobs politikuri vneba, magram vnebiani politika \_ arasdros. Tu masmedias surs SeimuSaos WeSmariti azri politikis Sesaxeb, maSin igi unda "gamoeyos" politikur vnebaTaRel vas da srul iad obieqturad Sexedos mas. masmediis sasicocxl o muxti adamanTa samyaroa. amitomacaa saintereso mistvis adamanur-subieqturi Tvisebebi.

politika, romelic xSirad Tavisi egocentristul i Sexedul ebebiT gamoirCeva, masmedias xSirad, "urCevs" TavSekavebas politikur moqmedebaTa Sefasebisagan.

## neba (survil i)

ase msurs da ase vxedav \_ nebis (survil is) es principi, SeiZl eba rig SemTxvevaSi personis Wirveul obis gamoxatutul ebasac warmoadgendes, magram is, rom es ukanasknel i udidesi yuradRebis Rirsia, aSkaraa, Tundac imitom, rom mis gareSe adamanis goneba adgil idan "fexs ar moicvl is". am ukanasknel is gaaqtiureba safuZvel s, aucil ebel biZgs nebidan iRebs. imisaTvis, rom adamanma Tavad, damoukidebl ad wamarTos Tavisi bedi – neba namdvil ad ar warmoadgens ukanasknel komponents. nebis mieri pozicia nebagamovl il ia da, aqedan gamomdinare, adamanis zegrZnobadi prerogativaa. neba adamanur TvisებაTa cval ebad kategorias ganekutvneba, romel zec mTl ianadaa dakavSirebul i real urad arsebul i movl enebis srul yofil i asaxva. gamomdinare zemoaRniSnu- l idan, igi moiazreba rogorc gare samyaros bunebrivi aTvisების, adamanuri qmedebebis erT-erTi, upirvel esi katalizatori.

neba individumisa da sazogadoebis survil is gamoxatutul ebaa. igi is wyaroa, romel zedac mTl ianadaa damokidebul i personis qmedebis nairsaxeoba. amave dros nebisagan aRZrul i moqmedeba, Semdgomi ganvitarebisas, nakl ebad emorCil eba am ukanasknel s, radganac ifargl eba sxvadasxva eTikuri kategoriit.

neba gonebis moqmedebaSi CarTvis winapirobaa, goneba ki mizanimarTul adaa orientirebul i yofierebis, umaRl esi WeSmaritebis, gasacnobierebl ad.

neba Znel ad mosaToki grZnobaa, romel ic "idumal instiqtd" gadaqceul i, gvkarxobs mTel cxovrebas.

neba adami ani s Si nagani "me"-s gamoZaxi l i a, romel ic sxva-  
dasxva f or mi T gvi bi Zgebs aqt i ur obi saken an pasi ur obi -  
saken. neba gancxadebaa goni s mzadyof naze ama Tu i m sfer -  
oSi moRvaweobi saTvi s. nebel oba probl emi s gadaWr i s sawy-  
i sia, romel sac sabol ood mi vyavar T sakvl evi saki Txi s  
mTI i an gaazr ebamde.

"nebel obismieri qceva Zirfesvianad gansxvavdeba yvel a  
sxvagvari qcevisagan.

nebel obis gareSe warmoudgenel ia rwmena, magram ara  
imitom, rom is qmnis am rwmenas, aramed imitom, rom nebis-  
mieri sagnis, nebismieri movl enis simarTI es Tu siyal bes  
mxol od xedvis kuTxe, mxol od Cveni Tval sazrisi gana-  
pirobebs. neba, romel ic upiratesobas aniWebs erTs, sul s  
ukrZal avs yovel ive imis Wvretas, rac Tavad ar siam-  
ovnebs. ase rom, nebis mona-morCil i sul i Wvrets mxol od  
imas, rasac neba iwonebs da gansj iTac mxol od imis mixed-  
viT sj is, rasac nebis karnaxiT Wvrets".

[b. paskal i, "azrebi". Tb., 1981, gv. 212]

## obieqtur oba da WeSmariteba

obieqturi WeSmaritebis piruTvnel i gadmocema masmediis mTavari sagania. WeSmaritebisadmi erTgul eba is winapirobaa uroml isodac nebismieri masmediuri masal a, mxol od da mxol od gonebis uazro varj iSi iqneboda. vinaidan umeteswil ad adamianis goniTi Sesazl ebl obebi, yvel aze arsebiTad WeSmaritebis samsaxurSi vl indeba. es ukanasknel i mTel i Tavisi vnebis da Jinis akumul acias aq unda axdendes. masmediuri kvl evis mTavari azri maqsimal urad unda iyos dazRveul i araswori, araobieqturi interpretaciebisagan.

eTikuri normebi pirdapiri gzaa masmediuri obieqturobisaken. qvecnobieri, idumal i instinqtebiT gaj erebul i, buneba adamianisa mudmivad miil tvis WSmartebis dadgenisken.

*fiqri da azrovneba adamianis Rirsebaaa da moval eobac, ramdenadac es procesi WeSmarit Rirebul ebaze dafuznebiT mimdinareobs, miT ufro keTil gonivrul i xdeba. kval i, romel sac masmediuri naazrevi tovebs, keTil - SobilebiTa da didsul ovnebiT, RirsebiTa da TavdaWeril obiT unda gamoirceodes.*

WeSmaritebisadmi gul gril i damokidebul eba adamianis msofel mxedvel obisaTvis srul ad arabunebrivia. keTil zneoba, moyvasisadmi uangaro samsaxuri pirdapir kavSirSia patiosnebasTan, erTgul ebasTan da keTil gonierebasTan. ramdenadac "vSordebIT patiosnebas", imdenadve vkargavT sul is simSvides. masmedias kargad esmis rom, araferi ise ar amJRavnebs adamianur sisustes, rogorc mrude bunebis mqoneTa gverdiT dgoma.

*veraferi utol deba WeSmaritebis samsaxurisagan  
miRebul netarebas.*

“visac WeSmariteba ar uyvars, yovel Tvis ipovis mis-  
Tvis zurgSeqcevis sababs, Tundac im mosazrebiT, rom umrav-  
l esoba uaryofs mas. amrigad, is ganzrax, Segnebul ad cde-  
ba; am Secdomis wyaro \_ esaa misi gul gril oba WeSmarite-  
bisa da sikeTis mimarT, da am kacisTvis ar arsebobs  
Sendoba.”

[b. paskal i, “azrebi”. Tb., 1981, gv. 250]

masmediur siqvel eze ara mxol od konkretul , WeSmari-  
tad Rirebul Tvisebaze dayrdnobiT unda vimsj el oT, aramed  
mis mier gaweul i amgvari moqmedebebis xangrZI ivobiTac.  
WeSmaritebis asaxvisas masmediuri sindisi mwded da meoxad  
gonebas uxmoobs, radganac es ukanasknel i obieqturobis  
dedaa da aRmzrdel i.

\* \* \*

sibrZne imaSia, rom kacma il aparakos sul WeSmariteba,  
bunebas miesadagos da mis Sesabamisad moiqces.

**herakl ite efeosel i.**

\* \* \*

WeSmariteba SeiZI eba droebiT daiCagros, magram misi  
sabol ood damarcxeba SeuZI ebel ia.

**netari (wminda) avgustine.**

\* \* \*

sul el Tan patiosnad dava SeuZI ebel ia.

**miSel monteni (1533-1592) \_ frangi  
fil osofosi, mwerai i.**

\* \* \*

Jurnal ists unda axsovdes: @“WeSmaritebis aRmoCena mdgomareobs ara faqtebis uxvad damowmebaSi, rac adami ans pedantad aqcevs, aramed saWiro faqtebis gamoyenebaSi, rac mas fil osofosad xdis”.

**henri-Tomas bokl i (1821-1862) \_ XIX saukunis  
ingl isel i fil osofosi.**

## samar TI i anoba

tradiciul ad masmedia samarTI ianobis msaxuria da maszea orientirebul i. igi, rogorc umaRI esi Rirebul eba, Tavisi arsiTa da mniSvnel obiT, efuZneba obieqtursa da WeSmarits. masmediuri samarTI ianoba aucil ebel ia, raTa movl enebi TavianTi namdvil i bunebis Sesabamisad iqnas aRqmul i. masmediuri kvl evis simZimis centri samarTI ianobis principiT unda iyos gaj erebul i. igi umWidroesadaa dakavSirebul i cal keul i faqtebis, individual uri moqmedebebisa da principebis real ur aRqmasTan. samarTI ianoba, romel ic keTil gonivrul obiTaa nasazrdoebi, masmediuri ostaatobis safuZvel ia. masmediis nebismier warmomadgenel s unda axsovdes, rom samarTI ianobisadmi msaxureba mxol od misadmi mudmivi, "mxurval e trfial ebiTaa" SesaZI ebel i. samarTI i-anobisadmi rwmenis ganmtkiceba da siyal bis mxil eba aciskrovnebs adamianis sindiss da warwymedisagan icavs mis sul s, amitomac masmediur korpuss muxl Cauxrel i Sroma marTebs samarTI ianobis dasacavad, xol o mis aRsadgenad bevrad ufro meti.

*samar TI ianobis ignori reba ni Snavs amoral uri faseul obebis aRiarebas, sakuTari azrebisa da gancdebis Seuracxyofas.*

suverenul i goneba cxovrebi seul sinamdvil es mxol od da mxol od samarTI ianobis principiT unda aRiqvamdes, radganac igi WeSmaritebis gamovl enis upirvel esi centria, sadac umaRI es faseul obad adamianuri gonis miuker-Zoebl oba miiCneva.

*samarTI ianoba masmediis cxovrebis wesia, roml is-  
kenac gadadgmul i yovel i nabij i WeSmaritebasTan  
miaxl oebaa. masmediis es mTavari principi mniSv-  
nel ovan Sedegs aRwevs da aTavisufl ebs am ukanask-  
nel s Tavsmoxveul i, arasasurvel i marwuxebisagan.  
es simarTI isadmi msaxurebis universal uri model i  
cxovrebis yvel a aspeqtze vrcel deba, radganac igi  
adamianuri TviTamaRI ebis sawindaria, Sinagani  
aqtiurobis formaa.*

sazogadoebisaTvis marTebul i iqneba is, rom igi aucil eb-  
l ad unda daemorCil os samarTI ianobas, amave dros Zal a,  
romel sac iyeneben amave sazogadoebis winaaRmddeg, iZul e-  
bul s xdis mas daemorCil os misTvis arasamarTI ians, amdenad  
samarTI ianoba Zal is gareSe ver miiRweva. Zal a, romel ic  
samarTI iT araa nasazrdoebi, yovel Tvis darCeba umcir-  
esobis mZI avr iaraRad umravl esobaze gasabatonebl ad.

*samarTI ianoba, romel sac zurgs ar umagrebs Zal a,  
uZI uria; Zal a, roml is zurgs ukan ar dgas samarTI ianoba,  
tiranul ia.*

imis gamo, rom am qveynad ar daiI evian ukeTurni uZI ur  
samarTI ianobas yovel Tvis fexqveS gaigeben; usamarTI o  
Zal a ki yovel Tvis aRaSfoTebis keTiI T. maSasadame, saWi roa  
Zal isa da samarTI ianobis Serwyma; amitom an samarTI ianoba  
unda gaxdes ZI ieri, anda Zal a – samarTI iani.

“samarTI ianoba xSi rad sadavoa da sakamaTO, Zal a ki  
udavo da uciI obel i. amitomac samarTI ianoba ver iqne-  
ba da ver gaxda ZI ieri: Zal a ar scnobda mas da ambobda,  
rom samarTI ianoba – usamarTI oa, da rom mxol od Tvi-  
Tonaa samarTI iani. da raki samarTI ianoba ver asdi debi T

ver iqca Zal ad, xal xma sabol ood gadawyvita, rom mxol od Zal aa samarTliani”.

[bl ez paskali, “azrebi”. Tb., 1981, gv. 257]

“samarTle \_ dasawyisi da dasaruli a yovel i arsi sa. samarTle rom ar yofil iyo, ar iqneboda ar aferi. amitom br Zenni samarTles saunj ed Tvl ian. samarTle ar amarto TavisTavad arsebobs, aramed Seqmna yvel a sagani. TavisTavad arsebobs, radgan esaa siyvaruli; man Seqmna yvel a sagani imitom, rom isaa si br Zne, bunebrivi qvel - მოქმედება და ტაო, გარეგანისა და შინაგანის შიშაპროტექცია-ლი. Tumca bevrni samarTles uyur adRebod eqcevi an, magram is ar asodes dakar gavs Tavis mni Svel obas”.

konfuciusi.

“ganuwvetli v unda vi swavl ot, vakeTot, vil apar akot samarTle. vinctmisis Seswavl as Seudgeba, mxol od is gai gebs, r ardenad Sorsa vyofil varT samarTli sagan”.

konfuciusi.

\* \* \*

Tu gsurT amaod ar idavoT da daumtkicoT Tqvens Tanamosaubres, rom cdeba, uwinares yovl isa, unda gaarkviot, ra mxriv ganixil avsis davis sagans, radgan is, Cveul ebriv, sworad xedavs. aRiareT misi samarTle, magram imwamsve daumtkiceT, rom Tu sxva mxriv SexedeT sagans, misi Tval sazrisi mcdari aRmoCndeba. Tanamosaubre uyoymanod dageTanxmebaT: mTavaria daijeros, rom ki ar Semcdara, aramed mxol od raRac gamorCa xedvis aredan. radgan adamianebs maSin ki ar mosdiT guli, roca yvel afers ver xedaven, aramed maSin, roca cdebian. SesaZloa es imiT aixsneba, rom adamians, Tavisi bunebiT, ar SeuZlia erTbaSad aRiqvas da yovel mxriv gaiziaros sagani; magram Tu aRiqvams (sul erTia, ra mxriv aRiqvams), yovel Tvis sworad

aRiqvams mas, radgan aRqm is yovel i monacemi, grZnobis yovel  
l i mowmoba misTvis eWvmutanel ia.

adamians, Cveul ebriv, is azri ufro arwmunebs, romel ic  
mas mosdis TavSi, vidre is, romel ic sxvis TavSi ibadeba.

**bl ez paskal i.**

\* \* \*

samarTI e daeweve matyuarebsa da cru mowmeeb.

**herakl ite efeosel i.**

\* \* \*

sxeul is Zal a da ful i ki ar abednierebs adamians,  
aramed samarTI e da mraval mxrivi sibrZne.

**demokrite.**

\* \* \*

samarTI ianoba sibrZnis gareSec niSnavs rames, sibrZne  
ki samarTI ianobis gareSe arafers niSnavs.

**markus tul ius ciceroni.**

\* \* \*

usamarTI oba ar aris Yyovel Tvis moqmedebasTan dakav-  
Sirebul i. xSirad is swored umoqmedobaSi gamoixateba.

**markus avrel iusi.**

\* \* \*

samarTI iani kacis zneobrivi Tvissebebi savsebiT cv-  
l ian kanonebs

**menandre.**

\* \* \*

roca samarTI ianoba qreba, maSin araferi rCeba iseTi,  
rom adamianis sicocxl es Rirebul eba misces.

**kanti.**

## swori, marTebul i azrovneba

saxel mwifo mmarTvel obis nebismieri pol itikis (rogorc saSinao, aseve sagareo) gatarebisas, masmedia val debul ia Seinarcunos sworad azrovnebis survil i. man unda SesZl os arasasurvel , zemoqmed Zal Ta ganeitral eba da mSvidi gansj a, roml is gareSec ar arsebobs arsebiTis dadgena.

*saxel mwifo pol itika aucil ebl ad eZebS Tavis sayrdens masmediaSi, raTa moipovos is instrumenti, romel ic yvel aze upriania misive ideebis gansaxorciel ebl ad, ris Sedegadac arc Tu iSviaTad mi iReba "ocdaaT vercxl ad nayi di " sakaro masmedia.*

pol itika adamiანი xel ovnebaa, romel sac qmnis adamiანი an adamiანიTa j gufi, raTa Sej erebul i da gaazrebul i taqtikuri svl iT miaRwion qveynisa da sazogadoebisaTvis sasurvel s. aristotel es ganmartebiT pol itika "umaRl esi sikeTea", e.i. pol itikosis upirvel esi mizani adamiანიTa keTil dReoba da material uri uzrunvel yofaa. amdenad, adamiანი unda il tvodes pol itikisaken, rogorc sazogadoeb-rivi cxovrebis gamaumj obesebel isaken. vinaidan am "wyarosaken" mimaval i gzebi gansxvavebul ia, sazogadoebam Camooyal iba "sxvadasxva" pol itika anu pol itikuri sistemebi.

ar arsebobs saxel mwifo, romel ic ukeTes mermis ar el tvodes. sabol oo mizani yovel maTgans erTi aqvs da mas saxel mwifo pol itika gansazRvravs, pol itika, romel ic met-nakl ebad individual uri Tval TaxedviTaa Seqmnil i.

saxel mwifo pol itikis formirebis procesi mraval - pl aniania, upirvel es yovl isa, igi Seicavs or aucil ebel atributs \_ saSinao da sagareo interesebs. am ukanasknel is mixedviT sxvadasxva saxel mwifo sxvadasxva rames

iTxovs samyrosagan, TiToeul i maTgani amgvar I tol vas erovnul , saxel mwifo pol itikas uwodebs.

**ra rol i unda Seasrul os saxel mwifo  
pol itikis xor cSesxmaSi masmediam?**

upirvel esi rac mas moeTxoveba \_ sainformacio mxardaWeraa, rogorc saxel mwifos saSinao, aseve sagareo sakiTxebSi, miTumetes Tu saxel mwifoTa sastarto mdgomareoba da saerTaSoriso aRiareba sxvadasxva donisaa. masmediis rol i saxel mwifo pol itikis propagandaSi gansakuTrebul ia. imisaTvis rom informaciis gatanis Sesazl ebl obaSi didi da mcire saxel mwifoebi Tanatol ni aRmoCdenen, am ukanasknel is masmediurma saSual ebebma udidesi misia unda aiRon Tavistavze, risi naTel i dasturicaa ruseT-saqarTvel os Soris arsebul i mdgomareoba. mxol od bol o wl ebSi, SeZl o saqarTvel om sainformacio omis Rirseul ad warmarTva. adre igi ver "axerxebda" simarTl is damtkicebas saerTaSoriso sazogadoebisaTvis, radgan informaciul oms "bevrad ufro ganvitarebul i" da uzrunvel yofil i rusul i masmedia igebda, romel sac "sul advil ad SeeZl o" TeTris Savad gasaReba. saerTaSoriso da samTavrobo mxardaWeris Semdeg masmediis sxvadasxva saSual ebebma saqarTvel os imiji srul ad Secval a, rasac msofli io pol itikaSi mohyva saqarTvel osadmi uprecedento mxardaWera. masmediam saqarTvel os saxel mwifo pol itikaSi erT-erTi gadamwyveti rol i iTamaSa. aSkaraa, rom qarTul i masmediis mTel i Zal iT amuSavebis Semdeg rusetis pol itikur xel mZRvanel obas gamudmebiT uxdeba Tavis martl eba sxvadasxva saerTaSoriso organizaciebsa Tu saxel mwifoTa winaSe. ram ganapiroba yovel ive es? upirvel esad masmediuri korpusisa da mTavrobis erTobl ivma harmoniul ma qmedebam da saazrovno Tanxvedram.

## ras ni Snavs sainformacio omis mogeba?

pirvel rigSi es aris momxdaris Sesaxeb informaciis saerTaSoriso sarbiel ze uswrafesi gatana, saj arooba, mtkicebul ebebis aqcentireba, saerTaSoriso eqspertTa mowveva, informaciul i nakadis gaZl iereba da mosal odnel is prognozireba. yovel ive zemoT CamoTvl il i ukve myari niadagia saxel mwifosaTvis situaciis Sesabamisi gancxadebebis gasakeTebI ad.

qarTul ma masmediam udidesi fsiqol ogiuri rol i iTamaSa msofi io sazogadoebis saqarTvel osken uaRresad rTul i Semobrunebis gzaze.

masmedia gansakuTrebul amocanas asrul ebs saxel mwifo politikis arqiteqtonikaSi. swored misi saSual ebiT warmocindeba siRrme da nairsaxeoba politikuri Canafiqrisa. rodesac masmediis sikeTeze vsaubrobt, pirvel rigSi vakeTebT daskvnebs Tu riT daexmara igi saxel mwifosa da sazogadoebas kritikul momentSi, ramdenad brZnul i iyo misi qmedeba, ramdenad SeZl o sasikeTod mimarTul i azris droul ad mowodeba, ramdenad swori da motivirebul i iyo is gza da saSual ebebi, romel ic man wamowia wina pl anze, gaiTval iswina Tu ara man sakiTxis specifikuroba da individual uri mxare.

Jurnal istur naazrevSi ar aris sasurvel i rom mTavari saTqmeli, mTavari azri mi axl oebis sas horizontiviT sul ufro ukan da ukan i wevdes. masmedi am "Tavis sfero" ar avi Tar SemTxvevaSi "Seuval samfl obel od" ar unda gadaaqci os; gamomdi nare mi si ve uni versal obi dan i gi yvel - gan "sasurvel i stumris" statusiT unda sargebl obdes. masmedia xidia sazogadoebas da xel isuflebas Soris, roml is si myarec orivezea damoki debul i. igi, upirvel esad, obi eqturi kanonzomer ebis msaxuria da misi nebis aRmasrul ebel i.

*masmedia, upirvel es yovl isa, adamianis cnobismoyvare gonebas arwyl ul ebs.*

pol itikas, romel ic real uris, sinamdvil is kanonmdebeli da mmarTvel ia, aqvs "fiqrTa Tavisi sal aro", roml is idumali Sreebi andamativiT izidaven masmediis cnobasmoyvareobas. amitomac masmedia maradiul i ZiebiTvisaa ganwirul i. igi siamovnebiT kistrul obs mediatoris funcias saxel mwifo politikasa da sazogadoebas Soris, radganac gaaCnia udidesi maregul irebel i Zala \_ daamyaros mxareTa Soris konsesusi.

Tu masmedia ar "gamefdeba Tavis emociaze" da gonivru- lad ar warmarTavs urTierTobas sazogadoebasTan, cxovrebiseul ma vnebebma igi advil ad SeiZl eba aacadinon mTavars, arsebiTs da detal ebze gadaataninon arsebiTi yuradReba. saxel mwifo pol itikasTan urTierTobisas Wirs farTo pol itikuri speqtris yvel a niuansze yuradRebis gamaxvil eba, amitomac aucil ebel ia gonebis srul i mobilizacia, mTI ianad miuRebel ia detal ebisadmi uyuradReboba, radgan pol itikuri cxovrebis "namdvil i saxe" swored aq, detal ebSi imal eba.

saxel mwifo pol itika, romel ic wyvets qveyinis saSinao da sagareo sakiTxebs, ekonomikur da safinanso problemebs, kul turul da saganmanaTl ebl o pol itikas, xSirad Tavars aridebs sakuTari moqmedebis saj aro detal izacias da gamomzeurebas.

*saxel mwifo politika misi Semoqmedi individis an adamianTa jgufis gonis simaRI eze migviTitebs.*

Tu pol itika saxel mwifo marTvis xel ovnebaa, maSin igi Semoqmedisagan aucil ebl ad saWiroebs gamokveTil, Zl ier individual urobas, raTa aRqmuli iqnas rogorc am pol i-

tikis warmatebis srul i garanti. rodesac al eqsandre makedonel is an napol eon bonapartis saxel mwifo politikas gamorCeul s vuwodebT, es imis mauwyebel ia, rom Ti-Toeul i Cvengani maTSi xedavs ara mxol od saxel mwifoTa dapyrobisa da xal xTdamonebis didostats, aramed WeSmar-itad didi saxel mwifo politikis avtorebs.

politika TavistavSi did adamanur vnebebs irTavs. arc erT did politikosze ar uTqvamT vnebebisagan dacdil ao.

*saxel mwifo politikis moqnil oba da efeqtianoba ganizomeba im monapovariT, romel sac cxovrebaSi misi gatarebis Sedegad vRebul obT.*

qarTul i saxel mwifos politika imdenad "gadatvirTulia" mosagvarebel sakiTxTa simravliT, rom srul iad dacl il ia rigiTobisgan, aq yvel aferi saSuri da saswrafoa: darRveul i teritoriul i erTianoba, mtradqceul i yofil i imperia, damokl es maxvil iviT moRerebel i mudmivi, pasuxgaucemel i kiTxva "yofna-aryofnisa", mzardi, magram jerac susti ekonomikuri mdgomareoba, saxel mwifo Zl ierebis upirvel esi RerZis – armiis sul yofa, msofil io ekonomhuri krizisi da a.S.

am fonze Cveni qveynis saxel mwifo politika Tavisi strategiul i miznebiT uarResad srul yofil , dipl oma-tiur moqmedebas moitxovs, raTa nakl ebadmtkivneul i iyos gza, saxel mwifos erTian evropul sivrceSi integraciisa.

## informaciul oba

faqtebsa da movl enebS Soris swor urTierTkavSirs uzrunvel yofs piruTvnel i informacia, romel ic sazogadoebas masmediis sxvadasxva saSual ebebiT miwodeba. amdenad masmediis warmatebas droul i da swori informirebul oba gansazRvavs. gl obal izaciis procesma informaciaze moTxovna umniSvnel ovanesad gazarda, radganac, rogorc sazogadoebaSi, aseve pol itikaSi sagraZnob upiratesobas sworad informirebul i Zal a aRwevs. sazogadoebis rwmenda dRiT i dRe, sul ufro damokidebul i xdeba swor informirebul obaze. informacia, romel ic bal avaria masmediuri produqciisa, Jurnal isturi warmatebebisa Tu warumatebl obisa, warmoadgens safuZvel Ta safuZvel s. mxol od saRiazris, droul i informaciul obis, real izmisa da obieqturobis sworma urTierT Serwymam SeiZl eba ganapirobas warmatebaTa mopoveba.

nebismieri informacia masmediisagan "iTxovs" marTebul komentars, sadac maqsimal urad vl indeba Jurnal istis profesional izmi, sakiTxisadmi damokidebul eba, erudicia da enobrivi (metyvel ebiTi) mowesrigebul oba.

informacia is aucil ebel i wyaroa, romel ic safuZvel ad edeba nebismier gadawyvetil ebas. igi aCqarebs da aadvil ebs miznis miRwevas, sasurvel is misaRwevad qmnis real ur winapirobas.

"adamiani informacias sami arxiT SeiZens da gascems. es arxebia:

- ✓ vizual uri (mxedvel obiTi);
- ✓ audiuri (smeniTi);
- ✓ kinesTetikuri (SegrZnebiTi).

am sami arxidan yovel Cvengans erT-erTi ufro aqtiuri, prioritetul i aqvs da sakuTari modal uroba (ueWvel o-ba) gagvaCnia. amis gamo, individebi pirobiTad iyofian: vizual ebad, audial ebad, kinesTetikosebad”.

**[g. j o l i a, biznes-etiketi da mol aparakebebis  
xel ovneba, Tb., 2006, gv.79]**

saxel mwifo pol itikis mesveurT masmediis mier mopovebul i informacia interpretaciis gareSe unda miwodods, raTa am masal is gadamuSavebiTa da masze dayrdnobiT ama Tu im gadawyvetil ebam swori azri SeiZinos. zogj er es informacia sakvanZoa, zogj er ki mxol od garkveul i pol itikur Sexedul ebaTa Semavsebel i. masmedias mis mier mopovebul i masal is safuZvel ze gadawyvetil ebis miReba nakl ebad eval eba, radganac es ukanasknel i mTI ianad pol itikur moRvaweTa prerogativaa. masmedia umTavresad aqcents akeTebis am informacis Sedegad miRebul qmedebze, sadac masmediuri azris prioritetul obac sasurvel ia, radganac isaa Semfasebel i Tu ramdenad efeqturad iqna gamoyenebul i mis mier mopovebul i masal a.

*marTal ia, saxel mwifo pol itika “ver dasj erdeba” mxol od masmediur kvl evebs, mis mier mopovebul informaciul masal ebs, magram cal keul sakiTxTa gadawyvetasi am ukanasknel is monapovaris ar gaTval iswineba saxel mwifo marTviT organoebis, mxol od da mxol od uaryofiT Sedegebs moutans.*

*masmediis funqcia am kuTxiT universal uria. igi erTdroul ad informaciis mopovebel icaa da gamavrcel ebel ic. masmediuri saSual ebebi warmoadgenen im centrebs, roml Ta irgvl ivac Tavsiyrian sxvadasxva interesiT gaj erebul i sainformacio pirvel - wyaroebi.*

informacia pirdapir kavSirSia asaxvasTan, radgan asaxvis procesi imavdroul ad informaciul i procesia, anu informacia, sabol oo rezul tatiT, garkveul i codnaa.

"informacia aris codnis asaxvis "moqmedi", "muSa" nawil i. marTal ia, informacia mWidro kavSirSia da gadahkveTs asaxvas, magram es ori termini erTi da igive ar aris. asaxva moicavs informacias, magram ar emTxveva mas. Tu asaxva SeiZl eba damoukidebl ad arsebobdes, informacia asaxvis gareSe ar aris. amastan informacia dakavSirebul ia aqtiur asaxvasTan. aqtiuri asaxva ki SeuZl ia mxol od dasrul ebul informaciul warmonaqmns. asaxva informaciis recefciiis el ementia".

**[m cacanaSvil i, "informaciul i sazogadoeba da informaciis samarTl ebrivi regul ireba".**

**Tb., 1999, gv. 22]**

XXI saukunis sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis yvel a sferoSi informaciam umniSvnel ovanesi adgil i daikava, amdenad dRevandel i sazogadoeba yvel aze informirebul ia kacobriobis istoriaSi. informaciis mopoveba da misi gacvl a dRes adamanuri urTierTobis safuZvel ia, romel zedac, zednaSenis saxiT, izrdeba an mcirdeba iseTi adamanuri Tvisebebi, rogoricaa: megobroba da siyvarul i, boroteba da sikeTe, zizRi Tu siZul vil i. masze bevradaa damokidebul i omi Tu mSvidoba, stabil uroba Tu areul oba. informaciis matarebel ia adamanuri goni, romel ic droTa ganmavl obaSi masze dayrdnobiT qmnis uzarmazar bazas anu codnis jams, romel ic garkveul wil ad SezRudul ia da moicavs mxol od imas, rac goniTi koncefciiisTvisaa Sesazl ebel i. is ver iqneba yovl ismomcvel i, radganac igi TavisibunebiT zRvardadebul ia da sasrul i.

adamanis gonebas ar SeuZl ia maqsimal urad SeinarCunos yvel a is informaciul i masal a, romel ic mas cxovrebis

manZil ze nebsiT Tu unebl ieT miewodeba, romel Tagan zogi gansakuTrebul ia, zogic nakl ebadmniSvnel ovani. informaciis faseul obis mixedviT xdeba gansazRvra gadaxarisxeba e.w. "Semosul i masal isa", romel Taganac goni mxol od im informaciastovebs, romel ic mas mniSvnel ovnad miaCnia, Tumca mexsierebaSi aseve rCeba iseTi informacia, romel ic qvecnobierad aRiqmeba.

**informacia ewodeba:**

- ✓ nebsi er i obi eqt i s an movl eni s aRwer as;
- ✓ nebsi er cnobas sazogadoebi saTvi s adre uc nobi movl enebi s Sesaxeb;
- ✓ ar Cevani s Sedegs;
- ✓ nebsi er Set yobi nebas;
- ✓ Set yobi nebas obi eqt i s, movl eni s an r ai me procesi s mr aval fer ovnebi s Sesaxeb;
- ✓ momxdar i s vi zual ur aRwer as (damtki cebul i informaci a);
- ✓ momxdar i s sxvaTa si tyebi T gadmocemas (daumtki - cebel i , gadaumowmebel i informaci a);
- ✓ uZvel es enaTa gaSi fvr i s Sedegad mi Rebul cnobebs;
- ✓ ar qeol ogi ur monapovar ze dayr dnobi T mi Rebul cnobebs da a.S.;
- ✓ i nt ui ci ur i Segr Znebebi s gadmocemas;
- ✓ zmanebi s (si zmrebi s) safuZvel ze mi Rebul Set yobi nebas;
- ✓ I eT ar gi ul i mdgomareobi s dr os mi Rebul Set yobi nebas;
- ✓ kl i ni kur i si kvdi l i s dr os mi Rebul Set yobi nebas;
- ✓ astral ur ni Snebs.

informaciis fl oba adamianis prerogativaa da aras-  
dros arsebobs mis gareSe. nebismieri adamiani informaci-  
is matarebel i individua, romel sac SeuZI ia am infor-  
maciis dabl okvac da gacvl ac, es ukanasknel i mxol od mis  
survil zea damokidebul i.

informacia adamianis emociur sferoze zegavl enis wyaroa,  
Tumca informacia, romel ic Tundac real ur, obieqtur  
safuzvel zea arekl il i, "ver daiCemebs" momxdaris srul  
adekvaturobas. misi adekvaturobis gansazRvra SesaZI ebe-  
l ia sintaqsis anu sainformacio masal aSi frazis age-  
bul ebis, sityvaTa SekavSirebis wesis dacviT, semantikuro-  
bis (semasiol ogiis) anu sityvisa da gamoTqmis mniSvnel obis  
sisworIT da pragmatul obis, anu praqtikul ad gamoyeneba-  
dobis, mixedviT.

sainformacio masal isaTvis, teqstis momxdarTan (sin-  
taqsuri) adekvaturoba gansakuTrebiT mniSvnel ovania.  
sityvaTa SeTanxmeba, frazis koreqtul oba azrobrivi kv-  
l evis umTavresi safuzvel ia. informaciis Sinaarsi, romel ic  
sakiTxis ganzogadebis fundamenti unda gaxdes, gansakuTre-  
bul i juradRebis Rirsia. informaciis praqtikul ad gamoy-  
eneba anu samomxmarebl o funqciis miniWeba, misi pragmatu-  
l oba swored am ukanasknel zea damokidebul i.

masmediisTvis upirvel esia informaciis misawvdomoba,  
anu ramdenad real uria misi mopoveba, gadamuSaveba da  
droul ad miwodeba sasurvel i subieqtisaTvis.

informaciis Rirebul eba SinaarsTan erTad droiT in-  
terval ebzea damokidebul i, anu informaciis warmoqmni dan-  
ra droa gasul i. misi droul ad miwodeba niSnavs am in-  
formaciis miRebas drois raRac monakveTSi, roml is Sem-  
degac misma gamoyenebam sasargebl os nacvl ad sazano Sede-  
gic ki SeiZI eba moitanos.

adamianis genetikuri kodis Camoyal ibeba, romel ic mis  
erovnul kuTvnil ebasac gansazRvravs, informaciul i mo-

nacemebis sinTezuri kavSiris Sedegad iZens struqturul mTI ianobas da qvecnobierad uzrunvel yofs individis cnobierebas. am mxriv adamianuri kodi Seicavs winaswar-metyvel ur informacias ama Tu im personis Sesaxeb.

sazogadoebas material ur moTxovnil ebebTan erTad aucil ebl ad uCndeba sainformacio wyurvil i, roml is dakmayofil ebac masmediuri saSual ebebis umTavresi mizania. kerZod, masmediam sazogadoebis ara mxol od informaciul i uzrunvel yofa unda moaxerxos, aramed interesTa gaTval iswinebiT misi regul irebac unda SeZl os. informacia sazogadoebas aniWebs obieqturi gansjis unars. am ukanasknel is gareSe nebismieri azri ver SeiZens damajerebl obasa da romel ime samTavrobo Tu politikur gadawyvetil ebaze zemoqmedebis Zal as.

is social uri jgufi, romel ic ufro mraval ricxovania, Sesabamisad met informaciasa da sainformacio saSual ebebs fl obs, riTac udides gavl enas axdens sazogadoebriv cnobierebaze.

masmedia da misi saSual ebebi informaciul i masal is mopovebis meti upiratesobi sa gamo:

○ umni Svel ovanes dial eqtur funqcias asrul eben sazogadoebaSi ;

○ sTavazoben sazogadoebas, samTavrobo da politikur struqtur ebs sxvadasxva rekomendaci ebs sakiTxTamarTebul ad gadaWrisaTvis. am iT isini erTgvar konsultacias uweven zemoT CamoTvil il mxareebis;

○ qmni an regul irebad garemos mxareTa Soris konsensusi s mi saRwevad;

○ iZenen zedamxedvel ur funqcias mxareTa interesebis dasacavad;

○ iyeneben dacviT meqani zmebs subieqtTa interesis gaTval iswinebiT.

masmediis mier mopovebul ma informaciam unda imoqmedos sazogadoebis cnobierebaze, amisaTvis ki saWiroa masSi maqsimal urad gaizardos iseTi faqtebisa da daskvnebis mocul oba, romel ic l ogikurad daarwmunebs mkiTxvel s da uzrunvel yofs masSi efeqtianobis maRal xarisxs. amisaTvis ki aucil ebel ia sainformacio masal aSi arsebul i argumentebis maRal i rwmuneba, rac maTSi aSkarad gazrdis damaj erebl obis xarisxs, rac ufro metadaa argumenti WeSmaritebiT motivirebul i, miT ufro gaiol ebul ia sasurvel i Sedegis miReba.

faqti, romel ic masmediis warmomadgenl is miera mopovebul i, udavo argumentaciit unda iyos gaj erebul i. rac ufro metia utyuari faqtebis raodenoba, miT metia darwmuneba, es ukanasknel i ki farTod uxsnis gzas adamianis gonebas "masmediisaTvis sasurvel i" daskvnis gamosatanad.

Jurnal istis mTel i ostatoba da xel ovneba ZiriTadad zemoxsenebul i masal ebis emociur Seferil obaSi unda daixarjos. arsebiTad maszea "damokidebul i" sazogadobis ganwyoba, misi msofl mxedvel obis adekvaturoba sainformacio masal aSi mowodebul i azrebisadmi. aucil ebel ia sazogadobrivi azri argumentirebul ad Sezardos mistvis masmediis mier miwodebul Setyobinebas.

yovel ive zemoCamotvl il Tan erTad gansakuTrebul ad STambeWdavi unda iyos im pirvel wyaros avtoritetul oba, saidanac "aRmocenda" mowodebul i masal a, radganac am erT mTI ian samoqmedo procesSi swored isaa upirvel esi da sando megzuri.

## Tavi 4

### **mWevr met yvel eba da masmedi a**

Tu metyvel eba bunebisagan boZebul i uZvirfasesi saun-  
j ea, maSin mWevr metyvel eba \_ adamanuri SesaZl ebl obis  
WeSmaritad fasdaudebel i saganZuria. oratoroba umaR-  
l esi formaa komunikabel urobisa, romel ic adamanis ga-  
ciskrovnebul i gonebisa da Sinagani srul yofil ebis umaR-  
l esi safexuria. amave dros metyvel ebis warmmarTvel i  
neba aucil ebl ad unda iyos azris gamoxatvis l akonuro-  
bisaken mimarTul i. mWevr metyvel ebas ar eval eba "Secode-  
baTa gamarTI eba da arc codvebis miteveba, arc adamanTa  
sindisis gaspetakeba" \_ misi erTaderTi mizani simarTI is  
aRsrul ebisatvis xel Sewyobaa. metyvel ebas gonieri gamoy-  
eneba sWirdeba, xol o mis umaRI es formas \_ mWevr metyvel e-  
bas, gansakuTrebul i. ritorobisas fexqveS yovel Tvis unda  
vgrZnobdeT im myar niadags, romel ic agvaSorebs gadaWar-  
bebul enamzeobas da imavdroul ad gvixsnis gaugebari  
oqopirobisagan. zomiereba mWevr metyvel ebis simyaris da  
simkvidris safuZvel ia. azris sicocxl is xangrZl ovoba,  
bevr sxva ramesTan erTad, swored am ukanasknel zecaa damo-  
kidebul i. gonivrul i gansja mWevr metyvel ebas "aiZul ebs"  
mudmivi yuradRebiT "ganimsWval os faqtebisadmi, raTa maqsi-  
mal urad moTokos warmosaxva \_ cdunebisa da Secdomebis  
maradiul i saTave".

azrovnebis Zal a, romel ic "mudmivad gabatonebul ia"  
mWevr metyvel ebaze Tavistavad warmoadgens im gamawonas-  
worebel berkets, romel ic uzrunvel yofs gonisa da  
metyvel ebis dial eqtikas. mWevr metyvel eba mowodebul ia

ara mxol od "moCvenebiTi" ritorobisaTvis, aramed brZnu-  
l adubnobisaTvis. oqpirobis universal uri Zal a gvaSorebs  
uferul , uRimRamo da Sinagani vnebisagan dacl il fraza-  
Ta grZel , usasrul o rigs. igi mTel i arsebiT Tanaziars  
gvxdis im procesebisas, romel sac "grZneul i mTxrobel i"  
ase xatovnad gadmogvcems. radgan adamiani uTuod fiqrisTvis  
aris Seqmnil i, mWevrmetyvel eba sxva araferia Tu ara am  
nafiqral is xmamaRl a, l amazad, brZnul ad da emociurad  
gamoxatva.

pol emikisaTvis saWiroporciebi, romel sac Tavad  
oratori adgens, uzrunvel yofs azris zustad gamoTqmis  
SesaZl ebl obas. man maqsimal urad unda SeZl os ara mxo-  
l od azris miwodeba TanamosaubreTaTvis, aramed daamyaros  
ndoba massa da auditorias Soris, sworad da marTebu-  
l ad aRiqvas reaqcia, romel ic meore mxridan modis da  
Sesabamisad warmarTos igi. Tu oratori metyvel ebis mo-  
nol ogiur formas mimarTavs, man mTavari azris, saTqmel is  
mudmivad win wamoweviT, aqcentirebiT unda isaubros, raTa  
mWevrmetyvel ebis mSvenierebam Tavad ar gaitacos. obieqti,  
roml iskenac mimarTul ia Zal a oratorobisa, mudmivad xaz-  
gasmul i da wina pl anze unda iyos.

*mWevrmetyvel eba sinamdvil is, SesaZl ebel is sityvi-  
eri asaxva da maxvil gonieri gansj aa. igi ganWvre-  
tit xedvaa WeSmaritebis mikvl evisa da damkvidre-  
bisaTvis.*

SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom ritoroba adamianis gonebis siama-  
yea. sicxade da garkveul oba aris is ori mTavari ram,  
rasac igi emsaxureba. azris siRrmiseul i Sreebis "zeda-  
pirze amotana" da xel misawvdomoba sityvas aniWebs uni-  
versal ur bunebas. sityvis agebis struqtura uSual o  
kavSirSia l ogikur azrovnebasTan. metyvel ebis poeturi,  
asociaciuri da simbol uri stil i zemoaRniSnul is samS-

venisia da masTan erTad adgens sakiTxis faseul obas. arc  
ideebis original uri variaciebiT gadmocemaa ucxo mW-  
evrmetyvel ebisTvis, vinaidan igi nebismier formas iyenebs  
WeSmariti azris gamosaxatavad. ritorii aaqtiurebs da  
aaSkaravebs imas, rac CvenSi Turme "idumal ad cxovrobda".  
azris wvdomis xel ovneba fsiqoanal izis el ementebiTaa  
gajerebul i da "siRrmis fsiqol ogiaze" dayrdnobiT,  
TiTqosda saeWvo SesaZl ebl obebs, savsebiT real istur  
saxes aniWebs.

Txzvis gansakuTrebul i unari orators saSual ebas  
aZl evs aCvenos dasmul i, gadmosacemi sakiTxis rogorc  
zedapirul i, aseve siRrmiseul i mxare. nebismieri faqtis  
Tu gul isSemZvrel i simarTI is fiqsirebisas igi "Tval s  
uxel s" sasmenel mopyrobil T, rac stimuls aZl evs mas  
msjel obis ganviTarebisas. oratori auditoriis fiqrTa  
Tanaziaria, TiToeul i msmenel i "misi prozis" personaJia,  
rac gamoricxavs maT Soris emociagamocl il urTierTo-  
bas, ris gamoc aq arasdros wydeba "saqmiani urTierToba".

*sakiTxebisadmi obieqturi midgoma mWevrmetyvel ebis  
niSandoblivi Tvisebaa. sityva, roml iTac gadmoicema  
nebismieri azri, Tavadaa unikal uri da umSvenieresi  
movl ena, roml is gareSe kacobrioba verasdros Sei grZ-  
nobda im mSvenierebiT tkbobas, romel ic swori da  
harmoniul i bgeriTi kavSiris Sedegad mi iReba. orato-  
ris xel Si sityva saSual ebacaa da mi zanic, vnebaTa feier-  
verkic da evfoniuri Trobac.*

*sityvis arsSi damal ul i Zal a, mWevrmetyvel obisas  
iZens gansakuTrebul saazrovno Tvisebebs, oratoris  
intonacia, tempi da ritmi is mgrZnobiare muxtia, romel ic  
axl eburad aRgvaqmevinebs mravaljer gancdil sa Tu  
gaazrebul s.*

*mWevrmetyvel eba diskusiuri azrovnebis sauke Teso saSual ebaa, romel ic yvel gan upirispirdeboda Sabl onsa da erTferovnebas, dune da daumuxtavi frazebis dausrul ebel monacvl eobas. mWevrmetyvel eba frazaSi debs iseT intims, romel ic saocrad aadvil ebs komunikacias msmenel Tan da xdis mas TxrobasTan mij aWvul s.*

mWevrmetyvel ma mtkicebul ebebTan erTad udidesi yuradReba unda miaqcios sityvaTa ganl agebas, frazis konstruqcias, raTa igi advil i wamosaTqmel i iyos. rig SemTxvevaSi mokl e, sxarti frazebis monacvl eoba rTul sintaqsur konstruqciasTan sasiamovno Sedegs iZl eva, gansakuTrebiT maSin, rodesac yovel ive amas Tan erTvis oratorisaTvis sasurvel i tembrit aqcentirebul i ritmi Tu intonacia, radganac swored es ukanasknel ni qmnian Sesabamis ganwyobas msmenel Si. rafinirebul i metyvel eba am komponentebis sworad, droul ad da marTebul ad gamoyenebazea damokidebul i. oratoris sityvas aucil ebl ad moeTxoveba sityvaTa Sexamebis umaRl esi harmonia. swored am faqtebis gaTval iswinebiT Sei qmna mWevrmetyvel ebs iseTi brwyinval e nimuSebi qarTul i hagiografiisa, rogoricaa: iakob xucesis "SuSanikis wameba", giorgi merCul is "grigol xanZTel is cxovreba", ioane sabanis Zis "abo Tbil el i". masve efuZneba kol xi oratorebis \_ fartazisa da aietis, grigol mTawmindel is, ioane bol onel is, giorgi mciris, arsen beris, sul xan-saba orbel ianis mWevrmetyvel uri Semoqmedeba.

metyvel ebisas yvel aze Tval Sisacem efeqts intonacis sworad da droul ad gamoyenebis xerxi gvaZl evs. am ukanasknel s ki ver daiqvemdebareb Tu enis evfoniis yvel a mxares ar icnob. mxol od srul i Secnoba enobrivi surnel isa uzrunvel yofs intonaciis didostaturad gamoyenebas.

*mWevrmetryvel ebisas azri daubrkol ebriv unda iRvrebodes msmenel is gonebaSi da rac ufro meti dabrkol eba xvdeba mas am gzaze, miT ufro metia danakargi sasurvel i informaciis sworad da droul ad gada-cemi sa.*

yal bia warmodgena imis Taobaze, rom oratoris warmatebas mxol od xmis maRal i registri gansazRvravs. metyvel eba maSinaa "momaj adovebel i" Tu igi Cvens smeniT organoebSi xan gansakuTrebul i sil boTi "Semoipareba" da xanac gansakuTrebul i moqnil obiT. sasurvel i iqneba Tu wina fraza, momdevnos Seamzadebs rogorc bmul i, uwyveti SinaarsiT, aseve intonaciuri uzrunvel yofiTac.

sityvis eqspresiul oba ritoris Sinagani energiis gancxadebaa, romel ic Zal umad SeigrZnoba cal keul i frazis Camosxmisas. sityva ki ar dominantobs azrze, aramed, piriqit, azrs ufro gasagebsa da misaRebs xdis. marTal ia, msjel oba Sinaarsidan gamomdinare l ogikis safuzvel ze viTardeba, magram gza, romel ic WeSmaritebamde migviyvans uTuod gavi l is sityvieri wrTobis quras, ris Sedegadac azri exveva iseT mWevrmetryvel ur samosSi, romel ic uzrunvel yofs mis STamamgonebl ur mxaresa da xasiaTs. sworad formirebul i azri didadaa damokidebul i enis siRrmiseul potenciaze, sityvis Sinagan muxtze.

masmediuri mWevrmetryvel eba ufro metad SemecnebiT sul iskveTebaze unda iyos orientirebul i da ara mxol od pirovnul i emociebis gadmocemaze, Tumca am ukanasknel srul i ufl eba aqvs kuTvnil i adgil i daiWiros nebismier metyvel ebiT konstruqciaSi.

*mWevrmetryvel ebis fl oba Jurnal istisaTvis usaCinoesi prioriteta. igi arsebiTi aqsesuaria, romel ic mudmivad atarebs "Trobis" el ementebis, romel Ta*

*saSual ebi Tac masmedia advil ad aRwevs zemoqmedebas sazogadoebaze. oratorul i xel ovneba sWirdeba TviT yvel aze did simarTi esac ki, roml is gadmocasac Jurnal isti apirebs, radganac sityvaSi igi uzrunvel yofs sakiTxTa iseT ganl agebas, romel ic garantiaa azris mkiTxvel amde srul ad da sisavsiT mitanisa.*

“intonacia”, romel sac Jurnal isti iyenebs, uadvil ebs mas adaminebSi qvecnobierad warmoSvas protestis an sibrul ul is grZnoba. igi maqsimal urad amzadebs sazogadoebas misTvis misaRebi azris “asaTvisebl ad”. oratorul xel ovnebaSi arsebitia azris swori ganl ageba, sadac mWevrmetyvel s garkveul wil ad SeuZl ia Sesabamisi proporciit “moisvel ios” fantaziis el ementebi, roml ebic ar Secvl ian saTqmel is mTavar Sinaarss da Tanac daexamarebian msmenel T aRsaqmel i azris sworad da marTebul ad gagebaSi.

*“mozomil i fantazia” masmediuri kvl evisaTvis is mxatvrul i aqsesuaria, romel ic mas mSvenierebasa da mimzidvel obas miani Webs.*

swored igi awesrigebs Suq-Crdil Ta ganl agebas Jurnal istur monol ogSi da sabol oo Sedegebze orientirebul ad amzadebs rogorc orators, aseve sazogadoebas, romel ic moxibl ul ia oqopiris (Jurnal istis) metyvel ebis sisavsiTa da daxvewil obiT. obieqturi WeSmaritebis piruTvnel i gadmocema Jurnal isturi moRvaweobis qvakuTxedia, amitomac warmoadgens igi masmediis yuradRebis sagan mTel i moRvaweobis manZil ze. WeSmaritebisadmi erTgul eba aris is winapiroba, uroml isodac nebismieri Jurnal isturi zednaSeni mxol od da mxol od individual uri msofl mxedvel obis usargebl o varj iSia. Jurnal istis

umaRI esi goniTi SesaZI ebl obebi WeSmaritebis aRwerisas vl indeba. Jurnal istma mTavari azri maqsimal urad unda daazRvios araswori interpretaciebisagan. swored amaSi vl indeba misi gonebis sazrianoba da pasuxismgebl oba.

*mWevrmetyvel eba xel ovnebaa, imnairad metyvel ebi s xel ovneba, rodesac msmenel ni ara marto Zal dautanebl ad, aramed, cnobiswadi l iT aRZrul ni, si amovnebi Tac gvismenen, raTa ufro Rmad Caswvden si tyvis Sinaarss.*

“maSasadame, mWevrmetyvel eba sxva ara aris ra, Tu ara mwyobri, “mij riT miwyobil i” harmoniul i Sesityveba, sadac vcdil obT, erTis mxriv, Cveni msmenel ebi gul isa da gonebis “motacebas”, xol o, meores mxriv, sakuTari azris sazogadoebamde maqsimal urad mitanas.

mWevrmetyvel ebi sa aucil ebel ia SeZI ebisdagvarad SevinarCunoT sisadave da bunebrioba. “nu gavazviadebT umniSvnel os, nu davakninebT mniSvnel ovans. sakmarisi ar aris martooden formis daxvewil oba; is zedmiwevniT unda Seesatyvis ebodes Sinaarss: arc ram meti da arc ram nakl ebi, mxol od da mxol od aucil ebel i.”

**[b. paskal i, “azrebi”. Tb., 1981, gv. 191-192]**

mWevrmetyvel eba Jurnal istisaTvis is “bangia”, roml iTac igi Tavis Zl evamosil ebas avrcel ebs nebismier sferoze. igi adamianta darwmunebis, WeSmaritebis dadgenis uebari wamal ia, roml is efeqturi gamoyeneba pirdapi-ri garantiaa sasurvel is misaRwevad.

swored oratorul i xel ovnebiT waxal isebul i adami-ani cdil obs maqsimal urad Caswvdes monaTxrobis siRmes da sul iT xorcamde gaisigrZeganos igi. amitom “Tu gsurt amaod ar idavoT da daumtkicoT Tqvens Tanamosaubres, rom cdeba, uwinares yovl isa, unda gaarkvioT, ra mxriv

ganixil avs is davis sagans, radgan am mxriv is, Cveul ebriv, sworad xedavs. aRiareT misi simarTI e, magram imwamsve daumtkiceT, rom Tu sxva mxriv SexedavT sagans, misi Tval - sazrisi mcdari aRmoCndeba. Tanamosaubre uyoymanod dag-eTanxmebaT: mTavaria daij eros, rom ki ar Semcdara, aramed mxol od raRac gamorCa xedvis aredan. radgan adamianebs maSin ki ar mosdiT gul i, roca yvel afers ver xedaven, aramed maSin, roca cdebian. SesaZI oa es imiT aixsneba, rom adamians, Tavisi bunebiT, ar SeuZI ia erTbaSad aRiqvas da yovel mxriv gaiziaros sagani; magram Tu aRiqvams (sul erTia ra mxriv aRiqvams), yovel Tvis sworad aRiqvams mas, radgan aRqmis yovel i monacemi, grZnobis yovel i mowmoba misTvis eWvmutanel ia."

[b. paskal i, "azrebi". Tb., 1981, gv. 191]

"adamians, Cveul ebriv, is azri ufro arwmunebs, romel - ic mas mosdis TavSi, vidre is, romel ic sxvis TavSi ibadeba."

"roca gul wrfel sityvas vismenT, an marTal moTxrobas vkiTxul obT, mTel i sicxadiT rom gvixatavs ama Tu im vnebas an mis Sedegs, Cvensave TavSi vpoul obT monaTxrobis sizustisa da WeSmaritebis dasturs, Tumca aqamde verc warmovidgendiT, rom es WeSmariteba nawil ia Cveni sul isa, da, amrigad, siyvarul iT vimsWval ebiT mis mimarT, vinc Cvens TavSi aRmogvaCenina igi; radgan amit marto Tavisi sikeTe ki ar gagvimJRavna, aramed gagvixsna Cveni dafarul i saunj is karic. diax, Cven siyvarul iT vimsWval ebiT mis mimarT, j er erTi imitom, rom fasdaudebel i samsaxuri gagviwia da, meorec, imitom, rom amnairi urTierTgageba yovel Tvis sasiyvarul od ganawyobs gul s.

[b. paskal i, "azrebi". Tb., 1981, gv. 191]

nimuSi imisa Tu ra magiur Zal as fl obs mWevrmetyvel e-  
ba xel Sesaxebad Cans uZvel esi qarTul i oratorebis \_  
aietisa da fartazis sityvebSi, roml ebic warmotqves kol x-  
Ta did Sekrebaze. Sekrebis mizani ki mxol od erTaderTi  
iyo \_ arsebul i, real uri mdgomareobis gaTval iswinebit  
kol xTa saxel mwifo pol itikis gansazRvra.

aietisa da fartazis sityvebi motanil ia naSromis  
qrestomaTiul nawil Si.

## **mWevr metyvel uri azris kvintesencia**

\* \* \*

sinaTI e \_ sityvis Rirsebaa.

**aristotel e.**

\* \* \*

oratoris udidesi Rirsebaa ara marto Tqma imisa, rac saWiroa, aramed uTqmel obac imisa, rac saWiro araa.

**markus tul ius ciceroni.**

\* \* \*

oratorul i xel ovneba warmoudgenel ia, Tu oratori araa daufI ebul i sagans, razedac I aparaki surs.

**markus tul ius ciceroni.**

\* \* \*

baqioba \_ sisustis pirvel i niSania. vinc didi saqmeebisTvisaa mowodebul i, enas kbil s daaWers.

**markus tul ius ciceroni.**

\* \* \*

mokl ed naTqvami ZI ieri azrebi didad gvexmarebian cx-ovrebis gaumj obesebaSi.

**markus tul ius ciceroni.**

\* \* \*

oratoris mTavari xel ovneba isaa, rom veravin SeamCnios misi xel ovnuroba.

**kvintil iane.**

\* \* \*

saukeTeso sityva isaa, romel ic Tavistavad modis; mas  
TITqos TviT WeSmariteba gvkarnaxobs.

**kvintil iane.**

\* \* \*

oratorul xel ovnebaSi Znel ia ara bevris Tqma, aramed  
cotas Tqma.

**vinkel mani.**

\* \* \*

roca kargad I aparakob, arasodes bevrs ar I aparakob.

**reniari.**

\* \* \*

yovel gvare sityva ubadruki da cariel ia, Tu saqme ar  
mohyva.

**demosTene.**

\* \* \*

vinc bevrs I aparakobs, winare naTqvams auqmebs.

**bexeri.**

\* \* \*

oratori miT ufro iol ad daarwmunebs msmenel s, ram-  
denadac ufro darwmunebul ia TviTon, Tavisi naTqvamis  
simarTI eSi.

**svifti.**

\* \* \*

sityva ar gagimravl deba, Tu ambob imas, risi Tqmac  
ginda.

**del akrua.**

\* \* \*

ra l amazadac ar unda il aparakos adamanma, Tu is  
bevrs l aparakobs, bol os mainc sisul el es ityvis.

**diuna (mama).**

\* \* \*

ar arsebobs azri, roml is gamoTqmac ar SeiZI ebodes  
ubral od da naTI ad.

**gerceni.**

\* \* \*

sityva azrs gamoxatavs: Tu azri gaurkvevel ia, sityvac  
bundovania.

**bel inski.**

\* \* \*

mSvenieri azri kargavs mTel s Tavis Rirebul ebas, Tu  
uxeirodaa gamoTqmul i, xol o Tu meordeba, Tavs gvabezrebs.

**vol teri.**

\* \* \*

swrafad l aparaki ra bedenaa, il aparake mofiqrebul ad.

**Tomas mori.**

\* \* \*

oratori patiosani adamiani unda iyos. mas ara aqvs  
neba ivaWros Tavisi mWevrmelvel ebiT.

**ramusi.**

\* \* \*

ar SeiZI eba imisi qadageba, rasac TviTon uaryof.

**gorki.**

\* \* \*

mWevrmetryvel eba azris mxatvrobaa; xol o roca  
daxatul s kvl av xataven, portrets ki ara, Wyetel a su-  
raTs qmnian.

**bl ez paskal i.**

\* \* \*

mWevrmetryvel eba \_ arsebiTi sasiomvnos unda erwy-  
modes, magram sasiomvno mxol od WeSmaritSi unda veZe-  
boT.

**hesiode.**

\* \* \*

maxvil sityvaoba cudi xasiaTis niSania.

**hesiode.**

\* \* \*

arasodes daikargeba sityva, romel sac xal xSi mraVal ni  
imeoreben.

**hesiode.**

\* \* \*

ganrisxebul ma kacma arc unda il aparakos, arc unda  
imoqmedos.

**piTagore samosel i.**

\* \* \*

dumil s nu daarRvev, an Tqvi rame, dumil s rom sj obdes.

**piTagore samosel i.**

\* \* \*

saubari ise unda warimarTebodes, rom orive mxarem  
meti codna miRos da sasargebl o ram Seizinos.

**herakl ite efeosel i.**

\* \* \*

gana bevrís Tqma da bevri l aparaki erTia?

**perikl e.**

\* \* \*

visTanac sityva uqnia, masTan j oxiTac veras gaxdebi.

**sokrate.**

\* \* \*

l aparaki daiwye or SemTxvevaSi: roca Seni sityvis sagani kargad gaqvs mofigrebul i, an roca raimes Tqma aucil ebel ia; mxol od am or SemTxvevaSia metyvel eba dumil ze ukeTesi, sxva SemTxvevaSi ki j obs gaCumde, vidre il aparako.

**sokrate.**

\* \* \*

mokl e Wkuas grZel i ena aqvs.

**demokrite.**

\* \* \*

sityvaze Zl ieri araferia.

**menandre.**

\* \* \*

moufigrebl ad gadmosrol il i sityva da natyorcni qva erTia: ver SeaCereb.

**menandre.**

\* \* \*

eride das mol aybeebTan.

**katon ufrosi.**

\* \* \*

usafuZvl o metyvel ebas sj obs dumil i gonivrul i:  
is mizezi ver gaxdeba safrTxisa da dacinvisa,  
verc sababi bral debisa, sinanul is da ficisa.

**kasi.**

\* \* \*

citategi mxol od maSin unda gamoiyenoT, roca sxvisi  
avtoriteti namdvil ad aucil ebel ia.

**arTur Sopenhaueri.**

\* \* \*

dabneul ad l aparaki yvel as SeuZl ia, dal agebul ad  
l aparaki \_ cotas.

**G**

**gal il eo gal il ei.**

\* \* \*

“grZel i sityva iseve ver wawevs win saqmes, rogorc  
grZel i samosel i ver wagvadgeba siarul Si”.

**Sarl moris tal eirani (1754-1838) \_  
frangi dipl omati.**

\* \* \*

“waarTvi xal xs yvel aferi da is yvel afers daibrunebs,  
magram Tu ena waarTviT, mas veRarasodes Seqmnis. mokvda  
ena da mokvda xal xic”.

**konstantine uSinski (1824-1872) \_  
rusi pedagogi.**

## Tavi 5

### **pol itikuri gadawvetil ebebi s real izacia masmediis mier**

nebismier politikur gadawvetil ebas swirdeba real izacia, romlis gareSec igi azrs mokl ebul ia. TviT detal urad damuSavebuli sakiTxic ki aucil ebl ad saWiroebs dasabuTebasa da sazogadoebamde martebul ad mitanas. masmediam swored es funqcia unda Seasrul os. rig SemTxvevaSi ganmartos is "bundovani azrebi" da simbol oebi, romelic dipl omatiurad, politikuri l eqsiki-Taa SeniRbuli.

*masmedias Zal uZs didi mowiwebac aRZras nebismieri sakiTxisadmi da didi sizul vil ic, radgan azris interpretaciis xel ovnebas da Sesazl ebl obas is yvel aze ukeT fl obs.*

sazogadoebrivi azris koncentracia da sasurvel ze aqcentireba yvel aze ukeT swored, masmedias exerxeba. saer-Tod politikisaTvis da miT umetes saxel mwifo politikisaTvis ucxo araa azris gamoxatvis iseTi literaturul i forma, rogoric al egoriuli xerxia, roca Tavad movl ena ar saxel deba, magram Sefarvit iTqmeba ufro meti, ufro Rrma da WeSmariti azri, vidre misi pirdapiri fiqsirebisas.

*masmedia, saxel mwifo politikis refl eqsis gamoxatul ebaa.*

es refl eqsi icvl eba imisda mixedviT, Tu ras moiTxovs aRniSnul i droisTvis saxel mwifo interesi da samoqal aqo sazogadoeba. samyaros (saxel mwifos) pol itikuri cval ebadoba masmediisagan moiTxovs ara mxol od mWvretel ur damokidebul ebas real urad arsebul i faqtebisadmi, aramed im probl emis siRrmiseul wvdomas, romel ic safuZvl ad daedo aseT saxecvl il ebas. imisaTvis, rom am kuTxiT Jurnal isturi kvl eva sworad warimarTos, aucil ebel ia winaswari gansazRvra da Camoyal ibeba im interesebisa, romel Ta safuZvl iani Sej erebiT masmedia SeZl ebs zemoT aRniSnul cvl il ebaTa mizezebis dadgenas. amave dros mas kargad unda axsovdes, rom dRes sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis yvel a sfero gajerebul ia sxvadasxva pol itikuri interesebiT.

saxel mwifo pol itikisadmi interesis aRzeveba-daqveiTeba masmediis prerogativaa. sazogadoebis ndoba Jurnal isturi korpusisadmi WeSmaritad didia, radganac gul wrefel i sityvebiT gadmocemul i azri adaminebs exmareba maTive gonebaSi arsebul i "dafarul i saunj is" aRmoCenaSi.

masmediam unda SeZl os pol itikuri da social uri cxovrebidan iseTi "metyvel i" faqtebis moZieba, rom masSi zustad Candes cal keul pol itikur gadawyvetil ebaTa xasiaTi da sul iskveTeba. amgvvari masal is Segroveba, daj gufeba, Sefaseba da Semdgomi gamoyenebisaTvis "momwifeba" masmedias saSual ebas miscems, mizezTa erTian jaWvSi, yovel arsebiTs Tavisi adgil i miuCinos.

pol itikur movl enaTa gamomwvevi Zal ebis SemecnebiT masmedia iZl eva mTl ian panoramas ara mxol od aw ukve momxdarisas, aramed am l ogikuri final is mTel process \_ dasawyisidan dasasrul amde.

utyuari argumentebiT gajerebul i masmediuri masal axel s uwyobs ama Tu im saxel mwifo pol itikis sworad

gansazRvras, misi kursis Sefasebas garkveul drosa da sivrceSi.

*azrebisa da gancdebis sworad warmarTva masmediuri kul turis safuZvel Ta safuZvel ia.*

masmediuri daskvnebi unda eyrdnobodes rogorc deduqciur, aseve induqciur meTodebs, raTa SesaZl ebel i gaxdes ama Tu im pol itikuri aqtis organul i mTI ianobis aRqma. saxel mwifo pol itikis rTul i konstruqcia, romel sac masmedia xan erTi mxridan, xan ki meore mxridan aSuqebis, misTvis arc Tu ise advil ad SesaRwevia, radgan xSirad ar xdeba interesTa Tanxvedra. mizezi amisa saxel mwifo pol itikis masmediaseul interpretaciaSia, romel ic Tavisi gansj iT, arc Tu ise iSviaTad, gansxvavebul ia saxel mwifo pol itikisa da pol itikur moRvaweTa msofi mxedvel obisagan.

da radgan masmedias ar uyvars tabuirebul i Tema, igi yovel mxriv cdil obs, ama Tu im sferoSi sacino gaxados TviT yvel aze gasaiduml oebul i pozicia saxel mwifo pol itikisa. masmedias kargad esmis, rom saxel mwifo pol itikis yovel i cal keul i el ementi daunawevrebel i mTel is nawil ad unda iqnes gagebul i. saxel mwifo pol itikas sxvadasxva miznebi gansazRvraven, roml ebic icvl ebian mizezobriobisa da miznobriobis mixedviT, ase rom saxel mwifo pol itika masmediis winaSe warmosdgebra mTel i Tavisi "nairsaxeobiTa da feradovnebiT". Tu masmedias surs mTI iani suraTis ageba saxel mwifo pol itikisa igi ara mxol od am pol itikis istoriiTa da perspeqtiviT unda dainteressedes, aramed am movl enasTan dakavSirebul i uamravi sxva faqtebiT.

saxel mwifo pol itikis srul i suraTis Seqmna SesaZl ebel ia mxol od da mxol od masze warmodgenis mudmivi

srul yofiT. masmediam sworad unda gaiazros saxel mwifo pol itikis rogorc dadebiTi, aseve nakl ovani mxareebi, rac saSual ebas miscems masmedias aRematebodes "ubral o cnobaTa momwodebel s". sivrcisa da drois mixedviT saxel mwifo pol itikis gansazRvra urTul esi procesia, romel zec mTI ianadaa damokidebul i qveynis rogorc awmyo ise momaval i. igi ar unda midiodes real obis sapirispiro mimarTul ebiT, swored amdagvari saxel mwifo pol itika SemorCeba sakacobrio mexsierebas, es ukanaskenel i Tavisi universal uri interesebiT, mudam izidavda masmediis yuradRebas; amave dros SeuZI ebel ia es interesebi ar iyos gaJRenTil i masmediuri TavmoyvareobiT.

saxel mwifo pol itika, da gansakuTrebiT sagareo, aucil ebl ad konkurentunariani unda iyos, raTa man SeZI os sakuTari interesebis ganxorciel eba. es ukanasknel i sagareo pol itikaSi eZebs sasicocxl od mniSvnel ovans, mistvis gansakuTrebul ad Rirebul s. erovnul i interesebi saxel mwifos mudmivad ubizgeben iseTi pol itikisaken, romel ic iqneba garanti misi Semdgomi ganvitarebisa. amdenad saxel mwifoTa saerTaSoriso pol itika misi TIToeul i subieqti \_ saxel mwifTa interesebzea agebul i da maT mierve regul irdeba.

nebismieri saxel mwifos sagareo saxel mwifo pol itika individual izmisa da subieqtivizmis principebTan erTad ver ascdeba ucxo saxel mwifo \_ subieqtebis interesebis gaTval iswinebas. Tumca rac ufro ZI ieria saxel mwifo, miT ufro nakl ebadmimarTul ia amdagvari "kul turul i" qmedebisaken.

saxel mwifo pol itika eyrdnoba gaazrebul saxel mwifoebriy gegmas, strategias, raTa uzrunvel yos erovnul i interesebis ganxorciel eba. aseTi probl emebis gadaWra Tavistavad rTul i amocanaa. rac aiZul ebs saxel mwifo mmarTvel obas imoqmedos situaciurad, probl emebis aR-

nocenebis kval obaze, raTa saxel mwifo pol itikis "simS-  
vide da uryeoba" Zireul ad ar Seicval os. simwyobre da  
Tanmimdevrul oba moqmedebisa am ukanasknel s aniWebs prag-  
matul obas. warmatebul i saxel mwifos Seqmna saxel mwifo  
pol itikis amosaval icaa da mizanic. "masmediuri CarTve-  
bi" ki am process axal i SemoqmedebiTi CanafiqrisaTvis  
impul ss aZl even. marTal ia, saxel mwifo pol itikisa da  
masmediis "sul ieri Serwyma" arc Tu ise advil ia, magram  
nebismieri maTgani unda Seecados am mimarTul ebiT "pirvel i  
nabijis" gadadgmas. epoqal uri mniSvnel obis movl enebi  
mTel i Tavisi sicxovel iT aRibeWdebian saxel mwifo pol i-  
tikaSi, rasac myiseul ad grZnobs masmedia da mTel i Zal iT  
iswrafis am faqtis aRnusxvisaken.

masmedias kargad aqvs gaTval iswinebul i rom yovel i  
goniT i aqti mraval sxva faqtorTan erTad fsiqol ogiur  
procesesbac emyareba, gansakuTrebiT ki social ur fsiqo-  
l ogias. amdenad igi saxel mwifo pol itikasTan mimarTeba-  
Si unda daeyrdnos social ur fsiqol ogiasac. amasTanave  
qveynis strategiul -pol itikur mimarTul ebaSi umniSvnel o-  
vanes gavl enas axdens cal keul i pirovneba an pirovnebaTa  
j gufi, amdenad masmediam aucil ebl ad unda gaiTval iswi-  
nos adamianTa j gufisa da individis fsiqol ogia.

*nebismieri masmediuri Zal a nebsiT Tu unebi eT,  
warmoadgens garkveul pol itikur azrovnebas,  
Tundac maSin, rodesac acxadebs, srul miuker-  
Zoebl obas pol itikuri procesebis mimarT. miuxe-  
davad didi mcdel obisa, rom masmedia mTI ianad  
Tavisufal i iyos pol itikuri angaJirebisagan,  
Znel ad miRwevadia, radganac pol itikuri Tu nak-  
l ebad pol itikuri fenomenis kvl evisas masmediis  
midgoma maTdami ganisazRvreba sakuTari pol i-  
tikuri orientaciiT.*

ra Tqma unda, masmediuri saSual ebebi Tavisi simpaTie-  
biT da antipaTiebiT ar sazRvraven sakvl evi obieqtis  
mTavar arss, magram arc simpaTiebis gamoricxva migviyans  
srul WeSmaritebamde, radganac ideal uri SemTxeveva miuk-  
erZoebl obisa sasurvel i, magram Znel ad gansaxorciel ebe-  
l ia.

*Tu masmediuri saSual ebebi, yvel aze demokratiul i  
princi pebi ser Tgul ni, amave demokratiul i ideol ogiit  
gansazRvraven Taviant moqmedebas, isini darCebian  
demokratiul ad ideol ogizirebul ni, "rac sapirisi piro  
Tval Taxedvi dan gamomdinare sul ac ar ni Snavs" WeSmarit  
azrs.*

Tu dRes saxel mwifo pol itika da saxel mwifoTaSori-  
si pol itika warmoudgenel ia ideol ogiis gareSe, maSin  
masmediuri wyaroebi, roml ebic miznad isaxaven saxel m-  
wifo pol itikis kvl evas, Tavistavad aRmoCndebian ama Tu  
im ideol ogiasTan pirdapir kavSirSi. amdenad masmediuri  
kvl eva sakiTxisadmi midgomis pl ural izmiTac xasiaTde-  
ba.

saxel mwifo pol itika arc Tu ise iSviaTad mimarTavs  
masmedias, rogorc mtkicebisa da dasabuTebis special ur  
aparats, romel sac xel ewifeba misive interesebisa da  
ideol ogiis Sesabamisi miTebisa da simbol oebis Seqmna –  
ganmartos, daasabuTos, uaryos an gaamarTI os pol itikuri  
real oebi, Seasrul os sazogadoebaSi integraciul i an  
gammij navi funqcia.

masmediur saSual ebebs unda axsovdeT rom "kacs (ad-  
amians) sixarul s aniWebs is, rac mistvis bunebrivia da  
niSneul i. xol o kacisaTvis niSneul ia siyvarul i moyvasTa  
da zizRi gul istqmaTa mimarT..."

**[markus avrel iusi, fiqrebi. Tb., 1984, gv. 194]**

... da rom "xSirad usamarTI obas sCadis ara marto moqmedi, aramed uqmad myofic".

[iqve, gv. 911]

xol o, radganac "sicocxl e xanmokl ea, amitom simarTI isa da keTil gonierebis samsaxurs unda movaxmaroT avmyo".

[iqve, gv. 112-113]

"faseul ia mxol od erTi ram: WeSmaritebisa da samarTI ianobis samsaxurs Seal io Seni sicocxl e".

[iqve, gv. 160]

*imisaTvis rom saxel mwifo pol itikaSi masmedia "gansakuTrebul i pativiscemis subieqti" gaxdes saWiroa man Tanxmobis beWedi mxol od imaze dasvas, rac Sesazl ebel ia saukunis epitaftiad iqces istoriis CanawerebSi.*

saxel mwifo pol itika masmediisTvis araCveul ebrivad saintereso situaciaTa skivria.

"pol itikuri azrovneba, gansxvavebiT mecnierul i azrovnebisagan, ar isaxavs miznad WeSmaritebis kvl evas. misi daniSnul eba pragmatul ia, xol o ganxorciel eba \_ xel ovnebis niSnebs atarebs. pol itikur cxovrebaSi adamiani da misi interesebia yvel afris, arsebul is Tu ararsebul is sazomi.

pol itika \_ praqtikul i ideol ogiaa. ideol ogia ki mraval nairi SeiZl eba iyos: progresul i da regresul i, konservatorul i da radikal uri, tradicional isturi da reformatorul i, memarj vene da memarcxene. individual isturi da komunal uri, homogenuri da pl ural isturi, eqstremistul i da Senguebl uri, l iberall uri da total -

itarul i, anarqistul i da centristul i, nacional isturi da kosmopol ituri, avtokratiul i da demokratiul i, mil - itaristul i da arazal ismieri, separatistul i da unifikatorul i da mraVal i sxva mimaRTul ebebis, ganStoebebis da kombinaciebis mqone. maT yvel as arsebobis ufl eba aqvT, radgan gamoxataven garkveul real ur da arsebiT interesebs. Tumca, zogierTi danaSaul ebrivi praqtikul i qmedeba, romel ic gamomdinareobs ama Tu im ideol ogiidan, kano-nis Zal iT isj eba.

pol itikuri azrovnebis amocanaa, dagvexmaros, gaverkvi-OT am ideol ogiur oromtrial Si, raTa Cveni sakuTari pol itikuri pozicia ufro sistemur gaazrebul xasiaTs atarebdes. Tu pol itika SesaZl ebl is xel ovnebaa, maSin pol itikuri azrovnebis kul tura misi "xel ovnebaTmcod-neobaa".

**[o. kandel aki, pol itika SesaZl ebl is xel ovneba.**

**Tb., 2004, gv.19-20]**

## qrest omaTia

- ❑ **biblia**. stokholmi, 2002 w.
- ❑ **aristotel e, politika**. naw. I, Tb., 1995 w.
- ❑ **aristotel e, politika**. naw. II, Tb., 1995 w.
- ❑ **aristotel e, nikomaqes eTika**. Tb., 2003 w.
- ❑ **pl atoni, timeosi**. Tb., 1994 w.
- ❑ **pl atoni, saxel mwifo**. Tb., 2003 w.
- ❑ **bl ez paskal i, azrebi**. Tb., 1981 w.
- ❑ **ak. gel ovani, sibrZnis simfonia**. Tb., 1989 w.
- ❑ **T. kukava, berZnul i fil osofiis istoria**.  
w. I, Tb., 1988 w.
- ❑ **m. gogiberize, fil osofiis istoria**. t. I,  
Tb., 1941 w.
- ❑ **georgika, bizantiel i mwerlebis cnobebi**  
**saqarTvel os Sesaxeb**. t. III, tf., 1936 w.
- ❑ **g. j ol ia, biznes-etiketi da mol aparakebis**  
**xel ovneba**. Tb., 2006 w.
- ❑ **iv. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad**.  
t. II - Tb., 1983 w., t. III - Tb., 1982 w.
- ❑ **iv. j avaxiSvil i, qarTvel i eris istoria**.  
t. IV, Tb., 1967 w.
- ❑ **saqarTvel os istoriis narkvevebi**.  
t. III - Tb., 1979 w., t. IV - 1973 w.
- ❑ **b. kovaCi, t. rozenstil i, Jurnal istikis**  
**el ementebi**. Tb., 2006 w.

naSromis qrestomaTiul nawil Si warmodgenil ia aristotel es, pl atonis, demokrites Sexedul ebebi saxel mwifoze, saxel mwifo moRvaweobaze, saxel mwifo politikaze, mmarTvel obis sistemebsa da principebze, rac saSual ebas aZl evs dainteresebul mkiTxvel s uwyvet, mTI ian Wril Si warmoidginos antikuri epoqis udides moazrovneTa Sexedul ebani.

aseve motanil ia ivane javaxiSvil isa da sxva qarTvel istorikosta Tval sazrisi qarTul saxel mwifoebri Tu politikur mowyobasa da principebze, romel sac axorciel ebdnen qarTvel i monarqebi, qarTul i ekl esia da ucxoel i dampyrobl ebi saqarTvel oSi. qrestomaTiis am nawil Si umTavresad motanil ia is amonaridebi, roml ebic erTgvar warmodgenas gviqmian im rTul procesebze, romel ic Cvenma qveyanam gamoiara Tavisi arsebobis gzaze. aqcentirebul ia berZenTa, arabTa, monRol Ta da rusTa interesebi qarTul miwaze, is dipl omatiuri xerxebi, roml ebsac avl enda qveyana TviTmyofadobis SesanarCunebl ad.

qrestomaTiul nawil Si motanil ia bil kovaCis da tom rozenstil is wignis "Jurnal istikis el ementebis" zogierTi amonardi, romel ic uSual o kavSirSia im probl emasTan, romel ic ganxil ul ia naSromis Teoriul monakveTSi.

# Tavi 1

## aristotel e saxel mwifosa da pol itiki s Sesaxeb

*"saxel mwifo war moadgens Tavisufal adami anTa kavSirs".*  
aristotel e "pol itika"

*"saxel mwifo aris oj axebisa da gvarebis kavSiri.  
Seqmnil i bednieri, srul yofili da damouki debel i  
cxovrebis uzrunvel yofis mizni T".*

aristotel e, "pol itika".

*saxel mwifo arsebovs maSin, rodesac is war moadgens, masSi  
gaerTianebul i adami anebis damouki debel erTeul s.*  
aristotel e, "pol itika".

*"saxel mwifoSi saWiroa samarTlianoba da  
pol itikuri zneobac".*

aristotel e, "pol itika".

*"saukeTeso is saxel mwifo, romel sac  
xel mZRvanel oben saukeTeso adamianebi".*

aristotel e, "pol itika".

|  |
|--|
| Strixebi<br>aristotel es<br>biografiidan |
|--|

aristotel e (Aristoteles) (Zv.w. 384-322)  
daibada 384 wel s q. stagiraSi.  
uTval saCinoesi berZeni fil osofosi,  
platonis Segirdi da aRmzrdeli  
al eqsandre makedonel isa. encikl opediuri ganaTlebis

udidesma mecnierna kacobriobas dautova mTel i rigi umniSvnel ovanesi, fundamenturi naSromebisa fil osofiaSi, l ogikaSi, fizikaSi, biol ogiaSi, fsiqol ogiaSi, eTikaSi, xel ovnebis TeoriaSi \_ poetikasa da ritorikaSi.

aristotel em siymawwil e samefo karze gaatara, igul is-xmeba makedoniis mefe aminta II, roml is mrCevel i, megobari da eqimic iyo aristotel es mama nikomaxo, askl epiosis STamomaval i. adre daobl ebul i aristotel es aRzrda misma naTesavma proqsenosma iTava. aristotel e swavl obda sokrates ganTqmul **ritorikul skol aSi**, Semdeg ki miaSura aTens, pl atonis akademias, sadac darCa kidec maswavl ebl is gardacval ebande. wignebis gamudmebul i kiTxvisa gamomas pl atonma "mkiTxvel is" tituli uboZa. miuxedavad imisa, rom pl atoni Tavis mowafeTa Soris, yvel aze niWierad mas miiCnevda, maTi urTierTdamokidebul eba sakmaod kritikul i iyo, aristotel es makedonuri orientaciisa gamo.

pl atonma, miuxedavad didi pativiscemisa, igi ar datova Tavis Semcvl el ad akademiaSi. aristotel em maswavl ebl is gardacval ebisTanave datova saswavl ebel i da miaSura mcire azias, mefe hermias, romel sac aTenSi ganswavl ul obis dros dauaxl ovda, Tumca hermias mokvl is Semdeg piTiasTan (piTia hermias asul i iyo) erTad kunZul l esbosze q. mitil eneSi dasaxl da.

makedoniis mefis fil ipes miwveviT igi misi memkvidris, al eqsandre makedonel is aRmzrdel i gaxda. swored aq iRebsaTaves didi maswavl ebl isa da didi mowafis kargi urTierToba, rac bol omde ver SenarCunda, radganac al eqsandre makedonel i TandaTan berZnebisa da barbarosebis erTianobis ideas uWerda mxars, riTac aristotel es Tval sazriss aSkarad ewinaaRmdegeboda.

aristotel es udidesi mowiweba al eqsandre makedonel - isadmi araerTgzisaa dafiqsirebul i mis weril ebSi, sadac

aSkarad Cans maswavl ebl isa da moswavl is urTierTdamokidebul eba. "ar vici ra Zal a meweve Senken. razedac ar unda vifigro, yvel aferi meCveneba diadi da saocari. veras vxedav (Sens moqmedebaSi) dasaviwyebel s... dro aq verafers daburavs bindiT, rameTu swavl ebis mSvenier rCevebs mayureb- l ad hyavT maradisoba. amitom ecade Seni Zal aufl eba aqcio ara qedmaRI obad, aramed qvel saqmeebad da saTnoebad, romel zec aRmatebul ic qveynad araferia. adamians, bunebiT mokvdavs, gardauval i sikvdil is Semdeg Tavisi saqmeebis wyal obiT SeuZl ia ukvdavTa xsovna moipovos. gaxsovdes erTi: zogierTiviT ugunuri aRzrda ar migiRia; Camomavl obac brwyinval e gaqvs, samemkvidreod miRebul i samefoc da swavl a-ganaTI ebac. saqveyno saxel ic mogi pov- ebia. ramdenadac bedis wyal obiT gamoirCevi, amdenad unda pirvel obde vaJkacobaSi da mSvenier saqmeebSi. sxvaTa Soris, Canafiqris ganxorciel ebasTan erTad sasargebl o saqmee- bic gaakeTe."

[a. gel ovani, sibrZnis simfonia. Tb., 1989, gv. 68]

334 w. aristotel e aTenSi dabruna da 335 wel s daarsa skol a, romel sac peripatetikuri, anu moseirneTa, ewoda imisa gamo, rom aristotel e l eqciebis kiTxvis dros gamudmebiT moZraobda da msmenel ebic Tan dahyve- bodnen.

al eqsandre makedonel is uecari gardacval ebis Semdeg aristotel es, rogorc makedoniuri orientaciis mqone piris, cxovreba aTenSi sakmaod garTul da, ris gamoc igi gadavi- da dedul eTSi, q. qal kidaSi, kunZul evbeaze, sadac garda- icval a 322 w.

"aristotel e amTavrebs berZnul i fil osofiis kl asikur periods, da imave dros ambobs am fil osofiis ukanasknel original ur sityvas. pl atonis fil osofiuri msopl mxed- vel oba, misi pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT Semofargl ul i,

xdeba viwro attikuri, aTenuri Tval sazrisi, mamapapebis aTenisa da ara Tavisi epoqis Tval sazrisi. demokratiis pol itikuri weswyobil ebiT ukmayofil o pl atoni warsul Si iyureba, warsul is restavraciaze da modernizaciaze ocnebobs didi real isti.

aristotel es warsul Si aTeni ar hqonia, arc Zvel i berZnul i samSobl o, aristotel e warsul isken ar iyureba. amitom aris igi sinamdvil is fil osofosi, aris moazrovne, romel mac msofl io Zal ad qceul i aTenis civilizacia msofl io arenaze gaitana. aristotel eSi yvel aze ufro mZafrad sCqefs epoqis sixxl i, mas yvel aze kargad esmoda epoqis moTxovnil eba. "pol itikis" avtoris Sesaxeb usaTuod es miudgomel i sityva unda iTqvas. aristotel es msofl mxedvel oba ar sazrdoobda marto aTenuri SesaZl ebl obiT. aristotel e pirmSoa makedonel is didi imperiisa da am imperiis niadagze garTianebul i saberZneTis, gaerTianebul i aRmosavl eTisa da dasavl eTis...

...misi ocneba iyo aRmosavl eTis hel enizacia da damorCil eba. saSinao sakiTxebSi aristotel e real uri pol itikis momxrea, igi ar ocnebobs Tavis maswavl ebel savIT, igi gamosaval s Sua gzebze daeZebS.

aristotel e ar ekuTvnis marto fil osofiis istorias, igi ekuTvnis sakacobrio azrovnebis istorias mTI i-anad. aristotel e, upirvel es yovl isa, antikuri mecnierebis sistematikosia. igi pirvel i swavl ul i, pirvel i encikl opedistia am sityvis srul i mniSvnel obiT; igi pl atonsaviT poeti ar aris, arc winaswarmetyvel i da mesia; igi universal uri swavl ul ia, universal uri mecniერი. ar darCenil a codnis arc erTi dargi, romel ic aristotel es ar ganexil os da ar daemuSavebinos. igi erTnairad Zl ieri iyo rogorc bunebaTmecnierebaSi, ise sazogadoebaTmecnierebaSi."

[mose gogiberize, **fil osofiis istoria. Tb., 1941, gv. 129]**

aristotel e  
saxel mwifos  
Sesaxeb

aristotel e "politikaSi" exeba saxel mwifos warmoSobasa da ganviTarebas, saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel is funqciebsa da moval eobas. ganixil avs saxel mwifoTa iseT formebs, rogoricaa: respublika, aristokratia, monarqia, demokratia da oligarqia. wignSi aseve saubarua moqal aqis funqciaze sazogadoebaSi, aseve Rmadaa gaanalizebuli dadebiti da uaryofiti saxel mwifoTa formebi, rac saSual ebas gvaZl evs davinaxoT Tu rogor Wvrets genial uri aristotel e saukuneTa siRmidan saxel mwifoTa politikur sistemebis.

"aristotel e, pirvel yovel isa, izl eva saxel mwifos ganzarvrebis. saxel mwifo mas esmis kavSirad, romel ic Seqmnil ia masSi gaertianebul i adamianebis sakeTil dReod. saxel mwifo unda aZl evdes adamianebis imis saSual ebas, rom icxovron ise, rogorc surT. normal uri, dadebiti saxel mwifo unda emsaxurebodes mTel i sazogadoebis interesebs da ara mxol od gabatonebul, xel mZRvanel pirebs.

"is saxel mwifoebi, roml ebic mxol od xel mZRvanel i pirebis sargebl obas emsaxurebian, warmoadgenen araswor saxel mwifoebriw formebs... isini despoturi saxel mwifoebi arian". garda amisa, karg saxel mwifoSi "moqal aqeni Tavisufal ni arian yovel dRiur saarsebo saSual ebebbe zrunvisagan".

aqedan advil ia daskvna, Tu romel i saxel mwifo miaCnia mas uvargisad. uvargisia saxel mwifo, romel sac boroteba da ziani moaqvs xal xistvis, sadac adamians ar SeuZl ia icxovros ise, rogorc surs, e.i. icxovros Tavisufl ad, sadac adamianebi mxol od yovel dRiuri l ukma-purisaTvis zrunvit arian dakavebul i da aRar rCebaT dro azrovnebis, politikuri cxovrebia da dasvenebisaTvis. uvargisia saxel mwifo, romel ic emsaxureba mxol od xel mZRvanel i pirebis da ara mTel i sazogadoebis interesebs.

amas garda, aristotel em saxel mwifos arsebobis Ziri-Tad niSnad miiCnia damoukidebl oba. "monaa is, vinc ekuTv-nis ara Tavis Tavs, aramed sxvas". aseve saxel mwifoc, romel ic sxvazea damokidebul i, arc saxel mwifod CaiTv-l eba. mxol od Tavisufal saxel mwifoSi arian moqal aqeni Tavisufal ni da mxol od maSin aris saxel mwifoc namd-vil i saxel mwifo da ara mxol od sityvierad. TviT sax-el mwifos mizani ki aris ara moqal aqeTa Tanacxovreba mxol od, aramed cxovreba keTil dReobis, bednierebisa da damoukidebl obisaTvis. amitom saxel mwifos aristote-l eseul i gansazRvreba sabol oo saxiT ase gamoiyureba: e.i. sakmarisia romel ime es niSani moakl des saxel mwifos, rom man arseboba Sewyvitos.

[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. 1. Tb., 1995, gv. 3-4]

*"saxel mwifo aris oj axebis da gvarebis kavSiri, Seqmnil i bednieri, srul yofili da damoukidebel i cxovrebi saTvis".*

"yovel i saxel mwifo erTgvar kavSirs warmoadgens. yovel i kavSiri ki raime sikeTes isaxavs miznad, radgan yvel a yvel afers akeTebis imisTvis, rac sikeTe hgonia. am-rigad, cxadia, rom yvel a miiswrafvis raime sikeTisaken. umTavresi sikeTisaken miiswrafvis yvel aze ukeTesi kavSi-ri, romel ic moicavs yovel ives da es aris e.w. saxel m-wifo da saxel mwifoebri vi kavSiri".

[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. 1. Tb., 1995, gv. 10]

|  |
|--|
| <p>dadebi Ti da<br/>uaryof i Ti<br/>saxel mwifo<br/>forme bi</p> |
|--|

aristotel em daaxasiaTa rogorc dadeb-iTi saxel mwifoebri vi forme bi, ise maTi damaxinj ebebi. **tirania** (igive diqtat-ura), mas miaCnia monarqiis damaxinj ebis Sedegad miRebul formad, **ol igarqias** (mcirericxovani mdidrebi mmarTvel oba) Tvl is aris-

tokratiis (rCeul adamianTa mmarTvel oba) damaxinj ebad. aristotel e fiqrobda, rom tirania (diqtatura) emsaxureba mxol od saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel ebis interesebs, ol igarqia emsaxureba mdidrebis interesebs, demokratia – Raribebs. es saxel mwifoebi uaryofiTi saxel mwifoebi arian, radgan zrunaven sazogadoebis nawil ze da ara mTel sazogadoebaze. maSasadame, samarTl iani da wesieri saxel mwifo erTnairad zrunavs sazogadoebis yvel a wevrze.

*“saerTod ki aristotel em saxel mwifoebi or j gufad dahyo: saxel mwifoebi, roml ebic mxol od adamianis arsebobis SenarCunebas i saxaven mi znad da saxel mwifoebi, roml ebic adamianTa bednierebas emsaxurebian. is upiratesobas aZl evs meore j gufs”.*

aristotel em gaakritika da dahgmo e.w. “tirania”, igive diqtatura. diqtaturis dros saxel mwifos mTel i Zal aufl eba Tavmoyril ia erTi adamianis xel Si. igi martavs saxel mwifos ara kanonebiT, aramed sakuTari nebasurvil iT. diqtatori Tavs icavs ara sakuTari qveynis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebiT, aramed gareSe qveynebidan mowveul iT, radgan is xal xisagan ki ar aris arCeul i, aramed Zal iTaa saTaveSi moxvedril i. da Tu xal xis rCeul sakuTari qveyana da sakuTari moqal aqeebis SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi icaven, tirani-diqtatori gareSe qveynis Zal ebiT Tavs icavs sakuTari moqal aqeebisagan.

aristotel em amxil a diqtaturis iseTi maxinj i gamovl ena, rogoric iyo Zvel saberZneTSi e.w. **“ostrakizmi”**. ostrakizmiT diqtatori Tavidan iSorebda mistvis arasurvel moqal aqeebs, raimeTi gamorCeul T, romel Tac raime upiratesoba hqondaT masTan SedarebiT, aZevebda an spobda maT, raTa xel i SeeSal a sazogadoebisaTvis sasargebl o maTi moqmedebisaTvis...

*rogoricaa mmarTvel i iseTnive arian misi msaxurni.  
rogoricaa qal aqis Tavi, iseTnive arian misi  
mcxovrebnic.*

**bibl ia, sibrZne ziraqisa 9-10,2**

*brZeni msaj ul i aRzrdis Tavis xal xs da gonivrul  
mmarTvel obas daamyarebs.*

**bibl ia, sibrZne ziraqisa 9-10,10**

|                                     |
|-------------------------------------|
| saxel mwifo<br>meTauri -<br>I ideri |
|-------------------------------------|

aristotel e arkvevs saxel mwifos xel mZR-  
vanel is sakiTxs. saxel mwifos xel mZRv-  
anel i raimeTi unda iyos gamorCeul i, piv-  
el yovl isa, maRal i zneobiT, saTaveSi mo-  
sul i unda iyos xal xis nebiT da zrunavdes ara sakuTar,  
aramed sazogadoebis sargebl obaze, ar unda sdevnides sa-  
zogadoebis mowinave, rCeul nawil s, unda SeeZl os movl e-  
nebis ganvitarebis winaswar ganWvreta da sxv. aristo-  
tel e kategoriul ad winaaRmdegi iyo xel mZRvanel Tanam-  
debobaze erTi adamianis ganmeorebit arCevisa, ukidures  
SemTxvevaSi es dasaSvebad miaCnda mxol od didi periodis  
gamotovebit. saerTod, xel mZRvanel obaSi igi rigiTobis  
princips icavda da kicxavda im moxel eebis, roml ebic l a-  
mobdnen ganuwvyvetl iv yofil iyvnen saTaveSi.

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I., Tb., 1995, gv. 5]**

saxel mwifos meTauri qveyanas marTavs kanonebis saSu-  
al ebit, masze agebul i principi bit, xol o monarqi marTavs  
"memkvidreobis ufl ebit". saxel mwifos meTauri, erT mSve-  
nier dRes, kvl av im sazogadoebas ubrundeba, saidanac igi  
amovida, xol o monarqi, Tu raime gansakuTrebul i SemTxveva  
ar moxda, sicocxl is bol omde inarCunebs mmarTvel obas.  
misi azrit saxel mwifos gamebl oba im pirs xel ewifeba,  
romel sac "Seuzl ia gonebit movl enebis winaswari gan-

Wwreta" (aristotel e. pol itika. Tbil isi. 1995w. naw. I gv. 11) "pol itikis" mixedviT adamianTa garkveul i nawil i dabadebisTanave xel mZRvanel obisTvisaa "ganwirul i", xol o zogierTi \_ morCil ebisTvis "arsebobs rogorc xel mZRvanel obis, ise morCil ebis mraVal i forma. xel mZRvanel oba kargia iq, sadac daqvemdebarebul ni kargni arian, magal iTad, kargia adamianebis xel mZRvanel oba, vidre mxecabis. kargi ostatisagan Sesrul ebul i saqmec kargia. xol o saqme keTdeba iq, sadac erTi mxare xel mZRvanel obs, meore ki emorCil eba. sadac ki erTi mTel i miRebul ia mraVl isagan, iqneba es wyvetil i, Tu uwyveti simraVl e, iq yvel gan arsebobs xel mZRvanel i da daqvemdebarebul i mxare. mTel s bunebaSi es damaxasiaTebel ia sul ieri arsebebisaTvis, magram iqac ki, sadac ar arsebobs sicocxl e, mainc arsebobs raRac xel mZRvanel i..."

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 15]**

saxel mwifos meTauri umaRl esi xel isufal ia. igi qvey-nis mTavar kanonze, konstituciaze dayrdnobiT awesrigebs umaRl es, ZiriTad saxel mwifo institutebs, amdenad konstitucia TviT saxel mwifo xel mZRvanel ze maRl a dgas.

aristotel es azriT saxel mwifos saTaveSi yofna dasaSvebia "erTi wl iT, an sxva wesiT, an drois sxvadasxva monakveTiT. am meTodiT yvel ani moxvdebian saTaveSi ise, TiTqos adgil s icvl idnen mewaReebi da mSenebl ebi da yovel Tvis erTi ar iyvnen mewaReebi da meoreni mSenebl ebi. es ukeTesia da umj obesia saxel mwifoebrivi gaerTianebisTvis. Tumca, cxadia, rom ukeTesi iqneboda, rom saxel mwifos mudam erTni da igiveni marTavdnen, Tu es Sesazl ebel i iqneba. magram, sadac amis ganxorciel eba SeuZl ebel ia, radgan bunebiT yvel ani Tanasworni arian da ufro samarTl ianic iqneboda, rom mmarTvel obaSi, kargia is, Tu cudi, yvel a monawil eobdes".

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 33]**

saxel mwifoeriv wes-wyobil ebaze msj el obisas igi exeba sokrates Sexedul ebebs, azrs gamoTqvams demokratiul da ol igarqiul saxel mwifoze, aseve maT Sual edur formaze, romel ic pol itias saxel wodebiTaa cnobil i. aqvea ganxil ul i mosazreba l akonel ebis saxel mwifoeriv strukturaze, romel ic erTgvari sinTezi iyo ol igarqiis, monarqiisa da demokratiisa. isini monarqias bazil eias uwodeben, gerontebis mier SemuSavebul saxel mwifo princeps \_ ol igarqias, xol o demokratias ki eforebis mmarTvel obas.

aristotel e aRniSnavs, rom "... saxel mwifos, romel sac surs gaixangrZl ivos arseboba, unda miaRwios imas, rom mis Semadgenel nawil ebs surdeT misi arsebobis SenarCuneba. mefeebi amas sakuTari RirsebiT aRweven, maRal - zneobrivi adamianebi gerusiis (uxucesTa sabWos - v.p.) meSveobiT, radgan Zal aufl eba j il dod eZl eva zneobrivs. xal xi ki amas eforiis meSveobiT aRwevs."

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 54]**

misive azriT "saxel mwifo mmarTvel ni (arqontebi) arCeul unda iqnan ara mxol od keTil Sobil i warmoSobis niSniT, aramed simdidris niSniTac, radgan Raribebs ar SeuZl iaT arc kargi xel mZRvanel oba da arc Tavisufal i dro aqvT. Tu arCeva xdeba simdidris niSniT, es ol igarqiisTvis aris damaxasiaTebel i, Tu zneobis mixedviT \_ aristokratiul istvis."

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 60]**

aristotel e sworad SeniSnavs, rom "yvel as surs saxel mwifos saTaveSi yofna, TiTqos SeuZl iaT ganuwvyvetl iv janmrTel ni iyvnen. maSin, rodesac, avadmyofobisaken midrekil eba xel mZRvanel ebsac aqvT, miuxedavad amisa, isini mainc miiswrafvian xel isufl ebis saTaveebisaken".

**[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 75]**

"... cxadia, rom is saxel mwifoebi roml ebic miznad isaxaven sazogado sargebl obas, absol uturi samarTI ianobis Tval - sazrisiT swori saxel mwifoebrivi formebi arian. xol o is saxl emwifoebi, roml ebic mxol od xel mZRvanel i pirebis sargebl obas emsaxurebian, araswor saxel mwifoebriv formebsa da swori saxel mwifoebrivi wyobidan gadaxras warmoadgenen. eseni despoturi saxel mwifoebi arian".

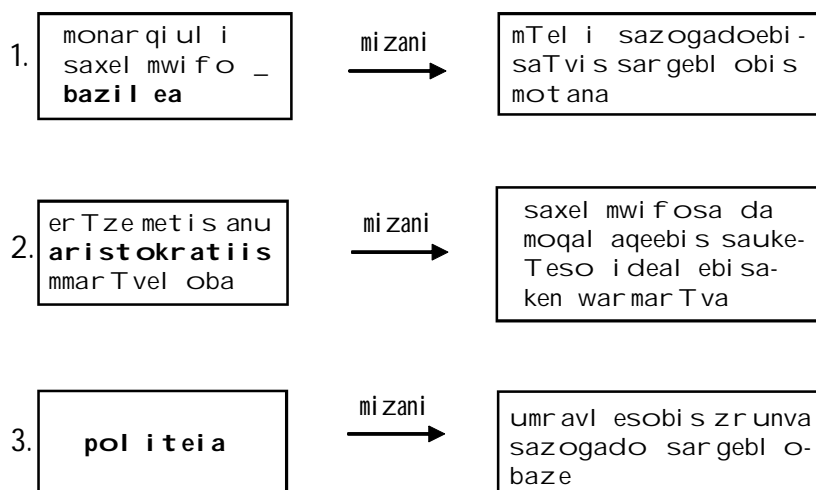
[aristotel e, pol itika. naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 75]

*TviT saxel mwifo ki warmoadgens Tavisufal i adami-  
anebis kavSirs.*

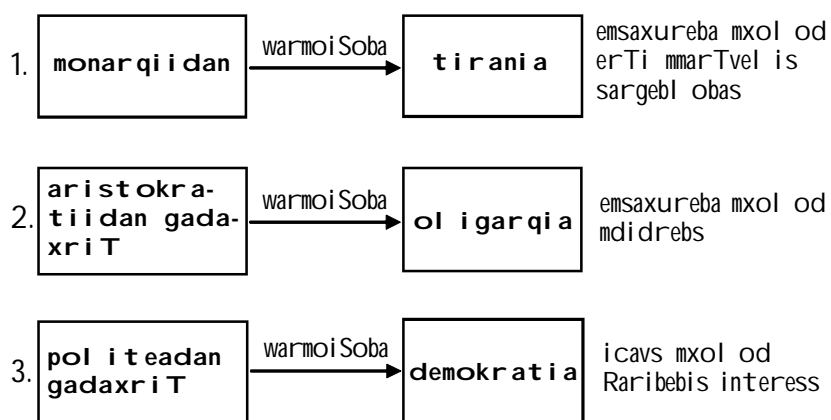
aristotel e, "pol itika".

saxel mwifo da saxel mwifo mmarTvel oba aristote-  
l esTan erTsa da imaves niSnavs. swori saxel mwifoe-  
brivi mmarTvel obis formad miicneva is, romel ic sazoga-  
doebis sargebl obaze zrunavs da imavdroul ad, saxel m-  
wifo mmarTvel obis forma, romel ic emsaxureba erTs an  
umciresobas, Tundac umravl esobas da ara mTel sazoga-  
doebas, mmarTvel obis damaxinj ebul formadaa miCneul i.

**dadebiTi saxel mwi fo mmarTvel obis  
formebi aristotel esTan**



**maxinj i saxel mwi fo mmarTvel obiTi  
formebi aristotel esTan**



aristotel es azriT arc erTi CamoTvl il i saxel mwifo forma ar zrunavs saerTo sargebl obaze. mas miaCnia, rom "tirania aris monaqria, magram sazogadoebis despoturi marTva. ol igarqiaSi Zal aufl eba ekuTvnis mdidrebs, demokratiaSi piriqiT, marTaven ara simdidris mqoneni, aramed Raribni. pirvel i dabrkol eba, rac Tan axl avs am gansazRvrebas, aris Semdegi: saxel mwifoSi Zal aufl eba aris mdidrebs xel Si, magram isini Seadgenen umravl esobas, xol o demokratia ki maSin arsebobs, roca saxel mwifos marTavs umravl esoba. aseve piriqiT, Tu es SeiZl eba moxdes, Raribebi arian mcirericxovanni, SedarebiT mdidrebTan, magram Zal aufl eba aris Raribebis xel Si. Cven ki vTqviT, rom ol igarqiaSi Zal aufl eba aris umciresobis xel Si. maSin aqedan gamomdinareobs, rom saxel mwifos Sesaxeb Cveni gansazRvrebibi swori ar yofil a. magram Tu vinme SeaerTebda umciresobis simdidres da umravl esobis siRaribes, miiRebda ol igarqiis aseT gansazRvrebas: ol igarqia aris saxel mwifo, sadac Zal aufl eba aris mcirericxovani mdidrebs xel Si, demokratia ki aris saxel mwifo, sadac Zal aufl eba ekuTvnis mraval ricxovan Raribebis. magram amas Tan axl avs sxva siZnel e: ra vuvodoT axl axan dasaxel ebul saxel mwifoebis, romel Tagan erTSi Zal aufl eba ekuTvnis mdidar umravl esobas, meoreSi ki Rarib umciresobas? amave dros eseni arian Zl ieri saxel mwifoebi da maT garda, ar arsebobs sxva saxel mwifoebriwi weswyobil eba.

rogorc Cans, unda davaskvnaT Semdegi: cxadia, rom saxel mwifos marTavs umciresoba, Tu umravl esoba, es demokratiis da ol igarqiis SemTxveviTi niSania, radgan yvel a saxel mwifoSi mdidrebi mcirericxovanni arian, Raribebi ki mraval ricxovanni. maSasadame, am saxel mwifoTa gansxvavebis mTavari mizezi es araa. is, riTac demokratia da ol igarqia gansxvavdeba erTmaneTisagan \_ es aris simdidre da siRaribe. iq, sadac saxel mwifos marTaven simdid-

ris safuZvel ze. mmarTvel ni iqnebian bevrni Tu cotani, sul erTia, radgan weswyobil eba mainc ol igarqiul i iqneba. sadac marTaven Raribebi, iq iqneba demokratia, magram rogorc vTqviT, erTgan marTavs bevri, meoregan ki mcire raodenoba xal xisa. mdidrebi mcirericxovanni arian, magram Tavisufl eba yvel a moqal aqes aqvs. amitomac orive mxare ibrZvis mmarTvel obaSi moxvedrisaTvis".

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995, naw. I, gv. 77-78]

*"...saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel oba aris pativsacemi ram da Tu saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel oba erTsa da imave pirebs eqnebaT, maSin danarCenni mokl ebul ni iqnebian am pativs".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika".*

*"umaRI esi xel isufl eba saxel mwifoSi sxvas aravis unda ekuTvnodes, sworad Sedgenil i kanonebis garda".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika".*

*"saxel mwifo xel mZRvanel s, iqneba is erTi Tu mraval i, Zal aufl eba aqvs iq, sadac kanonebi ar gansazRvraven raime movl enas".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika".*

*"Zal aufl eba unda iyos ufro moqal aqeTa umravl esobis xel Si, vidre mcirericxovani aristokratiisa".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika".*

*"...amitom ukeTesi instrumenti unda mi eces imas, vinc ukeT ukravs. Tu fl eitebSi vinme ukeTes fl eitas miscems im damkvrel s, romel ic sxvebze ukeTesia warmoSobi T, ami T ukeTesi fl eitisti ver gaxdeba".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika".*

"aristotel e hgmobda Zal adobis yovel gvar gamovl enas: "zogierTi saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel s Tanamdeboba mopovebul i aqvs usamarTI o gziT, Cven ki mas xel mZRvanel s vuwodebT, rac swori araa". e.i. "saxel mwifos saTaveSi Zal iT moxvedril i ar miaCnda saxel mwifos namdvil xel mZRvanel ad da amitom arasworad Tvl ida mistvis xel mZRvanel is saxel is wodebas. igi uaryofda iseT saxel mwifoebS, roml ebic arseboben Zal momreobisaTvis da ara xal xis sakeTil dReod. mas Zal momreobad miaCnda isic, rac saxel mwifos ganagebs erTi an ori piri maSin, rodeSac mas unda ganagebdes xal xis umravl esoba. aristotel es Zal adobad da usamarTI obad miaCnda Raribebis miermdidrebisaTvis qonebis Zal iT warTmeva.

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995, naw. I. gv. 8]

|   |
|---|
| <p>xal xi - saxel mwi-<br/>fos mmarTvel i</p> |
|---|

...aristotel e moiTxovda, rom saxel mwifos marTvaSi Cabmul iyo mosaxl eobis rac SeiZl eba meti raodeno- ba, radgan "yvel ani erTad an ukeTesni arian mcodneze, an masze uaresni ar arian", rom xal xis umravl esoba yovel Tvis ukeT gansjis da ukeT swyvets sakiTxebS, vidre erTi adamiani. "saxel mwifos ukeT marTva SeuZl ia umravl esobas", "samarTI iani iqneba, Tu yvel aze meti Zal a-ufl eba xal xs eqneba" – werda aristotel e. amitom igi demokratias monarqiaze maRl a ayenebda, radgan monarqiul saxel mwifos erTi kaci marTavs, demokratiul s ki – xal xis umravl esoba. aseve aristokratias ayenebda monarqiaze maRl a, radgan aristokratiaSi saxel mwifos saTaveSia ara erTi kaci, aramed sazogadoebis rCeul i pirebi.

aristotel e xal xs ar Tvl ida erTferovan masad, aramed masSi amCnevda diferenciacias bunebrivi monacemebis, unaris, energiis, niWierebis mixedviT, amitom winaaRmdegi iyo

araTanaswor adamianebSi Tanasworobis da TanasworTa Soris uTanasworobis damyarebisa. man amisaTvis saTanado I ozungic ki SeimuSava: "Tanasworoba TanasworTaTvis da uTanasworoba uTanasworTaTvis".

igi amCnevda adamianebSi sxvebze maRI a mlgomT, niWiTa da unarianobiT gamorCeul T, Cveni sityviT rom vTqvaT, geniosebs da fiqrobda, rom "aseTi adamiani, rogorc RmerTi, ise arsebobs adamianTa Soris". amitom mas sasacil od miaCnda, rom daeqvemdebarebinaT kanonebisaTvis is adamiani, romel ic TviTon iyo kanoni. aristotel e gul isxmobda, rom swored aseTi adamianebi unda yofil iyvnen xel isuflebis saTaveSi.

"aristotel e wyvets agreTve moqal aqebobis probl emas. is moqal aqebobisaTvis arasakmarisad Tvl is mxol od erT teritoriaze cxovrebas, mTavaria, rom is monawil eobdes saxel mwifos politikur cxovrebaSi, xel mZRvanel obis arCevnebSi, sasamarTl o saqmeebis warmoebaSi, saTaTbiro da sakanonmdebl o organoebSi. aristotel e momxre iyo profesional izmisa, radgan, misi azriT, adamians SeuZl ia Tavisi moval eobis Sesrul eba da Tavisi miznis ganxorciel eba, Tu is emsaxureba ara bevr, aramed erT saqmes. magram moRvaweobis erTaderTi sfero, romel ic saval debul oa yvel asaTvis, aris politika. amit aristotel e kicxavda im Teoretikosebs, roml ebic cdil obdnen CamoeSorebinaT xal xi politikisagan I ozungiT "yvel am Tavisi saqme akeTos!

aqedan gamomdinareobs aristotel es cnobil i gansazRvrebba, rom adamiani aris politikuri arseba (Zoon politikon). e.i. aristotel e adamians cxovel ebisagan gansxvavebda ara mxol od azrovnebiT, aramed politikurobitac. misi azriT, bunebrivad adamiani yovel Tvis miiswrafvis sazogadoebrivi cxovrebisaken, gaerTianebisaken, anu politikisaken. mxol od RmerTebi da mxecebi SeiZl eba cxovrobdnen politikuri anu sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis gareSe.

amrigad, pol itikuri moRvaveobis sfero mas miaCnia saer-  
To, sazogado anu saxal xo moRvaveobis sferod, radgan is  
exeba TiToeul i adamianis interesebs."

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995,  
naw. I. gv. 5-6]

aristotel e kanoni s  
uzenaesobi s Sesaxeb

"aristotel e winaaRmdegi iyo  
kanonebis ucvl el obis, uZraobis,  
erT wertil ze gayinvis, magram  
isini unda Seicval on axal i, uke-

Tesi kanonebiT, romel nic ufro sasargebl oni da momgebi-  
anni iqnebian sazogadoebisa da saxel mwifosTvis. igi imasac  
ki moiTxovda, rom daesaj aT is moqal aqeni, romel Tac ux-  
eiro kanonebi SemoiRes. "wesier saxel mwifoSi kanonebi  
sasargebl oni arian, maxinj saxel mwifoSi ki, piriqiT, kanonebi  
samarTI ianni ar iqnebian". misi azriT, wesier saxel mwifo-  
Si kanonebs unda hqonodaT upiratesoba saxel mwifos xe-  
l mZRvanel obasTan SedarebiT, radgan "kanonebs ar axasi-  
aTebT gancdebi, yovel i sul isTvis ki es aucil ebel ia".

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995,  
naw. I. gv. 5-6]

igi gul isxmabda, rom adamiani ganicdis sxvadasxva  
pirobemis zemoqmedebas, ris gamoc is xSirad tendenci-  
urad moqmedebs, kanonebi ki, roml ebsac ara aqvT gancdebi  
da emociebi, yovel Tvis obieqturni arian. amitom im sax-  
el mwifoSi, sadac ar xorciel deba kanonebis uzenaesoba  
da sadac xal xs marTavs erTi adamiani, iq mmarTvel obaSi  
adamianis garda, aucil ebl ad Semoyvanil ia mxecic".

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995,  
naw. I. gv. 6-7]

amitom aristotel e gvaswavl ida:

*"umj obesia, rom batonobdes kanoni da ara romel ime er Ti moqal aqe". "umaRI esi xel isufi eba saxel mwifosi sxvas aravis ar unda ekuTvnodes sworad Sedgeni i kanonebi s garda".*

aristotel e moqal a-  
qeTa aRzrdisa da  
zneobis Sesaxeb

"aristotel es saxel mwifos gajansaRebisa da adamianTa keTil - dReobis miRwevis yvel aze utyuar saSual ebad miaCnda ganaTI eba da aRzrda. amiT aristotel e win uswrebda yvel a epoqis ganmanaTI ebl ebs. ... aristotel es ganmanaTI ebl uri ideebi dResac Zal aSia, radgan danaSaul ebaTa da borotmoqmedebaTa didi nawil i ara mxol od uvargisi pol itikuri sistemebisa da cudi ekonomiuri pirobebis Sedegia, aramed cudi aRzrdisac, rac dRis wesrigSi ayenebs aRzrda-ganaTI ebis mTel i sistemis Zireul gardaqmnas".

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995, naw. I, gv. 8-9]

"bunibrivad TviTeul adamians axasiaTebis miswrafeba saxel mwifoibrivi urTierTobisaken. xol o vinc pirveli ad SemoiRo saxel mwifoibrivi kavSiri, man adamianebs didi sikeTe moutana. adamiani, romel mac miaRwia srul yofas, is cocxal arsebaTa Soris saukeTeso. xol o adamiani, moci il ebul i kanonsa da samarTals, yvel aze mdabal i arseba. radgan yvel aze ufro didi saSinel ebaa Seiararebul i usamarTI oba. bunibrivad adamianis iaraRs warmoadgens goniereba da zneoba, roml is gamoyeneba SeiZi eba sawinaaRmdego mimarTul ebiTac, amitom uzneo adamiani usindiso da mxecuri bunebisaa saTnoebis gareSe...".

[aristotel e, "pol itika". Tb., 1995, naw. I, gv. 13]

*"bednieri cxovreba aris zneobriobaze damyarebul i  
cxovreba dabrkol ebebis gareSe".*

aristotel e adamianebis bednierebas amyarebda maRal  
zneobriobaze. amitom bednierebas is aseT gansazRvrebas  
aZl evda:

*"kargi cxovrebisaTvis marTebul i iqneba aRzrda da  
ufro metad zneobriobis arseboba".*

## aristotel es kvintesencia

\*\*\*

“ideal uri adamiani bedniera ukve imiT, rom sxvebi-  
sTvis zrnavs, magram rcxvenia sxvisagan wyal obis miReba.  
amaRI ebul i didbunebovani adamianebi sikeTes Tesaven, md-  
abal ni ki mas iReben”.

\*\*\*

“imisaTvis ki ar vmsjel obT, rom vicodeT, ra aris  
saTnoeba, aramed imisaTvis rom kargi adamianebi gavxdeT”.

\*\*\*

“bunebam adamians xel T misca iaraRI – gonebrivi mor-  
al uri Zal a, magram mas SeuZI ia es iaraRI ukuRmarTadac  
gamoiyenos; amitom saTanado moral uri safuZvl ebis gareSe  
adamiani xdeba yovl ad ukacuri da mxecuri, mdabal i, Tavi-  
si sqesobrivi da gemovnebis instinqtebis amyol i”.

\*\*\*

“srul yofil ebande amaRI ebul i adamiani yvel a cxovel ze  
aRmatebul ia. magram yvel a cxovel ze dabl a dgas, Tu ukanon-  
od da usamarTI od cxovrobs WeSmaritad, ara aris ra  
SeiaraRebul usamarTI obaze Semzaravi”.

\*\*\*

*“ar amzadis sindisi rom gavaRviZoT, sil a unda gavawnaT”.*

\*\*\*

“megobroba yvel aze ufro aucil ebel ia cxovrebaSi, da  
arc aravin isurvebda umegobrod cxovrebas, Tundac yvel a  
sxva sikeTe moi povos”.

\*\*\*

*"yvel as megobari aravisi megobari araa".*

\*\*\*

"urigo Cveidan viTardeba bil wsi tyvaobac da umsgavsi qcevebi".

\*\*\*

"sicocxl e iTxovs moZraobas".

\*\*\*

"yvel am icis, rom sikvdil i garduvalia, magram raki Sorsaa, aravin amaze ar fiqrobs".

\*\*\*

*"pl atons pativs vcem, magram WeSmaritebas kidev metad (CemTvis Zvirfasia megobrebi da WeSmariteba, magram moval eoba brZanebs, upiratesoba WeSmaritebas mi vakuTvno)".*

\*\*\*

"adamiani Tavisi bunebiT sazogadoebrivi arsebaa".

\*\*\*

"yovel ma adamanma xel i unda mohkidos iseT saqmes, rac misTvis Sesazl ebel ia da rac mas ekadreba".

\*\*\*

"Tu dasawyisi aris, saqmis naxevarze metia".

\*\*\*

"araferi ise ar cveTs da angrevs adamians rogorc xangrZl ivi fizikuri umoqmedoba".

\*\*\*

“vnebebs is ki ar imorCil ebs, vinc maTgan srul iad ikavebs Tavs, aramed is, vinc maT ise iyenebs, rogorc mar-Taven gems an cxens, ese igi iqiT mihyavT, saiTac saWiro da sasargebl oa”.

\*\*\*

“Secdomas mraval nairi gza aqvs, sworad moqmedebas \_ erTaderTi, amitom pirvel i iol ia, meore Znel i. mizans iol ad aacden, Znel ad moaxvedreb”.

\*\*\*

“vaJkaci isaa, vinc uSiSrad egebeba amaRI ebul sikvdil s”.

## Tavi 2

### aristotel e \_ "nikomaqes eTika" \_ pol itikuri kvint esenci ebi

*"pol itikaSi sikeTe aris samar TI ianoba."*

*"pol itika"*

*"samar TI ianoba aris saer To saTnoeba."*

*"pol itika"*

\* \* \*

"pol itikis Sesaxeb kamaTSi msmenel ad axal gazrda ver gamodgeba, radgan is cxovrebis saqmeebSi gamoucdel ia. pol itikaSi msjel oba ki iwyeba cxovrebis sakiTxebidan da amiTve Tavdeba. garda amisa, axal gazrda, ayol il ia ra grZnobebis, tyuil -ubral od da usargebl od ismens, radgan pol itikis mizani aris ara codna, aramed praqtikul i gamocdil eba. Tumca mniSvnel oba ara aqvs imas, rom msmenel i wl ovanebiT aris axal gazrda Tu CvevebiT, radgan ad- amianis nakl i wl ovanebaze ki ar aris damokidebul i, aramed gancdebiT aRsavse cxovrebase da wvriT manebiT gataceba- ze. aseTebisaTvis codna iseve usargebl oa, rogorc Tav- Seukavebel i adaminebisaTvis, magram im adaminebisaTvis, roml ebiT Tavis miznebsa da moqmedebebis gonebas uqvemde- bareben, didad sasargebl oa pol itikis codna".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 27]

\* \* \*

“radgan bedniereba sul is erTgvari aqtivobaa, rac war-moebs srul yofil i saTnoebis Sesabamisad, amitom unda vikvl ioT saTnoeba. maSin Cven ukeT gavigeBT bednierebis arssac. rogorc Cans, WeSmariti pol itikosi yvel aze metaad amaze zrunavs. mas surs, rom moqal aqeni ukeTesni da kanonebis erTgul i gaxados”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 43]

\* \* \*

“pol itikosma unda icodes adamianis sul i iseve, rogorc Tval is eqimma adamianis mTel i sxoul i. miT umetes, rom pol itika bevrad ufro sapatio da ukeTesi mecnierebaa, vidre medicina... pol itikosi unda swavl obdes adamianis sul s, rogorc TviT sul is, ise sakvl evi sagnis gasagebad”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 43]

\* \* \*

“pol itikuri samarTal i zogan bunebrivia, zogan ki SeTanxmebiT miRebul i. bunebrivi samarTal i yvel gan erTi da igivea, aRiareben mas Tu ara. SeTanxmebiT miRebul s ki dasawyisSi mniSvnel oba ara aqvs rogoria is, magram, rode-sac ukve miRebul ia, mas mniSvnel oba eZl eva”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 118]

\* \* \*

“... pol itikaca da gonierebac erTgvari Tvissebebia, magram isini ar arian erTi da igive, radgan is codna, romel ic saxel mwifos zogad kanonmdebl obas exeba, aris ZiriTadi da wamyvani; im codnas, ki, romel ic exeba kanon-

ebs konkretul i movl enebis Sesaxeb, aqvs zogadi saxel i "pol itika". es ukanasknel i erTdroul ad aris praqtikul i moqmedebis da gadawyvetil ebis miRebis unari, xol o gadawyvetil ebis ganxorciel eba xdeba moqmedebis bol os. goniereba ufro adamians, individs exeba da misi zogadi saxel ia "goniereba". misi nawil ebidan erTs ekonomika ewodeba, meores \_ kanonmdebl oba, mesames \_ pol itika. pol itikac or nawil ad iyofa: saTaTbiro da sasamarTlo".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 136]

\* \* \*

"arc pol itikur moRvawes aqvs Tavisufal i dro, radgan is icavs Tavis Zal aufl ebas, pativsa da rogorc sakutar, ise Tanamoqal aqeTa bednierebas. magram bedniereba araa pol itikur moRvaweobaSi. is bedniereba, romel sac Cven veZebT, gansxvavdeba pol itikuri moRvaweobisagan".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 223]

## eTiki s Sesaxeb

\* \* \*

"vinc yovel ives gaurbis, yvel afris eSinia da ver itans safrTxes, mxdal ia, xol o visac arafris eSinia da yovel ives ekveTeba, is Tavxedia. vinc yvel a siamovnebiT tkbeba da arcerTisagan ar ikavebs Tavs, TavSeukavebel ia, xol o vinc yvel afers gaurbis, rogorc ukul turo adamiani, ugrZnobia".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 47-48]

\* \* \*

“siamovnebisagan TavSekaveba warmoSobs gonier adamians, xol o goniers yvel aze ukeT SeuZI ia TavSekaveba. igive iTqmis simamacis Sesaxebac. Tu arafraad vagdebT saSiS-roebas da advil ad vitanT mas, gavxdebiT mamaci xol o, roca mamaci gavxdebiT, ukeT gavuZI ebT saSiSroebas”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 48]

\* \* \*

“eTikuri saTnoeba dakavSirebul ia siamovnebasa da tan- j vasTan, radgan siamovnebis gul istvis CavdivarT cud saqmeebs, xol o usiamovnebis gamo Tavs vikavebT mSvenieri saqmeebisagan. amitom, rogorc pl atoni ambobs, saWiroa bavSvobidanve adamiannis aRzrda ise warvmarToT, rom si- amovnebdes da awuxebdes is rac saWiroa. ai swored esaa kargi aRzrda”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 48]

\* \* \*

“Tu saTnoeba exeba moqmedebasa da vnebas, yovel vnebasa da moqmedebas mosdevs an siamovneba, an usiamovneba, e.i. saTnoeba dakavSirebul i yofil a siamovnebasa da usiam- ovnebasTan. amas sasj el ic amtkicebs. sasj el i xom Tavise- buri mkurnal obaa. xol o mkurnal oba warmoebs sawinaaRm- dego movl enebTan sabrZol vel ad”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 48]

\* \* \*

“dadginda, rom saTnoeba exeba saukeTeso moqmedebas da rom is dakavSirebul ia siamovnebasa da usiamovnebasTan.

uzneoba ki mas upirispirdaba. aqedan naTel ia, rom saTnoeba maTTan aris dakavSirebul i.

sami ram gvikarnaxebs arCevans an uaryofas: mSveniereba, sargebl oba da siamovneba da maTi sawinaaRmdego sami movl ena: simaxinj e, ziani da tanj va. yvel a SemTxvevaSi, kargi adamiani sworad moqmedebs, cudi ki mcdarad, gansakuTrebit siamovnebis arCevaSi. es Tviseba saerToa cxovel ebistvisac da yvel a imaTTvis, vinc arCevans iyenebs. amas garda, adamians es Tviseba bavSvobidanve aqvs Sesisxl xorcebul i. amitom adamianisaTvis Znel ia im vnebisagan ganTavisufl eba, roml isganac aris Seferil i mTel i Cveni cxovreba. Cvens moqmedebes Cven TviTon zogj er metad da zogj er nakl ebad ganvsazRvravT siamovnebita da tanj vit, amitom aucil ebel ia, rom maT Sesaxeb arsebobdes mTel i mecniereba”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 49]

\* \* \*

“urTierTobaSi, TanacxovrebaSi, sityvier Tu saqmian mimarTebaSi is adamianebi, roml ebic yvel afers aqeben da arafers uaryofen, raTa sxvas asiamovnon, cdil oben, rom yvel a SemxvedrTan advil i asatanni iyvnen, pirmoTneni arian. amaT sawinaagmdegod imaT, roml ebic yvel as yvel aferSi ewinaaRmdegebian da ar zrunaven imaze, ayeneben Tu ara sxvas usiamovnebas, mourigebel i da maCxubara adamianebi ewodebaT. cxadia aseTi Tvisebebi gasakicxia; xol o saqebia is, vinc maT Sua imyofeba. saidanac cxadi xdeba, Tu ra unda vakeToT, rogor da risgan SevikavoT Tavi. am Tvisebas saxel wodeba ara aqvs da mas ufro megobrul i damokidebul eba unda vuwodoT. aseT kacs “megobars” uwodeben da Tan umateben “kargi megobari”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 99]

\* \* \*

zrdil i da Tavisufal i adamiani ise iqceva, TiTqos kanoni TviT masSi iyos. es ki Sual eduri mdgomareobaa da mas uwodeben kargad aRzrdil sa da daxvewil adamians.

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 103]

### saxel mwifos Sesaxeb

"nikomaqes eTikis" am nawil Si aristotel e kvl avac ubrundeba

saxel mwifo forme bis ganxil vas, rac mis mier araerT-gzisa "pol itikis" I da II wignSi damuSavebul i, Tumca aq gv xvdeba mTel i rigi niuansebisa, roml ebic zemoT xsenebul naSromSi nakl ebad iyo aqcentirebul i. swored es gaxl avT mizezi aRniSnul i nawil is qvemoT motanisa.

\* \* \*

"saxel mwifos sami forma arsebobs. amdenivea maTi damaxinjebis forme bis, rac maT Rupavs: aristokratia, monarqia da timokratia. es ukanasknel i emyareba moqal aqeTa Rirsebas, ris gamoc mas umravl esoba "pol iteias" (saxel mwifos) uwodebs. amaTSi yvel aze kargia monarqia da yvel ze uaresi timokratia. monarqiis damaxinjeba aris tirania. orive monarqiaa, magram isini didad gansxvavdebi-an erTmaneTisgan, tirani pirad mogebas eZebs, mefe ki qveSevrdomTa mogebaze zrunavs. mefe ar SeiZl eba iyos is, vinc araa damoukidebel i, visac ara aqvs sxvebTan SedarebiT yovel gvari upiratesoba. mas araferi unda akl des. is unda eZiebdes ara pirad sargebl obas, aramed \_ qveSevrdomTa, winaaRmddeg SemTxvevaSi igi ar iqneba arCeul i. tirania ki amis sapirispiroa, radgan is pirad sargebl obas etaneba da, cxadia, mmarTvel obis yvel aze cudi formaa.

yvel aze cudi xom yvel aze kargs upirispirdeba. monarqia iqceva tiraniad, romel ic monarqiis damaxinj ebul i forma da cudi mefe tiranad iqceva.

aristokratiidan ki viRebT ol igarqias mmarTvel pir-Ta uzneobis gamo. isini saxel mwifosagan iReben yovel i-ves piradi damsaxurebis gareSe. iTviseben an mTel sikeTes, an mis udides nawil s. xel mZRvanel Tanamdebobebze niS-naven erTsa da imave pirebs da yvel aze metad afaseben simdidres. nacvl ad patiosani moqal aqeebisa, saxel mwifos marTavs uzneo moqal aqeTa mcire raodenoba. timokratia gadaizrdeba demokratiaSi, radgan isini erTmaneTs esazRvreb-ian. timokratiaC iswrafvis iqiT, rom arsebobdes masebis mmarTvel oba da masSi yvel as erTnairi ufl ebebi hqondes. demokratia aris mmarTvel obis SedarebiT nakl eb cudi forma, radgan is nakl eb scil deba pol iteias.

saxel mwifoebi ZiriTadad ase icvl ebian, radgan es aris cval ebadobis umokl esi da uadvil esi gza. zogni saxel mwifoebis msgavsebasa da nimuSs oj axSi xedaven, radgan mamis damokidebul ebas Svil Tan aqvs iseTive forma rogoric saxel mwifos. radgan oj axSi mama zrunavs Svil ebze, amit-om homerosi zevss mamas uwodebda. monarqias surs, rom iyos mamaSvil uri mmarTvel obis forma. sparseTSi ki mamis ufl ebebi tiranul ia, radgan sparsel ebi Svil ebs ise iyeneben rogorc monebs. tiranul ia monaTmfl obel is damokidebul eba monebTan, radgan monaTmfl obel i am damokidebul ebaSi pirad sargebl obas eZebs. magram es forma sworia, sparsul i ki \_ mcdari. mmarTvel Ta sxvadasxvaobazea damokidebul i saxel mwifos formebis sxvadasxvaoba.

qmris damokidebul eba col Tan hgavs aristokratias, radgan mamakaci marTavs Tavis Rirsebis Sesabamisad im sferos, romel ic mas ekuTvnis, col s ki gadascems imis ufl ebas, rac qal is bunebas Seferis. magram, Tu mamakaci yvel aferSi ufrosobs, is ol igarqad gadaiqceva, radgan am

SemTxvevaSi is moqmedebs sakuTari Rirsebis sawinaaRmdegod da ara imitom, rom is ukeTesia. zogj er oj axs qal e-bi marTaven, im SemTxvevaSi, Tu isini arian qonebis memkvidreni. magram es mmarTvel oba saTnoebas ki ar emyareba, aramed qonebasa da Zal as, rogorc ol igarqiaSi.

Znebis urTierToba ki timokratias hgavs. isini Tanasworni arian. gansxvavdebian mxol od asakiT. magram, Tu maT Soris didia asakobrivi sxvaoba, maSin urTierToba Zmuri aRar iqneba.

demokratias is oj axebi hgavs, sadac ufrosi ara hyavT, radgan aq yvel a Tanasworia. es maSin xdeba, roca ufrosi sustia da amitom TviTeul s SeuZl ia gaakeTos is, rac mas surs.

saxel mwifoebrivi mmarTvel obis TviTeul formaSi megobroba samarTl ianobis saxiT vl indeba. mefis urTierToba qveSevrdomTa mimarT mdgomareobs Warb qvel moqmedebaSi qveSevrdomTa mimarT, radgan mefe qveSevrdomTaTvis qvel moqmedebas eweva. Tu is keTil ia, iseve zrunavs Tavis qveSevrdomebze, rogorc mwiyemsi Tavis cxvrebze. amitomac uwodebs homerosi agamemnon "xal xis mwiyemss".

asetivea mami megobroba Svil Tan, magram is gansxvavdeba qvel moqmedebis sididiT. mama Svil is arsebobis mizezia, rac udidesi sikeTea. Svil is kvebisa da aRzrdis xel mZRvanel ic isaa, aseve zrunavs winaprebze. bunebrivad mama aris Svil ebis xel mZRvanel i, winaprebi \_ STamomavl ebisa, mefe ki \_ qveSevrdomebisa. es megobroba emyareba upiratesobas, amitomac mSobl ebi pativcemul ni arian. magram maT erTnairi ufl ebebi ara aqvT, aramed Rirsebis mixedvit, rogorc megobrobaSi.

qmarsa da col s Soris urTierToba isetivea, rogoric aristokratiaSi: is saTnoebas emyareba. aq meti sikeTe ekuTvnis ukeTes mxares da saerTod, TiToeul mxares ekuTvnis imdeni, rac mas Seferis da swored esaa samarTl i-anoba.

Znebs Soris urTierToba amxanagobas hgavs. Tanabari asakisani Tanasworni arian, radgan umetes SemTxvevaSi maT erTnairi Cvevebi da vnebebi aqvT. amiT is timokratias emsgavseba, sadac moqal aqeebs surT, rom Tanaswori da patiosani iyvnen, xol o saxel mwifos marTavdnen rigrigobiT da Tanasworad.asevea megobrobaSic.

uvargisi politikuri mmarTvl obis dros mcirdeba rogorc samarTlianoba, ise megobroba. politikis yvelaze uvargis formebsi ki is uarresad mcirea. tiraniaSi megobroba an saertod ar aris, an Zal ian sustia, radgan aq ar aferi aqvT saerto mmarTvel sa da qveSevrdoms.

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 181]

### gonebi s Sesaxeb

\* \* \*

"gonieri aris is, visac SeuZl ia kargad gansaj os".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 132]

\* \* \*

"gonieri iqneba is, visac aqvs swori gadawyvetil ebis miRebis unari".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 132]

\* \* \*

"goniereba aris swor azrovnebaTan dakavSirebuli WeSmariti Tviseba, romel ic exeba adamianur sikeTesa da borotebas".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 133]

\* \* \*

“aucil ebel ia, rom goniereba dakavSirebul i iyos WeS-marit azrovnebaTan da is unda exebodes adamanis sasikeTod gamiznul moqmedebes”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 133]

\* \* \*

“goniereba ki exeba adamanur saqmebs. razec SeiZl eba bWoba”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 132]

\* \* \*

“rogorc dasawyisi, ise dasasrul i aris goneba. das-abuTeba ki misgan gamomdinareobs da masve exeba. amitomac ufro metad yuri unda mivugdoT gamocdil Ta da xandaz-mul T, anu gonier adaminebs, Tundac isini gamoTqvamden ufro dausabuTebel mosazrebebsa da Sexedul ebebs, vidre dasabuTebul s. maT gamocdil ebis Sedegad aqvT ganviTarebul i mxedvel oba, amitomac sworad xedaven”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 140]

\* \* \*

“cxovreba gansakuTrebiT maSin aris sasurvel i, roca siamovneba SeerTebul ia gonierebaTan”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 211-212]

\* \* \*

“adamianisaTvis specifikuria gonebrivi cxovreba, radgan swored esaa, pirvel yovl isa, adamiani. amitom aseTi cxovreba iqneba ubednieresesi”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu. Tb., 2003, gv. 224]

\* \* \*

“vinc gonebis karnaxiT moqmedebs da mas iSvel iebs, is yvel aze karg ganwyobaSia da RmerTebisTvisac yvel aze metad sayvarel ia. Tu RmerTebi ramenairad zrunaven adamianebs, rogorc fiqroben, maSin l ogikuri iqneboda gvevarauda, rom RmerTebis siamovnebas aniWebT is, rac saukeTesoa da maTi monaTesave. aseTi ki goneba unda iyos. amitom adamianebs, roml ebsac ufro metad goneba uyvarT da mas yvel aze metad scemen pativs, RmerTebi miuzRaven samagiero sikeTes da zrunaven maTze rogorc megobrebze, radgan isini sworad da mSvenivrad iqcebian”.

[aristotel e, “nikomaqes eTika”. Tsu. Tb., 2003, gv. 227]

## saRi azris Sesaxeb

\* \* \*

“arsebobs agreTve saRi azri da saRad azrovneba, roml is gamo adamians vuwodebT saRad moazrovnes da kargad moazrovnes. es araa zogadi codna an Sexedul eba, radgan maSin yvel a saRad moazrovne iqneboda. is araa arc mecnierebis romel ime dargi, rogoricaa magal iTad, medicina, romel ic swavl obs j anmrTel obas, an geometria, romel ic Seiswavl is sidideebs, saRi azri ar exebs arc mudmivsa da uZrav movl enebs, arc qmnads, aramed imas, ramac SeiZl eba

gamoiwvios dava da bWoba. maSasadame, igi imasve exeba, rasac goniereba. magram goniereba da saRi azri erTi da igive araa, radgan goniereba karnaxobs imas, Tu ra unda gakeTdes da ra ara, misi mizanic swored es aris, saRi azri ki mxol od kritikaa. Tumca saRi azri da kargi azri erTi da igivea, xol o saRad moazrovneni kargad moazrovneni arian.

saRi azri araa igive, rac goniereba, arc misken swrafva, aramed igi rogorRac imis swavl ebas niSnavs, Tu rodix gamoviyenoT codna, xol o saRi azri niSnavs Sexedul ebis gamoyenebas im movl enebze, razec goniereba msjel obs da razec gansxvavebuli azri arsebobs. Tanac esaa kargi msjel obis codna, xol o kargi da mSvenieri erTi da igivea. sityva "saRi azri" da "saRad moazrovne" warmodga sityvidan "swavl eba" da sityva "swavl ebas" xSirad vxmarobT saRi azris mniSvnel obiT".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 138-139]

### **adami anis Sesaxeb**

"araa saWiro, adamiani daarwmuno, rom is adamiania, arc is, rom mokvdavi adamiani daarwmuno, rom is mokvdavia, igi ramdenadac SesaZl ebel ia, unda daarwmuno, rom ukvdavi gaxdes da yovel ive gaakeTos imisaTvis, rom icxovros imisda mixedviT, rac yvel aze ufro maRal ia masSi. is mocul obiT pataraa, samagierod unariTa da RirsebiT yvel afers Warbobs".

[aristotel e, "nikomaqes eTika". Tsu.  
Tb., 2003, gv. 224]

## Tavi 3

### pl atoni saxel mwi fosa da pol i t i k i s Sesaxeb

Strixebi  
pl atonis  
biografii dan

**pl atoni (Platon Zv.w. 427-347)** dai-bada aTenSi. berZeni fil osofosi, sokrates mowafe, aristotel es maswavl ebel i. misi mSobl ebi maRal aristokratiul wres ganekutvnebodnen. mamamisi *aristoni* atikis ukanasknel i mefis, l egendarul i gmiris *kodrois* STamomavl ad Tvl ida Tavs. dedamisis, *periktiones*, mxriv ki igi *sol onis* geneal ogiur Stos ukavSirdeba.

arsebobs ramdenime versia, ris gamoc am didi fil osofosisatvis saxel ad *pl atoni* SeurqmeviaT. Tval Sisacemi mxarbeWianobis, maRal i da farTo Subl is, vrcel i da gabmul i saubrisadmi siyvarul is gamo. misi Tavdapirvel i saxel i *\_ aristokl e* Secvl il a yvel asTvis cnobil i *\_ pl atoni*T.

adreul asakSive iwyeba misi daintereseba musikiT, ferweriT da poeziiT, rac gamovl inda kidec l eqsebisa da tragediisadmi xarkis moxdiT.

pl atoni sikvdil amde erTgul i darCa Tavisi didi maswavl ebl is, *sokrates* mimarT, romel Tanac rva wel i dahyo da mxol od misi dasj is Semdeg igi iZul ebul i gaxda sxva mowafeebTan erTad gaqceul iyo qal aq megaraSi.

mogzaurobisa da swavl is survil ma pl atons mraval i qveyana moatara, gansakuTrebiT ki saxifaTo aRmoCnda misi urTierToba *sirakusel* tiranTan *dionisosTan*, romel mac

ganrisxebis Jams monad gayida qal aq eginaSi. vinme *anekeris* wyal obiT igi gamosyidul i iqna monobidan da Zv.w. 387 wel s brundeba aTenSi, sadac politikas ganSorebul i pl atoni aarsebs pirvel umaRI es skol as – akademias.

**pl atonis  
akademia**

“akademiaSi pl atoni Tavis fil osofias pirvel ad sokratul i formiT, e.i. dial ogis saxiT aswavl ida, Semdeg ki l eqciis saxiT. akademiaSi man Camooyal iba erTgvari fil osofiuri sazoga-doeba, roml is wevrebi TveSi erTxel saerTo l xinsac (simfozias) marTavdnen. rogorc maswavl ebel s, pl atons, sCans, didi saxel i mouxveWia; misi skol a TandaTanobiT imdroindel i sibrZnisa da fil osofiis centri gamxdara; ase rom makedoniidan Camoyvanil i aristotel ec ki pl atons miabares fil osofiisa da mecnierebis sxva dargebSi gasawvrTnel ad. Tavis akademiis karebze pl atons sain-tereso warwera gaukeTebinebia: “vinc ar icis geometria, aq fexi ar Semodgas”. es niSnavda imas, rom pirvel umaRI es saswavl ebel Si, sadac ZiriTadad fil osofias aswavl idnen, Sesvl a pirobis gareSe ar SeiZl eboda, pirobad ki maTema-tikis principebis winaswari codna iyo miCneul i”.

[mose gogiberiZe, “**fil osofiis istoria**”.  
Tb., 1941, t.1, gv. 108]

**qarTul i fil osofiuri  
skol is warmomadgenl ebi  
pl atonis saxel mwifoeb-  
rivi principi pebis Sesaxeb**

cnobil i qarTvel i fil osofosis mose gogiberiZis Sexedul eba pl atonis saxel mwifoebrivi mowyobis principi pebze gadmocemul ia wignSi “fil osofiis istoria”, sadac aRniSnul sakiTxs eZRvneba special uri Tavi “moZRvreba saxel mwifoze”. “Cven mier moyvanil i Sexedul eba pl atonis social ur fil osofiaze

mocemul ia "pol iteias" dasawyisSive. aq pl atoni eZebs, Tu ra aris samarTI ianoba da acxadebs, rom eZio samarTI ianoba kerZo adamanSi, es imas niSnavs, rom vismes miutanoT wasakiTxavad Zal ian wvril i anbanIT daweril i teqsti da roca igi teqsts ver amoikiTxavs, maSin gaumxil oT, rom moipoveba msxvil i anbanITa da garkveul i xel iT daweril i igive teqsti; cxadia, rom es kaci moiTxovs j er naTI ad daweril i teqsti waakiTxoT, xol o Semdeg ki pirvel i teqsti. aseTivea samarTI ianobis raobis sakiTxic. "radgan samarTI ianoba, upirvel es yovl isa, saxel mwifoSia da saxel mwifos mier SeiZl eba iqnas ganxorciel ebul i, amitom saxel mwifos sxeul ze unda iqnas igi Seswavl il i. saxel mwifos cxovreba erTaderTi saSual ebaa, raTa saTnoeba qveyanaze damyardes da sikeTis ideam Tavis sinaTI is erTi nawil iT adaminebsac gaunaTos. amitom pl atoni cdil obs dagvixatos ideal uri saxel mwifos suraTi, roml is ganxorciel eba mas savsebiT SesaZl ebl ad miaCnia da roml is ganxorciel ebas igi moel is naZal adevi gardaqmnebis saSual ebiT.

iyo ra dauZinebel i mteri demokratiis pol itikuri weswyobil ebisa, igi am weswyobil ebis kritikis dros iCens did Seurigebl obasTan erTad faqtebis Rrma codnas. saintereso misi Teoria saxel mwifos warmoSobis Sesaxeb. saxel mwifo mosaxl eobis ekonomiuri saWiroebis niadagze ibadeba, sadac Sromis ganawil eba, vaWrobis gaCena, iararis warmoeba, teqnika da ful is cirkul aciis gaCena saxel mwifos kl asebad hyofs, xol o am kl asebs Soris xSirad SuRI i da omi CaRdeba. pl atoni gamanadgurebel i kritikiT axasiaTebis Tavis drois demokratiul i weswyobil ebis wyl ul ebs da Tavis anal izSi ise Sors midis, rom ukve erT saxel mwifoSi ori saxel mwifos arseboba ze l aparakobs.

dRevandel i saxel mwifo, - vkiTxul obT pl atonTan, \_

"es erTi meoris mteris saxel mwifoa. saxel mwifo mdi-  
drebis da saxel mwifo Raribebis" (pol itika. w. IV).

sanamde es mdgomareoba grZel deba, manamde pl atoni sax-  
el mwifodan saTnoebisa da sikeTis, gonierebis da sa-  
marTI ianobis ganxorciel ebas ar moel is. unda moispas  
mdidrebisa da Raribebis saxel mwifo da unda daarsdes  
erTi saxel mwifo, saxel mwifo gonebisa da zneobis.

didi istoriul i amebis gamo gaRatakebul i aris-  
tokratiis Svil i pl atoni, gansakuTrebul i energiITibrZvis  
simdidris winaaRmdeg. "simdidre iwvevs gafI angvas,  
sizarmaces, axl is Zebnas; siRatake monur grZnobas, cud  
unarianobas da agreTve axl is Zebnas" (pol itika. w. IV).  
pl atons, rogorc cecxl is, ise eSinia "axl is Zebnis", misi  
Tval sazrisi konservatiul ia. mis mier daxatul ideal ur  
(e. i. gonierad mowyobil ) saxel mwifoSi arc mdidaria, da  
arc Raribi, aq yvel as Tavisu aqvs da yvel a kmayofil ia;  
mbrZanebel i imiTaa kmayofil i, rom brZanebs da momsmeni  
imiT, rom emorCil eba. pl atons saSinl ad sZul s aTenis  
e.w. w. minda demokratia da misi saarCevno ufl eba, sadac  
xal xi Tavisufl ad irCevs mbrZanebel sac da meomarsac,  
mmarTvel sac da mosamarTI esac. "Cveni winadadebebis sarge-  
bl ianoba imaSi mdgomareobso, - ambobs igi, - rom vinc  
mewaRed dabadebul ia waRebs gaakeTebis, durgal i saxl s  
akeTebis da sxv. es aris samarTI ianoba, Cemo gl aukon"  
(pol itika. w. IV). aTenis demokratiaSi ki xSirad "me-  
waRed dabadebul i" sardal i xdeboda da pl atoni amas  
miawers yvel a ukuRmarTobas, rac misi drois aTens mou-  
vida.

arsebul i mdgomareobis sastiki kritikis Semdeg igi  
gvaZl evs Tavis pozitiur ideal s. misi pozitiuri idea-  
l i aris gatitvl ebul i reaqciul i utopia. saxel mwifo,  
misi azriT, didi organizmia da igi organizaciis princi-  
pebiT unda Sendebodes. ZiriTadi mosaxl eobis garkveul

korporaciebad dayofa ise unda Catardes, rom yvel as Tavisu xvdas moval eobaTa da funqciis mixedviT. rogorc cocxal organizmSi xel ebs ar ebadeba survil i fexebis moval eoba Seasrul os, ise wesierad mowyobil saxel mwifoSi erT wodebas ar moundeba meoris moval eobas asrul ebdes.

pl atoni ideal ur saxel mwifos sam wodebad yofs. pirveli i wodeba aris "demosi", miwis momuSave, xel osani da vaWari. isini Sromoben; saxel mwifo maTi aRzrdis safuZvl ad sdebs morCil ebisa da TavdaWeris grZnobis gamomuSavebas. araviTar monawil eobas mmarTvel obis saqmeSi es wodeba ar Rebul obs. meore wodebaa meomarTa wodeba. es saxel mwifos arsebobis safuZvel ia. igi mmarTvel i kl asia, saxel mwifo misia. mesame wodeba, roml is wevrebi aRzrdis saSual ebiT meore wodebidan airCevian, aris mmarTvel Ta anu fil osofosTa wodeba. maTi moval eoba aris kanonmdebl oba, qveynis marTva-gamgeoba da fil osofiis da mecnierebisadmi samsaxuri. saxel mwifo sinamdvil eSi am ori wodebis Zmuri da mwyobri organizaciaa...

saxel mwifos meqanizmi, pl atonis azriT, Sromis ganawil ebazea dayrdnobil i. Sroma j er saerTod ganawil ebul ia kl asebs Soris da Semdeg igi ganawil ebul ia individebs Soris ...

mkacri da mosawyenia suraTi pl atonis "komunizmsa", roml is ganxorciel ebis pirvel save dResve poetebs da yvel a usaqmo demagogebs yel s gamosWrian (Tumca saxel mwifos Semqebel Ta da odebis damwerT pl atonic iwynarebs), sadac "upirvel es yovl isa, aravis kerZo sakuTreba ar unda hqondes. meore: aravis ar unda hqondes iseTi sacxovrebel i bina, an raime sawyobi, sadac TviTeul is Tavisufal i Sesvl a ar SeiZl ebodes", sadac moqal aqeni "erTad sadil oben da vaxSmoben, yvel aferi saerTo aqvT" da amitom "oqro da vercxl i maT arafrad esaWiroebaT"

“oqrosa da vercxl s isini Taviant sul Si atareben” (wig. III), sadac qal s neba ar aqvs “erT mamakacTan erTad icxovros. dedakacebi mamakacebisaTvis saerTo unda iyvnen. bavSvebic unda saerTo iyvnen. arc erTma mamam ar unda icodes, Tu romel ia misi Svil i da arc erTma Svil ma ar unda icodes, Tu romel ia misi mama” (w. V).

ratom? ra saWiroa qal ebisa da bavSvebis es “social - izacia”? sawinaaRmdegos daSvebisas pl atons eSinia – adamanSi am gziT xel axl a sakuTrebisaken miswrafeba ar Caisaxos da “simdidrisa da siRaribis” saxel mwifo ar gaCndes. zog sakiTxSi igi Zal ian mowinave azrebsac ki gamostqvams. mag., igi moiTxovs qal Ta Tanasworobas TiTqmis yvel a social uri moval eobis Sesrul ebis dros: omSi da saxl Si, l xinSi da qveynis marTvaSi; qal i kacis Tanaswororia da mis gverdiT dgas. “qal ebi yvel aferSi da yovel Tvis mamakacebTan erTobl iobaSi unda iyvnen. Tu isini amas gaakeTeben, isini samarTI ianad moiqcevia da dedakacis bunebis winaaRmdeg arafers ar moimoqmedeben. bunebam xom dedakaci mamakacTan erTobl iobaSi gaaCina” (w. V).

ai aseT saxel mwifoSia Sesazl ebel i miRweul iqnas social uri yofis umaRI esi ideal i: fil osofosebi gaxdnen saxel mwifos mmarTvel ni da samarTI ianoba ki – moqal aqis umaRI es saTnoebad...

moxucebul obisas pl atoni darwmunda, rom misi ideal uri saxel mwifo ganuxorciel ebel i iyo da aristokratiul i “komunizmis” moTxovna Seamsubuqa, qal ebis da bavSvebis erTobl iobis utopia moxsna, da Tavisi Tval sazrisi keTil mowyobil i monarqiis Tval sazriss dauaxl ova.

[m. gogiberize, “fil osofiis istoria”.  
Tb., 1941, t.1, gv. 125-128]

pl atonis Tval sazriss saxel mwifos Sesaxeb farTod ganixil avs cnobil i qarTvel i fil osofosi Tamar kukava wignSi: "berZnul i fil osofiis istoria", w.1, sadac aRniSnavs "bunebrivia, rom dial ogSi, romel ic "saxel mwifos" saxel wodebas atarebs, mniSvnel ovani adgil i ekavos saxel mwofosa da pol itikis sakiTxebS. Tumca zogierTi mkvl evaris Sexedul ebiT, am sakiTxis gadawyvetisadmia miZRvnil i pl atonis mTel i fil osofia da ara marto es dial ogi. pl atonis, rogorc es dial ogi, ise mTel i misi moZRvrebA pol itikis Sesaxeb gamowveul i iyo Tanamedrove mmarTvel obis formebiT misi ukmayofil ebiT. pl atoni amis Sesaxeb pirdapir ar l aparakobda, magram amis amokITxva araa Znel i misi dial ogebidan. amitom misi sul ieri moTxovnil eba iyo daexata sul sxva, ideal uri samyaro, ufro srul yofil i mmarTvel obis formebiT.

pl atonis azriT, saxel mwifo warmoiSoba maSin, rode-sac adamianebsi Cndeba erTad cxovrebiSA da urTierTobis aucil ebl oba. rogorc cocxal organizmSi, aseve saxel mwifoSic yovel nawil s dakisrebul i aqvs Tavisi funqcia. saxel mwifoSi yovel pirovnebas, yovel uj reds Tavisi saqme unda hqondes da ar ereodes sxvis funqciebSi. rogorc sxoul Si bunebrivia da aucil ebel i, rom xel mZRvanel i nawil i xel mZRvanel obdes da warmarTavdes, daqvemdebarebul i ki daqvemdebarebul i iyos. aseve saxel mwifoSic. udidesi boroteba iqneboda saxel mwifosa da moqal aqeTaTvisac, rom erTmaneTsi aRreul iyo xel mZRvanel - isa da daqvemdebarebul is rol ebi da funqciebi. gansakuTrebiT saWi roa mmarTvel Ta zusti SerCeva, radgan saxel mwifos mmarTvel oba codnisa da gonebrivi muSaobis umaRI es formebs moiTxovs.

pl atoni mosaxl eobaSi sam ZiriTad fenas gamoyofs: meomarTa, anu saxel mwifos mcvel Ta, miwaTmoqmedTa, romel nic

saxel mwifos material ur dovl aTsa hqmian, da mmarTvel -  
Ta, saxel mwifos xel mZRvanl Ta.

meomarni, pl atonis azriT, Tavisufal ni unda iyvnen yve-  
l a sxva saqmianobidan, saxel mwifos dacvis saqmianobis  
garda. meomrebma kargad unda aiTvison brZol isa da Tav-  
dacvis xel ovneba. unda gamoimuSaon Tavis TavSi Seubral e-  
bl obis Tviseba. garda amisa, unda hqondeT mxedvel obis  
simaxvil e, moZraobis siswrafe da didi fizikuri Zal a  
sxvisi damorCil ebisaTvis. pl atoni mcvel ebs ZaRI ebs  
adarebs. mcvel ebs ar unda hqondeT araviTari sakuTreba,  
sakuTari col ebi da bavSvebi, sakuTari saxl i an sxva  
raime qoneba. maT ar unda icodnen romelia maTi bavSvi  
iseve, rogorc bavSvebma \_ maTi mamebi da dedebi da amito-  
mac maT yvel as saerto sixarul i da mwuxareba eqnebaT da  
usiamovnebac nakl ebi iqneba maT Soris.

meomarni, fil osofosebis msgavsad, unda Wwretdnen mud-  
miv, da Tavis Tavisadmi Tanabar movl enebis da ara meryevT  
warmoSobasa da mospobas Soris; isini ar unda l oTobd-  
nen, ar unda eZl eodnen gadaWarbebul vnebaTa Rel vas da  
drostarebas, radgan sasacil o iqneboda, rom dacva dasWirve-  
boda saxel mwifos mcvel s, kanonebisa da sazogadoebis  
ufl ebaTa qomags. saxel mwifos material uri dovl aTis  
mwarmoebel i arian miwaTmoqmedni da xel osnebi.

masam, romel sac ar Zal uZs saxel mwifos marTva, unda  
sTxovos fil osofosT, aristokratT, raTa saTaveSi Caudgnen  
saxel mwifos.

aristokratni pl atonis mier daxasiaTebul ia, rogorc  
sibrZnisa da codnis moyvarul ni, romel Tac WeSmaritebis  
Wwreta uyvarT. WeSmariteba ki aris mSveniereba Tavista-  
vad, sikeTe Tavistavad da a.S.

pl atoni ganixil avs mmarTvel obis sxvadasxva formebs.  
mas miuRebl ad miaCnia timokratiul i, ol igarqiul i, demokra-  
tiul i da tiraniul i mmarTvel obis formebi. misi azriT,

mmarTvel obis erTaderTi sasurvel i forma aris aristokratia.

timokratiul i mmarTvel obis dros saxel mwifos saTaveSi timokratni, anu pativmoyvareni eqcevia. isini amave dros mdidarnic arian. mmarTvel obis am formis dros gansakuTrebiT pativSi imyofebian meomrebi, didi yuradReba eqceva fizikuri kul turisa da samxedro saqmis ganviTarebas, fil osofia da sibrZne ki miviwyebul ia da devnili. yvel gan batonobs sicrue, simkacre da gaiZveroba. didi privil egiebiT sargebl oben mosaxl eobis SeZl ebulli fenebi.

pl atons uaryofiTad miaCnia agreTve, mmarTvel obis ol igarqiul i forma, sadac mmarTvel obis saTaveSi mosaxl eobis mcirericxovani nawil i \_ mdidrebi eqcevia. RaribRatakni mokl ebul ni arian yovel gvar ufl ebebs. aqac pativcemul ia simdidre da nakl eb pativcemul ia sikeTe da patiosneba. aseTi saxel mwifos Zl ierebac Zal adobazea damyarebul i. sibrZne da codna miviwyebul ia. am saxel mwifos Rupavs mtroba mdidrebsa da Raribebs Soris. saxel mwifos mmarTvel i Tu raime sikeTes akeTebis, es mxol od imitom, rom sakuTari qonebis dakargvisa eSinia da ara imitom, rom mas sindisi da goneba ukarnaxebs. ol igarqiaSi mevaxSeebi, roml ebic yvel asagan did procentebis iReben, xel s uwyoben mosaxl eobis farTo fenebis gaRatakebas. amitomac am dros xSirad Raribdebian TviT uaRresad patiosani da keTil Sobil i moqal aqeebic ki. rac kidev ufro amwvavebs winaaRmdogobas mdidrebsa da Raribebs Soris. Raribebi Tavs esxmian mdidrebs, itaceben qonebas da xSirad TviTon eqcevia saTaveSi. amrigad, saxel mwifo mmarTvel obis mindoba mdidarTaTvis da ara brZenTaTvis hgavs imas, rom zRvaSi gemis warmarTva miando ara gemis marTvis mcodnes, aramed mdidars.

ol igarqiis bunebrivi Sedegia demokratia, masis, demo-

sis am "Zl ieri cxovel is" mmarTvel oba. demosis mmarTvel o-  
bis dros saxel mwifoSi srul i Tavisufl ebaa da yvel a  
akeTebS imas, rac moesurveba. ris gamoc es saxel mwifo  
iseve nairgvaria, rogorc Wrel i kaba. demokratiis dros  
saTaveSi Raribebi eqcevian. aqac pativSia ara goniereba da  
sibrZne, aramed xal xis azri, Sexedul eba, gul veba. aq Tavxe-  
doba iTvl eba ganaTI ebad, TviTneboBa \_ TavsufI ebad,  
usircxvoba \_ didebad. aq Tanabari ufl ebebiT sarge-  
bl oben, rogorc Rirseul i, ise uRirsi moqal aqeni, rac  
usamarTI obaa.

zedmeti Tavisufl eba, sabol oo j amSi, gadaizrdeba ti-  
raniaSi. aq saxel mwifos saTaveSi tirani dgas, romel ic  
Tavis Zal aufl ebas Zal momreobiT avrcel ebs. Tavdapirve-  
l ad tirani yvel as kargad eqceva, Semdeg ki daTrgunvas  
iwyebs, gansakuTrebiT imaT daTrgunvas, roml ebsac Seaty-  
obs winaaRmddegobisa da Tavisufal i azrovnebis unars. Tu  
eqimebi sxoul idan uvargissa da mavnes aZeveben, tirani  
aZevebs saxel mwifodan yovel save kargsa da sasargebl os.  
tiraniTvis ucxoA, rogorc namdvil i megobroba, ise Tavisu-  
fl eba. megobrebi, roml ebic pirSi simarTI es eubnebian,  
misi risxvis msxverpl ni xdebian. poetebS aiZul ebs, rom  
mas xotba Seasxan. mas emorCil eba masa, romel ic mas kve-  
bavs da romel ic man TiTqos monobisagan gaaTavisufl a.  
xal xs amyofebS saSinel siRatakeSi, radgan, rac ufro  
nakl eb mdidaria masa, miT ufro nakl ebi dro rCeba mas  
tiraniis damxobaze fiqrisTvis. misi mmarTvel oba mTI i-  
anad emyareba SiSs, tanj vasa da mwuxarebas. radgan mas  
mteri uaRresad bevri hyavs, amitom amravl ebs damsJ el Ta  
ricxvs, uniSnavs maT did xel fasebs. magram TviT tiranic  
yvel aze ubeduria. is yvel as sZul s, amitom TviTonac yve-  
l a sZul s da yvel asi eSinia. SiSis gamo is arsad ar  
mogzaurobs, gareTac ki ar gamodis da monebze ufro  
metad monur mdgomareobaSia. xSirad mimarTavs did omebs,

risTvisac zrdis gadasaxadebs da amit kidev ufro metad auaresebs xal xis mdgomareobas.

pl atons mmarTvel obis am formebs kritikiT surda moexaza ideal uri saxel mwifo. saerTod, mTel i es dial o-gi sxva ara aris ra Tu ara ideal uri saxel mwifos monaxazi. aseT saxel mwifod pl atons aristokratiul i mmarTvel obis forma miaCnda. aq xorciel deba rCeul Ta, saukeTesoTa xel mZRvanel oba. aq umravl esobis survil i umciresobisas emorCil eba. es umciresoba yvel aze brZeni da ganaTI ebul ia mTel s saxel mwofosi. maTi mmarTvel obis mizani aris erTi: mosaxl eobis keTil dReoba da sargebl oba: maT ki, rogorc yvel aze brZenT, sxvebze ukeT SeuZl iaT zrunva mosaxl eobis keTil dReobasa da bednierebaze. amitomac paTetikurad daaskvnida pl atoni: "sanam qal aqebSi fil osofosebi ar imefeben, anda axl andel i mefeebi gul wrfel ad da damaj erebl ad ar ifil osofoseben, sanam saxel mwifoebrivi Zal aufl eba da fil osofia ar Seiwymian erT mTel ad da sanam mraval i bunebani, roml ebic amJamad miemarTebian cal cal ke, zogi erTi da zogi meore mimarTul ebiT, ar gaerTiandebian, manamde arc qal aqebi da arc adamianTa modgma ar unda el odos borotebis dasasrul s".

[T. kukava, "berZnul i fil osofiis istoria".  
Tb., 1988, gv. 363-368]

pl atonis warmodgeniT, ideal uri saxel mwifos mizani unda iyos moqal aqeTa bedniereba: adaminebi bednierad unda cxovrobdnen, xol o bednierad mcxovrebn, pirvel yovl isa, erTmaneTs ar unda aviwroebdnen da arc gareSeTagan unda ganicdidnen Seviwroebas. keTil mowyobil saxel mwifosi moqal aqeT saerTo interesebi amoZravebT, saidanac gamomdinareobs maTi mWidro urTierTkavSiri da megobroba,

rac Tavis mxriv ganapirobebs saxel mwifos ZI ierebas. aseT saxel mwifoSi kanonebic saTnoebisa da sikeTisaken unda iyos mimarTul i: "Cven vTqviT, rom kanonebs yovel Tvis mxedvel obaSi unda hqondes erTi mizani ... es mizani aris saTnoeba". erTi sityviT, pl atonis azriT, ideal uri saxel mwifo unda iyos erTi monol iTuri mTel i, sadac yovel ive am erTianobisa da maSasadame, saxel mwifos ZI ierebis ganmtkicebisen aris warmarTul i. saxel mwifos daqsaqsul oba da sisuste ki moqal aqeTa ubedurebis wyarod iqceva. keTil mowyobil saxel mwifoSi kanonebi unda aZul ebden moqal aqeebs usamarTI obas da ayvarebden samarTI ianobas. Tu moqal aqis warmarTva samarTI ianobisken SeuZI ebel i xdeba, maSin ukeTesia misi fizikuri mospoba, radgan igi Tavisi arseboiT did zians moutans saxel mwifos. srul yofil saxel mwifoSi unda SeizRudos simdidris dagrovebis mizniT sazRvargareT mogzaurobis Tavisufi eba. magram mogzauroba pol itikuri da saxel mwifoerivi saqmeebis mosagvarebl ad, agreTve, codnis SeZenis, sakuTari srul yofisa da kanonebis gaumj obesebis mizniT ki Tavisufal i unda iyos. kargi mmarTvel ni xel s unda uwyobden moqal aqeTa srul yofas, ebrZodnen uvicobas, TavSeukavebl obas, simxdal es, meqrTameobas, qurdobas, Ral ats, sicrues, kerZo sakuTrebis xel yofas da saerTod, yovel - gvar mankierebas. pl atonis ideal ur saxel mwifoSi sjian im el Cebs, romel nic borotad iyeneben Tavis Tanamdebobas. im jariskacT, romel nic Tavisi nebiT danebden mters da ara imaT, romel nic mZime mdgomareobaSi iyvnen al yaSemortymul i, sdevnian maTxovarT, xSirad aZeveben kidec saxel mwifos fargl ebidan, gansakuTrebiT imaT, romel nic Tavs abezreben mcxovrebt ganuwyvetel i TxovniTa da mudariT. pl atonis ideal ur saxel mwifoSi sastikad sjian mkvl el T, magram arCeven nebismier mkvl el Ta da damnaSaveT uneburTagan. pl atoni did mniSvnel obas aZI evs mkvl el -

Ta "ganmwmdas", raSic is samSobl odan gaZevebas gul isxmobda garkveul i vadiT. am vadis gasvl is Semdeg 12 sangebod SerCeul i piri amowmebs imas, Tu ramdenad "ganiwminda" damnaSave da Tu gamosworebul ad CaTvl is, mas samSobl oSi kvl av dabrunebis neba eZl eva. sasj el i umsubuqdebaT imaT, roml ebmac danaSaul i Caidines aRel vebul mdgomareobaSi, sigiJis an raime sxva avadmyofobisas. maT mxol od garkveul i gadasaxadis gadaxda eval ebaT. eqimi, romel sac avadmyofi Semoakvda mkurnal obis procesSi, ar iTvl eba damnaSaved da sasj el isagan Tavisufl deba. pl atonis ideal ur saxel mwifoSi Tavismkvl el ni unda dakrZal ul iqnan yovel gvari pativis gareSe. erTi sityviT, am saxel mwifoSi aravin ar unda darCes damsaxurebul i j il dosa da sasj el is gareSe.

aseTi saxel mwifos mmarTvel ia sakmaod Tamami da gabedul i pirovneba, romel ic pativsa scems azrovnebis Tavisufl ebas, saxel mwifosa da moqal aqeTa keTil dReobas, romel - sac Zal uZs Camoayal ibos qcevis saTanado kanonebi ise, rom amiTvis ar dasWirde aravis daxmareba. saxel mwifos mmarTvel ni, didi saxel mwifoebri vi Tanamdebobis pirni brZenni unda iyvnen, romel Tac auTvisibiaT mecnierebaTa is saxeebi da marTvis is meTodebi, rac saWiroa moqal aqeTa da saxel mwifos bednierebisaTvis. pl atonis ideal uri saxel mwifo aristokratul i mmarTvel obis formaa. am saxel mwifos saTaveSi saukeTsoni, anu aristokratni udganan. unda aRiniSnos, rom "aristokratTa" qveS pl atoni gul isxmobs ara STamomavl obiT aristokratT, aramed bunebrivi monacemebiT saukeTesoT da keTil Sobil T. eseni ki arian brZenni, ganaTl ebul ni, qvel ni da saerTod, yovel mxriv saTno da humanuri pirovnebani. aristokratul i mmarTvel obis dros savsebiT gamoricxul ia monebis monawil eoba mmarTvel obaSi.

"kanonebSi" iseve, rogorc "saxel mwifoSi" pl atoni

uaryofs demokratiul i, oligarqiul i da tiranul i mmarTvel obis formebs. aseT saxel mwifoebSi sufevs xan-grZl ivi Sinagani da gareSe omebi. am saxel mwifoebSi "ganu-wyvetl iv mimarTaven Zal adobas da TviTneburad axSoben qveSevrdomTa Tavisufal nebas. is xel isufi eba ki, romel - sac qveSevrdomebisa eSinia, arasodes ar dauSvebs imas, rom isini srul yofil ni, mdidarni, Zl ierni, mamacni da samxedro saqmis mcodneni gaxdnen".

amrigad, pl atoni am saxel mwifoebriv formebs uaryofs imitom, rom maTSi mmarTvel obis ZiriTadi principi aris ara Tavisufi eba da samarTI ianoba, aramed Zal adoba da usamarTI oba. pl atons ar miaCnia misaRebad arc demokra-tia, romel ic mas anarqiad warmoudgenia.

[T. kukava, "berZnul i fil osofiis istoria".  
Tb., 1988, gv. 405-407]

pl atoni uaryofs ol igarqias, demokratias da tirani-as imis gamo, rom isini Zal adobas emyarebian, gansakuTrebul ad gakritikebul ia e.w. demokratiul i mmarTvel obis forma, radgan, pl atonis azriT, masas ar Zal uZs daeufl os raime xel ovnebas, miT umetes, saxel mwifos marTvis xel ovnebas. kargia is mmarTvel i da mmarTvel oba, sadac xel mZRvanel oben samarTI ianobisa da mosaxl eobis sarge-bl obis principebiT. kargia is mmarTvel oba, sadac "xel mZRvanel oben codniTa da simarTI iT, cdil oben saxel mwifos gadarCenas da gardaqmnas uaresidan ukeTesisaken". amrigad, gaCnda saxel mwifos xel mZRvanel obis sami Ziri-Tadi principi: codna, samarTI ianoba da mosaxl eobis sarge-bl oba.

pl atoni kanonebze maRI a ayenebs gonier da humanur mmarTvel s. kanonebi uZravni da ucvl el ni arian. maT ar SeuZl iaT asaxon cval ebadobis mravaferovneba, ris asax-

vac Zal uZs mxol od karg mmarTvel s, romel ic sakuTari gonebis karnaxiT moqmedebs. kanonebi iReben Zal asa da mniSvnel obas mxol od aseTi mmarTvel is xel Si. pl atoni moiTxovs yvel a moqal aqisagan kanonebisadmi morCil ebas. yuradRebas iqcevs isic, rom pl atoni momxrea TviT gonieri mmarTvel obis gadarCevisa wel iwadSi erTxel mainc.

**[T. kukava, "berZnul i fil osofiis istoria".  
Tb., 1988, gv. 413-414]**

## Tavi 4

### **pl atoni \_ "saxel mwifo" \_ kvi nt esenci ebi**

pl atonis ZiriTadi Sexedul ebebi saxel mwifosa da pol itikis Sesaxeb gadmocemul ia naSromSi, romel ic "saxel mwifos" saxel wodebiTaa cnobil i. masSi Camoyal ibebuli moZRvreba efuZvneba im mmarTvel obiT formebiT ukmayofil ebas, romel ic missave Tanadroul epoqas moicavda. marTal ia pl atoni ukmayofil ebas pirdapiri formiT ar gamoTqvamda. magram misi dial ogebidan Sesabamisi daskvnis gamotana arc Tu ise Znel i amocana gaxl avT.

### **samarTI i anobi s Sesaxeb**

\*\*\*

"samarTI ianoba moiTxovs, TviTeul s misi kuTvnil i mivagoto".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 9]

\*\*\*

"... Tu vinme amtkicebs, samarTI ianoba isaa, rom TviTeul s misi kuTvnil i moagoo, xol o Tavis mtkicebaSi im azrsa debs, rom samarTI iani kaci mtrebs unda vnebdes, megobrebs ki rgebdes, \_ SeuZl ebel ia brZenkacad migvaCndes igi, radganac misi mtkiceba mcdaria; Cven xom gavarkviet, rom samarTI iani kaci aravis arasodes ara vnebs".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 16]

\*\*\*

"... Tu marTI a gul iT ginda gaarkvio, ra aris samarTI iano-  
ba, martooden kiTxvebis dasmasa da maTi pasuxebis gaqar-  
wyl ebas nuki sj erdebi, \_ mSvenivrad mogexseneba, rom kiTx-  
va ufro advil ia, vidre pasuxi, \_ aramed Sen TviTonve  
gaeci pasuxi da gviTxari, mainc ra migaCnia samarTI iano-  
bad. mxol od Seneburad nuki mikib-mokibav, TiTqos sa-  
marTI iani sxva ara aris ra, Tu ara kuTvnil i, marTebul i,  
sasargebl o, xel sayrel i, mizanSewonil i da sxva mistanani,  
aramed gul dasmiT awon-dawone yovel i sityva, yvel aferi  
naTI ad da garkveviT gviTxari; me is kaci ara var, rom  
amnair roSvas yuri vaTxovo".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 17]

\*\*\*

"... samarTI iani kaci bedniera, usamarTI o ki \_ ube-  
duri".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 44]

\*\*\*

"... roca yvel a wodeba \_ saqmosnebic, maSvel nicaa da  
mcvel ebic TavTavianT daniSnul ebas asrul eben da Tvi-  
Teul i maTgani mistvis Cveul saqmes akeTebis, swored amas  
vuwodebT samarTI ianobas, usamarTI obas rom upirispirdeba  
da samarTI ians xdis TviT saxel mwifosac".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 152]

\*\*\*

"... samarTI iani kacic, Tavisi samarTI ianobis wyal obiT,  
samarTI iani saxel mwifosagan gansxvavebul i ki ara piri-  
qiT, misi msgavsi iqneba".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 153]

\*\*\*

"... saxel mwifo maSinaa samarTI iani, roca bunebiT erT-maneTisagan gansxvavebul i misi samive wodeba Tav-Tavis saqmes asrul ebs. maSin rodesac saxel mwifos zomiereba, simamace da sibrZne samive am wodebis warmomadgenel Ta Sesabamis Tvisbebezea damokidebul i".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 153]

\*\*\*

"... saxel mwifo mxol od im SemTxvevaSi Tu iqneba samarTI iani, roca yvel a misi wodeba Tavis sakuTar saqmes asrul ebs".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 163]

\*\*\*

"... unda gvaxsovdes, rom yovel i Cvenganic mxol od maSin iqneba samarTI iani da Tavis sakuTar saqmes Seasrul ebs, roca Cveni sul is yvel a sawyisi Tavis daniS-nul ebas asrul ebs".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 163]

### **saxel isufli o kanonebisa da wyobis Sesaxeb**

\*\*\*

"yovel i xel isufli eba cdil obs mistvis xel sayrel i kanonebi hqondes: demokratia demokratiul kanonebs aqveynes, tirania \_ tiraniul s da ase Semdeg. kanonebis gamoqvynebis Semdeg ki acxadeben, rom qveSevrdomTaTvis samarTI iania is, rac xel sayrel ia xel isufal TaTvis, da vinc kanonebs arRvevs, isini sastikad sj ian mas, rogorc kanonierebisa da samarTI ianobis xel myofs."

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 20]

\*\*\*

"... sadac mosaxl eobis udidesi umravl esoba erTsul o-  
vania imis Taobaze, Tu ra aris misi da ra ar aris misi,  
al baT, swored iqaa yvel aze ukeTesi saxel mwifoerivi  
wyobil eba".

\*\*\*

" \_ demokratiul i wyobil eba ... maSin myardeba, roca  
Raribebi gamarj vebas aRweven da TavianTi mtrebidan zogs  
spoben, zogsac aZeveben, danarCenebTan erTad ki Tanabrad  
inawil eben samoqal aqo ufl ebebsac da saxel mwifo Tanam-  
debobebzac, rasac umeteswil ad kenWisyra wyvets".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 305]

\*\*\*

" \_ uwinares yovl isa, demokratiul i saxel mwifos  
moqal aqe Tavisufal i adamiania, radganac iq Tavisufl eba  
da gul axdil oba sufevs, ase rom, visac ra surs, imas  
akeTebz".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 305]

\*\*\*

" \_ demokratiul saxel mwifoSi sul ac ar aris auci-  
l ebel i monawil eobas iRebde mmarTvel obaSi, amis unaric  
rom gqondes, da arc imis aucil ebl obaa, rom sxvebs mor-  
Cil ebde, Tuki Sen TviTon ar gsurs; an omobde, roca  
sxvebi omoben, an mSvidobas icavde, roca sxvebi icaven,  
Tuki ar gsurs icavde mas; xol o Tu kanoni gikrZal avs  
mmarTvel obaSi monawil eobas an xal xis gansj a-gankiTxvas,  
erTic SegiZl ia da meorec, Tuki mogeprianeba. gana, erTi  
SexedviT, saamurad da RvTaebrivad ar geCveneba amnairi  
yofa?".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 306]

## saxel mwifo l i d e r i s S e s a x e b

\*\*\*

"Zal aufl eba did upiratesobas aniWebs adamians".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 28]

\*\*\*

"... yovel i xel isufl eba, Tu is marTI a xel isufl ebaa, sxvis sikeTes ki ar isaxavs miznad, aramed mxol od Tavisi qveSevrdomebisa Tu xel qveiTebisas, sul erTia, mTel sazogadoebas vigul isxmebT Tu kerZo pirebs. nuTu marTI a ggonia, rom saxel mwifos mmarTvel ni, me vgul isxmob namdvil mmarTvel ebs, nebayofl obiT marTaven mas?"

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 30]

\*\*\*

"saxel mwifo rom mxol od Rirseul i adamianebisagan Sedgebodes, yvel a erTmaneTs Seecil eboda imis ufl ebas, rom uari eTqvaT mmarTvel obaze, iseve, rogorc amJamad erTmaneTs ecil ebian Zal aufl ebas".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 33]

\*\*\*

"... WeSmariti mmarTvel i imisTvis ki ar iRwvis, rac misTvis xel sayrel ia, aramed imisTvis, rac sasargebl oa misi qveSevrdomisTvis".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 33]

\*\*\*

"... mesaWe, anu igive Tavkaci, imas ki ar ganixil avs anda awesebs, rac xel sayrel ia mesaWisaTvis, aramed imas, rac xel sayrel ia zRvaosnisaTvis, vis Tavkacadac is gvevl ineba".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 34]

\*\*\*

“xel isufal i, Tu is marTI ac namdvil i xel isufal ia, Secdomebs ki ar uSvebs, aramed Seucdoml ad adgens, ra aris misTvis yvel aze umj obesi, da es dadgenil eba aucil ebl ad unda Seasrul os yvel am, visac misi qveSevrdomi hqvia”.

[pl atoni, “saxel mwifo”. Tb., 2003, gv. 23]

\*\*\*

“... Tu mmarTvel Ta Soris yvel as aRemateba erTi, amas samefo Zal aufl eba hqvia, xol o Tu Zal aufl ebas mraval i mmarTvel i inawil ebs, es iqneba aristokratia”.

[pl atoni, “saxel mwifo”. Tb., 2003, gv. 169]

\*\*\*

“ \_ ai, ratomaa, rom Tumca winaswar vgrZnobdiT da vufRTxodiT kidec amas, \_ WeSmaritebis karnaxiT izul ebul ni vamtkicebdiT, rom verc saxel mwifo da verc kerZo piri verasodes miaRwevs srul yofil ebas, Tuki aucil ebl oba ar aiZul ebs fil osofosTa am mcirericxovan j gufs, romel Tac ukeTurebad Tu ara umaqnisebad mainc Tvl ian, Tavs idos saxel mwifoze zrunva, TviT saxel mwifos ki mouwevs daemorCil os maT mmarTvel obas; an Tu RvTaebrivi zeSTagoneba fil osofiis mimarT gul mxurval e siyvarul s ar Caunergavs dRevandel mefebs da mbrZanebl ebs, an maT memkvidreebs”.

[pl atoni, “saxel mwifo”. Tb., 2003, gv. 234]

\*\*\*

“ \_ hoda, me Tu mkTxav, Cemo megobaro, swored amnairi mmarTvel obidan, Wabukurad Tavgasul i da momxibl avi mmarTvel obidan iRebs dasabams tirania”.

[pl atoni, “saxel mwifo”. Tb., 2003, gv. 314]

## **mWevr met yvel ebi s Sesaxeb**

\*\*\*

" \_ roca ugvani sityviT uaryofiTad warmogviCenen RmerTebS Tu gmirebs, es igivea, rom mxatvarma Tavisi naxati verafriT ver miangvanos imas, risi daxatvac surda".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 75]

## **gonebi sa da WeSmar i t ebi s Sesaxeb**

\*\*\*

"... codnis moyvare kaci bunebrivad miel tvis WeSmarit arss da saganTa simravl eze ki ar Cerdeba, romel Ta arsebobac mxol od moCveneBITia, aramed ganuxrel ad miivevs win da misi vneba manamdis ar dacxreba, sanam ar Caswvdeba TviT saganTa arss Tavisi sul is im nawil iT, roml is daniSnul ebac swored am arsis wvdomaa da romel ic amave arss enaTesaveba, xol o misi meSveobiT rom mieaxl eba da Seerwymis kidec WeSmarit arss, raTa Svas goneba da WeSmariteba".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 222]

\*\*\*

"sakmarisia kaci brbos el aqucebodes, da pativi ar moakl deba"

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 306]

\*\*\*

"saxel mwifo ise sastikad epyroba brZenkaCT, rom uaresi aRar iqneba".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 219]

\*\*\*

"... adamianis sul Si imdeni da imnairive sawyisia, ramdeni wodebaaca saxel mwifoSi".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 163]

\*\*\*

"... ranairad da riTac brZenia saxel mwifo, imnairad da imiTve unda iyos brZeni adamianic".

[pl atoni, "saxel mwifo". Tb., 2003, gv. 163]

## Tavi 5

### demokrite saxel mwi fosa da pol i t i k i s Sesaxeb

Strixebi  
demokrites  
biografiidan

“demokrites biografia l egendebiT aris mocul i, amitom bevr cnobas demokrites Sesaxeb ar daej ereba. magram am cnobebidan WeSmaritebis amokiTxvac aris SesaZl ebel i. zustad araa dadgenil i demokrites dabadebis TariRi, apol odoris mixedviT, is daibada 460 wel s Cvens erande, Trazil es mixedviT, 470 wel s. s. l uria, romel - mac special uri gamokvel eva dawera demokrites biografiis Sesaxeb, fiqrobs, rom demokrite 475-470 ww. unda iyos dabadebul i, yovel SemTxvevaSi, ara ugvianes 460 wl isa. demokrites samSobl o abdera iyo, sadac cxovrobdada moRvaweobda meore didi fil osofosi proTagora. demokrites mamad zogi damasipes asaxel ebs, zogi hegesistrates, zogi ki aTenokrites. magram yvel a erTxmad aRiarebs imas, rom demokrites mama uaRresad mdidari kaci yofil a, imdenad mdidari, rom mas swvevia mefe qserqse, romel ic mas didi stumarTmoyvareobiT miuRia. madl obis niSnad mefe qserqses mistvis magebi da qal devel ebi dautovebia, romel Tagan Seuswavl ia demokrites astrol ogia da Teol ogia. amis Semdeg demokrite l evkipesTan swavl obda, romel ic atomiznis mamamTavradiTvl eba. mamis gardacval ebs Semdeg sam Zmas \_ demokrites, herodotes da damases didi qoneba darCeniaT, rac demokrites daunaw-

il ebia. gadmocemis mixedviT, mas mciredi nawil i auRia, imdeni, ramdenic mogzaurobisTvis eyofoda, danarCeni ki ZmebisTvis dauTmia. demokrite bevrs mogzaurobda, radgan mogzauroba maSin ganaTI ebisa da codnis SeZenis aucil ebel i piroba iyo. mas umogzauria indoeTSi, babil onSi, eTiopiaSi da sxv. mogzaurobis dros mas mxol od codnis SeZenis survil i amoZravebda, amitom gansakuTrebiT egvipte izidavda, sadac yvoda mecniereba da kul tura da sadac geometriam gansakuTrebiT maRal garviTarebas miaRwia. aqedan es mecniereba SemdegSi saberZneTSi iqna Setanil i. indoeTSi demokrite Sexvda gimnosofistebs, egvipteSi \_ qurumba da astrol ogebs, babil onSi \_ magebs. igi yofil a aTenSic. mogzaurobis dros man mTel i qoneba gafi anga. abderel Ta kanonmdebl obis Tanaxmad ki, vinc winaparTa mier datovebul qonebas gafi angavda, sasjel s ver ascdeboda. pirvel yovl isa, veRar eRirseboda samSobl oSi dakrZal vas. demokritec ver gadaurCeboda sasjel s, Tavdacvis mizniT Tanamemamul eebisTvis rom ar waekitxa Tavisi genial uri qmnil eba "didi diakosmosi", ris Semdeg mas sasjel i mouxsnes da sicocxl eSive Zegl ebi auges. kacobriobis istoriaSi \_ es mecnierul i naSromisaTvis gaRebul i pirvel i jil do iyo. erT-erTi cnobis mixedviT, mecnierebiT da bunebaze dakvirvebiT gatacebul i demokrite aTenel ebma SeSl il ad CaTval es, ris gamo eqimi hipokrate miuCines. hipokratem ki demokrite ara marto janmTel ad scno, aramed brZnadac, daumegobrda da uZRvna mas wigni "SeSl il obis Sesaxeb", ris sapsuxod demokritem mas miuZRvna wigni "adamianis bunebis Sesaxeb".

Tanamemamul eni demokrites uwodebdnen "brZensa" da "mocinare" fil osofoss, radgan mudam dasconoda adami-anebis zrunvas wvriil manebze. gadmocemaSi demokrite daxasiaTebul ia, rogorc uaRresad Sromismoyvare, Tavmdabal i, brZeni, gul mowyal e da sxv. varskvl avebze dakvirvebiT igi

advil ad sazRvravda aminds, mousavl ianobas da sxv. didi patriotic yofil a, bevri ram gaukeTebia Tavisi qal aqis keTil dReobisaTvis. bevrjer uwinaswarmetyvel ebia Tanamoqal aqeebisaTvis mousavl ianoba, cudi amindi, riTac uxsnia isini SimSil sagan, erTxel Savi Wirisaganac ki gadaurCenia. zogierTi cnobis mixedviT, demokrite arafraad agdebdada simdidres da TiTqos man Tavisi mamul ebi Tanamoqal aqeesac ki dauriga. magram rom daemtkicebina maTTvis, Tu raoden advil i iyo mistvis gamdidreba da rom es mis mizans ar Seadgenda, erTxel zeTisxil is kargi mosavl is dros auarebel i zeTisxil i Seisyida, radgan momaval wel s cud mosaval s winaswarmetyvel ebda. marTI ac, Sesyidul ma zeTisxil ma mas didi mogeba misca, ris Semdegac demokritem mogeba ukan daubruna zaral is gamo damwuxrebul vaWrebs.

zogierTi cnobit, man TviTon daibrmava Tavi, raTa mxevel obas azrovnebisTvis ar SeeSal a xel i. zogi cnobis mixedviT ki, demokritem xel ovnurad gaixangrZI iva sicocxle, radgan sikvdil i uwevda Tesmoforiis dResaswaul ebSi da maxl obl ebma Txoves, rom am dReebSi ar momkvdariyo, raTa wesierad CaetarebiaT dResaswaul i. demokritem axl ad gamomcxvari puris oxSivariT, zogierTi cnobit ki Tafl is ynosvit sam dRes kidev icocxla. igi Rmad moxucebul i gardaicval a. amaSi yvel a cnoba emTxveva erTmaneTs. azrTa sxvadasxvaobaa imis Sesaxeb, oTxmocdaaTi, asi, Tu asrva wl isa gardaicval a is.

demokrite uaRresad produqtiul i mweral i yofil a. mas hqonia samocamde Sroma, romel ic mecnierebis TiTqmis yvel a dargs exeboda. samwuxarod am Sromebidan Cvenamde mxol od patar-patara fragmentebma moaRwia. demokrite mraval mxrivi swavl ul i yofil a, moRvaweobda ara marto fil osofiaSi, aramed codnis mraval sxva dargSi. original uri Sexedul ebebi hqonia fizikaSi, pedagogikaSi, eTika-

Si, pol itikaSi, kosmol ogiaSi, fiziol ogiaSi, geometriaSi, maTematikaSi, bunebismetyvel ebaSi da sxv”.

[T. kukava, “berZnul i fil osofiis istoria”. w. I. Tb., 1988, gv. 119-122]

|  |
|--|
| demokrites<br>pol itikuri<br>Sexedul ebebi |
|--|

“*demokrite* ki Tvl is, rom pol itika ubral od xel ovneba ki ar aris, aramed xel ovnebaTa Soris umaRI esia, radgan brZnul i pol itika saxel mwifos, sazogadoebis da pirovnebis ayvavebis wanamZRvaria, cudi pol itika ki – ngrevisa da daqveiTebis.

demokrites social-pol itikuri Sexedul ebebis gacnobas gvTavazobs profesori Tamar kukava wignSi “berZnul i fil osofiis istoria”, sadac igi acxadebs rom “demokrite il aSqrebda pirovnebis SemzRudavi mmarTvel obis yvel a formis winaaRmdeg da pirovnebis Tavisufl ebis momxre iyo. demokrite hgmobda despotizmis yovel gvar gamovl enas: “demokratiaSi siRaribe imdenadve unda vamj obinoT mefeebis xel Si egreTwodebul keTil dReobas, rogorc Tavisufl eba monobas” – werda demokrite.

demokrite winaaRmdegi iyo pol itikuri moRvaweebis qebis, radgan, misi azriT, mmarTvel ni swored imitom arian amorCeul ni, rom kargad warmarTon saxel mwifos saqmeebi da ara cudad. iseve, rogorc qebis Rirsi araa is, vinc sxvisgan mibarebul i qoneba daabruna, radgan man mxol od moval eoba Seasrul a. is mmarTvel i ki, romel ic kargad ar asrul ebs nakisr val debul ebas, gakicxvis Rirsia. is mmarTvel ni, romel nic aRar udganan saxel mwifos saTaveSi, ar unda idevnebodnen, im SemTxvevaSic ki, Tu isini Tavisufl mmarTvel obis periodSi sastikad sj idnen damnaSaveT. saxel mwifo kanonmdebl oba val debul ia icavdes pol itikur moRvaweebs revanSisagan.

demokrites azriT, saxel mwifos mmarTvel ni yvel aze

Rirseul i moqal aqeebi unda iyvnen da kategoriul ad winaaRm-degi iyo saxel mwifos saTaveSi uRirsi moqal aqeebis moxvedrisa, radgan "cudi moqal aqeni, rac ufro nakl eb arian Rirsni im sapatio adgil ebisa, romel sac isini ikaveben, imdenad ufro daudevorni xdebian da aRivsebian sisul el - iTa da TavxedobiT." saerTod, demokrites azriT, kargad mowyobil saxel mwifoSi gonierni mmarTvel oben, ugnurni ki morCil eben. demokrites saxel mwifos marTvis xel ovneba yvel aze ufro rTul xel ovnebad miaCnda, roml is Seswavl a did drosa da energias moiTxovs, samagierod mas moqal aqeTaTvis udidesi sargebl oba moaqvs.

demokrites azriT, saxel mwifo kanonmdebl oba adamianTa keTil dReobas unda emsaxurebodes. marTal ia, kanonebi zRudaven adamianTa Tavisufl ebas, magram uaresi iqneboda, rom ar SeezRudaT. maSin adamianebi erTmaneTs gacil ebit met zians miayenebdnen, gansakuTrebit Suris gamo. amitom moqal aqenic val debul ni arian daemorCil on mas.

demokrite ar iyo qonebrivi uTanasworobis winaaRm-degi. maSasadame, is ar moiTxovda qonebis gadanawil ebas, oRond mdidrebs ufro metad humanur damokidebul ebas urCevda Raribebis mimarT, daxmarebas, zrunvas maTs keTil - dReobaze da sxv. misi azriT, mxol od aseT saxel mwifoSi SeiZl eba iyos erToba, urTierTTanagrZnoba da saerTod, yovel gvare sikeTe.

igi ar yofil a arc monaTmfl obel uri sistemis winaaRm-degi, igi mxars uWerda gonivrul demokratiul monaTmfl obel obas. misi azriT, monaTmfl obel ma ise unda gamoiyenos msaxurni, rogorc Tavisi sxel is nawil ebio.

aanal izebda ra demokrites politikur Sexedul ebebs, akad. a.i. makovel ski aRniSnavda, rom demokrites saxel mwifo esmoda, rogorc erTeul i individebis, anu rogorc atomebis meqanikuri jami. individis bedniereba saxel mwifosTan kavSirSia, amitom pirovneba saxel mwifos interesebs unda icavdes.

demokrites Tval sazrisi am SemTxvevaSi gagebul i unda iqnas, rogorc piradi da saxel mwifoebriვი interesebis Serwymis moTxovna. saxel mwifoebriვი gasaWiri piradul ze ufro Znel ia, fiqrobda demokrite, radgan saerTo gaWirvebis dros daxmarebis imedic ki ar rCeba da piriqiT, kargad mowyobil saxel mwifoSi yvel a piroba arsebobs pirovnebis keTil dReobisa da bednierebisaTvis. magram demokrite arasodes ar moiTxovda pirovnebisagan, rom mas piradi interesebi Seewira saxel mwifoebriვი da sazogadoebriვი interesebisaTvis. kargad mowyobil saxel mwifoSi, fiqrobda demokrite, arsebobs, agreTve, azrTa maqsimal uri erTianoba da Tanxmoba, rac Tavis mxriv, saxel mwifoebriვი saqmeebis warmatebiT warmarTvis pirobaa: "mxol od moqal aqeTa azrTa erTianobiT SeiZl eba didi saqmeebis warmoeba, rogoricaa saxel mwifoebriვი omebi. sxvagvarad ki ara" – werda demokrite. Tumca isic ki unda iTqvas, rom demokrite, saerTod, omebis winaaRmdegi iyo, radgan maT didi ziani mohqondaT saxel mwifosa da moqal aqeTaTvis.

yuradRebas iqcevs demokrites moTxovna imis Sesaxeb, rom pirovnebac da saxel mwifoc unda moqmedebdnen bunebis Sesabamisad. TviT kanonebic ki bunebis Sesabamisad unda iqnan SemuSavebul i. cxovel ebi, demokrites dakvirvebiT, sj ian damnaSaveT, maSasadame, saWiroa, rom sazogadoebac sj ides maT. mxol od araswori Sexedul ebis, an adgil obrivi wmindanebis, an ficis da ara saRi azrovnebis safuZvel ze SeiZl eba aikrZal os damnaSaveTa dasj a. da piriqiT, demokrite moiTxovs yovel gvარი daxmarebis aRmoCenas imaTTvis, roml ebic usamarTI od idevnebodnen da yvel aze metad imaT pativiscemas, roml ebic yvel aze metad iyvnen amis Rirsi."

[T. kukava, "berZnul i fil osofiis istoria". w. I, Tb., 1988, gv. 164-166]

cnobil ia demokrites politikuri msopl mxedvel oba,

mTel i rigi politikur-eTikuri sentenciebi gvacnoben abderel brZens, rogorc demokratiis erTgul megobars, romel ic maRal i da pozitiuri Sexedul ebisaa pol itikaze. "pol itika aris didi xel ovneba \_ gvaswavl is demokrite \_ pol itikis Seswavl a da pol itikuri muSaoba yovel Tvis pativiscemis Rirsia, igi adamianis cxovrebas sidiadesa da brwyinval ebas aniWebs". demokrite momxrea wesrigisa da Zl ieri saxel mwifosi. kanonio, \_ gvaswavl is igi, \_ aravis xel s ar uSl is icxovros Tavis Sexedul ebis mixedviT. mowyobil i da wesrigze aSenebul i saxl mwifo, misi azriT, yovel ive ganviTarebis ucil obel i Tavdebia. demokrite ar mal avs arc Tavis pol itikur simpaTias. "demokratia-Si arsebul i siRaribe sj obia monarqiaSi viTomc-da gabatonebul simdidres, rogorc Tavisufl eba sj obia monobas". misi pol itikuri msofl mxedvel oba rig gamonaTqvamebSi naTel i suraTia im faqtisa, rom igi atarebs kosmopol itizmis iers: "brZeni adamianisTvis yvel a qveynis kari Riaa; uangaro sul is samSobl o aris mTel i qveyana". es azri ki mianiSnebs imaze, rom saerTod demokratizmma da kosmopol itizmma am epoqaSi moqal aqeobrivi ufl eba moixveWa.

## Tavi 6

### pol itikuri da patriotul i azris kvint esencia

"... visac surs kargad moawyos saxel mwifo, man unda gaaTavisufl os moqal aqeni yovel dRiurad saarsebo saSual ebebze zrunvisagan".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 52**

*"... demagogebi Cndebian iq, sadac kanons ara aqvs Zal a".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. I, Tb., 1995, gv. 108*

"... myaria is saxel mwifo, romel ic icavs Tanasworobas RirsebaSi da TiToeul s aZl evs imas, rac mas ekuTvnis".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 27**

"... Tu xel mZRvanel i pirebi ar daiwyeben gamdidrebas Tavis Tanamdebobis saSual ebiT, maSin Raribni ar moin-domeben did Tanamdebobebs, radgan amaSi maT mogeba ar eqnebaT da Tavis saqmeebs mohkideben xel s".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 31**

*"ukiduresi demokratia aris tirania".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 39*

"xel mZRvanel i piri qveSevrdomebs Tavs ise unda aCvenedes, rom is ojaxis ufrosia, mefe da ara tirani, aris meurve da ara momxveWi. unda eweodes zomier cxovrebas

da ara gadaWarbebul s. cnobil pirebTan kargi urTierTo-  
ba unda hqondes; xal xs ki unda xel mZRvanel obdes. aqedan  
gamomdinareobs, rom misi mmarTvel oba aucil ebl ad mSve-  
nieri da misabaZi iqneba, radgan is marTavs ara sul mdabal  
moqal aqeebs, aramed saukeTesoT. misi mmarTvel oba ar iqne-  
ba SiSisa da siZul vil is gamomwvevi da xangrZl ivic iqne-  
ba".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 46**

"patara saxel mwifoebSi xel mZRvanel i Tanamdebobis  
nakl ebi raodenobaa saWiro".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 61**

*"Zal a aqvT axal gazrdebs, goniereba ki moxucebs, amitom  
maT amis Sesabamisad unda gainawil on Zal aufl eba, rac  
iqneba samarTI iani da sasargebl o".*

*aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 80*

"kargi saxel mwifo warmoqmnil ia ara SemTxveviT, aramed  
codnisa da swori arCevanis safuZvel ze".

**aristotel e, "pol itika". naw. II, Tb., 1996, gv. 88**

"vardTa da nexvTa vinaTgan mze sworad moefinebis,  
didTa da wvriL Ta wyal oba Semca nu mogewyinebis,  
uxvi axsnil sa daabams, igi TviT ebis, vin ebis,  
uxvad gascemdi, zRvaTaca Sedis da gaedinebis".

**SoTa rustavel i, "vefxistyaosani". Tb., 1986, gv. 33**

"amrigad, unda gvaxsovdes, rom arsebobs brZol is ori  
saxe: erTia brZol a kanonebis, xol o meore – Zal is meSve-  
obiT. pirvel i niSneul ia adami anebisaTvis, meore ki mxece-  
bisaTvis, magram raki pirvel i xSirad arasakmarisia, Za-  
l auneburad unda mivmarToT xol me meores. amitom mTavri-

saTvis aucil ebel ia, rom Tanabari warmatebiT ibrZodes rogorc mxeci da rogorc kaci”.

**n. makiavel i, “mTavari”. Tb., 1984, gv. 182**

“sisastike erTbaSi da erTj eradi unda iyos, raTa xal xs gons mosvl is saSual eba ar mieces da, amrigad, nakl eb mtkivneul ad ganicados igi, qvel moqmedeba ki nel -nel a, wveT-wveTobiT unda gamoavl ino, raTa xal xma ukeT SesZ- l os misi Setkboba”.

**n. makiavel i, “mTavari”. Tb., 1984, gv. 138-139**

“... mTavari yovel nairad unda cdil obdes xal xis mego- brobis moxveWas, arada, gansacdel is Jams, cudad wauva saqme”.

**n. makiavel i, “mTavari”. Tb., 1984, gv. 143**

“... mTavars, romel sac Zal aufl ebis SenarCuneba surs, uTuod unda hqondes imis unari, rom drodadro iviwyeb- des sikeTes da, garemoebisda mixedviT, iyenebdes an ar iyenebdes am unars”.

**n. makiavel i, “mTavari”. Tb., 1984, gv. 171**

“... xel mwifesTan myofs xuTni saqmeni unda sWirdes:

erTi: sityva tkbil i unda hqondes;

meore: gamwyrul i daawynaros, ara Tu mxiarul i

gaawyros;

u mesame: piridam avi sityva ar waicTunos;

u მეოთხე: სიჭყვის თქმის ჟამი იცოდეს ;

mexuTe: rac Tqvas, yovel s kacs moawonos”.

**sul xan-saba orbel iani, “qarTul i proza”. t.V,**

**Tb. 1983, gv. 10-11**

*"mraval ni mwyemsni umj obes arian ugvanta mefeTa".*  
*sul xan-saba orbel iani, "qarTul i proza", t. V.*  
*Tb., 1983, gv. 34*

"mefeTagan samni uyvaran RmerTsa: simSvide, simdabl e da sul grZel oba.

mefeTagan sams daimadl ebs ufal i: samarTal sa uqrTamosa, mowyal ebase da didsa siyvarul sa yovel Tasa.

mefeTagan sams inatrian qveyanani: zavTsa marTebul sa, simarTI esa uzakvel sa da siuxvesa moukl ebel sa.

mefeTagan sams iqeneben didebul ni: sitkbosa wesiersa, nadimsa amosa da WirSi-Wirsa da I xinSi-I xinsa.

mefeTagan sams ndomoben mxedarni: cxensa mal sa, saWurvel sa magarsa da danaxvasa namsaxurisasa."

**sul xan-saba orbel iani, "qarTul i proza". t.V,**  
**Tb., 1983, gv. 48**

*"Rir-seba SeiZI eba arsebobdes mxol od im saxel mwi foebSi,*  
*sadac myari wyobaa da mtkice kanonebi a".*

*Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni".*  
*Tb., 1994, gv. 55*

"... xrwna iSviaTad iwyeba xal xidan ...

samSobl os siyvarul s zneTa sikeTisaken miyavarT, xol o am ukanasknel s – samSobl os siyvarul isaken".

**Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni". Tb., 1994, gv. 70**

"xal xi ar unda marToT ukiduresi zomebiT. momWirneobiT unda gamoiyenoT is saSual ebebi, roml ebic bunebam mogvca mis gasaZRol ad. unda Seiswavl oT yovel i TavaSvebul obis mizezi da dainaxavT, rom igi momdinareobs dausj el danaSaul Tagan da ara sasj el Ta zomierebisagan".

**Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni". Tb., 1994, gv. 114**

*"roca moqal aqeTa udanaSaul oba dazRveul i ar aris,  
aRarc Tavisufl ebaa dazRveul i".*

*Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni".*

*Tb., 1994, gv. 213-214*

"xel mZRvanel obis umaRI esi xel ovneba mdgomareobs imis kargad codnaSi, Tu rogori unda iyos Zal aufl ebis zoma, romel ic sxvadasxva viTarebaSi unda gamoviyenoT – didi Tu mcire..."

*Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni".*

*Tb., 1994, gv. 233-234*

*"xel mwifis zneobas iseTive wvl il i Seaqvs Tavisufl ebaSi, rogorc kanonebs; xel mwifes, iseve rogorc kanonebs, SeuZI ia adamianebe cxovel ebad aqcios, cxovel ebi ki adamianebe; Tu mas uyvars Tavisufal i sul ebi, eyol eba qveSevrdomebi; Tu mdabal i sul is adamianebe moswons, monebi eyol eba. Tu surs mmarTvel obis did xel ovnebas daeufl os, unda daiaxl ovos patiosneba da qvel oba, unda mouwodos qveSevrdomT piradi Rirsebebisaken. xandaxan SeuZI ia niWier adamianebezec SeaCeros Tavisi mzera. ar unda eSinodes Tavisi metoqeebis - egreTwodebul i Rirseul i adamianebe; igi maTi Tanasworia, Tuki Seiyvarebs maT. man gul i unda dai pyros, goneba ki ar daatyveos ... xal xi ise mcire yuradRebas iTxovs, rom samarTI iani i qneba, Tu igi mas am yuradRebas mi apyrebs".*

*Sarl I ui monteskie, "kanonTa goni".*

*Tb., 1994, gv. 234-235*

"... rodesac xel mwifes surs Caataros didi cvl il ebebi Tavisi xal xSi, man kanonebiT unda Secval os is, rac kanonebiTvea dadgenil i, xol o Cveul ebebiT dadgenil i iseve Cveul ebebiT unda Seicval os. imis Secval a kanonebiT, rac

Cveul ebebiT unda Seicval os, Zal ze cudi pol itika gax-  
l avT".

**Sarl I ui monteskie. kanonTa goni. Tb., 1994, gv.330**

"SesaZI oa mkiTxon: xel mwife an kanonmdebel i xom ar  
xar, pol itikaze rom wer? cxadia, ara, - mivugeb pasuxad, -  
da swored amitomac vwer pol itikaze; xel mwife an kanon-  
mdebel i rom viyo, dros ar davkargavdi imaze saubriT, ra  
unda mekeTebina; me mas usityvod Sevasrul ebdi an dumil s  
vamj obinebdi".

**Jan Jak ruso, "sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba".  
Tb., 1997, gv. 10**

*"xal xi, romel ic Tavisufl ebas imave ufl ebi T i brunebs,  
roml i Tac igi mas Camoer Tva, yovel nairad ufl ebamosi-  
l ia igi daibrunos".*

*Jan Jak ruso, "sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba".  
Tb., 1997, gv. 11*

"... nebis sayovel Tao xasiaTs uzrunvel yofs ara xmaTa  
raodenoba, aramed ufro maTi gamaerTianebel i saerTo in-  
teresi".

**Jan Jak ruso, "sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba".  
Tb., 1997, gv. 35**

"Tu termin "demokratias" am sityvis zusti mniSvel o-  
biT gavigeBT, maSin WeSmariti demokratia arasodes arse-  
bul a da arc iarsebebs. bunebrivi rigis sawinaaRmdegoa,  
rom xal xis umravl esoba iyos mmarTvel i, umciresoba ki  
- marTul ni. SeuZI ebel ia imis warmodgena, rom xal xi  
dausrul ebl ad ikribebodes sazogadoebriv saqmeTa aR-  
sasrul ebl ad".

**Jan Jak ruso, "sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba".  
Tb., 1997, gv. 67**

*“rogorc sazogadoebis samsaxuri moqal aqeTa Ziri-Tadi saqmianoba aRar iqneba da piradad samsaxurs, sakuTari qisiT samsaxurs amj obineben, saxel mwifo daRupvis zRurbl ze aRmoCndeba. Tu sabrZol vel ad wasvl a iqneba saWiro, aseTi pirovnebebi j ars daiqiraveben, TviTon ki Sin darCebian; Tu sabWoSi wasvl a iqneba saWiro, isini deputatebs daniSnaven, TviTon ki sakuTar saxl s ar moSordebian. dabol os, sizarmacisa da ful is wyal obiT, maT eyol ebaT jariskacebi raTa sakuTari samSobl o daimonon, da warmomadgenl ebi, raTa igi gayidon.*

*komerciasa da xel osnobasTan dakavSirebul i fus-fusi, mogebisadmi xarbi interesi, moyirWebul i cxovrebiT gamowveul i moduneba da komfortis siyvarul i - ai is, rac pirovnebas saqveyno samsaxurs ful ze acvl evinebs”.*

*Jan Jak ruso, “sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba”.*

*Tb., 1997, gv. 92-93*

“rogorc ki vinme saqveyno saqmeebis Sesaxeb ityvis: “ra Cemi saqmeao?” – is saxel mwifo daRupul ad unda CaiTval os”.

**Jan Jak ruso, “sazogadoebrivi xel Sekrul eba”.**

**Tb., 1997, gv. 93**

“is, visac sikeTis motana surs, ki ar unda il anZRebodes da sxvaTa nakl s azviadebdes, aramed marad sikeTes emsaxurebodes. saqme ngreva ki ar aris, aramed Seqmna imisa, rac kacobriobas axarebs”.

**goeTes saubrebi ekermanTan. baTumi, 1988, gv. 67**

“me mZags yovel gvare sisxl iani gadatrial eba, romel ic imdensave kargs angrevs, ramdensac qmnis... me mZags isinic, vinc Zal momreobiT aRizvrian, da isinic, vinc amis mizezs iZl evian”.

**goeTes saubrebi ekermanTan. baTumi, 1988, gv. 81**

"yovel gvari Zal adoba, yovel i naxtomi Cems sul s aRaS-foTebS, radgan is bunebas ewinaaRmdegeba".

**goeTes saubrebi ekermanTan. baTumi, 1988, gv. 81**

"mTavrobas araviTari ufl ebani ara aqvs; es aris del - egacia, arCeul i ramdenime pirovnebis mier TavianTi usa-frTxoebis dasacavad. amitomac mTavrobas manam upyria xel isufl eba, sanam am pirovnebebTan rigdeba, da sarge-bl obis montania imdenad, ramdenadac maTi keTil dReobi-saTvis iRwvis".

**persi biSi Sel i, "ufl ebaTa dekl aracia". eseebi.  
Tb., 1989, gv. 85**

"yvel am Tanabrad unda isargebl os mTavrobis Semweo-bit miRebul i mogebidan da gainawil os mis mier dakisrebul i tvirTi".

**persi biSi Sel i, "ufl ebaTa dekl aracia". eseebi.  
Tb., 1989, gv. 86**

"kanonmdebl obis Cinebul i struqtura, aRmasrul ebel i organos swori kontrol i, samarTI is brZnul i mowyoba aris is yovel ive, rac adamianur bednierebas sWirdeba".

**tomas karl ail i. drois niSnebi. eseebi.  
Tb., 1989, gv. 141**

*"SeiZl eba xal xis nawil i gaabriyvo samudamod; SeiZ-  
l eba gaabriyvo mTel i xal xi garkveul i xniT, magram  
SeuZl ebel ia mTel i xal xis gabriyveba samudamod".*

*abraam l inkol ni, "sibrZnis simfonia".  
Tb., 1989, gv. 345*

“... vai im xal xs, romel sac saerTo ZarRvi gauwyda. vai im qveyanas, saca saerTo sisxl i gaSra, saca yvel aSi TiTo ar aris da TiToSi-yvel a, saca TviToeul i yvel asaTvis ar hfigrobs da yvel a TviToeul isaTvis, saca “me” xSiria, da “Cven” – iSviaTi!”

**i. WavWavaZe. rCeul i nawarmoebebi xuT tomad. t. IV, Tb., 1987, gv. 174**

“qarTvel ma, Tavisis sarwmunoebisaTvis j varcmul ma, icis pativi sxvis sarwmunoebisac. amitomac Cvens istoriaSi ar aris magal iTi, rom qarTvel s survebiyos odesme sxvisa sarwmunoebis daCagvra da devna; somexni, ebrael ni, TviT mahmadiannica, Cvens Soris mcxovrebn, amaSi Cven verafers ver wagvayvedreben. sxva qveyanaSi sarwmunoebisaTvis devnil ni da Cagrul ni – aq CvenSi hpoul obdnen mSvidobis – myofel s savanesa da sinidisis Tavisufi ebasa”.

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t. IV, gv. 13**

“Cven ers ori aTasi wel iwadi ucxovria istoriul is cxovrebiT. bevri magari da bevrice uvargisi qva Caudgia im saZirkvel Si, romel zedac dRes Cveni awmyoa damyarebuli mermisis amosagebad. rom marTI a esea, amisi sabuTi Tval win gvaqvs. ra Segvinaxavda am erT muWa xal xs am oriatas wel iwads amodena dauZinebel mtrebs Soris. raT da rogor SegvarCenda xarboba ucxo TemTa am mSvenivrad Semkul s wal kotsa, romel sac saqarTvel os eZaxian, Tu Cvens warsul s Cvenis cxovrebis saZirkvel Si magari qva ar Caedga. es erTis mxriT, meores mxriT – ra CamogvarCenda ase uwyal od sxva qveynebsa an ganaTI ebasa, an gamdidrebaSi, Tu amistan qveynis patronTa cxovrebis saZirkvel Si magari qvastan erTad uvargisi da fxvnil i qvac ar Caeyol ebina Cvens istorias”.

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t. IV, gv. 202**

“sxvazed mindoba – qviSazed aSenebul i Senoba yofil a da iqneba kidec am qveynerobaSi. wamouvl is niaRvari “SemTx-vevisa” da im imeds, im mindobas aRgvis xol me dedamiwis zurgidam da imedevneul s, sxvazed dandobil s, erTs ud-aburs tinzed gariyavs, Sens Tavs Sene mouareo. es kanoni – istoriul i kanonia, iqneba zogierTisaTvis friad ar-mosawoni, magram aucil ebel i ki. bevruc rom vivagl axoT, bevruc rom vataroT ubeSi sxvazed damyarebul i imedi, mainc bol os “JamTa svl a” am kanonzed dagvayenebs da dro warsul i CvenTvis samudamod dakargul i dro iqneba. Cven vambobT, rom xal xi TviTmoqmedebiT aris mxol od ZI ieri da nayofieri sul iT, Tu xorciT. rac mal e davij erebT am WeSmaritebas, rac mal e SeviTvisebT, miT mal e gamovixsniT Tavs im gaWirvebidam, romel Siac ase sasowarkveTil ebiT dRes vimyofebiT. gveyo, rac Cvenma warsul ma Cven magal iTebi gviCvena. nuTu aqamomde gul i ver davaj ereT, rom Cvens gare Cveni xsna sizmaria. maS Tu asea, swavl isa da ganaTI ebis saxsaris nakl ebul obas Cvenis creml iT, vaxiT da viSiT ver SevavsebT. sul tyuil ia! rogorc TviToeu- l i kaci, ise sazogadoeba, ise xal xi marto TavisiT aris da TavisiT unda iyos kidec. Zal ac amiTana xal xSia da bedica.

... mizezi is aris, rom droTa brunvam sxvis mayurebl ad gagvxada, sxvazed imeds SegvaCviva da amaebma srul iad warwymides CvenSi is TviTmoqmedebis Zal -Rone, romel ic uwin iyo da romel ic Tuki sadme aris, yvel gan xal xis bednierebis saTauria da safuZvel ic. xsna Cveni TviTmoqmedebaSi da erTobaSia. saca kaci TiTon ar aris, sxvisiT ara gakeTebul a ra; saca erTi veras iqms, iq ocsa da ormocs erTad SeuZI ian hqmnas.

... gveyo, batonebo, Cvenis awmyosi da momaval is bedis sxvazed migdeba. Cvenis gaWirvebisa, gul istkivil is da wadil is patronni Cvenve unda viyvneT. mZimea es uRel i,

magram miT ufro saxel ovania misi erTgul ad gamwevi. mZ-  
imea, magram umagisod ver Soebul a am qveynierobazed sikeTe  
da Zal -Rone xal xisa. sxva gza ar aris, Cvenis cxovrebis  
Sara-gza Cvenve unda gavikafOT, bedi da ubedoba xel T  
unda vigdoT".

**i. WavWavaZe, "azrebi". Tb., 1989, gv. 54-55**

"erTxel da ukanasknel sacodnel ad saWiroa, rom Cveni  
qveyana yovel is mxriv da yovl isfriT sul sxvaa. imis  
cxovrebas, moqal aqurs, Tu ekonomiurs, Tavisi sakuTari  
dvrita aqvs, Tavisi sakuTari deda, romel sac Seudedebia  
misi awmyo, romel sac aw unda Seudedos misi momaval i.  
Cvens qveyanas Tavisi grZel i istoria aqvs. am istoriam  
Sehqmna Cvenis qveynis sakuTarni wesni kacTa erTmaneTSi  
moTavsebisaTvis moqal aqurad da ekonomiurad. es wesni  
ise gamj daria Cvenis qveynis Zval sa da rbil Si, rom Cvenis  
qveynisave sityviT, rj ul T umtkicesni arian. ama gansakuTre-  
bul Ta rj ul Ta zedmoqmedeba iseTi Zl ieria eris cxov-  
rebaSi, rom uyuradRebod dagdeba maTi maSin, roca hfiqrob  
qveynis warmatebas da gankargebas, Secdomazed metia. maSin  
figric da TviTmoqmedebac uqmia, radganac uniadagoa da  
fexmoukidebel i; maSin yovel i jafa da garja tyuil ad  
dakargul i, tyuil ad gafantul i Ronea. rogorc haerSi  
dakidebul i xe ar ixeyrebs, ise ar ixeyrebs arara figri,  
arara mecadineoba, arara cvl il eba, Tu fesvis mosakide-  
bl ad igi dvrita, igi deda ara aqvs, romel ic zemoT  
movixsenieT".

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad.  
t.V, gv. 295**

"azri cxovrevisa imaSia, rom Seityo, Seimcno: Jami ras  
iTxovs: tiril sa Tu sicil sa, ganyras Tu Sekrebas, dumil -

sa Tu metyvel ebas, siyvarul sa Tu siZul vil s, brZol as Tu mSvidobas da sxvaTa da sxvaTa amiTanaTa”.

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t.V, gv.334**

“yvel am erTad da TviToeul ma cal ke unda icodnen, rom igi ganuyofel i nawil ia mTel is erisa da amitomac Tavis keTil dReobas unda eZebdes marto mTel is eris keTil dReobaSi da ara cal ke”.

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t. VIII, gv. 314**

“wuTisofl is supra wweul ebis supra ar aris: am su-frazed yvel am Tavis sakuTari kerZi TviTon unda moitanos da daidgas, TviTon unda mohTesos, mohxnas, moimkos, mozi-l os da gamoacxos Tavis arsebiti puri. amaebis iqiT xsna ar aris da tyuil ad hfiqroben, viTomc exl andel droSi sxvisiT rCena SeiZl ebodes. wavida is dro samudamod da dRes vinc TviTon aris gamrjel i da mxne, burTi da moedani cxovrevisa, keTil isa da bednierevisa, imisia da marto imisi”.

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t. VIII, gv. 316**

“gangebél ni saxel mwifo bedisani iZaxian, rom eri pol itikisaTvis aris qveyanazed gaCenil i da amitomac Tqven suo; saxel mwifos gul Sematkivarni eris moyvareni-ki pasuxad eubnebian: ukacavrad, pol itikaa erisaTvis gaCenil i da ara eri pol itikisaTvisao. swored mogaxsenoT, mTel i pol itikuri istoria evropisa am orTa moZRvrebaTa erT-manETTan brZol aa da sxva ariferi, yovel ive sxva moZRvreba TiTqmis aq midis da aqedam modis. droTa mdinareobaSi xan erTi moZRvreeba qveS da xan meore, radganac dRemudam Widil Si arian...”

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad. t. IX, gv. 51**

"uwmindaeſi moval eoba ſazogadoebisa, eſe igi mTavrobisa, roml is wyal obiTac adamiani adamanobs, igia, rom adamanis "me"-s dRemudam mfarvel obdes, umizezod, udana-Saul od Sin aravin Seusios da arvis gaaqel vinos; miſ ſul iers da nivTiers kuTvnil ebazed mSvidobiT da ſxvis xel Seuxebl ad amfl obel os da amiT, ramodenad SesaZl oa, ſrul da bednier hyos. TiTon mizezi da ſabuTi ſazogadoebis arſebobisa marto eg moval eobaa da ſxva ara - ra".

**i. WavWavaZe. Txz. sr. krebul i aT tomad.  
t. VIII, gv. 246-247**

"Rirſeba da ſikeTe romel ime mTavrobisa, xal xisagan cnobil i da aRiarebul i, ſTesavs xal xSi im ſiyvarul is Teſl s, romel ic metad ſanatrel i unda iyos cnobierad momarTul da mimarTul ſaxel mwifosaTvis; da marto eſ ſiyvarul ia ſaTaved yovel imiſa, rac ki Seadgens ſaxel mwifos Zal aſa da Rones, imitom rom marto ſiyvarul iT aRfrTovanebul i xal xia ſaimedo yovel s gansacdel Si, racki ſaxel mwifos iſtoriiſ gzazed SeemTxveva xol me, marto ſiyvarul iT gul gamTbars xal xs SeuZl ian ſicocxl iſa da qonebiſ gawirva ſaxel mwifo keTil dReobisaTvis, marto ſiyvarul iT gaZl ierebul iſ xal xiT SeiZl eba imiſTana ſaſwaul ebi moaxdinos ſaxel mwifom, roml iſ magal iTebi bevría iſtoriaSi da romel ic dReſac gvikvirs da gvaocebs. ſaca eſ ſiyvarul i ar aris, iq ſaxel mwifo fuRuroa, fuyea, erTi l azaTianis qaris Semoberva da imiſi gadamſxvrevva erTia".

**i. WavWavaZe, "azrebi". Tb., 1989, gv. 58**

"xal xis ganviTareba da gaZl iereba yovl ad SeuZl ebel ia erovnul i principebiſ gareſe ... eri Taviseburi kol eqtiuri agebul ebaa, Taviseburi kol eqtiuri pirovnebaa. amitom miſi aRorZineba SeiZl eba mxol od Taviseburi, erovnul i

gziT. istoriaSi ver mosZebniT iseT magal iTsa, rom ers eRal atnos Tavisi erovnebisaTvis, erovnul i kul turisaTvis, da ar gaxrwnil iyos, ar aRmofxvril iyos. Cvenda saval a- l od, qarTvel obas Zl ier nakl ebad esmis erovnul is princ- ipebis mniSvnel oba da xSirad Ral atobs mas da amiTi imzadebs Savbnel s momaval s".

**i. gogebaSvil i, rCeul i Txzul ebani xuT tomad. t. III,  
Tb., 1990, gv. 215**

"... Zal -Rone yovl is erisa umTavresad damokidebul ia erovnul is, mamul iSvil uris grZnobis ganviTareba-gaRoniere- baze. sadac es central uri grZnoba sustia, iq xal xic uZl uria".

**i. gogebaSvil i, rCeul i Txzul ebani xuT tomad. t.V,  
Tb., 1990, gv. 469**

"waarTviT ers misi miwa-wyal i, misi teritoria, da igi dahkargavs ara marto niadags arsebobisas, aramed moswy- deba im didebul s istoriul s sul sac, romel ic samSob- l oSic trial ebs".

**i. gogebaSvil i, rCeul i Txzul ebani xuT tomad. t.II,  
Tb., 1990, gv. 312**

"j er arsad, arcerT qveyanaSi magal iTi ar unaxavs kacs, rom romel ime xal xi, an sazogadoeba amaRI ebul iyos sxvi- si daxmarebiT, Tu ara Tavisi sakuTari SromiT da j aniT. advil ad SenaZeni, napovni, naCuqari arc kerZo kacs daayris xeirs, arc mTel s sazogadoebas, kacisaTvis da qveynisaTvis marto is aris gamosadegi da Zvirfasi, rac imas Tavisi sakuTari SromiT, ofl is RvriT da brZol iT SeuZenia... napovni da nawyal obebi ki, TiTqmis yovel Tvis, isev ise advil ad ikargeba, rogorc advil ad naSovni iyo..."

**n. nikol aZe, rCeul i qarTul i mwerl oba. t.14,  
Tb., 1997, gv. 99**

“Cven Cveni vimecadinoT, Cveni qveynisaTvis vizrunoT, misi mdgomareoba vaumj obesot, da maSin, Tu vinme moindomebs Cvens daxmarebas da xel is momarTvas, xom ukeTesi; Tu ar moindomebs, is Cveni naSromi da SenaZeni xom xel idan mainc ar wagviva, da isev Cven dagvrCeba ...”

**n. nikol aZe, rCeul i qarTul i mwerl oba. t.14,  
Tb., 1997, gv. 101**

“amboxeba, revolucia qveynierebis arsebobaSi isetive iSviaTi “erTwuTi” movl enaa, rogorc el va, mexi. SesaZl oa, gana adamiani sul imas natrobdes, rom Weqa-quxil i da mexis texa ganuwvetel i iyoso, rom sxva Zal a qveynazed ar moqmedebdeso?”

**n. nikol aZe, rCeul i qarTul i mwerl oba. t.14,  
Tb., 1997, gv. 294**

“qveynis politikas – rogorc mis bunebis namdvil Zal ebs – adamianis, xal xis survil i ki ara am qveynis geografiul i mdebareoba sWeds”.

**n. nikol aZe, rCeul i qarTul i mwerl oba. t.14,  
Tb., 1997, gv. 305**

“ar unda xedavde sakuTar Tavs, amis codna saWiroa, raTa bevrs xedavde”.

**fridrix nicSe, “ese ityoda zaratustra”.  
Tb., 1993, gv. 117**

“saqarTvel o dRes waagavs msuqan dumas, gareSe kaci mietana am dumas da nel -nel a aTI is kai-kai naWrebs. ufro mdabi od rom mogaxsenoT, Cveni teritoria sxvis xel Si gadadis da Cven, qarTvel ebi, am dumis TI as an miwawyl is gadasvl as sxvis xel Si rodi vewinaaRmdegebiT sastikad, rogor ekadreba aseTi saqciel i Cvens keTil Sobil ebas!”

**vaJa-fSavel a, “Txzul ebani”. Tb., 1986, gv. 707-708**

"yvel a ers, romel sac marTI a eroba eTqmis, aqvs istoria, aqvs warsul i, aqvs sakuTari istoriul i ideal i, anu istoriul i anderZi, am orSi, romel ic ginda daarqvi, sul erTia, - orive cal -cal ke kargad aRniSnavs TviT sagans. warsul is drois sikeTe, qvel oba Tu gmiroba aRafrTovanebs, asul dgmul ebs awmyo drois ers. amxnevebs da kargis mermisis mopovebis wadil s uCens gul Si. cariel i sityva rodia, tyuil ad ara amboben Wkvianni: daRupul ia is eri, romel sac istoria ara aqvs, romel sac xatad win ar udgas sakuTaris istoriis anderZio".

**vaJa-fSavel a, Txzul ebani (axl ad gamovl enil i masal ebi).  
Tb., 1979, gv. 189-190**

"... eris sicocxl e ... dausrul ebel i sicocxl ea, Tuki kargs viTarebaSia, Tuki movl a aqvs, Tuki eris meTaurni scdil oben aicdinon momakvdinebel i seni da Wiri. Rirseul is warsul is eri Tu kvdeba, ueWvel ad awmyos uvargisobisa gamo unda mokvdes, unda mouvl el oba da daudevroba gaxdes imis sikvdil is mizezi".

**vaJa-fSavel a, Txzul ebani (axl ad gamovl enil i masal ebi).  
Tb., 1979, gv. 190**

"gamZvinvarebul i brZol a partiaTa Soris yovl is uwin, esaa brZol a Tanamdebobrivi patronajis mosapovebl ad".

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba".  
Tb., 1994, gv. 27**

"namdvil i moxel e ... – pol itikas ki ar unda awarmoebdes, aramed yovl is uwinares "miukerZoembl ad" unda gavagebdes".

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba". Tb., 1994, gv. 40**

"mikerZoeba, brZol a da vneba es mxol od da mxol od pol itikosTa, upiratesad ki pol itikur bel adTa stiqionia".

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba".  
Tb., 1994, gv. 40**

"... aucil ebel ia, rom pol itikosi ganuwvyvetl iv ebrZodes da sZl evdes Tavis yvel aze trivial ura da adamanur mters, yovl ad Cveul ebriv ampartavnobas. swored igia dauZinebel i mteri yovel gvari Tavdadebis ..."

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba".  
Tb., 1994, gv. 74**

"... pol itikuri moRvaweobis sabol oo Sedegi araTu xSirad, aramed regul arul adac srul iad Seuferebel , ufro meti, paradoqsul mimaTebaSia mis Tavdapirvel sazrisTan".

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba".  
Tb., 1994, gv. 76**

*"...eri gapatiebs interesTa Sel axvas, magram arasodes - Rirsebis SebRal vas".*

*maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba". Tb., 1994, gv. 78*

"pol itikis mTavari saSual eba Zal adobaa"

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba da xel oba". Tb., 1994, gv. 83**

"... mowodebiT pol itikosi is aris, visac sj era, arasodes Sedrkeba, Tundac samyaro mis Tval Si sul el i da

saZagel i Candes; Tundac ar iyos Rirsi imisa, risi miZRvnaC  
mas undoda am samyaroSaTvis; visac Zal i Seswevs, yvel af-  
risda miuxedavad Tqvas: "da mainc".

**maqs veberi, "pol itika rogorc mowodeba  
da xel oba". Tb., 1994, gv. 95**

"pol itika yovel Tvis mTI iania, ar SeiZI eba SigniT  
awarmooT saxal xo pol itika, xol o gareT xal xT – winaaRm-  
degi. sagareo muSaoba saSinaos gagrZel ebaa".

**noe Jordania, rCeul i nawerebi. Tb., 1990, gv. 151**

*"kavSiri SeiZI eba mxol od Tanaswor mezobel saxel m-  
wi foebS Soris, kavSiri patara da didi saxel mwifosi  
Tavdeba pirvel is dangreviT".*

*noe Jordania, rCeul i nawerebi. Tb., 1990, gv. 162*

*"ruseTs ar aqvs arc erTi namdviI i interesi, romI is  
SeTavseba ar SeiZI ebodes saqarTvel os damouki deb-  
I obasTan".*

*noe Jordania, "rCeul i nawerebi". Tb., 1990, gv. 122*

"ar arsebobs pol itika miTebis gareSe".

**pol val eri, rCeul i proza. Tb., 1983, gv. 274**

"sityvas "pol itika" orgvari azri aqvs: Zal aufl ebis  
xel Si Cagdeba da SenarCuneba; saxel mwifos organizeba.

pirvel i azri Zal ze zustia, meore – gacil ebiT nakl e-  
bad zusti. magram es ukanasknel i yovel Tvis niRbis mag-  
ivrobas uwevs pirvel s.

ai, ra aris mdabal i pol itikaSi: orazrovneba sityvebi-  
sa da moZRvrebebisa, roml ebzedac ver ityvi dabej iTebiT  
– WeSmaritebas miel tvian, kerZo interesebiT arian nakar-  
naxevi Tu grZnobebiT ganpirobebul i? an kidev – mar-  
Tal ni arian es grZnobebi Tu yal bni.

pol itikosebi verc Sromis sizustes itanen da verc msj el obis simkacres. maT winaSe TviT imis Tqmac ki ar SeiZI eba, rom esa Tu is movl ena bundovania, gaurkvevel i da eWvs badebs”.

**pol val eri, rCeul i proza. Tb., 1983, gv. 394-395**

“gansakuTrebul i pol itikuri unariT daj il dovebul i eri ar arsebobs. arsebobs mxol od xal xi, romel ic gabatonebul umciresobas magrad uWiravs xel Si da amitom es xal xi Tavis Tavs kargad grZnobs konstituciaSi”.

**o. Spengl eri, pol itikis fil osofia. Tb., 1995, gv. 7**

“mxol od brZenkacebs emterebodnen mefeebi, da arsad arc erT mefes Tu gind sul el sac, SI egebi ar CamouxrCvia j er.

radgan TviT uWkuo mefeedsac mudam esmodaT; sul el e-bi saTiTaod rom CamoaxrCo, maSin verc xarks moxveWavd-nen, veRarc monaspebs ipovidnen omSi wasayvans. egec xom gsmentia: aravin ise mamacad ar ibrZvis sxvis omSi, rogorc sul el i.

... vinc mefeTa samsaxurisaTvis Tavs gadasdebs, mas sak- uTari saxl is ukan mZad unda hqondes dil egic. radgan qariz qrol vas emsgavseba mefeT wyal oba, xan aRma mihqris es niavi, xanac TavdaRma”.

**konstantine gamsaxurdia, “didostatis marj vena”.**

**Tb., 1966, gv. 225**

“Cveni ubedureba amJamadac egaa: CvenSi moRal ateni sWar- boben erTgul ebs, gana Tu sxvisi, sakuTari Tavis, Tavis xal xis moRal ateni ...

...Tu mTel ma erma gamarj veba ar moindoma, makedonel ic ver uSvel is...

...CvenSi yovel nabiWvars aznauroba swyuria, yovel nac- arqeqias sardl oba...

... Cveni ubedureba egaa: sxvis fandurze buqnaoba gviy-  
varda mudam, amitomac musrs avl ebda saqarTvel os sxvis  
qveynebSi atexil i Wiri ...

odiTganve ase mogvdgams qarTvel ebs: mudam Cvens sim-  
cires mivstirodiT, radgan mteri auracxel i gvyavda mudam,  
magram didikaci Tu gamogveria, mas ise davkortniT, rogorc  
dakodil Zeras yvavebi”.

**konstantine gamsaxurdia, “didostatis marj vena”.**  
**Tb., 1966, gv. 370-372**

“arc erTi eri imis ukeTesis Rirsi araa, rac mas daum-  
yarebia Tavad”.

**konstantine gamsaxurdia, “didostatis marj vena”.**  
**Tb., 1966, gv. 302**

“Sinapol itikuri viTarebani swyveten yovel i naciis,  
yovel i saxel mwifos beds. msofi io istoriaa amis mowme  
Tavad. arc erTi nacional uri gaerTianeba, arc erTi sax-  
el mwifo martooden garepol itikuri invaziebis Sedegad  
ar darRveul a. Sinauri gaTiSvisa da zneobrivi degra-  
daciis meoxebiT daiRupa Zvel i saberZneTi, Zvel i romi,  
sakeisro bizantiisa, rusudanisa da l aSa-giorgis saxel m-  
wifoc”.

**konstantine gamsaxurdia, “didostatis marj vena”.**  
**Tb., 1966, gv. 389**

pol itikaSi dabneul obis wyaro isaa, rom Zal aufl ebis  
mpyrobel ni mxol od sakuTar Tavze fiqroben.

**Jan de I abruieri**

“saxel mwifos damsaxurebani cal keul pirTa damsax-  
urebania”

**jon stiuart midi (1806-1873) \_**  
**ingl isel i fil osofosi.**

# Tavi 7

## bi bl i uri si br Zne

neta im kacs, vinc ara scoda Tavisi bagiT da codvis  
wuxil ma ar moswyl a.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 13-14,14**

sicxes cvar-nami agril ebs da mowyal ebas sj obia sityva.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 17-18,18**

amitom sityva umetesia keTil ZRvenze. madl ian kacs ki  
arcerTi ar dael eva.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 17-18,18**

vidre sityvas ityode, moifigre da vidre seni Segeyre-  
bodes, Tavs mixede.

**sibrZne ziraqisa  
18-19,18**

sityvaSi gawaful ni Tavadac ganibrZnobian da wvimasav-  
iT moavl enen brZnul Segonebebs.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,18**

briyvs iseve stanj avs sityva, rogorc mSobiales \_  
Cvil i.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,19**

raRa barZaySi CarWobil i isari da raRa sityva briyvis  
gul Si.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,19**

ufl is moSiSi ugunuri sj obs maRal goniers, magram kanonis damrRvevs.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,19**

kaci garegnobiT icnoba, xol o gonieri, Sexvedrisas \_ saxis gamometryvel ebiT.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,19**

samosi, sicii i da siarul i amJRavnebs adamians.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 18-19,19**

aris udroo mxil eba da aris dumil i, gonierebis niSani.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

zogis dumil i sibrZnis niSania, zogi ki saZul vel ia ybedobis gamo.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

zogi dums, radgan pasuxi ar moeZebneba, zogi ki dums, radgan saTanado dros ucdis.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

brZeni dromde ar ityvis sityvas, pativmoyvare da ugnuri ki dros ar dagidevs.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

sazizRaria ybedi, xol o vinc Zal iT miitacebs sityvis ufl ebas \_ saZul vel i.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

zogj er kacs warmatebac vnebs, zogj er ki danakargic SenaZenia.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

brZeni oriode sityviTac Segayvarebs Tavs, briyvs ki fuWad Cauvl is madl i.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

briyvi ambobs: arc megobari myavs da arc madl ieri Cemi sikeTisaTviso.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

miwaze waforxil eba sj obs enis waborZikebas. ase ufro mal e daecemian borotni.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

umadl o kaci uadgil o arakia, mudam pirze rom akeriaT ukeTurT.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

briyvis piriT Tqmul araks azri ara aqvs, radganac udroo dros aris naTqvami.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

sicrue adamianis biwia: uzrdel i mudam cruobs.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,20**

uniWo ver ganiswavl eba, magram zogj er simwares amrav- l ebs niWi.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 20-21,21**

gonieri kakis sityvas sakrebul o eZebs da misi naTq- vami gul Si aRibeWdeba.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 21-22,21(17)**

ybedis gul i mis bagezea, brZenis bage ki \_ mis gul Si.

**sibrZne siraqisa 20-21,21(26)**

udroo dros naTqvami sityva gl ovis Jams simRerasa  
hgavs, wkepl iT wrTvna ki yovel Tvis Wkuis saswavl ebel ia.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 21-22, 22(6)**

natkeni Tval i creml ebs Rvris, natkeni gul idan grZno-  
ba iRvreba.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 21-22,22(19)**

netavi, imas visac Wkviani col i hyavs, vinc ara scoda  
eniT da Tavisze uRirss ar emsaxura.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 24-25, 25(8)**

Tixis WurWel i quraSi gamoicdeba, kaci ki \_ mis saubarSi.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 27-28, 27(5)**

rogor uvl ian xes \_ nayofi warmoaCens; adamanis gu-  
l is zraxebs ki \_ misi sityva.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 27-28, 27 (6)**

saubris dawyebamde nu aqeb kacs, radgan esaa misi gamom-  
cdel i.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 27-28, 27(7)**

RvTismosavis saubari yovel Tvis sibrZnea, ugunuri ki  
mTvaresaviT icvl eba.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 27-28, 27(11)**

Sol tis cema iaras aCens, eniT cema ki Zvl ebs Semusravs.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 28-29, 28(17)**

mraVal ni mosrnen maxvil iT, magram umetesni \_ eniT.  
**sibrZne ziraqisa 28-29, 28(18)**

saswor-sazomi miuCine Sens sityvebs, kari Seabi da urdul iT Cakete piri.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 28-29, 28 (25)**

frTxil ad iyavi, rom Seni sityviT ar waiforxil o da borotmzraxvel is win ar daece.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 28-29, 29(26)**

sityvis patroni iyavi, uerTgul e mas da yovel Tvis i povi, rac gWirdeba.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 28-29, 29(3)**

yovel gvare saqmis dasabami gansj aa, yvel a moqmedebaze uwinaresi ki \_ rCeva.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 37-38, 37(16)**

sikeTes da borotebas, sicocxl esa da sikvdil s; yovel Tvis ki ena mbrZanebl obs.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 37-38, 37(18)**

zogi kaci gawaful ia, vin mostvli is, ramdensa moZRvravs, magram Tavistvis ki RmerTs ar uqnia.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 37-38, 37(19)**

zogi sityviT icemebs brZnobas, magram saZul vel ia da araviTari sazrdo ar eRirseba.

**sibrZne ziraqisa 37-38,37 (20)**

## Tavi 8

### kol xi oratorebi

aietis  
sityva

romael ebi rom sityvebiTa da gegmebiT gvepyrobodnen usamarTI od, CvenC kargs vizamdiT, rom mudam angvarive saSual ebebiT dagvecva Tavi; magram exl a nuTu misaRebia, rom, im dros rodesac isini yvel aferSi saSinl ad gveqcevan, samagieros gadaxdis SemTxvevas vkargavT imaze, rom vyoymanoBT da vTaTbiroBT? xom aravis SeuZl ia imis mtkiceba, TiTqos mteri borot qcevaSi j er ar iyos SemCneul i, da TiTqos mxol od eWvebi arsebobdes, rom is angvar azrebsa da zraxvebs atarebs; arc sabuTebis mogonebaa saWiro misi, viTomc dafarul i, veragobis dasamtkicebl ad: sakmarisia gaixsenoT saxel ovani gubazi, romel ic ase sacodavad iqmna mospobil i, TiTqos is Cveul ebrivi adamiani yofil iyos. gaqra kol xTa Zvel i Rirseba da amieridan veRar veRirsebiT imas, rom sxvebs vmbrZanebl obdeT: isic unda vikmaroT, Tu mivaRwevT imas, rom Zal ian ar dagvCagron imaT, vinc winaT Cveni qveSevrdomi iyo. nu Tu ukidures ugunurebas ar warmoadgens is, rom imaT Sesaxeb, vinc es Caidina, Cven vzivarT da vmsjel obT, mtrebad CavTval oT isini Tu megobrebad? unda vicodeT, rom maTi Tavxedoba amaze ar SeCerdeba: Tu Cven am borotmoqmedebas uyuradRebod davtovebT, isini ar mogveSvebian da, gul xel dakrefil ni rom visxdebiT, ufro Sepovrad agvxdian namuss. imaT, vinc emorCil eba, isini, ra Tqma unda, ufro Tavxedurad epyrobian da, Cveul ebriv, qedmaRI urad uyureben mosamsaxurebs. mefec gaiZvera hyavT, romel sac yovel Tvis uxaria cxovrebi pirobebi areu-

I oba: da es borotmoqmedeba rom ase erTbaSad iqmna sis-  
 rul eSi moyvanil i, cxadia, imis wyal obiT, rom mefe mxur-  
 val ed mouwodebda amas, xol o sxvebma es gul modgined  
 Seasrul es. marto is ki ar aris, rom maT gagvanadgures  
 Tumca Cven arc usamarTI oba Cagvidenia da arc raima mTroba  
 yofil a Cven Soris., aramed, ra Cveul ebac winaT hqondaT,  
 imasve misdeven, TiTqos erTbaSad Seepyras isini simxeces,  
 sigiJes, siZul vil s da yvel a sxva angvar movl enas. sparsel ebi  
 ki aseTi xasiaTisani ar arian: isini Sors arian amisgan.  
 Tu vinme gaixades TavSi megobrad, isini cdil oben uTuod  
 daicvan siyvarul i; xol o mtris mimarT risxvas ganagr-  
 Zoben manam, sanam is mtrad rCeba. me vinatridi kol xeTis  
 saxel mwifos hqonodes misi Zvel i ZI iereba, rom mas ar  
 dasWirebodes ucxo da gareSe daxmareba da rom yovel g-  
 var saqmianobaSi, rogorc omianobis ise mSvidobianobis  
 dros, mxol od sakuTar Tavs eyrdnobodes. magram, rodesac  
 Cven JamTa trial is, an bedis ukuRmarTobis, an orives  
 wyal obiT iseTs uZI urebaSi CavvardiT, rom sxvaTa xe-  
 l qveiTni gavxdiT, me vfiqrob umj obesia imaT xel Si viyoT,  
 vinc ufro keTil ismsurvel ia, vinc uryevad icavs keTil -  
 ganwyobil ebas Tavisianevisa da mokavSireTa mimarT. am-  
 rigad, Cven gavimarj vebT Cvens namdvil mterze, Tu araviTar  
 SemTxvevaSi ar davtovebT dausjel ad im Cadenil borot-  
 moqmedebas da miviRebT saWiro zomebs, rom uzrunvel i  
 gavxadoT Cveni momaval i cxovreba. zedmeti da uSedego  
 iqneba is gaiZveroba da fl idoba, romel Tac isini mzakvru-  
 l i pirferobiTa da xel ovnuri mopyrobiT iyeneben imaT  
 mimarT, vinc maT daendo, da romel Ta saSual ebiT isini  
 usamarTI o saqciel s scadian, da isini veRar gamoiyeneben  
 imaT Cven winaaRmdeg, Tu mterTan saerTo aRaraferi gveqne-  
 ba da aSkarad gamoveTiSebiT mas. Tu isini scdian CvenTan  
 Seomebas, maT mouxdebaT brZol a erTsa da imave dros  
 l azebTan da sparsel ebTan, isic mtris miwawyal ze, ese igi

aq, da cxadia maT Semotevas ver gauZI eben. ai, exl axan ar iyo, rom midiel Ta mcireoden j ars Seebnen mTel i Tavisi jariT da maSinve sasircxod gaiqcen ise, rom dRemdisac ki ar mouTqvamT sul i im rbenisagan? isini, ase vTqvaT, yvel aferSi damarcxden; mxol od siswrafiT aj obes damdevnebl ebs.

III. 10. "amis cxad da aSkara mizezad SegveZI o CagveTv-al a maTi sil aCre da is, rom Seuferebel gegmebs adgenen. es cudi Tvisebebi xom axasiaTebS maT, rogorc WeSmari-tad maTi kuTvnil i da TiTqos Tandayol il i. garda amisa am, bunebiT Tandayol il, cud Tvisebebs emateba Tavisi nebiT Cadenil i borotmoqmedeba da usamarTI od sisxl is daRvris gamo uzenaes mfarvel obas mokl ebul ebs uork-ecdebaT ubedureba. gamarj vebas iaraRi ki ar ganamtkicebs xol me, aramed saTnoianoba; magram ara mgonia borotmoqme-di da sisxl Si gasvriI i adaminebi odesme eziaron am keTil sawyiss. amrigad, Tu Cven gonierad vimsj el ebT, ar unda mivmoxroT imaT, romel Tac kargad azrovnebis unari ar gaaCniaT da romel Tac urisxdeba is, vinc yvel afris ganmgebel ia. maSasadame, rom sparsel ebis mxareze gadasvl a CvenTvis advil i da sasargebl oa da rom es uzenaessac esiamovneba, es mtkicdeba saqmiT da ara sityviT. es ar iqneba Cveni mxriT arc usamarTI o saqciel i, arc imis maCvenebel i, TiTqos Cven veragni gamovdegiT. winaTac bev-rjer mouyenebiaT Seuracxyofa roma el ebs, magram Cven saWi rod vTvl idiT Zvel mdgomareobaSi darCenas: Seuffer- ebl ad migvaCnda iol i gadadgoma im sxvadasxva mizezTa gamo, romel nic, Tumca saSinel ni iyvnen, magram mainc mosaT- menni da arc Tu Zal ian autanel ni. magram, Cemis azriT, ar Seefereba gonier adaminebs, rom Cven srul is modrekiT avitanoT udidesi vnebani da aunazRaurebel i zaral i, romel Tac Cven gvayeneben, da arafriT ar SevebrZI oT am uwmindur da Seuferebel saqmeebs: es ufro Seefereba mxdal

da l aCar adamianebs, roml ebic Tavisi uqnarobiT saxel m-wifo saqmeebisadmi daudevrobas amtkiceben. rac Seexeba am ukanasknel mkvl el obas, ara mgonia sxvagan sadme momxdariyos magaze ufro didi ubedureba, an rom momxdariyo, ase iol ad Caevl o. amitom arc Cven unda davtovoT uyuradRebod es saqme: sasircxo iqneba, Tu Cven mefes daviviwyebT da mis mkvl el ebs pirferobas davuwyebT. is rom exl a aq iyos, sayveduriT agvavsebda da dagvZraxavda Cveni daudevrobis gamo, rom es borotmoqmedni, imis magier rom didi xnis winaT yofil iyvnen gaZevebul ni, j er kidev daiarebian am miwawyal ze. magram vinaidan amieridan is veRar gamoCndeba Cvens Soris da verc sityviT mogvmarTavs, Tqven TviTon warmoidgineT es kaci: de is warmoudges Tqvens gonebas, ToTqos is am krebaze iyos da migiTiTebdes Tqven Tavis Wril obaze, mkerdze da kiserze, da TvistomT Txovdes exl a mainc gadauxadon mters samagiero. merme, romel i Tqvengani dauWers mxars imaT, romel nic yoymanoben da kidev msj el oben imis Sesaxeb, samarTI iania Tu ara kol xebis mxriT gubazis gl ova? Tu Cven Seuferebi ad miviCnevT romael ebisagan gadadgomas da SevSindebiT, sifrTxil e gvmarTebis, rom am borotmoqmedebis monawil eebad ar CagvTval on, vinaidan daudevrobas viCenT da micval ebul is sisxl is aRebas vayovnebt; rom mxol od sicocxl eSi vepyroboDiT mas siyvarul iT da sikvdil is Semdeg aRarc ki gvaxsovs, amiT ufro mtkicdeba Cveni orgul oba. Tu saqmeebi kargad midis, didi ugunureba iqneba, Zvel , nacad wesebs vuRal a-toT; xol o rodesac piriqiTaa, vfiqrob uazroba iqneba, Tu Cven, rac SeiZl eba mal e, ar SeveguebiT axl ad Seqmnil mdgomareobas. simtkice gonierebis Tval sazrisiT unda gavsinj oT: arsebul i mdgomareobis moTmena yovel Tvis ki ar aris saqebi, aramed mxol od maSin, rodesac mas gonieri mosazrebebi axl avs Tan. magram rodesac ise xdeba, rom ugul ebel yofen imas, rac unda axsovdeT, xol o akeTeben

imas, rac Seuferebel ia, maSin ufro gasakicxavia is, vinc Zvel viTarebas misdevs, vidre is, vinc axal s emxroba. da, ai, amas rom Seityoben Cvengan sparsel ebi da gaigeben, j ero-vani siyvarul iT mogvepyrobian da CvenTvis ibrZol eben, vinaidan isini kacTmoyvareni da gul keTil ni arian, da me-zobel Ta zraxvebsac kargad miuxvdebian xol me; garda amisa Cveni nebayofl obiTi mimxrobiT isini mokavSired iZenen uaRresad gamosadeg qveyanas da mniSvnel ovan j ars, rac maT ful sa da qonebas urCevniaT. maS, sxva fiqri raRa saWiroa, saswrafod SeudegiT saqmes da gamoamJRavneT Tqveni gul is nadebi: rom gavakeTebT imas, rac swori da samarTI iania da rac sargebl obas mogvitans, \_ amiT Cven udides saxel s movixveWT”.

II. 11. ase il aparaka aietma da mTel i xal xi aRfrTo-vanda da maSinve sixarul is yviril i morTo; im dResve apirebden sparsel ebis mxareze gadasvl as, Tumca arc sparsel ebi iyvnen winaswar gafrTxil ebul i da arc Tvi-Ton iyvnen imdenad momzadebul i, rom an saiduml os Senaxva SesZI ebodaT an Tavis dacva im SemTxvevaSi, Tu romael ebi winaaRmdegobas gauwevden; srul ebiT ar daufiqrden momaval s, arc is ivaraudes Tu riT gaTavdeboda maTi es nabij i, \_ ase gzakval dabneul ad aCqarden. sxvaTa Soris, es sCvevia brbos, rom gaitacebs xol me siaxl e da Zvel i vi-Tarebis Secvl a! magram eseni (I azebi) Zal ian aRel den ara marto imitom, rom barbarosebi iyvnen, aramed imis gamoc, rom mizezs sapatiod Tvl iden da aietis sityvebmac dids gancvifrebaSi moyvana isini: aman isini Zal ian aaRel va da SeaSfoTa. isini rom ase iyvnen axmaurebul ni, wamodga erTi vinme, saxel ad fartazi, kaci kol xTa Soris gavl eniani, gonieri da Tavisi qceviT metad mdabiuri, scada Seekavebina isini da Seenel ebina maTi aRel veba da sTxova maT ar Sesdgomodden ganzraxvis Sesrul ebas, sanam mas ar mousmenden. rodesac ZI ivs daarwmuna isini amaSi \_ gaugones,

radgan am kakis ridi hqondaT \_ da isini TavTavianT  
adgil as gaCerden, fartazi wamodga SuaSi da Tqva Semdegi:

**fartazis  
sityva**

"Cveul ebrivi ambavi dagemarTaT, kol xebo, rom  
metad moxerxebul ad da warmtacad Tqmul ma  
sityvebma goneba Segiryies. uZl evel i raRac  
aris mWevrmetryvel eba da is TiTqmis yvel as amarcxebs,  
gansakuTrebiT ki imaT, visac winaT misi Zal a ar gamoucdia;  
magram es srul iadac ar niSnavs imas, rom mas ver davu-  
pirispirebT gonier mosazrebas, romel ic saqmis namdvil  
viTarebas emyareba. naTqvami imitom ki ar unda moiwonoT  
Tqven, rom is Tavisi moul odnel obiTa da uCveul obiT  
migaCniaT damarwmunebl ad, aramed mxol od maSin, Tu is  
mizanSewonil ia da sasargebl o. kargad unda SeignoT, rom,  
ragind sasiamovno ar iyos naTqvami, unda amoirCioT iqidan  
is, rac umj obesia: imis aSkara sabuTad is gamodgeba, rom  
Tqven ase advil ad daarwmunebineT Tavi aiets. vinc yal b  
rCeva-darigebas iZl eva, mas esaWiroeba sityvebis meti mokaz-  
mul oba da siWrel e: rac ufro met warmatac sityvebs  
ixmars is, miT ufro swrafad miizidavs gul ubryvil o  
msmenel s. ase dagemarTaT Tqvenc: aietu rom macdursa da  
Semparav sityvebs mogaxsenebdaT, verc ki SeamCnieT, rogor  
mostyuvdiT. sxva Tu araferi, is ki mainc naTI ad unda  
SegemCniaT, rom man imTaviTve wamoayena sul sxva sakiTxi,  
srul iad gansxvavebul i im sakiTxTagan, romel Ta gamo Cven  
aq movsul varT. misi sityvebiT ise gamodis, TiTqos Tqven  
yvel ani amtkicebdeT, rom momxdari ambavi ar iyos saSinel eba,  
rom am sazizRar mkvl el obas ar hkicxavdeT da mxol od  
imis Sesaxeb msj el obdeT damnaSaveni arian Tu ara gubazis  
mkvl el ebi: TviTon ki mkvl el ebi danaSaul s ar exebe da  
uamrav sityvas xarj avs imaze, rac cnobil ia. me ki vambob,

rom wyeul i da SeCvenebul i arian isini da rom me udidesi siamovnebiT vuyurebdi maT saSinel sasjel s, vuyurebdi ara marto imaT daRupvas, romel Tac gangmires gubazi da sakuTari xel ebiT Caidines mkvl el oba, aramed yvel a imaTsac, romel Tac SeeZI oT SeeferxebinaT es mkvl el oba da ar Seaferxes, da agreTve imaTsac, romel Tac es mkvl el oba gaexardaT da arc Tu ise aRSfodnen. Tumca me amas vfiqrob, magram sparsel ebis mxareze gadasvl a mainc ar iqneba sasargebl o: aravin ar miiCnevs saWirod miviRoT da gaviziaroT is azri, TiTqos Tu imaT (romael ebma) Caidines ukanonoba, aucil ebel i iyos Cvenc gamoveTxovoT mSobl iur wesebs da im veragebs ki ar gamovucxadoT Cveni gul iswyroma, aramed TviTon movipovoT amgvarive saxel i. exl a aRar aris saWiro imaze fiqri, rac moxda da dasrul da da ukve aRar SeiZI eba dabrunebul iqnas (TiTqos ar momxdariyos); nu avyebiT, msjel obis dros, mowol il boRmas da gul is-tkivil s, rom ar davkargoT mosazrebis unari da ar dava-bundovanoT Cveni msjavri: SevinarCunoT unari ukeTesis arCevisa. gamoviCinoT Cveni mwuxareba, ramdenadac es saWiroa imis dasamtkicebl ad, rom daudevrobas ar viCent, da movi-sazroT momavl isaTvis, Tu rogor movagvaroT saqmeebi ufro ukeT. ugunuri adamianebi sul mudam dastirian ganvl il ubedurebas, xol o gonierni Seicnoben xol me bedis ukuRmarT trial s da maT ar aSfoTebis cvl il ebebi, da, rodesac winandel mdgomareobas hkargaven, ar ispoben momavl is ime-debs”.

III. 12. “magram es mrCevel i (aieti), romel ic didi xania midiel ebis momxreobas iCens da mowadinebul ia Cvenc gadagviyvanos maT mxareze, cdil obs SegvaSinos \_ TiTqos bavSvebi viyveT \_ da gvimtkebs romael ebi ar ikmareben imas, rac gabedes, kidev meti ubedureba mogvel iso. ambobs imasac,

rom maT didi gaiZvera mefe hyavT, romel ic TviTon aris am  
mkvl el obis sul is Camdgmel i; didi xania es mkvl el oba  
momzadebul i da mofiqrebul i iyoo. amas ambobs is da  
aqebs da adidebs sparsel ebs; is fiqrobs, rom am gzIT  
dagvarwmunebs Cven da CvenC exl ave sakuTari fexiT veax-  
l ebiT aSkara mtrebs da xvevnas davuwyebT. am miznisaTvis  
xmarobs is yovel gvar saSual ebas; imTaviTve iRwvis da  
cdil obs imisaTvis, rom ganaxorciel os is, rac mas gan-  
zraxul i aqvs; moufiqrebl ad gvidgens gegmebs, arRvevs da  
angrevs krebis wesrigs da am krebas mizans ukargavs.  
kreba xom, Cveul ebriv, winaswar ixil avs mudam da msj el obs,  
rom kargad gasinj os is, rac ar aris naTel i; xol o,  
rogorc ki miagnebs imas, risi gakeTebac aris saWirow, maSin  
gymarTebS gamoviCinoT survil i da Sevasrul oT dadge-  
nil eba. aman ki bol o TavSi gadaitana da, vidre Cven sabo-  
l ood rasme gadavwyvetdeT, is ukve Seudga Sesrul ebas.  
raRa azri aqvs krebas, Tu j er dadgenil eba iqneba da mere  
kreba? Tqven ki, kol xebo, arasdros ar unda daukavSirowT  
Tqveni azrebi gareSe mosazrebebs, unda uyuroT erTs romel -  
same windasaxul mizans da ise warmarToT Tqveni msj el o-  
ba. gana SesaZl ebel ia viTarebis Setrial eba Zal iT da misi  
ise moqceva, rogorc gesiamovneba? Tqven, piriqIT, sxva wess  
unda misdioT: wmindam da damoukidebel i msj el oba ixma-  
roT ise, rom zedmiwevniT gaarCioT saqme da daadgeT im  
gzas, romel ic sasargebl o iqneba. Tu Cven ase vimsj el ebT,  
maSinve cxadi gaxdeba, rom arc romaul razmebs, arc strate-  
gosebs, saerTod aRebul s, miT umetes arc maT mefes ar  
mouwyviaT SeTqmul eba gubazis winaaRmddeg. xom TviT maT  
Sorisvea gavrrel ebul i xmebi da erTxmad aRiarebul i, rom  
rustike da martine, romel Tac SurdaT misi warmateba,  
ahyvnen Taviant borot zraxvebs da danarCeni sardl ebi  
ara Tu maT ar exmareboden, aramed aSkaradac swuxden.

umarTebul o iqneboda, Cemis azriT, da amasTanave erTad mizanSeuwonel ic erTi an ori kakis danaSaul is gamo SevswyromodiT sazogadoebriv kanonebs, romel Ta dacva agviRia Cvens Tavze, da ase iol ad Segvecval a mTel i saxl mwifo wyobil eba da cxovreba, romel sac mSvenivrad SevegueT, imaT mimarT ki, roml ebic am qveyanas sdaraj oben da mraval nair xifaTSi vardebian imis gul isTvis, rom Cven udardel i cxovreba mogvaniWon, gamceml ebi gamovsul iyaviT; yvel aze ufro uwminduri saqme is iqneba, rom aseTi saqciel iT Cven SevbRal avT marTI morwmuneobas da wminda saiduml oTa umwikvl oobas. aba, sxva ras daemsgavseba Cveni saqciel i, Tu mivemxrobit uzenaesi arsebis sastik mtrebs? Tu isini agvikrZal aven Cveni saRmrTo wesebis Sesrul ebas da TavianT wesebze gadagviyvanen, amaze ufro samZimo ra unda ganvicadoT Cven, roml ebic cocxl ebi viqnebit da amave dros mkvdrebic? ras movigebT imiT, rom vTqvaT, mTel i sparseTi SevierToT da sul ebi ki waviwymidoT? rom kidevac neba dagvrTon da Cven nebaze migviSvan, sul erTia \_ mainc ar eqnebaT Cven mimarT keTil i ganwyobil eba da ndoba: maTi mopyroba Cvendami veragul i da arasaimedo iqneba da martooden sargebl ianobis Tval sazrisiT gamoangariSebul i. adamianebi ver iwynareben xol me azrTa sxadasxvaobas da maSinac ki, rodesac gaWirveba an raime, mopirdapiris mier Cadenil i, keTil i saqme aiZul ebs maT kavSirSi yofnas, maT Soris ndoba arasdros ar aris mtkice; es SeiZl eba iyos mxol od maSin, rodesac maT Soris azrTa erTianobaa. Tu vinicobaa es erTianoba ar arsebobs, maTi daaxl oveba da megobroba cariel i sityvaa: saqmiT isini erTmaneTisaTvis ucxoni rCebian. ho da, aba, ris gul isaTvis unda gadavideT, kol xebo, sparsel ebis mxareze, Tu ki isini mainc Cven mtrebad darCebian da aseT viTarebaSi mxol od is-Ra gveqneba, rom isini ufro advil ad mogvayeneben vnebas, vinaidan farul i mtrisagan ufro Znel ia Tavis

dacva, vidre aSkarasagan? magram vTqvaT, Tu gnevavT, rom es saqciel i arc usamarTI o iqneba da arc arasakadrisi, da davuSvaT, rom sparsel ebi Tavisi xasiaTiT mtkiceni da sandoni arian da CvenTan dadebul pirobebs yovel Tvis Seasrul eben. esec rom miviRoT da maSasadame, aRaraviTari dabrkol eba aRar gveRobebodes, mainc Cveni Zal ebi sakmari-si ar iqneba imisaTvis, rom Cveni ganzraxva sisrul eSi moviyvanoT da sparsel ebis mxareze gadavideT. rogor SevZI ebT Cven sxvis mxareze gadasvl as, rodesac Tavze gvad-ganan romael ebi, romel Tac amdeni vaJkaci hyavT darazmul i saukeTeso strategosebis xel mZRvanel obiT? rogorRa SevZI ebT saSinel i sasj el is Tavidan acdenas, rodesac isini, roml ebmac unda aRmogviCinon daxmareba, j er kidev Sors, iberiaSi, ayovneben da zI aznviT moiweven win, xol o isini ki, romel Taganac sasj el s unda vel odeT, mTel am qveyanas fl oben da Cvens qal aqebSi cxovroben?"

III. 13. "marTal ia, es saxel ovani kaci gvimtkicebs, roma el ebi Cvens ierisS ver gauZI ebeno, da sabuTad mohyavs amas winaT momxdari SemTxveva. magram vin ar icis, rom brZol is Sedegebi uTuod gansazRvrul pirobebs ar eqvemdebareba da rom, vinc exl a SemTxveviT damarcxeba ganica-da, mudam imnairive ubedurebis I ukma ar iqneba? piriqIT, xSirad gamarj veba bedis ukuRmarTobas gamoasworebs xol me da damarcxebul ebs xvdeba wil ad. amitom Cven im imediT, rom romael ebi amieridanac yovel Tvis damarcxebul ni aRmoCndebian brZol ebSio, ar gvmartebs zomaze metad viyoT damSvidebul ni. rom isini damarcxdnen mxol od imis gamo, rom kargad ar moifiqres is, rac saWiro iyo, Cven es unda gamogvadges karg magal iTad da winaswari zomebi miviRoT, raTa moufiqrebl obis gamo xifaTi ar SegvemTxves; da, rasakvirvel ia, aqidan Cven is daskvna ar unda gamovitanot, rom advil ad vaj obebT maT. xom safiqre-

bel ia, rom, raxan winaT Secdomebi dauSves, gamocdil ebiT iswavl iden, Tu ras unda eridon, da amieridan izrunaven, rom Secdoma gamoasworon. xol o Tu maT RvTaeba uwyreba am sazizRari mkvl el obis CadenisaTvis da amiT aixsneba maTi ubedureba, raRa saWiroa Cvenc ar miveSvel oT RvTaebas, TiTqos msj avris dasadebad mas Tavisi Zal a ar hyofnides da Cvenc daxmarebas saWiroebdes? ra saqciel is Cadenis SesaZl ebl oba Ra darCeba sxvebs, Tu Cven gadadgomiT vupasuxebT romael Ta im wyal obas, romel ic gvicavs Cven, rogorc saWiroa, da roml is meoxebiT Cven mSvidad vcxovrobt? amitom, nuravin nu cdil obs warmogvidginos aq micval ebul i gubazi, srul iad ara vaJkacurad motiral i, romel ic TiTqos Tavisi Wril obas ucvenebs TvistomT da evedreba maT Seibral on igi. iqneb es Seeferebodes sacodav da sust arsebaT, magram es ar Seefereba mefes, isic l azTa mefes, miT umetes gubazs. is rom aq iyos, ueWvel ia is, rogorc RvTisnieri da gonieri adamiani, gagvkicxavda Cven amgvari zraxevisaTvis; mogviwodebda ar mivcemodiT sasowarkvetil ebasa da gul acuyebas, da monebis msgavsad ki ar gavqceul iyaviT, aramed aRvWurvil iyaviT kol xis Tavisufal i SegnebiT, vaJkacurad agvetana ubedureba da araferi sasircxo da mama-papuri wesebis Sembil wvel i ar Cagvedina, arsebul mdgomareobaSi davrcenil iyaviT da imedi gvqonoda, rom uzenaesis Tval i ar moakl deba ers. nu Tu rame-nairad dasaj erebel ia, rom gubazi, romel sac Zal adobam mouspo sicocxl e, yvel afer amas Sesawynarebl ad Tvl is, xol o Cven, roml ebic mas siyvarul iT vepyrobit, winaaRm-degs vfiqrobt? magram me meSinia, vai Tu mxol od imis gamoc, rom aseTi ram gavifigreT da ganvizraxeT, udidesi sasj el i mogvezRos. Tu Cven SevudgebiT gadadgomas iseTi imedebiT, roml ebic bundovania da hgul isxmoben saqmis warmarTvisas sasworis an aqeT an iqiT gadaxras, maSin xom saSinel eba iqneboda aseT gardamwyvet wuTebSi mxol od

bedze vyofil iyaviT damokidebul i; an da, iqneb, imaT, vinc es gza airCia, ufro gabedul ad SesZI on am samarcxvino saqmis Sesrul eba. xol o, Tu es boroteba winaswar ukve yovel mxriT naTel ia, nu Tu zizRis Rirsni ar arian isini, vinc es gafiqrebinaT? Tu rogor ganvTavisufl deT amaTgan, me ukve sakmaod vil aparake. me im azrisa var, rom saWiroa romaEl Ta mefes vacnoboT momxdari ambavi, raTa igi saTanadod moepyras imaT, visac am mkvl el obaSi mTavari dan-aSaul i miuZRvis, da Tu is amas izams, amieridan mois-poba Cveni uTanxmoeba romaEl ebTan: kvl av erTad vil aSqrebT, Zvel eburad erTad gavvevT cxovrebiS Wapans. Tu ki is uaryofs Cvens Txovnas, maSin unda moviTatbiroT, mizanSe-wonil i iqneba Tu ara meore gzas davadgeT. Tu ase mov-iqceviT, imasac davamtkicebT, rom cxonebul i gubazi ar dagviviwynia, da imasac, rom saqmeebs mofiqrebiT vagvarebT da ara windauxedavad”.

**[georgika, bizantiel i mwerlebis cnobebi saqarTvel os Sesaxeb. t. 3, tf., 1936, gv.64-71]**

rogorc aietis aseve fartazis sityva emociur principi-pebzea agebul i da real ur politikur vitarebasTan Sewonil i. TiToeul i maTgani logikur aspeqtze dayrdnobiT asabuTebS kol xetis damokidebul ebas sparseTTan da romTan. aietic da fartazic Sinagani ganwyobis gul wrefel obiT “xibl aven” msmenel ebs. mTavari arsi maTi sityvissa kol xTa saxel mwifo politikis momaval ia. maTi Sexeduli ebebi uaRresad kontrastul ia, Tumca imdenad dasabuTebul i, rom rogorc pirvel i, ise meore, srul ad Tavisufl ad SeiZI eba daedos safuZvl ad am didi SekrebiS dadgenil ebas. aietis sityva orientirebul ia sparseTze, xol o fartazisa romze.

orive maTgani eyrdnoba cxad warmodgenebs da im erTaderTi gzis warmocenas, romel mac kol xTa qveyana unda

gadaarCinos. oratorTa sityvebi gansakuTrebul i moqal aq-  
obrivi paTosiT gamoirCevian. maTi azriT saxel mwifo pol i-  
tikis fundamenti wonasworobiT aRsavse pol itikuri  
Semoqmedebaa, romel ic gul isxmobs im rezul tatebis  
winaswar ganWvretas, romel ic ama Tu im qmedebas mohyveba.

fartazma Tavis sityvaSi bizantiuri mimarTul ebis pol i-  
tika kol xTa qveynis istoriul arCevanad gamoxata. kol xebma  
gaiazres fartazis warmodgenebi, sadac wina pl anze iyo  
wamoweul i qveynis interesis Sesabamisoba mTI ianobaSi da  
ara erT konkretul SemTxevasTan dakavSirebiT. Tumca ki  
gubaz mefis mkvl el obas kol xTa msofi mxedvel oba ro-  
mael Ta saxel mwifo pol itikis veragobis simbol od aRiq-  
vamda. es faqti aietis "wisqvil ze asxamda wyal s", rac  
brwyinval ed iqna mis mier gamoyenebul i. man mefis mkvel el o-  
bis faqtze dayrdnobiT moaxdina SekrebiL Ta azris konso-  
lidacia. amitom mxol od ZI ier argumentebs SeeZI o azvi-  
rTebul adamanTa msofi mxedvel obis Semobruneba roma-  
li orientaciisken, rogorc aietis aseve fartazis si-  
tyvis siZI iere, romel ic qarTvel Ta momaval saxel mwifo  
pol itikas gansazRvravda, efuZneboda Rma rwmenas. mTa-  
vari winaaRmdgoba qveynis "istoriul i gzis" princip-  
l ad gansxvavebul i xedva iyo. aieti sTavazobda kol xebs  
saxl mwifo pol itikaSi sparsul i orientaciis damkvid-  
rebisaken l tol vas, rac qveyanaSi arsebul i pol itikuri  
arqiteqturis Zireul cvl il ebebs niSnavda. istoriul  
gzisgasayarze qveyanas unda aerCia saxel mwifo pol itikis  
qvakuTxedi \_ aRmosavl eTi Tu dasavl eTi.

rogorc aietis, aseve fartazis sityva aRsavsea swrafad  
ganviTarebadi situaciebiT, roml ebic maTTvis sasurvel  
final s ganapirobeben. yovel i mizanscena oratorebisa  
uswrafesad cval ebadia da orientirebul ia kol xTa emociur  
bunebaze. rogorc erTis, ise meoris mWevrmetyvel eba emya-  
reba "mistvis misaReb" sinamdvil es, romel ic maTi msj el o-

bidan gamomdinare, uaRresad l ogikuri da real uria. ideal is gamoxatva fartazsac da aietsac keTil Sobil uri ubral oebiTa aqvs warmoceni i, rac kol xTaTvis kidev ufro gasagebs xdis oratorTa survil s. aieti kritiku l ad udgeba romaul sinamdvil es da naTel i magal iTebiT avsebs protests maT mimarT. aseve iqceva fartazic, rom l is sityva gaj erebul ia sparsTa mimarT siZul vil iT da Tavisi STambeWdavi gamosvl iT pasiurs xdis aietis mowodebebs.

kol xebze uSual o zemoqmedebis moxdenaSi isini tol sar udeben erTmaneTs da mTel i Zal iT iyeneben zneobriv sentenciebs. isini mouwodeben Sekrebi ebs, raTa uerTguli on im sinamdvil es, romelic maT cxovrebam Sestavaza. kol xebi aRtacebaSi modian aietis sityvaSi gamoxatul i grZnobebis simZafriT. es ukanasknel i Sekrebi T Seaxsenebs, rom maTTvis yvel aze sasurvel i saxel mwifo politika "sakuTar Tavze dayrdnobaa", magram dRes Seqmnil i politikuri situaciisa gamo kol xebma mxari unda dauwiron imas, "vinc ufro keTil is msurvel ia, vinc uryevad icavs keTil ganwyobil ebas Tavisianebisa da mokavSireTa mimarT". gaiZveroba, fl idoba, borotmoqmedeba \_ ai, is arsebiTi Tvisebebi, roml ebic ganapirobeben romael Ta politikas kol xebis mimarT. aietma am faqtiT siRmiseul i grZnobebi Searxia da kol xTa kreba "aiZul a" real uri movl enebis miRma arsebul i sinamdvil is arsi masTan erTad gaeTavisebina. rogorc aieti aseve fartazi, kol xebis real uri, faqtobrivi mdgomareobis gamoyenebiT radikal urad cvlian maT Sexedul ebeps. isini umaRl es faseul obaze emociuri zemoqmedebiT cdil oben sasurvel i rezul tatis miRebas. erovnul i Rirsebebis winwamoweviT maT maqsimal urad gazardes kol xTa krebis TiToeuli monawil is Sinagani ganwyoba da maTTvis sasurvel i gziT warmarTes igi.

## Tavi 9

### qarTul i saxel mwifo pol itikis istoriidan

ivane j avaxiSvil i berZenTa  
pol itikis zogierTi sakiTxis  
Sesaxeb saqarTvel oSi

saqarTvel os mdgomareoba VIII-X s.

... berZnebi aras dros gul ubryvil o da gul Cvil i pol itikosebi ara yofil an da maTs mfarvel obas yovel Tvis maTis sakuTaris saqmisaTvisac sargebl oba unda moetana. amitom qarTvel -bizantiel Ta damokidebul eba marto qriastianul s siyvarul sa da Zmobaze ar iyo damyarebul i; mas Tavisi ufl ebrivi niadagica hqonda..

... es damokidebul eba metad rTul i iyo da cval ebadi sxvadasxva garemoebaTa mixedvit; magram erTi ram-ki yovel Tvis Seuryevel i iyo: saqarTvel os mTavarTa da mefeTa saxel wodebaSi berZnebi mtkiced icavdnen erTxel miRebul s wess; ueWvel ia, maTis azriT am wess Tavisi ufl ebrivi mniSvnel oba unda hqonoda, pol itikur damokidebul ebaTa Tvis ebisa da xarixis sxvadasxvaobis gamomxatvel i unda yofil iyo. sazogadod, bizantiis mTavroba cnobil ia Tavisi medidurobiT da Tavisi miwer-moweraSi yovel Tvis cdil obda mezobel i mfl obel ebisaTvis,

romel nic Taviant qveyanaSiac da yvel ganac mefeabad iTv-  
l ebodnen, mefis saxel i ar ewodebina...

**[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad.  
t.II, Tavi V, Tb., 1983, gv. 109]**

... qarTvel mefeTa da bizantiis keisarTa Soris damok-  
idebul eba, rasakvirvel ia, yovel Tvis erTnairi ara yofi-  
l a da sxvadasxva garemoebaTa mixedviT xan ufro mWidro  
iyo, xan ufro garegnul i; magram, rogorc Cans, keisris  
ufl eba saqarTvel oSi aras dros mainc ubral o mfarvel -  
obisa da gavl enis sazRvars ar gadascil ebia, samefos  
Sinaur saqmeebSi garevis ufl eba ara hqonia...

**[iqve, gv. 112]**

... keisari qarTvel Ta mfarvel i iyo da ara batoni, mas  
saqarTvel os miwa-wyl is dapyroba ar SeeZl o da Tu amas,  
Tundac erTis romel isame bagratonianis nebayofl obiT,  
moisurvebda, qarTvel mTavarTa erTobl ivi winaaRmdegoba  
eRobeboda misi ganzraxvis ganxorciel ebas. Tu amasTanave  
gavixsenebT, rom isini mouridebl ad emuqrebodnen, Tqven  
giRal atebT, Tqvens dauZinebel s mters miveSvel ebiT da  
qveyanas agioxrebTo, maSin CvenTvis srul ebiT naTel i iqne-  
ba, rom am dros qarTvel Ta ymoba mxol od garegnul i  
yofil a da ufros-umcros samefoTa Soris kavSirs ufro  
udrida, vidre namdvil s pol itikur damokidebul ebas.

**[iqve, gv. 109]**

**arabul i politikis ni uansebi  
saqarTvel oSi ivane j avaxi Svili s  
Sef asebi T**

**qarTvel Ta politikuri da kul turul i mdgomareoba  
arabTa batonobis pirvel i ori saukunis ganmavl obaSi**

643-645 w. dadebul i xel Sekrul ebiT qarTvel ebma arabTa batonoba icnes da yovel wl iuri xarkis ZI eva ikisres. xarki koml obrivi yofil a da rogorc arabebis ise qarTvel ebsac am xarkisaTvis umTavresi yuradReba miuqceviaT...

... xel Sekrul ebi dadebis dros, rogorca Cans, orTav mxares didi yuradReba agreTve sarwmunoebisaTvis miuqceviaT: qarTvel ebs uzrunviaT, rom maTi ekl esiebi, monastrebi da saml ocvel oebi xel uxl ebel i yofil iyo, maTi, qristianeTa, sicocxl e uzrunvel i yofil iyo; xol o arabebi amis Tanaxmani iyvnen, oRond-ki qarTvel ebs maTTvis morCil eba gamoecxadebinaT da yovel wl iuri xarkis ZI eva ekisraT. arabebis gul is nadebi da natvra, rogorc yovel Tvis da TviT muhammedis mierac iyo dakanonebul i, mainc rasakvirvel ia isl amis gavrcel eba iyo. musul imanad qceul ebs yovel gvare upiratesoba da SeRavaTi eniWebodaT; magram amastanave vinc erTxel gamahmadiandeboda, imas isl amis datoveba aRar SeeZl o, Torem isl amis moRal ate sikvdil iT daisj eboda...

... mopirdapire mxareebis politikuri sakiTxisaTvis j erovani yuradReba ar miuqceviaT: xel Sekrul ebaSi aRniSnul ia mxol od, rom qarTvel ebi arabTa politikur ymobas anu qveSevrdomobas kistrul obdnen; magram ra damokidebul eba unda yofil iyo saqarTvel osa da arabTa saxel mwifos Soris, - iq amis Sesaxeb araferia naTqvami. piroba

ise iyo mxol od dadebul i, rom qarTvel ebi arabTa qveSevr-domni unda yofil iyvnen da maTi qveSevrdomoba gamoixateboda l aSgris miSvel ebiT, roca arabebi "RmrTis mtrebs" eomebodnen, da xarkis Zl eviT. samagierod arabebS qarTvel ebi mtrebs Semosevisa da mZl avrebsagan unda daefaraT; xol o Sinauri saqmeebis marTva-gamgeobaSi saqarTvel o damoukidebel i iqmneboda Tu ara, an vin unda gasZRol oda win Sinaur saqmeebs, amaze xel Sekrul ebaSi araferia naTqvami. magram, Tu gavixsenebT, rom omSi Zl evamosil i arabebi Tavdapirvel ad samoqal aqo da saxel mwifo cxovrebaSi srul ebiT gamoucdel ni da uZl urni iyvnen da amis gamo yvel gan, sadac-ki isini gabatondnen, pirvel xanebSi mainc, saxel mwifos Sinauri marTva-gamgeobisaTvis xel i ar uxl iaT da isev Zvel eburi wesi dastoves, unda vifiqroT, rom amnairadve moiqceodnen arabni saqarTvel oSiac metadre imitom, rom qarTvel ebi maT TavisiT dahnebdnen da qveyana Zal iT ar daupyriaT.

**[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.II, Tavi III, Tb., 1983, gv. 85-86]**

... rodesac arabebi qarTI -kaxeTSi pirvel ad Semovidnen da qarTvel ebTan zavis da xel Sekrul ebis dadebis Semdgom ukan wavidnen, "daacadnes sarkinozni Semosvl ad qarTI ad" da maTis "warsvl iTgan wel iwadsa ormocdaaTsa arRara Semovidodes, aramed miiRebdes xarksa erisTavTagan"-ao. ese igi 645 wl iTgan moyol ebul i 695 wl amde arabebi TiTon ki ar modiodnen xarkis asakrefad, aramed qarTveli i erisTavebi TiTona hkrefdnen da TviTve abarebdnen arabesao...

... TandaTan viTareba Seicval a: arabebma darial ani da aRmosavl eT kavkasionis sxva karebi da qveynebic daiWires da Tavisi Tavi Crdil oeTiT uzrunvel hyves. maTi mmarTvel oba mkacri gaxda; maTi amirebi da TviT xal ife-

bic qveSevrdom qveynebis Sinaur saqmeebSi ereodnen. amas  
Tan daerTo saxel mwifoebri vi da ekonomiuri Seviwroeba.

[iqve, gv. 86-87]

... xal ifani imas-ki aRar sj erdebodnen, rogorc Tavda-  
pirvel ad iyo, roca marto xaraj is aRebiTa da meSvel i  
jaris gamoyvaniT kmayofil debodnen, aramed ukve qveynis  
uzenaes marTva-gamgeobaSic ereodnen: isini niSnavdnen  
erisTavebs...

[iqve, gv. 89]

... arabebi yovel gvars upiratesobas aniWebdnen da  
mfarvel obas uwevdnen imas, vinc qristianobas uarhyofda  
da mahmadianobas miemxroboda; raki amasTanave qristianebi  
mZime xarkiT iyvnen datvirTul ni, arc gasakvirvel ia, Tu  
rom sul ierad sustni da mxdal ebi "mfl obel Ta zedamdgo-  
mel Ta" banakSi gadavidodnen. ioane sabanisZes mwuxarebiT  
aRniSnul i aqvs: "aRverieniT ersa ucxosa (arabebS)... naTe-  
savsa sawuTrolsa amis moyvaresa... sarwmunoebisa Cuenisa  
maginebel Ta, romel Tagan viswaveT saqmeni maTni da vmoneb-  
diT gul is Tqumasa gul Ta CuenTasa mibaZvebiTa maTiTa"-  
o... magram aseTia adamianis sul ieri buneba, rom igi yo-  
vel s Zal momreobas da Zal datanebas devnasa da tanj vas,  
Tundac gancxadebul ad, Zal RoniT ar iyos, uxil avad mainc,  
sul ierad winaaRmdogobas uwevs da magrdeba. maSinac swored  
am devnam gamoafxizl a qarTvel oba. am Seviwroebam Caaxeda  
Rmad cxovrebaSi da Seqmna is sul ieri simtkice, romel -  
ic yovel gvars fizikur Roneze uZl ieresia. swored am  
dros gaisma mWevrmetyvel ebiT aRsavse qadageba qarTvel  
erSi: droa gons movideT da sarwmunoebri v - erovnul i  
TviTcnobiereba gavacxovel oTo. aseT niWier mqadagebl ad  
iyo ioane sabanisZe, abo tfil el is megobari da misi mart-  
vil obis xel ovani aRmweri. Tavisi Rma dakvirvebis una-

ris wyal obiT man cxovrebis kerZo SemTxvevaSi, abo tfil el is martvil obaSi, mis qristes sj ul isaTvis mowamebriv sikvdil Si sazogadoebriv mniSvel ovani movl ena hpova TviT da sxvebsac, Tavis TanamoZmebs, daanaxva. ioane sabanisZem Tanamedrove qarTvel sazogadoebas yuradReba im garemoebaze miaqcevina, rom VIII saukuneSi, arabebis batonobis dros, tomiTve arabma da Camomavl obiT mahmadianma abom Tavisi sarwmunoeba uarhyo da dasTxia umanko sixli i. amave dros-ki TviT qarTvel ni, romel Tac xuTas wel iwadze metia, rac qristianoba miRebul i hqondaT, arabTa mZl avrobiT Tavzardacemul ni "SiSiTa ganil evian da iryevian, viTarca I erwamni qarTagan Zl ierTa"-o!.. gana damafiqrebel i ar iyo aseTi mdgomareoba, rodesac araboba qarTvel obas dids gansacdel s uqadda?.. aki amitomac iyo, rom ioane sabanisZe gul modgined uxsnida Tu ra diadi mniSvel oba da Rrma azri unda hqondes abos Tavganwirul s sikvdil s, imdroindel i qarTvel obisaTvis. "SenTq friad damikvirdebis Cuen, mihmarTavs igi abos, rameTu Jamsa amas oden mefobisa ismailtel Ta didebisa - Sen nebsiT simdabl C qristqTvis aRircie da maxvil iTa pyrobil i igi Sjul i ganagde da WeSmariti igi aRiare"-o.

gana es qristianobis zneobrivi Zl ierebis saucxovo damamtkicebel i sabuTi ar iyo, Tu rom TviT arabma Tavis iT, Zal dautanebl iv mahmadianoba qristianobaze gasval a? mahmadianobas-ki arabebi Zal iT avrcel ebdnen, amitomac igi "maxO iTa pyrobil i Sjul i iyo"; da Tu abos mistvis mainc Tavi daunebebia, es ioane sabanisZis azriT, cxadad gviCvenebs, romel i am sarwmunoebaTagani iyo "WeSmariti". abo tfil el is Tavganwirul s msxverpl s unda gaemxnevebina devnil i qristianeni, sul is simtkice mieca da ioane sabanisZis sityviT marTlac "siyvarul i igi qristqSi Cuendamoda sarwmunoebal Cueni mis mimarT kual ad ganaxl da"-o; es ganaxl eba abo tfil el is Rvawl ma warmoSva, am

garemoebam "swavl ul ni ufrols gul isxmier" hyo da Caafiqra, "Seryeul ni ufrols ganamtkica" da gaamxneva, xol o "ganmt-kicebul ni" gaamxiarul a da gaaxara.

ioane sabanisZisaTvis es sakmarisi ar iyo: ganaxl ebul s sarwmunoebrivs grZnobas qarTvel ebisaTvis unda Caenerga erovnul i Tavmoyvareoba da siamaye, rom marto berZnebs-ki ara, aramed "qarTI isaca mkvidrTa aqus sarwmunoebal da wodebul ars dedad wmidaTa romel Tame TQT aqa mkvidrTa da romel Tame ucxoTa, sxviT mosrul Ta Cuen Soris, Jamad-Jamad Cuens Soris gamoCinebul Ta"; saWiro iyo mxol od, rom am pirvel adgil obriv qarTvel mowameebisaTvis qarTvel ebs saTanado pativi ecaT da "xil ul isa amisgan axl isa mowamisa pirvel Talca igi gurwmenCs". winaT erovnul wmidanebs saqarTvel oSi j erovani pativi ara hqonia, aramed saberZneTisa da msofl io wmidanTa Tayvaniscema yofil a gavrcel ebul i; ioane sabanisZe-ki qarTul i erovnul i mimarTul ebis mqadagebel i yofil a ekl esiasa da sarwmunoebaSi; es-es iyo droebiT mibnedil i erovnul i Tavmoyvareoba da mimarTul eba iRviZebda da ioane sabanisZe misi pirvel i da niWiT aRsavse mqadagebel i yofil a!...

[iqve, gv. 90-91]

## **ivane j avaxi Svi liseuli Tval sazrisi monRol uri politikis Sesaxeb saqarTvel oSi**

### **rusudanis amocda monRol Ta winaaRmdeg dasavl eT evropiTgan samxedro daxmarebis misaRebad**

... rusudansa da saqarTvel os mTavrobas gaaxsendaT, rom laSa-giorgis mefobis daml evs, romis papma sTxova saqarTvel os, pal estinis mahmadianTagan gansaTavisufl ebl ad ganzraxul s j varosanTa omSi Tavisi jariTurT monawil eoba mieRo, rom dasavl eTel ebs brZola gaadvil ebodaT. maSin es ganzraxva, gareSe mizezis gamo, CaiSala. exla, rodesac TviT saqarTvel o monRol ebma gansacdel Si Caagdes, ratom saqarTvel os mTavrobas ar SeeZlo Tavis mxriT dasavl eT evropis qristiane saxel mwifoebisaTvis aseve samxedro daxmareba eTxova, miT umetes, rom monRol - Ta saSiSroeba maTTvisac gasagebi unda gamxdariyo, ase umsj el iaT maSindel politikosebs saqarTvel oSi.

Tavisi gegmis gansaxorciel ebl ad rusudan mefes, etyoba, 1239 w. ax. x. romis papTan, grigol me-9-esTan, epistol e gaugzavnia, romel Sic monRol Tagan saqarTvel oze Tavs damtydari gansacdel i iyo aweril i da sadac rusudani dasavl eTel qristianebs samxedro daxmarebas sTxovda monRol ebis winaaRmdeg. romis papis gulis mosagebad, saqarTvel os mTavroba agreTve atyobinebda, Cven aRmosavleTisa da dasavl eTis ekl esiebis SeerTebis monatrul ni varT.

maSindel i politikuri vitarebis gamo, am epistol emacki romis papis karamde dagvianebit miaRwia. 1240 w. daweril i sapsuxo epistol iTgan gamoirkva, rom grigol me-9-s saqarTvel os mTavrobisTvis sasixarul os arafris Set-

yobineba ar SeeZl o: aramcTu igi samxedro daxmarebaze uars uTvl ida, piriqIT is swerda kidevac, Cven TiTonac iseT mdgomareobaSi varT, rom swored SegecodebiTo. magram mainc gul s nu gaitexT: am Cven epistol esTan erTad, moqadage monazon-misionerebs gigzavniT ekl esiaTa SeerTebis gansaxorciel ebl ado!..<sup>1</sup>

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad.  
t.III, Tb., 1982, gv. 22]

### **monRol Ta gandevnis yovel gvare imedis gaqarwyl eba da maTTan SeTanxneba-dazavebis aucil ebl oba**

dasavl eT evropiTgan, samxedro daxmarebis magier, kaTo-  
like monazon-misionerebs gamomgzavrebisa da mosvl is  
ambavi rusudansa da saqarTvel os mTavrobas, cxadia, cuds  
gunebaze daayenebda. raki es ukanasknel i imedic gacruvda  
da monRol Tagan aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os ganTavisufi eb-  
is Sesazl ebl oba arsaITgan-Ra Canda, amitom axal pol i-  
tikur mdgomareobas, nebsiT, Tu unebl ied, angariSi unda  
gasweoda. Tumca, marTal ia, dasavl eTi saqarTvel o mters  
arc dapyrobi i da arc gadal axul i ar hqonda, misi  
damoukidebl obac winandeburad Seuryevel i iyo, magram mTel i  
aRmosavl eT saqarTvel o xom mters xel Si eWira? am gare-  
moebam axal i viTareba Seqmna, roml istvisac maSindel pol i-  
tikosebs unda gansakuTrebul i yuradReba mieqciaT.

im droisaTvis saqarTvel oSi damyarebul i mdgomareo-  
biTgan orgvari gamosaval i iyo Sesazl ebel i: an saqarTve-  
l os saxel mwifos mTavroba unda arsebul s viTarebas

---

<sup>1</sup> [m. TamaraSvil i, ist. kaTol ikobisa, gv. 570].

Sehrigeboda, an raime gziT misi gamosworeba ecadna. pirveli gamosaval i saqarTvel os orad gayofisa da politikuri mTI ianobis mospobis momaswavebel i iyo. es imdenad dids erovnul sa da saxel mwifoebrivs safrTxes warmoadgenda, rom misi damRupvel i yvel a Sedegis gaTval - iswinebac-ki Znel i iyo. amitomac mmarTvel wreebs, Tu-ki maT odnavi politikuri al Ro da SorsmWvretel oba aR-moaCndebodaT, meore SesaZI ebl obis ucdel ad, arsebul vitarebasTan Serigebis arc ufl eba hqondaT da arc See-ZI oT. meore gamosaval i-ki mxol od monRol ebTan mol aparakebisa da SeTanxmebis gziT iyo misaRwevi.

ueWvel ia, swored amit unda aixsnebodes, rom rusudanma gadaswyvita, monRol ebTan saerTo sazavo pirobebze mol aparakeba daewyo<sup>1</sup>. am mizniT maT mTavarsardi obasTan ukve sakmaod SeCveul ni mxargrZel ebi, amirspasal ari avag da SanSe mandaturTuxucesi, varam gagel i da SoTa kupri mo-ciqul ebad wargzavna. magram igi marto amit ar dakmayofil ebul a: rusudanma gadaswyvita uSual od TviT baTo yaanistvis miemarTna, rom uvnebl obis simtkicis aRTqma piradad misgan mieRo. uamisod is monRol ebisatvis mindobas, quTaisiTgan saqarTvel os dedaqal aqSi gadmosvl asa da sazavo SeTanxmebis sabol ood damTavrebas, ver bedavda. baTo yaanTan Crdil oetSi rusudanma TviT saqarTvel os mTavrobis Tavmj domare, vazirTa upirvel esi da mwignobar-Tuxucesi, arsenic waravl ina. mxol od misgan am sapisuxismgebl o daval ebis asrul ebisa da misi iqiTgan dabrunebis Semdgom, saqarTvel osa da monRol Ta sayaanos Soris zogadi politikuri da sazavo SeTanxmeba moxerxda.

[iqve, gv. 23]

---

<sup>1</sup> [JamTaaRmwereI i, gv. 600, 604].

## **zavis pirobebi da daviT IV-is monRol Ta yaanis urdoSi gamgzavreba. rusudanis sikvdil i**

saqarTvel os mTavrobam monRol Ta sayaanos uzenaesoba scno zogadad da nebayofl obiT, magram im ufl ebrivi gansxvavebiT, rom l iXT-amereTSi, viTarca Zal iT dapyrobil Si, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas garda, monRol Ta sayaanos umaRI esi moxel eebic iqnebodnen da l aSqaric darCe-boda, dasavl eTi saqarTvel o-ki, viTarca monRol Ta uzenaesobis nebayofl obiT mcnobel i, monRol Tagan Tavisufal i darCe-boda. saqarTvel o amasTanave monRol Ta sayaanosTvis yovel - wl iurad 50000 oqros perperis gamoRebas kisrul obda. monRol ebi Taviant mxriv rusudanis Zes daviTs srul iadi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos mefed scnobdnen. am gziT saqarTvel os pol itikuri mTI ianoba daurRvevel i rCe-boda.

dadebul i pirobis Tanaxmad, rusudani Tavis SviliTa da TanamosaydriT daviTiTurT 1242-3 w. isev saqarTvel os dedaqal aqs tfil isSi gadmovid, sadac is sazeimod mefed unda daesvaT. magram monRol Ta adgil obrivma xel isufli ebam daviTi saqarTvel os mefed dasamtkicebl adjer baTo yaantan gagzavna, xol o Semdeg iqiTgan mangu did yaantanac mouxda wasvl a. am droiTgan moyol ebul i samefo taxtze asasvl el ad monRol Ta yaanis urdoSi gamgzavreba da iq damtkiceba Semovida wesad, ristvisac Soreul s qveyanaSi wasvl a da sakmaod xangrZl ivi mgzavroba iyo xol me saWiro. am SemTxvevaSic jer baTosTan misvl asa da yofnas, Semdeg mangu yaantan gamgzavreba-miRwevas ori wel iwadi mounda. daviTis dedas rusudans, romel sac Tavis sicocxl is ganmavl obaSi bevri ubedureba hqonda nanaxi, Svil s ambis uqonl obis mwuxarebac daerTo zeda, cxovre-bis bedis trial is amdeni ukuRmarTobiT dasneul ebul i igi 1245 w. tfil isSi gardaicval a.

amrigad, mouI odnel ad saqarTvel o srul ebiT axal sa da Soreul i qveynebiTgan mosul s ucxo xal xs gaecno, roml is social uri da pol itikuri weswyobil ebac, msotl mxedvel obaca da kul turac qarTvel ebisaTvis cnobil - isagan Zirianad gansxvavdeboda. asi wl is ganmavl obaSi maT batonobas saqarTvel oSi SeuZl ebel ia Tavisi Rrma kval i ar daeCnia, rogorc qveynis iseve xal xis mdgomareobaze, da Tval saCino cvl il eba ar gamoewvia Cveni winaprebis imdroindel TaobaTa yofacxovrebas da mdgomareobaSi. amitomac saqarTvel os am xnis pol itikuri da kul turul i viTarebis gasagebad, iseve, rogorc Cveni winaprebi gaecvnen monRol ebs, Cvenc, sanam istoriul i amebis mimdinareobaze moTxrobis gagrZel ebas SevudgebodeT, unda monRol Ta maSindel i viTareba zogadad mainc gaviTval - iswinoT...

[iqve, gv. 24]

... saqarTvel osa da monRol Ta saxel mwifo weswyobil ebaTa Sorisaca da kul turul mdgomareobisa da ufl ebrivi Segnebis donis mxriTac, rogorc ukve davrwundiT, friad didi gansxvaveba iyo. ra Tqma unda, SeuZl ebel ia, rom amis gamo saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivobasa da kul turul mdgomareobas monRol Ta pol itikuri batonobis kval i ar dastyoboda. monRol Ta sayaano samxedro sapatronymo weswyobil ebas, momTabare, eqstensiurs meurneobaze da omianobiT monapovars saxsrebze damyarebul s sabrZanebel s warmoadgenda. amisda gvarad iq mTavari mniSvnel oba samxedro Zal asa da xel isufl ebas hqonda: qvey-nisa da xal xis bediRbal i maT xel Si iyo. saqarTvel os saxel mwifo weswyobil eba-ki samoqal aqo xel isufl ebis upiratesobaze iyo damyarebul i da samxedro xel isufl ebac mas eqvemdebareboda: ukve marto is garemoebac, rom mwignobarTuxucesi, qarTul i saxel mwifo samarTI is Tanax-

mad, vazirTa yovel Ta, maT Soris samxedro ministris, amir-  
spasal arisac, upirvel esi da savaziros Tavmj domare iyo,  
saqarTvel oSi samoqal aqo xel isufl ebis samxedroze up-  
iratesobis ucil obel ad gamomJRavnebel ia. monRol Ta  
sayaanoSi-ki marTvagamgeobis saWe mTI ianad samxedro er-  
Teul ebis ufrosTa xel Si iyo...

**[iqve, gv. 43-44]**

... raki qarTul i saxel mwifo samarTI is Zal iT daviT  
l aSa-giorgis Zesa da mis momxre j gufs saqmis mogeba ar  
SeeZl o, man, yaanis karze im dros namyofi, das. evropiTgan  
mosul i despanis mowmobiT, Turme monRol Ta uzenaes mbr-  
Zanebel s Txovna miarTva, rom sacil obel i sakiTxi, Tu vis  
ekuTvnoda saqarTvel os saxel mwifo taxti, qarTul i sa-  
marTI is mixedviT-ki ar yofil iyo ganxil ul i da gadaw-  
yvetil i, aramed monRol Ta samarTI is Zal iT. ra Tqma  
unda, es saqciel i arc sakadrissi iyo da arc gonieri,  
ramdenadac dampyrobil isaTvis saqarTvel os saxel mwifo  
weswyobil ebisa da samarTI is Sel axvis waqezebas war-  
moadgenda, magram mowinaaRmdege pol itikuri j gufebis  
vnebaTaRel va da Tavisi survil is yovel gvare saSual ebiT  
miRwevis wadil i imdenad didi iyo, rom saxel mwifos da  
erovnul i interesebi TiTqos srul ebiT daviwyebul i iyo...

**[iqve, gv. 49-50]**

... raki TviT saqarTvel os warmomadgenel Tave survil iT  
sakamaTo sakiTxi unda monRol uri samarTI is mixedviT  
gadawyvetil iyo, monRol Ta didma yaanma guluqmac ase am-  
jobina da 1247 wel s qarTvel Ta am gaWianurebul davas  
amrigad mouRo bol o: saqarTvel os saxel mwifo taxtis  
orive maZiebel i mefeabad daamtkica, magram, raki daviT  
l aSa-giorgis Ze wl ovanobiT ufro xnieri iyo, amitomac  
is ufros mefed daniSna, daviT rusudanis Ze-ki, viTarca

Tavis biZaSVil ze j eel i, umcros mefeld scno. amnairad, daviT rusudanis Zem waago da daviT I aSa-giorgis Zem arsebiTad moigo, magram am ukanasknel isa da mis momxreTa pol itikuri j gufis sibeciT, namdvil ad da ufro metadki qarTul i saxel mwifo samarTal i iyo Sel axul i da monRol urma gaimarj va, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivs mTI ianobas Seeqmna safrTxe da monRol Ta batonobisaTvis ufro xel sayrel i pirobebi damyarda.

guluq didi yaanis zemoaRniSnul i gadawyvetil ebis Tanaxmad, srul iadi saqarTvel os saxel mwifo SesaZI ebel i iyo da bol osdabol os unda or samefod gayofil iyo, mxol od ufrosi mefis uzenaesobis SenarCunebiT. magram sabednierod ukanasknel s Jams am or mocil e biZaSVil - mamidaSVil sa da maT momxre didebul ebs mainc imdeni goniereba aRmoaCndaT, rom es SesaZI ebl oba umal sinamdvil ed ar eqciaT da saqarTvel os mTI ianoba maSinve ar daerRviaT: orive daviTi rom saqarTvel oSi mefeabad dabrundnen, maT monRol uri wesiT saxel mwifo ar gauyviaT, aramed erTica da meorec saqarTvel os dedaqal aqSi darCa da qveynis marTvagamgeobac orives saxel iT warmoebda. magram, momaval i ganxeTqil ebis RvarZI is Tesl i, ra Tqma unda, mainc Cabneul i iyo da mxol od Sesaferisi amindi sWirdeboda, rom RvarZI i niadagiTgan amosul iyo da Tavis gesl iani nayofi moetana...

[iqve, gv. 50-51]

**ivane j avaxi Svil i rusul i pol itikis  
Sesaxeb saqarTvel oSi  
(XVIII s. miwurul i)**

... qristianul i ruseTi Tavis pol itikur metoqeTagan - ingl isisa da safrangeTisagan - gansxvavebiT, qarTvel i, azerbaijanel i da somexi xal xebis "ganmaTavisufl ebl is" rol Si gamodioda. ruseTi eomeboda saqarTvel os saukunovan mCagvrel ebs - Turqetisa da iranis saxel mwifoebis, mxars uWerda amierkavkasiel i xal xebis ganmaTavisufl ebel brZol as, maSin roca ingl isi da safrangeTi Turqetisa da irans aRmosavl eTSi TavianTi batonobis damyarebisatvis iyenebdnen.

ruseTis feodal uri saxel mwifo, Tavis mxriv, ra Tqma unda, dampyrobli ur miznebs isaxavda da ara "mcirericxovani xal xebis dacvas Turqetisa da iranis agresiiisagan"<sup>1</sup>. carizmi imTavitve cdil obda, rom saqarTvel o ruseTis imperiis Cveul ebriv guberniad gadaeqcia<sup>2</sup>. magram ruseTis brZola amierkavkasiis daufl ebisatvis osmal eT-iranis winaarmdeg adgil obriv xal xebSi didi simpatiebit sargebli obda. isini xSirad fiqrobdnen, rom ruseTi maT ucxoel Ta batonobisagan Tu rel igiuri Cagvrisagan gaaTavisufl ebda<sup>3</sup>.

**[saqarTvel os istoriis narkveebi, t.IV,  
Tb., 1973, gv. 802-803]**

---

<sup>1</sup> А.В. Фадеев, Россия и Кавказ в первой трети XIX в., Москва, 1960, гв. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Г.В. Хачапуридзе, К истории Грузии первой половины XIX в., 1950, гв. 52.

<sup>3</sup> fadeevi, dasax. naSr., гв. 17.

... erekl es gardacval ebasa da giorgis gamefebasTan dakavSirebiT (1798 w.) qarTI -kaxeTis saSinao-pol itikuri viTareba uaRresad daiZaba. giorgis mZime avadmyofobasTan dakavSirebiT gaCaRda sastiki brZol a samefo saxl is SigniT taxtis daufl ebisaTvis. erTmaneTs upirispirdeboden batoniSvil Ta ufrosi (irakl isagan) da umcrosi (giorgisagan) Stoebi, roml ebic iul on erekl es Zisa da daviT giorgis Zis garSemo daj gufdnen. giorgi mefem daarRvia Tavisi saxl isSvil ebisadmi micemul i piroba, rom taxtis memkvidred iul ons scnobda da ruseTis imperators sakutari Svil is - daviTis memkvidred damtkiceba mostxova. pavl e pirvel ma Tavisi mxriv 1783 w. xel Sekrul eba ganaaxla da 1799 w. 18 april s giorgis Txovna daakmayofil a<sup>1</sup>.

qarTvel feodal Ta Soris iul on da daviT batoniSvil ebis im ori mtrul i partiis garda, roml ebic ruseTsaqarTvel os urTierTobas mxol od 1783 w. traqtatis fargl ebSi scnobdnen, arsebobda kidev erTi mcirericxovani daj gufeba, romel ic ruseTTan srul i SeerTebis momxre iyo<sup>2</sup>. feodal Ta erTi nawil i - esec mcirericxovani - qarTvel i mefis suverenul ufl ebaTa SezRudvis winaarmdeg il aSqrebda da fiqrobda, rom qveynis Sinagani gaerTianebisa Tu sagareo pol itikaSi dipl omatiuri manevrebis gziT SeiZl eboda qarTI -kaxeTis saxel mwifos damoukidebl obis Senarcuneba...

... feodal uri CagvriT Seviwroebul i da gamudmebul SemosevaTa Sedegad dabeCavebul i gl exoba ocnebobda im bednier dReze, roca mSvidobiani cxovreba damyardeboda

---

<sup>1</sup> АКАК, II, № 24, гв. 1147.

<sup>2</sup> И.А. Джавахишвили, Политическое и социальное движение в Грузии в XIX в., СПб., 1906, гв. 10; s. kakabaZe, saqarTvel os istoria, axal i sauk. epoca, Tbil isi, 1922, гв. 251.

da batonymuri usamarTI oba moispoboda. gaCanagebul i mSromel Ta masebi dasawyisSi gul gril ad uyurebdnen qarTI - kaxeTis saxel mwifos momaval beds, roml is ganWvreta maT ar SeeZI oT.

1799 w. noemberSi saqarTvel oSi ruseTTan xel Sekrul ebiT gaTval iswinebul i damxmare l egioni Semovida. am j ars, romel sac gen. l azarevi sardl obda, Tan mohyva ruseTis warmomadgenel i giorgi mefis karze - ministri koval enski...

**[iqve gv. 803-804]**

... saqarTvel o maSin iseT mZime avadmyofs hgavda, romel sac "ZI ivs-Ra SeuZI ia mkurnal s Tavisi sisuste amcnos: da gana SeeZI o mas am dros raime winaaRmdegoba!", - ramdenadme gadaWarbebiT werda poeti al . WavWavaZe. ganawamebi xal xi fiqrobda, rom rusTa damxmare j ari qveyanas mSvidobas moutanda da mdgomareobas Seumsubuqebda. pirvel i Sedegi, ruseTis j aris Semosvl as rom mohyva, marTI ac didi imedebis aRmZvrel i iyo...

**[iqve, gv. 805]**

... mefis ruseTis mTavroba da misi mexotbe didmpyrob-  
bel uri istoriografia Tavs ar zogavdnen, rom ramenairad  
SeeniRbaT dampyrobI uri pol itika da moeZebnaT "garegnu-  
l ad sapatio mizezi" isedac vrcel i imperiis gafarToeb-  
isaTvis...

... didmpyrob-  
bel urma dipl omatiam ostaturad gamoiye-  
na XVIII s. bol os saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i viTareba. qarTI -  
kaxeTis ukanasknel i mefis giorgi XII-is daJinebiTi moTx-  
ovnebi imis Sesaxeb, rom mas aRmouCinon samxedro da mate-  
rial uri daxmareba, raTa SeZI os sagareo mtrebisagan qvey-  
nis dacva da SeinarCunos samefo xel isufl eba ruseTis  
imperiis Semadgenl obaSi, ruseTis pol itikosebma ganzrax

“ganixil es” rogorc nebayofl obiTi uaris Tqma samefo ufl ebebze. metad damaxasiaTebel i iyo am mxriv pavl e imperatoris gankargul eba gen. knoringisadmi 1800 w. 15 noembers<sup>1</sup>. ra Tqma unda, giorgi mefis pozicias am dros didi mniSvnel oba hqonda, magram igi gadamwyveti mainc ar unda yofil iyo. ruseTis didi imperia ukve TanamimdevrobiT moiwevda amierkavkasiisaken da patara qarTI -kaxeTis saxel mwifo didxans Tavis dacvas al baT ukve ver SeZl ebda.

giorgi mefis gardacval ebidan 12 wl is Semdeg imperator al eqsandre I-is gankargul ebis safuZvel ze saqarTvel os mTavarsardal ma gen. paul ucim mis safi avze daadgmevina spil enZis fil a warweriT, sadac naTqvamia - “mefe giorgim... Tavis qveSevrdomTa sikeTisaTvis, surda ra samudamo keTil - dReoba mieniWebina maTTvis, 1799 w. saqarTvel o ruseTis imperators dauTmo”.

[iqve, gv. 806]

1801 w. 6 marts peterburgSi SeimuSaves qarTI -kaxeTis axal i mmarTvel obis wesebi, 11 marts saxel mwifo senatma general -gubernatorad daniSna cnobil i knoringi, xol o samoqal aqo gubernatorad - ruseTSi aRzrdil i da garusebul i general i orbel iani. 1801 w. 11 marts ki, pavl e imperatoris mkvl el obasTan dakavSirebiT, qarTI -kaxeTSi rusul i mmarTvel obis danergvis saqme droebiT Seferxda. axal i imperatori al eqsandre pirvel i axl a saqarTvel os “dakavebisaTvis” “gasamarTI ebel motivebs” eZebda da sakiTxis ganxil va saxel mwifo sabWos daaval a<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> АКАК, I, gv. 177-178. М. Думбадзе, Из истории борьбы грузинского народа против колон. политики царизма (Вестник Отд. Общ. наук АН ГССР, 1963, №5, gv. 71).

<sup>2</sup> Архив Государственного совета, III, СПб., 1878, gv. 1189-1247.

1801 w. 19 april s gen. knorings daeval a "gaerkvia" - SeZl ebda Tu ara qarTI -kaxeTis saxel mwifo damoukidebl ad arsebobas. amis gamoZiebisas knorings unda gaeTval - iswinebina, rom qveyanas ierTebdnen ara "ruseTis interesebisaTvis", aramed "qarTvel i xal xis mSvidobianobisa da uSiSroebisaTvis". aseTi Sel amazebul i da sentimental uri frazebis gverdiT imperatori mainc ver umal avda gen. knorings Tavis namdvil miznebs: "Не скроем мы также от Вас, что достоинство империи, безопасность наших границ, виды Порты Оттоманской, покушения и порывы горских народов, все уважения собственных России польз от давних времен заставляли правительство помышлять о сем происшествии и желать его события. Измеряя существо его единственными нашими выгодами, мы не можем не признать всей их силы"<sup>1</sup>.

[iqve, gv. 815-816]

22 dRis ganmavl obaSi "arkvia" knoringma qarTI -kaxeTis saqmeebi. mis narkvevs mohyva al eqsandre pirvel is 1801 w. 12 seqtembris manifesti, ris safuZvel zedac qarTI -kaxeTis samefos l ikvidacia dasrul da da igi ruseTis imperiis guberniad iqca<sup>2</sup>.

[iqve, gv. 817]

romanovebis saxel mwifo ganzrax ayovnebda 12 seqtembris manifestis gamoqveynebas Tbil isSi. mas jer kidev sWirdeboda il uziebi qarTvel i mefis xel isufl ebis dacvis Sesaxeb. aseT dapirebebs TviT knoringi iZl eoda. amave dros qarTI -kaxeTis okupaciac srul deboda. miuxedavad

---

<sup>1</sup> АКАК, I, gv. 419.

<sup>2</sup> АКАК, I, № 547, gv. 425-431.

amisa, qarTvel i el Cebi j er kidev ar kargavdnen imeds da mdgomareobis Secvl isaTvis zrunavdnen.

imperatorisaTvis wardgenil i 1802 w. 27 ianvris notiT qarTvel i el Cebi moiTxovdnen rusi moxel eebis gamowvevas saqarTvel odan da iq adgil obrivi mmarTvel obis dacvas. es moTxovna saxel mwifo sabWom 6 Teberval s ganixil a da uaryo kidec. el Cebis moagones, rom maTi rwmuneba ukve dasrul da<sup>1</sup>.

1801 w. 12 seqtembris manifesti da saqarTvel os axal i mmarTvel obis Sesaxeb debul eba Tbil isSi 7 Tvis dagvi-anebiT, 1802 w. 12 april s waukiTxes sionis taZarSi Sekrebi qarTvel feodal ebs...

**[iqve, gv. 818]**

---

<sup>1</sup> Архив Государственного Совета, III, gv. 1212-1213.

## qarTul i saxel mwifo pol itika qristianobis dasacavad

### papi pio II-is gegma j varosanTa omis mosawyobad da saqarTvel os pol itikosTa monawil eoba

... winamosaydre papTa gegmis damsxvrevისა მიუხედავად პაპს პიო II-ეს j varosanTa omis mosawyobad ufro farTo da rTul i gegma SeumuSavebia. mas mTel i aRmosavl eT-dasavl eTis saqristiano qveynebis amoZraveba ganuzraxavs da Seugnia, rom konstantinepol is dasabrunebi ad Turqebis mTel i ZI ierebis damxoba iyo saWiRo, rac mxol od im SemTxvevaSi iqneboda mosaxerxebel i, Tu osmal ebs mcire aziaSic niadagi fexebiTgan gamoecl ebodaT. am miznis misaRwevad aucil ebl ad saWiRo iyo evropis j varosnebis osmal Ta sawinaaRmdego amxedrebas mcire aziaSi myofi qristianebic mimxrobodnen. am saqmis mosawyobad paps minoritebis moweseTagan I udoviko bol oniel i gamougzavnia maxl obel aziaSi. is saqarTvel oSiac mosul a da aquambia, rom romis papi mantuaSi wabrZanda saekl esio krebis mosaxdenad da TurqTa xel mwifis muhamedis winaaRmddeg omis mosawyobad. I udoviko bol oniel s amasTanave uTqvams, rom romis ekl esiis saWeT-mpyrobels surda, rom roca is evropaSi osmal ebs oms autexavda, qarTvel mefemTavrebsac maTTvis Cxubi aetexaT<sup>1</sup>. am sityvebiTgan Cans, rom amit paps TurqTa winaaRmdeg samxedro moqmedebis Semsuბეგბა surda, raTgan aziaSic osmal ebs jaris daban-deba mouxdebodaT da amis gamo unebi ieT mTel s Taviant Zal as evropis brZol is vel ze ver moiSvel ebdnen.

---

<sup>1</sup> Waddingo, Annales Minorum t.13, p.154, ix. m. TamaraSvil is istoria kaTol ikobisa qarTvel Ta Soris, gv. 597.

raki qarTvel ebs TiTonac Turqebi mtrad hyavdaT gada-  
kidebul i da sZul daT, amitom es azri saqarTvel os mmarTvel  
wreebs Zal ian moswonebiaT<sup>1</sup>. magram qarTvel mefe-mTavrebs  
am dros urTierTSoris uTanxmoeba da brZol ac ki hqon-  
daT. es garemoeba, rasakvirvel ia, am gegmis ganxorciel ebas  
qarTvel Ta da aRmosavl eTis qristianTa daxmarebas romis  
papis jaris osmal Ta sawinaaRmdego gal aSqrebaSi metad  
saTuod xdida. amitom papis mociqul s gadamterebul i da  
erTierTmaneTis winaaRmddeg amxedrebul i qarTvel i mefe-  
mTavrebis Sesarigebl ad Suamavl oba ukisria. is al baT  
Searcxvenda maT da etyoda, rom ZmaTa da erTmorwmuneTa  
Soris sisxl is Rvris magier, rac arc maTTvis iyo sax-  
eiro da RvTis winaSec did da miutevebel codvad iTv-  
l eboda, maTi sul isaTvisac da saxel mwifoebrivi arsebo-  
bis uzrunvel yofisaTvisac gacil ebiT ufro ukeTesi iyo  
TavianTi Zal Rone Turqebis winaaRmddeg moexmaraT da gamo-  
eyenebinaT.

I udoviko bol oniel s aramc Tu aboboqrebul vnebaTa  
Rel visa da mtrobis al is ganel eba da Caqroba mouxerxe-  
bia, maT Soris Tanxmobac Camougdia<sup>2</sup>.

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad, t.III,  
Tb., 1982, gv. 290-291]

---

<sup>1</sup> Waddingo, Annales Minorum t.13, p.154, ix. m. TamaraSvil is istoria  
kaTol ikobisa qarTvel Ta Soris, gv. 597.

<sup>2</sup> ix. yuaryuares 1459 w. daweril i epistol e burgundies mTavrisadmi da  
Waddingo-So.c.t.13, p. 154. ix. m. TamaraSvil is ist. kaT. 594 da 598.

**saqarTvel oSi dadebul i xel Sekrul eba osmal Ta  
sawinaaRmdego j varosanTa omis mosawyobad  
da misi monawil eni**

... 1459 w. saqarTvel os mefe-mTavrebs Soris ukve zavi Camogdebul i iyo da xel Sekrul ebac ki daido. giorgi mefe am ambavs burgundiis mTavars atyobinebda da swerda: Cven, yvel a qristianma mTavrebma, romel nic am qveynebsi vcxovrobt, urTierTSoris zavi, kavSiri da erToba davdeT da erTierTmaneTs SevfiCeT mTel i Cveni codniTa da Zal RoniT Turqebis veomOT, gansakuTrebiT imaT, romel nic konstantinepol Si arian, raTgan isini qristianTa yvel aze ufro moZul eni ariano<sup>1</sup>.

yuaryuare aTabagic 1459 wel s axal cixiTgan imave burgundiis mTavars atyobinebda: winaTac Cemi winaprebis msgavsad usj ul oebis vebrZodi da ukanasknel wl ebSi rom Cemsა da sxva Cem mezobel qristiane mTavarTa Soris omi ar amtydariyo, ufro metis Zl evamosil ebiT vawarmoebdiT brZol as urwmunoTa winaaRmdeg. exl a ki l udoviko bol - oniel is CagonebiT yvel a Cem mezobel qristianebs zavIT Sevekari da gadavwyvite mTel i Cemi Zal -Rone da SeZl eba TurqTa sawinaaRmdego brZol as movaxmaroo<sup>2</sup>...

[iqve, gv. 291]

**evropis imedad**

... rusudansa da saqarTvel os mTavrobas gaaxsendaT, rom, l aSa-giorgis mefobis daml evs, romis papma sTxova saqarTvel os, pal estinis mahmadianTagan gansaTavisufi e-

---

<sup>1</sup> m. TamaraSvil i, ist. kaT. 596.

<sup>2</sup> Aenea Sylvius, lib.I, 489. ix. m. TamaraSvil is ist. kaT. 596.

bl ad ganzraxul s j varosanTa omSi Tavisi jariTurT monawil eoba mieRo, rom dasavl eTel ebs brZol a gaadvil ebodaT. maSin es ganzraxva, gareSe mizezebis gamo, CaiSal a. exl a, rodesac TviT saqarTvel o monRol ebma gansacdel Si Caagdes, ratom saqarTvel os mTavrobas ar SeeZl o Tavis mxriT dasavl eT evropis qristiane saxel mwifoebisaTvis aseve samxedro daxmareba eTxova, miT umetes, rom monRol - Ta saSiSroeba maTTvisac gasagebi unda gamxdariyo, ase umsj el iaT maSindel pol itikosebs saqarTvel oSi.

Tavisi gegmis gansaxorciel ebl ad rusudan mefes, etyoba, 1239 w. ax. x. romis papTan, grigol me-9-esTan, epistol e gaugzavnia, romel Sic monRol Tagan saqarTvel oze Tavs damtydari gansacdel i iyo aweril i da sadac rusudani dasavl eTel qristianebs samxedro daxmarebas sTxovda monRol ebis winaaRmdeg. romis papis gul is mosagebad, saqarTvel os mTavroba agreTve atyobinebda, Cven aRmosavl eTisa da dasavl eTis ekl esiebis SeerTebis monatrul ni varTo.

maSindel i pol itikuri vitarebis gamo am epistol emacki romis papis karamde dagvianebiT miaRwia. 1240 w. daweril i sapesuxo epistol iTgan gamoirkva, rom grigol me-9-s saqarTvel os mTavrobisTvis sasixarul os arafris Setyobineba ar SeeZl o: aramcTu igi samxedro daxmarebaze uars uTvl ida, piriqiT is swerda kidevac, Cven TiTonac iseT mdgomareobaSi varT, rom swored SegecodebiTo. magram mainc gul s nu gaitexT: am Cven epistol esTan erTad, moqadage monazon-misionerebs gigzavniT ekl esiaTa SeerTebis gansaxorciel ebl ado!..

[iqve, gv. 22]

## saqarTvel os mefe-mTavarTa da maT mokavSireTa mociqul ebis dasavl eT evropasi gagzavna

... qarTvel i mefe-mTavrebi da maTi mokavSireni ise dar-  
wmunebul ni iyvnen, rom osmal Ta winaaRmddeg dasavl eT-aR-  
mosavl eTis qristianeTa SeerTebul i da Tanxmobrivi  
samxedro moqmedeba moewyoboda, rom dasavl eTSi TavianTi  
despanebi gaistumres epistol eebiTa da sityvieri daval ebiT  
datvirTul ni. qarTvel ebi moutmenl iv ekiTxebodnen dasav-  
l eTis qristianebs, gvacnobeT mzada xarT Tu ara saomrad,  
rom Cvenc danamdvil ebiT vicodeT, ra droisaTvis avisxaT  
iaraRi da sabrZol vel ad wamovideTo<sup>1</sup>.

I udoviko bol oniel is winamZRol obiT saqarTvel os  
despanebi nikol oz tfil el i da "qasadan yarCixan" (Tu  
yorCixan) samegrel os gziT da mdinare danubiT j er un-  
greTSi mividnen, Semdeg germaniaSic, sadac fridriko im-  
perators saqarTvel os mefe-mTavrebis sal ami moaxsenes.  
merme el Cebi venetiks mividnen, roml is senatma despanebi  
didis pativiscemiT miiRo. 1460 wel s maT roms miaRwies.  
iq maT viTarca mefeTa el Cebis didis ambit sasul iero  
dasni dauxvdnen episkoposiTurT, sadgomad samTavro sasaxl e  
miuCines da xuTive el Ci - giorgi mefisa - nikol oz  
tfil el i, yuaryuaresi - qasadani, daviT trapizonel i keis-  
risa - mixeil i, mcire somxeTis mTavrisa - moral o da  
uzun-hasanisa - mahmed, mTavrobis xarj iT Seinaxes.

saqarTvel oTgan Casul ma el Cebma paps pio II-s TavianTi  
batonebis giorgi mefisa da yuaryuare aTabagis epistol ee-  
bic miarTves da saqmis mTel i viTarebac piradad moax-  
senes: uambes raodeni sixarul i da aRfrTovaneba gamoi-  
wvia romis papis winadadebam, rom maTac konstantinepo-

---

<sup>1</sup>yuaryuare aTabagis 1459 w. epistol e burgundiis mTavrisadmi: m. TamaraSvi-  
l is ist. kaT. 595.

I is osmal Tagan ganTavisufl ebaSi dasavl eTis j varosan-  
TaTvis daxmareba gaewiaT...

[iqve, gv. 298-299]

### gegmis CaSI a da ocnebis gacrueba

papi ueWvel ia SeamCnevda, rom garkveul i da viwrod Semofargl ul i miznis magier, romel ic romSi iyo SemuSavebul i, saqarTvel oSi metad didi da safarTo samoqmedo gegma SeiTxza. magram mware gamocdil ebam romis ekl esiis saWeT-mpyrobel i daarwmuna, rom aramc Tu es usazRvrod vrcel i gegma, misi da mis moadgil eTa mizanic ki miuRwevel i da ganuxorciel ebel i iyo. mas ar SeeZl o saqarTvel oTgan Camosul i el CebisTvis daemal a, rom misi yovel ive cda unayofa gamodga da dasavl eTis qristian mTavrebs papis qadageba konstantinepol is gansaTavisufl ebl ad j varosnul i omis mowyobis saWiroebis Sesaxeb odnavadac gul s ar mohxvedria. bizantiis sataxto qal aqi maTTvis metad Soreul i adgil i iyo da osmal Ta batonobis saSiSroebasac ise Zl ierad ar grZnobdnen, rom papis qadagebas Sesafebi gavl ena moexdina<sup>1</sup>.

aseT pirobSi paps sxva ara darCenoda ra imis garda, rom saqarTvel os mefe-mTavrebi da maTi mokavSireebis despanebisatvis erCia safrangeTis mefe da burgundiis mTavari piradad enaxaT da maTTvis osmal eTis sawinaaRmdego brZol aSi monawil eobis miReba eTxovaT. sxva gza ar iyo, qarTvel Ta da maT TanamoazreTa el Cebis unda Semoevl oT evropi da xvewna-mudara daewyoT. mdgomareoba ise Seicval a, rom Tu Tavdapirvel ad azri osmal Ta winaaRmdeg brZol is Sesaxeb dasavl eTis ekl esiis mmarTvel wreebs

---

<sup>1</sup> m. TamaraSvil i, ist. kaT. 63

ekutvnodat da isini exvwebodnen qarTvel ebs, rom maTac am saqmeSi monawil eoba mieRoT, mal e es azri qarTvel ebi-saTvis iseT gul isnadebad iqca, roml is ganxorciel ebaze isini aRfrTovanebiT ocnebodnen da TviT maTve imave dasav-  
l eTis mmarTvel i wreebis xvewna-vedreba mouxdaT...

[iqve, gv. 299]

### **qarTvel Ta da mokavSireebis mociqul Ta amao xvewna-vedreba evropasi**

saqarTvel oTgan wargzavnil i despanebi romiTgan sa-frangeTSi wavidnen da 1461 w. iq mefe karl os VII-es warudgnen sadarbazod da daval ebul i saqme moaxsenes, magram mainc osmal Ta sawinaaRmdego omSi monawil eobaze ver daiTanxmes. el Cebi j er kidev safrangeTSi iyvnen, rom karl os VII gardaicval a ise, rom isini misi Svil isa da memkvidris I udoviko XI taxtze asvl asa, dagvirgvinebasa da mefeld kurTxevas daeswrnen. exl a am mefes dauwyes despaneმა Txovna, magram amaod: aqac ara gamovida ra<sup>1</sup>. rogorc etyoba, amgvaradve unayofo unda yofil iyo maTi cda burgundiis mTavarTa da dasavl eTis danarCen mTavrebT-anac. TiTqos yuaryuare aTabags gul ma ugrZno (iqneb I udoviko bol oniel is wyal obiT?), rom am saqmes dasav-  
l eTSi dabrkol eba gadaeRobeboda, da amitomac is bur-gundiis mTavars brZnul i SorsgamWvretel obiT da adami-anis bunebis Rrma codniT 1459 w. daweril is epistol iT afrTxil ebda, rom Tu dasavl eTis qristianebi ar isarge-bl ebT aseTi gansakuTrebiT xel sayrel i da marj ve piro-biT, roca aRmosavl eTiT qristianebic maTTan erTad os-

---

<sup>1</sup> m. TamaraSvil i, ist. kaT., gv. 63.

mal Ta winaaRmdeg Tanxmobrivi samxedro moqmedebisaTvis emzadebian, da brZol as ar daiwyebT, SemdegSi, rac ufro meti dro gaivl is, osmal ebi ise gamagrdebian, rom veR-arafers daakl ebTo<sup>1</sup>. da es sityvebi marTI ac winaswarmetyvel ebad iqca. saqarTvel oTgan Camosul i despanebi bol os darwmundnen, rom yovel ive cda da sabuTianoba amao iyo: arc erTi mTavarTagani Tavis qveyniTgan fexis daZvras ar apirebda. safrangeTSi j er erTi SinaurobaSi uTanxmoeba hqondaT, gansakuTrebiT ki osmal eTis gaZI iereba maTTvis iseTs cxadad sagrZnobsa da dasanaxs safrTxes ar warmoadgenda, rogorc mTel i Tavis arsebiT SeiZI eba egrZnoT da daenaxaT qarTvel ebs. maTTvis es ganyenebul i da Soreul i pol itikuri gegma iyo, qarTvel ebisaTvis ki xorcSesxmuli i saSinel i sinamdvil is aucil ebel i saWiroeba da amitomac iyo, rom mTel i es gegma ase uwyal od daimsxvra da qarTvel Ta da maT mokavSireTa Tanxmobrivi erTobl ivi samxedro moqmedeba osmal Ta samudamo dasamarcxebi ad SeuZI ebel i Seiqmna.

[i. javaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.III, Tb., 1982, gv. 299-300]

... mtrul i ganwyobil eba qarTvel ebTan berZnebs marto aTonis mTaze-ki ara, aramed sxvadasxva monastrebSiaca hqondaT. giorgi mTawmidel is "cxovrebi" damweri, magal - iTad, mogviTxrobs "mravl iT JamiT-gan (vidre giorgi mTawmidel is dromde) qarTvel i xucesi sQon wmidasa Jamsa ver wirvida amis mizezisa-TQ, rameTu romel same Jamsa sofl uri vinme xucesi axl ad Camosul i wmidisa sQeonis suetsa zeda gasul iyo Jamsi wirvad qal amniTa da sabeWuriTa, TQier samRvdel osa Sesamosl isa, viTarca iyo pirve-

---

<sup>1</sup> m. TamaraSvil i, ist. kaT., gv. 596.

I ad wesi Cueni, da amisaTQ ara utevebdes qarTvel sa xuccessa Jamis wirvad"-o (c-l gi mTw'mdsI, 313). swored im dros, roca giorgi mTawmidel i aTonis monasterSi daemkvidra da j er kidev araviTari gansakuTrebul i Tan-amdeboba miRebul i ara hqonda, qarTvel Ta da berZenTa brZol am da siZul vil ma ukiduess xarisxs miaRwia. berZnebis gamwvavebul i, dauzogavi mtroba miT ufro saSiSari gaxda, rom TiToorol a qarTvel i berTagannic-ki TavianT TanamoZmeTa mtrebis mxares iWerdnen da Tavisianebs gadudgnen. saSinel i mdgomareoba iyo, yvel gan saberZneTSi, Sav mTas Tu aTons, romanas Tu ierusal ims, qarTvel berebs berZen monazonebTan unda ebrZol aT.

am saerTo gansacdel ma da sazrunavma yvel a ucxoeTSi myofi qarTvel i berebi SeaerTa da daakavSira: SavmTel i, Tu aTonel i, ierusal imel i Tu sxva romel ime adgil iTgan yvel ani grZnobdnen, rom weril obiTi sabuTebi unda da-etovebinaT, rom Tu vinicobaa qarTvel ebi Zl eul iqmne-bodnen qarTvel i SesaniSnavi moRvaweebis saxsenebel i da maTis Rvawl isa da gamwvavebul brZol is kval i ar dakar-gul iyo STamomavl obisaTvis..

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.II,  
Tavi VII, Tb., 1983, gv. 172]

## dasavl eT evropasTan integraciis - dakargvis dasawysi

### TurqTa mier konstantinepol is dapyrobis miSvnel oba saqarTvel osatvis

... Tu konstantinepol is osmal Ta mier aRebam ase Seawuxa papi da dasavl eT evropis SorsgamWvretel i politikuri wreebi, advil i warmosadgenia ra STabeWdil eba unda moexdina am ambavs saqarTvel oSi, romel ic bizantiastan sul ier-sarwmunoebrivadac umWidroesad iyo dakavSirebuli da konstantine keisris mier giorgi mefis asul is sacol od daniSvnis Semdgom xom ufro dauaxl ovda saberZneTis mmarTvel Ta wres. amitomac konstantinepol is TurqTa mier dapyroba saqarTvel osatvis martopol itikuri da kul turul i Tval sazrisiT ki ar iyo saval alo, aramed misi samefo saxlobisatvisac es ambavi piradi ubedurebisa da mwuxarebis momaswavebeli iyo, raTgan giorgi mefes da mis asul samave dros brwyinval e sazizosi da saqmros sikvdili unda egl ovaT. am piradi da ojaxuri garemoebis garda, bizantiis mospoba da osmal Ta gabatoneba konstantinepol Si saqarTvel os dasavl eTisaken mimaval smTavar da umokl es gzas ukravda da mahmadianTa Zl ieri sabrZanebl is rkal s artyamda. Tavisufal i kul turul -politikuri kavSiris SesaZl ebl oba axlad gamoRviZebul dasavl eTTan mas amieriTgan mospobil i hqonda. amitom swored ganmacvifrebel ia, rom qarTul saistorio wyaroebSi konstantinepol is aRebis Sesaxeb aseTi mcire da mxol od mSrali matianiseburi cnobebi moipoveba.

[i. javaxiSvili, Txzulebani Tormet tomad. t.III,  
Tb., 1982, gv. 289-290]

## **ukanasknel i mcdel oba winandel i mdgomareobis aRsadgenad**

### **konstantine mefis mcdel oba Soreul i mokavSireebis daxmarebiT Tavisi pol itikuri miznis misaRwevad**

Sinaur brZol aSi marcxsa da mZI avr mahmadian mezobl ebT-an usworo brZol as konstantine mefis dauxromel i mx-neoba ver Seusustebia, mas axl a Soreul i mokavSireebisa da mfarvel ebis Zebna dauwyia, rom maTi daxmarebiT zurgic gamagrebul i hqonoda da mtrisaTvis Setevac SesZI eboda.

### **mociqul oba egviptis sul tanTan**

pol itikuri mizniTa da daval ebiT konstantine mefes egviptis sul tanTan qairoSi despanad karis ekl esiis moZRvari "nil osi" gaugzavnia<sup>1</sup>. raTgan, rogorc SemdegSi davrwmundebiT, es ambavi 1492 w. Semdgom 1496 wl amde unda momxdariyo, cxadia, rom konstantine mefes Tavisi despani egviptis maml uk xal ifa aSraf seif-ad-din kait-beisTvis (1468-1496 w.w.) gaugzavnia. saqarTvel os me-feebis egviptis mbrZanebl ebTan ukve XV sauk. damdegiTgan megobroba da urTierTisadmi pativiscema hqondaT<sup>2</sup>. ra mindobil obiT gaugzavnia konstantine mefes Tavisi despani egviptis mfl obel Tan, ara Cans, mxol od qairoSi saqarTve-

---

<sup>1</sup> ix. konstantines weril i espaniis dedofl isadmi, brose, H. moder. de la G. I, 408.

<sup>2</sup> ix. martiroz somexTa episkoposis snoba n. maris Предварительный отчет-Си Сообщ. Прав. Палест. Об. т. XIV, ч. II, 1903 w., gv. 50.

I os mefis warmomadgenel i didi sixarul iT miuRiaT. arc gasakvirvel ia, raTgan konstantine da xal ifa urTierTis mokavSireni yofil an. am garemoebas TviT saqarTvel os mefisave sityva cxadhyofs. espaniis dedofal s izabel as is sxvaTa Soris atyobinebda, rom mas arc erT sxva "usjul o" xel mwifesTan kavSiri ar hqonda (ix. weril i). aqeTgan aSkaraa, maSasadame, rom konstantine mefes egviptis xal ifasTanac ki mokavSireoba Sekrul i hqonia.

### **arabTa gandejna espaniiTgan da konstantines mcdel oba espaniasTan kavSiris Sesakvrel ad**

konstantine mefis despani rom qairoTgan ierusal emSi misul a, is espaniis dedofl is despanebs Sehxedria. maTgan saqarTvel os el Cs unda gaegona maSindel qristianeTaTvis, gansakuTrebiT aRmosavl eTSi sasixarul o ambavi izabel a dedofl is j arisagan arabebis sabol oo damarcxebisa da espaniiTgan samudamod gandejnis Sesaxeb. gaxarebul s qarTvel s despans espaniis Zl evamosil i dedofl is despanebi saqarTvel oSi daupatiJnia da Tavis mefesTan wamouyvania. ueWvel ia mas politikuri mizani eqneboda. iqneb masve dahbadebodes is gegma, romel mac Semdeg konstantine mefe aiZul a Tavisi mociqul i TviT espaniis mbrZanebel Tan gaegzavna.

### **dasavl eTis qristianeBTan erTad mahmadianebis winaaRmdeg brZol is warmoebis Zvel i gegmis ganaxl eba**

saqarTvel oSi Camosvl iTanave izabel as despanebs konstantine mefisaTvis arabebze TavianiTi sabol oo gamarj ve-

bis ambavi mouxsenebiaT. wrfel i aRtacebiTa da sixaru-  
l iT aivseboda yovel i qarTvel is gul i am moul odnel i  
ambavis gagonebaze. Taviant samSobl oSi mZI avr mahmadian  
mezobel saxel mwifoTagan uaRresad Sewuxebul saqarTve-  
l os gaerTianevisa da ganaxl ebis motrfial e pol itikur  
wreebs am dros egeb Tavianti ocnebis uimedobis azri  
gul Si ukve Separul i hqondaT. es axal i sasixarul o  
gamarj veba,es Tumc Soreul , magram mainc qristianTa mtar-  
val mahmadianebze ZI evamosil ebis ambavi, kval v sasoebas  
gaucxovel ebdaT. aki konstantine werda kidec espaniis  
ZI evamosil dedofal s: “gvgonia da vxedavT kidec, rom  
amieriTgan aRmosavl eTis mze ukve iwyebs dedamiwis mTel i  
danarCeni nawil is mofenas Tavisi maciskrovnebel i brwy-  
inval ebiTa”-o<sup>1</sup>. am Soreul i, sxvisi gamarj vebis sasixaru-  
l o ambavis moRwevac ki sakmao yofil a, rom qarTvel pol i-  
tikosTaTvis konstantine mefis meTaurobiT kvl av Zvel i  
ocnevisa da gegmis ganxorciel ebis SesaZI ebl obis azri  
aReZra. amitom maT am SemTxveviT usargebl iaT dasavl eTis  
qristianobasTan kavSiris gansaaxl ebl ad. konstantine mefes  
igive xucesi nil osi al baT imave espaniis el CebisaTvis  
gauyol ebia. saqarTvel os mamul iSvil T Taviant qveynis  
xsnisa da pol itikuri aRorZinebis imedi miscemiaT. isini  
fiqrobdnen, rom raki espaniis dedofal ma arabTa dama-  
rcxeba da Tavis samSobl oTgan samudamod gandevna SesZI o,  
osmal Ta da sparsTa damarcxeba-gandevnac advil ad Sesa-  
ZI ebel i iqneboda, Tu rom dasavl eT-aRmosavl eT qris-  
tianoba SeerTebul i Zal iT mahmadianobas SeebrZol eboda.

---

<sup>1</sup>Bros set, I, 408.

## romis papTan da espaniis dedofal Tan despanis gagzavna

am ocnebis gansaxorciel ebl ad konstantine mefem despani nil osi<sup>1</sup>, romel ic egvipteSi hyavda gagzavnil i, exl a dasav- l eT evropaSi gagzavna. es despani romis papTan da espani- is Zl evamosil dedofal Tan gaistumra sagangebo sigel ebiTa, saiduml o daval ebiTa da misarTmevi saCuqrebiT datvirTu- l i. arc erTi am weril Taganis dedans Cvenamdis ar mouR- wevia. papi al eqsandre VI-is saxel obaze daweril i epis- tol e dakargul ia da misi Sinaarsis gageba mxol od papis sapa- suxo epistol iTgan SeiZl eba...

**i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.III,  
Tb., 1982, gv. 374-376]**

## konstantine mefis epistol is Sinaarsi da mizani

konstantine mefe espaniis Zl evamosil s dedofal s iz- abel as Tavis epistol eSi sixarul s ucxadebda arabebze sabol oo gamarj vebis gamo, RmerTs mistvis yovel sikeTes SesTxovda da sxvaTa Soris swerda: RvTiT Sen daimor- Cil e yvel a urwmuno mfl obel ni da gansakuTrebiT usj u- l o sarkinozni, sircxvil eul hyav maTi mrCevel ni da uu- didesi qal aqebi waartvi maT ise ki rom RvTis garda aravin Semwe mSvel el i ar gyol ia am gamarj vebaSi, romel ic

---

<sup>1</sup> izabel as saxel obaze daweril s sigel Si despani Tumca kornil osad aris wodebul i, magram romis papis al eqsandre I-is konstantine mefisadmi 1496 w. sapa- suxo epistol eSi despanad nil osia (Nilum confessorem et oratorem tuum). uellvel ia am orsave sabuTSi erTi da imave piris saxel i unda iyos. "kornil - ios" rusul i Targmannis damaxinj eba unda iyos da warmomdgari iqneba "kO- nil os"-iTgan, rogorc rusul i sabuTebis enaSi miRebul i iyo.

RmerTma mxol o giwyal oba da agaris uwmindur naTesavze ZI evamosil ebis gvirgviniT Segamkoo. sixarul iT gavigeT agreTve, rom zogierTi mefeebi Tqveni mokavSireebi yofil an da RmerTs madl oba SewwireT, rom man yvel a qristian mefeTa da marTI madidebel Ta siyvarul iTa da kavSiriT uzrunvel gyoT.

ra iqmna sidiade da dideba qristianTa, ra mouvida maT pativsa da imeds, didsa da saxel ovan qal aqs konstantinepol s, sad arian marTI madidebel i mefeebi, maTi sixarul i da gancxroma? sixarul i mwuxarebad da vaebad Seicval a, dideba damcirebad. odesRac gabrwyinvebul ni exl a wyvdiadSi vimyofebiT. odesRac Cven pativiscemiT mosil xel mwifesTan gvqonda xol me urTierToba, exl a mwuxarebisa da creml ebis garda arasa vxedavT. hol, raoden sikeTes aris mokl ebul i naTesavi Cveni? sad arian trapizonis xel mwifeebi an sxvebi, ra mouvida serbTa qveyanas da mraval sxvasac?!

magram viciT da exl a mtkiced vimedovnebt, rom ufal i Cveni ieso qriste WeSmariti RmerTi Cven ZI evamosil ebas mogvaniWebs agaris uwmindur naTesavze. egviptis sul tanTan amave mizniT gagzavnil ma Cvenma despanma Sinisaken momaval ma ierusal emSi Tqveni despanebi naxa, romel nic Tan wamoiyvana. maTgan gagonil ma axal ma ambavma Tqveni gamarjvebis Sesaxeb didi sixarul iT agvavso. da igive Cveni despani epistol iTurT gamovistumreT TqvenTan, magram imis garda, rac am epistol eSia daweril i, Cveni despani bevrs sxvasac rasme piradad sityvierad mogaxsenebt imitom, rom gzaze mraval i mteria, usj ul o sparsel ebi xom, rogorc iciT, uwyal od gvtanj aven. am Cvens mtrebs bevri ubedureba mouyenebiaT CvenTvis da sams ramesa gvTxoven xol me: gadaixadeT didi xarki, ibrZol eT mudam CvenTan erTad da gamahmadiandiTo. isini mraval ricxovani arian, Cven ki trapizonis, konstantinepol is da sxva qristianTa dacemis

Sendgom martod-martoni da srul iad damdabl ebul ni davr-  
CiT. magram aw uricxvni erni agarianTa, sparsta, TurqTa da  
arabTa, Sercxvenil -aRSfoTebul i arian. droc moaxl oebu-  
l ia. saxel iTa RvTisaTa gevedrebiT dauyovnebl iv pirda-  
pir konstantinepol ze gamoil aSqroT. aiReT farad ufl isa  
Cvenisa ieso qristes jvari da macxovari Cveni Tqvens  
survil s xel s Seuwyobs. mec piradad Svil ebiTurT da  
mTel i l aSqriT, roml is Seyrasac ki SevsZI eb, dabrundeba  
Tu ara CemTan Seni despani, ar davayovnebl da SenTan erTad  
sabrZol vel ad wamosasvl el ad mzad viqnebi. xol o siy-  
varul is niSnad am mcire ZRvens gaaxl ebT: iezdis 19 oq-  
roqsovil s, 40 misxal s obol margal its da 17 vefxvis  
tyavs. daiwera sigel i ese Cveni 1495 wel sa martisa aTsa  
dResa.

[iqve, gv. 379-380]

### qarTvel pol itikosTa sul iskveTeba

konstantine mefis am weril Si mSvenivrad aris gamoxat-  
ul i maSindel qarTvel mamul iSvil Ta sul ieri mdgomare-  
oba da gul isnadebi. imis SiSiT, rom saqarTvel os mefis  
es epistol e mters ar Cavardnoda xel Si konstantines,  
rogorc iq aRniSnul ia yvel afris Tqma ar SeeZI o da rac  
ufro mniSvnel ovani iyo da CvenTvisac sayuradRebo iqm-  
neboda, is Turme sityvierad hqonia despans dabarebul i.  
imisdamiuxedavad, rom rogorc irkveva, mraVal i sagul isx-  
mo da didmniSvnel ovani cnoba maSindel i saqarTvel osa da  
qarTvel Ta gul iTadi zraxvebis Sesaxeb am weril Si Set-  
anil i ar yofil a, mainc mTavari saiduml oebis mixvedra  
Znel i ar aris. konstantine mefis sityvebiTgana Cans, rom  
saqarTvel os mmarTvel wreebs TaviantI qveynis warsul i

siZl iere da sidiade srul ebiTac daviwebul i ar hqondaT. urigod ar hqoniaT gaTval iswinebul i maxl obel aRmosavl eTis is sazogado politikuri mdgomareobac, romel mac saqarTvel os dauZl urebas Seuwo xel i da exlac moRoniereba-ganaxl ebisaTvis drosa da saSual ebas ar aZl evda. es weril i amtkicebs, rom maSindel i saqarTvel os umweo mdgomareobisda miuxedavad qarTvel mamul isvil ebs konstantine mefis meTaurobiT sasowarkveTil ebिता da uimedobiT ar gautexiaT gul i, arc far-xmal i dauyriaT, aramed saqarTvel os aRdgenisaTvis mainc iRvwodnen da ukeTes momavl is SesaZl ebl obaze ocnebobdnen xol me. randenad farTod uyurebdnen isini am saqmes, is garemeobac amtkicebs, rom TviT mahmadian xel mwifis, egviptis sul tnis megobrul i kavSiris da daxmarebis imedi da gegma hqoniaT Taviant mezobel mahmadianTa mZl avri saxel mwifoebis sawinaaRmdego brZol aSi gamosayenebl ad.

is garemebacaa sayuradRebo, rom winandel i mosazRvre Zl ieri saqristiano qveynebis, gansakuTrebiT bizantiisa da trapizonis, mospobis saqarTvel osaTvis sabediswero mniSvel obis gaTval iswinebas Seugnebinebia rom saqarTvel os namdvil i da sabol oo xsnac mxol od maSin iqneboda SesaZl ebel i, Tu rom SeerTebul is Zal iT aRmosavl eTis mahmadianobis mZl avrobas bol o moeReboda da bizantiis saqristiano saxel mwifos brwyinval e dedaqal aqi da saqarTvel osaTvis dasavl eTisaken uaxl oesi gza kvl av qristianta xel Si gadavidoda da mahmadianTa mZl avrobisagan Tavisufal i iqneboda.

sagul isxmoa, rom konstantine mefe espaniis dedofl isadmi wargzavnil s zemomoyvanil s weril Si mxol od da mxol od konstantinepol ze gal aSqrebas exvweba espaniis mbrZanebel s da saqarTvel os mahmadian mtarval obisagan daxsnaze iq arafertia naTqvami. papi al eqsandre VI-is 1496 w. sapasuxo weril iTganac Cans, rom saqarTvel os mefe

romis ekl esiis maRal s mwyemsmTavars espaniis mefe-ded-  
ofl is usj ul oebze brwyinval e gamarj vebas ul ocavda da  
Tanac sTxovda maT konstantinepol isa da ierusal emis  
usj ul oTa xel iTgan ganTavisufl ebisaTvis dasavl eTis  
qristiane saxel mwifoebis Tavis j ariTurT gamoel aSqrAT.  
konstantine mefe Tavis mxriv Tavis SviliTa da  
j ariTurT am l aSqrobaSi mxurval e monawil eobis miRebas  
hpirdeboda.

[iqve, gv. 380-381]

### **dasavl eT evropasi mociqul obis unayofoba**

ra Sedegi mohva konstantine mefis epistol eeba da  
despanobas dasavl eT evropis qristiane saxel mwifoebis  
winaSe? igive, rac giorgi mefis dros mohyva. ra pasuxi  
SemouTval a espaniis Zl evamosil ma dedofal ma, ar viciT,  
romis paps ki eSmakis Sewuxeba mouxda: mahmadianTagan  
damonavebul i qristianebris ganTavisufl eba advil ad mo-  
saxerxebel i iyo. magram yovel i keTil i rCevis Zvel ma mow-  
inaaRmdege mterma (e.i. eSmakma) uTanxmoebis Tesl i daTesa  
im mTavarTa Soris, romel nic am l aSqrobaSi monawil eobis  
miRebas gvpirdebodneno. saqarTvel os mefisTvis rom gul i  
ar gaetexa da ar aecruvebina, papma SemouTval a: me mainc  
imedi maqvs, rom Camovardnil uTanxmoebas vZl ev da Tqvens  
wadil s avasrul ebo<sup>1</sup>.

[iqve, gv. 382]

---

<sup>1</sup> TamaraSvil is ist. kaT. 599.

## dasavl eT evropasTan kavSiris daWeris cda al eqsandres mier

im dros, rodesac kaxTa mefe al eqsandres ruseTis mTavrobasa da mis despaneTan Samxal is winaaRmdeg samxedro daxmarebis Sesaxeb dausrul ebel i mol aparakeba hqonda da maT mswrafs moSvel ebas exvweboda, dasavl eTiTgan mas sagangebo gagzavnil i kaci mouvida, romel sac kaxT batonisagan iqaur pol itikuri amebis Setyoba hqonda mindobil i.

es 1590 w. damdegs unda momxdariyo. es al eqsandre mefis sando piri, somexi sovdagari, romSi yofnis dros papTan yofil a, romel sac gamoukiTxavs misi sadauroba da Tanac sayveduri uTqvams, rom kaxTa batons al eqsandres, qristian mefes, mistvis arc despani da arc epistol e ar gamougzavnia. paps al eqsandre mefis am mesaiduml e kaci-saTvis dauval ebia, rom is al eqsandre mefesTan dabrunebul iyo da mis, papis, magier sityvierad moexsenebina, rom kaxT batons papisaTvis an Tavisi despani gamoegzavna epistol ianad, an maincdamainc piradad mistvis gamoetanebina epistol e. daval ebul i saqmis asrul ebis srul i sirwmunisaTvis romis paps al eqsandre mefis sovdagris qoneba dautovebia Tavistan sawindrad: rodesac ukan dabrundebi da mefis epistol es Camomitani, yvel afers ukl ebl iv dagibrunebo. amas me sityvierad imitom gabareb, rom gza osmal eTze unda gaiaro da Turqebis SiSiT al eqsandre mefesTan epistol is gagzavna SeuZl ebel iao. ukan dabrunebac romis paps mistvis osmal eTis gziT ar ubrZanebia, aramed moskovis mefis samfl obel oze. al eqsandre mefis mociquil ma romiTgan axal ambavad Camoitana, rom espaniis mefem ingl isisa da... (Англискую землю да Печенскую) winaaRmdeg gail aSgra da SeierTa. osmal eTSi gagzavnil s

al eqsandre mefis despans ki Tavis mxriT stambol iTgan Camosvl isas kaxT batonisaTvis uambia, rom warsul s zafxul s espaniis mefisa da safrangeTis j arma Turqebze gamoil aSqra da 5000-mde TurqTa katarRa moispo da daatyveva<sup>1</sup>.

am evropiTgan motanil ma axal ma amebma al eqsandre mefis politikuri Tval Taxedvis asparezi gaafarToves, unebi iT yuradReba miipyres da gamosavl is imedic gauRvizes. man igrZno, rom ruseTs garda sxvaganac SeiZl eboda xmis miwvdena da mol aparakebis dawyeba. mefe al eqsandrem maSinve gadawyvita romis papTanac, espaniis mefestanac da romis keisarTanac am sovdagris Tanxl ebiT Tavis despans gagzavna epistol eebiTurT<sup>2</sup>.

magram osmal eTis wyal obiT pirdapiri gza dasavl eT evropisaken Sekrul i iyo saqarTvel osaTvis. erTaderTi Soreul i ruseTze mimaval i gza-Ra rCeboda. amitom kaxT batonma masTan myof rus-despanebs sTxova, rom misi dasavl eT evropasi wasasvl el i despani rusebs Tan waeyvanaT da evropasi gamgzavrebis saSual eba miecaT<sup>3</sup>.

mefe al eqsandres imedi aReZra da mas egona, rom iqmneba dasavl eTiT mosul iyo saqarTvel osaTvis xsna. man mxol od ar icoda ramdenad daSorebul i iyo espania da sxva saqristiano qveynebi saqarTvel oze da amitom rus el CebsekiTxeboda, ramdenad Soravs darubands romis papisa, espaniis mefisa, romis keisrisa da frangebhis sabrZanebl ebi da Sesazl ebel ia Tu ara, rom maTma j arma darubandamdis miARwioso?<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> CPK I, 205.

<sup>2</sup> i qve.

<sup>3</sup> i qve.

<sup>4</sup> i qve.

rusTa xel mwifis despane bma al eqsandre mefis am Tx-ovnaze civi da gadaWril i uari uTxres. maTi gadawyvetil eba verc im garemoebam Sescval a, rom kaxT batonma Tavis despanis dasavl eT evropasi wargzavnil obis erTaderT miznad is moimizeza, viTomc al eqsandre mefes undoda yvel asaTvis ecnobebina evropasi: me rusTa xel mwifis mfarvel obis qveSe varo. es sabuTi maT, rasakvirvel ia, sarwmunod ar eCvenebo-daT. rusebma upasuxes, magas xom Cveni xel mwifec Seaty-obinebda, raRa saWiroa, rom mefe al eqsandrem kidev sagangebod Tavis despani romis paps, espaniis mefesa da romis keisars gaugzavnoso<sup>1</sup>.

rus despane bisaTvis gansakuTrebit usiamovno unda yofil iyo al eqsandre mefis kiTxva dasavl eT evropul qristianTa darubandisagan siSore-siaxl ovis Sesaxeb. I axvarsavit ecemoda maT am sakiTxis wamoyeneba, raTgan kaxTa batonis idumal, isedac advil ad misaxvedr, zraxvas srul is ueWvel obit cxadhyofda. is qveynebi da saxel mwifoebi, romel Ta Sesaxebac gvekiTxebiTo, upasuxes rusebma al eqsandres, darubandze ise arian daSorebul i, rom aramcTu darubandSi mosvl a ar SeuZl iaT, gagonebiTac ki misi ara gaugoniaT-rao. Cveni xel mwifis garda, sxva aravis SeuZl ia gal aSqreba darubandisaken, Cvenze axl oc aris da marj ve gzac arsebobso<sup>2</sup>.

es ukanasknel i garemoeba qarTvel ebmac mSvenierad icodnen. kaxT batonis warmomadgenl ebma amitom rus despanebs maT Tavianti rusTa samxedro daxmarebaze damyarebul i gegmac gadauSal es. qarTvel ma dipl omatebma uTxres: gana TviT Cvenma mefem al eqsandrem ki ar icis, rom rusTa xel mwifis samfl obel o darubandze axl oa da xmel eTi-

---

<sup>1</sup> CPK I, 205-206.

<sup>2</sup> CPK I, 206.

Tac da wyl iTac Tavis jariT iq misvl a SeuZl ia. xol o roca is darubands miadgeba, maSinve Cveni mefe al eqsandre al azanze sparseTis l aSqars SeuerTdeba da Tavis mxriT swrafad ganaTavisufl eben Turqebisagan mTel s im miwawyal s, romel ic osmal ebs upyriaT. magram kaxT batonsac da mis maxl obel mrCvel ebs rusTa daxmarebis imedi ukve TiTqmis gacruedul ad miaCndaT. netavi ki im dRes moveswroTo, eubnebodnen rusebs kaxTa mefis warmomadgenl ebi, da maSin CvenTvis sikvdil ic araferi iqmneba. magram mefe al eqsandre ukve moxucebul ia da es faqti awuxebis, eRirseba Tu [ara] magis naxvas, Cvenc imisive gveSinia, vai Tu magas ver moveswraTo<sup>1</sup>.

amitom al eqsandre mefes da kaxeTis mTavrobas, rogorc etyoba, dasavl eTi evropis qristian saxel mwifoebTan kavSirisa da saqmis daWera rus despanebis rCevisda miuxedavad srul ebiT zedmetad ar miaCndaT. cota xnis Semdeg, 1590 w. pirvel s maiss, kaxT batonis warmomadgenl ebma ruseTis el CebTan kvl av Camoagdes l aparaki da ganucxades, rom raki rusebma misi dasavl eT evropaSi gasagzavni despanis Tan wayvanisa da ruseTze gatarebaze uari sTqviT, me mas imave gziT gavistumreb, roml iTac Cemi somexi sovda-gari movidao. al eqsandre mefes mainc im eWvebis gaqarwyl eba surda, romel ic misi fiqrit rus despanebs aRZvriaT dasavl eT evropaSi despanis gagzavni gamo. al eqsandre mefis warmomadgenl ebs uTqvamT, Tqven nuraviTari eWvi nu geqmnebaT imis gamo, rom Cvens mefes dasavl eTis qristian mefeebTan epistol eebis gagzavna hsurs. Cvens batons uxaria, rom isini qristianebi arian da mahmadianT SeerTebuli i Zal iT ewinaaRmdegebian. mefe al eqsandre mxol od swuxs, rom ierusal emi wmidaTa-wmidiTa da ufl isa safl aviTurT,

---

<sup>1</sup> CPK I, 206,207.

xol o konstantinepol Si aia sofia [da sxva] monastrebi da ekl esiebi codvaTa CvenTaTvis urwmuno mahmadianTa mier dasaTrgunv-Sesaginebel i Seiqmna. amitom Cvens mefes unda misweros dasavl eTis qristian saxel mwifoebS, rom magrad iyvnen SeerTebul ni mahmadianTa winaaRmdeg. RmerTsac amas evedreba qristianebi mahmadianebze gaamarj vos da is qristiani saxel mwifoebi da ierusal emi da wmidaTa-wmida da aia sofiis tazari konstantinepol Si didi xel mwifis Seiqmneso<sup>2</sup>.

amis sapsuxo sityvaSi rusma despane bma mTel i Taviani medidurobiTa da sarwmunoebrivi mZul varebiT aRsavse pol itikuri miswrafeba da gegma gadauSal es kaxT batons. Cvens xel mwifesaco, SeuTval es maT al eqsandre mefes Tavis mxriT, urj ul oTa winaaRmdeg brZol a sxva qristian xel mwifeebTan erTad swadia. magram, Tu RvTis wyal oba iqmneba Tu Cveni xel mwifis xel Ta qveSe ara, maS vis xel Si unda iyos ierusal emi da konstantinepol i? imitom yvel a saqristiano saxel mwifoTa Soris yvel aze didi xel mwife is aris da maTze udidesi ar arsebobs. iseTi saqristiano sarwmunoeba ki, rogorc ruseTis samefoSia, sxvagan arsad aris da TviT konstantine didis droisas eTanasworeba sidiadiTa da brwyinval ebiTao. amis gamo konstantinepol is patriarqi ieremia mTel is Tavisi krebul iTurt Cvens xel mwifesTan Camovida im mizniT, rom ierusal emis, al eqsandriis, antioqiisa da mis konstantinepol is patriarqTa Tanxmobrivi survil iT Cvenma xel mwifem ro-

---

<sup>1</sup> 1589-90 w. zvenigor. desp.: СРК I, 207-208: «Государю нашему то за честь, что они государи крестьянские соединився, стоят на бусурманскую веру; а государь нашъ крестьянин же, о том к ним и хочет писати, чтоб они стояли на бусурман... и того молити Бога, чтоб возвысил над бусурманы крестьянскую руку, чтоб тех крестьянских государств достигити государемъ крестьянским и Ерусалим бы и святая святых, во Царегороде Софея Премудрость Божья была великого государя».

mis papis magier ruseTSi papis arCevis neba-darToso. yvel a am qveynebis patriarqebi, samRvdel o Tu saero piri qristianebic RmerTs mxol od imas evedrebian, rom man yvel a mahmadianni Cvens xel mwifes daumorCil os. im dasavl eTis qveynebSi ki, romel zedac Tqven brZanebT, qristiano-ba iyo, magram mwval ebl obad da l aTinurobad iqcao<sup>1</sup>.

amgvarad, al eqsandre mefisaTvis cxadi unda gamxdariyo, rom ruseTis mTavrobas arc sasurvel ad da arc TavisTvis xel sayrel ad miaCnda, rom saqarTvel os dasavl eT evropis qristian saxel mwifoebTan rai me kavSiri daeWira da daaxl oebul iyo. Tavis garda saqarTvel osaTvis sxvasTan aravisTan gzis gaxsna ar undoda. xol o raki osmal eTis wyal obiT saqarTvel os dasavl eT evropisaken mimaval i umokl esi da uaxl oesi gza Sekrul i hqonda, arsebobda meore, Soreul i gzac, romel ic ruseTze midioda. magram raki ruseTis mTavrobas ar surda, rom saqarTvel os ruseTs garda sxvasTan visTanme saqme daeWira, igi qarTvel el Cebs am gziTac ar uSvebda evropaSi da ruseTis wyal obiT saqarTvel os es gzac daexSo.

[i. j avaxiSvil i, qarTvel i eris istoria, t.IV, Tb., 1967, gv. 321-324]

---

<sup>1</sup>CPK I, 208

## saekl esio-samonastro pol itika VIII-X saukunis saqarTvel oSi da mis sazRvargareT

VIII da IX-X s. saqarTvel os sul ieri cxovrevisaTvis metad damaxasiaTebel i da gansakuTrebul i el feris mim-cemi ZI ieri samonastro moZraoba da ekl esiis batonoba aris; winaTac arsebodnen saqarTvel oSi monazonebi; ukve prokopi kesariel is dros qarTvel ebs pal estinaSi ori, I azebisa da iberTa, udabno hqoniaT; magram Zvel dros gavrcel ebul i iyo martomyofel oba da meudabnoeoba, rode-sac TiToeul i cal -cal ke moRvaweobda; yvel ani "izrdebodes mZovarTa saxed mwuanil iTa da xil iTa, xol o romel nime puriTa"; zogi maTgani, visac Zal a Seswevda da raime xel oba icoda, Tavisi SromiT da xel obiT irCenda TavS...

... berebi marTI ac gaurbodnen "macdurs" qveyanas, simdidres da kerZo sakuTrebas, romel ic yovel gvare si-borotisa da usamarTI obis dedabuded miaCndaT: srul i sigl axake, upovareba da sakuTaris SromiT puris Wama, zneobrivi sispetake da ganvitareba maTs daucxromel s miswrafebas Seadgenda. es Tavistavad, maRal -zneobrivi miswrafebiT aRsavse da mimzidvel i mimarTul eba, erTobl iv sazogadoebrivi keTil dReobisaTvis TiTqmis unayofa da usargebl o movl ena iyo. sul sxva xasiaTi da mniSvnel oba hqonda im ZI iers samonastro moZraobas, romel ic daiwyo ukve merve saukunis dasasrul s da mTel s mecxre saukuneSi da meateSiac gacxovel ebul i iyo. Savset-kl arjet-taoSi am moZraobis motaved da ganmaxorciel ebl ad gamoceni i qarTvel i saekl esio moRvawe grigol xanZTel i (759-861 w.) yofil a, romel sac mraval i mowafe da mimbaZvel i hyavda, misis miswrafebaTa motrfial eni da ganmaxorciel ebel ni. am samonastro moZraobas saqarTvel osatvis fas-

daudebel i mniSvnel oba hqonda imitamac, rom qarTvel be-  
 rebs udabno adgil ebis ZebnaSi yuradReba unebi ied saqarTve-  
 l os aoxrebul , uSen da uRvaw kuTxeebisaTvis unda mieq-  
 ciaT da miaqcies kidec, maTma iq daSenebam udaburi tyee-  
 biT mocul sa da mtrisagan ganadgurebul s adgil ebSi kv-  
 l av sicocxl isa da kul turis kera Sehqmna; ugzoukvl o  
 adgil ebSi gzebi gakeTda, gauval tyeebSi mSvenieri Senobe-  
 bi aigo, didebul i nangreveli, mitovebul i cixe-qal aqebi da  
 ekl esiebi ganaxl da. gasaocari movl ena-ki aris, magram nam-  
 cvil i ambavia, rom swored es qveynisagan l tol vil ni, cod-  
 vil i cxovrebi uarismyofel ni berebi “udabnoTa qal aq  
 myofel ni” (c-l gg- l xnZT-l sl, gv. b) iyvnen, eriskacTaTvis  
 gzis maCvenebel ni da axal moSeneTa Tavganwirul ni winamor-  
 bedni.

Tu gavixsenebT, rom VIII-IX s. samcxe, SavSeT-kl arj eT-  
 tao da mesxeTis umetesi nawil i TiTqmis srul ebiT ukac-  
 riel i iyo da “uSenebel gareSe mciredTa sofel Tasa”, IX-  
 X s.-ki iq ukve mraval i monastrebi da ekl esiebi aSenda,  
 udaburs, utyvs qveyanaSi adamanTa cxovel i sityva gaisma,  
 daba-qal aqebiT moifina, miudgomel adgil ebze monazonTa  
 da axal SenTa medgaris Sromis wyal obiT naxnavebi gakeT-  
 da da mSvenieri mtil -venaxebi gaSenda, maSin Cven Tval win  
 warmogvidgeba is diadi Rvawl i, romel ic Cven berebsa da  
 am samonastro moZraobas saqarTvel os winaSe miuZRvis. am  
 moZraobis moTaveni da mTavari moRvaweni Seudrekel is  
 xasiaTisa da nebis patronebi iyvnen, gasaocaris mxneobiT  
 aRWurvil ni, Tavganwirul is sul iskveTebiT aRfrTovaneb-  
 ul ni. maT uRviodaT gul Si imgvari “mduRarebal sul isal”  
 (c-l sr-pn zr-zml sl, 20), romel ic adamians gmirada xdis  
 da mis moRvaweobas momxibl av mSvenierebas aniWebs, ara  
 erTxel aiZul ebs xol me mas ganzraxul i saqmisaTvis “dade-  
 bad sul isa”, axal gzasa da mimarTul ebas aZebninebs da  
 iwvevs “uRaRTa da uval Ta gzaTa sl vad” (iqve). am rCeul

moRvaweTa j gufs, romel Tac sxvaTa Soris mesxeTis dasax-  
l ebas da mis ayvavebas xel i Seuwyves, ekuTvnodnen grigol  
xanZTel i, xanZTisa, Satberdisa, gunaTI es, meris da ubes  
monastrebis amSenebel i, serapion zarzmel i, zarzmis monas-  
tris damfuZnebel i, miqel parexel i, saba didebul "iSxnisa  
meored maSchebel i" (c-l gg-l xnZT-l sl, v, k, l ), daviT  
miZnaZoroel i, il arioni, wyarostavis aRmaSenebel i, da  
mraVal ni sxvani<sup>1</sup>.

viTarca am saekl esio moRvaweTa Seudrekel s xasiaT-  
sac Seefereboda, maTi gavl ena mTel s imdroindel s cx-  
ovrebas atyvia; maTis wyal obiT maSin monazonoba da ek-  
l esia iyo gabatonebul i; igi Taviseburs el fers aniWebda  
im xanis azrovnebasac. Seuryevel WeSmaritebad iyo aRi-  
arebul i, rom Tavi da Tavi am codvil s qveyanaSi mRvde-  
l oba aris, igi "ufrols ars yovel Ta didebaTa, sul ierTa  
da aorciel Ta" imitom, rom mRvdel i qristes warmomad-  
genel ia, xol o mRvdel oba "qristCs nacval obal ars"<sup>2</sup>.  
saero ekl esiebis mRvdl ebze gacil ebiT ufro maRal i  
xarisxi epyraT monazonebs, romel nic Taviant Tavs saxel m-  
wifo da saero mTavrobisagan srul ebiT damoukidebl ada  
hgrZnobdnen. "WeSmaritni monazonni queyanasa zeda aravis-  
sa ael mwifebasa queSe arian"-o, ambobda Turme grigol  
xanZTel i (iqve); da marTI ac im dros bers srul ebiT  
dajs el ad SeeZI o mTavris brZanebisatvis aravitari yura-  
dReba ar mieqcia; xol o Tu gul mosul i ael mwife wy-  
romiT moagonebda: bero, "j er ars xel mwifeTa morCil e-  
bal"-o, igi ukmexad pirSi etyoda: "Sen queyanisa ael mwife  
xar, xol o qristC - zecisa da queyanisa da quesknel Tal",  
"Sen warmaval Ta amaT JamTa mefe xar, xol o qristC sauku-

---

<sup>1</sup> ix. c-l gg-l xnZT-l sl, TP, VII, n. maris winasityvaoba da dRiuri.

<sup>2</sup> ix. Cemi "istoriis mizani da meTodebi", g. merCul i.

nol meufe", xol o raki "vervis ael ewifebis monebal orTa ufal Tal", amitom me Sens brZanebas ar vemorCil ebio (iqve).

marto TiToeul i monazoni da samRvdel o piri-ki ar iyo cal -cal ke damoukidebel i saero mTavrobisagan, mTel i samRvdel oeba erTobl iv da ekl esiac srul ebiT Tavisufal i iyo da damoukidebel i. Tundac rom camdis marTal i yofil iyo mTavari, an sxva vinme eriskaci Careul iyo saekl esio saqmeSi da samarTI iani msj el oba gamoeTqva, maSinve mas Tavis qerqSi Caayenebdnen, eg Seni saqme ar aris, Sen ar gekiTxebao, Seni Careva "Sj ul isa da mRvdel T-moZRuarTa Seuracxebal ars"-o, imitom, rom saekl esio "kanonsa Sina arave brZanebul ars eriskacisa, viTarmca episkoposTa da wesisa winamZRuarTa mamaTa gansagebel isa Sj ul is moZRurebasa ikadrebda, gina axal saxiobasa moiRebda, daRacaTu samarTI ad sagonebel i iyo"<sup>1</sup>.

magram Tu samRvdel oeba da monazonebi eriskacebsa da mTavrobas saekl esio sakiTxebSi Carevis nebas ar aZl evda, TiTon isini Taviant zneobriv da sarwmunoebriv movall eobada sTvl idnen adamianta cxovrebaSi Careul iyvnen yovel Tvis, rodesac RvTaebri Sj ul i da saekl esio kanoni matis azriT darRveul i iyo. amistan SemTxvevSi isini mouridebl ad da uSiSrad moqmedebdnen da Tu saWiro iyo TviT qveynis uzenaes ganges, Zl iers mTavars winaaRudgebodnen da amxil ebdnen xol me. am mxriv imdroindel i ekl esiis Zl ierebis damaxasiaTebel ia is ori ambavi, romel ic moTxrobel i aqvs giorgi merCul s. gansakuTrebit sagul isxmiero aris pirvel i maTgani da mxol od mas SevexebiT. grigol xanZTel ma Seityo Turme, rom aSot kural pal ats Seuyvarda erTi qal i, romel ic Tavistan miiyvana. raki aSots col i hyavda, es misi saqciel i mruSebad iyo CaTvl il i da "amxil a piris-pir ael mwifesa mas". aSotma

---

<sup>1</sup>ix. Cemi "qI samarTI is istoria", w.II, ekl esia.

aRuTqva, rom sayvarel s Tavs daanebebda da Sin gaistum-  
rebda; magram ise ZI ierad da gul wrfel ad uyvarda is  
qal i, rom Tavisi danapiri ver aasrul a. maSin grigol ma  
idrova, rodesac aSot kurapal ati artanuj iTgan sxvagan  
iyo wasul i, mivida mis sasaxl esTan da misi sayvarel i  
wamoiyvana, da dedaTa monasterSi daabinava. ukan dabruneb-  
ul ma aSotma ra es ambavi Seityo, erTxans iTmenda, magram  
mere Tavi ver Seikava da mivida im monasterSi, sadac misi  
gul is satrfo iyo; dedaTa monastris winamZRvarma dau-  
mal a igi da ar aCvena. amis Semdgom winamZRvarTan I apar-  
akis dros mis saaugo saqciel s ise mouridebl ad da  
"mkueTr" amxel dnen, rom aSoti "sircxO eul iqmna mar-  
TI mxil ebisa mis gan kdemul i da myovar Jam dadumna,  
viTarca ZI eul i" (c:l gg-l xnZT-l sl, nC). gonebiT igica  
grZnobda, rom misi saqciel i Seuferebel i iyo meuRI is  
winaSeca da xal xis winaSec, magram gul i ara scxreboda  
da trfobis grZnoba gonebas ar emorCil eboda. "gul is  
SeWirvebisagan" aRSfoTebul s, vnebaTa Rel viT Seurvebul s  
mas im wams sikvdil i sanatreI ad eCvena da gul is siRr-  
miTgan warmoatQmevina: "netar mas kacsA, vinc arRara coxal  
ars"-o (iqve), mas xom gul i gaciebul i aqvs da im sul iers  
tanj vas mainc ver igrZnobda, romel mac aSotis mTel i ar-  
seba ase aRaSfoTa da Tavmoyvareoba, "TavmoTneobal"-c-ki  
daaviwya. kurapal ati iZul ebul i iyo daeTmo. giorgi mer-  
Cul i ZI evamosil is kil oTi mWevrmetyvel ebiT dasZens:  
"aorciel ad ZI iersa ael mwifesa sul ierad ZI ierTa kac-  
Ta sZI es"-o (iqve).

qarTul i ekl esia am dros marTI ac ZI ieri iyo; mas  
bevri gamoCenil i moRvawe da saekl esio mweral i, mTargm-  
nel ni, sagal obl ebis mwerl ebi, saekl esio istorikosebi  
da sxv. hyavda.

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tom d. t.II,  
Tavi V, Tb., 1983, gv. 117-120]

... berZnebi marTI madidebl obas Tavisi politikuri batonobis gavrcel ebis iaraRada xmarobdnen da zogjer bizantiel i berebi erTi muWa miwebis da mamul ebis daptroneb is imediT TviT erTmorwmune qarTvel ebis saberZneTiTgan gandevnas cdil obdnen. saberZneTis mZI avreba da cbiereba kargad icodnen qarTvel ebma samSobl oSive, tao-kl arj eTsa da mesxeTSi sazogadod am xanaSi erTxel da orjer ar unaxavT qristesmosavi berZeni mxedrobis parpaSoba. magram is qarTvel i, romel ic samSobl oSi cxovrobd, saitgan warmoidgenda, rom TviT berZen berebsac batonobis didi mada hqonda da erTmorwmune qarTvel Ta warmatebas Suris da mtrobis Tval iT dauwyebdnen yurebas. oriode qvemomoyvanil i magal iTi cxovl ad dagvisuratebs qarTvel -berZen monazonebis urTierT-Soriss gamwvebul s damokidebul obas.

eqvTimes moadgil es, mamasaxl iss giorgis, berZnebma romanoz mefis winaaRmdeg gandgomil eba da Ral ati daswames; marTal i iyo Tu ara es Sewameba ara Cans, qarTvel ebi-ki darwmunebul ebi iyvnen, rom giorgi ubral o iyo...

**[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.II, Tavi VII, Tb., 1983, gv. 170]**

... adamianis sul ieri buneba imgvaria, rom erovnul i grZnoba ucxoobaSi ufro cxovel deba xol me; xol o saRs erovnul s sxoul s iseTi Tviseba aqvs, rom rac ufro bevri brZol a mouxdeba sxvaTa erovnul mZI avr grZnobasTan, erovnul i grZnoba ufro da ufro gakaJdeba xol me da TviTsemecneba ufro garkveul i da mkafio xdeba. erovnul devnas mudam devnul Ta ufro mWidro SekavSireba da SeerTeba mohyveba xol me Sedegad. swored amitomac iyo, rom ucxoetsi mcxovrebi qarTvel i berebi cdil obdnen erTierTmanerTTan daaxl ovebas da erT adgil as Tavis moyras...

**[iqve, gv. 171]**

## patronymoba - qarTul i saxel mwifos weswyobil ebis qvakuTxedi

... samefos social ur-ufl ebrivi weswyobil ebis qvakuTxedad patronymoba iyo: xel mwife patroni iyo, misi qveSevrdomi-ki ymebi, wodebaTa miuxedavad, didebul i aznaurebi iqmnebodnen isini, Tu ubral o sofl el i gl exebi. magram didebul i moxel e, romel ic mefis yma iyo, Tavis mxriv Tavis i xel qveiTebisaTvis patronad iTvl eboda; xol o xel qveiTni mis ymebad iwodebodnen, romel nic SeiZl eba patronebad yofil iyvnen da ymebi hyol odaT: aq, maSasadame, Cven Tval win saxel mwifoebriivi cxovrevisa da samarTI is movl enaa.

magram patronymoba amastanave social uri da kerZouf- l ebrivi cxovrebis movl enac iyo. patroni kerZo mesakuTresa da mfl obel sac, mfarvel sac hniSnavda; xol o ymad iwodeboda isic vinc romel isame mebatonis, aznauris Tu sxva wodebis kacis miwaze ij da an viTarca nasyidi, umamul od Tu mamul ianad, an viTarca Tavis sakuTaris mamul iT da nebayofl obiT ama Tu im Zl ieri mebatonis mfarvel obas qveSe myofi. amgvar ymad didebul aznaurs SeiZl eboda aznaurebic hyol oda. gel aTSi dacul erT saxarebis anderZ-Si mag. naTqvamia: "R- To Seiwyal en yovel ni erisTavni da aznaurni, mRdel ni da yovel ni msaxurni erisTavTa-erisTavisa magistrozisa l i paritisani"<sup>1</sup>. maTac, rasakvirvel ia, Tavianti ymebi hyavdaT, romel TaTvis isini patronebi iqmnebodnen. erTi sityviT, patronymoba orgvari Tvisebisa iyo da gabatonebul i iyo rogorc saxel mwifo weswyobil ebaSi, ise sazogadoebrivSi.

---

<sup>1</sup> qk'bi, II, 191, ix. amgvarive snoba. Опис. рук. церк. Музея, II, gv. 50-51.

didebul i aznaurebi, romel Tac did gvariSvil obis garda umaRI esi Tanamdebobac hqondaT xol me, metad Tval saCino da mefisaTvis saSiSi Zal iT iyvnen aRWurvil ni: maT hyavdaT "simravl e erisa", erTgul i ymebi, romel nic yvel gan samsaxurs gauwevden Taviant patrons, da qonebrivadac Ronierni iyvnen. umefobis dros batonobas miCveul T, gaerTianebul i saqarTvel os mefis ufl ebis gaZl iereba arafrad moswondaT da, rogorc zeviTac araerTxel a vnaxeT, mefeeb winaaRmddegobas uwevden.

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.II,  
Tavi VII, Tb., 1983, gv. 165]

### **giorgi brwyinval is pol itikis zogadi gezi**

... amnair rTul pirobebSi isic ki advil i gadasawvyeti ar iyo, Tu giorgi V-es Tavisi pol itikuri da saxel mwi-foebrivi moRvaweoba saiTgan da riT daewyo: j er Sinauri mtrebis, gamdgari mTavrebisa da urCi didebul i moxel eebis al agmvasa da damorCil ebas Sesdgomoda da am gziT qveyana daewynarebina, saqarTvel os mTI ianoba aRedgina da amit Zal a moekriba, xol o Semdeg saqarTvel os sagareo mdgomareobis gamosworebaze daewyo zrunva, Tu winaukmo moqceul iyo, upirvel esad dampyrobil monRol ebTan daewyo brZol a da saqarTvel o maTi batonoba-mtarval obisagan gaenTavisufl ebina.

giorgi V-es, rogorc Cans, brZnul ad gadauwyvetia, rom daqucmacebul i da gaorexrebul i saqarTvel osTvis Tundac ukve dasustebul eranis il xanebis saayanosTan brZol is gagrZel eba, an da kvl av atexa, aramc Tu mizanSewonil i pol itika ar iqneboda, aramed rom aseTi samoqmedo gezis arCevas Sesazl ebel i iyo sabediswero Sedegic-ki mohyol oda. amitom, monRol ebTan brZol as, man frTxil i da mSvidobiani pol itikis warmoeba amj obina.

rodesac Coban noinma eranis il xanad abusaidi dasva, axal i mbrZanebel i imdenad mcirewl ovani iyo (12 wl is), rom Tavisi saxel mwifos marTva-gangeoba piradad, rasakvirvel ia, ar SeeZl o. amitom 1316 w. eranSi gayaanebul s abusaidis mTavar vazirada da sayaanos namdvil mesaWed Cobani hyavda. saqarTvel os mefes giorgi brwyinval es swored il xanebis am yovl adSemZl e xel isufal CobanTan daaxl ovebaze daumyarebia Tavisi pol itika: maT didi mego brobac hqondaT erTmaneTSi. imdroindel i arabul i cno bit, Cobani saqarTvel os mefis gul iTadi megobari iyo: igic giorgi brwyinval es afasebda da yovel Tvis, rode sac-ki saWiro iyo, mas mxarsac uWerda da kidec exmareboda xol me.

meore mxriT, giorgi brwyinval ec Tavis pol itikur moqmedebaSi Cobans uwevda angariSs, saxel mwifo saqmeebze il xanis did vazirs eTaTbireboda xol me da darwmunebul ic iyo, rom, roca gauWirdeboda, misTvis Cobanis daxmareba yovel Tvis uzrunvel yofil i iqneboda. marTI ac, Cobans giorgi brwyinval is imedi arasdros ar gaucruebia da gansacdel Si mraVal j er dahxmarebia xol me.

arc giorgi brwyinval isa da arc Cobanis mxriT is gul iTadi megobrul i damokidebul eba, romel ic maT Soris arsebobda, marto piradi grZnobiTa da ganwyobil ebit ar iyo gamowveul i, aramed kargad Segnebul s pol itikurs angariSzec iyo damyarebul i. Cobani giorgi brwyinval is saxel mwifoebriVs niWsa da SorsgamWvretel obas Zal ian afasebda, amitomac iyo, rom eranis yaanebis sabrZanebl is saqmeebze rCevas mas ekiTxeboda xol me. amrigad, CobanisTvis saqarTvel os mefe marto rogorc piradi megobari ki ar iyo Zvirfasi, aramed rogorc misi saukeTeso Tanagamzraxic.

amas garda, eranis il axanebma saqarTvel os jaris gul adoba da brZol aSi Tavdauzogavoba kargad icodnen.

me-14 s. damdegs, rodesac piradad monRol Ta Zl ierebac Zal ze Semcirda da isini winandel i simamaciTac ukve veR-ar omobdnen, Tanac, maT wiaRSi pol itikur SeTqmul ebaTa gaxSirebis gamo, maTi TanamoZmeni maTTvis sando mxedrobad misaCnevic-ki aRar iyvnen, qarTvel i j ari ukve marto meSvel Zal as ki aRar warmoadgenda, rogorc es winaT iyo, aramed igi mTavar sayrdnობად iqca, romel sac isini endobodnen da roml is simamacis imedi maT hqondaT.

swored saqarTvel ostvis ase xel sayrel ad qceul i viTarebiT isargebl a, rogorc Cans, giorgi brwyinval em da Tavisi qveynis sakeTil dReod gamoiyena. amrigad, giorgi brwyinval is mefobis pirvel naxevarSi saqarTvel os samefo isev eranis imdroindel s il xanTan iyo pol itikurad dakavSirebul i da ymadnaficoba maSin j er kidev arsebobda. amitomac ierl ay-ad wodebul i yaanis brZanebani saqarTvel oSic modioda xol me, magram, maSindel i arabul i cnobiT, monRol Ta yaanis brZanebaTa Zal a da xel isufl eba saqarTvel oze uSual od ukve aRar vrcel deboda.

eranis il xans l aSqaric mcirericxovani eyena da mTel saqarTvel os samefoSi 10 000 mol aSqreze meti ar iyo, isic Turme mxol od saqarTvel os sazRvrebis dasacavad hyol ia gankuTvnil i.

sanam dasaxul i pol itikuri da erovnul i amocanebis gansaxorciel ebl ad saWiro iyo, giorgi brwyinval es aseTi damokidebul eba hqonda monRol ebTan, merme, rodesac mizani ukve miRweul i iyo, maTi moSoreba gaerTianebul i saqarTvel os mefem advil ad moaxerxa. am SemTxvevaSi giorgi brwyinval es TviT eranis il xanis abusaidis moqmedebamac gauadvil a saqme, raTgan sayaanos isedac Seryeul mdgomareobas mal e ukanasknel ma aRsasrul mac mouswro: sakmarisi iyo 1327 w. srul wl ovanad qceul s abusaidis, Tavisi meurvisa da mzrunvel is Coban noinis TaviTgan moSorebis mizniT, eranis monRol ebis es erTaderTi Zl ieri da qveynis odna-

vad mainc Semkavebel i xel isufal i, TiTonac da misi ori  
vaJiSvil ic moekvl evinebina, rom maSinve sayaanoSi areul o-  
ba dawyebul iyo da il xanebis sabrZanebel sac bol o mo-  
hReboda. amis Semdeg giorgi brwyinval es saqarTvel oSi  
myofi monRol Ta l aSqrisa da yvel a maTi moxel eebis gan-  
devna-mospoba, rasakvirvel ia, ar gauZnel deboda.

**[i. javaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.III,  
Tb., 1982, gv. 167-169]**

**giorgi brwyinval is sagareo  
pol itika da saqarTvel os didi  
xvedriTi wona maxl obel i  
aRmosavl eTis saerTaSoriso  
cxovrebaSi**

... saqarTvel om giorgi brwyinval is samxedro niWiTa da brZnul i saxel mwifoebrivi pol itikis wyal obiT Tavisi pol itikuri Zl iereba me-14 s. meore meoTxedisatvis ukve imdenad aRidgina da SinaurobaSic srul i mSvidobianobis damyareba SesZl o, rom misi Zl ierebis xmaganTqmul obam egviptemdisac-ki miaRwia. iqauri imdroindel i arabul i wyaroebis cnobiT, saqarTvel o maSin did da vrcel qvey-nad da Zl ier saxel mwifod iTvl eboda. romis papsac moexseneboda, rom saqarTvel os saxel mwifoSi bevri sxva xal xic iyo. Soreul s egvipteSi isic kargad icodnen, rom maSindel s saqarTvel oSi mtkice xel isufl eba arse-bobda da mas Tavisi sakuTari mefe hyavda da rom mis sataxto qal aqad tfil isi iyo.

saqarTvel os jaris mamacobisa da qristianobis mt-kiced damcvel is saxel ic Soreul qveynebSi, maT Soris egvipteSic, kargad iyo cnobil i.

Cveni qveynis ganaxl ebas da moRonierebasTan erTad, cxadia, rom saqarTvel os xvedriTs wonasa da mniSvnel obas saer-TaSoriso asparezec unda kvl av ematna. saqarTvel os me-fisagan im droisatvis saerTaSoriso pol itikur sfero-Si mopovebul s gavl enasa da mniSvnel obas is mimarTvaS-esxmis wesic gvixatavs kargad, roml iTac maSin egviptis sul tnebi saqarTvel os mefeabisadmi warmogzavnil Tavi-anT epistol eebis swerdden xol me. el -omaris cnobiT epis-tol eebi ase iwyeboda: "dRegrZel -hyos al l ahma brwyin-val eba misi udidebul esobisa, xel mwifisa saxel ovnisa da

saxel ganTqmul isa, mamacisa, uSiSarisa, Zl ierisa, daucxromel ad mebrZol isa, l omisa, taxt-gvirgvinis mpyrobel isa, Tavis sarwmunoebis mfl obel isa, Tavis qveSevrdomTaTvis samarTI ianisa, berZenTa (igul isxmeba: "marTI madidebel - Ta") mefeTa Soris saukeTesosa, qarTvel Ta sul tnisa, zRvaTa da sruteebis samfl obel oebis ganZisa, raindTa damcvel isa, Tavis winaparTagan taxt-skiptris damamkvidrebel isa, rumisa da eranis qveynebis damcvel isa, ionTa (e.i. Zvel i saberZneTis mefeTa) memkvidrisa, asureTis mefeTa mfarvel isa gvirgvinosanTa Soris urCeul esisa, qristianTa ganmadidebel isa, iesos sarwmunoebis sayrdnobisa, qristian gmirTa cxebul isa, Tavis brZanebiT winda adgil Ta (e.i. pal estina-ierusal imis) ganmadidebel isa, naTel Rebul Ta misayrdnobisa, romis papis meSvel isa, musl imanTa megobrisa, daaxl ovebul megobarTa Soris umSvenieresisa mefeTa da sul tanTa ugul iTadesi megobrisa"-o.

me-14 s. pirvel i naxebris arab mwerl is el -omaris am mowmobiT, giorgi brwyinval e qristian mefeTa Soris usaxel ovanasad iTvl eboda. imisda miuxedavad, rom mas gul modgine qristianis saxel i hqonda moxveWil i, es garemoeba da misi rwmena mas ar uSl ida sxva rwmenis warmomadgenl ebTan kargi damokidebul eba hqonoda. egviptis sul tnebi giorgi brwyinval isadmi warmogzavnil s Tavians epistol eebSi mas musl imanTa megobarsac-ki uwodebdnen. es friad sagul isxmo garemoebaa, romel ic am mefes farTo da Tavisufal i azrovnebis mqonebel pol itikosad gvagul isxmebinebs.

Tavis saxel mwifoSi pol itikurad kargad ganmtkicebis Semdeg, giorgi brwyinval e saqarTvel os sagareo da saerTaSoriso mdgomareobis, romel ic me-13 s. ganmavl obaSi TiTqmis srul ebiT Seryeul i iyo, gamosworebasac Seudga. mas miznad dasaxul i hqonda saqarTvel osaTvis saerTa-

Soriso sferoSi kvl av daebrunebina is gavl enianoba, romel ic mas winaT Zl ierebis xanaSi, me-12 s., mopovebul i hqonda.

warsul Si qristianeTa mTavar sal ocav adgil ebSi qarTvel ebs yvel gan sapatio adgil i ekavaT da TavianTi ekl esia-monastrebi hqondaT. ukve me-12 s. qarTvel ebma, proxores TaosnobiT, j varis monasteri aages. daviT aRmaSenebel ma sinas mTis is mwverval ic daikava, sadac, ebrael Ta gadmocemiT, viTomc RmerTi mose winaswarmetyvel s esaubreboda da aTi mcneba misca. sinas naxevarkunZul is am yvel aze umaRl es mwverval ze man saucxovo qarTul i ekl esia aagebina da qarTul i wirval ocviTurT moawyo. yvel a mas da amis msgavss, ra Tqma unda, marto wminda sarwmunoebrivi mniSvel oba ar hqonda, aramed amave dros es mTel maxl obel aRmosavl eTSi da dasavl eTis qristiane xal xTa Soris saqarTvel os politikur saxel-ganTqmul obasac uwyobda xel s.

saqarTvel os politikuri Zl ierebis Seryevistanave, qarTvel ebis mdgomareoba pal estinaSic Zal ze gauaresda. qristianeTaTvis iseTi mniSvel ovani sal ocavi, rogoradac maSin j varis monasteri iyo miCneul i, CamoarTves. qarTvel ebis gul is mosakl avada da Tavmoyvareobis Sesal-axavad, CamorTmeul i mizgiTadac-ki aqcies.

giorgi brwyinval em qarTvel Ta am Sel axul i ufl ebisa da Tavmoyvareobis aRdgenasac miaqcia yuradReba. am mizniT man egvptis sul tans Tavisi despanebi gaugzavna da wartmeul i j varis monastris qarTvel ebisaTvis dabruneba sTxova. saqarTvel os mefes marto zemoaRniSnul i mizani ar hqonda dasaxul i, aramed mas undoda, rom saerTod pal estinaSi qristianeTaTvis mahmadianTagan dawesebul i damamcirebel i wesebi da yovel nairi Seviwroebac mospobil iyo da maTi mdgomareoba gaumj obesebul iyo. amitom giorgi brwyinval em Tavisi despanebs daaval a jer konstantinepol Si Seearnat da misi wadil i da cda ecnobebinaT. etyoba, mas

undoda, rom qristianeTa zogadi mdgomareobis gaumj obesebis miss aseT cdaSi bizantiis keisarsac mieRo monawil eoba. am ambis gagebisTanave, saqarTvel os despaneBTan erTad keisars Tavisi despanebic gauyol ebia Tan.

saqarTvel osa da bizantiis despanebi marTI ac zRviT jer al eqsandriaSi mividnen, iqiTgan-ki xmel eTiT qairomdis miaRiwes kidec. iq saqarTvel os despanebma egviptis mTavrobas giorgi brwyinval is epistol e miarTves, romel Sic igi Zal momreobiT CamoRmeuli da mahmadianTagan mizgiTad gadaqceul i j varis monastris isev qarTvel ebisaTvis dabrunebas Txoul obda. amasTanave saqarTvel os mefe egviptis sul tans sTxovda, rom is gankargul eba da wesic gauqmebul i yofil iyo, roml iTac qristianebs cxensa da saxedrebze aqeT-iqiT orive fex-CamoSvebul i j doma akrZalul i hqondaT. ase mogzauroba mxol od mahmadianebis upirates ufl ebad iTvl eboda, qristianebi-ki cxen-saxedrebze unda orive fexis erTi mxriv gverdze CamoSvebul ni mj dariyvnen raki aseTi brZaneba qristianeTa damcireba-gawbil ebis wadil iT iyo nakarnaxevi, giorgi brwyinval em, etyoba, aucil ebl ad saWirod dainaxa, rom Tavmoyvareobis aseTi Seuracxmyofeli wesi mospobil iyo da amIT qristianeTa sworufli ebianoba aRdgenil i yofil iyo.

saqarTvel os mefis arc erTi am or TxovnaTaganis asrul eba mahmadianTa mbrZanebl is, egviptis sul tnisaTvis, advil i ar iyo, magram mainc, ufro metad pirvel Txovnas unda Caegdo igi did sagonebel Si. j varis monastris isev qarTvel ebisaTvis dabruneba xom mizgiTis kvl av qristianeTa sal ocav ekl esiad qceviT damTavrdeboda, marTI - morwmune mahmadianTa Sexedul eba-moZRvrebiT-ki aseTi saqcie- l i mZime danaSaul ebas da did codvas warmoadgenda. amnairi nabij is gadasadgmel ad egviptis sul tnis gavli eni- ani sasul iero wreebi Taviant mbrZanebel s dasturs ise advil ad ver miscemden.

esoden Znel ad gadasal axavi dabrkol ebisda miuxedavad, egviptis sul tanma saqarTvel os mefis orive Txovna daakmayofil a: qarTvel ebma wartmeul i jvaris monasteric daibrunes, danarCen yvel a qristianeBTan erTad cxensa da saxedarze j domis Cveul ebrivi wesis sworufi ebianobac moi poves.

ueWvel ia, saqarTvel os mefis ori zemoaRniSnul i Znel ad asarul ebel i saTxovaris dakmayofil eba egviptis sul t-nisaTvis im pol itikur dapirebas unda ekarnaxa, romel ic saqarTvel os mefes Tavisi saTxovarTan erTad daurtavs: is hpirdeboda, rom saWiroebisamebr egviptis sul tans daxmarebas gauwevda da mieSvel eboda.

amrigad, saqarTvel om Tavisi saerTaSoriso gavli enis aRdgena am mxriv moaxerxa da rogorc danarCen qristiane erTa sworufi ebianobazec mzurunvel ma saxel mwifom, Tavisi ufro farTo pol itikuri gegmac sayovel Taod gamoamJRavna. qarTvel ebma wartmeul i jvaris monastris dabronebasTan erTad, Caibares agreTve "kl iteni ierusal emisani" da saqarTvel os gamarj vebul i despanebi mividnen "safli avsa qristessa". qarTvel mematianes gamonaTqvami aq, ra Tqma unda, gadaWarbebul i aqvs, raTgan, rogorc es dasavl eT evropis imdroindel i l aTinuri wyaroebiTgan irkveva, qarTvel ebs kl ite-gasaRebi marTI ac miuRiaT, magram mTel i ierusal emis-ki ara, aramed mxol od iesos safli avad miCneul i sal ocavisa. es pal estinis erT Zvel s aRweril obaSic aris aRniSnul i: am safli avis kl ite-gasaRebi qarTvel ebs aqvT da isini am safli avs ise icaven, rom iqiTgan didZal i oqros safasuradac-ki erT marcval sac aravis daanebebeno.

cxadia, rom am or dipl omaturs gamarj vebas saqarTvel os saxel mwifosa da qarTvel obisaTvis mTel s maSindel saqristiano qveynebsi, aRmosavl eTsaca da dasavl eTSic, didi saxel i unda moexveWa. amitomac srul ebit bunebri-

via, rom, rodesac misma despane bma mefis daval ebis as-  
rul ebis Sesaxeb moaxsenes, "friad ganixara giorgi mefeman,  
rameTu mieces kl iteni qarTvel Ta"-o.

[i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad. t.III,  
Tb., 1982, gv. 174-177]

**mefe daviT aRmaSenebel i - qarTul i  
saxel mwifoerivi wyobil ebis  
samoxel eo sistemis srul mqmnel i da  
gammarTavi**

... qarTul i saxel mwifoerivi wyobil ebis samoxel eo sistemis ganviTareba ukavSirdeba daviT aRmaSenebl is saxel s. daviT aRmaSenebel ma Seqmna ramdenime axal i saxel mwifoerivi instituti, manmade ukve arsebul s axal i Zal a da Sinaarsi misca da amit safuZvel i Cauyara central isturi saxel mwifosaTvis Sesiferisi samoxel eo aparatis da marTvis sistemis Seqmnas. giorgi III-is drosa da mis momdevno xanebSi TandaTanobiTi damateba-SesworebiT am sistemam dasrul ebul i saxe miiRo.

saqarTvel os saxel mwifos saTaveSi mefe idga. mefe iyo qveynis umaRl esi xel isufal i. saqarTvel os gaerTianebidan mokidebul i mefis Zal aufl eba sul izrdeba da daviT aRmaSenebl is xanaSi mefe TiTqmis absol uturi monarqia. amave dros, isev saqarTvel os gaerTianebidan dawyebul i, mefes gamudmebul i brZol a uxdeba didgvarianeTan, roml ebic mefis Zl ierebis SezRudvisa da samefo xel isufli ebis gaziarebisaTvis ibrZvian. orsaukunovani brZol a mefesa da didgvarianebs Soris XII s. dasasrul isaTvis didgvarianTa erTgvari gamarjvebiT mTavrdeba: didgvarianebma miaRwies mefis xel isufli ebis SedarebiT SezRudvasa da darbazis Zal aufl ebis gazrdas. amieridan mefe yvel a didmniSvel ovan sakiTxs mxol od darbazis "TanadgomiTa da erTnebobiT" gadawyvets<sup>1</sup>.

**darbazi** saqarTvel os saxel mwifo weswyobil ebaSi

---

<sup>1</sup> n. berZeni Svil i, saqarTvel os istoriis sakiTxebi, VII, gv. 111.

gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel obisa iyo. darbazi Sedgeboda darb-  
bazis erisagan. darbazis eri (aqedan sityva "darbaise-  
l i") gul isxmobda yvel a vazirs da maT xel qveiT moxel es,  
agreTve saqveynod gamrige did moxel eesba da sasul iero  
mesveurebs...

[saqarTvel os istoriis narkvevebi. t.III, naw. I,  
Tb., 1979, gv. 349-350]

**darbazi**

- saxel mwifo sabWo - ikribeboda mefis Tavmj -  
domareobiT. darbazis Semadgenl obis erT naw-  
il s j domis ufl eba hqonda, meore nawil s ki ara, igi  
fexze unda mdgariyo. moxel eTa im nawil Si, romel sac j domis  
ufl eba hqonda, yvel a erTi ufl ebisa ar iyo. vazirebi  
oqroWedil sel ebze isxdnen, momdevno rangis xel isufal ni  
Cveul ebriv dasaj domebze - amaTgan zogs "sasTaul ic" (bal -  
iSi) edo, zogs ki ara<sup>1</sup>. j domis wesis am garegnul gamoxat-  
ul ebaSi Canda TviT moxel eTa ierarqiul i wyobac.

darbазis kompetenciaSi Sedioda kanonmdebl oba da  
uzenaesi marTI msaj ul eba, omis gamocxadebis, did xel is-  
ufal Ta arCeva-daniSvnis, zavis dadebis da sxva sakiTxebi.

daviT aRmaSenebl is droidan, rodesac mefis Zal aufl e-  
ba sul ufro Zl ierdeba, darbазis mniSvnel oba formal ur  
xasiaTs atarebs, magram didgvarian aznaurTa gamudmebul i  
cdebi mimarTul i mefis xel isufl ebis SezRudvisa da  
sakuTari rol is gaZl ierebisaken, TandaTanobiT iwveven  
darbазis, rogorc didgvarianTa nebis gamomxatvel i orga-  
nizaciis, mniSvnel obis gazrdas. Tamaris mefobaSi yuTI u  
arsl anis dasis gamosvl is Semdeg mefes Camosciil da saxel m-

---

<sup>1</sup>iv. j avaxi Svil i, qarTul i samarTI is istoria, w.II, nakv. II,  
gv. 240.

wifo sakiTxebis erTpirovnul i gadawvyetis ufl eba da darbazi Seiqmna yovel gvari saxel mwifoebrivi saqmis gada-wyvetis monawil e da organizatori. darbazi iRebs mefis Tanamdgomel is da erTi nebis gamoxatul ebas. mefe yovel mniSvnel ovan RonisZiebas atarebs mxol od da mxol od darbazis erTa "TanadgomiTa da erTnebaobiT". am SemTx-vevaSi samefo xel isufl eba erTgvar kompromisze wavida...  
[iqve, gv. 350-351]

**vaziri** marTva-gangeoba saqarTvel oSi savaziros xe-  
l iT xorciel deboda. "savaziros" adgil obrivi  
warmoSobis uwyebaTa meTaurebis gaerTianebas erqva da  
warmoadgenda vazirTa sabWos. am sabWoSi Semaval i Ti-  
Toeul i vaziri cal ke uwyebas ganagebda.

savaziros Camoyal ibebamde saqarTvel oSi arsebobda  
cal keul i sagegmo uwyebebi, romel Ta meTaurebsac uxuc-  
esebi erqvaT. uxucesis wodeba emateboda cal keul i dar-  
gis moxel eTa ufross, magal iTad, meabj reTuxucesi, man-  
daturTuxucesi, ganmgeTuxucesi, meRvineTuxucesi, mol are-  
Tuxucesi, monadireTuxucesi, mwignobarTuxucesi, msaxur-  
Tuxucesi da sxv. es uxucesebi ufrosobdnen ara marto  
Tavis xel qveiT moxel eebis (mandaturTuxucesi - manda-  
turebs, meRvineTuxucesi - meRvineebis, mol areTuxucesi -  
mol areebis da a.S.), aramed mTI ianad am uwyebasac, romel -  
sac es moxel eebi emsaxurebodnen.

am uxucesTa sagangeo uwyebani zogi didi mniSvnel o-  
bisa iyo, zogi nakl ebis. marTva-gangeobaSi aRzevebasa da  
dancarCen uxucesTa Soris gamorCevas iwyeben is sauxuce-  
soebi, romel nic sagangeo qveynis mmarTvel obaSi upirate-  
si mniSvnel obisani iyvnen. aseTi uxucesebis danarCenTagan  
gamosarCevad Semodis special uri termini "vaziri". arabul  
i warmoSobis es termini mTI ianad qarTul i sinamdvi-

I is aRmniSvnel ia mxol od da Tavis SinaarsSi arafers aRmosavl urs (garda formisa) ar atarebs<sup>1</sup>...

[iqve, gv. 351]

... vazirTa Soris Wyondidel -mwignobarTuxucesi iTv- l eboda pirvel vazirad, anu vazirTa Soris upirvel esad. danarCeni vazirebi ki or mTavar j gufad iyvnen dayofil ni. erTi iyo "samTa vazirTa" j gufi, meore - "orTa vazirTa" j gufi<sup>2</sup>.

"samTa vazirTa" j gufSi Sedi odnen aTabagi, amirspasal - ari da mandaturTuxucesi, "orTa vazirTa" j gufs ki meWur- WI eTuxucesi da msaxurTuxucesi qmnidnen<sup>3</sup>.

Wyondi del -  
mwignobar Tuxucesi

Wyondidel -mwignobarTuxucesi pirvel i vaziri, vazirTa Soris upirvel esi iyo. es Tanamdeboba samefo karze daviT aRmaSenebl is dros daarsda. manmade arsebobda mwignobarTuxucesis Tanamdeboba cal ke da Wkondidel oba cal ke...

[iqve, gv. 352]

mwignobarTuxucesi da misi saxel o mraVal sxvadasxva ubans moicavs da swored ufl ebaTa am mraVal ferovnebis gamo es moxel e vazirTa Soris upirvel esia. sxva vazirTagan gansxvavebiT, mwignobarTuxucesoba miwismfl obel obasTan

---

<sup>1</sup> "vaziris" mniSvnel obis Sesaxeb aRmosavl eTsa da saqarTvel oSi - ix. iv. j avaxiSvil i, qarTul i samarTI is istoria, II, nakv. I, tf., 1928, gv. 117-120.

<sup>2</sup> xel mwifis karis garigeba, qarTul i samarTI is Zegl ebi, teqstebi gamosacemad moamzada i. surgul aZem, Tb., 1970, gv. 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> iv. j avaxiSvil i, dasax. naSr., gv. 123.

ar iyo dakavSirebul i. Tu sxva vaziri samsaxuris sanacv-  
 l od cal keul mxares an qal aqs iRebda mefisagan (magal -  
 iTad, l ores - amirspasal ari), mwignobarTuxucesis xel i  
 araviTar miwis mfl obel obas ar gul isxmobda. amasTan,  
 raki mwignobarTuxucesi ueWvel ad monazoni unda yofil -  
 iyo, mas arc memkvidreebi gaaCnda da arc Tavisi mdgomar-  
 eobis "mamul obiT" SenarCunebiT iyo dainteresebul i. am  
 itom mwignobarTuxucesi arsebiTad iyo mefis uerTgul e-  
 si moxel e da misi siZl iere mefeze iyo damokidebul i. am  
 xel sa da mefis ufl ebis Zl ierebas Soris pirdapirpro-  
 porciul i damokidebul eba arsebobda. rac ufro Zl ieri  
 iyo mefe, miT ufro mniSvnel ovani iyo mwignobarTuxuce-  
 soba da piruku<sup>1</sup>. mwignobarTuxucesis xel is Wyondidel o-  
 basTan gaerTiane bis safuZvel i saqarTvel os mefeTa saek-  
 l esio pol itikaSia. egris-afxazeTis mefeebi cdil obdnen  
 berZnul i ekl esiisaTvis sayrdeni gamoecal aT dasavl eT  
 saqarTvel oSi da amitom mTel i X saukunis manZil ze axal -  
 axal saepiskoposoebis aarsebdnen. erT-erTi aseTi saepisko-  
 poso iyo Wyondidi; es kaTedra daviT aRmaSenebel ma xel T  
 misca mwignobarTuxuccess da amit ekl esiazec ganavrco  
 central uri xel isufl ebis gavl ena. Wyondidel i iyo uwar-  
 Cinebul esi dasavl eT saqarTvel os episkoposTa Soris.  
 amrigad, mwignobarTuxucesis xel Si gaerTianda umaRl esi  
 saero da saekl esio xel isufl eba, rac central uri xe-  
 l isufl ebis Semdgomi gamarj vebis maCvenebel ia.

... arabul i warmoSobis termini amirspasal ari aRniSnavs  
amirspasal ari l aSqris sardal s, winamZRol s. amirsp-  
 asal ari, Tanamedrove terminol ogiiT  
 rom vTqvaT, mefis samxedro ministri iyo. igi l aSqrobis

---

<sup>1</sup>n. berZeniSvil i, savaziro feodal ur saqarTvel oSi, saqarTve-  
 l os istoriis sakiTxebi, III, gv. 32.

saqmes ganagebda. qarTul i saistorio wyaroebiT irkveva, rom samxedro moqmedebaSi mefe uSual o monawil eobas iRebda, magram roca mefe omSi ar iyo, j aris winamZRol oba da sardl oba amirspasal ars edo val ad<sup>1</sup>. amirspasal aris moval eoba iyo I aSqrobis gegmis Sedgena...

[iqve, gv. 354-356]

... "xel mwifis karis garigebidan" naTI ad Cans, rom mandaturTuxucesi awesrigebs samefo darbazobisa da purobis rigs<sup>2</sup>.

magram garda administraciul i da ceremonial uri funqciebisa, mandaturTuxucess sameurneo funqciebic hqonia. es kargad Cans imave "xel mwifis karis garigebidan": "zvarni amad arian da mandaturTuxucesisa xel isani. samuSaosa zedamdgomel ad mandatur miscems brZanebasa da daawerinebs gamosaCveniensa, ucvenebs muSad viTa ese qveyana moasxiTo. mandaturi da erTi meRvineTuxucesisagan Ceni- l i meRvine wavl en, muSaoben da Rvinis mkrefel nica. erTi mandaturi iqnebis"<sup>3</sup>. aqedan Cans, rom mandaturTuxucesis sagamgeoSia samefo zvrebi, agreTve igi awesrigebs am samefo zvrebis dasamuSavebl ad gl exTa SromiT begaraze gamoyvanis saqmes: igi awesebs Tu, saxel dobr, romel i qveynis mkvidrni romel zvarSi gamodian samuSaod...

... iv. j avaxiSvil s sxvadasxva wyaros Cvenebebze dakvirvebiT garkveul i aqvs mandaturTa moval eobani. esaa savaziro oTaxis mcvel is moval eoba, sapatio kacis gayol a mgzavrobaSi, samuSaoze zedamdgomel oba.

---

<sup>1</sup> iv. j avaxiSvil i, qarTul i samarTI is istoria, w.II, nakveTi II, gv. 144.

<sup>2</sup> ხელმწიფის კარის გარიგება, გვ. 47-<sup>11-14</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> iqve, გვ. 35-<sup>6-11</sup>.

mandaturTuxucesis niSani iyo oqros argani (sabjeni joxi), romel sac "samandaturu argani" erqva (Tamaris istorikosi).

mandaturTuxucesi monawil eobda samefo sigel is gacemaSi da mas am saqmeSi sigel is "qrTamis" (gasamrjel o) wil i ergeboda, amirspasal aris msgavsi. "qrTami sigl isa mandaturTuxuceSSa da amirspasal arsa swori marTebS"<sup>1</sup>.

mandaturTuxucesis xel qveiTi moxel eebi iyvnen amirej ibi da ganmgebel Tuxucesi. maT, Tavis mxriv, eqvemdebarebodnen ej ibebi (mekare), mestumre, merige, mej ame da sxva moxel eebi, romel Tac samefo samzareul o ebaraT.

**meWurWI eTuxucesi**

... meWurWI eTuxucesi finansTaministrs udrida da igi Sedioda "orTa vazirTa" j gufSi. meWurWI eTuxucesi saWurWI is gamge iyo. saWurWI e ki, rogorc es gamorkveul i aqvs iv. j avaxiSvil s, ganZeul obis, simdidris, saxel mwifo xazinis mniSvel obiT ixmareboda<sup>2</sup>. amasTan, saWurWI eSi inaxavdnen yovel dRiur saxarj avs, xel uxl ebel i Zvirfaseul oba ki sal aroSi Tavsdeboda...

[iqve, gv. 356-358]

**msaxurTuxucesi**

msaxurTuxucesi samefo saxl sa da saxaso meurneobas xel mZRvanel obda. es moxel e mxol od giorgi III-is droidan ixsenieba (Tumca misi arseboba adrevea sagul isxmebel i) da mxol od

---

<sup>1</sup> xel mwifis karis garigeba, gv. 36.

<sup>2</sup> iv. j avaxiSvil i, qarTul i samarTl is istoria, II, nakv. I, gv. 169-170.

rusudanis mefobaSi iqna vaziris Tanamdebobaze ayvanil i. msaxurTuxucesi, mas Semdeg, rac gavazirda, meWurWI eTuxucesTan erTad "orTa vazirTa" j gufSi Sevida.

msaxurTuxucess eqvemdebareboda mefis sal aro da sawol i, mol areTuxucesi, mesawol eTuxucesi, cicxvTauxucesi, fareSTuxucesi da maTi qveSeTi moxel eebi.

msaxurTuxucesis erT-erTi moval eoba iyo mefis "Sekazma".

qarTul i samoxel eo aparati ori nawil isagan Sedgeboda: erTi iyo "darbazis kars myofi" moxel eni da meoreni - "saqveynod gamrigeni". amaTgan, Tu pirvel ni samefo karze msaxurobdnen da aqedan ganagebdnen maTTvis mindobil uwyebebs, meoreni adgil ebze iyvnen daniSnul ni da centrs iqidan emsaxurebodnen..

**[iqve, gv. 359]**

pol itikuri siZl ieris kul minaciis periodSi saqarTvel os saxel mwifos Wirdeboda gansakuTrebul i zomebis miReba saqarTvel oze damokidebul i qveynebis samarTavad.

mas Semdeg, rac erT samefod gaerTianda sakuTriv qarTul i teritoria da saqarTvel os saxel mwifos fargl ebSi iwyes Semosvl a araqarTul ma teritoriebma, dadga sakiTxi am ukanasknel Ta marTvis sistemis Sesaxeb. saqarTvel os saxel mwifo araqarTul i teritoriebis mimarT orgvar pol itikas atarebda: an uSual od ierTebda mas, e.i. "samefod iWerda" da sakuTriv saxel mwifos sazRvrebSi aqceveda, anda ymadnaficis, moxarkis mdgomareobaSi ayenebda. pirvel SemTxvevaSi SemoerTebul i teritoria qmnida garkveul administraciul erTeul s, roml is meTauroba metwil ad Cabardeboda adgil obrivi wridan gamosul feodal s..

**[iqve, gv. 364]**

dapyrobil i qveynebis SemoerTebas gansazRvrvadva TviT am teritoriis mosaxl eobis rel igiuri Semadgenl oba. teritoriebs, sadac qristiani mosaxl eoba Warbobda, saqarTvel os saxel mwifo Tavis uSual o sazRvrebSi aqcevd da ierTebda. aseTi iyo, magal iTad, dasavl eTi Sirvani da Crdil oeTi somxeTi. saxvagvarad iyo saqme im qveynebSi, sadac qristiani mosaxl eoba umciresobas Seadgenda. aseT qveynebs saqarTvel os samefo uSual od ar ierTebda, iq isev tovebda adgil obriv xel isufl ebas, magram am xel isufl ebas saqarTvel os saxel mwifosagan damokidebul mdgomareobaSi ayenebda.

dapyrobil qveyanaTa da saqarTvel os samefos Soris damokidebul ebis ori saxe gamoirCeva - esaa ymadnaficoba da moxarkeoba. ymadnafici qveyana saqarTvel osTan imdagvarsave damokidebul ebaSia, rogorc yma patronis mimarT. ymadnafici qveynebis mmarTvel i Tavis qveyanaSi iseTive mmarTvel ia, rogorc ymadnaficobamde iyo, magram igi moval ea Tavis patrons (am SemTxvevaSi saqarTvel os samefos, mefes) emsaxuros "monobiTa ymebriviTa"<sup>1</sup>. ymebrivi samsaxuri ki gamoixateboda mefisadmi erTgul ebaSi, "niWisa da ZRvnis" micemasa da saWiroebisas samxedro Zal is gamoyvanaSi. patroni ki (saqarTvel os mefe) moval e iyo daecva Tavisi yma da agreTve "uboZis saboZvarTa simravl es"<sup>2</sup>...

...saqarTvel osagan damokidebul qveyanaTa meore saxeobas Seadgenda moxarke qveynebi. am qveyanaTa ZiriTadi val debul eba saqarTvel os mimarT yovel wl iuri xarkis gadaxda iyo...

[iqve, gv. 364-365]

---

<sup>1</sup>istoriani da azmani... q. cx., II, gv. 39<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>istoriani da azmani... q. cx., II, gv. 89.

## Tavi 10

### “Jurnalistikis elimentebi”

#### risTvis arsebobs Jurnalistika?

poloneTisa dasxva axlad Seqmnili demokratiuli qveynebis moqal aqeebisatvis amkiTxvaze pasuxs konkretuli qmedebebis saxehqonda. maT Jurnalistika sazogadobis Camoyal ibebis, moqal aqeobrivi TviTSegnebis gaZi ierebisa da demokratiisatvis swirdebodaT. informaciis Tavisufali nakadiT gamxnevebuli milionobit adamiani usualod monawileobda axali mTavrobisa da qveynis politiki, socialuri da ekonomikuri cxovrebis axali wesebis SeqmnaSi. yovel Tvis es aris Jurnalistikis mizani? Tu es mizani man mxolod erT konkretul adgilas da konkretul momentSi SeiZina?

SeerTebul StatebSi bolonaxevari saukunis manZilze Titqmis aravis dausvams kiTxva: risTvis arsebobs Jurnalistika? is, visac sabeWdi dazga dasatanado licenzia aqvs, JurnalistikaTa dakavebuli. SeerTebul StatebSi Jurnalistika martiv tavitol ogiad iqca: es aris is, rasac Jurnalistebi moisureben. filadel fia inkuaireris yofil ma redaqtorma maqsvel kingma erTxel ganacxada: “Cveni saqme Tavad metyvel ebs sakuTar Tavze”. sxvagvarad rom vTqvaT, Jurnalistebi Tavistavad cxadad Tvl ian, rom isini sazogadobrivi interesebis dasacavad Sromoben<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> maqsvel kingi (Maxwell King), daiinteresebul Jurnalistika komitetis (CCJ) damfuZnebel krebaze, 21 ivnisi 1997.

es gamartivebul i pasuxi dRes ukve sakmarisi aRar aris da, sinamdvil eSi, arc arasodes yofil a, miT umetes, rom sazogadoebis ganwyoba TandaTanobiT sul ufro skeptikuri xdeboda. miT umetes, ar aris sakmarisi dRes, axal i sakomunikacio teqnol ogiebis pirobebSi, roca yvel as, visac modemi da kompiuteri aqvs, SeuZl ia ganacxados, rom "Jurnal istikaSi muSaobs". axal ma teqnol ogiebma Jurnal istikis ekonomikuri reorganizacia gamoiwvia, ris Sedegadac Jurnal istikis arsebul i normebi xan ganaxl deba, xan ki srul iad ukuigdeba.

SeiZl eba vivaraudoT, rom Jurnal istikis ganmarteba axal ma teqnol ogiebma ukuagdo da axl a yvel aferi Jurnal istikad warmogvidgeba.

Tumca Tu kargad davakvirdebiT, davrwmundebiT imaSi, rac pol onel ebmac dagvidastures: Jurnal istikis mizani ar ganisazRvrebba arc arsebul i teqnol ogiebis, arc Jurnal istebisa da arc maTi muSaobis xerxebiT... Jurnal istikis principebsa da miznebs gansazRvravs ufro fundamenturi ram - is funqciebi, roml ebsac axal i amebis asrul ebs xal xis cxovrebaSi.

Jurnal istikis saxe namdvil ad Seicval a, magram misi miznebi yovel Tvis metwil ad ucvl el i rCeboda, Tumca zogjer bol omde ar srul deboda - rac ar unda iyos, "presis" cnebis gaCenidan xom samas wel ze metia gasul i. ase rom, yvel a im cvl il ebis miuxedavad, roml ebic sazogadoebisTvis axal i amebis miwodebis siswrafem, teqnikam da xasiaTma ganicada, ukve arsebobs Jurnal istikis cal - saxa Teoria da fil osofia, romel ic axal i amebis funqciebidan gamomdinareobs.

*Jurnal istikis upirvel esi mizania moqal aqeebis uzrunvel yofa im informaci iT, romel ic maT Tavisufl ebisa da Tvi TmmarTvel obisTvis sWirdebaT.*

roca moqal aqeebisa da Jurnal istebis azrebs vecnobodiT, miVxvdiT, rom moqal aqeebis winaSe mdgari es val debul eba ramdenime el ements Seicavs. Jurnal istika gvexmareba Cveni sazogadoebis CarCoebis gansazRvrasa da real obiT nasazrdoebi saerTo enisa da saerTo codnis Camoyal ibebaSi. amas garda, Jurnal istika xel s uwyobs sazogadoebis miznebis, gmirebisa da antigmirebis identifikirebas...

[b. kovaCi, t. rozenstil i, Jurnal istikis el ementebi. Tb., 2006, gv. 18-19]

... dRevandel i gadasaxedidan Zal ian rTul ia Jurnal - istikis koncefciis gamocal keveba j er sazogadoebisa da, Semdeg demokratiis Camoyal ibebis koncefciisagan. am uknasknel i mizniTvis Jurnal istika imdenad fundamenturi movl enaa, rom, ... im sazogadoebema, roml ebsac Tavisufl ebis SezRudva surT, pirvel rigSi presa unda SezRudon. saintereso, rom amiTvis sul ac ar aris saval debul o kapital izmis SezRudva... Jurnal istika, Tavisi saukeTeso formiT, asaxavs moqal aqeta qcevis zust gagebas, imas, rasac "sazogadoebis gadaxl arTul obis Teorias" vuwodebT.

Tumca Jurnal istikis am mraVal nacad Teoriasa da mizans dRes garkveul i winaaRmdegobebic xvdeba, roml ebic axal i drois nayofia, Tundac mxol od SeerTebul StatebSi. teqnoLogia axal ekonomikur wyobas ayal ibebs sainformacio kompaniebSi, rac Jurnal istikasac moicavs. Jurnal istikas dRes mxol od mTavrobis cenzura rodi emuqreba. axal i saSiSroeba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom damoukidebel i Jurnal istika SeiZl eba komerciul i komunikaciebisa da sinergistul i TviTganviTarebis nazavSi gaiTqvi fos...

zogi amtkicebs, rom Jurnal istikis miznebis gansazRvra saxifaToa. maTi TqmiT, Jurnal istikis miznebis gansazRvra mis SezRudvas niSnavs... Jurnal istikis miznebis gansazRvra

drois msvl el obiT gamowveul cvl il ebebTan mis Seguebas  
daabrkol ebs, rac, SeiZl eba, asparezidan misi mTI ianad gaqro-  
bis mizezic gaxdes...

meore mxriv, arian iseTebic, vinc amtkicebs, rom ucvl e-  
l i unda iyos ara mxol od Jurnal istikis miznebi, aramed  
misi formac. isini Jurnal istikaSi mimdinare cvl il ebebs  
TavianTi gamocdil ebiT afaseben da SiSoben, rom, nil post-  
menis cnobil i gamonaTqvamis ar iyos, "Tavs iqamde gair-  
Toben, vidre ar daixocebian". cvl il ebebis am mowinaaRm-  
degeebis mxedvel obidan rCebaT erTi faqti: yovel i Taoba  
sakuTar Jurnal istikas qmnis.

Tumca misi miznebi ucvl el ia.

**[iqve, gv. 20-21]**

## Jurnal istikis dabadeba

Sua saukuneebSi axal i ambebi TxrobiTi da sasimRero formiT dabruna. bal adebs axal i ambebiT moxetial e menestrel ebi asrul ebdnen.

unda gaviTval iswinoT, rom Tanamedrove Jurnal istika meCvidmete saukunis dasawyisSi Caisaxa - gadaWarbebul i ar iqneba, Tu vityviT, ubral o saubrebSi, gansakuTrebiT, sazogadoebrivi TavSeyris adgil ebSi: ingl isSi yavaxanebsa da, mogvianebiT, pabebSi, xol o amerikaSi - e.w. "sazogadoebriv saxl ebSi". amerikaSi barmenebi ismendnen mogzaurebis moTxrobiL ambebs. isini xSirad tovebdnen Canawerebs baris saaRricxvo Jurnal ebSi. ingl isis yavaxanebSi gansakuTrebul i informacia vrcel deboda. pirvel i gazeTebi am yavaxanebSi daibada daaxl oebiT 1609 wel s, roca iniciativianma mbeWdavebma daiwyes savaWro gemebis amebis, Worebisa da yavaxanebSi gamarTul i pol itikuri diskusiebis Segroveba da maTi furcl ebze beWdva.

pirvel i gazeTebis gaCenisTanave ingl isel i pol itiko-sebi al aparakdnen axal fenomenze, romel sac "sazogadoebrivi azri" daaqves. meTvramete saukunis dasawyisSi ingl isel ma Jurnal ist-mbeWdavebma daiwyes Tavisufal i sityvisa da Tavisufal i presis Teoriis Camoyal ibeba. 1720 wel s orma ingl isel ma megazeTem, roml ebic "katos" fsevdonimiT werdnen, gamoTqva azri, rom simarTI e cil - iswamebisagan dacvis saukeTeso saSual ebaao. im dros ingl isis kanonmdebl oba sawinaaRmdegos amtkicebda - mTavrobis umniSvnel o kritikac ki danaSaul ad iTvl eboda da "rac ufro didi iyo simarTI e, miT ufro didi iyo

cil iswameba", radgan simarTI es ufro didi zianis motana SeeZI o<sup>1</sup>.

[iqve, gv. 24-25]

## **sazogadoebi s gadaxl arTul obis Teoria**

"sazogadoebis gadaxl arTul obis Teoria" aZI ierebs Sexedul ebas, rom Jurnalistikam xeli unda Seuwyos demokratiul Tavisufl ebas, Tumca XXI saukunis dasawyisSi es profesia SeiZI eba didi safrTxis winaSe aRmoCndes. pirvel ad vxedavT, rom aRmaival i, sabazro urTierTobebze dafuznebul i Jurnalistika sul ufro scil deba samoqal aqo pasuxismgebl obis ideas...

*arsebobs sami ZiriTadi Zal a, romel ic Jurnalistikas samoqal aqo sazogadoebisagan aSorebs. pirvel ia axal i teqnologiis buneba. internetma daiwyo Jurnalistikis mowyveta geografiisagan da, aqedan gamomdinare, politikur da samoqal aqo konteqstSi - sazogadoebisagan. ufro advilia emsaxuro internetis komerciuli da msgavsi interesebiT gaertianebul Tajgufes, vidre mis politikur jgufes.*

... meore ZiriTadi cvl il eba gl obal izaciaa. mas Semdeg, rac kompaniebi, gansakuTrebiT ki sakomunikacio kompaniebi, gadaiqca korporaciebad sazRvrebs gareSe, "moqal aqebisa"

---

<sup>1</sup> hohlenbergi (Hohenberg), Free Press, 38. es mwerlebi iyvnen jon trenCardi da uil iam gordoni.

da tradiciul i "sazogadoebis" cneba komerciul konteqstSi moZvel da...

mesame faqtori, romel ic axal sabazro Jurnal istikas amoZravebs, kongl omeraciaa...

"presis Tavisufi ebis" cneba dakavSirebul ia demokratiastan. mxol od samTavrobo cenzurisgan Tavisufal presas SeuZl ia simarTI is Tqma. Tanamedrove konteqstSi "Tavisufi ebis" cneba gafarTovda da niSnavs damoukidebl obas sxva institutebisgan: partiebisan, rekl amis SemkveTebisgan, biznesisagan da a.S...

[iqve, gv. 34-37]

### **simarTI e: umTavresi da yvel aze damabnevel i principi**

Jurnal istika, upirvel es yovl isa simarTI es unda emsaxurebodes.

am sakiTxSi srul i erTsul ovnebaa da, amave dros, srul i gaurkvevl obacaa: yvel a Tanaxmaa, rom Jurnal istma simarTI e unda Tqvas. da mainc, adami nebma zustad ar ician, ra aris es "simarTI e".

roca Jurnal istebs hkiTxes, ra faseul obebia, maTi azriT, yvel aze mTavari, "adami anisa da presis pius kvl eviTi centrisa" da "dainteresebul Jurnal istTa komitetis" mier gamokiTxul Ta asi procentis pasuxi iyo - "faqtebis sworad gageba"<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> CCJ da adami nebisa da presis pius kvl eviTi centri, "Striking the Balance: Audience Interests, Business Pressures and Journalists' Values" (marti 1999): 79.

Cveni universitetis partniorebTan erTad Catarebul xangrZl iv gamokiTxvebSi rogorc Zvel i, ise axal i Taobis Jurnal istebi Taviant upirvel es amocnad erTxmad miicnevden "simarTI es"<sup>1</sup>.

forumbis dros, TviT Jurnal istikis Tanamedrove ideol ogebisganac ki aseTive pasuxebi miviReT. "Cven vacxadebT, rom Jurnal isti ver iqneba obieqturi, radgan masac aqvs garkveul i midrekil ebebi", - Tqva pati kal unma, yovel kvireul i al ternatiul i gazeTis, vestuordis redaqforma, - "magram mas namdvil ad SeuZl ia eZebos sizuste, patiosneba da simarTI e, da es Zieba grZel deba"<sup>2</sup>.

is, rom informacia simarTI es unda Seesabamebodes, el ementarul i survil ia. ramdenadac axal i ambebi masal aa, roml is saSual ebiTac adamiani Seimecnebs gare samyaros da fiqrobs masze, amdenad Zal ian didi mniSvnel oba aqvs imas, rom informacia iyos sando da sasargebl o. iwvimebs Tu ara xval ? xom ar aris gzaze sacobi? Cemna gundma gaimarj va? ra Tqva prezidentma? simarTI e usafrTxoebis gancdas qmnis da amas safuZvl ad axal i ambebi udevs.

simarTI isaken l tol va imdenad Zl ieria, rom is SeiZl eba Tandayol il Tvisabadac CaiTval os. "pirvel ad iyo sityva" - ase iwyeba wmindia ioanes saxareba. pirvel yofil sazogadoebSi pirvel i Jurnal istebisagan - macneebisagan - yovel Tvis moel odnen sakiTxis zust da sando gadmocemas. aseTi iyo moTxovnil eba. xSirad axal i ambebi, romel ic macneebis mohqondaT, gadamwyveti mniSvnel obisa iyo. bel adebs sWirdebodaT zusti informacia imis Sesaxeb, apirebda Tu ara mTis gadaRma mcxovrebi tomi Tavdasxmas.

---

<sup>1</sup>uil iam damonis, hovard gardnerisa da mehal i CikSentmiha-l iis intervieuobi sxvadasxva Jurnal istebTan.

<sup>2</sup>pati kal uni (Patty Calhoun), CCJ Cikagos forumze.

sainteresoa, rom tiranul i reJimebis dros iyo tendencia simarTI isa da sizustis pirdapiri gansazRvrisa, anu imisa, rasac postmodernistebi dResac akeTeben, Tumca sxvadasxva mizeziT. magal iTad, Sua saukuneebSi berebi ambobdnen, rom arsebobs simarTI is ierarqia. yvel aze maRal safexurze iyo Setyobinebebi, roml ebic samyaros bedis Sesaxeb iuwyeboda - magal iTad, arsebobs Tu ara samoTxe. Semdeg modioda moral uri simarTI e, romel ic gvaswavl ida, Tu rogor unda gvecxovra sworad. amas mosdevda al egoriul i simarTI e, romel ic ama Tu im ambis moral s gvaswavl ida. sul qveda safexurze iyo yvel aze nakl ebmniSvnel ovani, pirdapiri simarTI e, romel ic, Teoretikosebis azriT, xSirad mniSvnel obisagan dacl il i da uadgil o iyo. XIV saukunis erTi saxel mZRvanel o, romel ic imave l ogikas eyrdnoba, rasac dRevandel i postmodernisti mecneri an hol ivudis prodiuseri, ganmartavs: "mniSvnel oba ara aqvs, simarTI e istoriidanaa Tu mxatvrul i l iterauridan, radgan magal iTi moyvanil ia ara misi arsebobis, aramed misi mniSvnel obis gamo"<sup>1</sup>.

Sua saukuneebis moazrovneTa mizani kontrol i ufro iyo, vidre ganaTI eba. maT ar surdaT, rom konkretul i faqtebi pol itikur anda rel igiur orTodoqsobas daxvedroda gzaze. movl enaTa zusti codna am kontrol s safrTxes uqmnida, zustad iseve, rogorc dResaa, radgan codna iaraRia Cagvrisa da manipul irebis winaaRmdeg.

ramdenadac Tanamedrove presa demokratiul i Teoriis dabadebasTan erTad iSva, piroba, rom is samarTI iani da zusti unda iyos, swrafad gaxda Jurnal istikis mniSvnel ovani nawil i. ingl isis yvel aze pirvel i regul aru-

---

<sup>1</sup> pi ter l evi ni (Peter Levine), Living Without Philosophy: On Narrative, Rhetoric and Morality (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 169.

l i gazeTi mkiTxvel s sTavazobda, "mindoboda saukeTeso da yvel aze WeSmarit informacias". safrangeTis pirvel i gazeTis redaqtori, imis miuxedavad, rom misi gamocema samTavrobo iyo, pirvel nomerSi mkiTxvel s hpirdeboda: "erT rames veravin damaswrebs - vguL isxmob simarTI is mopovebis gul modgine mcdel obebs". amgvar dapirebebs SexvdebodiT amerikis, germaniis, espanETisa da sxva qveynebis pirvel gazeTebSi<sup>1</sup>.

yvel aze adreul i kol onial uri Jurnal istika SeTx-zul isa da faqtebis ucnaur nazavs warmoadgenda. informacia mecxvareobisa da gemiT gadmozidul i tvirtis Taobaze zusti iyo, pol itikuri sarkazmi - nakl ebad zusti da, amdenad, varaudebs ufro mets Seicavda, vidre sufta informacias...

[iqve, gv. 41-44]

roca XIX saukuneSi Jurnal istikam pol itikur kontrol s Tavi daaRwia, man sensaciur kriminal ze, skandal ze, mZafr SegrZnebebsa da popul arul i adami nebis Tayvanisce-maze dayrdnobiT moizida Tavisi pirvel i auditoriis didi masa...

*me-20 saukunis dasawyisisaTvis Jurnal istebi nel - nel a xvdebodnen, rom real izmisa da real obis, an sizustisa da simarTI is Tanasworobis miRweva arc ise advil i iyo.*

[i qve, gv. 44-45]

momdevno 50 wl is ganmavl obaSi, debatebisa da argumentebis aTwl eul ebis Semdeg, romel Tagan zogi pol itikuri

---

<sup>1</sup> John Hohenberg (John Hohenberg), Free Press, Free people (New York: Free Press, 1971), 17.

ideol ogiiT iyo nakarnaxevi, zogi ki postmodernisti dekonstrukcionista akademikosebis mosazrebebiT, bevri im azramde mivida, rom SeuZl ebel ia faqtebi azrian konteqstSi ise moaqcio, rom maT Sesaxeb simarTI e auwyo xal xs...

rogorc Cans, simarTI e Zal ian rTul i ramaa imisaTvis, rom mas Tval i mudmivad adevno. SesaZl oa is arc ki arsebobdes, imdenad, ramdenadac Cven subieqturi individebi varT. SesaZl oa, romel ime fil osofiur doneze es saintereso argumentebi iyos, al baT sandoc ki.

magram rodis scil deba es Jurnal istikis fargl ebs? nuTu sityva "simarTI e" ubral od yovel dRiur metyvel e-baSi ixmareba da, sinamdvil eSi, mas araviTar WeSmaritebasTan ara aqvs saqme?

[iqve, gv. 46]

... ra val debul eba aqvs Jurnal ists simarTI is mima-rT? am kiTxvaze pasuxis gacemis mcdel obebs seminarebsa Tu fil osofiur traqtatebSi, rogorc wesi, CixSi Sevya-varT. amis umTavresi mizezi is aris, rom diskusia, Cveul ebriv, real uri samyaros magal iTebis scil deba. fil osofiuri ganxil vebi "simarTI is" arsebobis Sesaxeb semantikis Zie-baSi ixl arTeba.

kidev erTi mizezi isaa, rom TviTon Jurnal istebebi kargad verasodes erkveodnen imaSi, Tu ras gul isxmobdnen simarTI eSi. Jurnal istika bunebiT ufro reaqtul i da praqtikul i dargia, vidre fil osofiuri da introspeqtul i. Jurnal istebebis mier amgvar sakiTxebze Seqmnil i seriozul i literatura mwiria da is, rac moi poveba, Jurnal istebebis umetesobas arc waukiTxavs. Jurnal istikis Teoriebi akademiabs Cabarda, Jurnal istebeba ki Jurnal isturi ganaTI ebis miRebis mniSvel oba gaufasures, radganac sj eraT, rom erTaderTi adgil i, sadac swavl a SeiZl eba, samsax-uria...

[iqve, gv. 46-47]

... Tavad Jurnal istebs sjeraT, rom maTi mizani simarTI ea da ara mxol od Tavisufal i sityva Tu komerciu-  
l i mogeba. Jurnal isti val debul ia, simarTI e eZios. swored  
amas moiTxovs misgan sazogadoeba.

**[iqve, gv. 48]**

gadarCevis procesis azri rom gavigoT, unda davimaxso-  
vroT, rom Jurnal istika mxol od social ur konteqstSi  
arsebobs. moqal aqeebi da sazogadoeba damokidebul ni ari-  
an movl enaTa swor da sando angariSze. isini sxvadasxva  
procedurebsa da procesebs iyeneben imis misaRwevad, rasac  
SeiZI eba "funqcional uri simarTI e" ewodos. pol icia  
kval s eZebbs da faqtebze dayrdnobiT apatimrebs eWvmita-  
nil ebs, mosamarTI eebi sasamarTI oebbs marTaven, nafic msa-  
j ul ebs verdiqti gamoaqvT, vin aris damnaSave da vin - ara,  
mrewvel oba regul irebul ia, gadasaxadebi - akrefil i, kanonebi  
- Seqmnil i. Svil ebs kanonebs, istorias, fizikasa da bio-  
l ogias vaswavl iT. yvel a am simarTI es - mecnierebis kanon-  
ebsac ki - gadasinj va sWirdeba, manmade ki am simarTI es  
viyenebT, radgan is saWiroa da kargadac muSaobs.

ai ras cdil obs Jurnal istika - simarTI is praqtiku-  
l i an funqcional uri formis miRwevas. es ar aris sima-  
rTI e absol uturi an fil osofiuri mniSvnel obiT. es ar  
aris qimiuri gantol ebs simarTI e. magram Jurnal isti-  
kas SeuZI ia da val debul icaa eZios simarTI e im mniS-  
vnel obiT, roml iTac Cven yovel dRe SegviZI ia vixel mZRv-  
anel oT.

**[iqve, gv. 48-49]**

... simarTI e mraVal waxnagovani ramaa, romel ic, rogorc  
codna, gamoqvabul Si stal agmitiviT droTa ganmavl obaSi  
wveT-wveTad izrdeba.

... simarTI e rTul i da xandaxan winaaRmdegobrivi fenom-

enia, magram, radgan is SeiZl eba droSi gawel il procesad miviCnioT, Jurnal istis misi aRqma SeuZl ia. es gul isxmobs simarTI is mopovebis mcdel obebs areul samyaroSi, pirvel yovl isa, nebismieri dezinformaciis, mcdari informaciisa Tu TviTrekl amirebis informaciisgan namdvil i informaciis gamocal kevebas, Semdeg ki sazogadoebisTvis reagirebisa da simarTI is garCevis saSual ebis micemas...

Cven simarTI e gvesmis, rogorc mizani - saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi Znel ad misaRwevi - daDdRemde mas virCevT. cxovrebaSic asea - raRacisken miviswrafiT da sabol oo mizans verasdros ver vaRwevT...

[iqve, gv. 52]

... dRes, axal i mediisa da sxvadasxva sainformacio saSual ebebis raodenobis zrdis xanaSi, simarTI is instinqti aranaki eb saWiroa, vidre odesme. meti interpretacia mxol od aurzursa da dabneul obas Tu Sematebs simarTI is yvel aze faqiz dones, romel ic gadarCevis procesis nawil ad unda iqces mas Semdeg, rac faqtebi dadgindeba. Secdomaa interpretirebis dawyeba, vidre ar dazustdeba is, rac real urad moxda.

imis magivrad, rom konteqstisa da interpretaciis damateba daiwyos, presam sinTezsa da Semowmebaze unda gaamaxvil os yuradReba, unda gaTavisufl des Worebis, cil iswanebis, umniSvnel o detal ebisa da SeTxzul i, gawel il i istoriebisagan da imas miapyros yuradReba, rac marTal i da mniSvnel ovania. moqal aqeebi ej axebian monacemTa uzarmazar nakads da amitom nakl ebi ki ara, meti moTxovnil eba uCndebAT nacbobi wyaroebisa, roml ebic an informaciis Semowmebas, mniSvnel ovani sakiTxis gamoyofasa da umniSvnel os gafil tvas emsaxureba. imis nacvl ad, rom xal xma Tavad daiwyos informaciis gadarCeva - amocana, romel sac TandaTanobiT ufro didi dro miaqvs, - mas unda mivawodoT

wyaroebi, roml ebic mkiTxvel s pirdapir etyvis, ra aris marTal i da aRsaniSnavi. maT sWirdebaT pasuxi kiTxvaze: "ras davuj ero aq?" am SemTxvevaSi axal i epoqis presis rol i isaa, rom imuSaos Semdeg kiTxvaze pasuxis gasacemad: "sad aris kargi masal a?" Semowmeba da sinTezi xdeba Jurnal istis, rogorc sazogadoebis mcvel is axal i rol is saZirkvel i, rol isa, romel ic mas aval ebs iyos "azris gamomtani"... mokl ed, axal saukuneSi simarTI is moTxovnil eba ufro susti ki ara, ufro Zl ieria, radganac tyuil is al baTobam sagraZnobl ad imata.

es moTxovnil eba rom dakmayofil des, saWiroa Jurnal - istebma cxadad gaicnobieron, vis unda uerTgul on pirvel rigSi.

[iqve, gv. 55-56]

## **gaakontrol e xel isufi eba da mieci xal xs tribuna**

*Jurnal isti unda moqmedebdes, rogorc xel isufi ebis damoukidebel i makontrol ebel i.*

es principi xSirad TviT Jurnal istebsac ki araswo-rad esmiT. makontrol ebl is princips Tanamedrove Jurnal istikaSi xSirad safrTxe eqmneba Warbi xmarebisa da cru kontrol is Sedegad, rac xSirad sazogadoebis gul is mogebas ufro isaxavs miznad, vidre mis samsaxurs. SesaZl oa kidev ufro seriozul ia safrTxe, romel ic makontrol ebl is princips axal i saxis korporaciul i gaerTianebebi uqmnis, rasac namdvil ad SeuZl ia mniSvnel ovnad SezRudos damoukidebl oba, romel ic presas moeTxoveba makontrol ebl is rol is Sesrul ebisas.

rodesac meCvidmete saukuneSi ingl isis yavis saxl ebSi  
pirvel i periodul i gamocemebi aRmocenda, maT mesveurebs  
TavianT amocanad swored simarTI is Zieba miaCndaT...

... Jurnal ebis gamocenamde mTavrobis Sida saqmianoba  
cnobil i iyo mxol od privil egirebul TaTvis - maTTvis,  
visac saxel mwifosTan kerZo komerciul i saqmianoba akav-  
Sirebda, an vinc uSual od iyo CarTul i mTavrobis saqmi-  
anobaSi. danarCeni sazogadoebis codna Tavisi mmarTvel ebis  
Sesaxeb ZiriTadad usafuZvl o Worebsa da mTavrobis ofi-  
cial ur gancxadebebs emyareboda. magram, prokl amaciebisa  
da qal aqis macneebisagan gansxvavebiT, roml ebic xal xs  
mxol od im informacias awvdidnen, romlis gavrcel ebac  
xel isufal T surdaT. es axal i periodul i gamocemebi  
imas hyvebodnen, Tu ras akeTebda mTavroba sinamdvil eSi.  
am gamocemebma Camoayal ibes Jurnal isturi gamoZieba, rogorc  
erT-erTi yvel aze adreul i principi, romel mac Jurnal is-  
tika sazogadoebasTan urTierTobis sxva saSual ebebisagan  
ganacal keva. swored makontrol ebl is funqciam aqcia Ju-  
rnal istika, j eims medisonis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, "Tavisu-  
fl ebis bastionad", xol o simarTI e presis saukeTeso  
damcvel ad iqca...

momdevno wl ebSi, konstituciurad dacul presasa da  
samTavrobo institutebs Soris gaCaRebul i mzardi kon-  
fl iqtis pirobebSi, swored presis makontrol ebel fun-  
qcias emyareboda uzenaesi sasamarTI o, roca araerTxel  
mouxda amerikul i sazogadoebisTvis presis fundamenturi  
mniSvnel obis xazgasma...

makontrol ebl is principi mxol od mTavrobis gakon-  
trol ebas rodi gul isxmobs, is sazogadoebis yvel a gav-  
l enian institutzec vrcel deba...

[iqve, gv. 131-134]

manamde SeumCnevel i xal xis mosazrebebisa da sazogadoebisagan damal ul i TaRI iTobebis Zieebisa da gamovl enis gziT pirvel ma Jurnal istebma ZiriTad principad sazogadoebis farul i aspektebis Seswavl is sakuTari val debul eba aqcies. samyaro, romel sac isini aRwerdnen, arainformirebul i sazogadoebis warmosaxvas ipyrobda da Jurnal istikas sul ufro met popul arobas sZenda.

dRes Jurnal istebs makontrol ebl is funqcia kvl av Taviani xel obis ZiriTad nawil ad miaCniaT. aTidan cxra Jurnal isti getyviT, rom presa "politikur liderebis imis gakeTebaSi uSI is xel s, ris gakeTebac ar SeiZI eba"...

[iqve, gv. 135]

samwuxarod, is azri, rom presa galWirvebul Ta daxmarebisa da kargad mcxovrebtTa winaaRmddeg brZol iTvis arsebobs, makontrol ebl is ideas amaxinj ebs da mas liberal ur an progresul el fers aZI evs. es idea gacil ebiT ufro Rrma da mravl ismomcvel ia, vidre is, rasac ubral o daxmareba Tu dapirispireba gul isxmobs. rogorc istoria gviCvenebs, makontrol ebl is principi niSnavs Zal aufl e-bis mqone umciresobis kontrol s umravl esobis saxel iT, rac tiraniis Tavidan acil ebisTvisaa saWiros.

makontrol ebl is funqciis mizani mxol od mTavrobis saqmianobis gamWvirval obis miRwevis cdebs scil deba da am saqmianobis Sedegebis saj arod aRqmasa da gagebasac gul isxmobs. aqedan l ogikurad gamomdinareobs, rom presa unda acnobierebdes, rodis muSaobs esa Tu is instituti efeqturad da rodis - ara. rogor unda ganaxorciel os presam xel isufal Ta kontrol i, Tuki, rogorc maTi warmatebebis, ise warumatebl obis il ustriebas ar ganaxorciel ebs? usasrul o kritika TandaTan azrs kargavs da sazogadoebas aRara aqvs is safuZvel i, romel ze dayrdnobiTac man kargi cudisgan unda ganasxvaos.

baxis fugis Temebis msgavsad, Jurnal isturi gamoZieba Jurnal istikis istoriis manZil ze araerTxel gaaqtiurebul a da miCumbul a, Tumca mTI ianad arasodes gamqral a. man gansazRvra ramdenime mniSvnel ovani epoka aSS-s istoriaSi.

[iqve, gv. 135-136]

### **Jurnal istika, rogorc saxal xo forumi**

*Jurnal istika xal xs saj aro kritikisa da msj el obis saSual ebas unda aZl evdes.*

yovel i forma, romel sac Jurnal iste bi yovel dRiurad iyeneben, SeiZl eba forumis uzrunvel yofis funqcias emsaxurebodes da xal xs ise awvdides konkretul sakiTxebis, rom diskusiis dawyebas udebdes saTaves. adamianis bunebrivi cnobismoyvareobis gamo, miSTvis winaswar dagegmil i movl enebis detal ebis, ukanono qmedebebis Sesaxeb informaciisa da axal i tendenciebis zogadi suraTis miwodebiT Jurnal istika adamianSi interess aRvivebs. sazogadoeba am informaciaze reagirebs da is saj aro diskusiebiT ivseba - iwyeba interaqtiuri radiogamokiTxvebi da konkretul i sakiTxebisadmi miZRvnil i satel evizio tokSouebi, gazeTebi Taviant gverdebs mkiTxvel Ta pirad mosazrebebs uTmoben. yovel i es xma kargad esmiT xel isufli ebaSi myofT, roml ebic Tavs val de bul ad Tvl ian, daadginon am sakiTxebis garSemo Seqmnil i sazogadoebrivi azris buneba. swored es procesi iwvevs Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi im uZvel esi forumebis aRorZinebas, roml ebic msolfios uZvel esi demokratiebis Camoyal ibebis procesis aucil ebel i atributi iyo.

presis am Tvisibis Sedegad SesaZI ebel i xdeba demokrati-  
is warmomna did, mraVal feroVan qveyanaSic ki. es Tvisiba  
xel s uwyobs imas, rasac jeims medisoni da sxvebic im  
saZirkvel s uwodebdnen, romel zec demokratia dgas - ko-  
mpromisi, kompromisi, kompromisi.

presis am funqcias veraferi daakl es dRevandel ma pro-  
pagandistul ma organizaciebma da pol itikurma partieb-  
mac. yovel wl iurad milionobiT dol ari ixarjeba sa-  
zogadoebrivi azris marTvis mizniT, ristvisac xSirad  
naxevrad simarTI e an sul ac aSkara tyuil i gamoiyeneba.  
swored amitom aqvs gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba imas, rom  
masmedia saj aro diskusiebs marTavdes da am gziT miukerZoe-  
bel i msaj ul is rol s asrul ebdes. masmediis ganviTarebis  
axal epoqaSi Jurnal istikas ufro metad eval eba komer-  
cial izebul i msjel obebis, l obistebisa da pol itikuri  
propagandis sicrueebis gamomJRavneba da saj arod gamot-  
ana. gazeTis saredaqtoro svets, konkretul i rubrikis  
mimomxil vel sa da sakuTari Tval sazrisis gamomxatvel  
saJurnal e statias sakuTar poziciaze mtkiced dgomis  
yvel anairi ufl eba aqvs. esaa maTi misia. magram Tu maT  
avtorebs undaT, rom Jurnal isteBi erqvaT, maSin araviTar  
SemTxvevaSi ar unda dauSvan faqtebis araswori interpre-  
tireba. maT iseve unda daicvan simarTI is Tqmisa da sa-  
zogadoebis interesebis uzenaesobis principebi, rogorc  
maTi profesiis sxva sferoebis warmomadgenl ebma.

ase rom, Jurnal istika xal xs saj aro kritikisa da  
kompromisebis moZiebisatvis asparezs unda aZI evdes. Tumca,  
am axal epoqaSi ufro meti mniSvnel oba SeiZina iman, rom  
sazogadoebrivi diskusia imave principebze aigos, razec  
danarCeni Jurnal istika - simarTI isadmi erTgul ebaze,  
faqtebsa da informaciis Semowmebaze. forumi, romel ic  
faqtebze ar zrunavs, informaciis miwodebas ver axerxebis.  
is mxol od mcdari Sexedul ebebisa da hipotezebisgan  
Semdgar debatebs iwvevs.

amas garda, es forumi mTel i sazogadoebisaTvis unda arsebobdes da ara mxol od misi privil egirebul i Tu demografiul ad ufro mniSvnel ovani nawil isTvis.

dasasrul , aris kidev erTi aspekti, romel ic Zal ian mniSvnel ovania mediis saxal xo forumis funqciis gacnobierebisTvis. debatebi, roml ebic mxol od ukidures poziciebs Seicavs, sazogadoebis interesebs ki ar emsaxureba, aramed mis umravl esobas yuradRebis gareSe tovebs. maSinac ki, roca masmediis saSual ebebi farTo speqtris Tval sazrisebs warmoaCenen, rac sazogadoebaSi arsebul sajaroobaze metyvel ebs, maT mxedvel obidan ar unda gamorCeT is, rom demokratia, sabol ood, kompromisebzea agebul i. saxal xo forumi unda gul isxmobdes mraVal - ricxovan SeTanxmebebs, roml ebsac xal xis umetesoba aRiarebs da roml ebic sazogadoebis winaSe mdgari probl emebis gadaWris saSual ebaa.

[iqve, gv. 157-163]

### **mi mzi dvel oba da adekvat ur oba**

Jurnal istika, iseve, rogorc komunikaciebis umetesi nawil i, am or wertil s Sorisaa. Jurnal istebis amocanaa mniSvnel ovani faqtisa da movl enis sainteresod warmoaCena TiToeul statiaSi da seriozul isa da nakl ebad seriozul is swori nazavis Seqmna im informaciisgan, rasac dRis movl enebi iZl eva. SesaZl oa, es azri am gziT ufro gasagebi iyos:

Jurnal istika ambis Txrobaa, romel sac Tavisi mizani aqvs. es mizania xal xisTvis im informaciis miwodeba, romel - ic mas samyaros Sesacnobad sWirdeba. am dros pirvel i sirtul e iseTi informaciis povnaa, romel ic xal xisTvis

sasicocxl od aucil ebel ia. meore sirtul e ki am infor-  
maciis gasagebad, adekvaturad da sainteresod gadmocemaa.

mimzidvel oba, sinamdvil eSi, gamomdinareobs qveynis mo-  
saxl eobis mimarT Jurnal istis erTgul ebis grZnobisagan.  
rogorc erT-erTma reportiorma ganacxada intervius dros,  
"Tu iseTi adamiani xarT, romel ic, roca rames ipovis,  
iqamde ar dakmayofil deba, vidre ar mixvdeba, rogor  
mouTxros amis Sesaxeb vinmes, maSin Jurnal isti yofil -  
xarT".<sup>1</sup>

[iqve, gv. 178-179]

---

<sup>1</sup>rei suaresi (Ray Suarez), uial iam damonTan, hovar d gardnerTan da  
mehal i CikSentmihal iisTan interviuSi.

### Jurnal istikis principi:

1. Jurnal istika, upi rvel es yovl isa, si mar T-  
l es unda emsaxurebodes.
2. Jurnal istika, pi rvel rigSi, moqal aqeebi s  
erTgul i unda iyos.
3. Jurnal istikis arsi informaci s mudmi vi  
gadamowmebaa.
4. Jurnal istma unda Sei nar Cunos damou-  
ki debl oba maTgan, vi sac aSuqebis.
5. Jurnal isti unda moqmedebdes, rogorc  
xel isuflebi s damouki debel i makontro-  
l ebel i.
6. Jurnal istika xal xs saj aro kritiki sa  
da  
msj el obis saSual ebas unda aZl evdes.
7. is, rac mni Svnel ovani a, Jurnal istma sai nte-  
resod da adekvat ur ad unda war moadgi nos.
8. Jurnal istma unda Sei nar Cunos informa-  
ci s proporci ul oba da es informaci a  
yovel mxrivi unda gaxados.
9. Jurnal isti pasuxs agebs si ndi si s wi naSe.

# Tavi 11

## darwmunebis ostatoba

masmediis TiToeul i warmomadgenl isaTvis uaRresad fa-  
seul ia sazogadoebis TiToeul i wevrisaTvis miwodebul i  
azris utyaroeba da miukerZoebloba.

kacobrioba darwmunebis maRal i xarisxis mosapovebl ad  
da SesanarCunebl ad mraval saintereso wess icnobs. dainte-  
rebul mkiTxvel s vTavazobT amonarids prof. guram  
joliascnobil i Sromidan "biznes-etiketi da mol aparake-  
bis xel ovneba", sadac motanil ia sasurvel i nimuSebi imi-  
sa Tu rogor ganxorciel des Tanamosaubris (sazogadoe-  
bis) darwmuneba.

wesi pirveli (homerosis wesi)

*moyvanil i argumentebis rigiToba gavlenas axdens  
mosaubris damajerebl obaze, ufro efeqturia argu-  
mentebis aseTi rigi: ZI ieri \_ saSualo \_ erTi  
yvelaze ZI ieri.*

am wesidan Cans, rom susti argumentebis gamoyeneba sa-  
survel i ar aris. maT zianis motana ufro SeuZl iaT, vi-  
dre sargebl obis.

wesi meore (sokrates wesi)

*CvenTvis miSvnel ovan sakiTxze dadebiTi gadaw-  
yvetil ebis misaRebad mosaubres iseTi kiTxva mivceT,  
romel zec dadebiT pasuxs gagvcems. amis Semdeg  
mTavari kiTxva davsvaT.*

24 saukunea, rac es wesi arsebobs, da dResac imitom "cocxl obs", rom sworia. dadgenil ia, roca adamiani I apar-akobs an ismens sityva "aras" , mis sisxl Si adrenal inis hormonebi gamoiyofa da igi sabrZol vel ad ganewyoba. sityva "diax" ki piriqIT \_ "siamovnebis hormonebis" (endorfinebi) gamoyofas iwvevs. ori "ul ufa" amgvari hormonebis miRebis Semdeg Tanamosaubre dundeba, keTil ad ganewyoba da misTvis Tanxmobis Tqma fsiqol ogiurad ufro advil i xdeba.

wesi mesame (paskal is wesi)

*nu mivamwyvdevT Tanamosaubres kuTxeSi, mivceT  
saSual eba "SeinarCunos sakuTari saxe".*

zogjer Tanamosaubres surs dagvexmaros, magram amis saSual ebas sakuTari Rirseba ar aZl evs. amitom mivawodoT gadawyvetil ebis iseTi varianti, romel ic mas rTul i mdgomareobidan gamosvl is saSual ebas miscems.

wesi meoTxe

*argumentebis damarwmunebl oba miSvnel ovnad aris  
damokidebul i damarwmunebl is imijsa da statusze.*

erTia, roca damarwmunebel i avtoritetul i piria, xol o  
sul sxvaa, roca igive rol Si rigiT i moqal aqe gamodis.

wesi mexuTe

*nu mivimvydevT sakuTar Tavs kuTxeSi, nu davim-  
cirebT Cvens status.*

saubarSi xSiri bodiSis moxdIT sakuTar Tavs vim-  
cirebT.

wesi meeqvse

*nu davamcirebT Tanamosaubris status.*

Tanamosaubris mimarT nebismieri upativcemul oba mis  
status amcirebs da, rogorc wesi, misi mxridan uary-  
ofiT reaqtias iwvevs ("vin xar Sen, sxvas rom asamarTI eb"  
iakob, 4,12).

wesi meSvi de

*Tanamosaubris mier wamoyenebul CvenTvis sasiam-  
ovno argumentebs Semwynarebl urad vudgebiT, xol o  
arasasiamovnos \_ aTval wunebiT.*

amitom saWiroa Tanamosaubres Cvens Ssaxeb Camovuyal -  
iboT sasiamovno warmodgena, kerZod, pativiscemiT, yura-  
dRebiani mosmeniT, kargi metyvel ebiT, daxvewil i manerebiT,  
garegnul i saxiT da sxv.

wesi merve

*Tu gvsurs Tanamosubris darwmuneba, daviwoT iseTi momentebiT, roml ebSic Cveni oponentis azrs viziarebT.*

es wesic Tanamosubris keTil ganwyobis mizniTaa miRebul i, da Tu aseTi argumentebi ar moizebneba (rac iSviaTia) , madl oba gadavuxadoT mas imisaTvis, rom Tavisi pozicia mkafiod da naTI ad Camooyal iba, rom CvenTvis metad saitereso iyo am probl emaze misi azris gacnoba da a.S. Semdeg ki avuxsnaT Cveni argumentebi.

wesi mecxre

*gamoviCinoT empatia.*

empatia aris sxva adamianis emociuri mdgomareobis gaTval iswineba ("vinc TviT amaRI deba, damdabl deba, xol o vinc TviT damdabl deba \_ amaRI deba" maTe, 23,12).

wesi meaTe

*vijoT kargi msmenel i.*

amiT Tanamosubris yuradRebas davimsaxurebT da mas Cvens mimarT keTil ad ganvawyobT.

wesi meTerTmete

*SevamowmoT, sworad gavigeT Tanamosaubris azri?*

zogierT sityvas mniSvnel oba aqvs. amitom aucil ebel ia Tanamosaubris azris dazustebe.

wesi meTormete

*juradReba mivaqciOT Cveni da Tanamosaubris Jest-  
ebsa da pozas.*

metyvel ebisa da mimikisagan gansxvavebiT Cven ver vakontrol ebT sakuTar Jestebisa da miRebul pozas.

wesi mecamete

*moveridoT konfl iqtogenebs.*

konfl iqtogenebs miekuTvneba iseTi sityvebi, moqmedebebi an zogjer umoqmedoba, roml ebic konfl iqts iwvevs. ("nu ZraxavT erTmaneTs" iakob 4,11).

[g. jol ia, "biznes-etiketi da mol aparakebis xel ovneba".  
Tb., 2006, gv. 291-294]

## Tavi 12

### **pol itikuri ideol ogiebi (t er mi nTa ganmar t ebani )**

“yvel a adamiani pol itikurad azrovnebs; sakuTar Sexedul ebaTa gamosaxatavad an azris gamosaTqmel ad, cnobierad Tu aracnobierad, pol itikur ideebisa da cnebebs iyenebs. yovel dRiur metyvel ebaSi wamdauwum vxvdebiT terminebs: “Tavisufl eba”, “samarTI ianoba”, “Tanasworoba”, “samarTal i”, “ufl ebebi”. amis msgavsad, sityvebs “konservatiul i”, “l iber al uri”, “social isturi”, “komunisturi”, “faSisturi”. aseve xSirad marTaven sakuTari an sxvaTa Sexedul ebebis dasaxasiaTebI ad.” – ase iwyeba endriu heivudis naSromi “pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, romel sac dav-esesxeT wignis l eqsikuri nawil is Camoyal ibebisas (av-tori).

#### **avtoritarizmi**

avtoritarizmi aris “zemodan” marTvis rwmena an iseTi mmarTvel obis gatareba, roml is drosac xorciel deba Zal aufl eba xal xze misi TanxmobiT an misi nebis winaaRmdeg. amdenad, avtoritarizmis cneba Zal aufl ebis cnebisagan gansxvavdeba. es ukanasknel i l egitimurobas efuzneba da, am gagebiT, “qvevidan” modis. avtoritari moazrovneni, rogorc wesi, sakuTar Sexedul ebebs an warmatebul l iderTa sibrZnis rwmenaze ageben an im ideal ze, rom social uri wesrigis miRwevis erTaderTi piroba usityvo morCil e-baa. Tumca, Cveul ebriv, avtoritarizms total itarizmisgan

ganarCeven. "zemodan" marTvis tradicia, romel ic monarqi-  
ul absol utizmTan, tradiciul diqtaturebsa da TiTqmis  
yvel a formis samxedro mmarTvel obasTan asocirdeba,  
opoziciisa da pol itikuri Tavisufl ebis daTrgunvas ufro  
gul isxmobs, vidre saxel mwifosa da samoqal aqo sazoga-  
doebas Soris gansxvavebis waSl is ufro radikal ur mi-  
zans.

### **anarqi zmi**

sityva "anarqia" berZnul i sityvidan momdinareobs da  
sityvasityviT niSnavs "wesis gareSe". termini "anarqizmi"  
safrangeTis revol uciis droidan Semovida xmarebaSi. igi  
Tavdapirvel ad kritikul i an negatiuri mniSvel obiT –  
civil izebul i an kanonzomieri wesrigis rRvevis gamosax-  
atad gamoiyeneboda. praqtikul ad, mocemul termins dResac  
xSirad iyeneben damakninebel i mniSvel obiT. Cveul ebriv,  
yovel dRiur saubarSi, "anarqias" qaossa da uwesrigobas  
ukavSireben da arcTu iSviaTad sazogadoebriv warmodge-  
naSi anarqistebi "bombis matarebel i" teroristebia.

### **anti sem i t i z m i**

antisemitizmi – tradiciis mixedviT, semitebi noes va-  
Jis, semis STamomavl ebi arian da moicaven Sua aRmosavl e-  
Tis xal xebis umetesobas. antisemitizmi gul isxmobs cru-  
rwmenebs an siZul vil s ebrael ebis mimarT. Tavisi adreu-  
l i sistematizebul i formiT, antisemitizms rel igiuri  
xasiaTi hqonda da asaxavda qristianebs mtrul damok-  
idebul ebas ebrael ebis mimarT, am ukanasknel Ta qristes  
sikvdil Si Tanamonawil eobisa da misi RvTis Svil ad araR-  
iarebis gamo. ekonomikuri antisemitizmi Sua saukunee-  
bidan ganviTarda da gamoxatavda zizRs ebrael ebis rogorc  
mevaxSeebisa da vaWrebis mimarT. mecxramete saukuneSi  
rasobrivi antisemitizmi warmoiSva vagnerisa da h.s. Cem-

berl enis naSromebSi, roml ebic ebrael xal xebs fundamen-  
turad borotad da destruqciul ad miiCnevden. aseTi  
ideebi germanul i nacizmis ideol ogiuri safuZvel i gaxda  
da yvel aze groteskul i gamoxatul eba hol okostSi  
hpova.

### **axal i memarj veneoba**

“axal i memarj veneoba” farTo cnebis amsaxvel i termin-  
ia. am terminiT aRniSnaven ideebs, dawyebul i gadasaxadebis  
Semcirebis moTxovnidan da damTavrebul i tel eviziebsa  
da fil mebbe cenzuris gazrdis mowodebebiT; garda amisa,  
imigraciis sawinaaRmdego Tu repatriaciis mxardamWer  
kampaniebsac ki. arsobrivad axal i memarj veneoba ori aSkarad  
kontrastul i ideol ogiuri tradiciis Sej varebaa. amaT-  
gan pirvel i kl asikuri l liberal uri ekonomikaa. am mima-  
rTul ebas l liberal ur axal memarj veneobas, anu neol iber-  
al izms uwodeben. meore el ementi axal memarj veneobaSi  
aris tradiciul i konservatiul i social uri Teoria.

### **gl obal izacia**

misi mTavari Tema “usazRvrebo msofl ios” warmoSobaa;  
es tendencia gul isxmobs, rom tradiciul i pol itikuri  
sazRvrebi, roml ebic erovnul da saxel mwifoebriw sazRvrebs  
emTxveva, amJamad SeRwevadi xdeba. amdenad, gl obal izacia  
saxes ucvl is social ur sivrces: is teritoriul sak-  
iTxebs nakl eb mniSvnel obas aniWebs, radgan mudmivad ga-  
farToebad kavSirebs “msofl ios momcvel i” (transworld) an  
“sazRvrebis gadaml axavi” buneba gaaCnia.

### **demokratia**

cneba “demokratia” Zvel saberZneTSi warmoiSva. es si-  
tyva, yvel a im sityvis msgavsad, romel Ta meore nawil s  
“kratia” Seadgens – avtokratia, aristokratia, biurokra-

tia da a.S. – warmodgeba berZnul i sityvidan kratos, rac Zal aufl ebas an xel isufl ebas niSnavs. amgvarad, demokra- tia “demosis mmarTvel obas” warmoadgens, sadac demosi “xal xs” niSnavs, Tumca Tavdapirvel ad am sityvaSi “Raribebi” an “xal xis masa” igul isxmeboda.

### **ekol ogi zmi**

termini “ekol ogia” 1866 wel s Seqmna germanel ma zool ogma ernst hekel ma. is nawarmoebia berZnul i si- tyvidan oikos, rac saxl s an sacxovrebel garemos niS- navs. hekel i misi saSual ebiT aRniSnavda “cxovel is rogorc organul , ise araorganul garemosTan total uri urT- ierTmimarTebis gamokvl evebs”. meoce saukunis dasawyisidan ekol ogia aRiarebul iqna biol ogiis dargad, romel ic Seiswavl is urTierTobas cocxal organizmebsa da maT garemos Soris. magram is TandaTan pol itikur terminad gardaiqmneba mwvaneTa mzardi moZraobis mier misi gamoy- enebis kval obaze, gansakuTrebiT XX s-is 60-iani wl ebidan moyol ebul i.

### **i deol ogi a**

sityva “ideol ogia” safrangeTis revol uciis dros gamoigona anton desta de tresim (1754-1836), saj arod ki is pirvel ad 1796 wel s gamoiyenes. de tresisaTvis *ideol- ogie* niSnavda axal “mecnierebas ideaTa Sesaxeb”.

ideol ogia ideaTa met-nakl ebad mwyobri sistemaa, romel - ic safuZvel s uqmnis organizebul pol itikur qmedebas, sul erTia, ra mizans emsaxureba is: arsebul i sistemis an Zal aufl ebis SenarCunebas, saxecvl asa Tu damxobas. amde- nad, yvel a ideol ogia gvTavazobs: (a) arsebul i wyobis Sefasebas, Cveul ebriv, “msofl mxedvel obis” saxiT, (b) sa- surveil i momavl is model s – “kargi sazogadoebis” xedvas, da (g) gegmas, Tu rogor SeiZl eba da unda ganxorciel des pol itikuri cvl il eba – rogor mivideT (a)-dan (b)-mde.

### **i n d i v i d u a l i z m i**

individual izmi aris rwmena individis uzenaesobisa nebismieri social uri j gufis an kol eqtavis winaSe. misi erT-erTi saxis, meTodol ogiuri individual izmis mixed-viT, individis cneba nebismieri pol itikuri Teoriis an social uri gansazRvrebisaTvis amosaval i unda iyos; sazogadoebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i nebismieri Sefaseba im individebs unda ukavSirdebodes, roml ebic mas Seadgenen. meore mxriv, eTikuri individual izmi gul isxmobis sazogadobis ise mowyobas, rom saxeiro iyos individisaTvis; amasTan, moral uri Tval sazrisiT upiratesoba individis ufl ebeps, saWiroebebsa da interesebs daeTmos.

### **i n d u s t r i a l i z m i**

termini industrial izmi im gagebiT, rogoriTac mas garemos Teoretikosebi iyeneben, gul isxmobis "superideo-logias", romel ic moicavs kapital izmsa da social izms, memarcxene da memarj vene Sexedul ebeps. rogorc ekonomikur sistemas, industrial izms axasiaTebis farTomasStabiani warmoeba, kapital is dagroveba da Seuqcevadi zrda. rogorc fil osofia is emxroba material izms, util itarul Rirebul ebeps, mecnierebis absol utur rwmenasa da teqpol ogiis Tayvaniscemas. aqedan gamomdinare, mraval i ekol ogisti industrial izms "mTavar probl emad" miiCnevs. Tumca, ekosocial istebi bral s ufro kapital izms sdeben da ara industrial izms (romel ic ugul ebel yofs iseT mniSvnel ovan sakiTxebs, rogoricaa mfl obel obis, mogebisa da bazris rol i), maSin rodesac ekofeministebi amtkiceben, rom industrial izmis wyaro patriarqatia.

### **kl asikuri l i b e r a l i z m i**

kl asikuri l i b e r a l i z m i yvel aze Zvel i l i b e r a l u r i t r a d i c i a a . m i s i i d e e b i f e o d a l i z m i d a n k a p i t a l i z m i s a k e n g a r d a m a v a l p e r i o d S i g a n v i T a r d e b a , a m g a n v i T a r e b i s k u l m i n a c i a k i m e c x r a m e t e s a u k u n e , a d r e u l i i n d u s t r i a l i z a c i i s e p o q a i y o . a m i t o m k l a s i k u r l i b e r a l i z m s z o g j e r “ m e c x r a m e t e s a u k u n i s l i b e r a l i z m s ” u w o d e b e n . k l a s i k u r i l i b e r a l i z m i s a k v a n i g a e r T i a n e b u l s a m e f o S i d a i r w a , i q , s a d a c k a p i t a l i s t u r i d a i n d u s t r i u l i r e v o l u c i e b i y v e l a z e S e d e g i a n i a R m o C n d a . e s i d e e b i a n g l o - s a q s u r q v e y n e b S i , s a x e l d o b r , g a e r T i a n e b u l s a m e f o s a d a a m e r i k i s S e e r T e b u l S t a t e b S i , y o v e l T v i s u f r o Z i r e u l i i y o , v i d r e m s o f l i o s s x v a r o m e l i m e q v e y a n a S i .

### **k o l e q t i v i z m i**

k o l e q t i v i z m i , f a r T o g a g e b i T , a r i s r w m e n a i m i s a , r o m k o l e q t i u r i a d a m i a n u r i m c d e l o b a u f r o d i d i p r a q t i k u l i d a m o r a l u r i R i r e b u l e b i s m q o n e a , v i n e m i n d i v i d u a l u r i s w r a f v a . a m d e n a d i s i r e k l a v s i m i d e a s , r o m a d a m i a n u r b u n e b a s s o c i a l u r i b i r T v i a q v s d a g u l i s x m o b s , r o m s o c i a l u r i j g u f e b i , i q n e b a e s “ k l a s e b i ” , “ e r e b i ” , “ r a s e b i ” T u s x v a , m n i S v n e l o v a n i p o l i t i k u r i e r T e u l e b i a .

### **k o n s e r v a t i z m i**

y o v e l d R i u r m e t y v e l e b a S i t e r m i n i “ k o n s e r v a t i u l i ” m r a v a l g v a r i m n i S v n e l o b i T i x m a r e b a . i s S e i Z I e b a g u l i s x m o b d e s T a v S e k a v e b u l a n w i n d a x e d u l q c e v a s , c x o v r e b i s t r a d i c i u l y a i d a s , k o n f o r m i s t u l s a c k i , a n k i d e v – S i S s c v l i l e b e b i s w i n a S e a n m a T T v i s T a v i s a r i d e b a s . y o v e l i v e e s i n g l i s u r S i a R i n i S n e b a z m n i T “ t o c o n s e r v e ” . t e r m i n i “ k o n s e r v a t i z m i ” s a g a n g e b o p o l i t i k u r i p o z i c i i s a n i d e o l o g i i s d a s a x a s i a T e b l a d p i r v e l a d m e c x r a m e t e s a u k u n i s d a s a w y i s S i g a m o i y e n e s .

### **konstitucional izmi**

konstitucional izmi, viwro gagebiT, SezRudul i mmarTvel obis ganxorciel ebaa, romel sac konstitucia udevs safuZvl ad. konstitucional izmi, am gagebiT, SeiZl eba iTqvas, arsebobs iq, sadac konstituciuri kanonebi Zal aufl ebriv institutebsa da pol itikur procesebs efeqturad akontrol ebs. ufro farTo gagebiT, konstitucional izmi aris pol itikur Rirebul ebaTa da miswrafebaTa garkveuli sistema, romel ic gamoxatavs nebas, daicvas Tavisufl eba xel isufl ebisatvis Sinagani da garegani SezRudvebis dawesebiT. mistvis damaxasiaTebel ia konstituciur debul ebaTa mxardaWera, roml ebic konstitucional izmis mizans ganamtkicebs; esenia: sistemaSi moyvanil i konstitucia, ufl ebaTa bil i, Zal aufl ebaTa gamij vna, orpal atianoba da federal izmi anu decentral izacia. ase rom, konstitucional izmi pol itikuri liberal izmis saxeobaa.

### **korporatizmi**

korporatizmi farTo gagebiT, samTavrobo procesebSi organizebul i interesebis gaertianebis saSual ebaa. arsebobs korporatizmis ori saxe. avtoritarul i korporatizmi warmoadgens ideologia da ekonomikis formas. rogorc ideologia, igi gvTavazobs kapital izmisa da social izmis al ternativas, romel ic hol izmsa da jgufur integracias eyrdnoba.

### **kosmopolitizmi**

kosmopolitizmi sityvasityviT niSnavs Cosmopolis-is anu "msofli o saxel mwifos" rwmenas. igi gul isxmobs cal keul i erebis erovnul i identurobis mospobas da erTi saerTo pol itikuri erTeulis Seqmnas, romel ic yvel a adamians gaertianebs. unda aRiniSnos, rom Cveuli ebriv es termini gamoiyeneba ufro zomieri miznis asax-

visaTvis da gul isxmobs erebs Soris mSvidobisa da harmoniis damyarebas, romel ic dafuZnebul i iqneba urTierTgagebaze, tol erantobasa da, rac mTavaria, erTmaneTze damokidebul ebis principze. Liberal uri kosmopol itizmi didi xania asocirdeba Tavisufal i vaWrobis mxardaWerasTan, risi safuZvel ic aris rwmena imisa, rom Tavisufal i vaWrobis ganviTareba xel s uwyobs rogorc erebs Soris urTierTgagebis Camoyal ibebas, ise material ur keTil dReobas. kosmopol itur ideal ebs agreTve axorciel eben zeerovnul i (supranacional uri) organizaciebi, romel Ta mizani ufro erebs Soris TanamSroml obis propagandaa, vidre erovnu- l i saxel mwifoebis gauqmeba.

### **Liberal izmi**

termins "liberal uri" meToTxmete saukunidan moyol ebul i xmaroben, Tumca mas am xnis ganmavl obaSi uamravi gansxvavebul i mniSvnel oba miwereboda. I aTinuri sityva liberal Tavisufal adamianTa kl ass aRniSnavda, anu adami- anebs, roml ebic arc ymebi iyvnen da arc monebi. es sityva uxvsac niSnavda – saWmel -sasmel is "uxv" moxmarebas; social ur mimarTebaSi ki siwrfel es an miukerZoebl obas gul isxmobda. mas farTod ukavSirebdnen Tavisufal ebisa da arCevanis ideebisac. pol itikur datvirTvas termini "liberal izmi" gacil ebiT gvian iZens – am mniSvnel obiT pirvel ad is mecxramete saukunis dasawyisSi, kerZod, 1812 wel s, espanaTsi gamoiyenes. ukve XIX s-is 40-ian wl ebSi am terminiT mTel evropaSi farTod aRiniSneboda pol itikur ideaTa gansakuTrebil i erTobl ioba.

### **Libertarian izmi**

moicavs Teoriebs, roml ebic iseT Rirebul ebebTan SedarebiT, rogorbicaa Zal aufl eba, tradicia da Tanas- woroba, mtkice prioritets Tavisufal ebas aniWebs. amde-

nad l ibertarel ebi iswrafian, maqsimal urad gaafarTovon individis Tavisufl ebi areal i da minimumamde daiyvanon sazogadoebrivi Zal aufl ebi sazRvrebi; saxel mwifos isini, rogorc wesi, Tavisufl ebi ZiriTad safrTxed Tvl ian.

### **mul tikul tural izmi**

mul tikul tural izmi – gamoiyeneba rogorc aRweriT, ise normatiul i terminis saxiT. rogorc aRweriT termini, is kul turul mraval feroznebas ukavSirdeba, rasac, Tavis mxriv, sazogadoebaSi ori an meti iseTi j gufis arseboba iwvevs, romel Ta rwmena da qmedebebi kol eqturi identobis damaxasiaTebel grZnobas warmoSobs. mul tikul tural izmi zedgamoWril ia j gufuri mraval saxeobisaTvis, rac rasobrivi, eTnikuri Tu enobrivi gansxvavebul obidan iRebs saTaves. rogorc normatiul i termini, igi j gufuri mraval saxeobis srul gaziarebas gul isxmobs, roml isTvisac ganmsazRvrel ia gansxvavebul i kul turul i j gufebisaTvis aRiarebisa da pativiscemis ufl ebaTamiWebi. am gagebiT, mul tikul tural izmi aRiarebs rwmenaTa, Rirebul ebaTa da cxovrebis wesis mniSvel obas rogorc individisTvis, ise j gufebisaTvis sakuTari Rirsebis grZnobis gasaRvivebl ad.

### **nacional izmi**

nacional izmi – sityva “nation” mecamete saukunidan ixmareba da warmodgeba l aTinuri sityvisagan nasci, rac dabadebas niSnavs. am sityvis forma natio aRniSnavda adami-anebs, romel Tac dabadeba an dabadebis adgil i aerTianebedaT; Tavis SinaarsiT ki igi gul isxmobda toms an rasobrivi j gufs, magram is ar gamoiyeneboda rogorc politikuri termini. mxol od mogvianebiT, meTvramete saukunis bol os, SeiZina am terminma politikuri datvirTva, rodesac daiwyes cal keul i adamianebisa da j gufebis “na-

cional istebad" daxasiaTeba. beWdur gamocemaSi sityva "nacional izmi" pirvel ad 1789 wel s gamoiyena frangma antiakobinel ma mRvdel ma ogiusten baruel ma (Augustin Barruel). mecxramete saukunis Sua wl ebisaTvis "nacional - izmi" ukve farTod iyo cnobil i rogorc pol itikuri doqtrina an moZraoba.

### **neol iberal izmi**

neol iberal izmi, romel sac zogjer neokl asikur l iberal izmsac uwodeben, 1970-ian wl ebSi ekonomikuri l iberal izmis axal i Zal iT aRorZinebas ukavSirdeba. neol iberal izmi antirevol uciuri Teoriaa: misi mizania, SeaCeros da SeZl ebisdagvarad radikal urad Secval os "didi" mTavrobisaken swrafva da saxel mwifo Carevis pol itika, rac mniSvnel ovnad damaxasiaTebel i iyo meoce saukunisaTvis. Tavdapirvel ad neol iberal izms udidesi warmateba hqonda im or saxel mwifoSi, sadac Tavisufal i bazris ekonomikuri principebi Zal ze myarad dainerga mecxramete saukuneSi. es saxel mwifoebia gaerTianebul i samefo da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi. gaerTianebul samefoSi is "TetCerizmis", SeerTebul StatebSi ki "reiganizmis" saxiT mogvevl ina.

### **paternal izmi**

paternal izmi sityvasityviT mamaTa yaidaze moqmedebas niSnavs. rogorc pol itikuri principi, is ukavSirdeba Zal as an Zal aufl ebas, romel sac sxvebze axorciel eben sargebl is naxvis an zianis Tavidan acil ebis mizniT. social uri uzrunvel yofis RonisZiebebi da kanonebi, rogoricaa, magal iTad, usafrTxoebis qamrebis saval debul o xmareba avtomobil ebSi, paternal izmis magal iTebia. "rbil i" paternal istebi farTo TanxmobiT xasiaTdebian. "mkacri" paternal isturi mimarTul eba Tanxmobis arsebobisgan

damoukidebl ad moqmedebs da, amgvarad, avtoritarizms erwymis. paternal izmi im principze igeba, rom sibzNe da gamocdil eba sazogadoebaSi araTanabradaa ganawil ebul i; xel isufli ebaSi myofebma "ukeT uwyian". amis oponentTa azriT, xel isufli ebas ndoba ar gymarTebis, xol o paternal izmi Tavisufli ebas zRudavs da sazogadoebis "infantil izacias" uwyobs xel s.

### **p a t r i o t i z m i**

patriotizmi (l aT. patria-dan, rac "mamul s" niSnavs) warmoadgens Tavisu eris mimarT adamianis emociur, fsiqol ogiur mij aWvul obas, sityvasityviT, "samSobl os siyvarul s". xSirad nacional izmsa da patriotizms erTmaneTsi ureven. nacional izms doqtrinis xasiaTi aqvs da efuzneba rwmenas, rom eri ama Tu im saxiT saxel mwifos pol itikuri organizaciis wamyvan ganmsazRvrel faqtors warmoadgens. patriotizmi ki am rwmenis gansaxorciel ebl ad emociur safuzvel s iZl eva da, amrigad, nacional izmis yvel a formaSi vl indeba.

### **p r a g m a t i z m i**

pragmatizmi, sazogadod, praqtikul i garemoebebis kvl evas ufro gul isxmobs, vidre Teoriul i doqtrinebisas, anu gul isxmobs imis kvl evas, Tu risi miRweva SeiZl eba real ur samyaroSi, gansxvavebiT imisagan, ris miRwevasac ideal uri samyaro gvaal debul ebs. rogorc fil osofiuri doqtrina (dakavSirebul i, rogorc wesi, iseT fil osofosTa saxel ebTan, rogorc uial iam j eimsi (1842-1910) da j on diui (11859-1952)), pragmatizmi gvaswavl is, rom rwmenaTa mniSvnel obisa da motivaciis Sefaseba maTi praqtikul i SedegebiT unda moxdes. Tumca definiciis mixedviT, pol itikis pragmatul i stil i araideol ogiuria, misi gaigiveba uprincipo oportunitizmTan ar SeiZl eba.

pragmatizmi cvl il ebisadmi frTxil damokidebul ebas gul isxmobs; igi uaryofs radikal ur reformebsa da revolucias, rogorc ucnobSi SeRwevas; nacvl ad amisa, aqtiur daregul irebasa da, savaraudod, evol uciur progressac uWers mxars.

### **pl ural izmi**

pl ural izmi, farTo gagebiT, mraVal ferovnebis an mraVal -saxeobis, anu, mraVal saganTa arsebobis rwmenea. rogorc deskriptiul i cneba, pl ural izmi SeiZl eba niSnavdes partiul konkurencias (pol itikuri pl ural izmi), zneobrivi Rirebul ebaTa simravl es (moral uri, anu Rirebul ebaTa pl ural izmi), kul turul nairsaxeobas (kul turul i pl ural izmi) da a.S. igi, rogorc normatiul i cneba, migvaniSnebs, rom mraVal ferovneba sasargebl o da sasurve- l ia, radgan icavs adamianis Tavisufl ebas da xel s uwyobs kamaTs, azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl asa da gagebas. ufro viwro gagebiT, pl ural izmi pol itikuri Zal aufl ebis ganawil ebis Teoriaa, roml is mixedviTac, Zal aufl eba farTod da Tanabrad vrcel deba sazogadoebaSi, is el itis an mmarTve- l i kl asis xel Si ar iyris Tavs. aseTi formiT pl ural izms, Cveul ebriv aRiqvamen rogorc "gunduri pol itikis" Teorias, rac imas gul isxmobs, rom gunduri mTavrobis Camoyal ibeba farTo demokratiul aqtiyobas uzrunvel y- ofs.

### **popul izmi**

termini popul izmi (l aTinuri populus-idan, rac "xal xs" aRniSnavs) gamoiyeneba sxvadasxvagvari pol itikuri moZraobe- bis, agreTve pol itikuri azrovnebis konkretul i tradiciis aRsaniSnavad. popul isturi moZraobebi da partiebi acxa- deben, rom surT daicvan ubral o adamianebi "korumpirebu- l i" ekonomikuri an pol itikuri el itarul i wreebisgan.

rogorc pol itikuri tradicia, popul izmi asaxavs rwme-  
nas, rom adamanTa institutebi da survil ebi pol itikuri  
saqmianobis ZiriTad kanonier saxel mZRvanel o princips  
warmoadgens. amitom popul isti pol itikosebi uSual od  
mimarTaven xal xs da amtkiceben, rom gamoxataven mis uR-  
rmes imedebsa da SiSs, radgan yvel a Sual eduri institu-  
ti ndobas ar imsaxurebs. miuxedavad imisa, rom popu-  
lizmi SeiZl eba ukavSirdebodes nebismier saqmianobas an  
ideol ogias, is xSirad miicneva farul ad avtoritarul ,  
“popul istur” demokratiad, romel ic “pl ural isturi”  
demokratiis mteria.

#### **post modernizmi**

postmodernizmi winaaRmdegobrivi da bundovani ter-  
minia, romel ic Tavdapirvel ad gamoiyeneboda dasavl ur  
xel ovnebaSi, arqiteqturasa da, zogadad, kul turul ganvi-  
TarebaSi eqsperimentul i mimdinareobebis aRSawerad.  
rogorc social uri da pol itikuri anal izis saSual eba,  
postmodernizmi Tval saCinos xdis cvl il ebas industri-  
al izaciiTa da kl asobrivi sol idarobiT gansazRvrul i  
struqturis mqone sazogadoebidan sul ufro fragmen-  
tirebul i da pl ural isturi, “informaciul i” sazogadoe-  
bebisaken, roml ebSic individuumebi mwarmoebl ebidan momx-  
marebl ebad gardaiqmnebian da individual izmi kl asobrivi,  
rel igiuri da eTnikuri l oial obis adgil s iWers. post-  
modernistebi amtkiceben, rom ar arsebobs gansazRvrul o-  
bis msgavsi ram; absol uturi da universal uri WeSmar-  
itebis idea uaryofil unda iqnas, rogorc TviTdaj erebu-  
l i il uzia. amis sawinaaRmdegod, yuradReba maxvil deba  
diskursze, debatebsa da demokratiaze.

### **patriarqal oba**

feministebis sjerat, rom sqesi, iseve rogorc social - uri kl asi, rasa an rel igia, mniSvnel ovan social ur maxasiaTebel s warmoadgens. martI ac, radikal i feministebi amtkiceben, rom sqesi yvel aze Rrma da pol itikurad yvel aze mniSvnel ovan pol itikur gansxvavebebs Soris. Sesabamisad, feministebma ganaviTares "sqesobrivi pol itikis" Teoria imgvaradve, rogorc social istebebi qadagebdnen "kl asobrivi pol itikis" ideas. isini agreTve "seqsizms" Cagvris formad Tvl ian, paral el ebs avl eben ra "rasial izmTan" an rasobriv CagvrasTan. magram unda aRiniSnos, rom tradiciul i pol itikuri Teoria, rogorc wesi, ignorebas ukeTebda seqsual ur Cagvras da ver moaxerxa eRiarebina sqesi pol itikurad mniSvnel ovan kategoriad. amis Sedegad feministebi izul ebul ni gaxdnen ganaviTarebinaT axal i koncefciebi da Teoriebi, raTa gamoexataT idea, rom sazogadoeba dafuznebul ia sqesTa uTanasworobasa da Cagvraze.

feministebi mamakacTa da qal Ta Soris Zal Ta gadanawil ebis aRsaniSnavad "patriarqal obis/patriarqatis" cnebas iyeneben. termini sityvasityviT niSnavs "mamis martvel obas" (pater l aTinurad mamas niSnavs) da SeiZl eba viwro gagebiT gul isxmobdes oj axSi qmar-mamis uzenaesobas, da, Sesabamisad, col isa da Svil ebis daqvemdebarebul mdgomareobas. zogierTi feministi patriarqal obis cnebas mxol od am konkretul i da SezRudul i mniSvnel obiT iyenebs, oj axis struqturisa da masSi mavis dominanti rol is aRsawerad, farTo sazogadoebaSi genderul i urTierTobebis asaxvisaTvis upiratesobas aniWebs ufro farTo mniSvnel obis terminebis gamoyenebas, rogorc, magal iTad, "mamakacTa uzenaesoba" an "mamakacTa dominireba". magram feministebi Tvl ian, rom oj axSi mavis dominireba mamakacTa yvel a sxva institutSi uzenaesobis simbol oa. ufro metic, bevri maTgani imasac ki amtkicebs, patriarqal uri

oj axi mamakacTa dominirebis sistematuri procesis mTavar sayrdens warmoadgens im kuTxiT, rom is ganavrcobs mamakacTa dominirebas cxovrebis yvel a sxva sferoSi: ganaTI ebaSi, samsaxurebriv sferosa da pol itikaSi. aqedan gamomdinare, patriarqal oba, Cveul ebriv, gamoiyeneba ufro farTo gagebiT da gul isxmobs, martivad rom vTqvaT, "mamakacTa mmarTvel obas", rogorc oj axSi, iseve mis gareTac.

### **rasial izmi**

rasial izmi, farTo gagebiT, warmoadgens rwmenas, roml - iTac pol itikuri an social uri daskvnebi SeiZl eba gakeTdes im ideis safuZvel ze, rom kacobrioba iyofa biol ogiurad gansxvavebul "rasebad". amrigad, rasial isturi Teoriebi or daskvnazea dafuZnebul i. pirvel i mdgomareobs imaSi, rom dedamiwis xal xebs Soris arsebobs fundamenturi genetikuri, anu saxeobrivi gansxvavebebi. mere aris is, rom es genetikuri sxvaoba aisaxeba kul turul, intel eqtual ur, da/an moral ur gansxvavebebiSi, ris gamoc isini pol itikurad an social urad mniSvnel ovani xdeba. pol itikuri rasial izmi gamoixateba rasobrivi segregaciis moTxovnebsa (magal iTad, aparTeidi) da doqtrinebSi, romel Ta mixedviT arsebobs "sisxl iT" ganpirobepul i upiratesobebi an nakl ovanebebi (magal iTad, arianizmi an antisemitizmi). zogjer "rasial izmsa" da "rasizms" erTi da imave mniSvnel obiT iyeneben, magram ukannasknel i termini ufro gamoiyeneba adamianebisadmi rasobrivi kuTvnil ebis gamo mikerZoepul i da mtrul i damokidebul ebis gamosaxatad, imis miuxedavad, iqneba Tu ara dakavSirebul i es damokidebul eba Camoyal ibepul rasobrivi TeoriasTan.

### **r a c i o n a l i z m i**

racional izmis mixedviT, samyaros social uri struktura aqvs da amis gamJRavneba SesaZI ebel ia gansj isa da kvl evis gziT. rogorc fil osofiuri Teoria, racional - izmi aris rwmena imisa, rom Semecnebis wyaro gonebaa da ara gamocdil eba, riTac empirizms upirispirdeba.

### **r e l i g i u r i f u n d a m e n t a l i z m i**

termini "fundamental izmi" momdinareobs l aTinuri sityvidan fundamentum, rac safuZvel s niSnavs. es termini pirvel ad meoce saukunis dasawyisSi gamoiyenes amerikel protestantTa Soris gamarTul i pol emikis dros. 1910-1913 wl ebSi evangel istma protestantebma gamoaqveynes pamfl etTa cikl i, saxel wodebiT *safuZvl ebi*, romel ic bibl iis Sinagan arss an misi utyuari, sityvasityviT WeSmaritebis postul ats qristianobis "Tanamedrove" interpretaciebisgan icavda. amJamad termini fundamental izmi asocirdeba msofl ios yvel a ZiriTad rel igiasTan – isl amTan, induizmTan, sikhizmTan da budizmTan, iseve, rogorc qristianobasTan, da gul isxmobs ufro rel igiur-pol itikuri moZraobis an programis sagangebo saxeobas, vidre, ubral od, sakral uri teqstebis utyuari WeSmaritebis mtkicebas (Tumca, es ukanasknel i kvl av warmoadgens fundamental izmis garkveul formaTa niSans).

termini "fundamental izmi" uaRresad sadavao. garkveul i Tvisებების გამო (იგულისხმება რესპიები და შეუწყნარებლობა) fundamental izmi l iberal ur faseul obaTa da pirovnul i Tavisufl ebis mtrad miiCneva. es tendencia komunizms kol afsma gaamZafra. am ukanasknel is zegavl eniT, ganvitarebul dasavl eTSi mraVal ma adamanma irwmuna, rom marqsiszms, msofl io wesrigisTvis safrTxis Seqmnis Tval sazrisiT, rel igiuri, ZiriTadad ki – isl amuri fundamental izmi Caenacvl a. amgvarad, civi omis dasasrul ma

gl obal uri "civil izaciaTa dapirispireba" ganapiroba. radgan fundamental izmi asocirdeba sixistesTan, dogmatizmsa da avtoritarizmTan, bevri maTgani, vinc fundamental istad miiCneva, ugul ebel yofs am termins, rogorc primitiul s, anda – Seuracxmyofel s. amasTan, imgvvari al - ternatiul i terminebisgan gansxvavebiT, rogoricaa "tradicional izmi", "konservatizmi", "orTodoqsul oba" da "revival izmi". fundamental izms is upiratesoba aqvs, rom gamoxatavs am pol itikuri fenomenis specifitur xasiaTs.

#### **samar TI i anoba**

samarTI ianoba – moral uri gansj is gansakuTrebul i saxea, kerZod iseTi, j il dosa da sasjel is ganawil ebas rom exeba, mokl ed, samarTI ianoba TiToeul adamians ganusazRvravs, ra aris mistvis "j erovani".

#### **saxel mwifos Sesaxeb**

**I liberal ebis** Tval sazrisiT, saxel mwifo warmoadgens neutral ur arbitrs sazogadoebaSi arsebul dapirispirebul interesebsa da j gufebis Soris, social uri wesrigis dacvis umTavres garants. maSin, rodesac kl asikuri I liberal ebi saxel mwifos aRiqvamen rogorc gardauval borotebas da xotbas asxamen minimal ur anu mxol od "guSagis" funqciis Semsrul ebel saxel mwifos, Tanamedrove I liberal ebi aRiareben saxel mwifos pozitiur rol s Tavisufl ebis gazrdisa da Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis xel Sewyobis saqmeSi.

I liberal ebs swamT, rom xel isufl eba "qvemodan", mis mier marTul i xal xis Tnxmobidan momdinareobs. miuxedavad imisa, rom xel isufl eba aucil ebel ia mowesrigebul i arsebobisaTvis, is racional uri, mizammimarTul i da SezRudul i unda iyos. am mosazrebis amsaxvel ia is, rom isini upiratesobas kanonier-racional ur xel isufl ebas da sazogadoebis winaSe mis angariSval debul ebas aniWeben.

**konservatorebi** saxel mwifos ukavSireben Zal aufl ebisa da disciplinis uzrunvel yofisa da saxel mwifos qaosisa da areul obisagan dacvis aucil ebl obas, amitomac aris, rom konservatorebi, tradiciul ad, upiratesobas aniWeben ZI ier saxel mwifos.

konservatorebi miiCneven, rom xel isufl eba bunebriv aucil ebl obas warmoadgens da rom misi organizeba "zevidan" xdeba gamocdil ebis, sazogadoebrivi mdgomareobisa da sibrZnis araTanabari ganawil ebidan gamomdinare. xel isufl eba sasargebl o da aucil ebel ia, vinaidan is aviTarebs pativiscemasa da erTgul ebas da xel s uwyobs sazogadoebriv erTianobas.

**social istebs** Soris gavrcel ebul i Sexedul ebebi saxel mwifos Sesaxeb araerTgvarovania. marqsistebi yuradRebas amaxvil eben kavSirze saxel mwifosa da kl asobrivi sistemas Soris, Tvl ian ra mas an kl asobrivi mmarTvel obis instrumentad, an kl asebs Soris daZabul obis Semarbil ebel saSual ebad. magram social izmis sxva mimarTul ebebi saxel mwifos sazogado sikeTis gansxeul ebad miiCneven da, Sesabamisad, mxars uWeren intervencionizms misi social ur-demokratiul i an saxel mwifo-kol eqtivisturi formiT.

social istebsi xel isufl ebas, Cveul ebriv, eWvis Tval iT uyureben, radgan miiCneven, rom is im TaviTve mCagvrel ia da zogadad ZI ierTa da privil egirebul Ta interesebs ukavSirdeba. amisda miuxedavad, social isturi sazogadoebebi xel isufl ebas amyarebdnen sxvadasxva formiT gamoxatul i kol eqtiuri organos saxiT, romel ic individual izmisa da sixarbis kontrol is saSual ebad miiCneoda.

**anarqistebi** srul iad uaryofen saxel mwifos, radgan usargebl o borotebad miiCneven. saxel mwifos suverenu- li, saval debul o da izul ebiTi Zal aufl eba maT mier aRiqmeba rogorc l egal izebul i Cagvris forma, romel ic

ZI ierTa, mdidarTa da privil egirebul Ta interesebSi mo-  
qmedebs.

anarqistebi xel isufli ebis yvel a formas arasaWirod  
da destruqciul ad miiCneven da xel isufli ebas Cagvrasa  
da eqspl uataciasTan aigiveben. radganac ar arsebobs gan-  
sxvaveba xel isufli ebas da SiSvel Zal aufl ebas Soris,  
xel isufli ebis kontrol isa da angariSval debul ebebis yvel a  
forma srul iad yal bia.

**faSizmi**, kerZod misi ital iuri tradicia, saxel mwifos  
umaRI es eTikur ideal ad miiCnevs, romel ic erovnul i  
sazogadoebis erTian, aradiferenciebul interesebs gamox-  
atavs. Tumca, nacistebi saxel mwifos aRiqvamdnen ufro  
rogorc "WurWel s", romel ic itevs, an rogorc instru-  
ments, romel ic emsaxureba rasas an ers.

**feministebi** saxel mwifos mamakacTa Zal aufl ebis iar-  
aRad miiCneven, maTi azriT, patriarqal uri saxel mwifo  
emsaxureboda cxovrebis sazogadoebrivi an "pol itikuri"  
sferodan qal Ta gamodevnis an mis fargl ebSi maTi damor-  
Cil ebis amocanas. Tumca amisda miuxedavad, l liberal uri  
feministebi Tvl ian, rom saxel mwifo reformebis iaraRs  
warmoadgens, romel ic mgrZnobiarea el eqtoratis zewo-  
l is mimarT.

faSistebi xel isufli ebas miiCneven piradi l iderobis  
an qarizmis gamoxatul ebad, Tvisabad, romel sac fl oben  
araCveul ebrivad niWieri (an saerTod unikal uri) adami-  
anebi. aseTi qarizmatul i xel isufli eba absol uturi da  
udavoa, aqedan gamomdinare, Sinaganad (da SesaZI oa gareg-  
nul adac) igi total itarul i bunebis unda iyos.

**fundamental istebis** damokidebul eba saxel mwifos mi-  
marT metad pozitiuria, radganac isini Tvl ian, rom sax-  
el mwifo social uri, zneobrivi da kul turul i ganax-  
l ebis saSual ebaa. Sesabamisad fundamental isturi sax-  
el mwifo rel igiuri mmarTvel obisa da sibrZnis pol i-  
tikur gamoxatul ebad iTvl eba.

rel igiuri fundamental iste bi xel isufi ebas rel igiuri sibrZnis araTanabari fi obis asaxvad miiCneven. xel isufi eba, Tvisobrivad, gaTviTcnobierebul i pirovnebebis moral ur Tvisebas warmoadgens. aseT xel isufi ebas qarizmatul i xasiaTi aqvs, amitom rTul ia misi konstitucional izmiT SezRudva an maTi SeTavseba.

### **sionizmi**

sionizmi (sioni ebraul ad zeciur saufi os niSnavs) aris moZraoba ebrael Ta saxel mwifos dasaarsebi ad. Cveuli ebriv, igul isxmeba, rom is pal estinaSia. es idea, romel ic iTval iswinebda devnisgan ebrael i xal xis dacvas, pirveli ad Teodor hercl ma (Theodore Herzl, 1860-1904) wamoayena sionistTa kongresze bazel Si. adreul sionisteb axasiaTebdaT sekul aristul i da nacional isturi miswrafebebi, rasac xSirad social isturi simpaTiebi erTvoda. amastan, 1948 wel s israel is saxel mwifos daarsebis Semdeg sionizmi ukavSirdeba israel is odindel perspektivas, uzrunvel yos samSobl o yvel a ebrael isTvis, agreTve – israel is mimarT simpaTiis gaZi ierebis mcdel obebsa da mtrebisgan mis dacvas. ukanasknel i faqtoris Tval sazrisiT, israel is Seqmnas safuZvl ad daedo fundamental izmi, romel mac pal estinel Ta azriT eqspansionisturi, antiarabul i xasiaTi SeiZina.

### **terorizmi**

yvel aze farTo gagebiT, terorizmi niSnavs teroris gamoyenebas Sorsmimaval i politikuri miznebiT; terorizmis amocanaa SiSisa da dabneul obis atmosferos Seqmna. miuxedavad amisa, es termini Zal ze sadava. jer erTi, gansxvavebas, erTi mxriv, terorizmsa da meore mxriv, Zal momreobis an brZol is sxva formebs Soris is faqti aqarwyl ebs, rom es ukanasknel ni SeiZi eba, agreTve, farTo masebis

daSinebas eswrafodnen. garda amisa, radgan termini "teroristi" Zal ze damamcirebel ia, is SerCeviT da xSirad subieqturad gamoiyeneba (is, vinc erT adamians teroristad miaCnia, sxvisi azriT, SeiZl eba "Tavisufal mebrZol s" warmoadgendes). bol os, Tumca terorizms, rogorc wesi, antisaxel mwifoebriw saqmianobas uwodeben, saxel mwifoebi zogj er terors sakuTari mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg iyeneben, rac "saxel mwifo terorizms" saxiT gvevl ineba.

### **torizmi**

"tori" meTvramete saukuneSi britaneTis parl amentSi erT-erTi fraqciis saxel wodeba iyo (vigebis opozicia), romel ic monarqiul Zal aufl ebas da angl ikanur ekl esias uWerda mxars da miwaTmfl obel wvriT Tavad-aznaurobas warmoadgenda; amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi is britaneTis gvirvinisadmi l oial obas gul isxmabda.

### **total itarizmi**

total itarizmi warmoadgens pol itikuri mmarTvel obis yovl ismomcvel sistemas, romel ic, Cveul ebriv, total uri ideol ogiuri manipul acii, Ria terorisa da siasastikis gziT myardeba. is gansxvavdeba avtokratiis, avtoritarizmsa da tradiciul i diqtaturisagan imiT, rom cdil obs moipovos "total uri Zal aufl eba", sazogadoebrivi da piradi arsebobis yvel a aspeqtis pol itizirebis gziT. amrigad, total itarizmi samoqal aqo sazogadoebis srul gauqmebas, "piradul is" gauqmebas gul isxmobs. zogj er faSizmsa da komunizms total itarizms memarcxene da memarj vene formebad miiCneven, vinaidan isini uaryofen Semwynarebl obas, pl ural izmsa da Ria sazogadoebas. magram iseTi radikal uri moazrovneebi, rogoric, magal iTad, markuze iyo, amtkicebdnen, rom l iberall uri demokratiebic avl enen total itarul Tvisebebs.

### **u t i l i t a r i z m i**

utilitarizmi eTikuri mimdinareobaa, romel ic jeremi benTamma da j eimz mil ma ganaviTares. is "sikeTes" – siamovnebas da bednierebasTan, "borotebas" ki tkivil sa da ubedurebasTan aigivebs. aseTi xedvis Sesabamisad, adamianebi moqmedeben siamovnebis maqsimumamde gazrdisa da tkivil is minimumamde Sencirebis mizniT, es ukanasknel i ki sargebl ianobis, anu gamoyenebis Rirebul ebis sazomiT izomeba da, Cveul ebriv, aRiqmeba rogorc material uri moxmarebidan miRebul i kmayofil eba.

### **u t o p i z m i**

utopia (berZ. outopia-dan, rac niSnavs "arsad", an "eutopia"-dan, rac "karg adgil s" niSnavs) sityvasityviT ideal ur an srul yofil sazogadoebas niSnavs. miuxedavad imisa, rom Sesazl ebel ia mraval nairi utopiebis warmodgena, maT umetesobas axasiaTebis gaWirvebis aRmofxvra, konfliqtebis ararseboba da Cagvrisa da Zal adobis Tavidan acil eba. utopizmi politikuri Teoriis Camoyal ibebis iseT formas warmoadgens, romel ic arsebul i sistemis kritikas ideal uri an srul yofil i al ternativis Seqmnis gziT aviTarebs.

### **f a s i z m i**

termini "fasizmi" momdinareobs ital iuri sityvidan fascas (faSes), niSnavs wnel is Sekvras, roml idanac gamosveril ia najaxi da romel ic aRniSnavda magistratibis Zal aufl ebas romis imperiaSi. XIX s-is 90-iani wl ebistvis sityva fascia ital iaSi gamoyeneboda politikuri jgufis (Cveul ebriv, revolucioneri social istebis) aRsanisnavad. musol inamde am terminiT ar moixseniebdnen im naxevradsamxedro SeiaraRebul jgufes, roml ebic man Camoyal iba pirvel i msofil io omis msvl el obisas da misi

damTavrebis Semdeg, roca fascismo-m aSkarad ideol ogiuri mniSvnel oba SeiZina. miuxedavad amisa, al baT arc erTi pol itikuri termini ar gamoiyeneboda ise xSirad da araakuratul ad, rogorc "faSisti" da "faSizmi". maT, Cveul ebriv, damamcirebel i mniSvnel obiT iyeneben, zogj er ki – pol itikuri I anZRvis universal ur terminebadac. "faSisti" da "diqtatori", magal iTad, Cveul ebriv, urTierTCanacvl e-badi sityvebia iseTi adamanis mimarT, romel sac aqvs an gamoxatavs aratol erantol an aral iberall ur Sexedul e-bebs. Tumca, faSizmi ar unda gavaigivoT ubral o represiasTan. faSizmis Teoretikosebma ganicades garkveul i Teoriebisa da Rirebul ebebis zegavl ena da XX s-is 20-30-ian wl ebSi Camoyal ibebul ma faSisturma reJimebma pol itikuri mmarTvel obis axal i formebi Seqmnes.

Tu l iberall izmi, konservatorizmi da social izmi mecxramete saukunis ideol ogiebia, faSizmi meoce saukunis pirmSoa, SeiZl eba iTqvas – or msofl io oms Soris periodisa. sinamdvil eSi faSizmi gaCnda rogorc janyi Tanamedroveobis winaaRmdeg, ganmanaTI ebl obis ideaTa, Rirebul ebaTa da mis mier warmoqmnil i pol itikuri Sexedul ebebis winaaRmdeg.

### **f e m i n i z m i**

"feminizmi", rogorc pol itikuri termini, meoce saukunis gamogonebaa da is yovel dRiurad sasaubro enaSi mxol od 60-iani wl ebidan Semovida. (termini "feministi" pirvel ad gamoiyenes mecxramete saukuneSi mamakacTa feminizaciisa an qal Ta maskul inizaciis aRsaniSnavad). dRes feminizmi ucvl el ad ukavSirdeba qal Ta moZraobasa da qal Ta social uri rol is ganvitarebis mcdel obas. am kuTxiT mas or ZiriTad Sexedul ebasTan akavSireben: qal ebs sqesis gamo aqvT SezRudvebi; maTi mospoba SeiZl eba da isini unda moispos. am mimarTul ebiT feministebi yura-

dRebas amaxvil ebdnen imaze, rasac isini sqesTa Soris pol itikur urTierTobad miiCneven, kerZod, mamakacTa uzenaesobas, da qal Ta daqvemdebarebul mdgomareobaze yvel a sazogadoebaSi Tu ara, maT umetesobaSi mainc. amisda miuxedavad, feminizms axasiaTebS agreTve Sexedul ebebisa da pol itikuri poziciebis mraVal ferovneba.

### **fundamental izmi**

fundamental izmi aris azrovnebis yaida, romel ic garkveul principebs Zireul WeSmaritebebad miiCnevs. am ukanasknel Ta uryevi da udavo avtoriteti Seuval ia, maTi Sinaarsis miuxedavad. amitom fundamental izmis damoukidebel saxeobebs oden umniSvnel o msgavseba aqvT erTmaneTTan an saerTo araferi aqvT, garda maTi momxreebis miswrafebisa, gul modgined an mgznebareb amtkicon doqtrinis ueWvel oba. fundamental izmi, Cveul ebriv, asocirdeba rel igiasa da sakral uri teqstebis sityvasityviT WeSmaritebasTan, magram is SeiZl eba, agreTve, gamovl indes pol itikur msofl mxedvel obebSic. TviT l liberal ur skepticismSic SeiniSneba fundamental isturi Sexedul eba imis Sesaxeb, rom SeiZl eba daeWveba yvel a TeoriaSi (sakuTari Teoriis garda). es termini xSirad gamoiyeneba dacinvis mizniT da miuTitebs sixisteze, dogmatizmsa da avtoritarizmze, magram zogjer principisadmi erTgul ebasa da Tavdadebasac aRniSnavs.

**isl amuri fundamental izmi.** iran is istoriis ganmavli obaSi Tavs iCenda konfliqti rel igiasa da pol itikas Soris; musul imanTa zogierTi l ideri xSirad ararel igiurimiznebiT xel mZRvanel obda da moqnil ad iyenebda isl amis principebs pol itikuri cxovrebis mimarT; meore mxriv, fundamental istebi mkacrad misdevdnen winaswarmetyvel is cxovrebis yaidasa da principebs. fundamental izmi isl amSi ar gul isxmobs yuranis ucil obel i WeSmaritebis

rwmenas; amaSi eWvi ar epareba arc erT musl imans (amitom, SeiZl eba iTqvas, yvel a musl imani fundamental istia). isl - amuri fundamental izmi niSnavs Zl ier da saomari sul iskveT-ebiT gamsWval ul rwmenas imisa, rom isl amis postul atebi warmoadgens social uri cxovrevisa da pol itikis, agreTve - moral is ZiriTad principebs. isl amur fundamental - istebs surT ganamtkicon rel igiis primati pol itikaze. praqtikul ad es niSnavs "isl amuri saxel mwifos", anu im-gvari Teokratiis daarsebas, romel sac marTavs sasul ier-ro, da ara saero xel isufi eba SariaTis RvTaebrivi kano-nis (e.i. yuranSi Camoyal ibebul i principebis) mixedviT. SariaTi warmoadgens eTikuri da samarTi ebrivi normebis kodeqss, maT Soris - sasjel Ta sistemas danaSaul Ta umravl esobisatvis, iseve, rogorc mamakacTa da qal Ta pi-radi qcevis wesebs.

**Siituri fundamental izmi.** irani pol itikuri isl amis aRorZinebis simbol od iqca, xol o fundamental isturi daj gufebebi iseT qveynebsi, rogorcaa l ibani, pakistani, avRaneTi da gaerTianebul i samefo, irans sul ier da pol i-tikur l iderad miCneven. iranis mosaxl eobis umravl e-soba SiitTa seqtis wevrebis (esaa ufro mcirericxovani seqta ori isl amuri seqtidan).

**qristianul i fundamental izmi.** qristianul i sarw-munoeba, romel sac ori mil iardi aRmsarebel i hyavs, msofl-lioSi yvel aze masStaburi rel igiaa. is warmoiSva pal es-tinaSi da gavrcel da j er romis imperiaSi, Semdeg ki - evropasi, xol o mogvianebiT evropul axal mosaxl eTa wy-al obiT, eqsportirebul iqna amerikasa da msofl ios sxva kuTxeebSi. axal i qveynebis dapyrobisa da misionerTa mcde-l obebis miuxedavad, 1900 wl isaTvis msofl ios qristian-Ta daaxl oebiT 83 procentis j er kidev dasavl eTis mkvidrni Seadgendnen. meoce saukuneSi qristianul i sarwmunoebis aRmsarebel Ta raodenoba dasavl eTSi (gansakuTrebiT evro-

paSi) Sencirda, magram maTma saerTo raodenobam mkveTrad imata ganviTarebad msofl ioSi. es niSnavs, rom qristianTa umravl esoba amJamad afrikaSi, aziasa da l aTinur amerikaSi cxovrobs.

**qristianoba** iudaizmis fargl ebSi Camoyal ibda. qristianobis mimdevrebs swamT, rom ieso iyo Zvel aRTqmaSi nawinaswarmetyvel ebi mesia, xol o misi cxovreba da qadagebebi axal aRTqmaSia gadmocemul i. yvel a qristiani aRiarebs bibl iis avtoritets, magram qristianoba danawevrebul ia kaTol ikur, marTI madidebl ur da protestantul ekl esiebad. romaul i kaTol icizmis safuZvel ia romis papis saero da sasul iero xel isufl eba, romel ic emyareba doqtrinas papis Seucdoml obis Sesaxeb. aRmosavl uri marTI madidebl uri qristianoba warmoiSva romis ekl esis ganxeTqil ebis Sedegad, 1054 wel s, da danawevrda mraval avtonomiur ekl esiad. maTgan yvel aze mniSvnel ovania ruseTis marTI madidebl uri ekl esia da saberZneTis marTI madidebl uri ekl esia. protestantizmi mraval gvar mimdinareobas moicavs. meTeqvsmete saukuneSi, reformaciis dros, maT ugul ebel yves romis avtoriteti da Camoayal ibes qristianobis reformirebul i erovnul i saxeobebi. yvel aze gavl eniani protestantul i mimdinareobebi iyo l uTeranizmi SvedeTSi da, nawil obriv, germaniaSi, kal vinizmi – Jenevasa da Sotl andiaSi, bol os – angl ikanizmi ingl isSi. protestantizmis mimarTul ebebs, konceptual uri gansxvavebebis miuxedavad, aertianebs bibl iis, rogorc WeSmaritebis erTaderTi wyaros, aRiareba da rwmena imisa, rom adaminebs RmerTTan uSual o urTierTobis damyareba Zal uZT.

reformaciis Semdgom qristianobis pol itikuri mniSvnel oba mniSvnel ovanwil ad Sesustda. l iberall uri konstitucional izmis progresma nawil obrivi asaxva hpova ekl esiisa da saxel mwifos urTierTgamij vnasa da pol itikuri cxovrebis radikal ur sekul arizaciaSi. qristiano-

ba (yovel SemTxvevaSi, ganviTarebul dasavl eTSi) Seewyo am viTarebas, radgan TandaTan iqca personal ur rel igiad da ukavSirdeba ufro pirovnebis sul ier xsnas, vidre – sazogadoebis moral ursa da pol itikur regeneracias. aman, Tavis mxriv, meoce saukunis dasasrul s xel i Seuwyo qristianul i fundamental izmis Tvisebriv Camoyal ibebas. fundamental istebi, roml ebic myar social ur, ekonomikursa da pol itikur struqturabs upirispirdobnen da Sesisxl xorcebul i hqondaT sekularul i faseul obebi da miznebi, ZiriTadad pl ural istur da konstituciur CarCoebSi muSaobiT kmayofil debodnen. isini nakl ebad eswrafodnen Teokratiis damyarebas da, Cveul ebriv, cal keul sakiTxebTan dakavSirebul kampaniebs atarebdnen an moral is siwmindisaTvis ibrZodnen.

### **hol izmi**

termini “hol izmi” 1926 wel s Seqmna ian smutsma, burma general ma da samxreT afrikis orgzis premier-ministrma. igi am termins iyenebda im ideis gamosaxatad, roml is mixedvit, bunebrivi samyaro SeiZl eba gagebul iqnas mxol od rogorc mTI ianoba da ara misi cal keul i nawil ebis meSveobiT. smutss sj eroda, rom mecniereba reduqcionizmis codvas Cadis: is awvril manebs yvel afers, rasac swavl obs cal keul nawil ebad da cdil obs TiToeul i nawil is cal ke gagebas. amis sapirispirod, hol izmi dafuZnebul ia rwmenaze, rom “mTI ianoba” ufro mniSvnel ovania, vidre cal keul i “nawil ebi”; faqtobrivad, is amtkicebs, rom TiToeul nawil s mxol od sxva nawil ebTan da, sabol ood, mTI ianobasTan mimarTebiT aqvs mniSvnel oba. magal iTad, medicinaSi daavadeba tradiciul ad aRiqmeboda, rogorc sxel Si konkretul i organos an sul ac konkretul i uj redebis defeqti da ara rogorc pacientis sicocxl is, rogorc mTel is, bal ansis darRveva. aqedan

gamondinare, yuradReba eTmoboda fizikuri simptomebis gankurnebas, maSin rodesac fsiqol ogiuri, social uri da ekol ogiuri faqtorebi, rogorc wesi, ignorebul i iyo.

## I eqsikoni

### a

**absolutizmi** – mmarTvel obis saxeoba, romel Sic politikuri Zal aufl eba koncentrirebul ia konkretul i pirovnebis an mcire j gufis, kerZod, absoluturi monarqis xel Si. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**agresia** – saerTasoris samarTl is Tval sazrisiT erTisaxel mwifos mier meoris winaaRmdeg Zal is ukanono gamoyeneba teritoriis dapyrobis, politikuri wyobil ebis Secvl is, damoukidebl obis likvidaciis da a.S. mizniT.

**adamianis ufl ebebi** – ufl ebebi, roml iTac adamianebi sargebl oben adamianebad yofnis gamo; universal uri da fundamenturi ufl ebebi. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**adamianuri buneba** – yvel a adamianis Zireul i da Sinagani niSan-Tviseba, riTac isini daval ebul ni arian bunebis da ara sazogadoebis winaSe. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**aerokratia** – berZ. “Zal aufl eba haeris meoxebiT”. strategiis Zal ismieri komponenti, romel ic dafuznebul ia sahaero sivrcis aTvisebasa da mis gamoyenebaze geopolitikuri eqspansiisaTvis.

**avtarqia** – qveynis sameurneo izol irebis, Caketil i da TviTuzrunvel yofadi ekonomikuri sistemis Seqmnis politika.

**avtokratia** – TviTmprobela oba, erTmmarTvel oba.

**avtonomia** – TviTmmarTvel oba, ama Tu im saxel mwifos nawil is saSinao sakiTxebis damoukidebl ad mogvarebis ufl eba.

**avtonomia** – sityvasityiT, TviTmmarTvel oba; sakuTari bedis kontrol is unari gareSe gavl enaTagan damoukidebl obis pirobebSi. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**avtoritarizmi** – politikuri sistemis, mmarTvel obis forma, rodesac umaRl esi xel isufl eba yovel gvარი იურიდიული pasuxismgebl obis gareSe Tavmoyril ia erTmmarTvel is an xuntis xel Si.

**avtoritarizmi** – rwmena, rom mkacri central uri xel isufl eba, romel ic zemodanaa dawesebul i, sasurvel i an aucil ebel ia da, aqedan gamomdinare, upirobo morCil ebas saWiroebs.

*avtoritarizmi aris “zemodan” marTvis rwmena an iseTi mmarTvel obis gatareba, roml is drosac xorciel deba Zal aufl eba xal xze misi TanxmobiT an misi nebis winaaRmdog. amdenad, avtoritarizmis cneba Zal aufl ebis cnebisagan gansxvavdeba. es ukanasknel i I egitimurobas efuzneba da, am gagebiT, “qvevidan” modis. avtoritari moazrovneni, rogorc wesi, sakuTar Sexedul ebebs an warmatebul I iderTa sibrZnis rwmenaze ageben an im ideal ze, rom social uri wesrigis miRwevis erTaderTi piroba usityvo morCil ebaa. Tumca, Cveul ebriv, avtoritarizms total itarizmisgan ganarCeven. “zemodan” marTvis tradicia, romel ic monarqiul absol utizmTan, tradiciul diqtaturebsa da TiTqmis yvel a formis samxedro mmarTvel obasTan asociardeba,*

*opoziciisa da pol itikuri Tavisufl ebis daTrgunvas ufro gul isxmobs, vidre saxel mwifosa da samoqal aqo sazoga-doebas Soris gansxvavebis waSI is ufro radikal ur mi-zans. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**avtoriteti** (I aT. autoritas – Rirseba, Zal a, Zal aufl e-ba) – sayovel Taod aRiarebul i mniSvnel oba, gavl ena, r-iTac sargebl obs r-me piri, Sexedul ebaTa sistema an organizacia garkveul RirsebaTa, damsaxurebaTa gamo. gav-l enis sferosa da xasiaTisagan gamomdinare, asxvaveben pol itikur, moral ur, mecnierul da a.S. avtoritets. fil os. I eqs. 1987.

**avtoriteti** – Semqmnel i, iniciatori – mniSvnel oba an gavl ena, romel ic SeiZI eba hqondes pirovnebas, agreTve sagnebs da romel ic ar saWiroebs am mniSvnel obis mudmiv dadasturebas, saqmiT mis damtkicebas.

**al ternativa** (I aT. alternus - monacvl eobiTi) – ori an ramdenime urTierTgamomricxavi SesaZI ebl obidan erTis arCevis aucil ebl oba. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**al ternativa** – arCeva or SesaZI ebel s Soris, rac ganpirobebul ia aucil ebl obiT – gadawyvito oridan erT-erTi.

**al truizmi** (I aT. alter - sxva) – zneobrivi principi, romel ic niSnavs sxva adaminebisadmi uangaro samsaxurs, mzadyofnas maTi keTil dReobisaTvis piradi interesebis Sesawirad; upirispirdeba egoizms. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**al truizmi** – zrunva sxvebis interesTa da keTil dRe-obis gamo, rac efuzneba an ganmanaTI ebl ur pirad dain-

teresebas, an, zogadad, humanurobis rwmenas. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**amoral izmi** (berZ. a - uary. naw. da l aT. moralis - zneobrivi), anu imoral izmi, – yovel gvari moral is uary-ofa, Segnebul i uaris Tqma zneobis kanonebze, "keTil isa da borotis miRma" dadgomisaken miswrafeba (nicSe). fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**amoral izmi** – gul gril oba zneobis moTxovnebisadmi, uzneoba.

**anakondas strategia** – atl antizmis geopol itikuri xazi, romel ic miiswrafis evraziis geopol itikuri eqs-pansiis Sekavebis mizniT, CamoaSoros mas sanapiro teritoriebis maqsimal uri odenoba.

**anarqia** – sityvasityviT, mmarTvel obis (wesis) gareSe; sityva "anarqia" xSirad kninobiTi mniSvnel obiT ixmareba arastabil urobis an sul ac qaosis aRsaniSnavad. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**anarqizm-i** – pol itikuri mimdinareoba, romel ic uary-ofs saxel mwifos wyobil ebas, marTvas da organizebul pol itikur brZol as.

*sityva "anarqia" berZnul i sityvidan momdinareobs da sityvasityviT niSnavs "wesis gareSe". termini "anarqizmi" safrangeTis revol uciis droidan Semovida xmarebaSi. igi Tavdapirvel ad kritikul i an negatiuri mniSvnel obiT – civil izebul i an kanonzomieri wesrigis rRvevis gamosax-atad gamoiyeneboda. praqtikul ad, mocemul termins dResac xSirad iyeneben damakninebel i mniSvnel obiT. Cveul ebriv, yovel dRiur saubarSi, "anarqias" qaossa da uwesrigobas*

*ukavSireben da arcTu iSviaTad sazogadoebriv warmodge-  
naSi anarqistebi "bombis matarebel i" teroristebia.  
("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**aneqisia** – erTi saxel mwifos mier meoris kuTvnil i  
teritoriis dapyroba, Zal is gamoyenebiT mierTeba, rac  
saerTaSoriso samarTi is normebis uxeSi darRvevaa.

**anomia** – Rirebul ebaTa da normatiul i wesebis dasus-  
teba, rac izol irebul obis, martoobisa da umniSvel obis  
grZnobebS ukavSirdeba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e.  
heivudi).

**antisemitizmi** – erovnul i da rel igiuri SuRI is nair-  
saxeoba, mimarTul i ebrael Ta iuridiul i da social uri  
diskriminaciisaken, Cagvrisaken.

**antisemitizmi** – ebrael Ta mimarT mikerZoebul i azri  
an siZul vil i; antisemitizma SeiZl eba miiRos rel igiuri,  
ekonomikuri an rasobrivi forma.

*antisemitizmi – tradiciis mixedviT, semitebi noes va-  
Jis, semis STamomavl ebi arian da moicaven Sua aRmosavl e-  
Tis xal xebis umetesobas. antisemitizmi gul isxmobs cru-  
rwmenebs an siZul vil s ebrael ebis mimarT. Tavisi adreu-  
l i sistematizebul i formiT, antisemitizms rel igiuri  
xasiaTi hqonda da asaxavda qristianebis mtrul damok-  
idebul ebas ebrael ebis mimarT, am ukanasknel Ta qristes  
sikvdil Si Tanamonawil eobisa da misi RvTis Svil ad  
araRiarebis gamo. ekonomikuri antisemitizmi Sua saukune-  
bidan ganviTarda da gamoxatavda zizRs ebrael is rogorc  
mevaxSeebisa da vaWrebis mimarT. mecxramete saukuneSi  
rasobrivi antisemitizmi warmoiSva vagnerisa da h.s. Cem-  
berl enis naSromebsi, roml ebic ebrael xal xebS fundamen-*

*turad borotad da destruqciul ad miicnevden. aseTi ideebi germanul i nacizmis ideol ogiuri safuZvel i gaxda da yvel aze groteskul i gamoxatul eba hol okostSi hpo-va. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**anTropomorfizmi** – aris adamianis Tvisebebis, cxovre-bis wesis gadatana araadamianur nivTebze, cxovel ebze, bunebisa da RmerTis cnebase.

**aparteidi** – rasistul i pol itika, roml is mizania TeTrkaniani, feradkaniani da Savkaniani mosaxl eobis pol itikuri, ekonomikuri, social uri da geografiul i gan-cal keveba.

**apaTia** – gul gril oba, normal ur pirobebSi gamofitvis an sul ieri daRI il obis Sedegi, romel ic xSirad dakav-Sirebul ia qveynis mZime mdgomareobasTanac.

**araZal adoba** – pol itika, roml is drosac opozicia uars ambobs Zal ismier meTodebze da samoqmedo principi pad aRiarebs brZol is mxol od mSvidobiani forme-bisa da me-Todebis gamoyenebas.

**argumenti** – dasabuTebis safuZvel i, dasabuTebis is nawil i, romel sac emyareba misi sicxade.

**areopagi** (Areopagus – l aTin.) \_ umaRI esi sasamarT-l o Zv. aTenSi, (CanasaxSi \_ uxucesTa sabWo), romel ic ikribeboda akropol isis axl os, aresis borcvze.

**areopagebi** \_ Zv.w. VIII saukunidan areopagis wevrebi samudamod iniSnebodnen yofil i arqontebisagan. mmarTvel obis garkveul periodSi areopagi akontrol ebda saxal xo krebis

saqmianobas da sargebl obda vetos ufl ebiT. miuxedavad amisa, misi mTavari funqcia iyo sisxl is samarTI is marTI msaj ul eba.

**aresi** (Ares - berZnul i), romaui i marsi (Mars – I aT.) qarTul i saxel wodeba marixi. ol impos mbrZanebl is, zev-sisa da misi meuRI is heras Svil i. avi, sisixl iT gaumaZRari omis RmerTi, romel ic Tavdapirvel ad qariSxl isa da Weqa-quxil is RmerTad moiazreboda berZnul garemoSi, roml is saxel ic TandaTan usasrul o omebsa da ngrevis mbrZanebl ad Camoyal ibda. igi aseve iyo qvesknel is RvTaeba. keTil - dReobisa da sikvdil is mimniWebel i, gul qva, daundobel i, Smagi, mZvinvare, cval ebadi, ommowyurebul i, sisxl moyvare \_ aseTad "axsovT" adamianebs RvTaeba aresi.

aresis saxes kargad icnobs kol xuri miTol ogia, kerZod aresis Wal aa is adgil i, sadac oqros sawmisi ekida da romel sac uborotesi drakoni icavda. aresis taZris adgil samyofel i berZeni mwerl is pavzaniis cnobiT saberZneTidan kol xeTSi gadmoutaniaT.

**arqonti** (aerchon - berZnul i) \_ ufrosi, mmarTvel i, umaRI esi Tanamdebobis piri aTenSi, aseve sxva el inur saxel mwifoebSi.

maT ufl ebamosil eba Tavdapirvel ad uvadod eZl eodaT, xol o SemdgomSi igi Seicval a da ganisazRvra 10 wl iT, xol o ufro mogvianebiT ki mxol od 1 wl iT. arqonti irCeoda Rirseul evpatridTa wridan areopagis wardginebiT. amave dros arqonti ufl ebamosil ebis gasvl is Semdeg gardacval ebande areopagis ucvl el wevrad rCeoda.

**asimilacia** – (bunebrivi da Zal datanebiTi) - erTi xal xis meoresTan Sereva enis, Cvevebis da sxv. SeTvisebiT da sakuTari enis, kul turis da erovnul i cnobierebisa da TviTSegnebis dakargviT.

**asociacia** – sazogadoebrivi gaerTianebea.

**atl antizmi** – (enaTesaveba terminebs: wyal i, zRva, Tal asokratia) – rTul i geopolitikuri cneba. Tavis TavSi moicavs: istoriul ad – kacobriobis civil izaciis dasavl ur seqtors, strategiul ad – dasavl uri qveynebis kavSirs, romel Sic Warbobs liberal ur-demokratiul i ideologia, samxedro-strategiul ad – “nato”-s wevr qveynebs; social urad – “savaWro wyobasa” da “sabazro faseul obebze” orientacias (aSS-is model i) evraziul obis sawinaaRmdego.

**atomizmi** – rwmena, rom sazogadoeba warmoadgens angarebiani da didwil ad TviTkari pirovnebebis, an atomebis, da ara social uri jgufebis, erTobl iobas. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**axal i memarj veneoba** – farTo cnebis amsaxveli terminia. am terminiT aRniSnaven ideebs, dawyebul i gadasaxadebis Sencirebis moTxovnidan da damTavrebul i tel eviziebsa da fil mebbe cenzuris gazrdis mowodebebiT; garda amisa, imigraciis sawinaaRmdego Tu repatriaciis mxardamWer kampaniebsac ki. arsobrivad axal i memarj veneoba ori aSkarad kontrastul i ideologiyi tradiciis Sejvarebaa. amaTgan pirveli kl asikuri liberal uri ekonomikaa. am mimarTul ebas liberal ur axal memarj veneobas, anu neol liberal izms uwodeben. meore el ementi axal memarj veneobaSi aris tradiciul i konservatiul i social uri Teoria. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

## b

**batonoba** – adamianebis moqmedebaTa warmarTva: “batonoba moaswavebs imis SesaZl ebl obas, rom aiZul on pirovnebani, roml ebsac ubrZaneben, daemorCil on brZanebas” (maqs vebri).

**bunebis saxel mwifo** (state of nature) – winarepol itikuri sazogadoeba, romel ic xasiaTdeba SeuZRudavi Tavisufl ebiTa da dadgenil i xel isufl ebs ararsebobiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

bunebrivi aristokratia - idea, roml is mixedviT, niWi da l ideroba Tandayol il i anu STamomavl obiT miRebul i Tvissebia, romel Ta miReba SeuZl ebel ia Zal isxmevis an TviTganviTarebis meSveobiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**bunebrivi ufl ebebi** – RvTivmimadl ebul i ufl ebebi, roml ebc fundamenturia adamianisaTvis da amis gamo ganuy-ofel ia (maTi warTmeva SeuZl ebel ia). (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**burJuaziul i ideol ogia** – marqsistul i termini; aRniSnavs ideebsa da Teoriebs, roml ebc burJuaziis interesebs emsaxureba kapital isturi sazogadoebis winaarm-degobaTa SeniRbvis meSveobiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**burJuazia** – marqsistul i termini, romel ic aRniSnavs kapital isturi sazogadoebis mmarTvel kl ass, sawarmoo simdidris mfl obel T. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**benil uqsis qveynebi** – 1944 wels LondonSi dadebuli xel Sekrulebis safuzvel ze Seqmnili ekonomikuri kavSiri bel gias, niderl andebsa da l uqsemburgs Soris.

**bipolaruli msofli** – (anuaruli) – bunebrivi geopolitikuri konstrukcia, romelic msofli masStabSi asaxavs Ziritad geopolitikur dualizms – Tal asokratia Tel uokratiis winaarmdeg.

**bluki** – ramodenime saxel mwifos gaertianeba, romelic mnisvnelovnad cvlis maT strategiul da geopolitikur Tvisebas da gahyavs isini msofli moRvaveobis ufro maral safexurze.

**budizmi** – erterti msofli religia, romelic Zv.w. 560-440 ww. warmoisva indoeTSi da romel sac qadagebda buda (“natel mxil veli”) gautama.

**buferuli saxel mwifo** – strategiuli mdebareobis mqone mcire saxel mwifo, romelic mdebareobs or moqispe did saxel mwifos Soris.

## g

**ganmanaTl ebl oba** – intel eqtualuri moZraoba, romel mac ganvitarebis mwverval s metvramete saukunesi miarwia da gonebisa da progresis saxel iT daupirispirda tradiciul religiur, politikursa da saganmanaTl ebl o Sexedul ebebs. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**gaucxoeba** – vinmes gamijnul oba sakuTari jeSmariti an arsebiti bunebisgan; iyenebdnen marqsistebi im processis arSawerad, romel is drosac kapital izmis zegavl enis

gamo Sroma ubral o saqonl amdea damdabl ebul i da deper-sonal izebul aqtivobad ufro iqceva, vidre – Semoqmedeb-iTad da kmayofil ebis momgvrel ad. (“pol itikuri ideol -ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**genderi** – social uri da kul turul i gansxvaveba mam-robiTi da mdedrobiTi sqesis warmomadgenl ebs Soris, rac sapirapiroa sqesisa, romel ic asaxavs biol ogiur da, amdenad, aucil ebel gansxvavebas mamakacebsa da qal ebs Soris. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**genocidi** – mosaxl eobis cal keul i (an eTnikuri) j gufe-bis gaJl eta rasobrivi da erovnul i (rel igiuri) mo-tivebiT, umZimesi danaSaul ia kacobriobis winaSe.

**geoekonomika** – atl anturi geopol itikis ganStoeba. sivrces ganixil avs util itarul ekonomikuri Tval -sazrisiT.

**geopol itika** – aris xel isufl ebis msofl mxedvel oba, mecniereba xel isufl ebis Sesaxeb da xel isufl ebisaTvis, mecniereba marTvis Sesaxeb (a. dugini).

**geopol itikuri dual izmi** – geopol itikis ZiriTa-di principi, romel ic istoriul i procesis mamozravebel Zal ad sazRvao (Tal asokratiisa) da saxmel eTo (Te-l uokratiis) mmarTvel obis winaaRmdegobas ganixil avs.

**geostrategia** – geopol itikuri anal izis samxedro aspeqtebi.

**geopol itikuri mudmiva** – geopol itikuri real oba, romel ic mudmivad arsebobs da ar aris damokidebul i

saxel mwifoTa, eTnosTa da a.S. vinaobasa da maT pol itikur da sxva Sexedul ebebze, radgan ganpirobetul ia geopolitikuri (stiqiebis, kontinentebis da a.S.) da arasazogadoebriv-politikuri dapirispirebiT.

**gl obal izacia** – urTierTdakavSirebul obis rTuli qseli, romlis meSveobiTac cxovrebas sul ufro metad gansazRvravs Sors miRebuli gadawyvetil ebebi an momxdari movlenebi; gl obal izacia er-saxel mwifoTa mzard SeRwevadobas (gamtarobas) asaxavs.

*gl obal izacia arasaimedo da arapirdapiri cnebaa. misi mTavari Tema "usazRvrebo msoflios" warmoSobaa; es tendencia gul isxmobs, rom tradiciuli politikuri sazRvrebis, romlebic erovnul da saxel mwifoebriv sazRvrebs emTxveva, amJamad SeRwevadi xdeba. amdenad, gl obal izacia saxes ucveli social ur sivrces: is teritoriuli sakiTxebis naklebi mniSvnelobas aniWebs, radgan mudmivad gafarToebad kavSirebs "msoflios momcveli" (trans-world) an "sazRvrebis gadamli axavi" buneba gaaCnia. ("politikuri ideologiebi", e. heivudi).*

**gl obal izmi** – ideologiebi pozicia, romelic mxars uWers gl obal izacias rogorc Tanamedrove sazogadoebis sasurvelsa da auridebel niSan-Tvisebas. ("politikuri ideologiebi", e. heivudi).

## d

**dasavli eTi** – Tal asokratiisa da atl antizmis sinonimi (ganvitarebuli qveynebi).

**de iure** – iuridiuli ad, formal urad, samarTi ebrivad.

**demokratia** – xal xis xel isufli eba (mmarTvel oba), mmarTvel obis forma, principi.

**demokratia** – xal xis mmarTvel oba; demokratia gul isx-mobs rogorc xal xis monawil eobas, ise mTavrobis dgomas sazogado interesis samsaxurSi, rac SeiZl eba mraVal g-vari formiT ganviTardes.

*cneba "demokratia" Zvel saberZneTSi warmoiSva. es si-tyva, yvel a im sityvis msgavsad, romel Ta meore nawil s "kratia" Seadgens – avtokratia, aristokratia, biurokra-tia da a.S. – warmodgeba berZnul i sityvidan kratos, rac Zal aufl ebas an xel isufli ebas niSnavs. amgvarad, demokra-tia "demosis mmarTvel obas" warmoadgens, sadac demosi "xal xs" niSnavs, Tumca Tavdapirvel ad am sityvaSi "Raribebi" an "xal xis masa" igul isxmeboda. ("pol itikuri ideol o-giebi", e. heivudi).*

**demonopol izacia** – saxel mwifo an sxva monopol iis saSual ebis mospoba produqciis erTi mwarmoebli isaTvis, romel ic ukarnaxebis momxmarebel s Tavis pirobebs, fass.

**dempingi** – saqonl is gayidva sagareo bazarze saSinao bazris fasze iafad warmoebis stabil izirebis mizniT.

**deportacia** – saxel mwifodan gaZeveba, gandevna.

**depresia** – daTrgunul i sul ieri mdgomareoba (dadar-dianebe, sevdianoba, naRvl ianoba).

**despotizmi** – TviTmpyrobel uri xel isufli ebis forma, SeuzRudavi monarqia.

**de facto** – faqtiurad, sinamdvil eSi.

**dial ektika** – saubris gamarTvis xel ovneba – argumen-  
taciis xel ovneba.

**dial ektika** – ganviTarebis procesi, roml is drosac  
ori dapirispirebul i Zal is urTierTqmedebas avyavarT  
momdevno an ufro maRal safexurze; istoriul i cvl il eba,  
romel ic sazogadoebaSi arsebul i winaarmdogobebis Sede-  
gad warmoiSoba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**diaspora** – eris (xal xis, eTnikuri erTobis) mniS-  
vnel ovani nawil is yofna Tavisi qveynis fargl ebs gareT.

**dilema** – mtanj vel i mdgomareoba, romel Sic imyofeba  
is pirovneba, vinc unda gaakeTos an val debul ia gaakeTos  
arCevani or erTnairad arasasiamovno raimes Soris.

**diskursi** – adamianta urTierTqmedeba, kerZod, komuni-  
kacia; diskurss SeuZl ia axsnas an il ustrireba gaukeTos  
Zal aufl ebriv urTierTobebis. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”,  
e. heivudi).

**diqtatura** – cal keul i mmarTvel is, j gufis, kl asis  
SeuzRudavi xel isufl eba.

**doqtrina** – moZRvreba, mecnierul i an fil osofiuri  
Teoria, pol itikuri sistema, warmmarTvel i Teoriul i an  
pol itikuri principi.

e

**egal itarizmi** – Teoria an praqtika, romel ic efuZneba  
Tanasworobis damkvidrebis survil s; egal itarizms zogj er  
ganixil aven rogorc imis rwmenas, rom Tanasworoba uzen-

aes pol itikur Rirebul ebas warmoadgens. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**egoizmi** – zrunva sakuTar interesze an keTil dReobaze, TavkerZoba; an rwmena, rom yovel i individi sakuTari moral uri samyaros centria da, amdenad, mowodebul ia imoqmedos rogorc moral urad avtonomiurma arsebam. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**evol ucia** – progresi, evol ucionizmi msofl mxedvel oba, romel ic yvel afers ganixil avs TandaTanobiT ganviTarebis Tval sazrisiT.

**evrazia** – igivea rac kontinenti ("hartI andi") xmel eTi, miwa, Tel urokratia. ufro viwro gagebiT geopol itikur ruseTs aRniSnavs.

**evraziul oba** – rTul i geopol itikuri cneba. TavSi moicavs: istoriul ad – kacobriobis civil izaciis aRmosavl eT seqtors, strategiul ad – saxel mwifoebisa da erebis arsebul an SesaZl o bl oks, roml ebic ar cnoben l iberal ur-demokratiul i ideol ogiis imperativs, strategiul ad – samxedro al iansSi gaerTianebul aRmosavl eT, "Tel uokratiul i" qveynebis arsebul an SesaZl o bl oks; social urad – "ideokratiaze" orientacias, social ur saxel mwifos, arakapital istur ekonomikur wyobas.

**eTnikuri kuTvnil eba** (ethnicity) – konkretul i popul aciis, kul turul i jgufis an teritoriul i areal is erTgul ebis grZnoba; kavSirebi, roml ebic ufro kul turul ia, vidre rasobrivi. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**eTnikuri nacional izmi** – nacional izmis saxeoba, romel sac asazrdoebs, pirvel yovl isa, eTnikuri gansxvavebul obis mwvave SegrZneba da am gansxvavebul obis SenarCunebis survil i. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**ekonomiqsi** – sabazro ekonomikis ganviTarebis Teoria da praqtikul i daskvnebi.

**el itizmi** – el itis an umciresobis mmarTvel obis rwmena; el itis mmarTvel oba SeiZl eba miCneul iqnas sasurvel ad – el ita aRmatebul i tal antebisa da unarebis matarebelia – an gardauvl ad im SemTxvevaSi, roca iseTi egal itarul i ideebi, rogoricaa demokratia da social izmi, ubral od arapraqtikul ad aris miCneul i. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**embargo** – konkretul i qveynis winaaRmddeg mimarTul i aqti – oqros, saqonl is, iaraRis, fasiani qaRal debis eqspor-tis da importis akrZal va.

**enTuziazmi** – aRfrTovaneba, mgznebare gataceba ideiT, ideal iT, sul ieri aRmavl oba.

**erTpol arul i msofi io** – sabWoTa kavSiris “civ omSi” damarcxebis Semdeg Camoyal ibebul i geopol itikuri model i. erTaderT gabatonebul pol uss warmoadgens atl antizmi da aSS.

**erebebi** (berZn. hairexis – gansakuTrebul i sarwmunoeba) – raime rel igiis oficial uri sarwmunoebidan sxvadasxva gadaxra, opoziciuri an mtrul i fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**eri** – “eri aris adamanTa istoriul ad Camoyal ibebu-  
l i myari erToba, warmoSobil i enis, teritoriis, ekonomikuri  
cxovrebiSa da im fsiqikuri wyobis erTobis bazaze, rom-  
l is gamoxatul ebaa kul turis erToba” (i. stal ini).

“eri aris erTi social uri super-organizmi, anu hi per-  
organizmi, Semdgari erTgvari anu mraVal gvari eTnikuri  
da social uri masal isagan, romel sac SeuZl ia JamTa viTa-  
rebaSi Seqmnas erTi garegnul ad mowesrigebul i saerTo  
cxovreba Tavis Semadgenel i erTeul iTa, erTi sazogadoe-  
ba yvel a Tavis organoebiTa: eniTa, sarwmunoebiTa, mecnie-  
rebiTa, zneobiTa, xel ovnebiTa, samarTI iTa da pol itikiTa,  
- sazogadoeba gansakuTrebul i istoriiTa, tipiTa da TviT-  
SegnebiTa, sul is individual obiTa” (mixako wereTel i).

*eri – erTobl ioba adaminebisa, roml ebic erTmanETan  
dakavSirebul ni arian saziaro Rirebul ebebiTa da tradicie-  
biT, saerTo eniT, rel igiiTa da istoriiT da, Cveul ebriv,  
erTsa da imave geografiul areal Si saxl oben. (“pol i-  
tikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**eri-saxel mwifo** (nation-state) – suverenul i pol itikuri  
gaerTianeba, romel Sic moqal aqeoba da erovneba urTierTs  
faravs; erTi eri erT saxel mwifoSi. (“pol itikuri ide-  
ol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**eqsperimenti** – gegmazomierad Catarebul i dakvirveba.

## V

**verifikacia** – dasabuTeBa, dadastureba cdiT an  
l ogikuri dasabuTeBiT.

**veto** – sxvadasxva qveynis warmomadgenel Tagan Semd-  
gari kol egiuri organos erT-erTi wevris gancxadeba

(xmis micemis procesSi) imis Taobaze, rom igi winaaRmdegia umravl esobis gadawyvetil ebisa.

**vizual uri** – ubral o Tval iT danaxul i.

**vital izmi** – Teoria, roml is mixedviTac, cocxal i organizmebi Taviant damaxasiaTebel niSan-Tvisebebs universal uri "sasicocxl o Zal isgan" iReben; vital izmi ufro instinqtsa da impul sze amaxvil ebs yuradRebas, vidre intel eqtsa da gonebaze. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

## Z

**zavi** – meomar mxareebs Soris saomar moqmedebaTa Sewvetis Taobaze miRebul i Tanxmoba.

**zRva** – igivea, rac Tal asokratia, wyal i.

## T

**Tavisufl eba** – SesaZl ebl oba, ifiqro an imoqmedo sakutari survil is mixedviT, unari, romel ic SeiZl eba dakavSirebul i iyos individTan, social ur j gufTan an erTan. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**Tal asokratia** – berZ. "Zal aufl eba zRvis meoxebiT" an "sazRvao Zl evamosil eba". ganviTarebul i sazRvao saxel m-wifoebis daxasiaTeba.

**Tanasworoba** – principi, roml is mixedviTac, adami nebs Tanabari Rirebul eba aqvT, an Tanabari mopyrobis Rirsni arian; Tanasworobis mraval gvari gageba arsebobs. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**Taoba** – cal ke rgol i modgmis gagrZel ebis j aWvSi, daaxl oebiT erTi asakis adamanTa erTobl ioba, roml ebic miekuTvnebian romel ime xal xs an kul turul wres. aseTi Taobis saqmianobis xangrZl ivoba 30 wel ia.

**Teizm-i** – RmerTis rwmena.

**Tel urokratia** – berZ. “Zal aufl eba miwis Sesaxeb” an “saxmel eTo Zl evamosil eba”. aSkara saxmel eTo geopolitikuri orientaciis mqone saxel mwifoebis daxasiaTeba.

**Tem** – organul ad dakavSirebul i adaminebis arsebo-bis bunebrivi forma. sazogadoebis (romel Sic organul i kavSirebis nacvl ad, mZl avroben individebis Soris formal izebul xel Sekrul ebaTa normativebi) cnebis sawinaaRmdego. Temi tradiciebiT regul irdeba.

**Teokratia** – mmarTvel obis forma, roca saxel mwifo meTauri (rogorc wesi - monarqi) erTdroul ad umaRl esi rel igiuri piric aris.

**Teokratia** – sityvasityviT, RvTis mmarTvel oba; principi, romel ic gul isxmobs, rom rel igiuri xel isufl eba unda preval irebdes pol itikurze, Cveul ebriv, saxel mwifoze ekl esiis batonobis meSveobiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Teologia** – RvTismetyvel eba, moZRvreba RmerTis Sesaxeb.

**TetCerizmi** – Tavisufal i bazris/Zl ieri saxel mwifos ideol ogiuri pozicia, romel ic margaret TetCers ukavSirdeba; axal i memarj vene pol itikuri proeqtis britanul i (gaerTianebul i samefos) versia. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**TviTaqtual izacia** – personal uri srul yofa (potenciuri SesaZl ebl obebis real izacia), rac grZnobierebis daxvewiT miRweva; TviTaqtual izacia, Cveul ebriv, dakavSirebul ia egoizmisa da material izmis gadal axvasTan. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Turani** – evraziul i kontinentis Crdil o-aRmosavl e-Ti mxareebi, evraziis stepuri sivrceebi.

## i

**idea** (berZn. idea – sityvasityiT: “is, rac Cans”, saxe) – fil osofiuri termini, “sazrasis”, “mniSvnel obis”, “arsebis” aRmniSvnel i. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**ideal -i** (berZ. idea – saxe, xati, warmodgena, cneba) – 1. sazogadoebrivi – warmodgena yvel aze srul yofil sazogadoebriv wyobil ebaze, r-ic Seesatyviseba r-ime social uri jgufis ekonomikur da pol itikur interesebs da r-ic warmoadgens misi miswrafebebis da moRvaweobis sabol oo mizans. 2. zneobrivi – warmodgenebi zneobrivi srul yofaze, upiratesad gamoxatul i pirovnebis saxiT, r-ic atarebs iseT moral ur Tvisebebs, r-ebic SeiZl eba miCneul iqnes umaRl es moral ur nimuSebad. 3. esTetikuri – istoriul ad subieqtisa da obieqtis, adamanisa da sazogadoebrivi mTel is (agretve bunebis) yvel aze srul i harmoniul i erTianoba, rac gamoixateba adamanis SemoqmedebiT Zal Ta Tavisufal da universal ur ganvitarebaSi rogorc TviTmizanSi. esTetikuri ideal i rogorc Semoqmedebis safuZvel i moRvaweobis yovel dargSi amave dros gvevl ineba rogorc mSvenieris kriteriumi cxovrebas da xel ovnebaSi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**ideal i** – nimuSi, didi mniSvnel obis mqone pirvel saxe, zneobrivi nimuSi, srul qmnil ebis, umaRI esi miznis cneba.

**ideal izmi** – pol itikuri xedva, romel ic xazs usvams moral urobisa da ideal ebis mniSvnel obas; fil osofiuri Tval sazrisiT, ideal izmi SeiZl eba gul isxmobdes, rom ideebi ufro “real uria”, vidre material uri samyaro. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**ideafiqsi** – fesvgadgmul i mcdari warmodgena, romel - sac verafriT ver gamoasworeb da verc moicil eb.

**identifikacia** (l aT. identificare - gaigiveba) – garkveul i niSnebis safuZvel ze gansxvavebul obieqtTa igiveobis dadgena. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**ideokratia** – berZ. “ideis, ideal ebis Zal aufl eba”. sapirispiroa “materiis Zal aufl ebis”, “sabazro sistemis”, “savaWro wyobis” cnebebisa. am dros sazogadoebis ierarqia da Sromis stimula acia araekonomikuri principidan gamomdinareobs.

**ideol ogia** – sistema pol itikuri, samarTI ebrivi, zneobrivi, esTetikuri, rel igiuri, fil osofiuri Sexedul ebebis da ideebisa. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**ideol ogia** – ideaTa met-nakl ebad Tanmimdevrul i er-Tobl ioba, romel ic safuZvel s uqmni organizebul i pol itikuri qmedebis raime saxeobas.

*sitya ideol ogia safrangeTis revol uciis dros gamoigona anton desta de tresim (1754-1836), saj arod ki is pirvel ad 1796 wel s gamoiyenes. de tresisaTvis ideologie niSnavda axial “mecnierebas ideaTa Sesaxeb”.*

*ideol ogia ideaTa met-nakl ebad mwyobri sistemaa, romel ic safuZvel s uqmnis organizebul pol itikur qmedebas, sul erTia, ra mizans emsaxureba is: arsebul i sistemis an Zal aufl ebis SenarCunebas, saxecvl asa Tu damxobas. amdenad, yvel a ideol ogia gvTavazobs: (a) arsebul i wyobis Sefasebas, Cveul ebriv, "msofl mxedvel obis" saxiT, (b) sasurveil i momavl is model s – "kargi sazogadoebis" xedvas, da (g) gegmas, Tu rogor SeiZl eba da unda ganxorciel des pol itikuri cvl il eba – rogor mivideT (a)-dan (b)-mde. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**idol i** – kerpi, fantomi, brma Tayvaniscemis sagani.

**ierarqia** – subordinacia (mzardi mniSvnel obiT).

**ierarqia** – social uri mdgomareobebis an statusebis gradacia; ierarqia gul isxmobs struqturul an dadgenil uTanasworobas, roml is drosac mdgomareoba ar aris kavSirSi pirovnul unarTan. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**imanturi** – Sinaganad damaxasiaTebel i Tviseba (kanon-zomiereba) ama Tu im sagnis, movl enis Tu procesisa. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**imperia** – zesaxel mwifoebriwi warmonaqmni, romel ic aerTianebs xal xebsa da saxel mwifoebis rel igiuri, eTnikuri, an ideol ogiuri xasiaTis universal uri ideis safuZvel ze.

**imperial izmi** – erTi qveynis kontrol is gavrcel eba meoreze, imis miuxedavad, xdeba es aSkara pol itikuri saSual ebebiT Tu ekonomikuri batonobis gziT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**individual izmi** – individis, rogorc social ur j guftan an kol eqtivTan dapirispirebul is, central uri mniSvnel obis rwmena.

*individual izmi aris rwmena individis uznaesobisa nebismieri social uri j guftis an kol eqtivis winaSe. misi erT-erTi saxis, meTodol ogiuri individual izmis mixed-viT, individis cneba nebismieri pol itikuri Teoriis an social uri gansazRvrebisaTvis amosaval i unda iyos; sazogadoebis Sesaxeb gakeTebul i nebismieri SeFaseba im individebs unda ukavSirdebodes, roml ebic mas Seadgenen. meore mxriv, eTikuri individual izmi gul isxmobs sazoga-doebis ise mowjobas, rom saxeiro iyos individisaTvis; amasTan, moral uri Tval sazrisiT upiratesoba individis ufl ebebs, saWiroebebsa da interesebs daeTmos. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**individual oba** – TviTkmaroba, romel ic miiRweva individis gansakuTrebul i an unikal uri identobisa da Tvisebebis real izaciiT; is, rac ganasxvavebs pirovnebas sxvebisgan. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**individuumi** – individi (erTaderTi), roml is danawevreba ar SeiZl eba ise, Tu ar dakarga TviTmyofoba, "individual oba" da sakuTari yofiereba, romel Ta safuZvel ia mxol od misi mTI ianoba.

**inducia** – mecnierul i meTodi, romel ic cal keul idan, gansakuTrebul idan askvnis sayovel Taoze, kanonierebaze. sapirospiroa misi – deducia.

**integracia** – procesi, roml is Sedegia mTI ianoba, gaerTianeba, SeerTeba.

**intel igencia** (l aT. intelligens – gamgebi, gonieri) –

social uri j gufi, romel ic profesiul ad gonebrivi SromiT dakavebul i adaminebisagan Sedgeba. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**intervencia** – erTi an ramdenime qveynis Zal adobrivi Careva (aSkara an farul i) meore saxel mwifos Sinaur saqmeebSi, rac miznad isaxavs pol itikuri wyobis Secvl as, teritoriis dapyrobas, ekonomikur dakabal ebas, privil - egiebis miRebas da sxv.

**internacional izmi** – pol itikuri Teoria an praqtika, romel ic emyareba transnacional ur an gl obal ur koop-eracias; rwmena, rom erebi xel ovnuri da arasasurvel i warmonaqmnebia. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**iurisdicia** – teritoriul i an sxva fargl ebi, rom- l is SigniTac xorciel deba saxel mwifo xel isufl eba ama Tu im qveyanaSi.

**istoriis geografiul i RerZi** – evraziis Sidakon- tinenturi teritoriebi. emTxveva ruseTis teritorias.

## k

**kanoni** – movl enaTa Sinagani, arsebiTi da myari kavSiri, romel ic ganapirobebs maTs mowesrigebul cval ebadobas. kanonis codnis safuZvel ze SesaZl ebel ia procesis msv- l el obis sarwmuno winaswarxedva. kanonis cneba axl oa kanonzomierebis cnebasTan, es ukanasknel i warmoadgens Si- naarsiT urTierTdakavSirebul k-Ta erTobl iobas, r- ebic uzrunvel yofen sistemis cvl il ebebSi mdgrad ten- dencias, anu mimarTul ebas. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**kanoni** – garkveul sferoSi moqmedi wesebis krebul i.  
*kanoni – social uri qcevis dadgenil i da sazogado wesebi, roml ebsac zurgs umagrebs saxel mwifo manqana: pol icia, sasamarTI oebi da cixeebi.* (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**kapital izmi** – ekonomikuri sistema, romel Sic simdi-dres fl oben kerZo pirebi an biznesebi da samomxmarebl o nivTebi iwarmoeba gacvl is mizniT, bazris karnaxiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**keTil dReobiToba** (welfarism) – Sexedul eba, roml is Tanaxmadac, saxel mwifo an Temi pasuxismgebel ia Tavisi moqal aqeebis keTil dReobaze, rac, Cveul ebriv, sayovel Tao keTil dReobis saxel mwifos warmoqmniT gamoixateba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**kl asifikacia** – cnebaTa da saganTa sistematuri day-ofa da mowesrigeba.

**kol eqtivizacia** – kerZo sakuTrebis gauqmeba da saer-To an sazogadoebrivi sakuTrebis yovl ismomcvel i sistemis Camoyal ibeba, Cveul ebriv, saxel mwifo meqanizmebis meSveobiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**kol eqtivizmi** – rwmena, rom adamanTa miznebi ukeT miiRweva TanamSroml obaze dafuZnebul i anu kol eqtiuri Zal isxmeviT; es rwmena xazs usvams social uri j gufebis mniSvel obas.

*kol eqtivizmi, farTo gagebiT, aris rwmena imisa, rom kol eqtiuri adamanuri mcdel oba ufro didi praqtikuli i da moral uri Rirebul ebis mqonea, vinem individual uri swrafva. amdenad is irekl avs im ideas, rom adamanur*

*bunebas social uri j gufebi, iqneba es "kl asebi", "erebi", "rasebi" Tu sxva, mniSvnel ovani pol itikuri erTeul ebia. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**kol onial izmi** – ucxour teritoriaze kontrol is dawesebis Teoria an praqtika, Cveul ebriv, dasaxl ebebis an ekonomikuri batonobis meSveobiT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**komunizmi** – simdidris saerTo sakuTrebis principi; komunizmis cneba xSirad gamoiyeneba ufro farTo mniSvnel obiT im moZraobebisa da reJimebis aRsaniSnavad, roml ebic marqsistul principebs efuZneba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**konservatizmi** – yovel dRiur metyvel ebaSi termini "konservatuli" mraval gvare mniSvnel obiT ixmareba. is SeiZl eba gul isxmobdes TavSekavebul an windaxedul qcevas, cxovrebis tradiciul yaidas, konformistul sac ki, an kidev – SiSs cvl il ebebis winaSe an maTTvis Tavisi aridebas. yovel ive es ingl isurSi aRiniSneba zmniT "to conserve". termini "konservatizmi" sagangebo pol itikuri poziciis an ideol ogiis dasaxasiaTebl ad pirvel ad mecxramete saukunis dasawyisSi gamoiyenes. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**konstitucia** – Sedgena, organizacia, mowyoba, agreTve saxel mwifos ZiriTadi kanoni.

**konfederacia** – suverenul saxel mwifoTa liga an asociacia, romel sac, rogorc wesi, central uri da administraciul i organo hyavs, romel Sic konfederaciis subieqtebi sakuTari nebiT axdenen xel isuflebis del egirebas, da amit, erTobl ivad wyveten saerTo sakiTxებს.

**konstitucional izmi** – rwmena, rom mTavrobis Zal aufl eba unda ganxorciel des wesebis CarCoSi (konstituciis fargl ebSi), rac gansazRvravs, erTi mxriv, samTavrobo institutebis val debul ebebs, Zal aufl ebis fargl ebsa da funqciebs da, meore mxriv, pirovnebis ufl ebebs.

*konstitucional izmi, viwro gagebiT, SezRudul i mmarTvel obis ganxorciel ebaa, romel sac konstitucia udevs safuZvl ad. konstitucional izmi, am gagebiT, SeiZl eba iTqvas, arsebobs iq, sadac konstituciuri kanonebi Zal aufl ebriv institutebsa da pol itikur procesebs efeqturad akontrol ebs. ufro farTo gagebiT, konstitucional zmi aris pol itikur Rirebul ebaTa da miswrafebaTa garkveul i sistema, romel ic gamoxatavs nebas, daicvas Tavisufl eba xel isufl ebisatvis Sinagani da garegani SezRudvebis dawesebiT. mistvis damaxasiaTebel ia konstituciur debul ebaTa mxardaWera, roml ebic konstitucional izmis mizans ganamtkicebs; esenia: sistemaSi moyvanil i konstitucia, ufl ebaTa bil i, Zal aufl ebaTa gamij vna, orpal atianoba da federal izmi anu decentral izacia. ase rom, konstitucional izmi pol itikuri liberal izmis saxeobaa. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**koncefcia** – saerTo Canafiqri, gageba, ideis, ZiriTadi azris, mxatvrul i an sxva ZiriTadi motivis uecari dabadeba.

**kontraqti** – SeTanxmeba, romel ic Zal aSi Sedis nebayofl obiTi da urTierTmisaRebi pirobebiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**konfl iqti** – ori an meti Zal is opozicia an Sej ibri, romel ic warmoiSoba an araTavsebadi amocanebis qonis dapirispirebul ideaTa Sej axebis gamo. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**kosmopolitizmi** – sityvasityviT niSnavs Cosmopolis-  
is anu “msofl io saxel mwifos” rwmenas. igi gul isxmobs  
cal keul i erebis erovnul i identurobis mospobas da  
erTi saerTo politikuri erTeul is Seqmnas, romel ic  
yvel a adamians gaaerTianebs. unda aRiniSnos, rom Cveul  
l ebriv es termini gamoiyeneba ufro zomieri miznis asax-  
visaTvis da gul isxmobs erebs Soris mSvidobisa da har-  
moniis damyarebas, romel ic dafuZnebul i iqneba urTierT-  
gagebaze, tol erantobasa da, rac mTavaria, erTmaneTze damok-  
idebul ebis principze. (“politikuri ideol ogiebi”, e.  
heivudi).

**kriteriumi** – Semowmebis niSani, saSual eba, sazomi.

**kultura** (l aT. cultura - damuSaveba) – erTobl ioba  
sazogadoebriv-istoriul i praqtikis procesSi kacabri-  
obis mier Seqmnil i da qmnadobis procesSi myofi materi-  
al uri da sul ieri Rirebul ebebisa, r-ebic sazogadoebis  
ganvitarebis istoriul ad miRweul safexurs axasiaTeben.  
fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

## I

**legitimuroba** – politikuri xel isufl ebis kanoniere-  
bisa da, Sesabamisad, imis aRiareba, rom mis obieqtebs mor-  
Cil ebis moral uri val debul eba aqvT. (“politikuri ide-  
ol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**leviatani** – Zv. ebr. “zRvis urCxul i” (bibliaSi).  
igivea, rac atl antizmi, zRva da sxva.

**liberal izmi** – msofl mxedvel oba, romel ic aerTianebs  
memarj vene princi pebs ekonomikis sferoSi (sabazro ekono-

mika, privatizacia, kerZo sakuTreba, kapital izmi) da me-  
marcxene komponentebs pol itikis dargSi (minimal isturi  
humanizmi, individual izmi, eTnikuri da kul turul i egal -  
itarizmi). atl anturi banakis mmarTvel i ideol ogia. I iber-  
eral izmis pol itikur gamovl inebas I iber al uri demokratia  
warmoadgens.

*termins "I iber al uri" meToTxmete saukunidan moyol e-  
bul i xmaroben, Tumca mas am xnis ganmavl obaSi uamravi  
gansxvavebul i mniSvnel oba miewereboda. I aTinuri sityva  
"I iber" Tavisufal adami anTa kl ass aRniSnavda, anu adami-  
anebs, roml ebic arc ymebi iyvnen da arc monebi. es sityva  
uxvsac niSnavda – saWmel -sasmel is "uxv" moxmarebas;  
social ur mimarTebaSi ki siwrfel es an miukerZoebl obas  
gul isxmabda. mas farTod ukavSirebdnen Tavisufl ebisa  
da arCevanis ideebsac. pol itikur datvirTvas termini  
"I iber al izmi" gacil ebiT gvian iZens – am mniSvnel obiT  
pirvel ad is mecxramete saukunis dasawyisSi, kerZod, 1812  
wel s, espaneTSi gamoiyenes. iseTi ideebs, rogoricaa: si-  
tyvis Tavisufl eba, rel igiuri rwmenis Tavisufl eba da  
sakuTrebis fl obis ufl eba, yvel a I iber al izmidan modis  
da imdenad Rrmadaa fesvgadgmul i dasavl ur sazogadoe-  
bebSi, rom Riad iSviaTad Tu gail aSqrebs vinme maT winaaRmdeg  
an Tundac eWvis Tval iT Sexedavs. ("pol itikuri ideol -  
ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**I ibertar(ian)izmi** – moicavs Teoriebs, roml ebic iseT  
Rirebul ebebTan SedarebiT, rogorebicaa Zal aufl eba, tradi-  
cia da Tanasworoba, mtkice prioritets Tavisufl ebas  
aniWebs. amdenad I ibertarel ebi iswrafian, maqsimal urad  
gaafarTovon individis Tavisufl ebis areal i da minimu-  
mamde daiyvanon sazogadoebrivi Zal aufl ebis sazRvrebi;  
saxel mwifos isini, rogorc wesi, Tavisufl ebis ZiriTad  
safrTxed Tvl ian. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivu-  
di).

**I obi** – pirdapiri mniSvnel obiT: kapitol iumis (aSS-s kongresis) Senobis mTavari koridori, sadac kanonmdebl obiT dainteresebuli pirebi ikribebian; gadataniTi mniSvnel obiT: aSS-is kongresTan arsebul msxvil monopol iaTa kantorebisa da saagentoebis sistema, romel ic am monopol iaTa interesebidan gamomdinare zewol as axdenen (zewol is j gufebi) kanonmdebl obaze da saxel mwifo moxel eebze aRmasrul ebel xel isufi ebaSi.

**I ogosi** (berZn. logos – sityva, azri, goneba, kanoni) – termini, romel ic Tavdapirvel ad sayovel Tao kanons, samyaros safuZvel s, mis wesrigsa da harmonias aRniSnavda. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

## m

**masa** – sociol ogiuri azriT – adamianta j gufi, romel is SigniTac individebi erTgvarad kargaven Taviant individual obas da urTierTgavl enis meoxebiT izenen msgavs grZnobebis, institutebs, miswrafebebs, nebel obiT moZraobebis.

**maJoritarizmi** – umravl esobis mmarTvel obis rwmena; maJoritarizmi gul isxmobs an imas, rom umravl esoba dominirebs umciresobaze, an imas, rom umciresobam umravl esobis Tval sazriss unda dauTmos. (“pol itikuri ideol - ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**mdgradoba** (sustainability) – sistemis unari, SeinarCunos Tavisi sij ansaRe da ganagrZos arseboba; mwvaneTa ekonomikis ZiriTadi principi. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**memarcxeneoba** – farTo ideol ogiuri ganwyoba, romel ic xasiaTdeba iseTi principebisadmi simpaTiiT, rogoricaa Tavisufl eba, Tanasworoba, Zmoba da progresi. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**memarj veneoba** – farTo ideol ogiuri ganwyoba, romel ic xasiaTdeba iseTi principebis mimarT simpaTiiT, rogoricaa Zal aufl eba, wesrigi, ierarqia da val debul eba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**mental oba, mental iteti** – sul ieri wyoba, kol eqturi da individual uri cnobierebis siRmiseul i done, romel ic Seicavs aracnobiersac, individs, an social uri j gufis mzaoba, ganwyoba – imoqmedos, iazrovnos, igrZnos da aRiqvas samyaro garkveul i saxiT. mental oba yal ibdeba tradiciebis, kul turis, social uri struqturebis da adamanTa yofis mTel i garemos mixedviT.

**meoTxe xel isufl eba** – masmedia (presa, radio, tel evizia da a.S.).

**meritokratia** – sityvasityviT, damsaxurebul Ta mmarTvel oba, sadac damsaxurebaSi igul isxmeba intel eqti (goniereba) pl ius Zal isxmeva; sazogadoeba, romel Sic social ur mdgomareobas gansazRvravs mxol od da mxol od unari da Sromismoyvareoba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**metropol ia** – saxel mwifo, romel ic fl obs dapyrobil qveynebs.

**mexuTe kol ona** – fraza ekuTvnis espaneTis samoqal aqomis (1939 w.) mebrZol general s, romel ic 4 samxedro

kol oniT madridis dal aSqvras apirebda da, garda amisa, imedi hqonda qal aqSi macxovrebel i "mexuTe kol onad" monaTI ul i mxardamWerebisa. amis Semdeg "mexuTe kol onas" omis dros moRal atesa da mtris mxardamWers uwodeben.

**mecniereba** – codnis mopovebis meTodi frTxil i dakvirvebis an SedegTa Tanxvedraze mimarTul i eqsperimentebis meSveobiT hipotezaTa testirebis procesze dayrdnobiT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**miTi, pol itikuri** – rwmena, romel sac unari aqvs moaxdinos pol itikuri qmedebis provocireba Tavisi emociuri an simbol uri Zal is wyal obiT da ara gonebaze dayrdnobiT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**mil enarizmi** – RvTis aTaswl iani mmarTvel obis rwmena; pol itikuri mil enarizmi siRaribisa da Cagvrisgan myisieri da srul i gaTavisufl ebis perspeqtivas saxavs. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**mil itarizmi** – gamal ebul i SeiaraRebisa da omisaTvis mzadebis pol itika.

**mil itarizmi** – miznebis miRweva omis saSual ebiT, an mil itaristul i ideebis, Rirebul ebebisa da praqtikis gavrcel eba samoqal aqo (arasamxedros gagebiT) sazoga-doebaze. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**modus vivendi** – ama Tu im saerTaSoriso sakiTxze miRweul i droebiTi SeTanxmeba, romel sac mxareebi deben momaval Si sabol oo mowesrigebis imediT (cxovrebis wesi).

**mondial izmi** – gansakuTrebul i ideol ogia, romel ic yvel a saxel mwifosa da xal xebis erT msofl io warmonaqmSi Serwymas gul isxmobs msofl io mTavrobis Camoyal ibebiT, romel sac Tan axl avs rasobrivi, rel igiuri, eTnikuri, nacional uri da kul turul i sazRvrebis ganadgureba. arsebobs “memarcxene” da “memarj vene” mondial izmi. memarj vene – atl antizmis gl obal izacias warmoadgens; memarcxene – aucil ebl ad miiCnevs evraziul i seqtoris CarTvas (ama Tu im safuZvel ze) erTian saxel mwifoSi.

**monizmi** – mxol od erTi Teoriis an Rirebul ebis rwmena; monizmi politikurad asaxvas hpovebs unitarul i Zal isadmi iZul ebiT morCil ebaSi da, amdenad, impliciturad total itarul ia. (“politikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**monopol ia** – warmoebis, vaWrobis, rewvis gansakuTrebul i ufl eba, romel ic erT pirs, garkveul j gufs an saxel mwifos ekuTvnis.

**moral i** (l aT. mores – zne-Cveul ebani) – sazogadoebrivi cnobierebis erT-erTi forma, social uri instituti, r-ic adamanTa qcevis regul irebis funqciebs asrul ebs sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis ukl ebl iv yvel a sferoSi. masobrivi moqmedebis regul irebis sxva formebsagan (samarTl isagan, sawarmoo-administraciul i ganrigisagan, saxel mwifo dekretesagan, saxal xo tradiciebsagan da a.S.) moral i gansxvavdeba Tavis moTxovnaTa dasabuTebisa da ganxorciel ebis wesiT. moral Si sazogadoebrivi aucil ebl oba, moTxovnil ebebi, saz-bis an kl asis interesebi gamoixateba rogorc stiqiurad Camoyal ibebul i da sayovel Taod aRiarebul i miTitebebi da Sefasebebi, ganmtkicebul i masobrivi magal iTis, Cvevis, zne-Cveul ebis, sazogadoebrivi azris Zal iT.

**moral uri norma** – zneobriv moTxovnaTa forma. igi aregul irebs adamanTa qcevas zogadi miTiTebebisa da akrZal vebis saSual ebiT, r-ebic vrcel deba erTi tipis qcevebze. samarTI ebrivi normebisagan gansxvavebiT, moral uri normis sanqcireba xdeba ara saxel mwifo xel isufl ebis mier, aramed Cveul ebisa da sazogadoebrivi azris Zal iT. sazogadoebis zneobriv cnobierebaSi maTi Camoyal ibeba xdeba stiqiurad da ara vinmes mier sagangebo kanonis gamocemis Sedegad. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**moral uri Sefaseba** – social uri sinamdvil is sxvadasxva movl enisa da adamanTa qcevebis mowoneba an dagmoba maTi moral uri mniSvnel obis mixedviT normisagan gansxvavebiT, r-ic miuTitebs adaminebs Seasrul on garkveuli i zneobriv qceva, m.S. adgens Sesabamisobas an Seusabamisobas ukve ganxorciel ebul qcevasa da zneobriv moTxovnas Soris.

**moqal aqeoba** – saxel mwifos wevroba; urTierToba pirovnebas da saxel mwifos Soris, romel ic ormxriv ufl ebebsa da val debul ebebs efuZneba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**msjel oba** – azri, gamoxatul i winadadebis formiT, r-Sic raRac mtkicdeba obieqtebis Sesaxeb da obieqturad warmoadgens an WeSmarits, an mcdars. fil osof. I eqs.1987.

**mul tikul tural izmi** – gamoiyeneba rogorc aRweriTi, ise normatiul i terminis saxiT. rogorc aRweriTi termini, is kul turul mraval ferovnebas ukavSirdeba, rasac, Tavis mxriv, sazogadoebaSi ori an meti iseTi jgufis arseboba iwvevs, romel Ta rwmena da qmedebebi kol eqtiuri identobis damaxasiaTebel grZnobas warmoSobs. mul ti-

kul tural izmi zedgamoWril ia jgufuri mraVal saxeobi-  
saTvis, rac rasobrivi, eTnikuri Tu enobrivi gansxvavebu-  
l obidan iRebs saTaves. rogorc normatiul i termini, igi  
jgufuri mraVal saxeobis srul gaziarebas gul isxmobS,  
roml isTvisac ganmsazRvrel ia gansxvavebul i kul turul i  
jgufebisaTvis aRiarebisa da pativiscemis ufl ebaTa mini-  
Weba. am gagebiT, mul tikul tural izmi aRiarebs rwmenaTa,  
Rirebul ebaTa da cxovrebis wesis mniSvnel obas rogorc  
individisTvis, ise jgufebisaTvis sakuTari Rirsebis grZno-  
bis gasaRvivebl ad. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivu-  
di).

#### n

**nacional izacia** – saxel mwifo an sazogado mfl obe-  
l obis gavrcoba kerZo qonebaze an sawarmoebze. ("pol i-  
tikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**nacional izmi** – erovnul i gankerZoebul obisa da gan-  
sakuTrebul obis, sxva erebisadmi undobl obisa da  
erovnebaTaSorisi mtrobis qadagebaSi mdgomareobs.  
fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**nacional izmi** – rwmena an Teoria imis Sesaxeb, rom  
yovel xal xs, romel ic cal ke ers warmoadgens, aqvs  
damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnis ufl eba.

*nacional izmi – sityva "nation" mecamete saukunidan  
ixmareba da warmodgeba l aTinuri sityvisagan nasci, rac  
dabadebas niSnavs. am sityvis forma natio aRniSnavda ad-  
amianebs, romel Tac dabadeba an dabadebis adgil i aerTiane-  
daT; Tavisi SinaarsiT ki igi gul isxmobda toms an raso-  
briv jgufs, magram is ar gamoiyeneboda rogorc pol i-  
tikuri termini. mxol od mogvianebiT, meTvramete sauku-  
nis bol os, Seizina am terminma pol itikuri datvirTva,*

*rodesac daiwyes cal keul i adaminebisa da j gufebis "nacional istebad" daxasiaTeba. belldur gamocemaSi sityva "nacional izmi" pirvel ad 1789 wel s gamoiyena frangma antiakobinel ma mRvdel ma ogiusten baruel ma (Augustin Barruel). mecxramete saukunis Sua wl ebisaTvis "nacional - izmi" ukve farTod iyo cnobil i rogorc politikuri doqtrina an moZraoba. ("politikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**nacional -social izmi** – germanul i faSizmis avtoritarul i, totalitarul i da imperial isturi doqtrina, roml is avtoria a. hitl eri da misi mimdevrebi.

**neitral iteti** – saxel mwifos iseTi saerTaSoriso samarTI ebrivi statusi, rodesac igi ar ereva qveynebs Soris omSi da inarCunebs maTTan mSvidobian urTierTobebs, an iRebs val debul ebas ar miexmaros romel ime maTgans (mag.: Sveicaria).

**neoaatl antizmi** – atl antizmis Tanamedrove versia. uaryofs mondial izms (mis memarj vene mimarTul ebasac ki) rogorc mocemul pirobebSi naadrev da ganuxorciel ebel proeqts. miaCnia, rom erTiani msofl ios nacvl ad civil izaciaTa Sej axeba moxdeba (s. hanTingtoni).

**neokonservatizmi** – social uri konservatizmis Tanamedrove versia, romel ic yuradRebas amaxvil ebs wesrigis aRdgenis, tradiciul an oj axis Rirebul ebebTan dabrunebis, an erovnul obis gacocxl ebis saWiroebaze. ("politikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**neoliberal izmi** – kl asikuri politikuri ekonomii ganaxl ebul i versia, romel ic mxars uWers sabazro indivi-

dual izmsa da minimal ur steitizms. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**neomarqsizmi** – marqsizmis ganaxl ebul i da Sevsebul i versia, romelic uaryofs determinizms, ekonomikis primatsa da proletariatis privilegirebul mdgomareobas. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**nihil izmi** – raimes absol uturi uaryofa.

**nihil izmi** – sityvasityviT, arafris rwmena, yvel a moral uri da pol itikuri principis uaryofa; nihil izmi zogjer, magram ara aucil ebl ad, asocirdeba destruqciastan da Zal adobastan. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**norma** – danawesi, wesi, raimes Sesaxeb daskvnisa da Sefasebis sazomi.

**normatiuli** – moral uri standartis dadgena im Tval - sazrisiT, Tu ra "unda" iyos, sapirispirod aRweriT ganxadebisa, Tu ra "aris". ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

## o

**obieqturi** – obieqtis kuTvnili an obieqt iT gansazRvurli. real ur obieqtebtan mimarTebaSi es cneba aRniSnavs, rom sagnebi, Tvisebebi da urTierTobebe arseboben subieqtis gareT da masgan damoukidebl ad. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**obieqturi real oba** – mTel i material uri samyaro yvel a mis gamovlinebasa da formaSi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**obieqturi WeSmariteba** – adamianuri codnis iseTi Sinaarsi, r-ic ar aris damokidebul i subieqtis nebisyo-fasa da survil ze. WeSmariteba ar konstruirdeba adami-anTa nebisyo-fisa da survil is mixedviT, aramed ganisazRvreba asasaxavi sagnis SinaarsiT, rac ganapirobebs mis obieqtu-robas. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**ol igarqia** – Zal aufl ebis mqone viwro wris pirTa, gvarebis, oj axebisa da j gufebis batonoba.

**oportunizmi** – uprincipoba, yvel a situaciasTan Seg-uebis mzadyofna, Tavis moTxovnil ebaTa minimal uri Zal - isxmeviT dakmayofil ebis mizniT.

**optimizmi da pesimizmi** (I aT. optimus – saukeTeso, pessimus – yvel aze uaresi) – movl enaTa msvl el obisadmi ori urTierTsapirispiro damokidebul eba. optimizmi aris ukeTesi momavl is, borotze keTil is gamarj vebis Sesazl eb- l obis, usamarTI obaze samarTI ianobis gamarj vebis rwmena; pesimizmi ki vl indeba Sexedul ebebSi, r-Ta mixedviT mov- l enebi viTardebian uaresobisaken; igi vl indeba dacemu- l obis ganwyobil ebaSi, sikeTisa da samarTI ianobis gamar- j vebis rwmenis uqonl obaSi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**orTodoqsoba** – damkvidrebul i an sayovel Taod miRe- bul i Sexedul ebis erTgul eba, romel ic, Cveul ebriv, “ofi- cial uri” sanqciit an mxardaWeriT sargebl obs. (“pol i- tikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**oxl okratia** – masis, brbos batonoba; demokratiis gauku- RmarTebul i forma (aristotel e).

**oj axi** – saz-bis uj redi (mcire social uri j gufi),

piradi cxovrebis organizaciis umniSvnel ovanesi forma, r-ic emyareba col qmrul kavSirsa da naTesauro kavSirebs, e.i. mraval gvar urTierTobeb qmarsa da col s, mSobl ebsa da Svil ebs, Zmebsa da debs da sxva naTesauro Soris, r-ebic erTad cxovroben da saerTo meurneobas ewevian. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

## p

**panlogizmi** (berZn. pan - yvel aferi da logos - moZRvrebba, sityva, azri) – obieqtur-ideal isturi doqtrina yofierebisa da azrovnebis igiveobis Sesaxeb, r-is mixedvit bunebisa da sazogadoebis mTel i ganvitareba warmoadgens msofli io gonis, absol uturi ideis i ogikuri moRvawebis ganxorciel ebas. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**paradigma** (berZn. paradeigma – magal iTi, nimuSi) – konkretul i mecnierul i gamokvl evis ganmsazRvrel i Teoriul i da meTodol ogiuri wanamZRvrebis erTobl ioba, r-ic mocemul etapze mecnierul praqtikaSi xorciel deba. paradigma warmoadgens probl emis arCevis safuZvel s, agreTve model s, nimuSs sakvl evi amocanebis gadasawrel ad. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**paradoqsebi** (i ogikis da simravl eTa Teoriisa) (berZn. paradoxos - moulo odnel i) – formal ur-i ogikuri winaarmdegobani. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**paralogizmi** (berZn. paralogismos – araswori bWoba) – i ogikis kanonebisa da wesebis arawinaswarganzraxul i darRveva, bWobas ukargavs dasabuTebis Zal as da Cveuli ebriv miyvavart mcdar daskvnamde. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**parafsiqol ogia** (berZn. para – axl os, gareT) – gamokv-  
l evebis sfero; Seiswavl is mgrZnobel obis formebs, r-  
ebic grZnobis cnobil i organoebis moqmedebiT ar aixsneba,  
agretve garemomcvel movl enebze kunTebis Zal datanebis  
gareSe cocxal i organizmis zemoqmedebis formebs. fil osof.  
I eqs. 1987.

**partizanal i omi** – cal keul pirTa an jgufis mier  
warmoebul i samxedro operaciebi, razec, rogorc wesi,  
oficial uri samxedro xel isufi eba pasuxs ar agebs.

**pasuxismgebl oba** – eTikisa da samarTi is kategoria,  
asaxavs pirovnebis gansakuTrebul social ur da moral ur-  
samarTi ebriv damokidebul ebas sazogadoebisadmi (kaco-  
briobisadmi mTi ianad), r-c xasiaTdeba Tavisi zneobrivi  
moval eobisa da da samarTi ebrivi normebs Sesrul ebiT.  
fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**partikul arizmi** – rwmena, rom xal xebsa da sazoga-  
doebebs Soris istoriul i, kul turul i da sxva tipis  
gansxvavebebi ufro mniSvnel ovania, vidre is, rac maT saer-  
To aqvT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**paternal izmi** – Zal aufl eba, romel ic xorciel deba  
zemodan imaT gasaZRol ad da mxardasaWerad, vinc qvemoT  
aris, da romel ic mamebisa da Svil ebis urTierTobis mod-  
el s efuZneba.

*paternal izmi sityvasityviT mamaTa yaidaze moqmedebas  
niSnavs. rogorc pol itikuri principi, is ukavSirdeba  
Zal as an Zal aufl ebas, romel sac sxvebze axorciel eben  
sargebl is naxvis an zianis Tavidan acil ebis mizniT. (“pol i-  
tikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**pativi** – moral uri cnobierebis cneba da eTikis kategoria, romel ic Tavisi moicavs pirovnebis mier sakutari Tavisi sazogadoebrivi mnisvnelobis gacnობierebisa da sazogadoების მერ ამ მnisvnelobის არიების momentებს. *fil osof. I eqs. 1987.*

**patriarqati** – სityvasityvit, მმართველი მამის ხაზით; patriarqati xსირად ზოგადი მnisvnelობით იხმარება საზოგადოებაში მამაკების დომინირება და ღალათი დაღვმდებარეობის არსებობა. (“პოლიტიკური იდეოლოგიები”, *e. heivudi*).

**patriotizmi** – სityvasityvit, საკუთარი მამული სიყვარული; საკუთარი ერის ან ღვენისადმი ფსიქოლოგიური მიჯაღვლელი და ერთგულია. *patriotizmi (I ატ. patria-dan, რაც “მამული” ნიშნავს) warmoadgens Tavisi eris mimarT adamiანის emociur, ფსიქოლოგიური მიჯაღვლელი და, სityvasityvit, “სამსობლიოს სიყვარული”. xსირად nacional izmsa da patriotizms erTmaneTsi ureven. nacional izms doqtrinის xასიატი აგვს და ეფუძნება რწმენას, რომელიც ამათუთი სხვატ სხელ მწიფო პოლიტიკური ორგანიზაციის წამყვანი გმსაზრველი ფაქტორს warmoadgens. patriotizmi ki ამ რწმენის გმსაზრველი ები ად emociur საფუძველი იქონიება და, ამრიგად, nacional izმის ყველა ფორმას ვლინდება.* (“პოლიტიკური იდეოლოგიები”, *e. heivudi*).

**paqti** – ორმხრივი ან მრავალმხრივი საერთაშორისო ხელშეკრულება, რომელიც მისი მიზანია ისეთი საკითხების რეგულირება, როგორც ორმხრივი ან კოლექტიური უსაფრთხოების უზრუნველყოფა, ურთიერთდახმარება, თავდასაცავი და სხვ.

**pacifizmi** – ომისა და ზალადობის ყველა ფორმის, როგორც ფუნდამენტური ბოროტების, უარყოფა. (“პოლიტიკური იდეოლოგიები”, *e. heivudi*).

**pl ural izmi** (l aT. pluralis - mravl obiTi) – monizms sapirispiro koncefcia, r-is mixedviT, yovel ive arsebul i Sedgeba mraval i erTnairi, tol fasi izol irebul i arsebisagan, r-ebic ar daiyvanebian erTian sawyisze. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**pl ural izmi** – metafizikuri Tval sazrisi, roml is Tanaxmadac sinamdvil e Sedgeba mraval i damoukidebel i arsisa Tu azrisagan.

**pl ural izmi** – arCevanis mraval feroVnebis rwmena, an imis rwmena, rom pol itikuri Zal a farTod da Tanabrad aris an unda iyos ganawil ebul i.

*pl ural izmi, farTo gagebiT, mraval feroVnebis an mraval - saxeobis, anu, mraval saganTa arsebobis rwmena. rogorc deskriptiul i cneba, pl ural izmi SeiZl eba niSnavdes partiel konkurencias (pol itikuri pl ural izmi), zneobrivi Rirebul ebaTa simravl es (moral uri, anu Rirebul ebaTa pl ural izmi), kul turul nairsaxeobas (kul turul i pl ural izmi) da a.S. igi, rogorc normatiul i cneba, migvaniSnebs, rom mraval feroVneba sasargebl o da sasurvel ia, radgan icavs adamianis Tavisufl ebas da xel s uwyobs kamaTs, azrTa gacvl a-gamocvl asa da gagebas. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**pol emika** – mecnierul i dava, sityvieri omi, l iteraturul i kamaTi.

**pol itika** – saxel mwifos institutTan an xel isufl ebis meqanizmTan dakavSirebul i aqtivoba; ufro farTo gagebiT, procesebi, romel Ta meSveobiTac pol itikuri konfliqti gamoixateba da SeZl ebisdagvarad gadaiWreba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**popul izmi** – Sexedul eba, roml is mixedviTac, popul arul i instinqtebi da survil ebi wamyvan rol s asrul ebs pol itikuri qmedebis l egitimaciis Tval sazrisiT da xSirad pol itikuri el itebis mimarT undobl obasa da mtrul damokidebul ebas asaxavs.

*termini popul izmi (l aTinuri populus-idan, rac “xal xs” aRniSnavs) gamoiyeneba sxvadasxvagvari pol itikuri moZraobebis, agreTve pol itikuri azrovnebis konkretul i tradiciis aRsaniSnavad. popul isturi moZraobebi da partiebi acxadeben, rom surT daicvan ubral o adamianebi “korumpirebuli” ekonomikuri an pol itikuri el itarul i wreebisgan. rogorc pol itikuri tradicia, popul izmi asaxavs rwmenas, rom adamanTa institutebi da survil ebi pol itikuri saqmianobis ZiriTad kanonier saxel mZRvanel o princips warmoadgens. amitom popul isti pol itikosebi uSual od mimarTaven xal xs da amtkiceben, rom gamoxataven mis uRrmes imedebsa da SiSs, radgan yvel a Sual eduri instituti ndobas ar imsaxurebs. miuxedavad imisa, rom popul izmi SeiZl eba ukavSirdebodes nebismier saqmianobas an ideol ogias, is xSirad miiCneva farul ad avtoritarul, “popul istur” demokratiad, romel ic “pl ural isturi” demokratiis mteria. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**postmodernizmi** – intel eqtual uri moZraoba, romel ic absoluturi da universal uri WeSmaritebis ideas uaryofs da, Cveul ebriv, yuradRebis centrSi aqcevs diskurs, debatebsa da demokratias.

*postmodernizmi winaaRmdegobrivi da bundovani terminia, romel ic Tavdapirvel ad gamoiyeneboda dasavl urxel ovnebaSi, arqiteqturasa da, zogadad, kul turul ganvitarებაSi eqsperimentul i mimdinareobebis aRsawerad. rogorc social uri da pol itikuri anal izis saSual eba,*

*postmodernizmi Tval saCinos xdis cvl il ebas industri-  
al izaciiTa da kl asobrivi sol idarobiT gansazRvrul i  
struqturis mqone sazogadoebidan sul ufro fragmen-  
tirebul i da pl ural isturi, "informaciul i" sazogadoe-  
bebisaken, roml ebSic individuumebi mwarmoebl ebidan momx-  
marebl ebad gardaiqmnebian da individual izmi kl asobrivi,  
rel igiuri da eTnikuri l oial obis adgil s iWers. post-  
modernistebi amtkiceben, rom ar arsebobs gansazRvrul o-  
bis msgavsi ram; absol uturi da universal uri WeSmar-  
itebis idea uaryofil unda iqnas, rogorc TviTdaj erebu-  
l i il uzia. amis sawinaaRmdegod, yuradReba maxvil deba  
diskursze, debatebsa da demokratiaze. ("pol itikuri  
ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**pragmatizmi** (berZ. pragma – saqme, moqmedeba) – farTod gavrcl ebul i subieqtur-ideal isturi mimdinareoba. pragmatizmis fil osofiis centrSi dgas e.w. "pragmatizmis principi", romel ic codnis Sinaarss misi praqtikul i SedegebiT gansazRvravs (pirsi). fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**pragmatizmi** – qceva, romel ic ufro metad gansazRvrul ia praqtikul i amocanebiTa da miznebiT, vidre ideol ogiuri mosazrebebiT.

*pragmatizmi, sazogadod, praqtikul i garemoebepis kvl e-  
vas ufro gul isxmobs, vidre Teoriul i doqtrinebisas,  
anu gul isxmobs imis kvl evas, Tu risi miRweva SeiZl eba  
real ur samyaroSi, gansxvavebiT imisagan, ris miRwevasac  
ideal uri samyaro gvaval debul ebs. ("pol itikuri ide-  
ol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**pragmatul i** – praqtikul i, rac exeba moqmedebas, emsax-  
ureba praqtikas.

**predikati** (l aT. predicatum) – msj el obis erT-erTi

termini oridan, saxel dobr, is, romel Sic raimea gamoTqmu-  
l i saubris sagnis (subieqtis) Sesaxeb. fil osof. I eqs.  
1987.

**prezumpcia** – daSveba al baTobis safuZvel ze, agreTve  
“adamianis saRi gansj is” safuZvel ze.

**privatizacia** – saxel mwifo qonebis sazogadodan ker-  
Zo seqtorSi gadatana, rac saxel mwifos val debul ebaTa  
Sekvecas asaxavs. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**primati** – batonoba, pirvel adgil ze dayenebul i ram.

**principi** (I aT. principum – safuZvel i, pirvel sawyisi)  
– pirvel sawyisi, saxel mZRvanel o idea, qcevis ZiriTadi  
wesi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**progresi** – winsvl a, romel ic, Cveul ebriv, gaumj obese-  
bas gul isxmobs; progresi emyareba imis rwmenas, rom ka-  
cobriobis istoria aRbeWdil ia codnis ganviTarebiTa da  
civil izaciis ufro maRal i doneebis miRweviT. (“pol i-  
tikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**proskrifciebi** (proscriptio - I aT.) \_ 1. weril obiTi  
gancxadeba, qonebis gayidvis, CamoerTmevisa an piris (mo-  
qal aqis) gaZevebis Sesaxeb. 2. im moqal aqeTa nusxa, rom-  
l ebic kanongareSe iyvnen Seracxil ni Zvel romSi, aseTad  
miCneul ebs da maT STamomavl ebs CamoerTmeodaT yovel g-  
vari qoneba da sapatio ufl eba.

proskrifciebis avtorad gvevl ineba sul a I ucius  
kornel iusi (Lucius Cornelius Sulla) Zv.w. 138 - Zv.w. 78,  
romael i pol itikosi da samxedro moRvawe, roml is sax-  
el Tan aseve dakavSirebul ia “mudmivi diqtaturis” (dic-

tatura perpetuura) SemoReba Zv. romSi, romel sac Tan sdevda umZimesi terori.

proskrifciebma mraval i warCinebul i Tu rigiTi roma el is sicocxl e Seiwira.

**proces** (l aT. processus – gavl a, win wasvl a) – movl e-nis kanonzomieri, TandaTanobiTi cval ebadoba, misi gadasvl a sxva movl enaSi (ganviTareba). fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

## r

**radikal izmi** – fundamenturi an seriozul i Sedegebis mqone cvl il ebebis rwmena, rac upirispirdoba zomier an Tanimdevrul reformebs. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**rasa** – anTropol ogiaSi – adamanTa j gufi, romel Sic damaxasiaTebel garegnul Sesaxedaobas ganapirobebs saerto memkvidreobiTi konstituciuri niSnebi (kanis feri, Tavis forma, sxoul is zomebi, pirisaxis forma).

*rasa – xal xebis erTobl ioba, romel Tac erTnairi genetikuri warmomavl oba aqvT, da, amdenad, sxvebisgan biol ogiuri faqtorebiT gansxvavdebian.* (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**rasial izmi** – Sexedul eba, roml iTac, rasobrivi dayofa pol itikurad mniSvnel ovania an imis gamo, rom rasebma cal -cal ke unda icxovron, an imitom, rom maT sxvadasxvavari Tvissebebi aqvT da, amdenad, gansxvavebul i social uri rol ebi SeeferebaT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**racional izmi** (l aT. rationalis - gonieri) – moZRvreba, r-is mixedviTac sayovel Taoba da aucil ebl oba – sarw-

muno codnis es I ogikuri ni Snebi – ver gamoiyvaneba cdidan da misi ganzogadebebidan; isini SeiZl eba aviRoT mxol od TviT gonebidan: an cnebebidan, r-ebic gonebas dabadebidanve aqvs (dekartis Tandayol il i ideebis Teoria), an cnebebidan, r-ebic arseboben mxol od gonebis Canasaxebis, mi-drekil ebebis saxiT. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**racional izmi** – rwmena, rom samyaros gageba da axsna SesaZl ebel ia adamianis gonebis daxmarebiT, rac efuZneba daSvebas, rom mas racional uri struqtura aqvs.

*racional izmis mixedviT, samyaros social uri struqtura aqvs da amis gamJRavneba SesaZl ebel ia gansj isa da kvl evis gziT. rogorc fil osofiuri Teoria, racional - izmi aris rwmena imisa, rom Semecnebis wyaro gonebaa da ara gamocdil eba, riTac empirizms upirispirdeba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**racional uri** – gonivrul i, gonebidan gamomdinare, gonebis meoxebiT ganxorciel ebul i.

**reaqcia** – sapauxo, sawinaaRmdego moqmedeba.

**reaqciul oba** – cvl il ebebisadmi winaaRmdegoba an yofil sistemaSi dabrunebis survil i, rac efuZneba rwmenas, rom kacabriobis istoria daRmasvl iT an dacemiTaa aRbeWdil i. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**revol ucia** – fundamenturi da Seuqcevadi cvl il eba, gadatrial ebis xSirad xanmokl e, magram dramatul i periodi; sistemuri cvl il eba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

## S

**saerTaSoriso samarTali** – kanonTa sistema, romel - ic awesrigebs saxel mwifoTaSoriso urTierTobebs.

**saientizmi** – rwmena, rom mecnierul i meTodi erTaderTi miukerZoebel i da obieqturi saSual ebaa WeSmaritebis dasadgenad, da rom misi gamoyeneba yvel a sakvl evi sferos mimarT aris Sesazl ebel i. ("politikuri ideologiebi", e. heivudi).

**samarTli ianoba** – moral uri gansjis gansakuTrebul i saxe, kerZod iseTi, jil dosa da sasjel is ganawil ebas rom exeba, mokled, samarTli ianoba TiToeul adamians ganusazRvavs, ra aris mistvis "jerovani". ("politikuri ideologiebi", e. heivudi).

**sazogadoebrivi azri** – sazogadoebrivi cnobierebis arsebobis Taviseburi wesi, gamoxatul i r-me social uri jgufis, saerto interesebit dakavSirebul adamianta gaertianebis araoficial uri masobrivi cnobierebis saxiT, r-sic fiqsirebul iamati damokidebul eba sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis movl enebisadmi, partiaTa moRvaveobisadmi, dawesebul ebaTa da pirovnebaTa moqmedebisadmi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**sazogadoebrivi urTierTobebi** – urTierTobebi adamianta Soris, r-bic yal ibdebian mati erToblivi praqtikuli i da sul ieri moRvaveobis procesSi. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**sazogado neba** (general will) – kol eqturi organos arsebiti interesebi, sayovel Tao sikeTis ekvalenti; yve-

l as neba im pirobiT, rom TiToeul i piri uangarod moqmedebs. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**sakuTreba** – material uri nivTebis an simdidris fl oba, damoukidebl ad imisa, saubarua kerZo pirebze, adamianta j gufebze Tu saxel mwifoze. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**samarTI ianoba** – samarTI ianobisa da miukerZoebl obis moral uri standarti; social uri samarTI ianoba aris cneba, romel ic asaxavs Sexedul ebas sazogadoebaSi dovlatisa da sazRauris samarTI iani an damtkicebadi (kanonieri) ganawil ebis Taobaze. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**samoqal aqo Tavisufi eba** – arsebobis privatul i sfero, romel sac ganagebs moqal aqe da ara saxel mwifo; mTavrobisgan Tavisufi eba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**samoqal aqo sazogadoeba** – avtonomiuri asociaciebisa da j gufebis areal i, romel sac ayal ibeben kerZo moqal aqeebi da romel ic sargebl obs mTavrobisgan damoukidebl obiT; samoqal aqo sazogadoeba moicavs biznesebs, kl ubebs, oj axebsa da a.S. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**saxel mwifo** – gaertianeba, romel ic garkveul teritoriul areal Si daadgens suverenul Zal aufl ebas, Cveul ebriv, izul ebiTi Zal aufl ebis monopol iis mqones. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**saRi azri** – Sexedul ebaTa, CvevaTa, azrovnebis formaTa erTobl ioba, r-sac iyenebs rigiTi adamiani yovel dRiur praqtikul moRvaweobaSi. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**separatizmi** – pol itikuri warmonaqmnidan gamoyofis Zieba damoukidebel i saxel mwifos Seqmnaze imedis damyarebiT. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**sivrce** – geopol itikis ZiriTadi cneba. warmoadgens ara raodenobriv, aramed xarisxobriv kategorias.

**sinamdviile** – is, rac real urad arsebobs da viTardeba, TavistavSi Seicavs sakuTar arsebasa da kanonzomierebas, agreTve sakuTari moqmedebisa da ganviTarebis Sedegebs. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**sindisi** – eTikuri kategoria, r-ic gamoxatavs pirovnebis moral uri TviTkontrol is unaris umaRI es formas, misi TviTcnobierebis mxares. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**sionizmi** – ebrael i xal xis sazogadoebriv-pol itikuri moZraoba, roml is mizania pal estinaSi, “aRTqmul miwaze” ebraul i saxel mwifos daarseba da ganmtkiceba.

**sionizmi** (Zionism) – moZraoba ebrael Ta samSobl os dafuZnebisTvis, romel ic amJamad israel is interesebisa da teritoriul i mTI ianobis dacvas ukavSirdeba.

*sionizmi (sioni ebraul ad zeciur saufi os niSnavs) aris moZraoba ebrael Ta saxel mwifos dasaarsebl ad. Cveuli ebriv, igul isxmeba, rom is pal estinaSia. es idea, romel ic iTval iswinebda devnisgan ebrael i xal xis dacvas, pirveli ad Teodor hercl ma (Theodore Herzl, 1860-1904) wamoayena sionistTa kongresze bazel Si. adreul sionistebis axasiaTebdaT sekul aristul i da nacional isturi miswrafebebi, rasac xSirad social isturi simpaTiebi erTvoda. amasTan, 1948 wel s israel is saxel mwifos daarsebis Semdeg sionizmi ukavSirdeba israel is odindel perspeq-*

*tivas, uzrunvel yos samSobl o yvel a ebrael isTvis, agreTve – israel is mimarT simpaTiis gaZl ierebis mcdel obebsa da mtrebisgan mis dacvas. ukanasknel i faqtoris Tval sazrisiT, israel is Seqmnas safuZvl ad daedo fundamental izmi, romel - mac pal estinel Ta azriT eqspansionisturi, antiarabul i xasiaTi SeiZina. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**sol idaroba** – erTmaneTis mtkice mxardaWera saerTo moTxovnebis ganxorciel ebis dros.

**sociologia** (l aT. societas – saz-ba da berZn. logos – moZRvreba, sityva) – mecniereba rogorc global uri (saz-ba mTI ianad), ise kerZo social uri sistemebis ganvitarebisa da funcionirebis kanonzomierebaTa Sesaxeb. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**social uri klasi** – social uri dayofa, rac ekonomikur an social ur faqtorebs efuZneba; social ur klasi Seadgens adamianebi, romel Tac msgavsi social ur-ekonomikuri mdgomareoba aqvT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**statusi** – saerTasoris samarTali fizikuri an iuridული ი პირის სამართლი ებრვი მდგომარეობა.

**status-quo** – გარკვეულ მომენტში არსებულ ფაქტურს ან სამართლი ებრვი მდგომარეობა.

**steitizmi** – რწმენა, რომლის მიხედვითაც, სახელმწიფო უნდა აკეთებდეს სასაქონლო უფლებების გადართვას ან დაეკონტროლოს და social ურთიერთობების უზრუნველყოფა. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**stili** (ხელოვნებაში) – ისტორიული ან დროის მიხედვითი სტილი

myari erToba xatovani sistemebis, mxatvrul i gamoxatvis saSual ebebisa da wesebis, r-ic ganpirobetul ia ideuresTetikuri da sazogadoebriv-istoriul i Sinaarsis erTianobiT. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**sublimacia** (I aT. sublimo - vmaRI debi) – energiis gardarTva social urad miuRebel i (qvena) miznebidan da obieqtebidan social urad misaRebze (maRal ze, amaRI ebul ze). fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**substancia** (I aT. substantia - arseba) – obieqturi real oba misi TviTganviTarebis yvel a formis Sinagani erTianobis aspeqtSi, bunebisa da istoriis movl enaTa mTel i mraVal gvarobis, adamianisa da misi cnobierebis CaTvl iT. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**suverenoba** – absol uturi da SeuzRudavi Zal aufl ebis principi, rac gamoxatul ia an rogorc udavo I egal uri xel isufl eba, an rogorc uelWvel i pol itikuri Zal aufl eba. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**supranacional izmi** – transnacional uri an gl obal uri iurisdicqis mqone organizaciaTa unari (SesaZl ebl oba), Tavs moaxvion TavianTi neba er-saxel mwifoebis. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

## t

**tendencia** – miswrafebis an movl enis ganviTarebis mimarTul eba; gansazRvra, miswrafeba, mizani. tendenciuri – garkveul i ganzraxviT.

**teritoriul i wyl ebi** – 12 sazRvao mil is siganis wyl is sivrce, romel ic gasdevs saxel mwifos sanapiro zol s.

**terorizmi** – yvel aze farTo gagebiT, terorizmi niSnavs teroris gamoyenebas Sorsmimaval i politikuri miznebiT; terorizmis amocanaa SiSisa da dabneul obis atmosferos Seqmna. miuxedavad amisa, es termini Zal ze sadavao. j er erTi, gansxvavebas, erTi mxriv, terorizmsa da meore mxriv, Zal momreobis an brZol is sxva formebs Soris is faqti aqarwyl ebs, rom es ukanasknel ni SeiZl eba, agreTve, farTo masebis daSinebas eswrafodnen. garda amisa, radgan termini “teroristi” Zal ze damamcirebel ia, is SerCeviT da xSirad subieqturad gamoiyeneba (is, vinc erT adamians teroristad miaCnia, sxvisi azriT, SeiZl eba “Tavisufal mebrZol s” warmoadgendes). bol os, Tumca terorizms, rogorc wesi, antisaxel mwifoebriw saqmianobas uwodeben, saxel mwifoebi zogj er terrors sakuTari mosaxl eobis winaaRmdeg iyeneben, rac “saxel mwifo terorizms” saxiT gvevl ineba. (“politikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**timokratia** \_ antukur monaTmfl obel ur saxel mwifoTa mmarTvel obis forma, roml is mixedviTac moqal aqeTa politikuri ufl ebebi da moval eobani ganisazRvreboda maTi simdidris (qonebisa) da Semosavl ebis mixedviT. igi Camoyal ibda Zv. aTenSi sol onis reformis Sedegad (me-6 saukene Cv. w. aRricxvamde), xol o romSi servius tul ius (Zv.w.w. 578-534) mier, romel ic iTval iswinebda keTil Sobil i kl asis mmarTvel obidan Camocil ebas da mis Canacvl ebas qonebrivi cenzis mqoneTa sasargebl od, rasac Zv. romis mosaxl eobis 5 kl asad dayofa mohyva. TiToeul i danayofi iZul ebul i iyo gamoeyvana garkveul i raodeno- bis centurioni, rac dasabami xdeba sayovel Tao samxedro val debul ebisa Zv. romSi.

**tolerantoba** – Semwynarebl oba; mzadyofna, miiRo Sexedul ebebi an moqmedeba, romel sac ar eTanxmebi. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**torizmi** – “tori” meTvramete saukunesi britanetis parlamentis erterti fraqciis saxel wodeba iyo (vigebis opozicia), romel ic monarqiul Zal aufl ebase da angl ikanur ekl esias uWerda mxars da miwaTmfl obel wvriI Tavad-aznaurobas warmoadgenda; amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi is britanetis gvirgvinisadmi loial obas gul isxmoba. (“politikuri ideologiebi”, e. heivudi).

**totalitarizmi** (lat. totalis – sul mTI ad, mTel i, sruili) – sazogadoebriv-politikuri wyobil eba, r-sac axasiaTebis sazogadoebrivi organizmis yvel a moqmedebaSi, cal keul pirovnebaTa cxovrebaSi avtoritarul -biurokrtiul i saxel mwifos yovl ismomcveli despoturi Careva. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**totalitarizmi** – cneba, romel ic aRniSnavs me-20 saukunis mTel rig social ur rejimebs, sadac ekonomikas, kulturას, sazogadoebriv da pirad cxovrebas mTI ianad gamswval av saxel mwifo ideologia. ganasxvaveben komunistur da faSistur totalitarizms (termini Semoitana benito musolini).

**totalitarizmi** – politikuri mmarTvel obis yovl ismomcveli procesi, romel is drosac saxel mwifo iwreba da akontrol ebs yvel a social ur institucas da, amdenad, samoqal aqo sazogadoebasa da “pirad” cxovrebas auqmebs.

*totalitarizmi warmoadgens politikuri mmarTvel obis yovl ismomcveli sistemas, romel ic, Cveul ebriv, totaluri ideologiuri manipulasiis, Ria terorisa da si-*

*sastikis gziT myardeba. is gansxvavdeba avtokratiis, avtoritarizmisa da tradiciul i diqtaturisagan imiT, rom cdil obs moipovos "total uri Zal aufl eba", sazogadoebrivi da piradi arsebobis yvel a aspeqtis pol itizirebis gziT. amrigad, total itarizmi samoqal aqo sazogadoebis srul gauqmebas, "piradul is" gauqmebas gul isxmobs. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**tradicia** – praqtika an institucia, ramac dros gauZl o da, Sesabamisad, wina periodidan memkvidreobiT iqna miRebul i. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**tradicional izmi** – tradiciebis rol is gazviadeba mecnierebaSi, xel ovnebaSi, zne-Cveul ebebsa da rwmenaSi, pol itikaSi. safuZvl ad udevs yovel konservatiul azrovnebas.

**tradicional izmi** – Sexedul eba, roml is mixedviTac, memkvidreobiT miRebul i instituciebi da praqtikebi, kerZod ki isini, romel Tac xangrZl ivi da uwyveti istoria aqvT, adamanuri qcevis saukeTeso gzamkvl evebia. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**troas cxeni** – gadataniTi mniSvnel obiT – niSnavs saCuqars, romel sac daRupvis mizniT Cuqnian mters.

## U

**universal izmi** – rwmena imisa, rom SesaZl ebel ia yvel a xal xisa da yvel a sazogadoebisTvis saerTo garkveul i Rirebul ebebisa da principebis aRmoCena, miuxedavad istoriul i, kul turul i da sxva gansxvavebebisa. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

**utilitarizmi** (l aT. utilitas - sargebl oba) – eTikuri Teoria, r-ic qcevis zneobriobis kriteriumad mis sargebl ianobas TvI is. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

**utilitarizmi** – eTikuri mimarTul eba, romel sac mi- aCnia, rom adamiānis qcevis mizani unda iyos sargebl ianoba, keTil dReoba, imis miuxedavad, saqme exeba individs Tu sazogadoebas.

**utilitarizmi** – eTikuri da pol itikuri fil osofia, romel ic “sikeTes” siamovnebis da tkivil is terminebiT afasebs, da umeteswil ad miiswrafis, miaRwios “maqsimal ur bednierebas umravl esobisTvis”.

*utilitarizmi eTikuri mimdinareobaa, romel ic jeremi benTamma da j eimz mil ma ganaviTares. is “sikeTes” – siamovnebas da bednierebasTan, “borotebas” ki tkivil sa da ubedurebasTan aigivebs. aseTi xedvis Sesabamisad, adamiānebi moqmedeben siamovnebis maqsimumamde gazrdisa da tkivil is minimumamde Semcirebis mizniT, es ukanasknel i ki sargebl ianobis, anu gamoyenebis Rirebul ebis sazomiT izomeba da, Cveul ebriv, aRiqmeba rogorc material uri moxmarebidan miRebul i kmayofil eba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**utopia** – “qveyana, romel ic arsad aris” (Tomas mori). utopisti – adamiāni, romel ic qadagebs sazogadoebis gaum- j obesebis ganuxorciel ebel gegmebs an ideebis.

*utopia (berZ. outopia-dan, rac niSnavs “arsad”, an “eutopia”-dan, rac “karg adgil s” niSnavs) sityvasityviT ideal ur an srul yofil sazogadoebas niSnavs. miuxedavad imisa, rom Sesazl ebel ia mraVal nairi utopiebis warmodgena, maT umetesobas axasiaTebis gaWirvebis aRmofxvra, konf- l iqtebis ararseboba da Cagvrisa da Zal adobis Tavidan*

*acil eba. utopizmi pol itikuri Teoriis Camoyal ibebis iseT formas warmoadgens, romel ic arsebul i sistemis kritis ideal uri an srul yofil i al ternativis Seqmnis gziT aviTarebs. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).*

**utopizmi** – adamanis ganviTarebis usazRvro SesaZl e-bl obaTa rwmna, rac, rogorc wesi, srul yofil i an ideal uri sazogadoebis, utopiis, xedvaSia Cadebul i.

**ufl ebebi** – moral uri ufl ebamosil ebani, imoqmedo an gepyrobodnen garkveul i wesiT. ("pol itikuri ideol ogiebi", e. heivudi).

## **f**

**faSizmi** – avtoritarul i pol itikuri sistema da total itarul i social uri reJimi, romel sac 1922 wel s Cauyara ital iaSi safuZvel i benito musol inim j entil es ideebze dayrdnobiT.

*termini "faSizmi" momdinareobs ital iuri sityvidan fasces (faSes), niSnavs wnel is Sekvras, roml idanac gamoS-veril ia najaxi da romel ic aRniSnavda magistratibus Zal aufl ebas romis imperiaSi. XIX s-is 90-iani wl ebisTvis sityva fascia ital iaSi gamoiyeneboda pol itikuri j gufis (Cveul ebriv, revol ucioneri social istebis) aR-saniSnavad. musol inimde am terminiT ar moixseniebdnen im naxevradsamxedro SeiaraRebul j gufebs, roml ebic man Camo-ayal iba pirvel i msopl io omis msvl el obisas da misi damTavrebis Semdeg, roca fascismo-m aSkarad ideol ogiuri mniSvnel oba SeiZina. miuxedavad amisa, al baT arc erTi pol itikuri termini ar gamoiyeneboda ise xSirad da araakuratul ad, rogorc "faSisti" da "faSizmi". maT, Cveu-*

*I ebriv, damamcirebel i mniSvnel obiT iyeneben, zogj er ki – pol itikuri I anZRvis universal ur terminebadac. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

**federacia** – saxel mwifo mowyobis forma, roml is drosac ori an ramdenime saxel mwifosagan (mxarisagan) iqmneba erTi saxel mwifo Zl ieri central uri xel isuflebiTa da erTiani konstituciit (mag.: ruseTis federacia).

**fundamental izmi** – rel igiuri moZRvrebis pirvel adi an yvel aze mTavari principebis rwmena, rac xSirad dakavSirebul ia mkacr val debul ebebTan da zogj er fanatikuri gznebiTaa gamoxatul i.

*fundamental izmi aris azrovnebis yaida, romel ic garkveul principebs Zireul WeSmaritebebad miiCnevs. am ukanasknel Ta uryevi da udavo avtoriteti Seuval ia, maTi Sinaarsis miuxedavad. amitom fundamental izmis damoukidebel saxeobebs oden umniSvnel o msgavseba aqvT erTmaneTTan. saerTo araferi aqvT, garda maTi momxreebis miswrafebisa, gul modgined an mgznebared amtkicon doqtrinis ueWvel oba. fundamental izmi, Cveul ebriv, asocirdeba rel igiasa da sakral uri teqstebis sityvasityviT WeSmaritebasTan, magram is SeiZl eba, agreTve, gamovl indes pol itikur msofi mxedvel obebSic. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).*

## q

**qarizma** – Sarmi an pirovnul i xibl i; unari aRZra sxvebSi erTgul eba, emociuri damokidebul eba an Tayvanis-cemac ki. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**qsenofobia** – ucxoel Ta SiSi an siZul vil i; pa-Tol ogiuri eTnocentrizmi. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

## R

**RvTaebrivi** (RvTivmimadl ebul i) ufl eba – doqtrina, roml is mixedviT, miwieri mmarTvel ebi RvTis rCeul ebi arian da, aqedan gamomdinare, udavo Zal aufl ebiT sargebl oben; RvTaebrivi ufl eba monarqiul i absol utizmis gamarTI ebas emsaxureba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Rirebul ebani** – garemomcvel i samyaros obieqtebis specifikuri social uri gansazRvrebani, r-bic gamoavl enen maTs dadebiT an uaryofiT mniSvnel obas adamianisa da saz-bisaTvis (sikeTe, keTil i da boroti, mSvenieri da maxinj i, rac sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis an bunebis movl enebis axasiaTebis). garegnul ad Rirebul ebani sagnis an movl enis Tvisebebia, Tumca isini maT axasiaTebis ara bunebrivad, ara Tavad obieqtis Sinagani struqturis gamo, aramed imitom, rom igi CarTul ia adamianis sazogadoebrivi yofierebis sferoSi da garkveul i social uri mimarTebebis matarebel ia. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

## S

**Semwynarebl oba** (permissiveness) – adamianebsTvis TavianTi moral uri arCevanis gakeTebis daSvebis survil i; Semwynarebl oba gul isxmobs, rom avtoritetul i Rirebul ebebi saerTod ar arsebobs. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Sovinizmi** – nacional izmisi ukiduresi forma, politika, romel ic erovnul gansakutrebulo bas qadagebs da mima-  
rtul ia erovnul i SuRI is gaRvivebisaken.

**Sovinizmi** – raime jgufis ukritiko da daufigrebeli erTgul eba, rac, rogorc wesi, misi upiratesobis rwmenas emyareba, rogorc, magal iTad, "erovnul SovinizmSi" an "ma-makacur SovinizmSi". ("politikuri ideologiebi", e. heivudi).

### C

**Cvevebi** – moqmedebani, r-ebic xangrZlivi ganmeorebis Sedegad avtomatizebuli xdebian. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

### C

**civil izaciaTa Sexla** – s. hanTingtonis termini. 7-8 civil izacias Soris geopolitikuri konfliktqebis permanentul obis da mudmivobis Teoria.

**civi omi** – sabWota kavSirsa da mis mokavSireebs, erTi mxriv, da aSS-sa da mis mokavSireebs Soris, meore mxriv, daZabuloba, dapirispireba, romel ic meore msofli omis Semdeg warmoiSva da dasrul da ssr kavSiris daSI is Semdeg.

**codna** – adamanTa sazogadoebrivi materialuri dasul ieri moRvaweobis produqti; bunebrivi da adamanuri samyaros obieqturi Tvisebebisa da kavSirebis idealuri gamoxatvaniSanTa formiT. codna SeiZl eba iyos mecnierebamdeli (yovel dRiuri) da mecnierebuli. es ukanaskneli iyofa empiriul ad da Teoriul ad. garda amisa, saz-baSi gvxxdeba codna mitoligiuri, mxatvruli, religiuri da

a.S. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

## Z

**Zal adoba** – qonebis an pirovnebis winaaRmdeg mimarTuli destruqciul i qmedeba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Zal aufl eba** – sazogadoebis social uri organizaciis erT-erTi ZiriTadi funqcia, avtoritetul i Zal a, r-sac aqvs imis real uri SesaZl ebl oba, rom marTos adamanTa moqmedebebi, SeaTanxmos winaaRmdegobrivi individual uri an jgufuri interesebi, daumorCil os isini erTian nebas darwmunebis an iZul ebis saSual ebiT. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**Zal aufl eba** – fizikuri Zal momreobisagan gansxvavebiT, Zal a, romelic zemoqmedebas axdens sxel ze, sul sa da gonebaze, msWval avs maT, Tavisi nebis kanons umorCil ebs sxvas.

*Zal aufl eba (authority) – ufl eba, axorciel ebde zemoqmedebas sxvebze morCil ebis aRiarebul i val debul ebis Zal iT.* (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**Zal Ta bal ansi** – dasavl eT evropul i saxel mwifoebis mier gatarebul i pol itika, roml is mizania kontinentze hegemoniis aRmocenebis SesaZl ebl obis aRmofxvra.

## W

**wesrigi** – dadgenil i, prognozirebadi da mSvidobiani social uri pirobebi, romel Sic dacul ia pirovnul i usa-frTxoeba. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

**wyal i (an zRva)** – Tal asokratiis aRmniSvnel i spe-

cial uri termini.

## W

**WeSmariteba** – azrSi sinamdvil is swori, marTebul i asaxva. fil osof. l eqs. 1987.

## X

**xel isufl eba** (government) – meqanizmi, roml is meSveo-biTac saxel mwifos saxel iT miiReba kol eqtiuri gadawvyetil ebebi; Cveul ebriv, igul isxmeba sakanonmdebl o, aRmasrul ebel i da sasamarTI o gadawvyetil ebebi. (“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

## J

**Jenti menuri SeTanxmeba** – araformal uri dipl omatiuri morigeba saxel mwifoTa (an pirovnebebs) Soris notebis gacvl is an saxel mwifo meTaurTa Soris zepiri urTierTobis dros.

## H

**hegemonia** – erTi saxel mwifos gabatonebul i mdgomareoba, meoris mimarT, romel ic miirweva dipl omatiis, ekonomikis an samxedro gamarj vebis gziT.

**hel iea** (heliaia - berZnul i) \_ nafic msaj ul Ta sasamarTI o Zvel aTenSi, romel ic Zvel i wel TaRricxviT VI saukuneSi daarsa berZenma pol itikurma moRvavem, kodridebis Rirseul ma Camomaval ma, sol onma, romel ic aseve cnobil ia, rogorc Tavisi drois udidesi reformatori da poeti.

hel iea Sedgeboda 6000 zrdasrul i (30 wel s mitanebul i) aTenel isagan, romel Ta ganaCeni uapel acio iyo da mi-

iReboda msaj ul Ta xmis umravl esobiT.

nafic msaj ul Ta sasamarTI o amtkicebda saxal xo kre-  
bis miRebul kanonebs da akontrol ebda umaRI esi saxel m-  
wifo moxel eebis samarTI ebriv qmedebas, ganixil avda  
rogorc saxel mwifoebriv aseve kerZo saqmeebs.

**hipoteza** (berZn. hypothesis – safuZvel i, varaudi) –  
varaudi, r-is drosac rigi faqtebis safuZvel ze keTdeba  
daskvna obieqtis, kavSiris an movl enis mizezis arsebobis  
Sesaxeb, amasTan es daskvna ar SeiZI eba CaiTval os mTI i-  
anad sarwmunod. fil osof. I eqs. 1987.

**humanizmi** (I aT. humanus - adamanuri) – Sexedul ebaTa  
erTobl ioba, r-ebic gamoxataven adamanis Rirsebis da  
ufl ebebisadmi pativiscemas, misi rogorc pirovnebis Rire-  
bul ebas, zrunvas adamanTa keTil dReobisaTvis, maTi  
yovel mxrivi ganviTarebisaTvis, adamanisaTvis sazogadoe-  
brivi cxovrebis xel sayrel i pirobebis Seqmnas. fil osof.  
I eqs. 1987.

*humanizmi – fil osofia, romel ic moral ur prioritets  
adamanTa moTxovnil ebebisa da miznebis miRwevas aniWebs.*  
(“pol itikuri ideol ogiebi”, e. heivudi).

## gamoyenebul i literatura

1. georgika, bizantiel i mwerl ebis cnobebi saqarTvel os Sesaxeb, t.3, tfil isi, 1936 w.
2. d. didro, esTetika, fil osofia, sociol ogia, Tb., 1939 w.
3. m. gogiberize, fiol osofiis istoria, Tb., 1941 w.
4. iv. j avaxiSvil is Sromebi, t. IV, Tb., 1967 w.
5. saqarTvel os istoriis narkvevebi rva tomad, Tb., t.III - 1979 w., t.IV - 1973 w.
6. v. goguaZe, adamiani rogorc esTetikuri fenomeni, Tb., 1980 w.
7. b. paskali, azrebi, Tb., 1981 w.
8. i. j avaxiSvil i, Txzul ebani Tormet tomad, Tb., t.II - 1983 w., t.III - 1982 w., t. V - 1986 w.
9. e. kasieri, ra aris adamiani? Tb., 1983 w.
10. g.e. l esingi, l aokooni anu mxatvrobisa da poeziis sazRvrebis Sesaxeb esTetikis bibli oTeka, Tb., 1986 w.
11. fil osofiuri l eqsikoni, Tb., 1987 w.
12. T. kukava, berZnul i fil osofiis istoria, Tb., 1988 w.
13. a. gel ovani, sibrZnis simfonia, Tb., 1989 w.
14. i. WavWavaZe, azrebi, Tb., 1989 w.
15. pl atoni, timeosi, Tb., 1994 w.
16. aristotel e, pol itika, nawil i I, Tb., 1995 w.
17. aristotel e, pol itika, nawil i II, Tb., 1996 w.
18. m. cacanaSvil i, informaciul i sazogadoeba da informaciis samarTI ebrivi regul ireba, Tb., 1999 w.
19. bibli ia, stokhol mi, 2002 w.
20. S. j afariZe, pol itikuri fil osofia, 2002 w.

21. a. cincaZe, g. baRaTuria, q. qoqraSvil i, m. mamardaSvil i, g. xomeriki, o. baRaTuria, v. mkrtiCiani, saxel mwifo pol itika, Tb., 2002 w.
22. pl atoni, saxel mwifo, gamomceml oba "nekeri" 2003 w.
23. aristotel e, nikomaqes eTika, Tb., 2003 w.
24. d. focxveraSvil i, mxatvrul i cnobierebis ganviTarebis etapebi, Tb., 2003 w.
25. g. CogovaZe, informacia: informacia, sazogadoeba, adamiani, Tb., 2003 w.
26. e. heivudi, pol itikuri ideol ogiebi, Tb., 2004 w.
27. b. kovaCi, t. rozenstil i, Jurnal istikis el ementebi, Tb., 2006 w.
28. d. focxveraSvil i, esTetika da xel ovneba XX saukunis l iteraturaSi, Tb., 2007 w.

კომპიუტერული უზრუნველყოფა:  
ირინა ღარიბიანის, სოფიკო რეხვიაშვილის

## იგეჭღება ავტორის მიერ წარმოდგენილი სახით

გალაეცა წარმოებას 11.12.2008. ხელმოწერილია დასაბეჭდად  
01.05.2009. ქაღალდის ზომა 60X84 1/16. პირობითი ნაბეჭდი თაბახი 24,5.  
ტირაჟი 100 ეგზ.

საგამომცემლო სახლი „ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტი“, თბილისი,  
კოსტავას 77

