

2007 wl is 10 oqtombers hainrih biol is fondis ofisSi Catarda saj aro diskusia
Temaze:

`gza **NATO**-saken: qarTul i real obis Sefaseba-

momxsenebl ebi:

arCil gegeSiZe _ saqarTvel os strategiul i da saerTaSoriso kvl evebis fondis
mTavari eqsperti

Sal va TadumaZe _ `samarTal i da Tavisufl ebis- iuristi, samxedro eqsperti

ivl iane xaindrava _ saqarTvel os parl amentis wevri, respubl ikuri partia

moderacia: gogi gvaxaria

gogi gvaxaria _ hainrih biol is fondis ofisSi dRes saj aro diskusiebis
axal i sezoni ixsneba. gadavwyviteT, natos Temaze gvesaubra. piradad CemTvis, ufro
sainteresoa ara is, aris Tu ara mZad saqarTvel os xel isufl eba natoSi
Sesavsl el ad, aramed, ufro sainteresod meCveneba, ramdenad aris mZad qarTul i
sazogadoeba natos wevrobisTvis; icis Tu ara man ras warmoadgens es organizacia
real urad.

Cveni ZiriTadi momxsenebl ebi arian batonebi _ arCil gegeSiZe, saqarTvel os
strategiul i da saerTaSoriso kvl evebis fondis mTavari eqsperti; Sal va TadumaZe
_ `samarTal i da Tavisufl ebis- iuristi, samxedro eqsperti; ivl iane xaindrava _
saqarTvel os parl amentis wevri.

fraqcia `demokratiuli fronti- daaxl oebiT erTi kviris win winadadebiT
gamovida da parl amentis winaSe kidev erTxel daayena saqarTvel os dsT-dan
gamosvl isa da l ustraciis sakiTxi. Semdeg, es Temebi isev miCqmal a. zustad meore
dRes saqarTvel oSi Camovida natos general uri mdivani da ukve mesame dRes
saqarTvel os prezidenti, duSanbeSi, dsT-s samitze gaengzavra. iqneb, SevecadoT da
es sami movl ena erTmaneTs davukavSiroT.

ivl iane xaindrava _ me mainc mgonia, rom Tema ar aris rTul i da saxifaTo.
rogorc pol itikur speqtrSi, ise sazogadoebaSic, natos Tema erT-erTi
mcireTagania, sadac sakmaod farTo konsesusi SeiniSneba. amis dasturad SemiZl ia
moviyvano guSin opoziciuri partieb is mier natos wevri saxel mwifoebis mimarT
SemuSavebul i erTobl ivi dekl araciis gamoqveyneba. teqsti vrcel i ar aris. mas xel s
aweren `saqarTvel os l eiboristul i partia-, `respubl ikuri partia-, `erovnul i
forumi-, `konservatiul i partia-, `saqarTvel os gza-, pol itikuri moZraoba

`Tavisufl eba~, moZraoba `erTiani saqarTvel osTvis~, pol itikuri gaerTianeba `Cven TviTon~, `xal xis partia~ da `qarTul i dasi~. mimarTvaSi gamoxatul ia saqarTvel oSi bol o periodSi mimdinare procesebis gamo garkveul i SeSfoTeba, radgan migvaCnia, rom maT, SesaZl oa, daabrkol on Cveni svl a natosken. momaval i wl is gazafxul istvis dagegmil buqarestis natos samitze, SesaZl oa, ver moxerxdes MAP – is miReba, magram eWvqveS ar dgas am pol itikuri organizaciebis saerTo survil i da pozicia, saqarTvel o, natoSi, rac SeiZl eba swrafad, ixil on.

mogexsenebaT, 2007 wl is martSi saqarTvel os parl amentSi warmodgenil ma partiebma natoSi saqarTvel os integraciaze erTobl ivi memorandumi gamoaqveynes. masSi saubarია imaze, rom es aris qveynis – saqarTvel os - sabol oo suverenul i arCevani, da xazgasmIT aris aRniSnul i, rom yvel a pol itikuri wamyvani Zal a, ganurCevl ad imisa, xel isufl ebaSia igi, Tu opoziciaSi, mxars uWers am process. ufro adre, 2006 wl is 12 ivniss, fraqcia `demokratiul frontSi~ gaerTianebul i respubl ikuri da konservatiul i partiebi gamovidnen dekl araciIT, Tumca, es ufro manifestis Sinaarsis dokumentia. masSi Tezisuri saxiT aris Camoyal ibebul i is principebi, romel Ta gamoc miCnevs es ori partia saSur saqmed saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas. saubarია imazec, Tu ras el ian es partiebi am procesebisgan.

SemiZl ia gavixseno, j er kidev eduard SevardnaZis mier, 2002 wl is praRis natos samitze gakeTebul i ganacxadi natoSi integraciis Taobaze. mas win uZRoda arasamTavrobo organizaciebisa da mediis warmomadgenel Ta Tavyril oba Tbil isSi, romel zec mimarTes prezident eduard SevardnaZes moTxovniT, es sakiTxi praRis natos samitze daeyenebina. imasac gagaxsenebT, rom arc SevardnaZes da arc sxvas, aravis, maSin ar sjeroda, rom natoSi integracia SesaZl ebel i iqneboda, iyo dekl araciebi, magram imdenad amorful i da gaugebari iyo situacia, rom didi imedi am ganacxadTan dakavSirebiT aravis gasCenia.

axal i xel isufl ebis mosvl is Semdeg kardinal urad Seicval a suraTi da Cven davinaxeT natosken mimarTul i Zal isxmevac da konkretul i nabijebic; aqtiuri, SesaZl oa, agresiul i sagareo pol itikac ki, romel ic amagrebda am pozicias da swrafvas. amave periodSi daiwyo qarTul i j aris mSenebl obac.

mesmis, rom es ar aris uprobl emo sfero. isic vici, rom yofil Tavdacvis ministrTan dakavSirebul i skandal i, am Tval sazrisiTac, arasaxarbiel oa qveyniTvis, imitom, rom gamodis, rom ori wl is ganmavl obaSi, uwyebas xel mZRvanel obda adamiani, romel ic, bral debis mixedviT, borotad iyenebda Tavis Tanamdebobas da korufciul garigebebSi monawil eobda. bunebrivia, amas mohyveba rezonansi, Tumca, Cemi STabeWdil ebiT, im wreebSi, roml ebic natos sakiTxebs agvarebdnen, didi simpaTiebiT irakl i oqruaSvil i arc manamde sargebl obda.

ori kviris win gaxl diT briusel Si. natoSic mqonda Sexvedra, marTal ia, ara general uri mdivnis doneze. Sevxdid adamianebs, roml ebic, uSual od, samxreT kavkasiisa da saqarTvel os mimarTul ebiT muSaoben. am Sexvedrebis Semdeg gamiCnda ganacda, rom sifrTxil em saqarTvel os mimarT, moimata. TumcaRa, im periodSi j er agorebul i ar iyo skandal i oqruaSvil is garSemo.

xel isufl ebase da opozicias Soris natos Temaze, Tanxmoba arsebobs, Tumca, aris garkveul i gansxvavebebic maT Sexedul ebebSi. Cven, magal iTad, saqarTvel os dsT-s wevrobas da l ustraciis kanonis miuRebl obas natosken saqarTvel os integraciis gzaze damabrkol ebel faqtorebad ganvixil avT. al baT, gaxsovT, `aTi nabij i Tavisufl ebisken~ _ revol uciuri Zal ebis mokl e samoqmedo programa. masSi qveyanaSi l ustraciis kanonis miReba pirvel punqtad iyo Caweril i. Tumca, Semdeg, xel isufl ebam am kanonis miRebaze kategoriul i uari ganacxada. miuxedavad imisa,

rom or wel iwadze metia, parl amentSi devs am sakiTxze Cvens mier momzadebul i proeqti, mis ganxil vas saSvel i ar daadga da ufro metic, Cven mkafiod da Riad gveTqva, rom es sakiTxi arc ganxil eba. aris Sesabamisi argumentebic, roml ebic arqivebis nawil is qveynidan gatanasa da nawil is ki, ganadgurebaSi gamoixateba. aqve saxel deba isic, rom am Temam, SesaZl oa, sazogadoebaSi damatebiTi bzarebi gaaCinos, Tumca, Cven kvl avindeburad miviCnevT, rom l ustracia sxvadasxva masStabiTa da siRmiT, sxvadasxva doneze, SesaZl ebel ia, amoqmeddes. aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT evropis qveynebsi amis Taobaze arsebobs magal iTebi. aseTi kanonis miReba moral uradac mniSvnel ovani iqneboda, praqtikul i Tval sazrisiT ki, mniSvnel ovani iqneboda am kanoniT gaTval iswinebul i barierebis dayeneba zogierTi Cveni Tanamemamul is mimarT. sxva Tu araferi, am kanonis miRebas, SesaZl oa mohyol oda im isteriis Semicireba, romel ic ganuwvyetl iv meordeba saqarTvel oSi kreml is agentebTan, kgb-s Tu fsb-s oficrebTan dakavSirebiT.

rac Seexeba dsT-s sakiTxs, aq yvel aferi cxadia. dsT da nato SeuTavsebel i cnebebia, rom aRaraferi vTqvaT evrokavSirze, Tumca, evrointegracia kidev cal ke, Rma da kidev ufro rTul i Temaa, ufro mravawaxnagovani - natos TemasTan SedarebiT. gasul TveSi Sevxdit litvis seimis deputats, bevri visaubreT am Temebze, da maxsovs, rogor gaakvirva im faqtma, rom Cven j er kidev dsT-s wevri qveyana varT. TiTqos, arc am sakiTxsia kardinal uri gansxvaveba saparl amento umravl esobasa da opozicias Soris, magram sami wl is win davayeneT dsT-dan gasvl is sakiTxi dRis wesrigSi da amdeni xania, am sakiTxis ganxil va parl amentSi ibl okeba. xel isufl eba zogj er gveubneba, rom dsT-dan maSin unda gavideT, rodesac es taqtikurad momgebiani iqneba. dRevandel preskonferenciaze, romel ic moskovel i Jurnal istebistvis gaimarTa, b-nma giga bokeriam ganacxada, rom es sakiTxi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebistvis ar aris mniSvnel ovani. al baT, aseT poziciasac aqvs arsebobs ufl eba, magram, mainc mimaCnia, rom dsT-Si Cveni yofniT winaaRmdegobriv gzavnil ebs vagzavniT rogorc aRmosavl eTis, ise, dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT, vinaidan, dsT-s wevri saqarTvel os natosken swrafva, cota ar iyos, winaaRmdegobrivad aRiqmeba. imedi maqvs, dadgeba Sesabamisi momenti da miuxedavad imisa, rom, rogorc umravl esobis rigebSi, ise mTavrobaSic, arian adamianebi, romel Ta xel mowerac dgas saqarTvel os dsT-Si Sesvl is dokumentSi, es sakiTxi ise gadawydeba, rogorc saWiroa. am procesis gaWianurebis namdvil i mizezi, simarTl e giTxraT, CemTvis gaugebaria. Tu dsT-dan imitom ar gamovdivarT, rom ruseTis gaRizianebas veridebiT, ruseTi mainc sul gaRizianebul ia. raSi mdgomareobs is, taqtikurad momgebiani dro, CemTvis Znel i gasagebia, magram, viTareba aseTia.

guSin dsT-s Temaze moskovi-Tbil isi-kievis tel exidi moewyo. masSi mec vmonawil eobdi. Cemsda da saparl amento umravl esobis warmomadgenl is, evrointegraciis komitetis axal i Tavmj domaris, q-n nino nakaSiZis, romel ic aseve monawil eobda am tel exidSi, poziciebs Soris, TiTqos arc Canda gansxvaveba, Tu ar CavTvl iT imas, rom me vambobdi, rom unda gavideT dsT-dan, q-ni nino ki, ambobda, rom j er ar unda gavideT. tel exidSi monawil e qarTvel i eqspertebi aseve saubrobdnen imaze, rom saqarTvel os adgil i ar aris dsT-Si. moskovis studiaSi myofi rusi eqspertebi Tavisufal vaWrobasda gamartivebul sabaJo reJimebze saubrobdnen. Cemi azrit, Tavisufal vaWrobasda gamartivebul sabaJo reJimebze zedmetia saubari, rodesac dsT-s erT wevrs sabaJo embargo Semoaqvs dsT-s wevri meore qveynis mimarT da ara marto sahaero mimosvl as, aramed safosto kavSirs wyvets, rac warmoudgenel ia 21-e saukuneSi. aqve unda aRiniSnos isic, rom ruseTi ar aris msofl io savaWro organizaciis wevri da, Sesabamisad, perspeqtiva, arc aq

aris saxarbiel o. kiTxva, romel ic mixeil saakaSvil is duSanbeSi wasvl as Seexeboda, me Tavad gavaJRere am Sexvedraze, da vTqvi, rom aseT viTarebaSi, rodesac saqarTvel o dsT-Si arc erT dokumentis ar awers xel s, garda ramdenime teqniki xasiaTis dokumentisa, da rodesac dsT-s samitis CarCoebSi dsT-s probl ematikaze ufro aqtiurad ixil eba Sida usafrTxoebis organizaciis sakiTxebi, roml is wevric saqarTvel o ukve aRar aris, CemTvis aseT Sexvedraze saqarTvel os prezidentis funqcia gaugebaria. esec, Cemi azriT, im gaugebari gzavnil ebis gagrZel ebaa, roml ebic igzavneba rogorc dasavl el i partniorebis, ise, Tavad dsT-s wevri saxel mwifoebis mimarT, roml ebic aseve Cveni partniorebi arian, da roml ebTanac, Tu j er ar gvaqvs gaformebul i ormxrivi xel Sekrul ebebi, vapirebT maT gaformebas, da im formatis Seavl as, romel ic dsT-s CarCoebSi arsebobs ormxrivi urTierTobebis formatSi. es SekiTxva, Tu ras akeTebda mixeil saakaSvil i duSanbeSi, dRes b-n giga bokeriasac dausva erT-erTma moskovel ma Jurnal istma da b-nma gigam brZana, rom es mistvis ucnohia, radgan mas am sakiTxze prezidentTan ar usaubria.

rac Seexeba natos general uri mdivnis, iap de hoop sxeferis saqarTvel oSi vizits, maSin Tbil isSi ar gaxl diT, magram bunebrivia, Tval yurs vadevnebdi movl enebis da, vfiqrob, rom, masSi adeqvaturad aris asaxul i natos dRevandel i pozicia saqarTvel os mimarT. es aris keTil ganwyobil i damokidebul eba. ufro metic, me darwmunebul i var, rom sxeferi, ara marto rogorc natos mTavari moxel e, aramed, rogorc pirovneba, mowadinebul ia, rom saqarTvel om, rac SeiZl eba, swrafad Seiqmnas usafrTxoebis is qol ga, romel sac nato ewodeba. briusel is STabeWdil ebebidanac SemiZl ia giTxraT, rom aseTi, dominirebul i da preval irebul i damokidebul eba sufevs natos StabbinaSic, mis rogorc pol itikur, ise samxedro qvedanayofebSi da natos wevri qveynebis mTavrobebis umravl esobaSic, mcire gamonakl isiT.

b-ni sxeferis gamosvl aSi, adrindel Tan SedarebiT, SesaZl oa, ufro mkafiod, Cans SeSfoTeba imis gamo, rom qveyanaSi yvel aferi ise ar aris, rogorc unda iyos da rom Zal ian bevria samuSao. da sainteresoa is, rom aqcenti keTdeba ara samxedro sakiTxebze, TumcaRa, aqac aris probl emebi, magram, al baT, es ufro daxurul rejimSi mimdinare saubris Tema, aramed sasamarTl oebis da demokratiis ganviTarebaze. aqcentirebul ia momaval i wl is arCevnebis Temac. es SeSfoTebebi, Cemi azriT, evropul i dipl omatiuri enisaTvis, sakmaod mkafiod iqna Camoyal ibebul i da gacnobil i qarTul i farTo sazogadoebisaTvis. Tumca, saqarTvel os mimarT bol o periodSi miZRvnil yvel a gamosvl aSi, SeiniSneba erTi damaimedebel i el ementic, nato saqarTvel os mougwarebel konfl iqtebs, masSi gawevrianebis Tval sazrisiT, damabrkol ebel pirobad ar ganxil avs. natos da mis wevr saxel mwifoebis, amit surT, separatistul i regionebs l iderebs da oficial ur moskovs ar miscen natoSi saqarTvel os gawevrianebaze vetos ufl eba. kiTxvebi am sakiTxze, ra Tqma unda, rCeba. warmomidgenia **MAP**-is miReba qveynisTvis konfl iqtebis mougwarebl obis pirobebSi, Tumca, saqarTvel os natos srul ufl ebian wevrad warmodgena amave pirobebSi, rasac emateba qveynis teritoriaze rusi samSvidoboebis yofna, CemTvis, Znel i warmosadgenia.

gogi gvaxaria _ gmadl obT. es Zal ian mniSvnel ovani sakiTxia. b-n ivl ianes moxsenebaSi wamoWril Temebze, mougwarebel konfl iqtebsa da saqarTvel os dsT-s wevrobaze, al baT, b-ni arCil gegeSiZec isaubrebs. da aqve minda erT sakiTxsac Sevexo, rodesac korufciaze, sasamarTl oStan dakavSirebul probl emebis da demokratiis ganviTarebaze saubroben, argumentad zogj er mohyavT, rumineTis,

bul garetisa da Turqetis magal iTi. amoben, rom am kuTxiT, am qveynebSic aris seriozul i probl emebi, da rom isini ar yofil a ganmsazRvrel i maTi natoSi gawevrianebisTvis.

modiT, axl a b-n arCil s movusminoT. b-no arCil , uSI is Tu ara xel s dsT-s wevroba, qveynis teritoriaze rusi samSvidoboebis yofna da mougvarebel i konfl iqtebis faqtori, saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebis gzaze?

arCil gegeSiZe _ Tavad nato, dsT-Si yofnas, am organizaciaSi gawevrianebisTvis, formal urad, xel isSemSI el faqtorad ar ganxil avs, imitom rom j er dsT-s wevri arc erTi qveyana natoSi ar gawevrianebul a. aseTi precedentii natos j er ar hqonia. verc mis sadamfuZnebl o dokumentebSi SexvdebiT aseT debul ebas, rom dsT-s wevri qveyana ar SeiZl eba gaxdes misi wevri.

dsT aris organizacia sxvadasxva samxedro Tu ekonomikuri, ganzomil ebebiT. mis samxedro ganzomil ebaSi, romel sac `kol eqtiuri usafrTxoebis xel Sekrul eba-ewodeba, saqarTvel o ar monawil eobs. veTanxmebi b-n ivl ianes, MAP-is miRebisTvis dsT-Si yofna, namdvil ad ar aris damabrkol ebel i piroba. intensiuri dial ogis fargl ebSi, ramdenadac CemTvis cnobil ia, MAP-is misaRebad dsT-dan gamosvl a aucil ebel pirobad ar wamouyenebiaT. anu, vimeoreb, formal urad, araTavsebadobaze, saubari ar yofil a. Tumca, saqme saqmeze rom midgeba, rodesac real urad dadgeba natoSi Sesvl is sakiTxi, dsT-dan gamosvl a mainc mogviwevs. SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom xel isufl eba amitomac ar Cqarobs dsT-dan gamosvl as.

kidev ra faqtorebi SeiZl eba iyos, razec xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebi xmamaRl a ar saubroben? erT-erTi, Cemi azriT, produqciis gasaRebis bazarSi mdgomareobs. dsT-s fargl ebSi Cven mraval mxriv xel Sekrul ebebze gvaqvs xel i moweril i, romel Ta meSveobiTac, dsT-s wevr qveynebSi produqcia SeRavaTiani rejimiT gagvaqvs. amdenad, dsT-dan gamosvl a am xel Sekruel ebebidan gamosvl asac niSnavs. Sesabamisad, aris safrTxe, rom daikargos dsT-s wevri qveynebis bazrebi. Tumca, arsebobs gamosaval i _ am qveynebtan individual ur rejimSi unda Catardes samuSaoebi. daaxl oebiT ori wl is win Cvenma sagareo saqmeTa ministrma Tqva, rom am kuTxiT muSaoba ukve daviwyeT, magram, mas Semdeg aRaraferi Tqmul a imis Sesaxeb, rogor Catarda es samuSaoebi, gaformda Tu ara xel Sekrul ebebi da Tu gaformda, romel qveynebtan. magram, es yvel aferi, mainc, nakl ebad Semaferxebel faqtorad mesaxeba. ufro mniSvnel ovania, Cemi azriT, samSvidobo operaciebi Cvens teritoriaze.

dsT-dan gamosvl is SemTxvevaSi, samSvidobo operaciis Sesaxeb debul ebis Tanaxmad, romel ic Tavis droze iqna dsT-Si miRebul i, samSvidobo operacia ar SeiZl eba ganxorciel des dsT-s fargl ebs miRma. amdenad, Cven Tu dsT-dan gamoval T, Cvens teritoriaze mimdinare samSvidobo operaciebi, avtomaturad aral egitimuri xdeba. samSvidobo operaciebis Tema, didi xania, dgas Cveni dRis wesrigSi. igive, wina xel isufl ebis pirobebSic ki, 90-iani wl ebidan, ukve idga samSvidobo operaciebis egidis Secvl is, gaero-s an euTo-s, ufro ki, gaero-s egidiT Canacvl ebis sakiTxi. dsT-s egidiT mimdinare samSvidobo operaciebis gaeros egidiT Canacvl ebis sakiTxi j er kidev 1997 wel s, uSiSroebis sabWoze daisva. mas winaaRmdogoba gauwia ingl isis el Cma da Semdeg yvel am kveri daukra.

saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba, samwuxarod, ar aris dRes mzad, mxari dagviWiros egidis Secvl aSi, anu, samSvidobo operaciis WeSmaritad internacional izaciaSi. arc imis momxrea, rom dsT-s egidiT mimdinare operaciebis Sewyvetisa da maTi Canacvl ebis sakiTxis gadauWrel obis SemTxvevaSi, iq vakuumi dauSvas. es aris saqarTvel os suverenul i ufl eba, mis xel T arsebul i iuridiul i

berketebiT, Tundac im cnobil i debul ebiT, roml is Zal iTac, konfl iqtis erT-erTi mxare rogorc ki ganacxadebs samSvidobo operaciebis Sewyvetis Taobaze, operaciebi unda Sewydes, gadawyvitos es sakiTxi. meore berketi ki, is gaxl avT, rom dsT-dan gamosvl a am samSvidobo operaciebs, avtomaturad aral egitimurs xdis. magram saqarTvel o, am gadawyvetil ebebs, dasavl eTis mxardaWeris gareSe, mainc ver iRebs. dasavl eTi ki, am sakiTxSi, CvenTvis mxardasaWerad momwifebul i ar aris, miT umetes, rom dRes ruseTTan dasavl eTi, misTvis bevrad ufro mniSvnel ovan sakiTxze Zal ian seriozul pol itikur da dipl omatiur resursebs xarj avs. es gaxl avT kosovos sakiTxi. rogorc Cans, dasavl eTs ruseTTan, kidev erT sakiTxSi dapirispireba, ar uRirs. an, Cvens gamo, am etapze, amaze meti dipl omatiuri resursis daxarj va mizanSewonil ad ar miaCnia. al baT, amitomac ar gamovdivarT j erj erobiT dsT-dan. procedurul ad dsT-dan gamosvl a erTi wl iT adre, dsT-s samdivnoSi, Sesabamisi ganacxadis gakeTebas niSnavs. erTi wl is Semdeg dsT daakmayofil ebs Txovnas da Senc, am organizaciidan gamosul ad CaiTvl ebi. erTi wel i ki, rogorc mogaxseneT, kvl av dsT-s wevrad iTvl ebi, rac, sakmaod didi periodia. Tu gaviTval iswinebT saqarTvel os mowyl adobas, am periodSi, arsebul i safrTxeebis ricxvi, SesaZl oa, kidev ufro gaizardos. me axl a xel isufl ebis SesaZl o varaudebs vaJRereb, pirvel wyarosTan, bunebrivia, Sexeba ar maqvs. savaraudod, al baT, am mizezebis gamo, yovndeba dsT-dan gamosvl is sakiTxi.

rogorc ukve mogaxseneT, j erj erobiT, arc kosovos sakiTxi gadamwydara. 10 dekembers srul deba kosovos Taobaze mol aparakebis dasrul ebis oTxTviani vada. amis Semdeg gairkveva, dainteresebul i mxareebis monawil eebi kidev ganagrZoben mol aparakebebs ganusazRvrel i vadiT, Tu viRacebi kosovos damoukidebl obis cal mxriv cnobaze wavl en. es j er gaurkvevel i sakiTxia. Tu kosovos damoukidebl oba cal mxrivad aRiars, es ruseTs miscems moral ur ufl ebas, aseve moiqces afxazeTis SemTxvevaSi. oriode dRis win Cvenma prezidentma, daniaSi, erT-erT preskonferenciaze, ganacxada, rom ar hgonia, ruseTi konfl iqturi zonebis cal mxrivad cnobaze wavides. rogorc Cans, Cvens xel isufl ebas mainc aRel vebs es sakiTxi, imitom rom, iracional ur ruseTs amis gakeTeba SeuZl ia. aqve unda gaviTval iswinoT soWis ol impiadis sakiTxic. TiTqos, Tan, SesaZl ebl obebs qmnis CvenTvis, da Tan, mudmivad arsebobs maTi Setrial ebis safrTxex. Tu ruseTi Seecdeba 2014 wl isTvis iq absol uturi stabil urobis Seqmnas, da mas ar eqneba imedi, rom Cven mas amaSi xel s SevuyyobT, kosovos precedentis dadgomis SemTxvevaSi, SesaZl oa, man es sakiTxi forsirebul ad gadawyvitos. am SemTxvevaSi, gamova, rom arc saerTaSoriso Tanamegobrobas aRar unda hqondes sapretenzio ruseTis mimarT, radgan mas igive eqneba gakeTebul i kosovos SemTxvevaSi. aq mniSvnel ovania, ra berketebi eqneba saqarTvel os situaciis ase ganvitarebis SemTxvevaSi misi gaxmaurebisa da gaprotestebisaTvis. es yvel aferi did sifrTxil es moITxovs. mniSvnel ovania, ra doziT da ramdeni xnis ganmavl obaSi dagviWers mxars saerTaSoriso Tanamegobroba, da ramdenad moxerxdeba situaciis ukan Sebruneba. ruseTma rom aRiaros afxazeTi, Semdeg, misive moTxovniT, iq oficial urad ganaTavsos Tavisi SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi, da mas Tavisi regul arul i j ari uwodos, am situaciis Semotrial eba Zal ian rTul i iqneba. movl enebis ase ganvitareba saqarTvel os, formal urad, saomar mdgomareobaSi Caayenebs ruseTTan. ruseTTan, Tundac, formal urad saomar mdgomareobaSi myof saqarTvel os ki, natoSi aravin miiRebs.

gogi gvaxaria _ Tqveni saubridan gamomdinare, afxazeTis damoukidebl obis aRiareba, uaryofiTad imoqmedebs natoSi saqarTvel os gaweVrianebaze?

arCil gegeSiZe _ ra Tqma unda, maSin, Cvenc unda vaRiaroT, rom konfl iqti aRmofxvriL ia, rom sapretenzio aRaraferi gvaqvs da moviTxovoT natoSi Sesvl a. amas Cven ver daveTanxmebiT.

giorgi burjanaZe, `qristian-demokratiul i partiis- Tavmj domare _ aris informacia, rom dasavl eTidan garkveul i Zal ebi Cvens xel isufl ebas afxazeTis damoukidebl obis cnobas urCevs. Tu daadasturebT am informacias?

arCil gegeSiZe _ oficial urad, amas aravin ambobs, Tumca, SekiTxebi imis Sesaxeb, gviRirs Tu ara Cveni ganvitarebisa da perspeqtivis Sewirva afxazeTis probl emisadmi, me Tavad momismenia saerTaSoriso biznes-wreebisa da zogierTi arasamTavrobo organizaciis warmomadgenl ebisagan. gamoTqmul a azri, xom ar aj obebda Tavis ganebeba afxazeTisaTvis, isic uTqvamT, rom amis Semdeg qveyanaSi stabil uroba damyardeboda da investiciac meti Semovidoda. aseTi SekiTxebi im did investorebs uCndebaT, roml ebiC dainteresebul ebi arian saqarTvel oSi stabil uri sainvesticio garemos SeqmniT. magram is, rom saqarTvel os prezidents vinmem afxazeTis daTmobis Sesaxeb oficial urad urCios, gamoricxul ia. es SeuZl ebel ia mTel i rigi faqtorebis gamo. arc erT pol itikoss, arc erT pol itikur Zal as, ar Zal uZs afxazeTis damoukidebl obisadmi Serigeba, an afxazeTis damoukidebl obis inicireba. pirvel rigSi, imitom, rom Cveni sazogadoeba fsiqol ogiurad ar aris amisTvis mzad. rogorc natos sakiTxSi gvaqvs konsesusi, aseve am sakiTxSic, aris konsesusi, rom es ar unda moxdes.

giorgi burjanaZe _ me imitom davsvi es SekiTxa, rom kosovos Temis win wamowevisas, iqmneba saSiSroeba, rom ruseTTan vaWrobaSi CaTreul i iyos afxazeTisa da cxinval is regionis sakiTxebi.

arCil gegeSiZe _ CemTvis ucnobia, ruseTTan ra Temebze saubroben, magram saqarTvel oSi sakiTxis ase dayenebas gamovricxav. faqtia, rom Teoriul ad amis SesaZl ebl oba arsebobs. ver getyviT, rogor warimarTeba saarCevno procesi ruseTSi, vin iqneba putinis Semdeg prezidenti, ra fsiqol ogiisa da msofl mxedvel obis adamiani. aseve ucnobia, putinis wasvl a Sida Zal ebi ra bal anss Seqmnis, igive darCeba, Tu sxva Zal ebi gaaqtiurdebian, an es Zal ebi kidev ufro xom ar gaamkacreben Cvens mimarT pol itikas? es yvel aferi winaswar Znel i gansasazRvria. dsT-dan gamosvl a swored am riskebs xsnis.

b-nma ivl ianem swori aqcenti gaakeTa natos general uri mdivnis vizitTan da universitetSi warmoTqmul sityvasTan dakavSirebiT. me mxol od ramdenime sakiTxs gavusvam xazs. Tavad is faqti, rom *sxeferi* saqarTvel oSi Camovida, da ara regionis sxva qveynebsi, rogorc es adre xdeboda, ukve mianisnebs saqarTvel os gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obaze Cvens regionSi, da imazec, rom saqarTvel os natosken swrafva da masTan TanamSroml obis survil i SeumCnevel i ar rCeba. magram mTavari is aris, rom am adamianma daadastura saqarTvel os swrafvis l egitimuroba natoSi integraciis mimarT; is warmatebebi, Sedegebi, roml ebsac saqarTvel om miaRwia am procesSi, **IPAP-** is fargl ebSi, zogadad, magram, aqve gaimeora imis Sesaxebac, rom probl emebi rCeba, da maTze ukve isaubra b-nma ivl ianem.

me damatebiT gamovyofdi erT moments. sagul isxmoa, rom amerikis SeerTebul ma Statebma SarSan seqtemberSi oTxi qveynis - sami dasavl eT-bal kanuri da saqarTvel os - natoSi daCqarebul i wesiT integraciis Taobaze, special uri kanoni miRo. da am miznebisTvis Tanxac gamoiyo. im droisTvis, natoSi gawevrianebis perspeqtivis Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel o, TiTqos, uTanabrdeboda dasavl ur sam bal kanur qveyanas. bol omde, Sesazl oa, ara, magram, konturebi TiTqos iyo gamokveTil i. gavimeoreb, SeerTebul i Statebis doneze aman sakanonmdebl o saxec ki miRo, rac imas niSnavs, rom arCevnebis Semdgom, administraciis Sevl is miuxedavad, mas kanonis Zal a aqvs SeZenil i. sxva sakiTxia is, rom evropasi, natos fargl ebSi, konsesusi amis Taobaze, jerjerobiT ar yofil a. SegaxsenebT, im droisTvis, ukrainis mdgomareoba Zal ian gaurkvevel i iyo. aravin icoda, ra SedegebiT dasrul deboda sapaarl amento arCevnebi da amitom, dasavl ur bal kaneTTan erTad, maSin, saqarTvel os moiazrebden. axl a ki, sxferis sityvasi gamoCnda, rom buqarestis samitze, savaraudod, bal kanur qveynebs ukve miwveven natoSi, Cvenze ki, am etapze, aRar aris saubari. samagierod, rogorc b-nma ivl ianemac aRniSna, gaCnda fraza, rom natoSi yuradRebiT daakvirdebian saqarTvel oSi arCevnebis wina periodSi pol itikuri procesebis transparentul obas da demokratiul CarCoebSi moqcevas. es imas niSnavs, rom MAP-is miRebis erT-erT pirobad, ukve, arCevnebis demokratiul ad Catarebas gvimateben. ukrainaSi, formal urad, arCevnebi, dasavl eTisTvis saxarbiel o da saimedo SedegebiT dasrul da. Tu ianukoviCma, ruseTis waqezebiT, quCaSi ar gamoiyvana xal xi da ar Seqmna destabil izacia, ukraina, al baT, ukve, dasavl eTis mowadinebiT, Zal ian swrafad wava natoSi integraciis gziT. CvenC axl a, savaraudod, ukrainasTan mibmis perspeqtiva gviCndeba da, Sesazl oa, Cveni Sansic es iyos, magram es im SemTxvevaSi moxdeba, Tu CvenTanac iseTive warmatebiT Catardeba arCevnebi, rogorc ukrainaSi Catarda. mniSvnel ovani sakiTxia arCevnebis Catarebis TariRic. Tu arCevnebi Semodgomaze gaimarTeba, rogorc es xel isufl ebas surs, maSin gamodis, rom buqarestis samitamde MAP-is miReba gamoricxul ia. ai, ase mesaxeba me, saqarTvel os natoSi integraciis procesebis ganviTareba.

gogi gvaxaria _ Tqven brZaneT, rom natos sakiTxSi, saqarTvel oSi konsesusia.

arCil gegeSiZe _ me SemiZl ia cifrebi gagacnoT. veyrdnobi *gel apis* cnobil i organizaciis dakveTil itvis sociol ogiuri samsaxuris mier saqarTvel oSi ukve meored Catarebul yvel aze avtoritetul da kval ificiur sociol ogiur gamokiTxvas. gamokiTxva sxvadasxva sakiTxebTan dakavSirebiT mTel i saqarTvel os masStabiT Catarda. maT Soris erT-erTi iyo natos sakiTxic. momaval i wl is Teberval Si axal i Sedegebi gamoqveyndeba. ukve gamoqveynebul i Sedegebis Tanaxmad ki, gamokiTxul i mosaxl eobis 81% mxars uWers saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas. maTgan 72% miCnevs, rom mas natoze sakmarisi informacia ar gaaCnia da surs, ufro meti icodes. gamokiTxul Ta 57% natoSi integraciisgan usafrTxoebis garantieb is zrdas el is, 42% ki, teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenas. 22% moel is, rom natoSi gawevrianebis Semdeg gaizrdeba social uri keTil dReobis done. 16%-s miaCnia, rom demokratiul i institutebi ganmtkicdeba.

rac Seexeba erovnul umciresobeb, saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba azerbaij anel Ta 72% mxars uWers saqarTvel os natoSi integracias, saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi somxebis 50%-ze meti ki, amis winaaRmdogia. amasac Tavisi mizezebi aqvs. maT Soris isic, rom somxebiT kompaqturad dasaxl ebul regionebsi informaciis ZiriTad wyaros rusul i sainformacio saSual ebebi warmoadgens, azerbaij anl ebiT dasaxl ebul

regionebSi ki, azerbaijanul i da Turqul i saiformacio saSual ebebi. azerbaijanis kursi ufro prodasavl uria, vidre rusul i sainformacio saSual ebebis. oficial urad, mogexsenebaT, azerbaijani, sabol oo miznad acxadebs kidec natoSi integracias, iseve rogorc evrokavSirSi integracias, maSin, roca, somxeTi arc natos da arc evrokavSirSi integracias miznad ar isaxavs. mas natosTan mxol od TanamSroml obis gaRrmaveba surs; Tu ra etapamde, amas ar acxadebs.

gogi gvaxaria _ b-nma ivl ianem cota xnis win pol itikuri partiebis nato-sadmi mimarTvaze isaubra da is partiebic CamogviTval a, roml ebic xel s aweren mas. saintereso, ramdenad normal uria, rom qveyanaSi ar aris arc erTi seriozul i pol itikuri organizacia, romel sac ar unda saqarTvel os nato-Si gawevrianeba. ra aris amis mizezi da ramdenad gul wrfel ia maTi natoSi Sesvl is survil i?

arcil gegeSiZe _ minda davamoto, rom 81% bol o periodSi natoSi gawevrianebul arc erT qveyanas ar hqonia. es yvel aze maRal i maCvenebl ia. 79% hqonda rumineTs, sl ovakeTs _ 36%.

gogi gvaxaria _ bunebrivia, briusel Si icnoben am cifrebs. ramdenad sj eraT gamokiTxul Ta pasuxebis gul wrfel obis, anu, ramdenad real isturia es gamokiTxvebi? gamokiTxul i mosaxl eobis 81% sinamdvil eSi mzad aris dasavl uri faseul obebis misaRebad?

Sal va TadumaZe _ Cemi azriT, real isturia, radgan qarTul ia. Tu gadavxedavT Cvens uaxl es istorias, prezidentebis iseTi maRal i procentul i maCvenebl iT arCevas, rogorc es CvenTan moxda, gasakviri araferia. magram mTavari is aris, rom 81%-dan 72%-ma ar icis, ras warmoadgens nato. Sesabamisad, Zal ian cudia is pol itikuri mdgomareoba, rac aris, imitom rom xel isufl eba am TemiT manipuli rebs. amisi ukanasknel i magal iTia is, rom mitingis dRes imarTeba konferencia natos Sesaxeb da Tu vinme amas winaaRmdegobas gauwevs, is moRal ated cxaddeba. piradad ganmicdia es damokidebul eba, rodesac natos ukanasknel i samitis win Tavdacvis samistros monitoringis masal ebi gamovaqveyne, sadac vambobdi, rom maSindel i ministri korumpirebul i iyo da misi qeSevrdomebi ful s akeTebden, ruseTis agenti miwodes da miTxres, rom natos samitis win aseTi gancxadebebis gakeTeba ar SeiZl eboda. amis Semdeg amekrZal a saerTaSoriso konferenciebSi monawil eoba, rom saqarTvel os winaaRmdeg raime gancxadeba ar gamekeTebina. ara mgonia, rom ufro radikal uri viyavi, vidre sxeferis Camosvl is Semdeg iyo prezidenti mTavrobis sxdomaze. gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom natos anal itikuri samsaxuri yuradRebiT akvirdeba general uri mdivnis vizitis Semdgom ganvitarebul movl enebis, pol itikuri Zal ebis mier gakeTebul gancxadebebs. prezidentis mxridan ki keTdeba gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, Tu rad gvinda usafrTxoebis samsaxurebi, rodesac gansakuTrebul i saiduml o informaciis mqone adamiani ruseTSi gagvirbis. briusel idan es kiTxva ase daimeboda _ ra gindaT natoSi, Tu iseT sakiTxebze saiduml o informaciis, rogoricaa SeilaraReba da biuj etis xarj va, matarebel i adamiani, natos mowinaaRmdege bl okSi gagirbiT.

mindagaxsenoT, sxeferis Camosvl amde safrangeTis Tavdacvis ministris mier gakeTebul i gancxadeba. safrangeTi sakmaod wonadia natoSi da civi omis el ementebi mas da amerikas Soris arsebobs. safrangeTis Tavdacvis ministris gancxadebiT, Tu ruseTs gaaRizianebs saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianeba, isini am sakiTxs mxars aRar

dauWeren. arada, CvenTvis natos wevri ocdaeqvsive qveynis xma gvWirdeba. erTi uaryofiti xmac ki, CvenTvis gadamwyveti iqneba. ara mgonia, Cemi, an romel ime pol itikuri partiis ganxadebis ganxil vis Semdeg romel ime qveyanam Seicval os azri, magram rodesac mTavrobis sxdomaze prezidenti akeTebis iseT ganxadebas, romel zec weRan vsaubrobd, aman marTI ac, SesaZI oa, iqonios gavlen. anu, rodesac natos da Cvens partnior qveynebs, samoc qveynamdea saubari, Cvens qveyanaSi reformebis warmatebul ad mindinareobaze, SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis Tanamedroved aRWurvasa da nebismier mxardaWeris operaciaSi monawil eobisTvis mzaobaze vesaubrebodit, dRes ki vambobT, rom Cven Secdoma dagvisvia da vaRiarebT, rom ori wl is ganmavl obaSi Tavdacvis saminstrosi korumpirebul i rejimi gvyolia; rom, Turme, Cveni Tavdacvis ministri rusul TamaSs TamaSobda da Setqmul ebas amzadebda, gamodis, rom Tavis droze marTal i ar gvITqvams. natoSi stabil urobas Zal ian did mniSvnel obas aniWeben. natosTvis litvis da latviis Tanamedrove SeiaraRebit Sesvla ar yofil a gadamwyveti. Tavis droze, es qveynebi gaakritikes kidec imis gamo, rom sakmaod didi biujeti daxarjes natos standartebis SeiaraRebis SesaZenad. Tumca, maT gacil ebis win gadadges nabiji da aRar mouvevT Tanamedrove SeiaraRebis Sesyidva, isini natos srul ufl ebiani wevrebi arian, ruminetisagan gansxvavebit, romel sac dRemde sabWota SeiaraReba aqvs da srul ad ver monawil eobs natos operaciebSi.

ivl iane xaindrava _ magram aq, al bat, gasatval iswinebel ia is, rom bal tiis sam qveyanas, jamSi, samjer naklebi jariskaci hyavs, vidre saqartvel os.

Sal va TadumaZe _ es swori politikis Sedegia. Cven Zal ian moZvel ebul i samxedro SeiaraReba gvaqvs. Cvens SeiraRebul Zal ebSi ki, 32 atasamde jariskaci iricxeba, rac saqartvel os damoukidebl obis mopovebis Semdeg, Titqos, aRar unda swirdebodes.

mimaCnia, rom saqartvel o unda Sevides natoSi da saamisod, ramdenime faqtori mimyarebs safuZvel s. Tundac is, rom 1992 wl idan saqartvel os rogorc finansuri, ise adamanuri resursebis Tval sazrisiT, uamrav RonisZiebaSi aqvs monawil eoba miRebul i. mimaCnia, rom dRes saxel mwifom uari ar unda Tqvas TxuTmetwlian Sromaze. natoSi Sesvla erTaderT gamosavl ad mimaCnia imisTvisac, rom Cvens sahaero sivrceSi ar Semofrindnen ucxo qveynis TviTmfrinavebi. imitom rom aseT sakiTxebs, Semdeg erTiani Tavdacvis sistema uzrunvel yofs. anu, natos Tavdacvis sistemaSi moxvedris Semdeg, ruseTis SeiaraRebul Zal ebs aRar SeeZlebaT Cvens teritoriaze safreni aparatebis SemoSveba. kidev erTi faqtori _ nebismieri xelisufleba, romel ic Tundac 99%-iani mxardaWerit mova qveynis sataveSi, natos mier zewolis qveS iqneba, rom SeinarCunos usafrTxoebis minimumi. band-formirebebis mier Cveni sazRvrebis gadmokveTa Cveni moucil ebel i da saukunovani safrTxea da igi Cven yovel Tvis dagvemuqreba. misi aRkveTa Cven damoukidebel i Zal ebisT ver movaxerxeT. mniSvnel ovania isic, rom Cveni geografiul i mdebareobidan gamomdinare, ar gavebat im bl okebis SetakebaSi, romel ic SeiZleba moxdes msofliosi. amitom, pragmatul ad unda mivudget sakiTxs. nato misi wevrobisTvis kolosal ur Tanxebs ar gvTxovs. es aris el ementarul i Tanxa, romel sac yvel a wevri qveyana ixdis. Cvengan iTxoven mxol od SeiaraRebul Zal ebs, cocxal resurss da ara teqnikas, da iTxoven sawevro Sesatans. samagierod, Cven viRebT usafrTxo garemos, rogorc zRvidan, sahaero da saxmel eTo mxridan, garda amisa, moqal aqeebi viRebT demokratiul garemos, rac imas niSnavs, rom saxel mwifo mmarTvel oba iqneba mudmivi zewolis qveS, rom Tu ar

daakmayofil ebs normebs, is uprecedento SemTxvevis momswre gaxdeba da gairicxeba natodan, an daigegmeba RonisZiebebi, romel Ta meSveobiTac moscil deba xel isufli ebas.

rodesac 1992 wel s saqarTvel om pirvel ad gadawyvita natosTan urTierToba, ara mgonia, es maSin bol omde gaazrebul i nabiji yofil iyo. civi omis dasrul ebis Semdeg natom kargad gamoiyena es situacia, momzadebul i Sexvda mas da axl adwarmoqnil saxel mwifoebis, SesaZl oa, erTgvari satyuarac ki misca TanamSroml obis sabWos SeqmniT, roml is damfuZnebel ic TviTon gaxda da, es, bunebrivia, axl adgaTavisufli ebul i qveynebisTvis didi pativi iyo. masSi sabWoTa kavSiris wevri yvel a qveyana Sevida. ase daiwyo miuxedavad geografiul i mdgomareobisa, TanamSroml oba samxedro sakiTxebSi da dRes misi partniorebi arian, magal iTad, yazaxeTi da TurqmeneTi, roml ebic geografiul i Tval sazrisiT, evroatl antikur sivrceSi ar moiazrebian. magram, vimeoreb, natom xel idan ar gauSva viTareba da dRes, maTi saxiT, mas partniorebi hyavs.

kidev erTi faqtori _ natos Tema pol itikuri manipuli irebis saSual eba gaxda nebismieri arCevnebis win. arCevnebi iniSneba samitebis Semdeg, da raRac gadawyvetil ebebi arasworad xmaurdeba. ase, magal iTad, Tavis droze saqarTvel osTvis *intensiuri dial ogis* miReba momgebianad gamocxadda, rac, sinamdvil eSi, al baT ufro wangebiani iyo, imitom rom im periodSi saqarTvel os SeeZl o **MAP**-is miReba. magram sazogadoebas uTxres, rom **MAP**-is misaRebad intensiuri dial ogis etapi aucil ebel i iyo, amitom es natosTan urTierTobaSi warmatebul nabij ad CaiTval a. amiT xel isufli ebam garkveul i reitingi Seiqmna. sazogadoebaSic gaCnda azri, rom natosTan mimarTebiT swori mimarTul eba gvqonda. samwuxarod, gaCnda kidev erTi arasasiamovno tendencia, ratomRac, mosaxl eobas pirdebodnen, rom Tu maTi saxl ebi axl a 10 000 dol arad iyo Sefasebul i, natoSi Sesvl is Semdeg maTi fasi aiwevda da 15 000 gaxdeboda. nato fasebs ar zrdis. es ar aris humanitarul i organizacia. 1999 wel s vaSingtonis samitze pirdapir iTqva, rom nato ar apirebs probl emebis imports sakuTar sivrceSi.

xel isufli eba **MAP**-is miRebas 2008 wl isTvis gvpirdeba. es xuTwl iani minimal uri vadaa da natoSi gawevrianebis mosurne yvel a qveyanam unda gaiaros. aqedan gamomdinare, 2013 wl amde Cveni natoSi Sesvl a arc igul isxmeba. amavdroul ad, sul gvesmis, rom natos kari Riaa. nato-s kari, 1992 wl idan, marTI ac, yvel asTvis Riaa, vinc im minimal ur zRvars daakmayofil ebs, rasac nato iTxovs. me minda gagaxsenoT sagareo saqmeTa ministris naTqvamic, rom natos kari Riaa, da Cven vakakunebT am karze. Ria karSi, rogorc wesi, daukakunebl ad Sedian. rogorc Cans, es kari, saqarTvel osTvis, arcTu ise Riaa.

kidev erTi ram, rac simarTI es ar Seesabameba _ Cven gveubnebian, rom nato-Si gawevrianebis Semdeg Zal ian mal e gavxdebiT evrokavSiris wevric. imis Sesaxeb, rom 2016 wel s evrokavSiris wevri gavxdebiT, b-n giga bokeriasganac momismenia. arada, ase martivad ar aris saqme. 2013 wel s romc gavxdeT nato-s wevri, es, sam wel iwadSi evrokavSirSi gawevrianebas ar gul isxmobs.

saintereso magal iTia fineTis SemTxveva. fineTi ar aris natos wevri. gadawyvetil ebis miRebis Semdeg saxel mwifo swavl obs, sxva qveynebma ra moiges natoSi gawevrianebisgan, an piriqIT. ara mgonia, vinmes Seeswavl a fineTis an avstriis magal iTebze, roml ebic ar Sevidnen natoSi, TumcaRa evropis oj axis warmomadgenl ebi arian, ra moiges an waages maT natoSi Seusvl el obisgan. miT umetes, rom fineTis gamocdil eba, CvenTvis, samxedro Tval sazrisiTac, Zal ian saintereso. rodesac vqmniT rezervs, vambobT, rom es fineTis model is mixedviT keTdeba, radgan fineTi

ruseTs esazRvreba. Cvenc vesazRvrebiT ruseTs, Cvenc gvsurs gavxdeT evropul i ojaxis wevri, amdenad, saintereso unda iyos, fineTis gamocdil eba.

I ogikurad Cndeba kiTxva, Tu safrangeTisTvis ruseTis gaRizianeba safrTxes warmoadgens, xom ar aj obebs, isev partnior qveynad davrcet da amit arc ruseTi gavaRizianoT da arc safrangeTi. me ar vambob, rom radgan fineTi ar Sevida natoSi, arc Cven unda SevideT, magram am mimarTul ebiT unda imarTebodes msj el oba. gansxvavebul i azris mqone adamiani moRal ated ar unda cxaddebodes. Tavisi minusebi, ra Tqma unda, natosac aqvs. magram Cveni mdgomareobidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel om nato yvel a SemTxvevaSi, mainc unda airCios, Tundac imitom, rom garkveul i gza natosken ukve ganvl il i gvaqvs, da imitomac, rom Cvens qveyanas j erovnad ver vuvl iT. ras miiRebs sazogadoeba natoSi Sesvl is Semdeg? _ usafrTxoebis sistemas. unda iTqvas isic, rom saqarTvel ostvis natoSi yofna momgebiania imitomac, rom Cven ar gvaqvs samxedro mrewvel oba. ukrainas, magal iTad, seriozul i samxedro mrewvel oba aqvs da am kuTxiT, ekonomikurad, SesaZl oa, gaumarTI ebel ic ki iyos misi natoSi Sesvl a. magram, rodesac Cven Cveni samyofi tyvia-waml is warmoebac ki ar SegviZl ia, natoSi Sesvl iT, es probl ema gvexsneba, radgan am samxedro bl okis wevrebi vxdebiT.

ras akeTebS saxel mwifo mosaxl eobis informirebis Tval sazrisiT, ras eubneba natos sainformacio centri mosaxl eobas? qmediTi RinisZiebebi, roml ebic sazogadoebas warmodgenas Seuqmni da natos Sesaxeb, ar igegmeba. sabol ood ki, isev sazogadoeba zaral deba, radgan mas kargad ar aqvs gaazrebul i, ratom unda gaxdes saqarTvel o natos wevri.

IPAP-is programis miReba `vardebis revol uciis- monapovrad iTvl eba. Cven IPAP-ze 1996 wel sac warvadgineT, magram maSin, samwuxarod, uari gviTxres. Cven rom maSin im el ementarul i RonisZiebebis gasatarebl ad mzad vyofil iyaviT, roml ebsac IPAP gul isxmobs, ar gamovricxav, rom 1999-Si Tu ara, 2004 wl is samitze wevri-saxel mwifo gavmxdariyaviT. SegaxsenebT, 2004 wl is samitze sabWoTa bl okidan sami qveyana gaxda natos wevri. magram, Cven, samwuxarod, gareT davrciT, da axl ac, iseTi piri uCans, rom ase moxdeba. real oba samwuxaroa, magram sagangaSo araferia. Tu mizanmimarTul i pol itika warimarTeba, rogorc dsT-sTan, ise ruseTTan da sxva saxel mwifoebTan mimarTebaSi, natos kari marTI ac gaiReba. saqarTvel om es SesaZl ebl oba xel idan ar unda gauSvas.

gogi gvaxaria _ b-nma arcil ma gaixsena, da, iqneb, ufro konkretul adac visaubroT am sakiTxze _ me minda gavixsenoT amerikis xel isufl ebis gadawyvetil eba bal kaneTis sami qveynisa da saqarTvel ostvis ful adi daxmarebis gamoyofis Sesaxeb. ra aris imis mizezi, rom dRes, saqarTvel o am qveynebTan erTad aRar moiazreba am procesebTan mimarTebaSi?

arcil gegeSiZe _ amerikis SeerTebul i Satatebi, natosTan daaxl oebis procesSi, Cven yvel aze aqtiurad gviWers mxars. praqtikul ad, SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi natoSi saqarTvel os srul gawevranebas uWers mxars. amerikaSi amboben, rom saqarTvel o unda gaxdes natos wevri. rac Seexeba MAP-s, amazec amboben, rom es, rac SeiZl eba, swrafad unda moxdes. rogorc giTxariT, amerikam amas kanonis saxec misca. natos sxva wevri qveynebi, am doziT, Cven mxars ar gviWeren. arian iseTi qveynebic, roml ebsac miaCniaT, rom saqarTvel o natoSi gawevranebisTvis, j erj erobiT mzad ar aris, an, piriqIT, rom nato ar aris mzad saqarTvel ostvis im statusis misaniWebl ad, romel sac MAP-is miReba hqvia. Cemi

azriT, amis mizezi is aris, rom saqarTvel o unikal uri SemTxvevaa natosTvis. aseTi tipis qveyana natos Tavis rigebSi jer ar miuRia. me mougvarebel konfliqtებს vgül isxmob.

gogi gvaxaria _ SeerTebul i Statebis pozicia ucvl el i rCeba?

arCil gegeSiZe _ SeerTebul i Statebis pozicia, ra Tqma unda, Zal ian mniSvnel ovania, magram sakmarisi pioba ar aris, natoSi kidev 25 qveyana gaxl avT da am organizaciaSi gasawevrianebl ad yvel a maTganis Tanxmoba saWiRo. xom xedavT, rogori gancxadeba gaakeTa safrangeTis Tavdacvis ministrma. Tumca, mis prezidents, Cveni prezidentis gancxadebiT, ukve gamoxatul i aqvs mxardaWera. ramdenadac CemTvis cnobil ia, b-ni sarkozi apirebs saqarTvel oSi Camosvl as. vnaxoT, ra pozicias daiKavebs.

gogi gvaxaria _ imave saRamos, rodesac es gancxadeba gakeTda, b-nma kote gabaSvil ma brZana, rom es ruseTistvis gagzavnili `mesiji- iyo.

ivl iane xaindrava _ veTanxmebi b-n arCil s. marTalia, amerikis xma Zal ian mniSvnel ovania, magram is yvel afers ar wyvets. me vxedav evropis survil s, rom bol os da bol os, viTareba bal kaneTSi daaregul iros, amdenad, dasavl eTis qveynebisTvis, bal kaneTis sakiTxi ufro mniSvnel ovania. darwmunebul i var, serbeTs Zal ian bevr rames pirdebian, Sesazl oa, daCqarebul miRebasac, oRond rogorme mogvardes kosovos sakiTxi. anu, es aris interesebis centri. amerikam ki, bal kaneTis qveynebis mimarT, interesi dakarga. es Tema evropistvis aris prioritetul i. Tumca, qveyanaSi aris Sida probl emebic da isini sul ufro cxadi xdeba. gagaxsenebT dinamikas, 80-iani wl ebis bol os, 90-iani wl ebis dasawyisSi, saqarTvel o bal tiis qveynebtan erTad moiazreboda. Semdeg ki bal tiis qveynebs dST Caenacvl a. cota xanSi ki, saqarTvel o ukve dST-s wevric gaxda. samwuxarod, vkargavT drosac da tempsac. am saukuneSi, rodesac yvel aferi Riia da informaciac xel misawvdomi, miTi am xel isufl ebis Seucdoml obaze, nel -nel a ingreva, maT Soris, amerikis SeerTebul StatebSic.

Sal va TadumaZe _ Cemi azriT, amerikis pozicia damwyeb saxel mwifoebTan finansuri avansis gaRebaSi gamoixateba. es avansi amerikam Cvens mimarTac gaiRo, magram, samwuxarod, Cven ver davakmayofil eT misi mol odini.

nato, ramdenic ar unda vil aparakoT masze, rogorc demokratiis citadel ze, pirvel rigSi, samxedro bl okia, romel sac Zl ieri SeiaraRebul i Zal ebi sWirdeba. amaSi ixdis dRes amerika bevrad ufro met ful s, vidre demokratiul i institutebis ganviTarebaSi. Cven ki, veubnebiT, rom mis mier, CvenTvis daxmarebis saxiT gamoyofil i ful i romel iRac Cinovnikma waiRo. amerika aseTi viTarebiT moxibl ul i ver iqneba. mas eSinia, momdevno ministric aseTi ar aRmoCndes. am Tval sazrisiT, Cven, SeiZl eba, kidev ukan gadaviwiOT. ato-s partnior qveynebi moiazreba egiptec, mavritaniac, al Jiric. me ar minda, rom maT rigebSi gadavinacvl oT. Tu ase ganvagrZeT, Sesazl oa, uprecedento ram moxdes, da CvenTan saerTod gawyviton kavSiri.

giorgi burjanaZe _ sxva qveynebisTvis maT Sida probl emebs, TiTqos, xel i ar SeuSl ia natoSi gawevrianebisTvis. xom ar geCveneBAT, rom Cveni natoSi gawevrianeba

dRes aRarc Cvens xel isufli ebas unda, arc ruseTs; ukve natoSic gamoCndnen Zal ebi, roml ebsac es aRar surT, da mxol od Cvens mosaxl eobasRa darCa amisi survil i?

ivl iane xaindrava _ gamiWirdeba xel isufli ebis SigniT arsebul ganwyobebze saubari. me ar vici, vin aris aseTi ganwyobis matarebel i. me mainc vfiqrob, rom natosken swrafva am xel isufli ebis gul wrfel i survil ia. sxva saqmea, ra keTdeba saamisod. magram aseTi agresiuil i Seteva farTo frontiT, adre namdvil ad ar yofil a.

veTanxmebi b-n Sal vas. rogorc ar unda warmogvidgendnen, da Tavad nato rogor imij sac ar unda iqmnides, es, pirvel rigSi, samxedro organizaciaa. am Tval sazrisiT ki, natos, saqarTvel os mimarT interesi unda hqondes, imitom, rom axl o aRmosavl eTTan, cxel zonebTan axl os varT.

al isa varTaniani, studenti _ sul cota xnis win, eraySi qarTul i kontigentis orjer gazrdis Sesaxeb gancxadeba gakeTda. amastan dakavSirebiT, saqarTvel os el Cma aSS-Si, ganacxada, rom Sesazl ebel ia, saqarTvel om natos operaciaSi, avRaneTSic miiRos monawil eoba. ramdenad gvaaxl oebis aseTi saxis moqmedebebi natosTan?

ivl iane xaindrava _ qarTul i kontigentis gazrdis Sesaxeb, me parl amentis tribunidanac gamovTqvi Cemi azri da vTqvi, rom amit CvenTan demokratiis dabal dones vinazRaurebT. saakaSvil i izul ebul ia, gadadgas aseTi nabiji da cdil obs amit moaxdinos qveynis Sida probl emebis kompensireba. xel isufli ebas amit imis saSul ebac eZl eva, sxva qveynebs mxardaWera mostxovos. es, Sesazl oa, gamartivebul i, magram real uri samuSao sqemaa.

Sal va TadumaZe _ natoSi qarTvel i samxedroebis raodenobis gazrda natosTan urTierTobaSi, ra Tqma unda, ar gvyenebs zians, magram erayTan mimarTebaSi, tradiciul i evropul i qveynebis mxridan am Temam, Sesazl oa, Cvens mimarT undobl oba gazardos. safrangeTsa da amerikas Soris am sakiTxSi winaaRmdegobaa. visi iqneba saqarTvel o natoSi, evropis, Tu amerikis, vis interesebs daicavs erayTan dakavSirebiT? evropis qveynebma ician, rom natoSi gawevrianebis Semdeg saqarTvel o natoSi amerikis winaaRmdeg ar wava. rac Seexeba avRaneTsa da kosovoSi Cveni samxedroebis yofnas, mimaCnia, rom amit Cven gamocdil ebas da Sesazl ebl obas viRebT saimisod, rom momaval Si samxedro operaciebSi, Cvens mimarT ndobis faqtori arsebobdes. amitom, Cemi azriT, es warmatebul i nabiji ia Cveni mxridan.

davit arabize, ganaTI ebis erovnul i kavSiri _ Cemi azriT, nato ar aris is organizacia, romel sac moral uri mentoris ufl eba gaaCnia. arasodes gamigia, rom saqarTvel oSi Camosul iyo natos romel ime Cinovniki da saqarTvel ostvis natos wevri qveynebis Sesabamisi social ur-SromiTi normatiul i aqtebisa da standartebis SemuSaveba moeTxovos.

saintereso, iseTi mniSvnel ovani qveyana, rogoric israel ia, ratom ar Sedis natoSi. al baT aris samxedro, pol itikuri an ekonomikuri Tval sazrisiT arasaxarbiel o momentebi?

Tu raimo simpatia gamaCnia natos mimarT, es maTi demokratiul i Rirebul ebebi da social ur-ekonomikuri standartebia, magram, samwuxarod, TviTon ar mitoveben keTil ganwyobis ganvitarebis saSual ebas.

rac Seexeba eraySi qarTul kontigents, mainteresebs, wl ebis Semdeg, Cvens biWebs, roml ebic iq garkveul funqciebs asrul eben, xom ar dauwyeben samarTl ebriv devnas? Cven viciT, rom arabul i diaspora evropasi Zal ian Zl ieria. xom ar aRmoCndebian eraySi myofi qarTvel i samxedroebi devnis obieqtebi garkveul i xnis Semdeg?

me ver vityvi, rom natoSi ar unda SevideT, magram CemTvis, kvl av gaugebaria, ras gvaZl evs nato demokratiis ganvitarebis Tval sazrisiT.

rusudan mgal obl iSvil i, studenti _ b-nma arCil ma afxazeTis sakiTxi axsena. rogorc Tqven brZaneT, aris saSiSroeba, rom ruseTma aRiaros afxazeTis damoukidebl oba. vfiqrob, es xmamaRal i gancxadebaa, radgan, Tu aseTi precedenti moxda, es ruseTisTvisve mZime Sedegebs gamoiwvevs. Cemi azriT, amas ruseTSi kargad acnobiereben. maT ar awyobT procesebis jaWvuri reaqqiis saxiT mTel Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi modeba. me CeCneTis sakiTxs vgul isxmob. es, erTi Sexedvit, patara probl ema, ruseTisTvis, sabol oo jamSi, Zal ian didi aRmoCnda. Cemi azriT, ruseTs dRes awyobs status-qvos SenarCuneba rogorc Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi, ise, afxazeTsa da samaCabl os regionSi.

arCil gegeSiZe _ viziareb Tqvens azrs. ruseTma, al baT, gonivrul ad rom awon-dawonos yvel a is SesaZl o Sedegi, rac misi mxridan afxazeTisa da samxreT oseTis damoukidebl obis aRiarebas SeiZl eba mohyves, mixvdeba, rom es mistvis, grZel vadian perspeqtivaSi momgebiani ar iqneba. Tan, gasarkvevia, vin iqneba is, vinc amis Semdeg unda miRos gadawyvetil ebebi ruseTSi, ra fsiqol ogiis, ra Sexedul ebis adamiani. kosovos precedentis SemTxvevaSi, anu, Tu gaeros uSiSroebis sabWos gverdis avl iT aRiares kosovos damoukidebl oba, maSin, SesaZl oa, ruseTma, gabrazebul gul ze, igive gaakeTos. Teoriul ad es ar aris gamoricxul i. magram saqme is aris, rom ar mgonia, kosovo cal mxrivad cnon damoukidebl ad. dasavl eTisa da SeerTebul i Statebis mxridan gancxadeba imis Sesaxeb, rom 10 Teberval s mol aparakebebis uSedegod dasrul ebis SemTxvevaSi, isini cnoben kosovos damoukidebl obas, SesaZl oa, bl efadac ki miviCnio, imdenad aSkaraa, rogori seriozul i garTul ebebi mohyveba am nabij s regionSi. sxva argumentebis moyvanac SeiZl eba imis saCvenebl ad, Tu ratom ar wava dasavl eTi kosovos cal mxriv cnobaze, da Tu ar wava, Sesabamisad, ruseTs aRar eqneba moral uri ufl eba, cnos afxazeTis damoukidebl oba. magram movl enebis ase ganvitarebis al baToba, sabol ood ar aris moxsnil i. da amitomac, vfiqrob, xel isufl eba amas erT-erT argumentad iyenebs saimisod, rom am etapze ar iCqaros dsT-dan gamosvl a.

imaSic geTanxmebiT, rom ruseTs yvel aze metad status-qvos SenarCuneba swadia. mas, situaciis arc erTi mimarTul ebiT garkveva ar aZl evs xel s. arc afxazeTis damoukidebl oba awyobs da arc Cveni teritoriul i gamTl ianeba. ufro metic, Cemi azriT, arc serbeTis teritoriul i mTl ianoba awyobs. ruseTs urCevnia, dapirispirebul ma mxareebma gauTavebl ad awarmoon mol aparakebebi da sabol oo Sedegi orive mxaris konsesusze gaxdes damokidebul i, rac, faqtiurad, miurwevel ia. am formul is gadmotana unda ruseTs CvenTanac. ruseTs awyobs, rom Cven da afxazeTma dausrul ebl ad vawarmoot mol aparakebebi, visxdeT mol aparakebaTa magidasTan, mas ki, mudmivad hqondes Suamavl is rol i. am rol Si xedavs ruseTi TavS yvel aze komfortul ad.

Temur miqautaZe, gadamdgari pol kovniki _ israel i ratom ar Sedis nato-Si?

Sal va TadumaZe _ pirvel rigSi, geografiul i mdebareobis gamo, da meorec, igi SeiaraRebul i Zal ebis reitingSi msofl ios qveynebs Soris, mesame adgil zea, saqarTvel o ki, 180-eze. israel s uswrebs CineTi da aSS. mas ar sWirdeba samxedro bl okSi gaerTianeba. mas ar aqvs im raodenobis safrTxe da is gamowvevi, roml ebSic mas saerTaSoriso mxardaWera natos doneze dasWirdeba.

Temur miqautaZe _ b-no ivl iane, xom ar migaCniaT, rom saqarTvel os 72 %-ze mets warmodgena ar aqvs imis Sesaxeb, ra aris nato da ratom surs masSi gawevrianeba? da Tu asea, xom ar fiqrobT, rom uzneobaa miuZRodeT natosken xal xs, rodesac maT ar ician, ras warmoadgens es organizacia?

aseve mainteresebs, ratom gsurT natoSi Sesvl a da ras moel iT misgan, es mizania Tu saSual eba? Tqven rom iyoT natos wevri nebismieri qveyana, miiRebdiT Tu ara Tqvens rigebsi iseT qveyanas, rogoric Cven gvaqvs, aseTi saxel mwifo usafrTxoebis koncefciiTa da samxedro strategiIT? da bol os, mainteresebs, ra safrTxeebi dagvemuqreba Cven natoSi Sesvl is Semdeg?

giorgi burjanaZe _ mTavari sakiTxia, iReben Tu ara saqarTvel os natoSi. cxadi xdeba, rom saqarTvel os mimarT interesi, natoSi TandaTan cxreba. mainteresebs riT aris es gamowveul i?

Sal va TadumaZe _ MAP-is moTxovnaa pol itikuri da ekonomikuri stabil uroba, samarTI ebrivi sistemis SemuSaveba. rodesac 26 subieqti iRebs gadawyvetil ebas, maT unda hqondeT garantia, rom aRar moxdeba gadatrial eba, arCevnebi ar Catardeba usamarTI od, rom ar awarmoeb agresiul oms da a.S. maT sWirdebaT samarTI iani sistema. nato amas moitxovs saqarTvel osgan.

giorgi burjanaZe _ me mrCeba STabeWdil eba, rom warmatebul i xel isufl ebis pirobebSic ki, Cveni qveyana, natos Tval sazrisiT, periferiul mdgomareobaSi gadavida.

Sal va TadumaZe _ me ver vityvi, rom nato gvicil ebs, an sazRvargareT arsebul i pol itikuri situacia gviqmnis probl emebs. es Cveni probl emebia.

ivl iane xaindrava _ miuxedavad imisa, rom Tqven ramdenime kiTxva damisviT, me Sevecdebi maT gaerTianebas. Cemi azriT, dRevandel i mdgomareobiT, saqarTvel o natos wevrobisTvis mzad ar aris. meores mxriv, me mxars vuWer saqarTvel os natoSi miRebas, Tundac am wuTas. CemTvis sul erTia, vin Seiyvans qveyanas natoSi. pol itikosis vinaobas, am SemTxvevaSi, CemTvis mniSvnel oba ar aqvs. rac Seexeba zneobis sakiTxebis, sakiTxas ase davsvamdi _ me mainteresebs im 72% adamianis zneobrivi saxe, romel ic apirebs Sesvl as da ar icis, sad Sedis. rodesac gamokiTxvas atareben, im kiTxvarebSi aris aseTi pasuxebic _ `ar vici~, an `Tavs vikaveb~. Tu ar ician, unda Tqvan, rom ar ician. me maqvs pasuxi _ 81% da es aris CemTvis yvel aze mniSvnel ovani.

arCil gegeSiZe _ me rodesac vaxsene 72%, ar miTqvams, rom maT ar ician, ratom surT natoSi Sesvl a. me vTqvi, rom maT aqvT survil i, ufro meti icodnen am organizaciis Sesaxeb. isic vTqvi, rom gamokiTxul Ta 57%-s hgonia, rom natoSi

Sesvl iT usafRtxoebis garantiEbs aimarI ebs. 42%-s imedi aqvs, rom teritoriul mTI ianobas aRidgens da a.S. anu, mosaxl eobas adeqvaturad esmis da adeqvaturi da l ogikuri mol odinebi aqvs natosgan. me ver vityvi, rom es gaucnobierebel i arCevania.