

hainrih biol is fondis ofisSi gamarTul i  
saj aro diskusia Temaze:

`saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebis Sedegebi qarTul -afxazur  
samSvidobo procesze: qarTul -afxazuri konferenciis  
Sedegebi"

2007 wl is 12-15 ivniss hainrih biol is fondma da irvainis  
universitetis samoqal aqo samSvidobo centrma stambul Si Caatara  
konferencia, sadac qarTvel ma da afxazma monawil eebma saerTaSoriso  
eqspertebTan erTad ganxil es zemoTaRniSnul i Tema.

momxsenebl ebi:

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

pol a garbi \_ irvainis (kal ifornia) universitetis samoqal aqo  
samSvidobo centri

ninia kakabaZe \_ gazeT `24 saaTis- Jurnal isti

moderacia: gogi gvaxaria

val ter kaufmani, hainrih biol is fondis samxreT kavkasiis  
regionul i biuros direqtori \_ mogesal mebiT! rogorc mogxsenebaT,  
gasul kviras stambul Si Catarebul konferenciaze ganxil eT sakiTxi,  
Tu rogor aisaxeba saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianeba qarTul -afxazuri  
konfliqtis mSvidobian daregul irebaze. am Sexvedras saqarTvel odanac  
da afxazeTidanac 7-7 monawil e eswreboda. konferenciis muSaobaSi natos  
eqspertebic monawil eobdnen.konferenciaze, romel ic Sexvedrebis seriis  
`qarTul -afxazuri konfliqtis aspeqtebi- nawil ia, Rrmad, da Cemi azriT,  
Zal ian konstruqciul ad iyo ganxil ul i es Tema.

bevrma Tqvenganma icis, rom Cven, kal iforniis universitetTan  
erTad, vaqveynebt konferenciis moxsenebebs. moxarul i var, rom dRes  
CvenTan imyofeba q-ni pol a garbi. swored am konferenciis dawyebamde  
gamoica wina konferenciis moxsenebebis krebul i - es gaxl avT mecamete  
krebul i. konferencia gasul wel sac stambul Si gaimarTa da misi Tema  
iyo `saqarTvel osa da afxazeTis perspeqtivebi Savi zRvis integraciis  
konteqstSi-. Cven am Temas SarSanac mi vuZRveni T di skusia.

konferenciis monawil e saerTaSoriso eqspertebi mi dian daskvnamde,  
rom es aris Caketil i, sazogadoebisatvis xel miuwvdomel i Tema. Cveni  
mizanic, swored is aris, rom es Tema xel misawvdomi gavxadoT  
sazogadoebisatvis. amis gakeTebas ki, publ ikaciebi sa da aseTi

sazogadoebrivi prezentaciebis saSual ebiT vcdil obT. aseTive prezentacia gaimarTa guSin soxumSic. mas eswreboda pol a garbi da SeuZl ia gviambos, Tu rogor Caiara soxumSi gamarTul ma diskusiam.

gogi gvaxaria \_ SegaxsenebT, Cveni diskusiebi hainrih biol is fondSi or kviraSi erTxel imarTeba, ase rom, SegiZl iaT mobrZandeT da daeswroT maT.

axl a ki, sityvas gadavcem arCil gegeSiZes, saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso da strategiul i kvl evebi fondis mTavar eqsperts. arCil i gviambobs, Tu rogor aisaxeba qarTul -afxazur samSvidobo procesze saqarTvel os natoSi integracia.

arCil gegeSiZe \_ mogesal mebiT. Cemi azriT, es Tema samarTli anad imsxurebs eqspertebisa da pol itikosebis yuradRebas, mas saetero droc unda daeTmos. ra gavl enas iqoniebs saqarTvel os natoSi integracia afxazetis konfl iqtis gadaWraze, es probl ema bevr sxva SekiTxvas badebs da maTze pasuxis gacema advil i ar aris. ar arsebobs cal saxa pasuxebi, miT umetes, isini gansxvavebul ia konfl iqtis monawil e orive mxaristvis, da unda iTqvas, rom urTierTsawinaaRmdegoa Tavad Cvens sazogadoebaSic.

probl emis aqtual oba ramdenime faqtoriT aris ganpirobebul i. es aris obieqturi da subieqturi faqtorebi: yvel as verc CamovTvl iT, saamisod arc dro gvaqvs da arc yvel a am mizezis dasaxel ebis pretenzia, magram mainc ikveTeba Ziritadi faqtori. is ki imaSi mdgomareobs, rom qarTul i mxaris gaZl iereba, rogorc saxel mwifoebri vi mSenebl obis procesSi, ise samxedro sferoSi, aseve misi daaxl oeba da TanamSroml oba saerTaSoriso organizaciebTan, maT Soris natosTan, am sakiTxis mimarT, afxazuri mxaris interess zrdis. nato afxazetSi dRemde agresiul organizaciad, civi omis saxed moiazreba. rac yvel aze mTavaria, imis gamo, rom nato saqarTvel os kars uRebs al iansSi gasawevrianebl ad, igi afxazuri mxaris mier maT winaaRmdeg saqarTvel os partniorad ganxil eba. bevri afxazi eqspertis azriT, winaaRmdegoba or mxares Soris, Sesazl oa, omSic gadaizardos da isini SiSoben, rom aseT SemTxvevaSi, natom SeiZl eba saqarTvel os mxare daiWiros. aris aseTi Sexedul ebebic. amitom, Cvens afxaz kol egebs, roml ebTan erTadac ori dRis ganmavl obaSi vixil avdiT afxazetis probl emebs - Semdeg ukve natos da natos wevri erT-erTi evropul i qveynis warmomadgenl ebic SemogvierTdenen - rCebodaT STabeWdil eba, rom urTierToba hqondaT organizaciasTan, romel ic exmareba maT yvel aze saSinel mowinaaRmdegos. aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os natosTan daaxl oebis da integraciis perspeqtiva, afxazuri mxaristvis, Tavidanve uaryofiT movl enad aRiqmeba. Cveni Sexvedra aseT atmosferoSi daiwyo. maTi aseTi ganwyoba kerZo saubrebSic igrZnoboda.

Cven vcdil obdiT, afxazuri mxaristvis agvexsna, rom saqarTvel os natoSi integracia ar ukavSirdeba saomar moqmedebesba da samxedro sferos, da rom, es procesi qveynis modernizaciis pl anSi unda ganvixil oT, radgan natosTan daaxl oebis procesi "aipap"-is (l - individual uri partniorobis samoqmedo gegma) formatSi mimdinareobs, es CarCoebi ki, qveynis ara mxol od samxedro, aramed sxva demokratiul i institutebis, ekonomikis, humanitarul i sferoebis, srul yofas gul isxmobs. vcdil obdiT agvexsna, rom natosTan daaxl oebis procesi saqarTvel os daexmareba, sul sxva saxel mwifod Camoyal ibdes, rac am

SemTxvevaSi, nakl eb agresiul obas da konfliqtis meore mxaresTan kompromisebis meti motivaciit Zebnas gul isxmobs. magram afxazuri mxare amas ar el is, piriqit, maTi azrit, natosTan daaxl oeba saqarTvel os kidev ufro agresiul qveynad aqcevs. vimeoreb, aseTi ganwyobil ebis fonze daiwyo Cveni Sexvedra afxaz kol egebTan, Cveni, arcTu, ise iol i dial ogi.

ganxil eboda mosal odnel i ganviTarebis sxvadasxva scenari, zogi, SedarebiT optimisturi afxazuri mxaristvis, sxvebi, piriqit, optimisturi saqarTvel ostvis. zogierTi scenaris mixedvit, saqarTvel os natosTan daaxl oebas Sedegad unda mohyol oda afxazetis mimarT rusetis mxridan interesis dakargva da gul grili damokidebul eba. amitki, amave scenaris mixedvit, unda esargebla saqarTvel os. es iyo saqarTvel ostvis optimisturi scenari. ganxil eboda aseve, kosovos precedentTan dakavSirebuli scenari. Tu kosovos statusi gaeros usafrTxoebis sabWos gverdis avlit gadawydeba da kosovos damoukidebl obas amerikis SeerTebuli Statebi da evrokavSiris qveynebi aRiarebs, rusetistvis es sqema precedenti iqneba saimisod, rom usafrTxoebis sabWos gverdis avlit, cal mxriv rejimSi aRiaros afxazetic. magram Cvens mier ganxiluli yvela scenari emyareboda Tamasis nul ovani jamis principis, rac erTi mxaris mogebis SemTxvevaSi meoris srul wagebas gul isxmobs. amitom Sevecadet; gamogveZebna ganviTarebis sxvagvari SesaZlebl obac, gamogvenaxa gza, romelic orive mxaristvis misaRebi iqneboda. Tumca, movlenebis ase ganviTarebas winaswar ver ganvsazRvravT da ufro Soreul momaval Tan asociრdeba.

orive mxare, rogorc qarTული, ise afxazuri, unda miuaxl ovdეს iset mdgomareobas, rom orive sazogadoebaSi momwifdes demokratiuli institutebi, Tavad sazogadoeba gatavisufl des agresiuli impul sebisgan da ufro metad dauwyos Zebna kompromisebs, gamomdinare formulidan, rom demokratebi erTmaneTs ar ebrZvian da mxolod mSvidobiani gziT cdil oben probl emis gadaWrას. orive sazogadoeba am mimarTul ebit unda Seecados sakiTxis mogvarebas. saqarTvel o, Seizleba iTqvas, rom ukve midis am gziT, sxva sakiTxia, ramdenad warmatebul ia es nabijebi, magram mimarTul eba ukve gansazRvrulia. saqarTvel om, konfliqtis mogvarebis es gza, Rirebul ebebis es sistema, ukve sabol ood airCia. afxazetis mxares es mimarTul eba ar aurCevia, piriqit, is kvl av rusetze damokidebul ad rCeba da es mas kargs arafers hpirdeba. rusetTan aseTi damokidebul eba mas saqarTvel os mxridan agresiis SesaZlo gamovlenis SemTxvevaSi, Titqos aZlevis imunitets, magram grZel vadian perspeqtivaSi, iseti amaxal xistvis, rogoric aris afxazieri, maTi TviTmyofadobisa da individual obis SenarCunebis kuTxiT, rusetTan aseTi urTierToba, SesaZloa, maTTvis erTgvari safrTxec armoCndes.

Zalian mniSvnel ovania, ramdenad acnobiereben amas Tavad afxazebi, xmamaRlia amis aRiarebisgan isini dRemde Tavsi kaveben, Tumca, cxadia, rom amaze fiqroben. Cvens Sexvedramde erTi kvirit adre, afxazurma parlamentma demografiuli problemebis gadawyvetis Taobaze dadgenileba miRo. es Tema mat sul ufro da ufro awuxebT. demografiuli Tval sazrisiT, afxazuri etnosi, afxazetis teritoriaze mcxovrebs sxva etnojgufebTan Sedarebit, pasiuria. winaswari gamokvl ebebis mixedvit, daaxl oebit 20-25 wl is Semdeg, afxazTa raodenoba am teritoriaze, SesaZloa samjer Semcirდეს. maT esmit, rom es sakiTxi misaxedia. arsebuli status qvo am probl emis mogvarebis

saSual ebas ar iZl eva. mniSvnel ovania enis SenarCunebis sakiTxic: dRevandel i perspeqtiviT, droTa ganmavl obaSi, enasTan erTad maT, SesaZl oa, kul turul i TviTmyofadobis ganmsazRvrel i bevri sxva ram dakargon.

grZel vadian perspeqtivaSi ruseTTan daaxl oeBa masTan asimil acias iwvevs da amas afxazeTSi acnobiereben. saWi roa, rom maT ruseTis garda sxva al ternativac dainaxon. isini unda darwmundnen al ternatiul i gzis, sxva sistemebis, sxva SesaZl ebl obebis arsebobaSi da gaiazron, rom maTi meSveobiT, iseTi patara eTnosi, rogorebic afxazebi arian, ukeT SeinarCunebs sakuTar TviTmyofadobas. maT es mxare, es veqtori, evroatl antikuri sivrce, saqarTvel os msgavsad, sakuTari nebiT unda airCion. saWi roa, vinmem daarwmunos isini, rom saqarTvel os es kursi agresiul qveynad ki ar aqcevs, piriqit, gacil ebiT ufro civil izebul saxel mwifod ayal ibebs da amitom mis mimarT SiSi usafuZvl oa. Cven yvel anairad SevecadeT maT amaSi darwmunebas im argumentebiT, rom nato erTaderTi faqtoria dRevandel situaciaSi, romel ic saqarTvel os daufigrebel i nabijebisgan daicavs. natos faqtori saqarTvel os garkveul CarCoebSi aqcevs da es CarCoebi mSvidobis kuTxiT miT ufro mtkice iqneba, rac ufro dauaxl ovdeba saqarTvel o am organizacias da mzad iqneba masTan sabol oo integraciisTvis. amis Semdeg ki, iSl eba ufro farTo perspeqtiva evrokavSirTan dasaaxl ovebl ad, procesi, romel ic bevrad ufro mkacri da momTxovni iqneba saqarTvel os mimarT da sabol oo Sedegad viRebT demokratiul da Zl ier saxel mwifos, romel ic ukve namdvil ad aRar moindomebs brZol as, SeiZl eba vuwodoT, periferia, an umciresobasTan sakuTar teritoriaze. Cven yvel anairad SevecadeT, agvexsna Cveni afxazi kol egebisTvis, rom natosken kursi ar aris agresiul i, rom Seuqcevadia, sazogadoebriv konsesuszea damyarebul i da gamoricxavs Sidapolitikur TamaSebsa da cal keul i politikuri daj gufebebis Wirveul obas; aqedan gamomdinare ki, gardauval ia saqarTvel os natosTan integracia.

es iyo Cveni ZiriTadi Tezisebi. ase gamoiyureboda natos warmomadgenel Ta Tezisebic. ramdenad sakmarisi iyo isini afxazuri mxaris dasarwmunebl ad, me ar vici, amaze, al baT, q-ni pol a da b-ni jonaTani koeni ufro dawvril ebiT isaubreben. magram, imis gaTval iswinebiT, rom es pirvel i Sexvedra iyo, mimaCnia, rom igi sakmaod mniSvnel ovani iyo orive mxaristvis da vfiqrob, saintereso unda yofil iyo natos warmomadgenel TaTvisac, radgan maTTvis es iyo pirvel i SemTxveva, rodesac saqarTvel oze viRacisgan uaryofiti azri esmodaT. manamde maT urTierToba hqondaT mxol od Cvens oficial ur pirebTan, roml ebic awarmoebdnen maTTan mol aparakebas da maT fonze, uceb, saqarTvel os Sesaxeb, afxazebisgan srul iad sawinaaRmdego informaciis mosmena mouwiaT. es iyo saqarTvel oze al ternatiul i informacia. swored amis Semdeg gadawyda afxazuri mxaris formirebis gzebis Ziebis dawyeba da saami so meTodebis SemuSaveba. gmadl obT.

gogi gvaxaria \_ Cveni diskusiis formatis Tanaxmad, momxsenebel i bol omde warmotqvams sityvas da mxol od amis Semdeg usvams mas auditoria SekiTxvebs. ase rom, axl a ukve SegiZl iaT b-ni arCil istvis kiTxvebis dasma.

gogi xuciSvili, konfliqtologi \_ sergei Sambas cnobili gamonaTqvami, romel mac disonansurad gaiJRera da sazogadoebis

yuradReba miipyo, imaSi mdgomareobda, rom afxazeTi saqarTvel os natosTan daaxl oebas saSiSroebad ar ganixil avs. amis Taobaze bevri komentari gakeTda. piradad mec mqonda Sexvedrebi afxazebTan da TiTqos ikveTeBa STabeWdil eba, rom afxazeTSi, ruseTis rol is saRad gaazrebi mxriv, dinamika SeimCneva. ruseTi, SeiZl eba iTqvas, dRes afxazeTSi risk-faqtoradac ki aRiqmeba. amave dros, saqarTvel os natosTan daaxl oebis survil s afxazebi evrosruqturbSi integraciis sakuTar survil Tan paral el ur reJimSi ganixil aven. afxazur sazogadoebaSi ki, evrostruqturbSi integraciis sakiTxi Zal ian intensiurad ganixil eba. ufro metic, iq sakiTxs asecdudgebian - saqarTvel os natosTan daaxl oeba xom ar Seuwyobs xel s am process? Cemi azriT, es aris niSa, romelic unda gamoviyeoT da gavafarTovoT. Cveni muSaoba am kuTxiT unda gavaZl ieroT. TiTqos TandaTan ufro ikveTeBa urTierTgagebis SesaZl ebl oba.

arCil gegeSiZe \_ aseTi ganwyobil eba, geTanxmebiT, dRevandel afxazeTSi, marTI ac sagrZnobia. SesaZl oa, isini amaze xmamaRl a ar l aparakoben, magram is, rom maT surT samarTI ebrivi sazogadoebis Camoyal ibeba, kanonis uzenaesobis damkvidreba da adamiანis ufl ebebis dacva, cxadia. maT dasavl uri sazogadoebis nimuSTan miaxl oeba surT, aseTi sazogadoebis Camoyal ibebas cdil oben da imasac xedaven, rom Rirebul ebaTa es sistema ar aris arc ruseTSi, arc aziaSi, arc saqarTvel oSi, is mxol od evrokavSirSia. amitom, rogorc CemTvis cnobilia, isini intensiurad cdil oben evrokavSiris saqarTvel os evropul samezobl o politikis programis Semswavl el warmomadgenel Ta darwmunebas, rom maT hqondeT Tavianti, saqarTvel osgan damoukidebel i arxebi, amis misaRwevad, radgan am procesis saqarTvel osTan erTad gasavl el adjer mzd ar arian. vimeoreb, garkveul wreebSi, saqarTvel osTan am kuTxiT TanamSroml oba, SesaZl oa, ganixil ebodes ki dec, magram Riad, CvenTan, isini amaze ar saubroben.

rac Seexeba Tqvens mier gamoTqmul mosazrebas imis Sesaxeb, rom afxazeTi ar aris saqarTvel os natosTan integraciis winaarMdegi, iq jerjerobiT aseTi midgoma figurirebs \_ am aliansSi saqarTvel os, afxazetisa da oseTis gareSe Sesvl is SemTxvevaSi, afxazeTi ar iqneba am procesis winaarMdegi. magram Tu saqarTvel o natoSi Sesvl as afxazeTTan erTad moindomebs, aq ukve sxva scenari iCens TavS. aq SiSis faqtoric aris gasaTval iswinebel i. afxazuri mxaris varaudiT, ruseTs SesaZl oa, SeeSindes natosi da aRar daexmaros afxazets. saqarTvel osac, aliansis wevri, msofil ios 26 yvel aze Zl ieri demokratiul i qveynis mxardaWerit daimedebul s, ufro Tamamad SeeZl eba zemoqmedeba afxazetze. am SemTxvevaSi, maTi azriT, arc saomari moqmedebebi gamoiricxeba. maT ar surT movl enebis am kuTxiT ganvitareba da garantiabs eZeben. me Sors var im azrisgan, rom aseTi SiSisa da winaswarganwyobis gasafantad erTi Sexvedra sakmarisia. magram mnisvnel ovania is, rom maT Cvengan, pirvel wyarosgan, moismines imisgan gansxvavebul i azri, rac maT mudmi vad esmit ruseTis mxridan. Tavidan Cven arc gvijerebdnen, magram mTavaria, rom saintereso procesi daiwyo da igi unda gagrZel des. mTavaria, rom maT daijeron, rom nato ar aris agresivul i organizacia da ar iqneba aseTi afxazetis mimarT. amis Semdeg isini saqarTvel os natosTan integraciis procesisTvis mxardaWeris mi zanSewonil obasac aRiareben.

koba l ikl ikaZe, radio `Tavisufl eba- \_ arCil ma, vfiqrob, zedmiwevniTi sizustiT daaxasiaTa arsebul i viTareba, magram Cemi azriT, afxazuri mxarisTvis Zal ian mniSvnel ovani iyo irakli oqruaSvil is, SeiZl eba iTqvas - saqarTvel oSi omis partiis l ideris - politikuri orbitidan wasvla. Tumca, imis mol odini, rom Sesazl oa, es adami ani kidev dabrun des pol itikaSi, ra Tqma unda, aris, da aqedan gamomdinare, aris SiSiC amis gamo.

rac Seexeba imas, Tavad saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba ramdenad erTgul ia natos Rirebeul ebebisa da ideal ebis, am Tval sazrisiT 2007 wl is dasawyisi Zal ian saxasiaTo iyo. al baT, yvel as gaxsovT, yvel a saparl amento partiam erTxmad dauWira mxari natoSi momavali gawevrianebis Sesaxeb dekl aracias. marTalia, arian sxva, arasaparl amento partiebic \_ `l eiboristuli-, `tradicional istebi-, `erovnuli forumi- - roml ebic ar dauWers mas mxars. Tu dauWeren, maT mainc gauCndebaT kiTxvebi imis Sesaxeb, Tu ra moel is afxazeTs da samxreT oseTs natoSi gawevrianebis Semdeg. Cven arc qarTuli marTI madidebl uri ekl esiis Sexedul eba unda daviviwyoT am organizaciaSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb. SegaxsenebT, 1997 wel s ekl esia saqarTvel os neitral itetis momxre iyo. natoSi gasawevrianebl ad saqarTvel oSi momdevno arCevnebi testis funqcias Seasrul ebs. Tu gaimarjvebs politikuri Zala, romelic natos, upirvel es yovl isa, Rirebul ebebis erTobl iobad moiazrebs da ara organizaciad, romelic saqarTvel os Tavis Semadgenl obaSi Zal iT gaaertianebs, es ukve wingadadgmuli nabiji iqneba. mainc vfiqrob, rom jerjerobiT, yvel aze mniSvnel ovani, sakuTari auditoriis, sakuTari sazogadoebisTvis eWvebis gafantvaa da mere, sxvisi darwmunebaa saWi ro.

arCil gegeSiZe \_ dReisTvis, avtoritetuli saerTaSoriso sociol ogiuri institutebis mier Catarebul i gamokiTxvebis gaTval iswinebiT, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis 81% mxars uWers qveyneis natoSi gawevrianebas. es am organizaciaSi ukanasknel periodSi gawevrianebul qveynebs Soris yvel aze maRal i maCvenebl ia. Cvens Semdeg, 80%-iT meore adgil zea rumineTi, mas 69%-iT mosdevs estoneTi, 66%-iT \_ sl ovenia da 30%-iT \_ sl ovakeTi. Tumca, miuxedavad aseTi dabal i procentul i maCvenebl isa, sl ovakeTi mainc gawevrianda natoSi. mTavaria, ramdenad aris gacnobierebul i es arCevani da ramdenad myaria miRebul i gadawyvetil eba.

marTI ac, axl o warsul Si saqarTvel os ramdenime politikuri partia al ternatiul i gzis, neitral itetis Sesaxeb debatebis iniciativiT gamodioda. imave periodSi ruseTis el Cmac gaakeTa amaze miniSneba. magram mainc, am politikur Zal ebs ar uTqvamT, rom isini ewinaaRmdegebian saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas. isini sakiTxs sxvagvarad ayenebdnen, maT ainteresebdaT, saqarTvel osTvis ukeTesi xom ar iqneboda, neitral itetis gzis arCeva. is, rom dRes Cvens sazogadoebaSi viRac kvl av neitral itetis momxrea, es, al baT, ufro saqmeSi Cauxedaobis bral ia da ara argumentebiT gamyarebul i mosazreba. Cemi azriT, saqarTvel os neitral iteti bevri mizezis gamoa SeuZl ebel i. neitral itetic sxvadasxva saxis arsebobs. evrokavSiris wevri ramdenime qveyana \_ avstria, fineTi - ukve amboben, rom maTi neitral iteti mxol od formal uria, radgan, real urad, isini evrokavSiris wevri qveynebi arian. am organizacias aqvs Tavisi sagareo pol itika da misi wevrebic moval eni arian uerTgul on mas. ase rom, es ukve aRar aris neitral iteti.

neitralitetis arCevis SemTxvevaSi, Cven uari unda vTqvaT natozec da evrokavSirzec. magram vin uzrunvel yofs, am SemTxvevaSi, Cvens usafrTxoebas? saamisod, maSin Cven myari garantia unda gvqondes, rogorc Cveni mezobel i, ise msofi ios yvel a sxva qveynis mxridan. imis garantia, rom odesme romel ime Cveni mezobel i qveyana kurss da damokidebul ebas ar Seicvl is Cvens mimarT, ra Tqma unda, ver gveqneba. gavixsenoT 1921 wel i, rodesac sabWoTa ruseTma daarRvia saqarTvel os neitraliteti. bol omde, samwuxarod, veravis endobi. am undobl obas isic uwyobs xel s, rom Cvens garemocvaSi arc erTi qveyana ar aris ideal urad demokratiul i, isini amisgan Zal ian Sors arian. rasakvirvel ia, afxazebzac aqvT garkveul i safuZvel i saimisod, rom bol omde ar gvendobodnen, imitom, rom dRes Cveni qveyana aseve Sorsaa demokratiisgan. magram Tu Cven Camovyal ibdebiT demokratiul saxel mwifod, meti SesaZl ebl oba iqneba kompromisebi sTvis. am i sTvis, orive mxarem, rogorc qarTul ma, ise afxazurma, sasurvel ia, erTi veqtori, erTi mimarTul eba, airCi os.

gogi gvaxaria \_ rogorc CemTvis cnobil ia, imave gamokiTxvebiT, romel ic Tqven axseneT, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis 42% teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis imeds natoze amyarebs.

arCil gegeSiZe \_ konsesusis safuZvel ze, Tu natos wevri erT-erTi qveyana sxva, ara natos wevri qveynis agresii msxverpl i gaxdeba, natos wevri yvel a sxva qveyana am agresias iRebs, rogorc masze mimarTul s da yvel a erTad, erTiani Zal isxmeviT il aSqrebs agresoris winaaRmdeg. es aris cnobil i mexuTe punqti, romel ic real urad mxol od erTxel , 11 seqtembris movl enebis Semdeg amoqmedda, mas Semdeg, rac al iansis wevri erTi qveynis mimarT ganxorciel da agresia. afxazuri mxaris SiSs saqarTvel os natoSi SesaZl o gawevrianebis gamo, es punqtic iwvevs, radgan fiqroben, rom situaciis daZabvis SemTxvevaSi, saqarTvel os zurgs gaumagrebs natos wevri yvel a sxva qveyana.

rac Seexeba mosaxl eobis garkveul i nawil is mier saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis imedis natoze damyarebas, es marTl ac aseba, Tumca SarSandel gamokiTxvasTan SedarebiT, es maCvenebel i 10%-iT nakl ebia. SarSan am imeds gamokiTxul Ta 52% gamoTqvamda. Tumca, ar SeiZl eba vifiqroT, rom 42% mxars uWers probl emis omis gziT gadaWras. didi mniSnel oba aqvs, rogor daismeba kiTxva. Tu SekiTxva ase iqneba dasmul i \_ fiqrobT, rom saqarTvel os natoSi integracia xel s Seuwyobs qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenas? mas pasuxad mohyveba, rom marTl ac aqvT amisi imedi. kiTxvis am formiT dasmas ki \_ Seuwyobs Tu ara xel s natoSi integracia konfliqtis mogvarebas? - savaraudod, ase dasmul SekiTxvas sxva cifrebi mohyveboda. afxazebma, sxvaTa Soris, miaqcies yuradReba am cifrebs, isini gvsayveduroben imis gamo, rom, rogorc Tavad amboben, mosaxl eobis 42% probl emis omis gziT gadaWris momxrea. Cven gviwevs axsna, rom SekiTxva am SemTxvevaSi, arc ise sworad iqna dasmul i. samwuxarod, j er kidev bevri ver acnobierebs, rom qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianoba da konfliqtis mogvareba erTi da igive ar aris.

murman mal azonia, afxazeTidan devnil i \_ rogorc brZaneT, gamokiTxvis Tanaxmad, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis 81% qveynis natoSi integraciis momxrea, magram, minda giTxraT, rom aseTi ganwyobil eba

regionebSi nakl ebad SeimCneva. amitom, cota ar iyos, makvirvebs es cifri. xSirad sakiTxi asec ismeba, rom vinc ar emxroba qveynis natoSi integracias, is moRal ated cxaddeba. es sxva sakiTxia. me mainteresebs, ras miscems saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianeba? Tu es xel s Seuwyobs afxazetisa da cxinval is regionis konfliqtebis mogvarebas, maSin, cxadia, yvel a normal uri adamiani miemxroba am process, magram amaze cal saxa pasuxi arc xel isufl ebas aqvs da arc Cven. Cven sapirispiro gvesmis, amerikel i Cinovnikebisgan xSirad gvsmenia, rom maT ar SeuZl iaT daexmaron saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebaSi, vidre is ar moagvarebs konfliqtur situaciebs afxazetisa da cxinval is regionSi. Cven sakiTxs ase vsvamT, Tu nato ar dagvexmareba konfliqtebis mogvarebaSi, Rirs ki, masSi gawevrianeba? iqneb, Cven, devnil ebsac, gvkiTxoT azri, Tbilisi xom ar aris mTel i saqarTvel o. devnil mosaxl eobas ar uxsnian mTavars, ras mogvcems natoSi gawevrianeba. iqneb, romel ime Cinovniks es rames aZl evdes kidec, magram devnil mosaxl eobas ras miscems?

kidev erTi sakiTxi \_ nato ruseTTan saerTo enis gamonaxvisken mogviwodebs, magram amaze ratomRac aravin saubrobs. ruseTTan saerTo enis gamonaxva ki, Wirs. risi imedi unda gvqondes? natoSi gawevrianeba gadagviWris am probl emeb? Tu ver dagvexmareba, maSin, iqneb, isev ruseTTan gvqondes kavSiri? Cven yvel aze metad es sakiTxebi gvainteresebs. da bol os, minda gavimeoro, regionebSi natoSi saqarTvel os gawevrianebis Sesaxeb araferia cnobili. mosaxl eobas unda auxnaT, ras moutans es qveyanas, ra dadebiT da uaryofiT Sedegebs.

arCil gegeSiZe \_ es gamokvl eva Cven ar Cagvitarebia. is avtoritetul ma saerTaSoriso sociol ogiurma institutebma awarmoa. Cemi naTqvami imis Sesaxeb, rom mosaxl eobis 81% emxroba saqarTvel os natoSi integraciis process, am gamokiTxvas eyrdnoba. SesaZl oa, winaaRmdegi metic iyos, zustad amas veravin ityvis, magram mi axl oebiTi suraTi aseTia. faqtia, rom mosaxl eobis umravl esoba am process mxars uWers. sociol ogebi saTiTaod yvel as ver gamokiTxaven. yvel as aqvs Tavisi azri da Sexedul eba, mTavaria, rom viswavl oT erTmaneTis azris da poziciis pativiscema. Tqven TqviT, rom natoSi integraciis mowinaaRmdege, xSirad qveynis mtrad aRiqmeba. es, rasakvirvel ia, ar aris marTal i da am azrs waxal isebe ar sWirdeba.

ras mogvcems natoSi gawevrianeba? me Sevecade, amexsna, rom es qveynis xel isufl ebisTvis yvel aze Zl ieri stimuli da mniSnel ovani motivacia iqneboda reformebis bol omde misayvanad. marTal ia, am gzaze Secdomebic iqna daSvebul i, SesaZl oa, raRac ar gakeTda sworad, ris gamoc xSirad sayveduroben xel isufl ebas, magram mTlianobaSi, es is sakiTxebia, roml ebic unda daexmaros qveyanas ganvitarebis ufro maRal safexurze asvl aSi. amitom, Tavistavad, nato, rogorc modernizaciis faqtori, saqarTvel osTvis Zal ian mniSnel ovania. jerjerobiT Znel i saTqmel ia, modernizaciis faqtori rogor aisaxeba konfliqtebis dar egul irebis procesze. winaswar, amaze pasuxs, verc nato gagvcems.

natosTvis ki, unda iTqvas, rom saqarTvel o unikal uri qveyanaa. natos sakuTar organizaciaSi arasodes gauwevrianebia qveyana gayinul i konfliqtebiT. natos samoqmedod, aseT SemTxvevaSi, precedenti ar aqvs. amitom iq axl a am Temaze didi msjel obaa, raTa, rodesac real urad dadgeba saqarTvel os natoSi Sesvl is sakiTxi, yvel a kiTxvaze iyos pasuxi. ara mgonia, natom uari Tqvas saqarTvel os miRebaze. igi arasodes daayenebs saqarTvel os dil emis winase, miRos is gaertianebul i, Tu



dakargul i teritoriebis gareSe, imitom rom arastabil uri da susti saxel mwifo Tavis rigebSi aravis swirdeba. afxazeTisa da cxinval is regionis gareSe ki, saqarTvel o arastabil uri qveyanaa.

im SemTxvevaSi, Tu natoSi integraciis procesi, raRac mizeziT, bol omde ar miwa da SeCerdeba, qveynisTvis es Zal ian cud Sedegs gamoiRebs, pirvel rigSi, imitom, rom dagvekargeba qveynis modernizaciis yvel aze Zl ieri motivi.

aqamde Cven yovel Tvis ruseTis gverdiT viyaviT. ra mogvca am siaxl ovem? an ras aZl evs axl a ruseTTan siaxl ove bel oruss an somxeTs? bol o TxuTmetma wel ma kargad dagvanaxa, rom ruseTisgan sasargebl os arafers unda vel odeT, arc integraciis da arc konfliqtebis mowesrigebis Tval sazrisiT. piriqit, ruseTi dainteresebul ia imiT, rom es konfliqtebi, orive mxarisTvis rac SeiZl eba met xans gagrZel des, amitomac winaaRmdegia formatis Secvl is.

msoflio sazogadoebriobac unda momwifdes saimisod, rom darwmundes rusi samSvidoboebis sxva qveynis samSvidobo Zal ebiT Canacvl ebis aucil ebl obaSi. unda moiZebnos al ternatiul i Zal ebi. gadasawyvetia, rogor Caenacvl os dsT-s Zal ebs gaeros samSvidobo kontigenti. saamisod, gaeros debul ebis me-6 Tavis Tanaxmad, afxazeTis mxaris Tanxmobac saWiroa.

gogi gvaxaria \_ modiT, axl a qal batonebs movusminoT da Semdeg ganvagrZoT diskusia. minda madl oba gadagixadoT repl ikiSTvis imis Sesaxeb, rom regionebi natoSi integraciis Sesaxeb ar aris informirebul i. aseTive situaciaa afxazeTSic.

axl a ninia kakabaZes gadavcem sityvas, romel mac wel s pirvel ad miRo monawil eoba stambul is konferenciaSi. ninias statiebSi, bol o periodSi, gansakuTrebit igrZnoba SeSfoTeba xel isuflebis da sazogadoebis mxridan saomari ritorikisa da saerTod, qveynis militarizaciis gamo.

ninia kakabaZe \_ me arc politikosi var da arc eqsperti da pirvel rigSi, rogorc saqarTvel oSi, ise afxazeTSi, sazogadoebrivi azri mainterestebs. pirad saubrebSi, TiTqos movaxerxe imis gageba, ras fiqrobs dRes afxazuri sazogadoeba, rogori Sexedul ebebi da azrebi dominirebs afxazur sazogadoebaSi. Cems moxsenebasac, al baT, ufro STabeWdil ebis gadmocemis funqcia eqneba. me, rogorc gogim giTxraT, aseT konferenciaSi pirvel ad miViRe monawil eoba. simarTl e rom giTxraT, iq nanaxs da mosmenils, ar gavukvirvebi var. qarTul i mxaris araswor politikaSi manamdec darwmunebul i viyavi. Cvens mier daSvebul Secdomebze bevri saubari SeiZl eba, magram axl a maTze aRar SevCerdebi. mTavari probl ema is aris, rom qarTul i xel isuflebis politika pirdapir aisaxeba qarTul sazogadoebaze. `mSvidobi ani - gamonaTqvamebi konfliqtis Sesaxeb, al baT, ufro dasavleTisTvis saCvenebel xasiaTs atarebs. me davrwmundi, rom aragul wrfel tons kargad grZnobs afxazuri mxare. media da Sefarul i militaristul i propaganda axal i agresiul i Taobis formirebas iwvevs.

rac Seexeba saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas, Cemi azriT, gasakviri ar aris, rom afxazuri mxare dRemde SiSiT da sifrTxil iT ekideba am perspeqtivas. nato, rogorc afxazeTSi, ise saqarTvel oSi, pirvel rigSi, samxedro Zal asTan asociardeba. CvenTan, natos propaganda eweva, rogorc qveynis teritoriul i mTl ianobis aRdgenis garants da ara

imas, rasac sinamdvil eSi warmoadgens es organizacia \_ stabil urobis, demokratiisa da usafRTxoebis garants. xel isufli ebis mxridan, Cemi azriT, Segnebul ad aris ignorebuli is faqti, rom natoSi gasawevrianebl ad arsebobs mkafio parametrebi da maTgan yvel aze mniSvnel ovania demokratia, romelic samwuxarod, Cvens qveyanaSi deficits warmoadgens. amitom, am konferenciaSi natos warmomadgenel Ta monawil eoba orive mxaristvis, afxazuristvisac da qarTul istvisac, Zal ian mniSvnel ovani iyo.

Cveni qveynis demokratizaciis procesiT afxazuri szogadoebac dainteresebul ia. Tu Cven, qarTvel ebi, viswavi iT, sxva erebis, da gansakutrebit, mcire erebis interesebis gaTval iswinebas, es dadebitad aisaxeba Cvens urTierTobaze, da bol os, minda arvniSno, rom aseTi Sexvedrebi, aseTi konferenciebi mniSvnel ovani da sasargebl oa orive mxaristvis. konferenciis monawil eebi xSirad unda icvl ebodnen, radgan es xel s Seuwyobs im adami anebis raodenobis gazrdas, roml ebic SeZl eben afxazuri mxaris mosmenas, maTi interesebis gaTval iswinebas, es ki, cal saxad dadebitad aisaxeba konfliqtis mogvarebis procesze. kidev erTxel did madlobas vuxdi stambul is konferenciis organizatorebsa da monawil eebis am Sexvedrebi sTvis.

gogi gvaxaria \_ SegaxsenebT, stambul is konferenciis organizatorebi iyvnen hainrih biolis fondi da kaliforniis universitetis samoqal aqo samSvidobo centri.

axla ki, albaT, droa, sityva am konferenciis organizators, q-n pol a garbs gadavceT.

pol a garbi \_ didi madloba yuradRebisa da im interesistvis, romel sac icent am sakiTxebis mimarT. me minda Zal ian mokl ed gagi ziaroT sakuTari STabeWdil ebebi, siamovnebit vupasuxeb Tqven SekiTxvebsac.

Cemi azriT, orive mxares, qarTul sac da afxazursac, am Sexvedraze sakuTari, mkafiod Camoyal ibebl i azrebi da, SeiZl eba iTqvas, eWvebic, hqonda, magram CemTvis yvel aze mniSvnel ovani is iyo, rom Sexvedrebis pirvelive dRidan orive mxarem gamoamJRavna erTmaneTis mosmenisa da konstruqciuli dialogistvis mzadyofna. orive mxares igrZnoboda siaxl is gagebisa da damatebiti informaciis miRebis survili. orive mxareze, samwuxarod, Zal ian sagrZnobia informaciis nakl eboba.

im Temaze sasaubrod, Tu ras aZl evs qveyanas natoSi gawevrianeba, erT-erT xorvat eqsperts sakuTari qveynis magal iTze unda esaubra, magram, samwuxarod, man ver moaxerxa konferenciaSi monawil eobis miReba. misi mosmena ver moxerxda, sxva eqspertebi ki, Cemi azriT, am SekiTxvaze amomwuravi pasuxis gasacemad mzad ar armoCndnen. Tumca, rasakvirvel ia, am Temaze iyo saubari. natos eqspertebma aRiases, rom arc isini da arc natos warmomadgenel ebi ar dafiqrebul an imaze, ra gamoxmaureba mohyveboda saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas afxazetis mxridan. amitom, vfiqrob, orive mxaristvis Zal ian mniSvnel ovani iyo, natos eqspertebis moesminat afxazebis eWvebi, roml ebic sakmaod detal urad iyo gadmocemuli.

gogi gvaxaria \_ konferenciis stenograma Tu gamoqveyndeba?

pol a garbi \_ ra Tqma unda, gamoqveyndeba. Cven SevecdebiT, es wl is bol omde gavakeToT. manamde, radgan konferencia, ZiriTadad, ingl isur enaze mimdinareobda, amave enaze gamoicema konferenciis angariSi. stenogramaze Tavad vmuSaob, gamomsvl el ebs axl a swored maT teqstebis vuTanxmeb. Semdeg, Sesazl oa, arc davel odo krebul is gamocemas, ise davugzavno yvel a dainteresebul adamians am gamosvl ebis teqstebi.

da kidev erTi sakiTxi \_ Semeqmna STabeWdil eba, rom afxazeTis samoqal aqo sazogadoeba mtkiced dgas modernizaciisa da demokratizaciis gzaze, amave dros didia Zal isxmeva enisa da erovnul i TviTmyofadobis gadasarCenad, rac, Cemi azriT, ar ewinaaRmdegeba saqarTvel os kurss amave mimarTul ebiT. natosTan dakavSirebiT ki, isini marTlac gamoTqvamen eWvebs, radgan ar arian darwmunebul ebi, rom saqarTvel oSi saomrad ganwyobil Zal ebs natos wevroba aiZul ebs xel i aiRos afxazeTis saomari moqmedebebiT dabrunebaze. isini figroben, rom, am SemTxvevaSi, dasavl eTi Tval s daxuWavs maT aseT qmedebaze. afxazur mxares j er kidev aqvs amis SiSi, amitom saWi roa bevri saubari da, orive mxaris mier, si tyebis saqmi T damtkiceba.

mniSvnel ovania isic, rom rogorc qarTul , ise afxazur mxares, Tanamedrove ruseTTan dakavSirebiT uaryofiti gamocdil eba aqvs, da am wertil Si ikveTeba orive mxaris interesebi.

natosgan gansxvavebiT, isini siamovnebiT Sevidodnen evrokavSirSi. rogorc konferenciaze iTqva afxazuri mxaris mier, nato, maT Tval Si, rogorc samxedro organizacia, undobl obas iwvevs. maT ramdenjerme gaixsenes saqarTvel os gaeroSi Sesvl a, romel sac or kviraSi saqarTvel os j arebis afxazeTSi Sesvl a mohyva. es paral el i maT dRemde mohyavT. Tqven Cemze ukeT mogexsenebaT maTi undobl obis mizezebi. magram mTavari is aris, rom dial ogi Sedga da mas konstruqciul i xasiaTi hqonda.

gogi gvaxaria \_ axl a siamovnebiT movusmenT gamomsvl el ebs darbazidan. magram manamde mec maqvs SekiTxvebi. pirveli, ruseTis rol s ukavSirdeba. afxazebs hqondaT il uzia, rom ruseTi xel s SeuSi ida saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebas. ganxil eboda Tu ara es sakiTxi? da meore \_ aTiode wl is win afxazeTSi metismetad sagrZnobi iyo antidasavl uri ritorika, SeimCneva Tu ara igi axl ac, da Tu aris, ra kavSirSia is natosTan?

pol a garbi \_ me mxol od samoqal aqo sazogadoebis ganwyobil ebaze SemiZlia saubari. Cemi afxazur samoqal aqo sazogadoebasTan urTierToba 1994-95 wl ebSi daiwyo. Tu vinmes hqonda kidec ruseTTan mimarTebaSi aseTi il uzia, dRes aseTi il uziebi namdvil ad aRar aqvT. Tumca, es ar niSnavs, rim isini mzad arian dResve motrial dnen saqarTvel osken.

koba l ikl ikaZe \_ q-no pol a, rogorc aq iTqva, es Sexvedra, natos warmomadgenl ebis daswrebi Tval sazrisiT, unikal uri iyo. es mec Zal ian mniSvnel ovnad mimaCnia, magram rogor warmogvidgenia Tavad Cven qarTul i sazogadoebis azri? saintereso, ra Tqva Sexvedrisas afxazeTis mxridan undobl obis Taobaze natos warmomadgenel ma j eims makkeinma?

pol a garbi \_ man aRiara, rom isini ar fl oben mkafio meqanizmebs. mas konkretul SekiTxvebs usvamnden. aseTi SekiTxvac daisva, rogor

moiqceva nato saqarTvel os mier saomari moqmedebebis ganaxl ebis SemTxvevaSi, da man ver SeZl o daesaxel ebina, sasjel is ra konkretul i forma SeiZl eboda mohyol oda amas natos mxridan. Tumca, aRniSnavda, rom mol aparakebebs da zewol as, am Tval sazrisiT, saqarTvel oze, maTi mxridan, adgili eqneboda. zustad ver vixseneb mis vinaobas, morigi sesiis dasrul ebis Semdeg CemTan movida konferenciis erT-erTi monawile da miTxra, rom misi azriT, irakli oqruaSvili dakavebuli Tanamdebobidan natos gavleniT gaatavisufles.

vaxtang wowonava, ilia WavWavaZis saxelobis universitetis studenti \_ didi madloba minda gadavuxado hainrih biolis fondis xel mZRvanel obas gamarTuli diskusiebisTvis. me pirvel adar vimyofebi am darbazSi, adrec bevrjer davswrebi var aq gamarTul diskusiebs da debatebSi monawileobac mimiRia. ra Tqma unda, Zalian mniSvnelovnad mimaCnia aseTi Sexvedris Catareba stambulSi, magram erTi Txovna maqvs, iqneb rogor me, sxva dros, masSi monawileoba afxazetidan ltolvil ebsac miaRebinoT. me araferi maqvs b-n vaxtang yol baias sawinaarmdego, magram mainc mimaCnia, rom axali saxeebic unda gamocndnen.

dRevandel i momxsenebelibis ganaki, gacilebit metis gageba msurda. aq iTqva imis Sesaxeb, rom saqarTvel oSi didi xania, aRar iziareben qveyanaSi mcxovrebi mcire erebis interesebs. me mimaCnia, rom es ase ar aris. Txutmeti welia, afxazetidan devnili var da amdeni xnis ganmavlobaSi ar momeca sakutar saxlSi dabrunebis ufl eba. saintereso, me unda davicva afxazebis interesebi, rodesac, isedac yvel afers maT vTavazobT? vimeoreb, Tu ki dev gaimarTeba aseTi Sexvedrebi, kargi iqneba, Tu am adamiანებს auxniT, rom Cven afxazets natos meSveobit ar vemuqrebit da natos ar arviqamt mxol od samxedro Zalad, Tumca, saqarTvel os natoSi Sesvli a, pirvel rigSi, mis gamTlianebas niSnavs, radgan mTel i saerTasorisozazogadoeba saqarTvel os swored am sazRvrebSi moiazrebs da afxazebis mouwevt amastan Segueba. saqarTvel os aqvs mniSvnelovani erovnuli interesi \_ qveynis teritoriuli mTliანობის arDgena, es aris samartliანობის arDgena. asobit aTas devnil adamiანს, Txutmeti welia, ar aqvs sakutar miwa-wyal ze dabrunebis ufl eba. Cven am sakiTxs, ase Tu ise, nebismieri metodit, odesme gadawrit. Tu Cveni interesebi amas moitxovs, vfiqrob, arc erTi metodit ar unda gamoiricxos, `sxva metodebSi - saomar moqmedebesac vguლის მობ.

polagarbi \_ swored amaze saubroben afxazebic. isini amboben, rom, martalia, qarTvel ebi konfliqtis mSvidobiani gziT mogvarebaze saubroben, magram Tu es ar moxerxda, arc saomar moqmedebes gamoricxaven.

niniakakabaZe \_ ra ketdeba Cveni mxridan konfliqtis mSvidobiani gziT mosagvarebl ad?

irakli tabliასვილი, [www.abxazia.info](http://www.abxazia.info) \_ ramdenime wl is win mqonda saSual eba, memusava afxazetis avtonomiuri respublikის saxel isuflebo wreebSi da ramdenadac CemTvis cnobilia, saqarTvel os xel isufleba arafers akeTebis afxazebis dasarwmunebl ad, rom saomar moqmedebes aRar ganaaxl ebs. rogorc CemTvis cnobilia, qarTul ma mxarem uari Tqva omis ganuaxlelobის Sesaxeb dokumentze xelis moweraze. es, qarTuli

sazogadoebisa da xel isuflebis mxridan Zal ian mniSnel ovani garanti iqneboda. ufro metic, qarTuli sazogadoebis mxridan ar xdeba arasamTavrobo organizaciebis aseTi dial ogebis waxal ise ba. irakli oqruaSvilis Tanamdebobidan gadayenebis Semdeg Tanamdeboba xel isuflebis sxva wevrebmac datives - goga xaindravas vgül isxmob. me, zogadad, qarTul politikaze vsaubrob da ara konkretul ad merabanTaZeze, romel mac Secvala goga xaindrava. dRes qarTveli politikosebis umravlesobas mTel i aqcenti cxinvalis regionze aqvs gadatanili. xel isuflebis warmomadgenelbi, bol o periodSi, Tavsi kaveben SexvedrebSi monawileobisa da am Temaze sakuTari azris gamoTqmisgan. da rac mTavaria, Cveni, natoze, rogorc garantiaze, ise vsaubrobT. afxazebma isic kargadician, rom Cveni biujetis 1/3 samxedro xarjebze modis. es cifri mravli smetyvelia da bevr kiTxvas scems pasuxs.

nodar sarjvelaze, fsiqolog \_ q-no pol a, Tqven aRniSneT, rom qarTul da afxazur mxareebis aqvT interesebis gadakvetis wertil ebi da modernizacia, demokratizacia da TviTmyofadobis SenarCunebis survili, da maTTan erTad, ruseTTan qarTul ebuli urTierToba daasaxel eT. kidev ra faqtorebia saWiromiSvis, raTa konfliqti sabolood mogvardes? albaT, dameTanxmebiT, es ori faqtori ar aris sakmarisi problemis gadasawrelad da mxareebis erTxel da samudamod Sesatanxmebelad. gadakvetis ra wertil ebia kidev saWiromi, Tqveni azrit, saamisod? ra momentebi unda iyos gatvaliswinebuli?

sociologebma gamoikvlies, aseTi leqsikonice arsebobs, romel sic `cru, yalbi sityvebia- Setanili. am CamonaTvalSi erT-erTia `demokratia-, imitom rom is, marTalia, ideal urad misaRebia yvelasTvis, magram, samwuxarod, arasodes miiRweva. Cercilic amas gul isxmobda, rodesac ambobda, rom is - demokratia - sulac ar aris idealuri, magram masze uketesi araferi mogvepoveba. iqneb, aseTi aucilebeli piroba stabiluroba da usafrTxoeba unda iyos? ras unda veswrafodeT qarTvel ebi da afxazebic, ra potenciali unda avamoqmedoT?

pol a garbi \_ Zal ian saintereso SekiTxvaa, magram mgonia, rom Tqven ukve fl obT masze pasuxs da aseT SemTxvevaSi, siamovnebiT mogismenT. Cemi azrit, rac yvelaze metad uSilis xel s daaxloebas, es, undobl obaa. samwuxarod, afxazebi da qarTvel ebi, erTmaneTsi SviaTad xvdebian. am SexvedrebSi, ZiriTadad, erTi da igive pirebi monawileoben. is, rac oficial urad iwereba da iTqmeba, afxazebis ndobas ar uRrmavebs. arsebobs piradi ndoba Sexvedris monawileebis Soris, magram rodesac sazogadoebaze midgeba saqme, mainc adgili aqvs SiSs da undobl obas. amisTvis ki, getanxmebiT, raRac unda gakeTdes.

gela Corgol aSvili \_ Tqveni yuradReba erT sakiTxsi minda mi vapyro. sakiTxis sirTule afxazetis avtonomiur respublikasTan konfliqtis damaxinj ebuli bunebiT aris ganpirobepuli. amaSi ganzrax Seqmnil stereotipebsa da konfliqtis Secvili da damaxinj ebul sawyis mizezebs vgül isxmob. jer kidev mkafiod ar aris Camoyalibebuli dadgenili konfliqtis mTavari mizezi. miaciet yuradReba, rogori terminologiit saubroben damoukidebeli eqspertebic ki. isini xmaroben terminebs: `saqarTvel o~, `qarTvel ebi~, `afxazeti~, `afxazebi~, anu, saubari yovel Tvis eTnikur WriliSi warimarTeba. sinamdvileSi ki, Cveni

saqme gvaqvs afxazetis avtonomiur respublikasTan, saxel mwifosTan, romelic saqarTvel os Semadgeneli nawil iyo, marTalia, SezRuduli suverenitetiT, magram is, amis miuxedavad, saxel mwifo iyo. Cveni eqspertebi da Jurnalistebi ki, samarTlebrivis nacvlad, emociuri kategoriebiT msjeloben. am problemiss gadaWra damokidebulia imaze, aRiarebs Tu ara saqarTvel os saxel mwifo afxazetis saxel mwifoebriobas da mis uflibas saxel mwifoebriobaze. afxazebi, osebisgan gansxvavebiT, axal sarafers moitxoven. maT axali saxel mwifos Seqmna ar moitxoviat, isini warmoadgendnen saxel mwifos da warmoadgenen mas dResac. sxvasakiTxia is, rom dRes es aRiarebuli ar aris. mTavari problema, Cemi azrit, swored amasi mdgomareobs. Cven konfliqti afxazetSi ki ara, afxazetTan gvaqvs. maT Soris didi sxvaobaa. samarTlebriv, iuridiul doneze sakiTxi ase gamoiyureba. Cemi azrit, konfliktis mogvarebis saqmeSi es xazi produqtiuli da pozitiuri iqneba.

amawlis martSi, berlinsigamarTul saerTasoriso konferenciaze - evrokavSiri da Savi zRvis TanamSromloba - evrokavSiris warmomadgenelma, piter semnebi warmoadgina afxazetis konfliktis mogvarebis proeqti, romelic konfliktis zonaSi rusuli samSvidobo kontigentis, evrokavSiris, da ara gaeros warmomadgenelbiT Canacvlibas iTvaliswinebs. xom ar ganxil eboda es sakiTxi stambuliskonferenciaze?

da kideverti SekiTxva \_ sul cota xnis win, romSi warmarTul e.w. `adamiანების თრეფიკის- პროცესზე გამოტვილი იყო ალბანეთის მამიის მირადენილი დანასაულები და ამასთან კავსირსი დასახლებული იყვნენ აფხაზური ხელისუფლების warmomadgenლები. საკიტი აფხაზებიდან რადიკალური ნივთიერებების უკანონო გატანს ეხებოდა. xom ar yofila es sakiTxi ganxili konferenciaze?

me sazogadoebis yuradReba minda mivapyro imas, rom nato, garkveulwilad, amerikis SeerTebul StatebTan asociრdeba. es, daaxloebiT, identური ცნებია და აფხაზური მხარის გაუცნობიერებლობა არაფერსაა. ასევე cota xnis win, xut სხვადასხვა qveyanaSi \_ დიდ ბრიტანეთსი, იტალიასი, ესპანეთსი, საფრანგეთსა და გერმანიასი ცატარებულმა გამოკიTxვამ დაადგინა, რომ ევროპელთა დიდი ნაწილი ევროპის საფრთხეების ყველაზე დიდ სასიროებად ამერიკის SeerTebul Statebs მოიარებს, და შემდეგ სახელდება ცინეტი და ირანი. რუსეთი ამ გამოწვევასი მუყვსე ადგილზეა. es გამოკიTxვა saerTasoriso organizაციებმა Caatara. me imis Tqმა minda, რომ აფხაზური ხელისუფლების regionSi geopolitikურ ცვლილებებთან დაკავსირებული სისი, არცთუ ისე საფუზვლია.

რუსიდან მარსანია, "პირისპირ" \_ ნათეს მირ saqarTvel os ტერიტორიული მტლიანობის საკიტის გადაყვეთის შემთხვევასი, რამდენად შესაზლებლად მიგაჩნიაT განვითარების სხვადასხვა ეტაპზე მოყოლილ საზოგადოების ურთიერთობა? მე თავისუფალი სიტყვის არსებობის ხარისხს, კორუფციასთან ბრძოლისა და დემოკრატიზაციის დონის ვგულისხმობ. Cven kargad ვიციT, რომ mdgomareობა, ამ მხრივ, qarTul და აფხაზურ საზოგადოებასი, gansxvavebulია.

პოლაგარბი \_ მე es შესაზლებლად მიმაჩნია. Tu ადამიანები გადაყვეთენ erTად yofnas, erTად ცხოვრებას, Tu maTსი არის კეტილ განყოფილება და ურთიერთობის სურვილი, ყველაფერი შესაზლებლია. Tqვენ ნათეს მირ

saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis probl emis gadaWra axseneT - didi mniSvnel oba aqvs, es ra formiT gakeTdeba.

val ter kaufmani \_ vidre, rogorc konferenciis monawil e, sakuTar STabeWdil ebebs gagi ziarebdeT, minda SegaxsenoT, rom diskusiis dasrul ebis Semdeg warmogidgenT `qarTul -afxazuri aspeqtების- seriis XIII toms \_ `saqarTvel osa da afxazetis perspeqtivebi Savi zRvis integraciis konteqstSi~.

rac Seexeba stambul is wl evandel Sexvedraze Cems azrs, aq ndobis aRdgenaze saubrobdnen. marTl ac, me Semeqmna STabeWdil eba, rom afxazebs aqvT survil i daijeron, rom nato saqarTvel oze keTil ismyofel gavlenas moaxdens, vimeoreb, aqvT amis daijerebis survil i, magram, ar sjeraT. ase rom, maT dasarwmunebl ad, qarTvel ebsac da natos warmomadgenl ebsac, didi Zal isxmeva sWirdebaT. undobl obas warmoSobs is, rom am or sazogadoebas, qarTul s da afxazurs, absol uturad gansxvavebul i ramis sjera. qarTul sazogadoebas, qarTvel Ta umetesobas, swams, rom gamoiZebneba gza, romel ic maT omandel mdgomareobamde daabrunes. fxazurs - sjera, rom male aRiareben maT damoukidebl obas. mxareebS Soris ndobis aRsadgenad, saWiroa arsebodes saerto ideal i da mizani. qarTvel ebis mier naTqvami, rom nato saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTl ianobis momxrea, afxazuri sazogadoebis mxriv natos saomari moqmedebebisken mixelobad aRiqmeba. arada, es natosTvis miuRebel ia. misi warmomadgenl ebi acxadeben, rom nato mxars uWers konfl iqtis mSvidobian daregul irebas. nato imasac ambobs, rom igi ar ereva misi wevri qveynebis saSinao saqmeebSi, magram mxol od amis Tqma ar aris sakmarisi. natomac unda moipovos afxazuri mxaris ndoba.

jonaTan koeni, `Serigebis resursebi- \_ Cemi azriT, erT-erTi yvel aze mniSvnel ovani Setyobineba, romel ic konferenciis monawil eebma natos warmomadgenl ebisgan miRes, muqaras da Zal is gamoyenebis sakiTxebS ukavSirdeboda. maT aRniSnes, rom isini ewinaaRmdgebian konfl iqtis Zal ismieri meTodebiT gadaWras da Tu es moxdeba, kiTxvis niSnis qveS dadgeba saqarTvel os natoSi gawevrianebis sakiTxi. Tumca, rogorc vxedavT, qarTul sazogadoebaSi j er kidev keTdeba gancxadebebi imis Sesaxeb, rom Tu ar moxerxdeba konfl iqtis mSvidobianad daregul ireba, maT erTaderTi, saomari moqmedebebis, gza rCebaT. nato aseve gadaWriT ambobs, rom Tu saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas j er kidev sjera, rom nato maT dakargul teritoriebs Zal ismieri meTodiT daabrunebinebs, unda icodnen, rom es il uziaa.

saqarTvel os aqvs saSual eba gaxdes natos wevri qveyana, magram saamisod man mTel i rigi etapebi unda gaiaros. Tu saqarTvel o ganagrZobs muqaris ritorikas, es mistvis, SesaZl oa, Semaferxebel i aRmoCndes. es ar aris mxol od qarTul i pol itikis probl ema, es ufro metad, qarTul i sazogadoebis probl emaa. Tqven es kargad unda gaiTavisot da SeecadoT gavlenas moxdenas pol itikosebze ufro metad, vidre isini moaxdenen gavlenas Tqvenze. natos, Cems mier naxsenebi Setyobineba, Zal ian mniSvnel ovani iyo afxazuri mxarisTvisac. isini didi yuradRebiT usmenen qarTvel pol itikosTa gamosvl ebs da gamudmebiT esmiT zewol is ena. magram Cven viciT, rom am eniT saqarTvel om, TxuTmeti wl is ganmavl obaSi, verafers miaRwia. ukanasknel i erTi wl is ganmavl obaSi ki, zewol is midgoma, samwuxarod, bevrad ufro aSkarad iyo gamoxatul i, vidre wina wl ebSi.

badri mefariSvili \_ gasagebia saqarTvel os swrafva natosken, magram, me mainteresebs, ramdenad aris dainteresebuli nato saqarTvel oTi. ra amoZravebs am organizacias, rodesac ganxil avsmis Tavis rigebSi gawevrianebis sakiTxs. es daaxl oeba mxol od CvenTvis aris mniSvnel ovani, Tu ormxivad mniSvnel ovania?

paata zaqareiSvili, qarTul-afxazuri dialogis proeqtis qarTveli koordinatori \_ es Zalian mniSvnel ovani da didi Tema. natosTvis saqarTvel o saintereso rom ar yofil iyo, uaris saTqmelad konfliqtebis arsebobac sakmarisi iqneboda. veTanxmebi arCilis, marTlac unikaluri da uprecedento SemTxvevaa natos mxriv, awarmoos mol aparakebebi qveyanasTan, romel sac sakuTar teritoriaze ori gayinuli konfliqti aqvs da jerjerobiT, arc erTis gadasawrelad ar aqvs mkafio scenari. Tumca, cxinvalis regionSi aris siaxle. ramdenad gamoiRebs is Sedegs, amis Tqma Znelia, dro acvenebs, magram afxazeTSi araferi icvl eba.

15 welia, am saqmeSi var CarTuli da yvela ambobs, rom Cven mSvidobis momxreebi varT. macvenet es, damarwmuneT amaSi! SeiraRebuli Zal ebisTvis miliardi laria gamoyofili \_ es normaluria, Cveni ufl eba. biujetis 1/3 SeiraRebul Zal ebze modis, maSin roca, Cven jerkidev ar gadagvibjebia diqtaturistvis. damanaxeT, ra Tanxideba mSvidobistvis! vimeoreb, saxel mwifos aqvs ufl eba, Tundac mTel biujeti moaxmaros sakuTari SeiraRebuli Zal ebis gaZlierebas, magram ra ketdeba mSvidobistvis? nato, Cvenan, pirvel rigSi, usafrTxoebas elis. saqarTvel oSi sakiTxi cal saxad ismeba \_ ras miviRebT Cven natosgan, briusel Si ki ainteresebT, natos gafarToebis SemTxvevaSi, ras miiReben saqarTvel osgan. rasakvirvelia, nato miiRebs met usafrTxoebas, met gavlenas moipovebs axlo armosavl etze, miuaxlovdeba irans da ruseTs. magram mTavari is aris, rom natom Cvenan unda miiRos usafrTxoebis meti garantia da ara, Tavad Seqmnas es usafrTxoeba.

ramdenad mzadaa Cveni qveyana natoSi Sesasvl elad? vfiqrob, es organizacia dasawyisSi mcirediT dakmayofil deba da aamoqmedebs saqarTvel os natoSi miRebis programas. amas, SesaZloa, mohyves drois gawel vis procedura. al baneTi, Svidi Turva welia maf-Sia ( \_ gawevrianebis samoqmedo gegma), asevea makedoniac. anu nato raRac xnis Semdeg daiwebs seriozulad fiqrs, Tu ramdenad SeiZleba iqonios mWidro urTierToba saqarTvel osTan. ratomRac, undaT dagvajeron, rom es Zalian male moxdeba. xval, SesaZloa, marTlac mi gviRon maf-Si, magram araviTar SemTxvevaSi, natoSi. es sakmaod xangrZlivi perspeqtivaa da amaze aravin saubrobs.

afxazebs, daveTanxmebi gamomsvlel ebs, saerTod ar aqvT informacia saqarTvel oSi mimdinare procesebze. ufro sworad, informacias Cvenze, isini ruseTis gavliT iReben. amitom, Zalian mniSvnel ovania aseTi Sexvedrebi. qarTuli xelisufleba ki, aratu ar monawileobs am SexvedrebSi, maT bl okirebasac ki cdil obs. ukve didi xania, seriozul i Sexvedrebi ar Semdgara qarTvel da afxaz politikosebs Soris, maTac qarTuli xelisufleba bl okavs, esec Zalian cudia. aSkaraa afxazebis izolirebis survili, rac, samwuxarod, sabolood, uaryofitad, kvlav Cvens winaarmdegi muSavebs.