

samyaro iwyebs cxovrebas rome li auci lebe li garemos
aRsrul lebis saWi roebis mizeziT, aseTi mizeziT yovelTvis
yvelaferi dayvelgan jer ganisazRvreba ase. samyaros
cxovrebi auci lebe li saWi roebiT iqmneba Cveni cxovrebi
vali, mere ki Cveni cxovrebi vali namdvilia imitom ro
saWi roa.
Cveni pirovnu li, sazogado, erovnu li msofliomxedveloba
da saxe lmwifo ideologia iqmneba ase Tu (egrevTqva) rome li
xerxiT da saxiT gaxorcie ldeba cxove li saWi roeba. es Cveni
adamanu robaa, Tavisufleba, siyvaru li, zneoba, sixaru li,
Rirseba da cxove li vali, cxove li vali moifesvebs da
aiwyoba aseTi TvisebiT

raTaa ro Cven gvivyars samSob lo dagvWirdeba ojaxi mere ki
ojaxi Cven gvWirdeba Tavis cxovrebiTvin (da arayofistvin),
Cveni gaCena xdeba SemTxveviT, erTi wamis cvlilebis mizeziT
iqmneba sxvadamiani dayvelaferi Seicvleba, Cveni ervnu li
kuTnileba da adgili rome lSi viSviT SemTxveviTia, ase mas
ara unda eqmnas arainri mniSneloba, amasTan erTaT aseTi
garemo iqmneba cxovrebi fessvis gaxorcie lebis
SesaZleblobaT.

Tavisi piradi cxovrebi gancda da azri, Cveni urTieroba,
Cveni damokidebuloba urTierTan dagaremosTan, Tavisi da
urTier iqmedeba, SemZle Sroma, Tavis gadalaxva moicavs
cxovrebi fessv. ojaxi xdeba mniSneli raTgan Cven uyvarvarT
mSoblebs, samSob lo gvivyars imitom ro aq Cven

CamovyalibdebiT, vswavlobT cxovrebas da garemo rome lSi vcxovrobT iqmneba Cveni gonebis garemoT.
Cven gavigebT megobrobas, sixaruls, simamaces, tkivils, warmatebas da marcxS, Cven vswavlobT Rirsebis mniSnelobas,
imas ro unda SevZloT gamovdget adamiataT, Cveni cxovreba qmnis Tavs da garemos. samyaro iwyebs cxovrebas rome li
auci lebl obis gaxorcie lebis saWi roebiT, mere ki cxovreba xdeba da Cven unda vimuSaoT (vimoqmedoT) cxovrebi
mosaxdenaT raTgan cxovreba ara xdeba Tavis TavaT (cxovreba arari). cxovrebi qmedeba da SemZle Sroma (anu
cxovrebi fessvi) xdeba Cveni Tavisi piradi cxovrebiT da urTierobiT.

Cveni cxovreba Sedgeba ramdenive urTieris Semqmneli da ganuyofeli fessviT (kide swori iTqmeva aseTi azri ro es
ramdenive urTieris Semqmneli da ganuyofeli saWi roebaa). Tavisi piradi cxovreba da urTieroba xdeba SemZle
SromiT mere ki swori iTqmeva aseTi azri ro TavaT isini Sromaa.

Cven ara unda warmovidginoT Tavisi piradi cxovreba da urTieroba rogor rome li TaviseburaT awyobili saxe,
sinamdvi leSi Taviseburi saxe iqmneba cxove li qmedebaSi. Cveni cxovrebi Tavisebureba ganpirovdeba ase Tu rogor (_
rome li xarixiani siRmit) Cven SevZlebt vicxovroT, viSromoT da gadav laxoT Tavi TavSi da Cveni urTierobaSi.
cxovreba Sromelia, Cveni kacoba, sikeTe, simamace, rwfeli cxovreba, sibrZne, Tana grZnoba, zneoba, sircxvili, iqmna
Tavis gadalaxvaT (da Semdeg isini moitxoven Sromas Tavisi keTebisTvin). cxovrebi qmedeba iqmna sikeTeT, simamaceT,
sibrZneT, rwfeli cxovrebaT da sxva amaT, mere ki yove li cxovreba erTia dayove li cxovreba ganumeorebelia.
Cveni cxove li vali xdeba aseTi ro TavaT (pirovnebam, sazogadom, erma) SevignoT mere ki vswavlobT sxvas cxove li
fessvi, mere ki vecadoT SevZloT vicxovroT da davexmaroT sxvas. viswavlobT da ganvaviTarot cxovrebi
SesaZleblobani, piradi azrovneba da gancda, Cveni urTieroba, damokidebuloba, maTi mravali sxva Tviseba da garemo
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teqnikuri axсна

cxovrebi gasaWiri aseTia ro cxovreba martlac ro ar arsebobs mere ki cxovreba ar arsebobs winaswar, is garemo ro
arsebobs cxovrebi Sinaarsi rome lis mixedviT is unda Seiqmnas, araniSnavs cxovrebi (ukve) winaswari moxdomas (_
gaxorcie lebas), ase cxovreba martlac ro ar arsebobs mere ki cxovreba ar amoxda winaswar da cxovreba iwyeba
Tavidan da arafridan. es emateba imas ro cxovrebi qmedebis da Sesrulebi SeZleba ar iqmneba winaswari
gadawyvetili.

araxdeba ise ro cxovreba ukve winaswar arsebobs da is dafaru lia burusiT (_mere ki ase Cven gveCvene ba ro is ara
arsebobs da sinamdvi leSi ki cxovreba ukve arsebobs). sinamdvi leSi asea ro cxovreba martlac winaswari ar arsebobs

rome li nairi unda gaxdes Cveni erovnu li msofliomxedvelobis (ideologiais) fessvi? pasuxs mianiSnebs aseTi kiTxva
Tu raTgvinda Cven erovnu li msofliomxedveloba? aseTi kiTxva mianiSnebs mniSnelobaze rome li eqmneba
cxovrebi seu li da erovnu li msofliomxedvelobas yove li CvenganisTvis, sazogadosTvis da erisTvis. mniSneli
iqmneba is rac xdeba saWi ro Cveni cxovrebiTvis da arsebobisTvis da erovnu li msofliomxedveloba xdeba saWi ro
Cveni cxovrebiTvis.

saWi roeba mianiSnebs misi auci lebl obaze, es araa raRacanivTi rome li Cven SegviZlia vataroT Tan an ara vataroT.
exlamosakiTxia ase Tu rome li mizeziT iqmneba saWi roeba, is Tavisi bunebiT moqmedia, es an gegmaa rome lis mixedviT
Cven unda vimoqmedoT an rome li unda aRvasruloT, an warmodgenat nusxa Tavisi ganmar tebiT, umetesi SemTxvevaSi
saWi roeba iqmneba samive, da aseTivea erovnu li msofliomxedveloba. msofliomxedveloba Cven gvWirdeba imisTvis ro
vicodeT Tu vin varT, sad vcxovrobT, risTvis vcxovrobT, ra unda vakeToT.

magram ratom unda vakeToT, ratom viSviT? Cven viSviT aseTi mizeziT ro vakeToT is rac iqmna auci lebe li saWi ro,
auci lebe li saWi roeba iqmneba yovelis mizezi da fessvi, is yove ls ganapirobebs da veraferi ver iarsebebs Tavisi



SinaarsiT amis garda.
ase iqmneba ori garemo, jer es erTi iqmneba aucilebeli saWiroeba da mereki is Tu romeli nairi iqmneba aucilebeli saWiroeba, me vTqvi ro aucilebeli saWiroeba ganapi robebs yovelS, Tavisi bunebis mizezT is qmnis Cveni cxovrebiseu li erovnu li msoflio mxedvelobis pirveli fesvs, anu Cveni cxovrebis movaleobas.
Cven unda SevignoT da vaswavi ot Svilabs ro samyaro ar iqmna ubralot ise, cxovreba ar iqmna saTamaSoT da drois satareblat, mereki aseTi mizezit Cven ar viqmeni ubralot ise, Cven viSvit Tavisi cxovrebiseu li movaleobis Sesasrublelat. mereki kerZoT Cven (qartvelebi) SevZeliT gavxdeT aseTi codnis Semgnebi eri da yoveli Cvengans, sazogados da ersgvakisria ormagi movaleoba, Cven unda SevinaxoT codna samyaros bunebis Taobaze, mereki ufro maTavaria ro Cven unda SevZloT vamoqmedoT aseTi codna. is ar arsebobs imisTvis ro Cven is SevinaxoT, codna cxorebaze isetivea rogor saTesi xorballi romelis saWiroeba da saTanado mniSne loba aseTia ro is unda davTesot da gavzardoT axalimosavlat.
codna cxorebaze ar aritviriti, codna cxorebaze xdeba Cveni gamosayenebeli cxorebis samoqmedebeli xel sawyo, cxovrebiseu li vali da Cveni adamanuroba ganapi robebs Cveni eris Seqmnas da unda ganapi robos Cveni erovnu lobis Tviseba.
yoveli es migvaniSnebs Cven cxovrebiseu li bunebis meore Tvisebaze, anu imaze Tu romelia cxovrebiseu li saWiroeba. raa saWiro ro Cven vakeToT? is Tu samyaros aucilebeli saWiroeba me ukve avwere filosofiur naazrevSi, mosakiTxia Tu romeli saxiT Cven unda SevasruloT aseTi saWiroeba. es ar xdeba Cveni yovel dRiuri rva saati ani samsaxurat, es Cveni cxovrebiseu li movaleobis Sesrublebaa da Cveni rwfeli cxovrebaa, sibrZne, simamace, siyvaruli.
romeli mizezit xdeba ase? me ukve avwere filosofiur naazrevSi cxovrebis qmedebis buneba, qmedebis SesaZlebloba niSnavs samyaros araerT gvarovnebas, ara simyares, TaviTve Tavis gareTobas. amis garda qmedebis xanSi xdeba Seqmna, ganvitareba, mateba da (yoveli amis SedegaT) cvlileba, es Zneli Sesagnebelia, Zneli Sesaguebeli, Zneli gasaZlebeli da amis garda kide Cven unda SevZloT amis keTeba. anu cxovrebis qmedeba ar iqmneba gadawyvetili TavisketebaSi da (warmatebuli an warmatebeli) SedegSi.
yoveli es iTvaliswinebs da qmnis urTiers, yoveli aseTi Tvisebas Tqven aRmoaCenT Cveni cxovrebisruli, adamanuri, pirovnu li, sazogadoebrivi da erovnu li movaleobaSi. qmedeba moitxovs Cvengan Tavis Segnebas da Tavisi cxovrebiseu li psuxisgeblobis Segnebas, Tavis gadalaxvas imis sakeTeb lat rac saWiroa cxovrebaSi.
ertxel me gamovTqvi azri Cveni yovel dRiuri zneobrivi cxovrebaze da Cveni yovel dRiurobis zneobrivi cxovrebaze, Cveni didi damciri (magram arameti an naklebi xarixxiani) qmedeba da saqciel, zneobrivi arCevani da SemZle Sroma, miukerZovebuli da gaazrebuli midgomis mcde loba Tavis mimarT da urTieris mimarT, iseti mcde loba ro ar SegveSindes da SevZloT vicxvrot rwfeli guliT da Riagonebit, yoveli es xdeba cxovrebis qmedebaT.
Cven ara unda vecadoT movizioT cxovrebis fesvi, Cven unda SevignoT ro cxovrebiseu li movaleoba, zneoba, sikeTe, Sroma romeli unda vecadoT SevZloT vakeToT, Cveni mamacoba, sibrZne, siyvaruli, Rirseba, ar iqmneba cxovrebis erTi TvisebaT mravali sxva saxeobis Sori. cxovrebis fesvi uSvalot esenia, Cven ara unda vecadoT movizioT

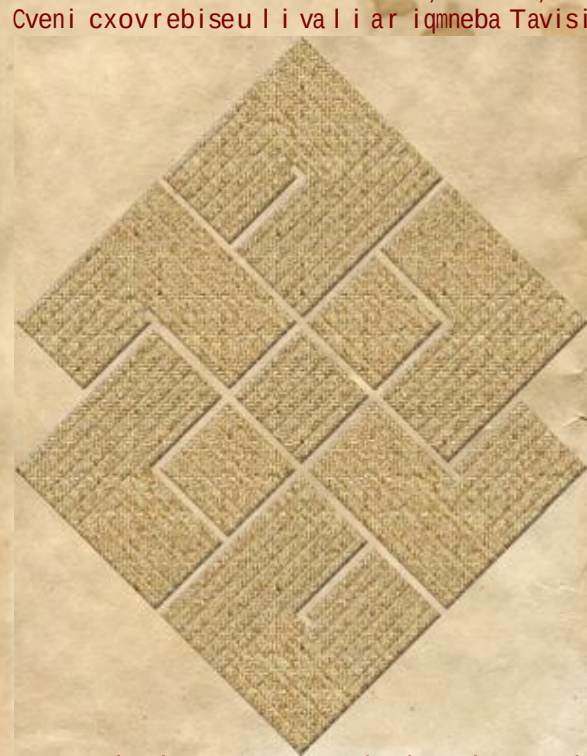


cxovrebis fesvi maRali ze caSi da idumali siRmeSi.
cxovrebis fesvi aqaa, yoveli Cvengani da yoveli CvenSi.
exla Cven gvWirgeba cxovrebis (anu qmedebis) bunebis Tvisebis gageba, me vTqvi ro cxovreba ar iqmna gadawyvetili qmedebis da Sedegis mqoni, es niSnavs inasac ro Cven unda SevZloT vicxvrot, mereki cxovreba SesaZleblobiTia, Cven unda viswavi ot si tyva “Tu” Sinaarsi, Cven unda SevignoT da Sevitvisot (Sevitvisot da SevignoT) ro cxovreba xdeba da cxovreba ara ari, cxovreba moqmedia SesaZleblobiTaT, cxovreba ara ari gadawyvetili Tavisi qmedebaSi da misi SedegSi, cxovreba ara ari gadawyvetili rogorc qmni li Tvisebis da saxis gagebit, agreTve cxovrebis SeZlebis (cxovrebis ketebis) gagebit.
Cven unda winaswari daveTaxmoT, dauSvat da Sevitvisot ro SesaZloa Cveni warmodgena da varaudi ver moicavs mTlianaT garemos, mereki SesaZloa ro cxovrebis xanSi Cveni romeli me qmedeba da mcde loba aRmoCdeba mcdari, aseTi mizezit Cven unda winaswari daveTaxmoT, dauSvat da Sevitvisot ro Cven SesaZloa SevcdeT raimeS. Cven unda naklebi vamtkicot raime, Cven unda ufro RrmaT vivaraudoT, vieWvoT da viziot, Cven unda SevZloT gavxdeT cocxali samyaros Sesabamisa moazrovne da mxovrebi pirovnebani da sazogado, Cven unda SevignoT da Sevitvisot ro Cven da garemo ar viqmnebit ertTgvarovani da myari. ase imis garda ro yvelaferi unda imoqmedos da ganvitardes, kide yoveli SesaZloa icvalos Zir fesvianaT.

samyaroSi ar arsebobs erTi sawyisi da myaraT ganpirobebuli Sinaarsi, aseTi mizezit samyaroSi ar iqmneba erTi Tavi da amis garda samyaro TavaT, Tavisi bunebit ar emTxveva Tavs, anu ara damTxveva TavTan es TavaT am bunebis fesvia (Sinaarsi), TavaT aseTia samyaros buneba, romeli warmoadgens TiTonve Tavisi arsebobs gamoricxvas.
Cven unda winaswari dauSvat, SevignoT da Sevitvisot yoveli es, Cven unda vicxvrot SesaZleblobiTaT da ara winaswari gadawyvetili warmodgeniT damtkicebit.

maS ase, romeli xdeba Cveni erovnu li msoflio mxedvelobis (ideologiiS) fesvi? jer es erTi cxovreba xdeba aucilebeli saWiro mizezit, Cven unda SevZloT SevasruloT aseTi saWiroeba da amitom aseTi xdeba Cveni cxovrebiseu li vali, is araa erTi Tviseba mravali sxva TvisebaTa Sori, is (uSvalot) cxovrebis Sinaarsia, is

ganapi robebs yove l s. Cven unda vecadoT SevZ l oT Tavis c xovrebiseu l i va l i da sasikeToT da Ri rsaT Sevasru l oT is
rac gvinda vakeToT (_anu Tu Cven viqmeniT niWier i Semoqmedi, ostat i, an gvsurs raimes keTeba da siamovnebis miReba,
Cven es unda vakeToT sasikeToT, Ri rsaT, kargaT da ara bor o t i ganZraxiT).



Cveni cxovrebiseu l i va l i ar iqmneba Tavis i gvaris da eris gandi debaT, es bunebis Tvisebania rome l ma unda
ganapi robes Cveni cxovreba (da yove l i qmedeba), da Tvisi sazogados da
eris qmni l i moTxovni leba da ganZraxva. Cveni Sroma Tavis
sazogadosTvis da erisTvis mar to yofiTi mova leobaa, cxovrebiseu l i
va l i aseTia Tu rogor vakeTebT amas Cven, amas ganapi robebs zneobrivi
wesi da Tavis pasuxisgebl oba rome l is Sesru leba da Segneba axdens
cxovrebiseu l i qmedebas.

pirovnebis cxovreba, Cveni mova leoba sazogadosTan da erTan, survilebi
da miswrafebani, _maT Sori SemomediTi, es l ambaqia rome l ma unda
moicvas TavSi cxovrebiseu l i fesvi (kide SesaZ l oa aseTma l ambaqma unda
gaasaxieros cxovrebiseu l i fesvi, anu iqces iseTi furcelaT rome l ze
dawerilia cxovrebis fesvi mere ki aseTi furceli ver Secvl is TaviT
cxovrebis keTebas).

Cveni va l i Tavis, urTieris da kacobriobis winaSe aseTia ro Cvenma erma
SeZ l o gaxdes aseTi codnis gangebi, Semnaxveli, ganmaviTarebeli da
mamomqmedebeli. is ro Cven es SevZe l iT (da is ro Cven es SevZe l iT
dasawyisSi) araniSnavs ro Cven aRar gvWirdeba Sroma, cxovreba mudmivaT
saSromo sakeTebelia.

umetesi SemTxvevaSi da umetesi CvenganisTvis cxovrebis va l i iqmneba
aseTi ro Cven unda SevZ l oT vicxovroT Ri rsaT, mamacaT da rwfeli
gu l iT, mere ki vipovoT Cveni sayvare l i da kargi saqme, Cveni adgil i
cxovrebaSi da vakeToT kargi saqme kargaT. zogjer cxovrebis va l i iqmneba
aseTi ro iqmneba rome l i gadaudebeli saWi roeba, maSin Cven vxdebiT
mova le Sevasru l oT cxovrebis aseTi va l i (meti SemTxvevaSi aseTi
gasaWi ri gvxdoba Cven erToblivaT, mere ki Cven yove l i kerZo TavaT da
erToblivaT SevZ lebT misi gadalaxvas).

Cven unda vicxovroT Segnebul aT da pasuxisgebl obiT (kide imit omac ro Cveni cxovrebis qmedeba maradiu l aT rCeba
samyaroSi (aseTia ukvdaveba)), Cven unda SevinaxoT, ganvaviTar oT, vamoqmedoT da vaswavl oT sxvas aseTi codna.
aseTia Cveni pirovnu l i, sazogados da eris cxovrebis va l i, da amis saTanado cxove l i ms of l i o mxedve l oba