

revolucia, kontrrevolucia da sagadasaxado kodeqsi

aqamde vicodit, rom dRes moqmedi sagadasaxado kodeqsi iyo – liberaluri, revoluciuri da msotl iosi sauketeso. axl axel isufli ehamisi isev revoluciurad Secvl is gadawyvetil eba mi iRo – finansTa ministris gancxadebit, kodeqsi 98 %-it icvl eba (namdvil ad icvl eba... muxl ebis numeracia). Tu l ogikas gavyvebit, gamova, rom saqme `kontrrevoluciasTan- gvaqvs... iqneb, meSl eba?

sinamdvil esi ki, Tu cnobil i gamonaTqvamis perifrass mi vmarTavT, `arc erTi iyo liberaluri da arc meore – kontrrevoluciuri. orive ugvani kodeqsi iyo-.

ratom vfiqrob ase? Sevecdebi, davasabuTo (si tyvebis ekonomis miznit, dRes moqmed sagadasaxado kodeqss `kodeqsad- movixsenieb, SemoTavazebul icvl il ebebis proeqts - `proeqtad-):

1. koncepcia

ar varga rogorc kodeqsis, ise proeqtis koncepcia – isini antil liberaluria erTi martivi mizezis gamo – orive matgani Tvl is, rom qveyanaSi mTavaria biuj eti, xol o gadasaxadis gadamxdel i (adamiani) – maqsimum, meorexarixovani. amis dasabuTeba yvel a im muxl is gaanalizebit rom vcado, romel ic kodeqssa da proeqtSia, Jurnal is erTi nomeri ar meyofa. amitom mxol od ramdenimes gavacnob mkiTxvel s: gadasaxadis cneba kodeqsSic da proeqtSic erTnairad aris ganmartebul i – mat mixedvit, gadasaxadi aris `upirobo- da `usasyidl o- Senatani biuj etSi. Tu sworad mesmis, sagadasaxado kodeqsi aris gadasaxadis warmoSobisa da gadaxdis **pirobebis** krebul i. maS, rogorRaa gadasaxadi upirobo?

nebismierma pirvel kursel ma ekonomistma Tu iuristma icis, rom bunebaSi ar arsebobs legitimuri motxovna sanacvl o val debul ebis gareSe. nebismier aseT motxovnas yvel a droSi da yvel a qveyanaSi yaCaRobas uwodeben. gadasaxadis `usasyidl obis- gamocxadebit xel isufli eba uars ambobs raim val debul ebis aRebaze gadasaxadis gadamxdel is winaSe. daskvnis gakeTeba, vgoneb, rTul i ar unda iyos.

8 wl is win me da Cemma megobrebma aseTi formul ireba SevTavazeT xel isufli ebas - *`gadasaxadi aris biuj etSi saval debul o ful adi Senatani, romel ic wesdeba xel isufli ebis konstituciuri val debul ebebis aRsrul ebis finansuri uzrunvel yofis miznit da roml is gadaxda eval eba am kodeqsiT gansazRvrul pirebs amave kodeqsiT dadgenil i odenobiTa da wesiT-*.

SevadarOT es ganmarteba kodeqs-proeqtiseul ganmartebas - *`gadasaxadi aris am kodeqsis mixedvit saval debul o, upirobo ful adi Senatani*

*biuj etSi, romel sac ixdis gadasaxadis gadamxdel i, gadaxdis
aucil ebel i, araekvival enturi da usasyidl o xasiaTidan gamomdinare-. –
romel i maTgani atarebs `l iberal ur xasiaTs-?*

kodeqsSic da proeqtSic aris muxl i saxel wodebiT `sxva j arimebi~,
romel ic ambobs, rom Tu gadamxdel is mier irRveva romel ime
val debul eba, roml isTvisac dadgenil ia pasuxismgebl oba, magram j arimis
odenoba ar aris gansazRvrul i, es j arimdeba 100 l ariT. ras gveubneba
amgvari CanaweriT xel isufl eba? - `ici ra, me axl a mezareba yvel a
darRvevis CamoWi kWi keba, magram icode, sadac dagiWer, mi gaj arimeb~. xom
aris l iberal uri midgomis mwverval i?

gadasaxadis gadamxdel is mier gadasaxadis gadaxda uamravi RonisZiebi T
aris uzrunvel yofil i – sauraviT, j arimebi T, yadaRiT, sal arodan naRdi
ful is amoRebi T, qonebis gayidvi Ta Tu warTmevi T da a.S. samagierod, Tu
gadasaxadi zedmetad gaqvs gadaxdil i da biuj etidan mis dabrunebas
moiTxov, kodeqs-proeqti geubneba, rom moTxovni dan 3 TveSi dagibruneben.
oRond, Tu ar dagibrunes, ra xdeba, riT agebs Sen wi naSe pasuxs
xel isufl eba, amaze aRaraferia naTqvami, rac ni Snavs, rom arafriT agebs
pasuxs. esec xom l iberal uria?

amgvari magal iTebis motana dausrul ebl ad SeiZl eba.

2. mikro da mcire biznesi

`revol uciuradaa- Sefasebul i mikro da mcire biznesis cnebebis
SemoReba. orive statusi mxol od fizikur pirebs exeba da ar vrcel deba
iuridiul pirebze. mikro biznesiTvis dadgenil ia brunvis 30 000-
l ariani zRvari da naTqvamia, rom Tu pirs am odenobaze nakl ebi aqvs
brunva, igi arcerTi gadasaxadiT ar dai begreba. amas did mi Rwevad
gvasaReben, sinamdvil eSi ki es am kategoriis gadamxdel Ta mdgomareobis
gauaresebaa:

- ar aris dadgenil i, saqmianobis romel dargebze gavrcel deba mikro-
biznesi statusi. es unda gansazRvros mTavrobam Tavisi Sexedul ebi T.
masve SeuZl ia, saqmianobis romel i Rac saxeobebSi akrZal os am statusis
miniWeba. gamodis, rom j er arc ki vici T, ras gvTavazoben.

- dRes moqmedi sagadasaxado kodeqsiT dadgenil ia saqmianobaTa saxeobebi
(mewaRe, mesaaTe, Sinamosamsaxure da a.S.), romel Ta mimdevari fizikuri
pirebi dabegvrisgan Tavisufl debian, Tundac 100 000 l aris Semosaval i
miiRon. axl a ki maT eubnebian, `xom kargia, rom mxol od 30 000 l aris
Semosaval ze gaTavisufl debiT dabegvrisgano~.

- mikro biznesi statusis mqone pirebs ar aqvT sakontrol o-sal aro
aparatis qonis val debul eba. aRricxvis wesebic gaurkvevel ia – finansTa
ministrma unda daudginos. iqve weria, rom `sagadasaxado organos
ufl eba aqvs mikro biznesi statusis mqone piriS Semosavl ebi

gansazRvros arapirdapiri meTodebiT finansTa ministris mier

gansazRvrul i wesiT-. mokl ed, mewarmisTvis TamaSis wesebi

ganusazRvrel ia, xol o sagadasaxado organoebi ki Tavisi

Sexedul ebisamebr gansazRvraven mis Semosavl ebs. ra gamova? – is, rom
l oial ur gadamxdel ebs `eqnebaT- 30 000 l arze nakl ebi Semosaval i,
aral oial urebs ki – meti.

- sxva gadasaxadis gadamxdel ebs ekrZal ebaT mikro biznesis statusis
mqone pirebisgan Sesyidul i saqonl isa Tu momsaxurebis Rirebul ebis
xarj ad gamoqviTva, Tundac danaxarj i dokumenturad iyos
dadasturebul i. ratom unda moundes aseT gadamxdel s mikromewarmisgan
raimes yidva?

- msgavsi mdgomareobaa mcire biznesis statusTan dakavSirebiTac. am
fargl ebSi SemoTavazebul ia 3- da 5-procentiani dabegvris reJimebi,
xol o Semosavl is zeda zRvari 200 000 l aria. amastan, 3 %-iani dabegvris
reJimis gamoyenebis ufl eba pirs mxol od im SemTxvevaSi aqvs, Tu is
daasabuTebS Tavisi erTobl ivi Semosavl is 60 %-is tol danaxarj ebs,
daqiravebul istvis gadaxdil xel fasze gaweul i danaxarj ebis garda. xom
kargad vzrunavT dasaqmebaze?

- erTgan weria, rom mcire biznesis statusis mqone pirs ufl eba aqvs, ar
awarmoos Semosavl ebisa da xarj ebis aRricxva (proeqtis 92.1-e muxl i),
meoregan ki weria, rom man unda awarmoos xarj ebis aRricxvis Jurnal i,
roml is warmoebis wess adgens finansTa ministri (muxl i 92.7-e).
gavfrindeT Tu ar gavfrindeT?

3. ombudsmeni

proeqtiT SemoTavazebul ia sagadasaxado ombudsmenis institutis
SemoReba. es idea axal i araa. j er kidev dRes moqmedi kodeqsis proeqtSi
iyo gaTval iswinebul i aseTi instituti, magram imis gamo, rom is proeqti
aseve iTval iswinebda kerZo arbitrajebis mier sagadasaxado davebis
ganxil vis ufl ebamosil ebas (romel ic amoqmedebidan 3 TveSi gauqmda), es
institutu zedmetad CaiTval a da proeqtidan amoRebul iqna. dRes am
institutu isev gvTavazoben, oRond – gauaresebul i saxiT. saqme isaa, rom
ombudsmenis funqcia, wesiT, unda iyos mTavrobis (sagadasaxado
organoebis) moqmedebebis sawinaaRmdego RonisZiebebis gatareba
gadasaxadis gadamxdel is ufl ebepis dasacavad. proeqti ki gveubneba, rom
ombudsmenis ufl ebamosil ebebi da saqmianobis wesi mTavrobisave
dadgenil ebiT gani sazRvreba. ratom unda mi aniWos mTavrobam vinmes Tav
sawinaaRmdegod moqmedebis ufl ebamosil eba?

4. winaswar i gadaxdebi

sagadasaxado kodeqsis proeqtiT kidev ufro izrdeba xel is ufl ebis
`mada-, winaswar mi iRos gadasaxadebi. imavdroul ad, gveubnebian, rom
xel is ufl eba gadasaxadis gadamxdel ebs aZl evs orTvi an uprocento

sesxs imiT, rom angariSgebas yovel kvartal urad gadaaqcevs yovel Tviuris nacvl ad. is ki yvel as aviwydeba, rom kodeqsiTac da proeqtiTac gadasaxadis gadamxdel ebi val debul ni arian, mogebisa da qonebis gadasaxadSi winaswar gadaixadon gadasaxadebi `mimdinare gadasaxdel ebis- saxiT. rac ni Snavs, rom xel isufli eba Tavadi Rebs uprocento sesxs gadamxdel ebisgan, oRond – erTwi ians. proeqtiT ki es mdgomareoba ki dev ufro mZimdeba – Semodis miRebul i avansebis dabegvra damatebul i Rirebul ebis gadasaxadiT (dRg-iT). TiTqos es ukeTesi unda iyos mewarmisTvis, radgan is gadasaxads nawil -nawil gadaixdis da ara – erTbaSad. sinamdvil eSi ki amis keTeba ar aris swori arc Teoriul ad da arc praqtikul ad:

- Sinaarsobrivad, dRg aris gadasaxadi, romli iTac ibegreba Seqmnil i **damatebul i Rirebul eba**. isic mxol od im SemTxvevaSi, roca misi gadacema xdeba sxva pirisTvis (momxmarebl isTvis). miRebul i avansis SemTxvevaSi ki es damatebul i Rirebul eba jer arc Seqmnil a da, miT umetes, arc gadacemul a. isic SeiZl eba moxdes, rom igi arc arasdros Seiqmnas. maS, ras vbegravT?

- es moqmedeba praqtikul i Tval sazrisiTac gaumarTl ebel ia. sicxadisTvis movitan yvel aze gavrcel ebul SemTxvevas – binaTmSenebl obas. mSenebl obebi 2-3 wl is ganmavl obaSi mimdinareobs da am xnis ganmavl obaSi mSenebel i myidvel isgan nawil -nawil iRebs avansebs, rac misTvis sabrunavi saxsrebia danaxarj ebis gasawevad – masal ebis sayidl ad, samSenebl o teqniki dasaqiravebl ad da a.S. ra gamova, Tuki am Tanxebidan 18 %-s amovacl iT mSenebel s? – igi izul ebul i gaxdeba, es Tanxa sxvagan moizios, anu – aiRos krediti da ixados masze procentebi. es ni Snavs, rom misi danaxarj ebis odenoba izrdeba, rac an mogebas Seumcirebs mas, an binis fass gazrdis. cxadia, esec uaryofiti movl enaa.

- winaswari dabegvris formaa e.w. `grZel vadiani kontraqtebis- dRg-iT dabegvrac. es meTodi dRes mxol od mogebis gadasaxadSi gamoiyeneba. proeqtiT ki dRg-Sic vrcel deba, rac, zemoT arweril i mizezebis gamo, aseve uaryofitad aisaxeba mewarmeebis Semosavl ebze.

- aseve gaugebaria sakuTari warmoebis Senoba-nagebobebis dabegvra dRg-iT, maSinac ki, roca am Senoba-nagebobis sxva pirisTvis gadacema ar xdeba.

gamodis, rom xel isufli eba winaswar cdil obs Tanxebis akrefas. oRond is aRar Cans, ra moxdeba 2-3 wl is Semdeg, roca am Tanxebis `ganaRdebis- vada dadgeba. ori variantia – an 2-3 wl is Semdeg kvl avac axal i `revol uciuri- kodeqsis mowmeni gavxdebiT, an dRevandel i xel isufli eba 2-3 wl is Semdeg sakuTar Tavs veRar xedavs da dResve cdil obs, Tanxebi `moimaragos-.

5. saSemosavl o gadasaxadi

uar esdeba saSemosavl o gadasaxadiT dabegvris rejimic:

- dRes moqmedi kodeqsiT saSemosavl o gadasaxadisgan Tavisufl deba iseTi aqtivebis gayidviT miRebul i nameti, roml ebic fizikuri piris sakuTrebaSi 2 wel ze meti xnis ganmavl obaSi da roml ebic ar gamoiyeneba ekonomikuri saqmianobisTvis. proeqtiT ki es nameti ibegreba nebsmier SemTxvevaSi, garda uZravi qonebisa da arasasofl o-sameurneo daniSnul ebis miwisa. uZravi qonebis SemTxvevaSi Tavisufl deba mxol od 30 000 l aramde miRebul i nameti, xol o miwis SemTxvevaSi – mxol od 2 heqtaramde miwis nakvetis gayidviT miRebul i Semosaval i. kodeqsiT aseve Tavisufl deba 6 Tveze meti vadiT msubuqi avtomobil is gayidviT miRebul i nameti Semosaval i. proeqtiT ki aseTi gaTavisufl eba aRar aris.

saerTod aRar aris SeRavaTi aRniSnul is garda sxva aqtivebis gayidviT miRebul Semosaval ze. gamodis, kacma, gaWirvebis gamo, saxl idan Zvel isZvel i karada rom gamoitanos da gayidos, aqedan gadasaxadi unda gadaixados.

- am gauaresebis garda, isic unda gaviTval iswinoT, rom dRes im qonebis gayidvisas, romel ic 2 wel ze nakl ebi xniT iyo piris sakuTrebaSi, gadasaxadi 12 % iyo. axl a ki 20 % iqneba. kodeqsiT gaTval iswinebul i iyo 20 %-iani ganakvetis TandaTan Semcireba 15 %-mde – 2013 wl is 1 ianvramde. am vadamac (maT Soris, dividendze da sesxis procentze gadasaxadis ganul ebis vadamac) erTi wl iT gadaiwia.

- gauaresebad unda CaiTval os, agreTve ij arisa da roial tis dabegvris Semotana gadaxdis wyarosTan. gamodis, Tu piri, vTqvaT, saofised farTs qiraobs, man unda daukavos gadasaxadi gamqiravebel s. sainteresoa, ra unda akeTos gamqiravebel ma?

6. orazrovneba

xel isufl eba gveubneba, rom proeqtiT daZl eul i iqneba orazrovneba da bundovaneba. es rom ase ar aris, amis dasasabuTebl ad minda vkiTxo finansTa saministros - am proeqtis mixedviT, Tu am saxiT iqca es proeqti kanonad, 2011 wl is pirvel april s rom qonebis gadasaxadis dekl aracia unda warvadgino, romel i wl is dekl aracia iqneba igi? proeqtSi weria, rom dasabegr qonebaze (miwis garda) gadasaxadi gadaixdeba sagadasaxado wl is 31 dekembris mdgomareobiT, xol o miwaze gadasaxadi gadaixdeba sagadasaxado wl is pirvel i april is mdgomareobiT, anu igul isxmeba, rom 2011 wl is pirvel april s rom warvadgen dekl aracias, iq unda Sevitano miwis Sesaxeb is monacemi, romel ic im dRisTvis maqvs, aqedan gamomdinare, sagadasaxado wel i aris 2011, oRond 2011 wl is 31 dekembris mdgomareobiT ra ganakveti iqneba qonebis gadasaxadze, 2011 wl is pirvel april s rogor unda davadgino? xol o Tu es 2010 wl is dekl araciaa, gamodis, rom miwis garda qonebaze gadasaxadi imis mixedviT unda gadavixado, rac mqonda gasul i wl is 31 dekembers, magram miwas ra vuyo? SarSan pirvel april s rom mqonda, imis mixedviT unda gadavixado? axl a rom aRar maqvs, im miwaze unda

gadavi xado qonebis gadasaxadi? an 2010 wl is dekl araciaSi rogor unda Sevitano is miwa, romel ic 2011 wl is, vTqvaT, 15 Teberval s viyide? gaugebaria xom, rac dawwere? CemTvisac gaugebaria. imedi maqvs, finansTa saministrosTvis ar aris gaugebari. ramden-azrovnebaa es?

7. kodeqsebis gaerTianeba

mTavroba ambobs, rom moxdeba sagadasaxado da sabaJo kodeqsebis gaerTianeba, roml is Sedegadac gadasaxadis gadaxdel s SeeZl eba Cveul ebrivi saqmianobi dan warmoSobil i gadasaxadebis zedmetad gadaxdil i Tanxebi gamoiyenos sabaJoze gadasaxadebis gadaxdisas da rom dRes es SeuZl ebel ia.

is, rom `dRes es SeuZl ebel ia-, moqmedi kodeqsis pirdapiri darRvevaa, radgan sagadasaxado kodeqsi ar adgens raime gamonakl iss romel ime gadasaxadis mixedviT, roml is CaTvl ac sxva gadasaxadSi akrZal ul i iyos. metic – sagadasaxado da sabaJo organoebi erTi uwyebis – Semosavl ebis samsaxuris Semadgenel i nawil ebia. teqniki xasiaTis probl emis gadawyvetas ki kodeqsebis gaerTianeba ar Wirdeba.

am gaerTianebas sxva dabrkol ebis Seqmnac SeuZl ia mewarmeebisTvis – arsebobs mTel i rigi mewarmeebisa, roml ebsac sabaJo kodeqSTan Sexeba ar aqvT. maT mouwevT mniSvnel ovnad damZimebul i, sqel tani kanonis Seswavl a imisTvis, rom terminebis ganmar teba an sxva raime niuansi ar gamorCeT.

bol oTqma

dRes moqmedi kodeqsis Tu SemoTavazebul i proeqtis Seusabamobebze dausrul ebl ad SeiZl eba saubari. araferi miTqvams sauravebis daricxvis wesis Secvl asa Tu mTavrobis mier gadasaxadis ganakveTis dawesebis ufl ebamosil ebaze, terminol ogiur Tu enobrivi uxarixobaze, jarimebis araadekvaturobasa Tu sagadasaxado samarTal darRvevebis kriminal izaciaze, kidev bevr, erTi SexedviT, wril man sakiTxebze, roml ebic konkretul seriozul probl emebTanaa dakavSirebul i.

mniSvnel ovani sxva ram gaxl avT – nebismieri xel is ufl ebisTvis aj obebs, sanam dabegvris sakiTxebis gadawyvetas Seudgeba, waikiTxos Tundac `Cipol inos Tavgadasaval i- da gaiTval iswinos princ l imonos bedi, romel mac gadasaxadebis daweseba scada JuJuna-Tavsxma-koki spirul wimize.

irakl i SaviSvil i
auditori

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