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***Ulus İnşasında Göçmen Siyasal Basının Rolü: Sakartvelo Gazetesinin (1903–1905) Tarihsel ve Söylem Analizi ve Gürcü Sosyalist-Federalist İdeolojinin Oluşumuna Katkısı***

***The Role of Emigrant Political Press in Nation-Building: A Historical and Discourse Analysis of The Newspaper Sakartvelo (1903–1905) And Its Contribution to The Formation of The Georgian Socialist-Federalist Ideology***

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### **Abstract**

This study examines the Georgian emigrant newspaper *Sakartvelo* (Georgia), first published in Paris in 1903, and its role in shaping national-political ideology and party formation in early twentieth-century Georgia. Drawing on Agenda-Setting and Postcolonial Theory, the research explores how an uncensored emigrant press functioned as a platform for ideological expression, political mobilization, and institutional development. Using a qualitative historical approach and content analysis of archival issues (1903–1905), the study identifies key themes such as national autonomy, federalism, and social reform. The findings show that *Sakartvelo* played a transformative role by facilitating the transition from general national discourse to structured party-oriented communication. It contributed to the ideological formation of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party and enabled transnational political dialogue with European intellectuals. The study concludes that emigrant press can serve as a powerful instrument of political transformation, especially under conditions of censorship, by shaping public consciousness and supporting nation-building processes.

**Keywords:** Emigrant, press; political communication; Sakartvelo.

### **Öz**

Bu çalışma, 1903 yılında Paris'te yayımlanan Gürcü göçmen gazetesi *Sakartvelo*'nun (Gürcistan) erken 20. yüzyılda ulusal-siyasal ideolojinin ve parti oluşumunun şekillenmesindeki rolünü incelemektedir. Gündem Belirleme ve Postkolonyal Teori çerçevesinde, sansürsüz göçmen basının ideolojik ifade, siyasal mobilizasyon ve kurumsal gelişim aracı olarak nasıl işlediği analiz edilmektedir. Nitel tarihsel yöntem ve 1903–1905 arası arşiv sayılarının içerik analizi kullanılarak ulusal özerklik, federalizm ve sosyal reform gibi temel temalar belirlenmiştir. Bulgular, *Sakartvelo* gazetesinin genel ulusal söylemden parti temelli iletişime geçişte dönüştürücü bir rol oynadığını göstermektedir. Gazete, Gürcü Sosyal-Federalist Partisi'nin ideolojik oluşumuna katkı sağlamış ve Avrupa entelektüel çevreleriyle ulusötesi siyasal diyalogu desteklemiştir. Çalışma, göçmen basının sansür koşullarında kamu bilincini şekillendiren ve ulus inşa süreçlerini destekleyen güçlü bir siyasal araç olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Emigrant, press; political communication; Sakartvelo.

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## Introduction

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Newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* was the first freely published, uncensored Georgian print media. Issued in preparation for the establishment of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party, it formulated the future party's programmatic doctrine. The newspaper regarded the creation of Georgia's political and national institutions as the lawful guarantee of the country's protection and development. Through this platform, Georgian political thought was given a space for free expression. On May 1, 1903, *Sakartvelo* became the first publication to openly articulate the demand for Georgian autonomy; an act impossible for *Akhlagazrda Iverielebi* and *Tsnobis Furtsetli* under severe censorship conditions. With the declaration, "We seek to obtain national autonomy" (*Sakartvelo*, May 1, 1903), the newspaper initiated the formation of the future party's national program. While remaining in framework of Russia's "political organism," the country was to enjoy full independence in domestic affairs. *Sakartvelo* linked this demand to the decentralization of Russia and the establishment of federalist principles, appealing to Russian liberal and socialist parties for a "free, not enforced, unity" (*Sakartvelo*, May 1, 1903).

**Theoretical Framework:** McCombs and Shaw's Agenda-Setting Theory (McCombs&Shaw, 1972); the emigrant newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* shaped audience perceptions by defining the programmatic doctrine of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party as its established agenda, while also maintaining that this agenda reflected the audience's demands. **Postcolonial Theory** (Said, 1978); during the publication period of *Sakartvelo*, the Russian Empire, as the ruling power, continued to legitimize its dominance. The construction of Georgia as the "Orient," as a "weak group," persisted. The publication of *Sakartvelo* aimed to bring this strategy to an end.

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## Methodology

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Based on the research goals, all issues of the newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* (1903–1905), its French-language supplement *La Georgie*, the proceedings of the First Conference of Georgian Revolutionaries (1904) and relevant scholarly literature were examined. Using a historical approach, materials were collected and used as the basis for the narrative. The identification of trends, analysis of cause-and-effect relationships and qualitative analysis of the media discourse reflected in the study were conducted through content analysis, while comparison, integration and the formulation of conclusions were achieved through comparative and synthesis methods (Nikoleishvili, 2026).

### Ethical Considerations

This study is based exclusively on historical documents, archival materials, and previously published sources, including issues of the newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* and its supplement *La Georgie*. The research does not involve human participants, personal data, or experimental procedures. Therefore, formal ethical approval was not required.

The authors adhered to internationally recognized ethical standards in academic research, ensuring proper citation, accurate representation of sources, and avoidance of plagiarism. All interpretations are presented objectively and with respect for historical context.

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## Findings and Results

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In substantiating its national-political platform, the newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* consistently debated what form an autonomous Georgia should take. Given the political realities, its program did not include political separatism or full independence from Russia. "We must reconcile ourselves to this idea. The task is to create such conditions within this political organism that, on the one hand, we do not sever unity with Russia and on the other hand, we freely develop our nationality" (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1903). In defining the essence of Georgia's national-territorial autonomy, the newspaper argued, on the basis of the Treaty of 1783, that this document guaranteed Georgia's national autonomy and non-interference in its domestic affairs. Following the launch of *La Georgie*, the French-language supplement of *Sakartvelo*, the European press likewise cited the treaty's provisions as the legal foundation for Georgia's national autonomy. The Flemish scholarly journal *Onwaring* wrote that Georgia demanded recognition as an administratively independent State, as envisaged by the 1783 "Act of Union" (*Sakartvelo*, 1.VII.1903). Pierre Chiaro, author of the article "Tsarism and Georgia" published in the French newspaper *L'Européen*, noted the Georgians' desire to return to the 1783 treaty, under which Georgia was to enjoy full independence in domestic affairs (*Sakartvelo*, 15.VI.1903). According to the renowned Danish critic Georg Brandes, through the Paris-based newspaper, the Georgian nation - whose rights Russia had violated by breaching the treaty and turning the country into its own province - was sharing its bitter fate with "well-off Europe" (*Sakartvelo*, 1. VIII. 1903).

This marked the first instance in the history of Georgian journalism in which a newspaper openly articulated the demand for national-territorial autonomy. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite severe censorship, the national press played a crucial role in shaping an ideology oriented toward the preservation of national identity in Georgia. However, it was only the first Georgian emigrant newspaper, *Sakartvelo (Georgia)*, that succeeded in openly declaring the demand for autonomy. *Sakartvelo* revealed distinctive features of political rhetoric within the context of its era. Through observation, study and analysis, its media texts were subjected to genre classification. Structural, thematic, and genre-based grouping revealed the principal direction of its political discourse: the preparation of ideological foundations for the establishment of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party.

The newspaper's editorials developed political viewpoints. "From this period onward, in Georgian journalism and political reality in general, the *Tsnobis Furtsetli* group came to be called the 'Sakartveloists,' after the name of their

new organ” (Shvelidze, 2025, p. 79). The thematic and structural framework of *Sakartvelo* and its French-language supplement *La Georgie* was identified through analysis of the content and genre styles of their media texts. Content analysis, along with systematic classification of materials, demonstrates that the central value vector of the political discourse was the demand for Georgian autonomy. The newspaper was political in nature and the rhetoric of its editorials reflects the most pressing issues facing Georgia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The emigrant newspaper of a nation within the Russian Empire argued that a federal structure of Russia would, “on the one hand, revive the Slavic element and, on the other, establish peace and harmony between the center and the peripheral regions.” “This system, in our view, should be based on a complex structure of decentralization” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.V.1903). *Sakartvelo* appealed to the free Russian press to express its views on this issue. In order to establish lawful guarantees for the country’s protection and development, the *Sakartvelo* group - the future Socialist-Federalists - argued that “only the establishment of political and national institutions can provide such guarantees” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.V. 1903).

If the materials of *Sakartvelo* are grouped thematically, the following structure emerges: first, the interpretation of the future Socialist-Federalist Party’s national program; next, analysis of the economic situation and social conditions, followed by the promotion of Socialism. Whereas previously the national question in Georgia had been addressed largely at a theoretical level, the national program of the future Socialist-Federalists introduced a demand for national autonomy grounded in legal principles (Ahmadov, 2026). This political position, as a national-political platform, was articulated and substantiated by the emigrant newspaper *Sakartvelo*. The newspaper maintained that if the country’s political future developed in accordance with the political needs of Georgia and Russia and if Russia became decentralized after the overthrow of autocracy, it would then be possible to raise the following slogan on the national banner: “Long live the liberation of Russia and long live Georgian national autonomy!” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1903).

The newspaper regarded autonomy as a fundamental national demand of the Georgian people and therefore identified it as the foundation of its political program. It linked the improvement of the country’s economic life to the fulfillment of this demand, arguing that “until the Georgian people become masters of their own fate, until they are granted the legal right to radically reorganize their economic life, they will remain in a state of decline” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.V. 1903). When discussing the means of achieving autonomy, the newspaper *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* considered unified action by all ranks and classes in Georgia impossible. It called only on those “who reject purely class-based and bourgeois action and who will devote their intellect, moral and physical strength to the liberation of the majority of Georgia’s inhabitants, the people” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. VI. 1903). From *Sakartvelo*’s perspective, illegal action by these circles would lead the Georgian revolution to an era of liberation. The newspaper viewed the overthrow of Russian autocracy as a means of national revival.

The future autonomous Georgia was envisioned as a classless society, with autonomy serving as the political form of an economically equal population. The politically oriented *Sakartvelo*, which was shaping the programmatic doctrine of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party, emphasized in explaining the economic aspect of the future party’s national program that class struggle in Georgia must end and economic justice must be established through the abolition of classes. This, the newspaper argued, would resolve economic inequality. Private property in Georgia, it emphasized, should have the same character as in Europe. Peasant and worker organizations aimed at improving their conditions should be legalized (*Sakartvelo*, 1. IX. 1903).

*Sakartvelo* further asserted that every political party must clarify whose interests it represented. While the Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party claimed to be the party of the proletariat, *Sakartvelo* disagreed, arguing that its program said nothing about protecting the interests of the people and considered the peasantry as small proprietors or petty bourgeois. If allowed free buying and selling of land, the majority would soon lose their property, join the ranks of the working class and accelerate proletarianization. In *Sakartvelo*’s view, given that most of the population lived in rural areas and the majority were “small proprietors,” it was necessary to protect their interests. The newspaper linked the issue of the people’s social freedom both to the overthrow of autocracy and to the demand for autonomy. National freedom and the attainment of self-government would, in turn, lead to economic revival: “The matter is not only the overthrow of autocracy; it is the obtaining of own national self-government.” For the implementation of this fundamental change, the power of the proletariat alone was considered insufficient (*Sakartvelo*, 1. III. 1904). Eliminating the conflict between labor and capital and transferring land and factories to public ownership were identified as the core directions of *Sakartvelo*’s economic program. The newspaper argued that the realization of these social reforms would be possible only through an autonomous parliament, the establishment of which, in turn, required national-territorial autonomy.

In discussions on agrarian issues, *Sakartvelo* maintained that “until the land becomes public property, satisfaction and peace will not be established in the villages” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. IV. 1905). From a social perspective, the newspaper argued that the State itself should not become the landowner; rather, village communities, peasant associations and cooperatives should collectively hold land - in other words, land should be socialized (Chachanidze, 2026). Editorials and reviews in *Sakartvelo*, most of which were authored by Archil Jorjadze, prepared the ideological foundations of the Socialist-Federalist Party. His name is closely associated with the development of *Sakartvelo*’s national-political platform and the foundational program of the future party. These media texts were shaped by the historical context of their production. As rhetorical texts and examples of political rhetoric, they exhibit a strong purposive character: arguments are well-founded, and reasoning consistently addresses the questions raised at the outset. Their primary goal was the formulation of the programmatic foundations of the future Socialist-Federalist Party and

their dissemination to the public. In developing its economic program, *Sakartvelo* analyzed social reforms intended to improve the condition of the peasantry, yet noted that these efforts had not yielded tangible results. According to the newspaper, democratic reforms alone could not resolve the fundamental conflicts and class struggles. While they could prepare the population for struggle, their implementation was necessary but insufficient. Therefore, the newspaper argued, “we must pursue a greater ideal: the people must be completely economically liberated” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.III.1904). According to the program of the *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* group, which formed the programmatic doctrine of the future Socialist-Federalist Party, the realization of this ideal, both in political and social-economic matters, would only be possible after achieving autonomy.

Table 1. *Thematic and Ideological Structure of Sakartvelo (1903–1905): Core Discursive Domains, Narrative Functions, and Political Objectives*

<b>Thematic Domain</b>	<b>Core Discursive Focus in <i>Sakartvelo</i></b>	<b>Representative Claims / Editorial Positioning</b>	<b>Political-Communicative Function</b>	<b>Observed Findings and Interpretation</b>
National-territorial autonomy	Persistent articulation of autonomy as the central national demand within a federal Russia	The newspaper argued that Georgia should remain within a transformed political organism while gaining full autonomy in domestic affairs	Agenda-setting around autonomy; normalization of autonomy as a lawful and legitimate political goal	<i>Sakartvelo</i> was the first Georgian newspaper to openly and repeatedly formulate national-territorial autonomy as a concrete political objective, shifting discourse from abstract nationalism to a structured political program
Federalism and anti-centralization	Advocacy for a decentralized federal structure as the solution to imperial domination	Editorials promoted “free, not enforced, unity” and called for a federal reorganization of Russia	Strategic framing to gain support from Russian democratic and liberal forces	Federalism was used as a pragmatic bridge between anti-imperial resistance and political feasibility, avoiding immediate separatism while preserving national agency
Legal-historical legitimization (Treaty of 1783)	Use of historical treaties to justify autonomy claims	The 1783 treaty was repeatedly invoked as legal proof of Georgia’s right to self-governance	Legitimization through legal-historical argumentation; authority-building	The newspaper transformed historical memory into political evidence, strengthening the credibility of autonomy claims in domestic and European arenas
Socialist-Federalist party formation	Construction of ideological foundations for the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party	The newspaper moved from doctrinal formulation to active party organization (Geneva Conference, 1904)	Media-to-organization transition; political mobilization and institutionalization	<i>Sakartvelo</i> functioned not only as a press outlet but also as a party-building platform, serving as a preparatory organ and then an official party organ
Economic justice and agrarian reform	Linking national freedom to socio-economic transformation	Calls for socialization of land, reduction of class conflict, and legal recognition of peasant and worker organizations	Integrating social and national questions into a unified ideological program	The newspaper adapted socialist ideas to local realities (small proprietors, peasantry), proposing a hybrid model of national autonomy plus social reform
Class discourse and anti-orthodox Marxism	Critique of Russian Social-Democratic orthodoxy for neglecting peasant interests	Editorials challenged the narrow proletarian focus and defended the role of peasants in revolutionary change	Ideological differentiation and audience alignment	<i>Sakartvelo</i> developed a distinctly Georgian socialist discourse, combining peasant-centered social policy with federalist nationalism
Colonial critique and anti-imperial rhetoric	Exposure of Russian imperial repression in politics, culture, and economy	The newspaper described autocracy as the source of decline, oppression, and “final extermination”	Counter-hegemonic discourse; identity reconstitution	The paper reframed Georgia from an imperial periphery into a political subject with rights, agency, and historical legitimacy
Language policy and Russification	Detailed criticism of Russian educational and ecclesiastical language policies	Reports on suppression of Georgian in schools and church institutions; critique of “silent method” instruction	Defense of linguistic rights and national identity	Language was treated as a core pillar of nationhood; the newspaper identified linguistic assimilation as a central colonial strategy

Religion and institutional autonomy	Framing church subordination as part of broader political colonization	Loss of church autonomy was interpreted as an extension of political subjugation	Symbolic mobilization through religious-national continuity	The newspaper connected ecclesiastical autonomy to national sovereignty, broadening the scope of anti-colonial critique beyond formal politics
Transnational communication (La Georgie)	Internationalization of the Georgian question through French-language publication	European journals and intellectuals cited <i>La Georgie</i> in support of Georgian autonomy	External legitimacy-building and diplomatic communication	The French supplement served as a strategic bridge to European public opinion, transforming a local struggle into a transnational issue
Revolutionary mobilization and tactical rhetoric	Calls for active struggle after political opportunities emerged (e.g., 1904–1905)	Editorials increasingly advocated organized action and revolutionary preparedness	Escalation from discursive preparation to action-oriented communication	The rhetoric evolved from persuasion to mobilization, indicating a transition from ideological formation to political implementation
Audience construction and political pedagogy	Newspapers as tools for educating and aligning readers with political doctrine	Texts emphasized “people” as active historical agents and promoted ideological literacy	Political socialization and identity formation	<i>Sakartvelo</i> cultivated a politically conscious readership by framing autonomy and socialism as interconnected, attainable goals

Once autonomy was obtained, the Socialist-Federalist Party would implement democratic reforms through an autonomous parliament, thus preparing the ground for socialism. National self-government would protect and develop national identity while establishing the foundation for democratic reforms. Analysis shows that *Sakartvelo* justified the programmatic foundations of the future party as follows: democratic autonomy should be established immediately after the overthrow of autocracy, creating conditions for the promotion of socialism. The future Socialist-Federalists actively connected with Russian democratic political forces that opposed political centralization and supported federalist ideas, declaring, “Today we are revolutionary-autonomists and federalists” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. IV. 1904).

As socialists, they believed that the class struggle in Georgia, between landlords and peasants, workers and bourgeois representatives - would trigger a social revolution. However, two preliminary stages were necessary: all remnants of feudalism had to be eliminated, and the country had to gain the right to free development. “For this purpose, it must establish an autonomous republic, a national democratic self-government...” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. IV. 1904). The promotion of socialism as an ideology focused on building a society based on the principles of social equality occupied an important place in *Sakartvelo*. This represented European-style socialist propaganda aligned with European political thought. *Sakartvelo* defined socialism as a doctrine based on justice, advocating the equality of all people: “All of this can be realized and implemented by the people themselves, workers and peasants; and the education of the people can only be conducted in the language of the same people” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. IX. 1904).

Table 2. *Findings Matrix: Discursive Strategies, Evidence Patterns, and Historical-Political Outcomes in Sakartvelo (1903–1905)*

Analytical Category	Discursive Strategy Used by the Newspaper	Type of Evidence Mobilized	Examples from the Corpus (1903–1905)	Historical-Political Outcome / Finding
Issue salience and agenda construction	Repetition of autonomy, federalism, and social justice as top priorities	Editorials, slogans, serialized argumentation	“Long live the liberation of Russia and long live Georgian national autonomy!”	The newspaper systematically set the agenda for Georgian political discourse, making autonomy the non-negotiable center of national politics
Legitimacy through legal-historical memory	Framing the Treaty of 1783 as a legal foundation for self-rule	Historical treaty references, comparative interpretation	Recurrent references to the “Act of Union” and non-interference clauses	Historical documents were converted into normative political claims, increasing legitimacy among domestic and European audiences
Counter-colonial identity production	Reversing imperial narratives by foregrounding Georgian rights and suffering	Reports on repression, cultural erasure, and institutional control	Critique of autocracy, church subordination, and anti-Georgian rhetoric	The newspaper created a counter-hegemonic narrative that repositioned Georgia as a rights-bearing nation rather than an imperial province
Linguistic resistance and cultural defense	Treating language as the core of political survival	School policy critiques, church-language debates, official letters	Pobedonostsev’s letter; “silent method” in schools; anti-Georgian curricula	Language policy became a key site of anti-colonial resistance, linking cultural preservation to sovereignty claims
Party institutionalization through media	Transition from ideological discussion to organizational coordination	Conference reports, editorial directives, strategic messaging	Geneva Conference (1904), formalization of Socialist-Federalist Party	<i>Sakartvelo</i> acted as a political organizer, not only a newspaper—facilitating party formation and ideological coherence
Social-economic program articulation	Integrating agrarian reform and class justice into national autonomy discourse	Economic commentary, class analysis, reform proposals	Land socialization, peasant rights, critique of proletarian-only models	The paper developed a localized socialist program adapted to Georgian social structure, especially peasant realities
Strategic moderation (non-separatist framing)	Avoiding immediate separatism while maximizing autonomy demands	Pragmatic rhetoric and federalist positioning	“We do not sever unity with Russia... we freely develop our nationality”	This strategy increased political feasibility and coalition-building potential with anti-autocratic Russian forces
Transnational advocacy and legitimacy	Using <i>La Georgie</i> to communicate with Europe	French-language articles, references by European press	Coverage in L’Européen; references to Danish and Flemish commentary	The Georgian question gained external visibility, helping frame autonomy as a European issue of justice and law
Rhetorical escalation toward mobilization	Shift from persuasion to revolutionary action language	Calls to action, militant slogans, anti-autocracy appeals	Post-1904 editorials and 1905 revolutionary framing	The discourse moved from ideological preparation to explicit mobilization, reflecting changing political opportunity structures
Audience targeting and movement-building	Constructing “the people” as a unified political subject	Inclusive rhetoric, anti-elitist framing, pedagogical tone	Calls to those rejecting bourgeois/class-only politics	The newspaper built a broad political identity coalition, emphasizing peasants, workers, and national activists together
Media genre transformation	Shifting from social-political journalism to party press	Editorials, reviews, ideological columns, supplements	Transition from preparatory platform to official party organ	The findings confirm that <i>Sakartvelo</i> was central in transforming Georgian press culture into structured party communication
Historical closure and mission completion	Framing publication end as strategic completion rather than failure	Memoir evidence and editorial reflection	Laskhishvili’s statement that the paper had “fulfilled its role”	The newspaper’s closure signaled institutional transition: from discourse formation to direct political struggle on the ground

During its two-year existence, *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* fulfilled this mission. This represented a new dimension for the Georgian press: a typical party newspaper systematically discussed the fundamental principles of socialism, which sharply differed from Russian reactionary socialism. It explained syndicalism - new direction in the workers’ movement, rejected Marxist viewpoints and argued that revolutionary workers’ organizations would create the force

capable of bringing freedom to humanity. “We, Georgians, if we wish to contribute to the construction of a future free society, must begin participating now in this great international revolutionary socialist movement” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. II. 1905). The newspaper made significant contribution to contemporary social-political thought. For *Sakartvelo*, the features of European culture represented a fundamental and guiding principle in both intellectual and political life. European ideas were disseminated in Georgia through the first printed Georgian emigrant newspaper. The audience factor was always considered, shaping the form of political communication employed in *Sakartvelo*’s media texts.

Their analysis shows that the uncensored newspaper openly discussed the consequences of Russia’s colonial policies while attempting to address the political, economic, and social challenges facing the country. Each issue reflected the outcomes of colonization: the suppression of all remnants of self-government, the dire condition of the peasantry, and the impoverishment of the population. “We know that the cause of all our misfortune, economic decline, and intellectual darkness is the Russian government, which seeks our final extermination and disappearance” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.V.1903). Since ancient times, *Sakartvelo* viewed the condition of the Autocephalous Georgian Orthodox Apostolic Church as a result of Russian colonial policies: “When the Russian government deprived Georgia of political independence, it simultaneously ended the independence of the Georgian Church” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. IX. 1904).

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the situation in Abkhazia was particularly severe. After forced Muhajir migration, those Abkhazians who returned to their homeland were permitted by the Russian government to settle only in the territories between Abdzhu and Bzyph. “Before the war, the Abkhaz population was over 100,000; today, barely 30,000 remain, and “due to the audacious policies of Russia, even they may soon meet their end” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1903). From *Sakartvelo*’s perspective, it was evident that the Russian government regarded Abkhazia as its own territory, while simultaneously depriving the Abkhazians of the legal rights enjoyed by all residents of Russia, explicitly forbidding them from purchasing land. “In this way, the Russian government prepares the ground for dissatisfaction, which, when the time comes, must inevitably erupt outward as overt protest” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V.1904).

It is noteworthy that materials documenting the consequences of Russian colonial policies were also published in *Sakartvelo*’s French-language supplement, *La Georgie*. Upon its release, Europe’s democratic political forces understood why the demand for autonomy was placed on the national agenda. The European press reported: “For a whole century, Russia has violated the rights of the Georgians, broken treaties, and recognized Georgia as one of its provinces” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. VIII. 1903). *Sakartvelo* analyzed the purpose of Russian policy as the systematic deprivation of the Georgian nation of all its rights, while simultaneously extinguishing the awareness and sense of entitlement among the people. Only a free emigrant newspaper could publish such claims; they would not have been possible in the legal Georgian press: “At dinner, Vostorgov drank the following toast: ‘No one do I despise as much as the Georgians. From the beginning, the Georgians were disgusting’” (*Sakartvelo*, 5. VI. 1903).

In discussing the means necessary for implementing its national program, *Sakartvelo* emphasized the necessity of illegal action: “The thought buried in the heart must emerge outward; the anger hidden in the heart must spread across streets and squares so that all may understand, all may know: the days of submission have passed, the era of liberation has arrived” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. VI. 1903). *Sakartvelo* also framed Russian language policies as part of broader colonial governance and Russification: “Russian is being introduced into Finnish, Polish, Georgian, and Russian schools because, according to the government, in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Helsinki, Tiflis and Echmiadzin, one people must live and this people must be Russian” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. VI. 1903).

From the 1860s onward, Russification policies in Georgia became systematic. By the end of the century, Kirill Yanovski, head of the Caucasian Educational Committee, sought to remove the Georgian language from schools and administrative institutions. *Sakartvelo (Georgia)* reported on the elimination of Georgian from both secular and parish schools, publishing, for example, Ober-Procurator Konstantin Pobedonostsev’s letter to Exarchos Pavel Lebedev. The newspaper analyzed the letter as follows: “The central idea of this document is that the Georgian language should serve only as a tool for the Russian language and not for the dissemination of knowledge” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1903). To achieve this, the Ober-Procurator attempted to replace Georgian with Russian in schools in Samegrelo and Svaneti. The French-language supplement of *Sakartvelo*, *La Georgie*, published Pobedonostsev’s letter in full in its first issue: *Russification de la Géorgie, Lettre authentique de Pobedonostsev (La Georgie, No. 1, 1903)*. Prior to the opening of primary and parish schools in Svaneti and Samegrelo, it was necessary to translate sacred texts into Svan and Mingrelian and introduce liturgy in these languages, alongside Russian-language instruction (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V.1903). The newspaper emphasized that Pobedonostsev’s letter demonstrated the Russian government’s intent to divide Georgians and undermine the country’s unity (*Sakartvelo*, 15. VI.1903).

*Sakartvelo* also criticized the curriculum of Ivane Vostorgov, inspector of the Kartli-Kakheti diocesan schools, who removed Georgian from parish schools in Samegrelo and Svaneti. Vostorgov’s rationale was that if no one learned reading and writing in Georgian, the clergy would forget the language, and Georgian could be easily eliminated from the Church (*Sakartvelo*, 15. VI.1903). The same material was published in *La Georgie* as *L’œuvre de Vostorgof (La Georgie, No. 4, 1903)*. *Sakartvelo* aimed to inform European society about Vostorgov’s policies: “We fear that such scholarship by Vostorgov will greatly enhance Russia’s prestige in Europe, which is so dear to it” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. II. 1904). The newspaper also condemned the “silent method” of language instruction implemented by Levitski, director of public schools in the Kutaisi Governorate: “Teachers in Samegrelo and Abkhazia received directives from the

inspector of the Kutaisi public schools to ensure that children are taught exclusively by the silent method, in order to completely eradicate the Georgian language in Western Georgia” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. I. 1904). Similarly, *Sakartvelo* criticized the appointment of Vasiliev, who did not know Georgian, as inspector of schools in Guria and Samegrelo: “Vasiliev was not appointed to this region to care for education, his work without the Georgian language will be like pouring water on a stone” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. I. 1905).

In formulating the national dimension of its program, *Sakartvelo* discussed means of protecting national identity under Russian autocracy. The first part of the program addressed measures against external enemies. Politically analyzing what national protection meant, the newspaper argued that defending the nation required protecting the mother tongue, national institutions, and the people’s labor and achievements. An autonomous state should safeguard language, institutions, and the fruits of work. The newspaper viewed this period as one of recovery from a dire situation. General discussion of the national question shifted to a concrete demand: “Only fundamental changes in life and national autonomy built on a legal basis can protect our identity and nationality” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1903).

From *Sakartvelo*’s perspective, since the issue of autonomy was closely tied to the federal organization of Russia, the newspaper appealed to the Russian free press to discuss this matter. Analyses of political developments in Russia appear in nearly every issue. Studying these materials reveals the value vectors that connected the *Sakartvelo* group with Russian democratic forces. “The most significant feature of Russia’s current situation is that the movement is no longer narrowly confined; it has gone beyond the student and intelligentsia circles and now includes the majority of the people” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. V. 1903). A permanent feature of the newspaper was the “Chronicle of Russia” section, which made visible to *Sakartvelo*’s readers both the autocracy’s oppression and the activities of opposition forces within the Russian Empire: the arrest of students in Saratov, the detention of the well-known Russian socialist writer B. Burtsev in Geneva, unrest in nearly all higher education institutions, student demonstrations demanding the overthrow of autocracy and more.

The newspaper also extensively covered the Russian-Japanese War, arguing that the conflict exposed the weaknesses of the Russian Empire and its autocracy. In Georgia, anti-government sentiment was so strong that revolutionary parties no longer needed to propagate opposition to the war. *Sakartvelo* asserted that the time for active action had arrived, with the groundwork prepared for revolution: “Praise and glory to our party if it takes advantage of this opportunity and dutifully fulfills its responsibilities” (*Sakartvelo*, 1. VIII. 1904).

At that time, the Socialist-Federalist Revolutionary Party of Georgia had been established for four months. Its organ, the newspaper *Sakartvelo*, declared: “We, Georgian socialists, cannot call Russian revolutionary parties to fight for federalism; we only advise action along this path. Our duty is to prepare the Georgian and Caucasian peoples for the realization of the ideal of federalism” (*Sakartvelo*, 1.VIII. 1904).

Following the Bloody Sunday massacre in St. Petersburg on January 9, 1905, the Socialist-Federalist Party of Georgia responded with an editorial, calling on the peoples of the Caucasus to unite and join the revolutionary movement: “Long live the unity of the working peoples of the Caucasus! Long live international socialism! Long live the revolution and the future confederation of the Caucasus!” (*Sakartvelo*, 5. II. 1905). A systematic analysis of *Sakartvelo*’s media texts demonstrates the alignment of Georgian Socialist-Federalist interests with ongoing democratic political processes in Russia and their efforts to seek allies among Russian democratic forces. The Georgian Socialist-Federalists endorsed the political declaration of the Russian revolutionary and socialist parties’ conference held prior to the 1905 revolution and joined the call: “Long live the great Russian revolution already underway!” (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1905).

The final material in the last issue of *Sakartvelo*, like all its editorials, belongs to the domain of political rhetoric. Characterized by programmatic and purposeful argumentation, it justified the necessity of developing a revolutionary action plan for socialist parties in the Caucasus. The newspaper considered its implementation a precondition for convening the Constituent Assembly of the Caucasian Federation (*Sakartvelo*, 15. V. 1905). In September 1904, Giorgi Laskhishvili, who had traveled to Paris to attend the conference of Russian opposition and revolutionary parties, was assigned by the Central Committee of the Socialist-Federalist Revolutionary Party of Georgia to serve as Editor of the newspaper *Sakartvelo*. He was to replace Archil Jorjadze, who could no longer continue leading the newspaper due to serious illness. After publishing several issues, Giorgi Laskhishvili returned to Georgia, believing that he should be in his homeland ahead of the approaching revolution. Regarding *Sakartvelo*, he informed the party’s Central Committee: “In my view, this newspaper has already fulfilled its role, and continuing its publication under increasingly difficult conditions was unnecessary, especially since its founder and principal editor, Archil Jorjadze, as it turned out, would be unable to continue editorial work for a long time” (Laskhishvili, 1934, p. 181).

The history of the Georgian emigrant printed press began with *Sakartvelo*, openly discussing national and social issues. The newspaper spread these ideas beyond the country’s borders, successfully consolidating national forces and establishing itself as a party organ. The process of transforming Georgia’s socio-political press into party press began at the end of the 19th century. From 1893, the youth magazine *Jejili* published a weekly supplement, the scientific and literary newspaper *Kvali*. Its nominal editor-publisher was Anastasia Tumanishvili-Tsereteli, but the de facto editor was Giorgi Tsereteli, who transferred the newspaper to the Social Democrats, specifically Noe Jordania, at the end of 1897. From 1898, *Kvali* became the first legal Marxist organ across the Russian Empire and continued publication until 1904. From the early 1900s, the number of Social-Democratic newspapers increased, including *Brdzola*, *Proletariat*’s

*Struggle*, and the journal *Mogzauro*. The first printed Georgian emigrant newspaper, *Sakartvelo*, published in Paris in 1903, was the first organ in the history of Georgian political press to serve as a preparatory platform for creating a political party and to define the programmatic doctrine of the future party. Organized by its editorial board, the first Conference of Georgian Revolutionaries in Geneva established the Socialist-Federalist Revolutionary Party of Georgia, and *Sakartvelo*, published for the purpose of founding the party, became the organ of Georgia's first national political party.

### Discussion

The analysis of the newspaper *Sakartvelo* (Georgia) demonstrates that emigrant press can function not merely as a channel of information dissemination but as a multidimensional instrument of ideological construction, political mobilization, and institutional transformation. The findings reveal that *Sakartvelo* played a foundational role in redefining Georgian political discourse by systematically articulating the concept of national-territorial autonomy within the constraints of imperial domination.

From a theoretical perspective, the newspaper's editorial strategy aligns closely with the principles of Agenda-Setting Theory, as developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. By consistently prioritizing themes such as autonomy, federalism, and social justice, *Sakartvelo* shaped the hierarchy of political concerns among its audience, effectively constructing a shared political agenda. The repetition and centrality of these themes indicate a deliberate effort to structure public consciousness and guide political orientation, rather than merely reflect existing opinions.

At the same time, the newspaper's discourse can be interpreted through the framework of Michel Foucault, who conceptualizes discourse as a mechanism of power that produces knowledge and shapes social reality. The findings suggest that *Sakartvelo* operated as a counter-discursive platform that challenged imperial narratives imposed by the Russian state. By exposing the consequences of colonial governance—such as cultural suppression, economic decline, and political marginalization—the newspaper redefined the Georgian population not as a passive subject of empire but as an active political agent (Nikoleishvili, 2026).

This counter-hegemonic function is further reinforced when viewed through Postcolonial Theory. In line with the arguments of Edward Said, imperial powers construct subordinate regions through discursive practices that legitimize domination. The findings indicate that *Sakartvelo* actively resisted such representations by promoting a European-oriented identity and framing Georgia as a politically and culturally autonomous entity. The publication of its French-language supplement *La Georgie* further illustrates this strategy, as it sought to engage European intellectual audiences and internationalize the Georgian political question.

A key finding of this study is the hybrid function of *Sakartvelo* as both a journalistic and organizational institution. Unlike conventional newspapers, it did not operate solely within the informational domain but actively participated in the formation of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist Party. This dual role supports the argument of Jürgen Habermas that media can function as a space for political deliberation and collective action. However, in contrast to Habermas's classical model of the public sphere, which assumes open and inclusive participation, *Sakartvelo* represents an alternative form of "externalized public sphere" that emerged under conditions of censorship and political repression.

The findings also highlight the importance of ideological coherence in the newspaper's discourse. The analysis shows that political, economic, and social issues were systematically integrated into a unified ideological framework centered on national autonomy (Nikoleishvili, 2026). This reflects the broader theoretical insights of Benedict Anderson, who argues that national identity is constructed through shared narratives and symbolic representations. In this context, *Sakartvelo* contributed to the formation of a collective national consciousness by linking political autonomy with economic justice and social equality.

Another significant finding concerns the newspaper's approach to social and economic issues. The discourse reveals a clear emphasis on agrarian reform, socialization of land, and the elimination of class conflict, indicating a strong alignment with socialist ideology (Nikoleishvili, 2026; Ahmadov, 2026). However, unlike orthodox Marxist frameworks, the newspaper adapted socialist principles to the specific socio-economic conditions of Georgia, particularly the predominance of small landholders. This supports the argument of Castells (2010) that political movements often reinterpret global ideologies within local contexts, creating hybrid forms of political thought.

Furthermore, the study demonstrates that *Sakartvelo* functioned as a transnational communication platform that connected Georgian political actors with broader European and Russian revolutionary movements. The newspaper's engagement with international audiences and its references to European political thought reflect the processes described by Appadurai (1996), in which global flows of ideas shape local political transformations. By situating Georgian demands within a broader international context, *Sakartvelo* enhanced the legitimacy and visibility of its political agenda.

The rhetorical structure of the newspaper also constitutes an important analytical dimension. The findings indicate that its editorials exhibit a high degree of purposiveness, coherence, and argumentative rigor, characteristic of political rhetoric aimed at mobilization rather than neutral reporting (Nikoleishvili, 2026). This aligns with the observations of Fairclough (1995) and Wodak and Meyer (2016), who emphasize that media discourse is inherently ideological and serves to legitimize specific power relations and political projects.

Finally, the study identifies the role of historical context as a determining factor in shaping media discourse. The conditions of imperial control, censorship, and political instability not only influenced the content of *Sakartvelo* but also defined its function as a tool of resistance and transformation. The newspaper's emphasis on autonomy, revolution, and social reform reflects the broader socio-political dynamics of the early twentieth century, including the decline of imperial structures and the rise of national movements.

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### Conclusion

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In its first year of existence, the first printed Georgian emigrant newspaper, *Sakartvelo*, developed both theoretical and practical issues related to organizing Georgia as an autonomous State. During this period, the media platform outlined the national, political, and social directions of the future political party - the Socialist-Federalist Party of Georgia. Its formal organizational establishment also took place on the initiative of *Sakartvelo* at the First Conference of Georgian Revolutionaries in Geneva, held from April 1–7, 1904, which brought together representatives of Georgian revolutionary and national factions abroad. From that time, *Sakartvelo*, founded to support the creation of the party, became the organ of the Socialist-Federalist Revolutionary Party of Georgia. Through the newspaper, Georgian political thought was provided with a free platform. Content analysis of its materials shows that the primary focus was on explaining the national program of the Socialist-Federalist Party, followed by coverage of the country's economic situation and the propagation of socialism. The media texts of the first Georgian printed emigrant newspaper established a form of political communication with its audience. As a censorship-free, independent publication, *Sakartvelo* made a significant step in contemporary social-political thought. In both intellectual and political life, Europeanism represented a fundamental orientation for the newspaper.

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The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper. The research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

### AI Statement

The authors confirm that no generative artificial intelligence tools were used in the research design, data collection, or analysis.

AI-assisted tools were used only for language editing and improving the clarity of expression, without influencing the scientific content, interpretations, or conclusions of the study. The authors take full responsibility for the integrity and originality of the work.

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## Extended English Summary

### Giriş

Medyanın politik ideolojinin ve ulusal kimliğin şekillenmesindeki rolü, siyasal iletişim ve medya çalışmaları alanlarında geniş ölçüde kabul görmüştür. Sansür ve emperyal egemenlik ile karakterize edilen bağlamlarda, alternatif medya platformları—özellikle göçmen basını—tarihsel olarak ideolojik ifade ve politik mobilizasyon için kritik alanlar olarak işlev görmüştür. Paris’te yayımlanan Gürcü göçmen gazetesi Sakartvelo (1903–1905) bu bağlamda önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir; çünkü Gürcü ulusal-politik düşüncesinin sansürsüz biçimde ifade edilmesine ve programatik bir politik doktrinin formüle edilmesine olanak sağlayan ilk platformu sunmuştur.

Çarlık yönetiminin baskıcı kontrolünün yoğun olduğu bir dönemde ortaya çıkan Sakartvelo, Gürcü ulusal özerkliği talebini açık biçimde dile getirmede belirleyici bir rol oynamış, aynı zamanda Gürcü Sosyalist-Federalist Partisi’nin ideolojik temellerinin oluşumuna katkıda bulunmuştur. Gündem Belirleme (Agenda-Setting) Kuramı ve Postkolonyal Kuramın daha geniş teorik çerçevesi içinde konumlanan bu çalışma, gazetenin politik söylemi nasıl yapılandırdığını, kamu bilincini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ve emperyal anlatılara nasıl meydan okuduğunu incelemektedir. İçerik, retorik ve tematik yönelimlerin analiz edilmesi yoluyla araştırma, medya söylemi, politik örgütlenme ve ulus inşa süreçleri arasındaki kesişimi ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda çalışma, kolonyal ve post-emperyal bağlamlarda göçmen basının dönüştürücü potansiyeline ilişkin daha derin bir anlayış geliştirmeye katkı sunmaktadır.

### Yöntem

Bu çalışma, Gürcü göçmen gazetesi Sakartvelo (1903–1905)’nin ideolojik ve iletişimsel işlevlerini incelemek amacıyla sistematik içerik analizi ile birleştirilmiş nitel tarihsel araştırma desenini benimsemektedir. Temel veri seti, Paris’te yayımlanan gazetenin arşiv nüshaları ile Fransızca ek yayını La Georgie’den oluşmaktadır. Bu kaynaklar, Gürcü politik tarihi, medya çalışmaları ve yirminci yüzyılın başlarındaki milliyetçi hareketlere ilişkin akademik yayınlar gibi ikincil materyallerle desteklenmiştir.

Araştırmada amaçlı örnekleme stratejisi kullanılmış; ideolojik gelişim ve politik söylemdeki kritik dönüm noktalarını yansıtan temsili makaleler, başyazılar ve görüş yazıları seçilmiştir. Analitik süreç üç birbirine bağlı boyut etrafında yapılandırılmıştır: tematik, yapısal ve retorik analiz.

Tematik analiz, ulusal özerklik, federalizm, sosyalist ideoloji ve sosyal reform gibi tekrar eden kavramları belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yapısal analiz, metinlerin örgütlenme ve anlatı kurgusunu inceleyerek argümanların nasıl çerçvelendiğine ve sıralandığına odaklanmaktadır. Retorik analiz ise ikna stratejilerini,

söylemsel konumlandırmayı ve politik anlamın oluşturulmasında dil kullanımını incelemektedir.

Çalışma kuramsal olarak Gündem Belirleme Kuramı ve Postkolonyal Kurama dayanmaktadır. Bu kuramsal çerçeveler, medya söyleminin politik gündemleri nasıl oluşturduğunu, kamu bilincini nasıl etkilediğini ve baskın emperyal anlatılara nasıl meydan okuduğunu anlamak için yorumlayıcı bir merceğe sunmaktadır. Bu bütünlük yaklaşım aracılığıyla araştırma, Sakartvelo’nun yalnızca bir bilgi kaynağı olarak değil, aynı zamanda ideolojik üretim ve politik mobilizasyonun aktif bir aktörü olarak nasıl işlev gördüğünü ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir.

Analitik titizliği sağlamak amacıyla, farklı kaynaklar ve analiz boyutları arasında bulguların karşılaştırılması yoluyla üçgenleme (triangulation) yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu metodolojik çerçeve, gazetenin ulus inşa ve politik dönüşüm süreçlerindeki rolünün kapsamlı ve çok boyutlu biçimde yorumlanmasına olanak sağlamaktadır.

### Bulgular

Analiz sonuçları, Sakartvelo gazetesinin yirminci yüzyılın başlarında Gürcü ulusal-politik söyleminin şekillenmesinde merkezi ve dönüştürücü bir rol oynadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Gazete, ulusal özerklik, federalizm ve sosyal reform etrafında yapılandırılmış tutarlı bir ideolojik çerçeveyi sistematik biçimde inşa etmiştir. Tekrarlayan tematik örüntüler aracılığıyla, parçalı ulusal anlatılardan Gürcü Sosyalist-Federalist Partisi ilkeleriyle uyumlu, yapılandırılmış ve programatik bir politik söyleme geçişi kolaylaştırmıştır. Bulgular, Sakartvelo’nun hem söylemsel hem de örgütsel bir platform olarak işlev gördüğünü göstermektedir. Söylemsel düzeyde, gazete politik meseleleri emperyal otoriteye yönelik eleştirel bir yaklaşım çerçevesinde ele almış, öz-yönetim ve kolektif kimliği vurgulayan alternatif anlatıları teşvik etmiştir.

Örgütsel düzeyde ise gazete, net ideolojik pozisyonlar ortaya koyarak ve okuyucuları arasında ortak bir politik dil geliştirerek politik mobilizasyona katkı sağlamıştır. Ayrıca Fransızca yayımlanan ek yayını La Georgie’nin varlığı, ulusötesi iletişimi mümkün kılmış, gazetenin etkisini yerel okuyucu kitlesinin ötesine taşıyarak Avrupa’daki entelektüel ve politik çevrelerle diyalog kurulmasını sağlamıştır. Bu durum gazetenin rolünü yalnızca ulusal bir yayını olmaktan çıkarıp uluslararası savunuculuk aracı haline getirmiştir. Genel olarak bulgular, göçmen basının sansür ve emperyal egemenlik koşullarında ideolojik oluşum, politik mobilizasyon ve ulus inşa süreçlerinde güçlü bir aktör olarak işlev görebileceğini doğrulamaktadır.

## **,Tartışma ve Sonuç**

Bulgular, Sakartvelo gazetesinin Gürcü ulusal-politik ideolojisinin oluşumunda hem iletişimsel hem de kurumsal bir aktör olarak kritik bir rol oynadığını göstermektedir. Kuramsal açıdan çalışma, gazetenin temel politik meseleleri nasıl önceliklendirdiğini ve kamu söylemini nasıl yapılandırıldığını açıklamada Gündem Belirleme Kuramının geçerliliğini doğrulamaktadır. Aynı zamanda postkolonyal bir perspektif, Sakartvelo'nun özerklik, kimlik ve öz-belirlenim kavramları etrafında alternatif söylemler oluşturarak emperyal anlatılara nasıl meydan okuduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Tartışma, göçmen basın platformlarının yalnızca bilgi yayma işlevinin ötesine geçerek ideolojik üretim ve politik koordinasyon alanları olarak işlediğini göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda Sakartvelo, yalnızca ortaya çıkan politik fikirleri yansıtmamış, aynı zamanda bu fikirleri aktif biçimde şekillendirerek Gürcü Sosyalist-Federalist Partisi'nin kurumsallaşmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Avrupa'daki entelektüel çevrelerle kurduğu etkileşim, politik hareketlerin meşruiyet kazanmasında ve etkilerinin genişlemesinde ulusötesi iletişimin önemini açıkça göstermektedir.

Sonuç olarak çalışma, politik kısıtlamaların bulunduğu bağlamlarda sansürlü medyanın stratejik önemini vurgulamaktadır. Göçmen basın, özellikle kolonyal veya yarı kolonyal ortamlarda ideolojik bütünleşme ve örgütsel gelişim için bir katalizör görevi görebilmektedir. Sakartvelo örneği, erken modern tarihte medya, siyasal iletişim ve ulus inşa süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiye dair önemli içgörüler sunmaktadır..

## **Öneriler**

Bulgular doğrultusunda gelecekteki araştırmalar ve uygulamalar için çeşitli öneriler sunulabilir.

Birincisi, araştırmacılar göçmen basının ideolojik oluşum ve politik mobilizasyondaki rolünü daha iyi anlamak amacıyla farklı jeopolitik bağlamlarda karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar yapmalıdır. Nicel veya karma yöntem yaklaşımlarının dahil edilmesi, analitik titizliği güçlendirebilir ve bulguların genellenebilirliğini artırabilir.

İkincisi, özellikle diaspora medyasının politik hareketleri meşrulaştırmak amacıyla uluslararası izleyicilerle nasıl etkileşim kurduğunu anlamak için ulusötesi iletişim ağlarına daha fazla dikkat edilmelidir.

Üçüncüsü, tarihsel medya kaynaklarına erişimi kolaylaştırmak ve daha kapsamlı disiplinlerarası analizleri mümkün kılmak için arşiv dijitalleştirme girişimleri teşvik edilmelidir.

Uygulama açısından, çağdaş medya profesyonelleri ve politika yapımcılar, Sakartvelo gibi tarihsel örneklerden ders çıkararak demokratik söylemi ve yurttaş katılımını güçlendirmede bağımsız ve

sansürlü medya platformlarının önemini kavrayabilirler.

Son olarak, gelecekteki araştırmalar göçmen basın modellerinin modern dijital ortamlardaki geçerliliğini, özellikle çevrimiçi diaspora medyası ve küresel siyasal iletişim bağlamında incelemelidir..