CIÊNCIAS SOCIALMENTE APLICÁVEIS E HUMANIDADES:

SABERES, PRÁTICAS E HORIZONTES DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

JESÚS RIVAS GUTIÉRREZ
(ORGANIZADOR)

VOL II

EDITORA ARTEMIS
2025

CIÊNCIAS SOCIALMENTE APLICÁVEIS E HUMANIDADES:

SABERES, PRÁTICAS E HORIZONTES DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

JESÚS RIVAS GUTIÉRREZ
(ORGANIZADOR)

VOL II

EDITORA ARTEMIS
2025

Editora Chefe	Profª Drª Antonella Carvalho de Oliveira
Editora Executiva	M.ª Viviane Carvalho Mocellin
Direção de Arte	M.ª Bruna Bejarano
Diagramação	Elisangela Abreu
Organizador	Prof. Dr. Jesús Rivas Gutiérrez
Imagem da Capa	gropgrop/123RF
Bibliotecário	Maurício Amormino Júnior – CRB6/2422

Editora Artemis
Curitiba-PR Brasil
www.editoraartemis.com.br
e-mail:publicar@editoraartemis.com.br

Editora Artemis
Curitiba-PR Brasil
www.editoraartemis.com.br
e-mail:publicar@editoraartemis.com.br

Dados Internacionais de Catalogação na Publicação (CIP)
(eDOC BRASIL, Belo Horizonte/MG)

C569 Ciências socialmente aplicáveis e humanidades [livro eletrônico] : saberes, práticas e horizontes de investigação II / organização de Jesús Rivas Gutiérrez. – 1. ed. – Curitiba, PR : Editora Artemis, 2025.

Formato: PDF
Requisitos de sistema: Adobe Acrobat Reader
Modo de acesso: World Wide Web
Edição bilíngue.
Inclui bibliografia
ISBN 978-65-81701-80-2
DOI 10.37572/EdArt_121225802

1. Sustentabilidade – Aspectos sociais. 2. Diversidade cultural. 3. Justiça social – Perspectivas contemporâneas. 4. Transformação digital – Impactos sociais. 5. Humanidades aplicadas – Pesquisa interdisciplinar. I. Gutiérrez, Jesús Rivas.

CDD 300

Elaborado por Maurício Amormino Júnior – CRB6/2422

EDITORA ARTEMIS 2025

Editora Artemis
Curitiba-PR Brasil
www.editoraartemis.com.br
e-mail:publicar@editoraartemis.com.br

PRÓLOGO

El volumen II de **Ciencias Socialmente Aplicables y Humanidades: Saberes, Prácticas y Horizontes de Investigación** reúne en un libro ponencias elaboradas por autores de América Latina, Europa y Asia producto de investigaciones que interpretan y dialogan con algunos de los desafíos más críticos y urgentes del Siglo XXI como lo es las prácticas educativas en contextos diversos, sostenibilidad y calidad de vida, diversidad y justicia social, transformación digital y vida organizacional en donde se refleja una diversidad de enfoques y tradiciones académicas que convergen en una misma dirección: comprender las realidades contemporáneas desde diferentes perspectivas y al mismo tiempo proponer horizontes innovadores y transformadores.

El primer eje, **Educación, Políticas del Conocimiento y Prácticas Formativas**, concentra análisis que problematizan los procesos de enseñanza-aprendizaje, la formación docente, las políticas lingüísticas, los currículos, las metodologías de intervención y las disputas simbólicas en torno a la producción del conocimiento. Este eje reafirma la educación como un campo estratégico para la transformación social y cultural, la emancipación de los sujetos y la construcción de sociedades más justas y democráticas.

El segundo eje, **Sostenibilidad, Territorios y Calidad de Vida**, reúne trabajos que presentan los desafíos y dificultades en las relaciones entre desarrollo, crecimiento, medio ambiente, turismo, productividad, envejecimiento, abandono social y soberanía territorial y alimentaria. Los textos que integran este eje evidencian la centralidad del territorio como espacio de disputa y poder, de pertenencia e identidad, de producción de sentidos y construcción de alternativas sostenibles para la mejora de las condiciones de vida de las poblaciones.

El tercer eje, **Género, Diversidad y Justicia Social**, aborda temas fundamentales relacionados con las desigualdades estructurales que atraviesan, diferencian y dividen a las sociedades contemporáneas. Las reflexiones aquí reunidas enfrentan los prejuicios, las discriminaciones, las interseccionalidades y los mecanismos sutiles de reproducción de las desigualdades, al mismo tiempo que evidencian estrategias de resistencia, reconocimiento y transformación social.

El cuarto eje, **Transformación Digital, Gestión Organizacional e Innovación en Empresas**, reúne contribuciones orientadas a la comprensión de las organizaciones empresariales en contextos complejos, dinámicos y atravesados por la incertidumbre. Este eje articula aspectos sobre gestión, pertenencia e identidad organizacional, cultura institucional, liderazgo, procesos de cambio, clima organizacional e innovación

empresarial e institucional, tanto en el sector privado como en el público, con especial atención a las instituciones educativas y a las organizaciones insertas en entornos de rápida transformación tecnológica.

Al articular estos cuatro ejes, esta obra evidencia la riqueza, la diversidad y la potencialidad de las Ciencias Socialmente Aplicables para interpretar los fenómenos laborales y sociales en su diversidad y complejidad y al mismo tiempo proponer caminos posibles de intervención, innovación y transformación.

Esperamos que estos trabajos contribuyan al fortalecimiento del pensamiento crítico, al diálogo múltiple e interdisciplinario y al avance de la comprensión de las diversas realidades locales, regionales, nacionales y globales, así como al fortalecimiento de mayor numero de investigaciones comprometidas con la educación como práctica trasformadora, con el desarrollo sostenible, la justicia social y la innovación organizacional.

Deseamos al lector una lectura interesante, reflexiva, provocadora e inspiradora.

Jesús Rivas Gutiérrez

SUMÁRIO

EDUCACIÓN, POLÍTICAS DEL CONOCIMIENTO Y PRÁCTICAS FORMATIVAS

CAPÍTULO 4

FROM COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE TO POSTCOLONIAL LINGUISTIC CAPITAL: A GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS OF STATE LANGUAGE POLICY IN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

Data de submissão: 01/12/2025
Data de aceite: 08/12/2025

Hyunguk Ryu
Tsukuba University of Technology
Japan
https://orcid.org/0009-0006-7357-9318

ABSTRACT: This study examines the evolution of language policy on the Korean Peninsula from the colonial era through the Cold War, employing a genealogical framework centered on power and knowledge. Moving beyond conventional institutional or purely ideological explanations, it conceptualizes language policy as a technology of governance that produces knowledge, shapes political subjectivities, and accumulates linguistic capital. The analysis reinterprets the transition from the Japanese colonial linguistic regime, where Japanese functioned as the language of "civilization," and Korean was positioned as a morally and ethnically subordinate language, toward post-liberation language policies that reconfigured linguistic hierarchies without fully dismantling the colonial epistemic foundations. After 1945, South Korea repositioned Hangeul as a symbol of national restoration while institutionalizing English as the linguistic capital associated with modernization and economic progress. In contrast, North Korea positioned Korean (Munhwaŏ) as a form of symbolic capital tightly bound to revolutionary ideology, while adopting Russian as the intermediary language through which socialist internationalism was mediated and political, diplomatic, and technical elites were cultivated. Despite taking sharply divergent paths, both states relied on language governance as a central mechanism for producing compliant citizen identities, structuring pathways of social mobility, and legitimizing their respective forms of political authority. In each case, linguistic regulation served as a key instrument through which state power was normalized and reproduced. This article argues that the history of language policy in divided Korea is best understood not as a rupture from colonial legacies but as a continuous rearticulation of linguistic capital within a shared genealogical framework of modern state formation.

KEYWORDS: history of language policy; linguistic capital; power/knowledge; decoloniality; genealogy.

DO CONHECIMENTO COLONIAL AO CAPITAL LINGUÍSTICO PÓS-COLONIAL: UMA ANÁLISE GENEALÓGICA DA POLÍTICA ESTATAL DE LÍNGUAS NA COREIA DO NORTE E NA COREIA DO SUL

RESUMO: Este estudo examina a evolução da política linguística na Península Coreana desde o período colonial até a Guerra Fria,

empregando um enquadramento genealógico centrado nas relações entre poder e conhecimento. Indo além das explicações institucionais convencionais ou puramente ideológicas, o artigo conceitua a política linguística como uma tecnologia de governança que produz conhecimento, molda subjetividades políticas e acumula capital linguístico. A análise reinterpreta a transição do regime linguístico do período colonial japonês — no qual o japonês funcionava como a língua da "civilização" e o coreano era posicionado como uma língua moral e etnicamente subordinada — para as políticas linguísticas pós-libertação, que reconfiguraram hierarquias linguísticas sem desmantelar completamente os fundamentos epistêmicos coloniais. Após 1945, a Coreia do Sul reposicionou o Hangeul como símbolo de restauração nacional, ao mesmo tempo em que institucionalizou o inglês como capital linguístico associado à modernização e ao progresso econômico. Em contraste, a Coreia do Norte estabeleceu o coreano (Munhwaŏ) como forma de capital simbólico intimamente ligado à ideologia revolucionária, adotando o russo como língua intermediária por meio da qual o internacionalismo socialista era mediado e pelas quais elites políticas, diplomáticas e técnicas eram formadas. Apesar de seguirem caminhos fortemente divergentes, ambos os Estados dependeram da governança linguística como mecanismo central para produzir identidades cidadãs conformes, estruturar vias de mobilidade social e legitimar suas respectivas formas de autoridade política. Em cada caso, a regulação linguística serviu como instrumento fundamental para normalizar e reproduzir o poder estatal. Este artigo argumenta que a história da política linguística na Coreia dividida deve ser entendida não como uma ruptura das heranças coloniais, mas como uma rearticulação contínua do capital linguístico dentro de um enquadramento genealógico compartilhado de formação do Estado moderno.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: história da política linguística; capital linguístico; poder/conhecimento; decolonialidade; genealogia.

1. INTRODUCTION

The evolution of language policy on the Korean Peninsula is best understood not merely as a series of linguistic reforms but as a dynamic interplay of power relations, wherein language serves as a crucial instrument of governance. Throughout history, state authorities have employed language to categorize populations, regulate social behavior, and construct modern identities. During Japanese colonial rule, the bilingual regime of Korean and Japanese functioned as a knowledge–power mechanism that legitimized imperial dominance. By promoting Japanese as the language of "civilization" and marginalizing Korean as "uncultured," the colonial administration redefined the cognitive and expressive boundaries of daily life. Educational materials, examinations, and bureaucratic protocols internalized these hierarchies, rendering language a routine yet powerful tool of subjugation.

The liberation of Korea in 1945 did not dismantle existing linguistic structures; rather, colonial language hierarchies were rearticulated within the emerging postcolonial

states. Under the U.S. and Soviet military administrations, language policy became a critical component of nation-building and ideological consolidation. In South Korea, Hangeul was institutionalized as a symbol of national identity, while English was elevated as an emblem of modernization, thereby establishing a dual linguistic framework. Conversely, North Korea embedded revolutionary ideology within the concept of a "cultured language" and designated Russian as the principal foreign language for socialist education. In both contexts, language functioned as an everyday technology through which regimes organized, disciplined, and mobilized their populations.

This study conceptualizes the transition from colonial linguistic regimes to postcolonial language policies as a process of reconfigured governance rather than a rupture. By situating the language policies of South and North Korea within a continuous genealogy of power, this article elucidates how linguistic practices have both influenced and been influenced by broader efforts of modern state formation.

1.1 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND SCHOLARLY POSITIONING

Research on Korean language policy can be divided into three areas: studies on the colonial and occupation periods, analyses of language policy in the divided regimes, and work connecting language to power and capital.

First, scholarship on the colonial era and the U.S.–Soviet occupation has shown that linguistic hierarchies functioned as technologies of domination – mechanisms through which imperial and military governments organized authority, structured communicative asymmetries, and produced compliant subjects. *Song Jae-Jung (2015)* shows how the Japanese Korean hierarchy internalized colonial rule,[1] while *Kumatani Akiyasu (2009)* examines the institutionalization of "cultured language" in Soviet-occupied North Korea.[2] *Kim Eun-Gyong (2011)* analyzes the reintroduction of English under the U.S. Military Government. Yet these studies focus largely on institutional descriptions and seldom explore how colonial knowledge–power was reconfigured during occupation.[3]

Second, research on the divided regimes typically treats South and North Korea separately. *Jung Hee-Won (2017)* demonstrates that South Korea pursued a dual linguistic project – combining Hangeul nationalism with English-oriented modernization, *Lee Jae-Sun (2018)* examines how North Korea advanced ideological standardization and

[1] Song, Jae Jung. (2015). Language Policies in North and South Korea. In: The Handbook of Korean Linguistics. Eds. Lucien Brown and Jaehoon Yoon. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 477-491.

[2] Kumatani, Akiyasu. (1990). Language Policies of North Korea. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, Vol. 82, 88-107. http://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10112/6959 (accessed on 14 May 2024).

[3] Kim, E.-G. (2011). English educational policies of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (1945–1948) and their effects on the development of ELT in Korea.

systematic language purification as part of its revolutionary state-building. However, the shared technologies of power – standardization, discipline, and educational regulation – remain understudied.

Third, work linking language to power and capital, such as *Park Sung-Yul (2009),* interprets English education as a neoliberal mechanism of human-capital formation, but does not trace its historical roots to colonial linguistic structures.[4]

This study addresses these gaps by analyzing South and North Korean language policies as parts of an ongoing genealogy. It examines how colonial knowledge systems were transformed into postcolonial linguistic capital and reinterprets Korean language policy as a long-term project of linguistic governance.

1.3. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes language policy from the colonial period through the U.S.–Soviet military administrations and the postwar division to explain how South Korea's pro-U.S., anti-communist state and North Korea's pro-Soviet socialist state used language to legitimize and institutionalize their regimes. Liberation is thus understood not as a rupture but as a reconfiguration of dominant linguistic hierarchies shaped by the ideologies of each system.

The analysis traces how the Korean script Hangeul, English, North Korean dialects, and Russian were repositioned within circuits of knowledge, power, and capital. By comparing policy objectives, instruments, and modes of dissemination, the study identifies both discontinuities and significant structural continuities across the colonial, liberation, and division periods.

Methodologically, the study employs three approaches: (1) discourse analysis of policy documents to reconstruct each regime's governing rationalities; (2) examination of textbooks, teachers' guides, and propaganda materials to interpret the mechanisms of linguistic subject formation; and (3) a genealogical method to trace how colonial epistemic principles were transformed into postcolonial configurations of knowledge, power, and capital.

This framework demonstrates that language policy operated as a central technology of governance – one that organized subject formation, normalized state authority, and structured political legitimacy. Through this lens, both South Korean modernization and the North Korean socialist revolution can be seen as projects that were justified, rationalized, and ultimately institutionalized through linguistic regimes. It

[4] J. Y. Park. (2009). The Local Construction of a Global Language: Ideologies of English in South Korea (Mouton de Gruyter).

thus reinterprets the history of Korean language policy as a continuous genealogy in which power, knowledge, and capital intersect.

2. JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD IN KOREA LANGUAGE POLICY (1910–1945): LINGUISTIC GOVERNANCE AND THE REORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

2.1. HIERARCHIES OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND KOREAN

Following the annexation in 1910, the Government-General adopted language governance as a central instrument of colonial rule. The 1911 Chosun Education Ordinance legally institutionalized a linguistic hierarchy by designating Japanese as the colonial language and Korean as a subordinate auxiliary subject.[5] The schooling system was explicitly designed to produce "loyal and competent imperial subjects."[6] Although Korean was nominally retained, it was redefined as a transitional medium for acquiring Japanese and was gradually marginalized in curriculum time, textbooks, and examinations.

The 1930s Language Use Policy further restricted the use of Korean in public and educational settings. Schools became disciplinary spaces where speaking, writing, and thinking were standardized according to the imperial linguistic order.[7] Language education thus internalized colonial authority not only through coercion but also through everyday normative practices.

2.2. TEXTBOOKS AND LINGUISTIC DISCOURSE: JAPANESE AS THE LANGUAGE OF CIVILIZATION

Textbook analysis reveals that Japanese was portrayed as the language of civilization, order, and imperial benevolence.[8] In successive editions of the 'National Language Reader' (1911, 1923, 1938), students learned not only vocabulary and grammar but also moral virtues such as loyalty, diligence, and sacrifice, which were closely linked to imperial identity.[9] In contrast, Korean-language materials framed Korean identity as a means of obedience and Confucian virtues, cultivating compliant subjects rather than political agents.

---

[5] Bureau of Education, Government-General of Korea. (1911). Chosun Education Ordinance (1911) and Enforcement Regulations of the Chosun Education Ordinance. Keijo: Government-General of Korea.

[6] Government-General of Korea. (1930s). History of education in Chosun (Vols. 1–2). Keijō: Bureau of Education.

7 Bureau of Education, Government-General of Korea. (1922; 1938). Amendments to the Chosŏn Education Ordinance. Government-General of Korea Official Gazette, various issues.

[8] Caprio, M. E. (2009). Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

[9] Park, Y. (2011). Colonial language policy and the discourse of Gukŏ Dokbon. *Korean Language and Culture, 8(2),* 55–84.

Japanese also became a crucial linguistic asset for gaining entry into bureaucratic positions, accessing higher education, and achieving upward mobility.[10] This reinforced a structural divide whereby elites were integrated into the imperial system through language, while Korean was confined to a monitored and restricted domain.

2.3. THE POLITICS OF KOREAN: FROM SYMBOLIC RESISTANCE TO MANAGED STANDARDIZATION

Korean initially served as a symbol of resistance, preserved through literacy movements and the efforts of the Korean Language Society. Recognizing its symbolic power, the colonial state depoliticized Koreans by reframing literacy campaigns as technical, non-political tasks and incorporating them into administrative programs.[11] The Society's 1933 Standard Language Proposal and Unified Orthography represented efforts toward autonomous standardization under colonial rule; however, these norms were permitted only within strict limits imposed by censorship and textbook approval. Consequently, Korean retained its symbolic significance while being reshaped as a regulated public language under colonial administration.[12]

2.4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: INTERNALIZED LINGUISTIC ORDER AND ITS POSTCOLONIAL LEGACIES

On the eve of liberation, colonial education had already established a linguistic hierarchy in which the Japanese language structured imperial reasoning, while Korean was relegated to a regulated, politically harmless medium of everyday communication. Although post-1945 South and North Korea implemented divergent linguistic policies, Hangeul nationalism and English modernization in the South, linguistic purification and Russian prioritization in the North, the colonial hierarchy persisted as an internalized epistemic framework.

Colonial language policy established a lasting framework of linguistic governance by positioning Japanese as the language of civilization and Korean as the language of discipline. This configuration served as a latent blueprint for the post-liberation re-hierarchization of Hangeul, English, Korean, and Russian, revealing the continuity of power across colonial, liberation, and divided regimes.

---

[10] Mitsui, T. (2008). Research trends and a critical review of the Korean script movement in colonial Korea. *Gengo Bunka, 11(1), 55–83.* Doshisha University Society for Language and Culture.

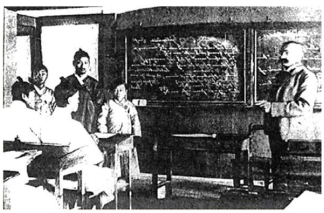
[11] Lee, Y. (2017). The politics of language in colonial Korea. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.

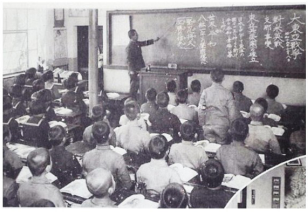
[12] Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality. University of Chicago Press, 87–104.

Figure 1. Early English class at the Royal Yuyeonggongwon, established in 1886 (Source: Early classroom scene at the Royal Yuyeonggongwon, established in 1886).

Figure 2. Scene of Japanese grammar–based English education after 1910 (Source: Rieul English Reading Class).

Figure 3. 1942, Seongho Elementary School in Changwon. A scene explaining the legitimacy of the Pacific War using Japanese written in kanji (Source: Gyeongnam Office of Education).





3. POST-LIBERATION: DIVERGENT LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SOUTH KOREA

3.1. U.S. MILITARY GOVERNMENT: REMNANTS OF THE COLONIAL LINGUISTIC ORDER AND THE INITIAL REORGANIZATION

Korea's liberation in 1945 symbolized the end of the colonial linguistic regime; however, in practice, it marked a redistribution of linguistic power. Although Japanese was formally abolished in administration and education, existing infrastructures – such as teachers, textbooks, and literacy practices – created a transitional order rooted in colonial legacies.[13]

Reconstruction, therefore, required not only the substitution of languages but also the restoration of linguistic sovereignty and the redefinition of national identity. Both South and North Korea framed "national-language recovery" and "universal literacy" as foundational elements of state-building, yet they diverged ideologically.[14] South Korea pursued incremental institutionalization driven by civil society, positioning Hangeul as the basis of cultural modernization while adopting English for developmental and international purposes. In contrast, North Korea implemented rapid, state-led purification, standardization, and orthographic reform, including the 1948 New Orthography and the abolition of Hanja/Sino-Korean. Despite these ideological differences, both regimes shared a governmental rationality that mobilized language as an instrument of governance and identity formation.[15]

[13] Henry, T. (2014). Assimilating Seoul: Japanese rule and the politics of public space in colonial Korea, 1910–1945. University of California Press.

[14] Park, J. S.-Y. (2009). The local construction of a global language: Ideologies of English in South Korea. Mouton de Gruyter.

[15] Shin, G.-W., & Robinson, M. (Eds.). (1999). Colonial modernity in Korea. Harvard University Asia Center.

3.2. RESTORING THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE: IDENTITY AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The U.S. Military Government provisionally retained colonial administrative structures but prioritized the restoration of Hangeul and the institutional use of the Korean language.[16] While Japanese and English coexisted in early administrative practices, by 1946–47, Hangeul had become the primary medium in governance, education, and print culture. Official bulletins were issued in Korean, local offices were instructed to use Hangeul in documentation, and the Korean language was reintroduced into the curriculum with new textbooks and teacher training programs.[17]

Literacy expansion emerged as a core policy priority. Night schools, itinerant instructors, and introductory primers facilitated mass literacy, while the one-week national literacy campaigns framed Hangeul as a civic instrument – an emblem of democratic citizenship and participation in the post-liberation state.[18] Newspapers shifted to Hangeul-centered editing, and the use of Japanese terminology and excessive Hanja/Sino-Korean words was curtailed[19]. Public signage was gradually Koreanized. Overall, the language policy aimed not only to restore the script but also to dismantle the Japanese-centered order and reestablish linguistic sovereignty, even as English and Japanese remained unavoidable during the administrative transition.

3.3. THE CONCURRENT PROMOTION OF HANGEUL AND ENGLISH

Alongside the restoration of Hangeul, the Military Government promoted English as a tool for modernization and global integration, resulting in a dual linguistic system: Hangeul for administration and civic education, and English for international and developmental purposes. Hangeul policies were gradually implemented across various domains, including law, academia, and the press, to prevent social disruption, with the partial use of hanja/Sino-Korean words temporarily permitted. This incremental approach relied on a tripartite governance structure, comprising government agencies, academic institutions, and the media, supported by textbook inspections, publication reviews, and public participation through purification campaigns. Despite inconsistencies and regional disparities, these policies established a trajectory of Hangeul restoration, followed by standardization, educational expansion, and societal inculcation.

This progression laid the foundation for the post-1948 national language policy and subsequent Hangeul-only initiatives.

[16] U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK,1946 Jan 8). *Official Gazette No. 1.*

[17] USAMGIK (1946 Jan 8). *Official Gazette No. 2*

[18] USAMGIK Bureau of Education. (1947). Report on the National Literacy Week Campaign.

[19] U.S. Military Government Press Control Office. (1946). Guidelines for Press Language Use.

3.4. POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: EXPANSION OF LITERACY AND INSTITUTIONAL CONSOLIDATION

In the post–Korean War period, South Korea redefined language policy as a central instrument for national reconstruction and the formation of democratic citizenship.[20] The 1954–58 Five-Year Literacy Campaign – implemented through local committees, night schools, and factory and rural classes – significantly reduced illiteracy and reframed literacy as a civic duty essential to state-building. Simultaneously, the government strengthened institutional control over language.[21] The 1953 establishment of the National Language Deliberation Council, coupled with a centralized textbook system, advanced orthographic standardization by limiting Japanese and Sino-Korean vocabulary and promoting a more accessible vernacular Korean. The 1955 Hangeul Exclusivity Act formalized Hangeul for administrative and public use. Mid-1950s debates over orthography and standard usage led to the creation of specialized research bodies, later unified as the National Institute of the Korean Language.[22] These reforms integrated pre-liberation norms into a coherent regulatory framework. Overall, post-war language policy operated as a national linguistic infrastructure project that linked literacy expansion with standardization, institutional consolidation, and the elevation of Hangeul as both a national symbol and an administrative medium.

3.5. IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF KOREAN LANGUAGE AND HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

(1) Korean-Language Textbooks: Redefining the National Language

During the U.S. Military Government period, Korean-language education redefined Hangeul as both a symbol of national identity and the normative medium of democratic communication.[23] Curriculum reforms reorganized orthography, vocabulary, and style to dismantle Japanese-centered colonial pedagogy and establish a Hangeul-based public linguistic order.[24] Although classrooms retained elements of colonial routines, this created a transitional dual structure. Reading, writing, and discussion shifted from command-oriented rhetoric to deliberate genres grounded in civic concepts such as freedom, rights,

[20] Republic of Korea, Education Basic Law (May 31, 1949); Education Law (Dec 31, 1949); Social Education Law (1949).

[21] Ministry of Education, Annual Report on Literacy Campaigns, 1954–1958 (Seoul: M.O.E., 1959).

[22] The Dong-A Ilbo. (March 14, 1959). Hangul-only Signboard Policy Enforced Nationwide.

[23] U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK,1946). Educational Bureau Report: Korean Language Curriculum.

[24] Paik, Nak-chung. (2015). Modernization and Language Policy in Post-liberation Korea. Seoul: Hakjisa, 95–98.

community, and public morality.[25] The collective "we" was reframed from a mobilizing slogan into a participatory address aligned with democratic subject formation. English entered the post-liberation linguistic order as a functional code tied to technology, development, and international exchange. This reconfiguration created a dual semiotic order, with Korean anchoring citizenship and civic identity, and English functioning primarily as a utilitarian medium for technical knowledge, economic advancement, and global exchange.[26] Pedagogical tasks, assessments, and school rituals were integrated to reinforce reasoning, attitudes, and civic competence, though limited teacher training and textbook development allowed colonial formats to persist. Overall, the curriculum institutionalized Hangeul as the language of identity and democratic public life.

(2) History Textbooks: Postcolonial Narratives and the Nation-State-Citizen Framework

Under the U.S. Military Government, history textbooks replaced imperial historiography with a postcolonial narrative centered on the nation, state, and citizen.[27] *King Sejong* and *Admiral Lee, Sun-Sin* were reimagined as ideological symbols linking ethnic origins to state legitimacy and civic virtue.[28] Sejong's creation of Hangeul was depicted as an act of linguistic sovereignty that legitimized a national language and promoted mass literacy, thereby supporting communication-based instruction methods such as summarization, discussion, and presentation.[29] *Lee, Sun-Sin,* was reinterpreted as both a loyal commander and a guardian of the public good, with his discipline and tactical rationality reframed as democratic ethics emphasizing responsibility, legality, and cooperation.[30]

A moralized temporal arc – comprising suffering, creativity, and defense – connected colonial trauma to postwar reconstruction and the vision of a democratic future. Textbooks articulated this through a triadic framework of events (creation, defense), figures (Sejong, Lee), and values (literacy, legality, public good).[31] *King Sejong* symbolized linguistic legitimacy, while *Admiral Lee* represented political legitimacy; their

[25] Bak, Eun-jin. (2019). The Civic Reframing of Collective Pronouns in Early Postwar Textbooks. *Korean Modern Studies 24,* 155–178.

[26] Song, Ji-young. (2011). Language Policy in South Korea: The Politics of Bilingualism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[27] U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK, 1946), Provisional Curriculum for Secondary Education: Social Studies and History.

[28] Lee, Sung-hee. (2018). 190–195.

[29] Paik, Nak-chung. (2015). Modernization and Language Policy in Post-liberation Korea. Seoul: Hakjisa, 127.

[30] Kim, Se-jin. (2010). Heroic Pedagogy and Civic Ethics in Early Postwar History Textbooks. Korean Education Review 23, no. 1, 87–110.

[31] Choi, Jin-kyung. (2016). Nation-Building and School History Education in Post-liberation Korea, 1945–1955. Seoul: SNU Press, 55–61.

virtues underpinned civic formation. Together, they anchored post-imperial historical reconstruction, positioning history education as a crucial instrument for democratic nation-building.

Figure 4. The first textbook for classroom use, *Hangeul First Steps*, 1945 (Source: Private collection of the author).

Figure 5. The first government-published textbook, *Elementary Korean Textbook (Vol. 1)*, 1946 (Source: Private collection of the author).

Figure 6. The first Children's Day commemorative book after liberation, *Children's Hangeul Book*, 1946 (Source: Private collection of the author).

Figure 7. *Weekly Elementary Student* (1946), the first children's weekly magazine published after liberation (Source: Hangeul Museum collection).

Figure 8. *Elementary Korean (2-1)*, 1947 (Source: Private collection of the author).

Figure 9. *Badugi and Cheolsu (Korean 1-1)*, 1948 (Source: Private collection of the author).

Figure 10. *LIVING ENGLISH READERS 1*, 1946, the first English textbook published after liberation (Source: Old Items Rare Books Collection).

Figure 11. Late October 1945, English class for students in Busan, photographed by the U.S. military (Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration).

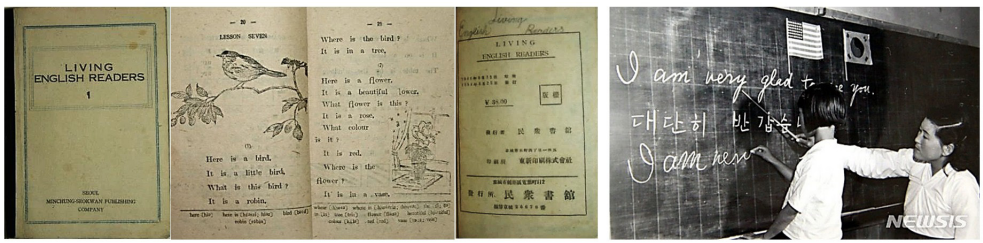


Figure 12. Korean language textbook during the Korean War, 1951 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 13. Outdoor and playground classes during the Korean War, 1952–53 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 14. Award ceremony for contributors to literacy education, 1953 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 15. Textbook issued in 1954 with U.S. aid after the war (Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration).

Figure 16. Students receiving milk as part of U.S. and UN food aid after the war, 1959 (Source: MacArthur Memorial, USA).

4. POST-LIBERATION: LINGUISTIC REORDERING AND THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIALIST LANGUAGE GOVERNMENTALITY

4.1. SOVIET OCCUPATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A LINGUISTIC REGIME

North Korea's post-liberation reforms constituted a restructuring of linguistic governmentality rather than national linguistic emancipation.[32] The 1948 *New Orthography* and 1949 standardization measures operationalized a purification ideology that sought to reconstitute Korean as an index of ethnonational sovereignty and socialist modernity. These reforms adapted Soviet *korenizatsiia (коренизация)* and *likbez (ликбез)* to institutionalize a regime in which language mediated the circulation of knowledge, disciplinary power, and political legitimacy.[33]

By integrating editorial review, censorship, and textbook inspection into a unified bureaucratic apparatus, the state centralized linguistic authority. Mass literacy campaigns functioned as technologies of subject formation, fusing semiotic acquisition with ideological interpellation.[34] Media stylization into slogans and the domestication of Marxist-Leninist lexicons further entrenched a socialist semiotic order. This rapid institutionalization converted linguistic norms into operative forms of governance and symbolic capital.

The eradication of illiteracy was pursued through mass literacy campaigns modeled on the Soviet likbez (from likvidatsiia bezgramotnosti, meaning "liquidation of illiteracy"). Intensive instruction was provided in night schools and factory schools, while primers such as *First Steps in Korean* (Chosŏnŏ ch'ŏtkŏrŭm) and *Learning

[32] Soviet Civil Administration in North Korea (December 1945). Directive on Educational and Cultural Policy.

[33] Kreindler, Isabelle. (1971). The Soviet Policy of Korenizatsiya and Its Linguistic Consequences. *Soviet Studies 22, no. 4*, 450–472.

[34] Kim, Yong-Nam. (2012). Centralization of Cultural Policy in Early DPRK. *Journal of North Korean Studies 8, no. 1,* 33–56.

Our Language* (Urimal paewugi) were widely distributed as propaganda booklets that combined basic literacy with political education.[35] Print and broadcast language was standardized into a concise, slogan-like idiom, and Marxist–Leninist terminology was indigenized, consolidating an ideological lexicon around key terms such as "people" (inmin), "comrade" (tongmu), "plan," and "committee."[36]

Short-term training programs for teachers, interpreters, and editorial staff, combined with the selective introduction of Russian, established a knowledge infrastructure centered on a technical elite.[37] This marked a historical turning point for the subsequent consolidation of North Korea's language regime.

4.2. TEXTBOOKS AS IDEOLOGICAL TECHNOLOGIES AND SEMIOTIC APPARATUSES

After its founding, the DPRK deliberately designed school textbooks not as neutral vehicles of knowledge but as primary instruments of ideological formation. Drawing on Soviet pedagogical assistance, early textbooks defined language as "the form of correct thought and feeling," employing tightly controlled vocabulary, sentence structures, and forms of address to instill political morality. Linguistic norms thus functioned as indicators of ideological orthodoxy rather than mere rules of expression.[38]

Core lexical items – such as "people," "comrade," "plan," and "self-reliance" – were emphasized as positive ideological signifiers, while terms like "servility" and "formalism" were coded as targets of criticism. Slogan-like and imperative styles, combined with the repetitive use of the collective pronoun "we," transformed everyday language into mobilizational discourse.[39] Additionally, the honorific system was reorganized to reflect the political hierarchy: the leader was framed using hyper-honorific expressions, while enemies were marked by disparaging affixes, making linguistic choices themselves acts of taking sides.

Formulas such as "the great General *Kim Il Sung*" and invocations of "the language of workers and peasants" functioned as condensed symbols of political virtue and moral legitimacy, enabling the nascent regime to accumulate symbolic capital.[40] The gradual elevation of *Kim Il-sung's* titles – from "General/Comrade" to "Premier," then "Leader," and

[35] North Korean Ministry of Education. (1947). Uri Mal Paeugi [Learning Our Language]. Pyongyang: Kyoyuk Tosŏ.

[36] Pak, Mi-kyung. (2013). The Formation of Soviet-Trained Linguistic Elites in North Korea, 1946–1950. *Korean Linguistics 17,* 145–168.

[37] Rodong Sinmun, January 15, 1950, Cultural Construction through the Korean Language.

[38] Kim, Yong-nam. (2013). Formation of Socialist Educational Discourse in Early DPRK. *Journal of North Korean Studies* 9, no. 1, 51–76.

[39] North Korean Ministry of Education. (1949). Chosŏn ŏ Kyogwasŏ [Korean Language Textbook, Vol. 2]

[40] Pak, Mi-kyung. (2015). The Politicization of Vocabulary and Grammar in DPRK Textbooks, 1948–1960. Korean Linguistics 19, 131–158.

ultimately "Great Leader" – reflected the linguistic institutionalization of authority and the consolidation of a personal cult.[41]

Curricular, primary textbooks focused on emotionally charged hero narratives; middle-school texts emphasized production and planning; and upper-level materials addressed party norms and causal historical narratives, positioning students as ideological subjects expected to exercise policy judgment and historical reasoning.[42] Organized as an integrated triad of knowledge (script and grammar), everyday life (family and production), and politics (history and state goals), the textbook regime linked classroom activities – such as "production practice" and "collective discussion" – to organizational life. Assessments evaluated not only orthographic accuracy but also political appropriateness.[43] School ceremonies and commendations periodically reaffirmed textbook language as the standard for public speech. Thus, under the banner of "the people's language," Korean was effectively transformed into a medium of power, with education serving as a state apparatus for linguistic governance.

4.3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION LANGUAGE POLICY: EXPANDING LITERACY AND INSTITUTIONALIZING THE PEOPLE'S LANGUAGE

In the post–Korean War period, the DPRK positioned language policy as a central component of socialist reconstruction. Literacy expansion and the restructuring of the standard language system served as state strategies to shape the population into socialist subjects.[44] Following the 1946 declaration that eradicating illiteracy was a national task, compulsory schooling and adult literacy programs expanded rapidly, and literacy came to be defined as a prerequisite for participation in the planned economy.[45]

Literacy brigades, workers' schools, and night middle schools – organized in factories, mines, cooperative farms, and military units – combined basic skills with production reporting and political study.[46] Through this integration, Korean was redefined as "the language of the people who carry out revolution and construction", and linguistic competence became an indicator of loyalty, discipline, and ideological reliability.[47]

[41] Rodong Sinmun, various issues (1946–1960): On the Great Leader and the People's Language.

[42] Lee. (2018). 226–228.

[43] Kim, Eun-ju. (2018). Structure and Function of Socialist Curriculum in the Early DPRK. Educational History Review 27, no. 3, 45–62.

[44] Kim, H. (2019). Language and Socialist Subject Formation in the early DPRK. Journal of Asian Studies, 78(4), 899–925.

[45] Robinson, M. (2007). Literacy and Modernization in North Korean Socialist Planning. Modern Asian Studies, 41(3), 653–681.

[46] Chŏng, Y. S. (2015). Workers' Schools and Literacy Brigades in Postwar North Korea. North Korean Review, 11(2), 60–85.

[47] Workers' Party of Korea. (1953). On the Language of the People Who Carry Out Revolution and Construction. Pyongyang: WPK Publishing House.

The state designated Munhwaŏ ("cultured language"), based on the Pyongyang dialect, as the official postwar standard8. Standardization campaigns eliminated dialectal forms, colonial residues, and foreign loanwords categorized as "class impurities".[48] Norms were disseminated through grammar manuals, textbooks, and propaganda materials, while schools and workplaces monitored compliance. Adherence to Munhwaŏ in reports, newspapers, and broadcasts became a key measure of political alignment.[49] As a result, Munhwaŏ functioned not only as a linguistic standard but also as a mechanism for producing socialist subjectivity and collective identity.

Postwar language policy combined literacy expansion, standardization, and ideological regulation within a broader project of institutionalizing the "people's language".[50] This framework laid the foundation for subsequent initiatives, including Russian-language instruction, lexical purification, dictionary compilation, and terminology standardization.[51] These developments established a socialist dual linguistic structure centered on Munhwaŏ and Russian, organizing the circulation of knowledge, authority, and symbolic capital through language.

Overall, the Reconstruction period marked a decisive shift: Korean was established as the foundational language of the socialist state, Munhwaŏ was codified as its ideological standard, and literacy became a tool for mass mobilization and the formation of political subjects.[52]

4.4. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: LANGUAGE AS A TECHNOLOGY OF MODERN STATE POWER IN THE TWO KOREAS

Liberation did not inaugurate linguistic freedom; rather, it marked a reconfiguration of linguistic power. After 1945, the colonial regime's concept of "language as knowledge" evolved into the institutionalization of English and Hangul as instruments of power in the South, alongside the ideological regulation of Korean (Chosŏnŏ/ Munhwaŏ) in the North. In both systems, language followed a trajectory from knowledge to power and ultimately to symbolic and political capital. Initially, Hangeul, English, and Chosŏnŏ embodied ideals of freedom, autonomy, and development; however, they soon converged into

[48] King, R. (2010). North Korean Standard Language (Munhwaŏ): History, Ideology, and Politics. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

[49] Kwak, S. J. (2016). The Institutionalization of Language Norms in Socialist North Korea. Language Policy, 15(3), 257–276.

[50] Armstrong, C. K. (2013). The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

[51] Lee, J. H. (2018). Soviet Influence and Russian-Language Education in Postwar North Korea. Slavic Review, 77(2), 295–317.

[52] Suh, J. J. (2014). Political subject formation in socialist Korea: Education, discipline, and ideology. *Comparative Education Review, 58*(1), 67–92.

technologies of governance. Thus, language functioned not merely as a cultural sign but as an administrative, educational, and propagandistic infrastructure that mediated the reproduction of the modern political order on the peninsula.

In South Korea, Hangeul became a symbolic marker of national identity. At the same time, English emerged as an institutional language that facilitated integration into the international order, both serving to legitimize state-led modernization. In North Korea, the standardization of Chosŏnŏ and the elite status of Russian established the foundations of a socialist cultural and pedagogical regime. Despite their divergent trajectories, both states transformed language education into a governing technology, institutionalizing it as a mechanism for subject formation and political mobilization.

In sum, post-liberation language policy did not signify a break from colonial linguistic governance but rather an altered continuation of it. Language was constructed as knowledge, deployed as power, and accumulated as a source of legitimacy and mobilizational capacity – becoming a central apparatus through which the state operated. Consequently, South and North Korean language politics crystallized within the paradox of "languages of liberation" that ultimately became "languages of governance."

Figure 17. Welcome ceremony for the 25th Army of the Soviet Far Eastern Front entering Pyongyang, August 26, 1945 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 18. Welcome rally for General Kim Il-sung, October 14, 1945 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 19. March 1st Movement commemoration ceremony held in Pyongyang, March 1, 1946 (Source: National Archives of Korea).

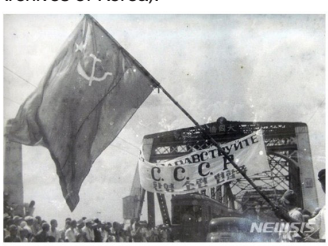



Figure 20. Classroom scene from North Korea's literacy campaign after liberation (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 21. Promotional poster for North Korea's literacy campaign after liberation (Source: National Archives of Korea).

Figure 22. Russian language class in North Korea after liberation (Source: National Archives of Korea).


4.5. SOUTH KOREA: HISTORY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION AND SOCIOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

(1) Pre-Liberation: Control, Decline, and Marginalization of English

English education in Korea began in 1883 at Dongmunhak, following the 1882 Korea–U.S. Treaty of Amity and Commerce. In 1886, the establishment of Yugeonggongwon, supported by the U.S. State Department and diplomatic missions, provided an institutional foundation. The dispatch of American instructors and the establishment of private Christian schools positioned English as a conduit for Western modernity and new knowledge.[53]

During Japanese colonial rule, English became subordinated to the colonial order. The Japanese Empire designated Japanese as the "national language" and the "language of civilization," while restricting English to a foreign language that posed no threat to imperial stability.[54] English instruction was largely confined to grammar-translation methods delivered through Japanese. Following the outbreak of the Second Hanja/Sino-Japanese War in 1937, English came to be perceived as the language of the enemy and was in effect abolished by 1943. During this period, English existed solely within tightly controlled and marginal domains of knowledge, subject to colonial surveillance.[55]

(2) Post-Liberation: New Beginnings and U.S. Military Government Influence

The liberation of Korea in 1945 marked a decisive watershed in English education, reshaping its institutional foundations, ideological functions, and pedagogical orientations in the emerging postcolonial order. Following the arrival of the U.S. military government, English proficiency emerged as a form of symbolic capital that determined social status. English inherited the public prestige previously held by Japanese, while being redefined as the "language of liberation," symbolizing American-style democracy and modernization.

Although the Office of Education of the U.S. military government framed English as the "language of the free world and democracy," administrative structures largely retained those of the former Japanese Governor-General's Office. This produced a continuity of administrative forms alongside a rupture in curricular content. Course planning, textbook approval, teacher appointments, and school administration inherited colonial frameworks, and English instruction remained grammar- and translation-centered. From 1953 onwards, the revision of the Korean Education Ordinance and the implementation of a centralized textbook system catalyzed profound orthographic reform. These changes curtailed the use of Japanese and Sino-Korean vocabulary, while concurrently elevating English

[53] Seth, Michael J. (2002). Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 33–36.

[54] Lee, Hye-Kyung. (1995). Language Policy under Japanese Colonial Rule. The Korean Studies 19, 45–68.

[55] Shin, Gi-Wook. (1999). Colonial Modernity and the Making of Modern Korea. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

to the status of the second official language. In doing so, a duallanguage hierarchy was institutionalized, wherein English came to symbolize "civilization" and Korean affirmed "national identity." This linguistic regime enabled English to function as a discursive apparatus for internalizing democratic citizenship within a rapidly modernizing state.

(3) Korean War (1950–1953): Expansion Amid Chaos

The Korean War disrupted formal education but simultaneously elevated English's social status. Daily interactions with U.S. forces rendered English essential for survival and practical communication. In temporary schools in Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, and other refugee areas, English instruction persisted, directly linked to military, economic, and relief operations. Short-term interpreter training programs were established at universities and teacher colleges to address the shortage of interpreters. Civilian groups, including the YMCA and churches, provided evening English courses for conversation and relief work.

Newspaper columns and radio programs disseminated practical vocabulary related to rations, permits, and healthcare. Reconstruction workers and public officials needed English proficiency to interpret U.S. aid materials, while English terminology penetrated military communications, logistics, medical, and engineering sectors. During the war, English functioned not merely as a foreign language but as a practical tool for survival, mobilization, and reconstruction – a foundation for its postwar institutionalization as a language of national development and social capital.

(4) Postwar Reconstruction: English as a Language of Economic Survival and Social Mobility

From the mid-1950s, U.S. aid and reconstruction efforts positioned English as key to national recovery. The government and media framed English as the "key to global markets," while employers used English proficiency as a criterion for hiring and promotion. English became institutionalized as a form of competence capital, a core instrument of governance in the modernization project.

U.S.-sponsored technical aid programs (ECAK, USOM) provided English training for civil servants, engineers, and teachers. Major universities, including Seoul National University and Yonsei University, offered short-term English courses with government support. In 1957, the Ministry of Education established "Government Officials' English Training Classes." English thus became indispensable for administrative and diplomatic functions.

In the private sector, English facilitated social mobility: proficiency was required for U.S. military civilian employment, aid agency positions, and corporate or banking careers. YMCA and private institutes offered conversational courses, while radio 'practical English' programs promoted everyday linguistic practices. English became a key subject in the

education system, critical for examinations and social advancement. Textbooks such as *Ahn Hyun-pil English* and *Sungmun Comprehensive English* codified norm-oriented, exam-focused English, which functioned less as a practical communication tool than as symbolic capital for the emerging knowledge class.

In sum, English inherited the social hierarchy function of Japanese during the colonial period, transforming into a capitalist governance language intertwined with developmentalist discourse. Though hailed as the language of "freedom" and "democracy," in practice, English became the language of social success, professional competence, and state-aligned power in postwar South Korea.

4.6. NORTH KOREA: IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

(1) Post-Liberation: Soviet Military Administration and the Introduction of Russian

In contrast to South Korea, North Korea immediately established the orientation of foreign language education following liberation. Russian was introduced in the administration, education, military, and technological sectors. In 1946, the *Provisional Regulations on Schools of the People's Committee of North Korea (Draft)* designated Russian as a compulsory subject for secondary education and above. After the establishment of orthography and standard language policy in 1949, the Korean language was defined as "the language of the revolution, the spirit of the nation," while foreign languages were restricted to political and technical purposes. The 1948 Educational System Reform Decree stipulated that "all subjects shall be taught in Korean, and foreign languages shall be taught only to the extent necessary for socialist construction and international exchange." During this period, English, Russian, and Chinese were included in the curriculum, but their status and content were clearly differentiated. Russian textbooks largely consisted of translations or adaptations of Soviet originals, and Soviet instructors directly taught the language. Russian was institutionalized as the principal medium for socialist revolutionary discourse.

(2) 1950s: Political Status of Russians during Postwar Reconstruction

In the 1950s, Russian transcended its role as a foreign language to become the language of state-building and ideological loyalty in North Korea. Following the Korean War, North Korea relied heavily on Soviet aid and technical support across political, economic, and military domains, institutionalizing Russian as "the language of revolution and construction." Kim Il-sung characterized foreign language education as a tool to

“cultivate a socialist worldview, revolutionary thought, and internationalist spirit,” framing language learning as an instrument of ideological governance.

The 1956 Foreign Language School Establishment Decree led to the creation of Russian-language schools in major cities, including Pyongyang, Hamhung, and Chongjin, which functioned as elite training centers for political, diplomatic, and technical personnel. Pyongyang University of Foreign Studies (formerly Pyongyang University of Foreign Languages) modeled its curriculum after Moscow State University of Foreign Languages, offering a dormitory-based education that integrated political ideology, Russian literature, translation studies, military interpretation, and scientific and technical terminology. Student selection required party recommendations and loyalty verification, making admission a symbolic measure of political trust.

Textbooks were compiled with political objectives. Texts such as Russian Reader, Stories of Revolutionary Heroes, and The Life of Lenin highlighted Lenin, revolution, unity, and socialist construction, establishing the ideological foundation of the vocabulary.

Language instruction integrated grammar and conversation with ideological cultivation and loyalty training. Key terms such as *товарищ (tovarishch: comrade)*, *труд (trud: labor)*, and *революция (revolyutsiya: revolution)* were central to both linguistic and political instruction.

After 1953, Soviet educators and specialists directly supervised teacher training and textbook production in North Korea. Russian textbooks repeatedly emphasized “Lenin’s teachings” and “Korean Soviet friendship,” embedding politically sanctioned linguistic forms into vocabulary and sentence structures. While outwardly promoting internationalism and socialist solidarity, Russian education effectively operated as a mechanism for assessing political loyalty. Proficiency in Russian became a measure of ideological fidelity and a standard of political trust for party officials and technical elites. In 1958, Kim Il-sung stated during a visit to Pyongyang Foreign Language School that “those who master Russian become officials of the party and state,” demonstrating the role of language competence as a criterion of political qualification.

Thus, in 1950s North Korea, the Russian symbolized both internationalism and power, serving as an ideological instrument to ensure regime loyalty. Outwardly a language of communication, it functioned inwardly as a tool for political screening and allegiance.

(3) 1960s: ‘Munhwaŏ’ and the Dual Hierarchy of Russian

North Korea’s language policy in the 1960s combined internal consolidation with external authority. While the 1966 establishment of Munhwaŏ advanced the standardization of Korean, Russian retained its role as the primary language for science, technology,

diplomacy, and elite party education, reflecting Kim Il-sung's "Our-Style Socialism" policy, which balanced national linguistic autonomy with the maintenance of political hierarchy within the socialist bloc.

As the Pyongyang-based standard, Munhwaŏ symbolized the revolutionary linguistic order promoted by the state. The creation of authoritative linguistic references and the formation of the standardization committee formalized this linguistic order and deepened the state's political control. State-prescribed textbooks adhered to Pyongyang pronunciation and vocabulary as absolute standards. Consequently, Munhwaŏ functioned as the state-sanctioned language, a marker of national identity, and an instrument of modern statehood.

Meanwhile, Russian maintained its institutional significance as the language of international authority alongside domestic standardization. Key universities, including Pyongyang University of Foreign Studies, Kim Chaek University of Technology, and Kim Il-sung University, employed Russian-translated textbooks for most science, technology, and engineering courses. Academic exchanges and study-abroad programs with the Soviet Union reinforced Russian as an essential skill for technical experts and researchers.

The 1961 North Korean Workers' Party directive on "Strengthening Russian Language Education" emphasized Russian as "the political language of socialist international cooperation," elevating its status beyond a purely academic language. Textbooks such as *Russian Grammar* (1962) and the *Russian Korean Dictionary* (1964) systematically standardized political and technical translations, embedding Leninist and socialist terminology within the structure of Korean language conventions. This institutionalized Russian as a layered language, bridging science, technology, and political education.

"Beginning in the 1960s, North Korea implemented a dual-language hierarchy in which Munhwaŏ symbolized national identity and domestic political legitimacy, while Russian functioned as a conduit for international authority and technical expertise. The two languages operated in a complementary yet hierarchical manner, with Munhwaŏ consolidating internal governance and Russian facilitating participation in global socialist discourse. This dual structure was further reinforced in the 1970s through the formal codification of Juche linguistics.

4.7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: DIVERGENT LANGUAGES, CONVERGENT POWER STRUCTURES

Post-liberation foreign language education in both Koreas unfolded within the context of the Cold War, yet both systems shared the fundamental principle of politicizing

language. Language served as a medium for shaping national identity and loyalty, transforming linguistic competence into political and economic capital through education, examinations, and certification.

In South Korea, English functioned as the "language of modernization," whereas in North Korea, Russian functioned as the "language of revolution." In both cases, the respective foreign language was institutionalized as a governance instrument linking knowledge and power, regulating citizens and social mobility. This demonstrates the historical continuity of the colonial Japanese language curriculum in promoting compliance and state integration. Thus, liberation did not equate to linguistic emancipation; rather, it entailed a redistribution of linguistic power. While English was celebrated as the "language of freedom and Russian as the "language of revolution, both served as instruments of state authority. Policies of foreign-language instruction in both Koreas, irrespective of ideological divergence, reinforced hierarchical power structures characteristic of modernity, shaping citizens and internalizing mechanisms of governance.

Figure 23. Following the promulgation of North Korea's *Orthography of the Korean Language* (1954), the *Collection of Korean Language Norms* (1966, 1988, 2010) was used (Source: Daehakjiseong In&Out, http://www.unipress.co.kr, accessed February 25, 2023).

Figure 24. Following the promulgation of North Korea's *Rules for the Notation of Foreign Words in Korean* (1956), the *Foreign Word Notation Methods* (1969, 1982, 2001) was used (Source: Daehakjiseong In&Out, http://www.unipress.co.kr, accessed February 25, 2023).

5. CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMATION OF LINGUISTIC POWER AND DEMOCRATIC PUBLICNESS

This study traced Korean language policies from 1910 to 1970, analyzing the transition from colonial epistemic power to post-liberation capital power. Language policy change was not abrupt but represented a process of continuity, reorganization, and transition. During this period, language served not simply as a communicative tool but as a mechanism for shaping national identity and structuring social discipline. During

Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese symbolized modernity and civilization, while Koreans served as a subordinate medium to enforce compliance.

After liberation, South Korea privileged Hangeul as the national language while assigning English the role of a modernizing and liberalizing medium. North Korea, by contrast, defined Korean as the language of revolution and construction and used Russian to mediate and circulate socialist ideology.

Thus, each state formalized its respective model of capitalist modernization and socialist governance. In both contexts, language operated as a central instrument for citizen formation and the consolidation of state authority.

In South Korea, the coexistence of Hangeul and English cultivated modern citizens and economic actors; in North Korea, *Munhwaŏ* and Russian shaped revolutionary citizens and politically loyal elites. The dual structure of "national language and international/modern language" established a hierarchical linguistic order, later consolidated by Juche linguistics.

In the 21st century, digital networks and AI translation technologies are reshaping traditional linguistic hierarchies. Linguistic democratization" entails not only preserving minority languages or balancing foreign language instruction but also reconstructing language as a medium of coexistence rather than domination.

Ultimately, colonial language policy represented "power as knowledge," while post-liberation policy transformed language into "power as capital." Language has always revealed hierarchical structures while holding potential for subversion. The trajectory of Korean language history illustrates the transition from a tool of governance to a medium of democratic publicity, establishing language as an instrument of cultural autonomy rather than domination.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

Caprio, M. E. (2009). *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. University of Washington Press.

Choi, J.-k. (2016). *Nation-building and School History Education in Post-Liberation Korea, 1945–1955*. Seoul National University Press.

Lee, Y. (2017). *Politics of Language in Colonial Korea*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Paik, N.-c. (2015). *Modernization and Language Policy in Post-Liberation Korea*. Hakjisa.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87–104). University of Chicago Press.

Song, J. J. (2015). Language Policies in North and South Korea. In L. Brown & J. Yoon (Eds.), *The handbook of Korean linguistics* (pp. 477–491). John Wiley & Sons.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Bak, E.-j. (2019). The Civic Reframing of Collective Pronouns in Early Postwar Textbooks. *Korean Modern Studies, 24*, 155–178.

Kim, E.-G. (2011). English educational policies of the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea (1945–1948) and their effects on the development of ELT in Korea. *English Teaching.*

Kim, S.-j. (2010). Heroic pedagogy and civic ethics in early postwar history textbooks. *Korean Education Review, 23*(1), 87–110.

Kim, Y.-N. (2012). Centralization of Cultural Policy in the early DPRK. *Journal of North Korean Studies, 8*(1), 33–56.

Kreindler, I. (1971). The Soviet policy of korenizatsiya and its linguistic consequences. *Soviet Studies, 22*(4), 450–472.

Kumatani, A. (1990). Language policies of North Korea. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 82*, 88–107. http://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10112/6959

Mitsui, T. (2008). Research trends and a critical review of the Korean script movement in colonial Korea. *Gengo Bunka, 11*(1), 55–83.

Park, Y. (2011). Colonial language policy and the discourse of Gukŏ Dokbon. *Korean Language and Culture, 8*(2), 55–84.

Jung, H. (2017). Korea's linguistic policies: Status and challenges. In *EFNIL Conference Proceedings*. Mannheim.

Lee, J. S. (2018). *State ideology and language policy in North Korea* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS / MILITARY GOVERNMENT SOURCES

Ministry of Education. (1958). *Five-Year Plan for Industrial and Technical Education*. Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (1959). *Annual Report on Literacy Campaigns, 1954–1958*. Ministry of Education.

Republic of Korea. (1949). *Education Basic Law*. Ministry of Education.

Republic of Korea. (1949). *Social Education Law*. Ministry of Education.

U.S. Army Military Government in Korea. (1946a). *Official Gazette No. 1* (January 8).

U.S. Army Military Government in Korea. (1946b). *Official Gazette No. 2* (January 8).

U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, Bureau of Education. (1946). *Educational Bureau Report: Korean Language Curriculum*.

U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, Bureau of Education. (1947). *Report on the National Literacy Week Campaign*.

U.S. Military Government Press Control Office. (1946). *Guidelines for Press Language Use*.

U.S. Army Military Government in Korea. (1946c). *Provisional Curriculum for Secondary Education: Social studies and history*.

Soviet Civil Administration in North Korea. (1945). *Directive on Educational and Cultural Policy*.

The Dong-A Ilbo. (1959, March 14). *Hangeul-Only Signboard Policy Enforced Nationwide*.

SOBRE O ORGANIZADOR

Jesús Rivas Gutiérrez: Pregrado: Licenciatura en Odontología, egresado de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Diplomado en Investigación Educativa en la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAZ). Especialidad: Docencia Superior por la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAZ). Posgrado: Maestría en Ciencias de la Educación por la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAZ). Posgrado: Doctor en Ciencias de la Educación por la Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (UABJO). Docente de base de tiempo completo por más de 35 años en la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas en la Unidad Académica de Odontología y la Unidad Académica de Docencia Superior (UAO/UAZ – UADS/UAZ). Docente invitado en la Maestría en Docencia e Investigación Jurídica de la Unidad Académica de Derecho de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAD/UAZ). Docente invitado en el Doctorado de Farmacología de la Unidad Académica de Medicina Humana de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAMH/UAZ). Ponente en eventos académicos locales, regionales, nacionales e internacionales con temáticas sobre odontología, educación, enseñanza-aprendizaje, práctica docente, medio ambiente, sustentabilidad, representaciones sociales, evaluaciones y reestructuraciones curriculares entre otros temas. Autor de diversos libros, capítulos de libro y artículos en revistas nacionales e internacionales sobre odontología, educación, enseñanza-aprendizaje, práctica docente, medio ambiente, sustentabilidad, representaciones sociales, evaluaciones y reestructuraciones curriculares entre otros temas. Director de la Unidad Académica de Odontología de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, periodo 2008-2012. Responsable Académico de la Licenciatura de Médico Cirujano Dentista de la Unidad Académica de Odontología de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, periodo 2004-2008. Coordinador de Acreditaciones de la Unidad Académica de Odontología de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, periodo 2016-2021.

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7223-4437

ÍNDICE REMISSIVO

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

I

L

M

O

P

Q

R

S

T

U

EDITORA ARTEMIS
2025