

Analysis of North Korean Language Textbooks: Altered Jucheism Ideology*

이동배**

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I. Introduction

Globalization accelerates “the growing transportation systems, movements of people, and the emergence of global communications networks”¹⁾ as well as transnational flows of capital, cultures, representation and discourses, building up

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** 호주 퀸즐랜드대학교, isaacmercy@hanmail.net

1) Rust, V.D., & and Jacob W. J. (2005), “Globalisation and Educational Policy shifts.” In Joseph Zajda (Ed.), *International handbook on globalisation, education and policy research: Global pedagogies and policies*, 235-252. Dordrecht: Springer.

new forms of identity and hybridity.²⁾ Global economic links increase in their influence across borders, while the legal and juridical power of each nation over its own economy, cultural and social development is diminished. Yet the processes of globalization are not equal, mostly promoting the benefits of rich countries, while marginalizing poor countries. Hence, the forces of globalization have faced resistance from peripheries, environmentalists, Muslim extremists and leftist nationalists in countries like Venezuela, North Korea and Cuba. The events following September 11, 2001, including the US-led attack in Iraq implies that there exists strong local, ideological, religious, and cultural antagonism against globalization.

As one of the remaining communist countries, where the Cold War still exists, North Korea has hard line policies towards America and other Western countries. Even though it relies on a significant amount of economic aid, including food and energy from South Korea and China, North Korea is resisting globalization processes, even striving to develop longer distance missiles that could reach as far as America, and they conducted nuclear testing, giving rise to more worries in international communities. However, North Korea is facing the dilemma of whether to open their closed door to the world in order to revive their economy, or maintain the closed system for their regime survival. These kinds of complexities, and the diversity of global and local change must temper the complex ideological responses of North Korea to the new global world. The responses of school curriculum to these changes are worthy of examination. There is a strong push towards a human capital model, whereby students would prepare for participation in 'transnational, corporate, and information-based economies.'³⁾ Nozaki, Openshaw and Luke⁴⁾ point out the significance of

2) Nozaki, Y., Openshaw R., & Luke A. (2005), *Struggles over differences: Curriculum, Texts and Pedagogy*, 3-5, New York; State University of New York.

3) Lee Dong Bae (2005), "New ideologies of everyday life in South Korean language textbooks". In Yoshiko Nozaki, Roger Openshaw, & Allan Luke (Eds.), *Struggles over difference:*

researching textbooks:

...textbooks have been a primary form of educational technology, representing particular ideologies, and cultures. Though there have been many changes in government, economy, and social systems, textbooks have remained one of the constants of colonial and postcolonial education.

Therefore, in this chapter, I will investigate how North Korean language textbooks have developed to cope with global changes, and consequently, have begun to construct new versions of 'North Korean students' and North Korean culture. First, I will discuss the context of North Korea in these 'New Times', focusing on dominant discourses, followed by an analysis of educational change and the research framework. I will then analyse the text of textbooks. My focus here is to try to document the complex ideological mix represented in textbooks around issues of the leaders (the two Kims), including reunification, anti-Americanism, organised social life, morality and school life.

II. The Context of the New Times in North Korea: centering on dominant discourses

As drastic change in the Eastern European countries occurred from the late 1980s and many communist leaders lost their power, the North Korean leaders began to feel threatened. Thus Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il altered *jucheism* (which literally means self-reliance; by using this ideology, the two Kims have controlled his subjects) into several sub-ideologies: *oorishig sahojjooui* [North

Curriculum, texts, and pedagogy in the Asia- Pacific, 117-118, New York: State University of New York.

4) Nozaki, Y., Openshaw R., & Luke A., loc. cit

Korean socialism], *minjog jeiljooui* [the Korean race is best], *poolungi sasang* [the red flag ideology], *yoocheon jungchi* [ruling the country using his father Kim Il Sung's will and policy] and *kangsung daegooknon* [the era of a strong economy and military power]. An explanation of these discourses, which are embedded in North Korean lives, will give us general insights into North Korean society.

The *oorishig sahojjooui* [North Korean style socialism] discourse stresses the planned and controlled economy, that would eventually become a self-reliant economy, and that would never be affected by world economic crises or economic pressures.⁵⁾ Kim Jung Il insists that establishing a *juche* (self-reliant) economy can give true freedom to the North Korean people, and can establish an independent country in a real sense. Using *oorishig sahojjooui*, Kim Jung Il refuted any external and internal pressure toward leadership change, and attempted to establish a self-reliant economic system and an independent country.

In order to stress the superiority of *oorishig sahojjooui*, the North Korean leaders like Kim Jung Il and Kim Il Sung based the rationale on the Korean race itself. Thus, they introduced the *minjog jeiljooui* discourse.

The *minjog jeiljooui* [the Korean race is best] discourse attempts to enhance the pride, greatness, self-reliance and autonomy of the Korean race. Kim Jung Il placed the *minjog* [Korean race] at the top in his ideology.⁶⁾ Kim Jung Il listed four reasons why Koreans are best: because Koreans have great leaders like Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il, *Jucheism*, the revolutionary traditions of *Rodongdang* [the North Korean communist party], North Korean style socialism, and the great history of Korea.⁷⁾ Here he only referred to North Koreans, excluding South

5) Jeong Woo Gon (2001), "Juche sasangui byonyong damronkwa gu wonin [The discourse of altered *Jucheism and the cause*]", *Journal of the study of North Korea*, 5 (1), 14.

6) Jeong Young Soon, Kwon Seong Ah, Jeong Ji Woong, Han Woon Sog (2002), *Tongil Daebi Bookhankyokwasoesoui Kyoyookyinyom Pyonhwa Yongoo [The study of change of educational ideology in North Korean textbook for preparing reunification]*, 19-20, Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute

7) Ibid, p.20

Koreans and overseas Koreans from the discourse *minjog jeiljooui* [the Korean race is best]. Without identifying the concept of the *minjog jeiljooui* clearly, North Korea uses this concept for their ideological propaganda against South Koreans, as if they pursue the same goal for all Koreans. The discourse was and is also used for driving radical South Koreans to fight against America and cooperate with North Korea⁸⁾ and encourages them to support the current economic cooperations between the North and the South. However, these two discourses (*minjog jeiljooui* [the Korean race is best] and *oorishig sahoijooui* [North Korean style socialism]) have had great difficulties in offsetting internal criticism and turmoil since Kim Il Sung's death. In response, Kim Jung Il introduced the *poolungi sasang* discourse.

The concept of *poolungi sasang* [red flag ideology] discourse in which Kim Jung Il stressed the absolute unity of the people centering on the *sooryong* (the leader Kim Jung Il), states that "citizens should stand behind and support the leader although we live in difficult times, because leaders are like parents who give social and political lives to people."⁹⁾ After Kim Il Sung's death, North Korea suffered serious flooding, which worsened their food problems, and in February, 1997, Hwang Jang Yop, one of Kim Jung Il's secretaries, defected to South Korea. In order to breakthrough these crises, Kim Jung Il hailed North Koreans to follow Kim Il Sung's footsteps, who had endured all the necessary hardships for the liberation of Korea.¹⁰⁾ Thus placing the *poolungi sasang* discourse at the front line, Kim Jung Il urged his citizens to cope with all the hardships and to follow his leadership faithfully, and was able to successfully tighten his grip on power.¹¹⁾ Under this ideology, people are required to pay continual respect and loyalty

8) Rodongshinmun (2004). 1st of January page 1

9) Jeong Woo Gon, op.cit., p. 18.

10) Lee Jong Jae, Kwag Jae Sog, Kim Sung Ki, Jeong Je Young, Choi Byong Woog (2003), A study on the characteristics and functions of education in DPRK, 53, Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute.

11) Jeong Woo Gon, op.cit., p.25.

to the leader and the headquarters of communist revolution, because Kim Jung Il is their sooryong [the top leader] who gives them their social and political lives. Kim Jung Il used this ideology in order to quell all kinds of criticism and secure his power.¹²⁾

Even after Kim Jung Il had power firmly in his grasp, he still needed to use his father's charisma to lead his citizens for he did not have the same charisma, so he used the *yoocheon jungchi* [ruling the country using his father Kim Il Sung's will and policy] discourse. Using the *yoocheon jungchi*, he attempted to give the image that he was the legitimate successor of Kim Il Sung and was governing North Korea following his father's policies and ideologies.¹³⁾ Yet Kim Jung Il was obliged to show his own leadership and vision for his citizens. Thus he introduced *Kangsung daekooknon* discourse.

The *kangsung daekooknon* [strong in economy and military] discourse. Kim Jung Il needed to present a new discourse and leadership to lead his citizens. So Kim Jung Il introduced the concept of *kangsung daegook* [strong economy and military power] on 22nd of August, in 1998 in *Rodong shinmoon* [North Korean top newspaper]. In this period, by developing nuclear weapons of mass destruction and taking a hardline attitude in negotiations with the USA and surrounding countries, North Korea partially succeeded in gaining economic aid from them.¹⁴⁾ However, there was strong pressure to stop the development of nuclear weapons in North Korea. There have been five Six-Way Talks among China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Russia and the USA in order to solve the problem. But North Korea conducted nuclear testing in early October, giving rise to more worries in international communities, and now it has been under

12) Jeong Woo Gon, loc. cit., p. 18; Jeong Young Soon, Kwon Seong Ah, Jeong Ji Woong, Han Woon Sog, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

13) Lee Eun Young (2002), The textbook analysis of political ideology education of elementary schools in North Korea, 17, Seoul: Ehwa Women's University.

14) Jeong Woo Gon, loc. cit., pp. 21-22; Jeong Young Soon, Kwon Seong Ah, Jeong Ji Woong, Han Woon Sog, op. cit., p. 22.

pressure from the UN, North Korea needs to make a decision on whether to give up their nuclear weapons in exchange for receiving extensive economic aid or whether to keep them and continue to suffer from economic difficulties.

Building a strong economic nation means solving food problems and enhancing the living standard of the people by developing science and technology including informational technology, and by modernizing industrial facilities.¹⁵⁾ Currently the economic size of North Korea is one thirty-third of South Korea.¹⁶⁾ The industrial facilities in the North are old and obsolete; hence they require external cooperation. For this, North Korea opened one industrial site, *Kae Seong*, for South Korean business operators. 13 South Korean companies started production at this site in 2005, and this number will increase in the near future¹⁷⁾ if they solve the nuclear weapon issue. Realizing the limit of a *juche* (self-reliant) economy, the North has begun to reform their socialist economy. For example, North Korean authorities have allowed farmers and factory workers to receive extra income if they produce in excess of their required quota.¹⁸⁾

Despite the efforts of the North Korean authorities to build the *kangsong daegooknon* [strong economy and military power] described above, serious problems have occurred, such as serious food shortages, violations of human rights in North Korea and the defection of their citizens to China in this era. This is because North Korea has failed to reform their economy successfully. Further, the North Korean officials have not distributed the food aid provided by foreign countries to the needy fairly.¹⁹⁾ In order to survive, many citizens have left for

15) Jeong Woo Gon, loc. cit., p.21.

16) Shin Sog Ho (2005), "North Korean Economy and New year prospect of North and South Cooperation", *Journal of Citizens and Lawyers* 132: 92-93.

17) *ibid*

18) *ibid*

19) Lee Kum Soon, Choi Ui Cheol, Lee Woo Young, Lim Soon Hee, Seo Jae Jin, & Kim Soo Ahn, (2004), *Pookhan inkwon paekseo [Report of North Korean human rights], i, Seoul: Korean Institution for National Unification.*

China or neighbouring countries, like South Korea, Thailand and Mongolia. Those who have been repatriated from foreign countries have been treated very abusively, and there also exist several detention camps in North Korea where many political prisoners or Christians are barred, abused and treated in a brutal and inhumane manner. As a result, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning human rights violations in North Korea on 16th December 2005.²⁰⁾

Nonetheless, North Korean agencies have actively conducted ideological propaganda towards the South Koreans, stating that Koreans must achieve autonomy and independence from America or other imperialists, and cooperate with each other. Kim Jung Il placed emphasis on the grand cooperation of anti-conservatives in the South and demolishing the 'New Lights' (conservatives), who often criticise the North Korean regime.²¹⁾ By deploying ideological warfare towards the South, the leader of North Korea is attempting to overcome their internal crises. Such internal crises, ideologies and the more general context of North Korean society can be examined for their impacts on the North Korean education system, and more specifically, for their influence on textbooks. I will now explore these issues.

III. Educational change (Late 1980s-present)

The school curricula in North Korea have stressed the personality cult of Kim Il sung and Kim Jung Il during this era. In order to break through the crises of

20) Yoshikazu Shrakawa (2005), U.N. raps North Korea on rights/Resolution cites detention camps, abductions of foreigners. Retrived January 9, 2006, from Available: <http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy/world/20051218TDY01003.htm>

21) Ryu Geun Il (2006), The order of Kim Jung Il, Retrieved January 10, 2006, from Available: <http://www.chosun.com/editorials/news/200601/200601090381.html>

the collapse of the Eastern European countries, North Korean leaders have used the *oorishig sahojjooui* [North Korean socialism] discourse and *minjog jelljooui* [the Korean race is best] discourse. The concept of *minjog* [Korean race] became very important.²²⁾ Thus the history subject which introduces the Founder of Korean race Tangeon was restored in 1992.²³⁾ After the death of Kim Il Sung in 1994, North Korean schools have taught much more political and ideological education in order to aid Kim Jung Il in securing his power.²⁴⁾

The school curriculum has also elevated the position of the two Kims: *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great Leader Kim Il Sung] from *Wonsoonim* [the Dear Leader Kim Il Sung], *Wonsoonim* [the Great Leader Kim Jung Il] from *Jidoja* [the leader comrade] in 1996.²⁵⁾ Subjects regarding the two Kims were taught only to the year one and two students in 1992, but schools began to teach these subjects to students from year one to year four from 1996.²⁶⁾ The school curriculum has focused on building a new type of communist; who may live according to the principles of group and unity, who may dedicate themselves fully to the communist party and their revolution, and who may unite into one body, with one ideology under the banner of the party and the great leader, Kim Jung Il. If certain knowledge is not relevant to their own communist ideology, the North Korean authorities believe that they don't need to teach it to students.²⁷⁾ The aim

22) Kwon sung Ah (2003), A Study on the Changes of Educational Ideologies in Relation to the Constitution in the North Korea-Focused on the Textbooks of language and Ethics, The Journal of Curriculum Studies, 21(2), 155.

23) Jeong Young Soon, Kwon Seong Ah, Jeong Ji Woong, Han Woon Sog, op.cit., 146; ibid, p.155.

24) Han Man Gil (1996), Tonilshidae bookhan kyoyookron [The North Korean education in the era of reunification], 86, Seoul: kyoyookkwahagsa

25) Do Bok Hee (2004), A study of comparing the themes of poetry printed in the textbooks of two Koreas, 10, Daegu, South Korea: Daegu National University of Education Lee Eun Young, op.cit., p. 24.

26) Lee Eun Young, ibid

27) Do Bok Hee, op. cit., pp.13-14

of Korean language education in North Korea was not for the mere expansion /increase of language skills and use, but for rearmourisation of students with *jucheism* (self-reliance) and communist revolutionary ideas, to facilitate students to grow into communist elites who hold a leader-centered ideology, and to enhance their languages skills and knowledge in order to apply them in the communist revolution and enhance their ability to create propaganda for the party and utilize their communication skills to lead revolutions in their real life, thus, the schools taught students communist revolutionary literary products.²⁸⁾ The percentage of time primary schools spent on teaching the Korean language was 47.6% in 1960s, 31.6% in 1983,²⁹⁾ 29% in 1992, and 31.6% from 1996.³⁰⁾ They still spend a third of their total contact hours in Korean language education. I will introduce my research method for this study.

IV. Research framework

In order to analyse North Korean textbooks, this study utilises critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a type of analytic discourse research method that studies primarily how social power, the abuse of that power, domination and inequality are enacted, reproduced, or resisted through the written and spoken word in social and political contexts.³¹⁾ CDA looks at how power and identity are justified, naturalised, negotiated and contested

28) Lee Eun Young, op.cit., p. 34

29) Choi Yong Gi (2003), Nambookhan gugo chungchaek byunchonsa [The history of Korean language change in North and South Koreas], 225-226, Seoul: Parkijeong

30) Kim In Jeon (1997), The analysis of elementary school textbook of North Korea, 27, Seoul: Ehwa Women's University.

31) Van Dijk, T. A. (1998), Critical discourse analysis [Online]. Available: <http://www.let.uva.nl/~teun/cda.html>, [1998, October 29].

towards political aims.³²⁾ Therefore, CDA can reveal which discourse and texts are presented, for whose interests they are written, and with what ideological and hegemonic purposes. Yet, it not only looks at the relationships between discourse, social structure, social relations, knowledge and power in the texts but CDA also examines the underlying causal relations and recovers the social and political meanings expressed in a discourse.³³⁾ Therefore, using CDA, this paper will disclose how the world is represented, how social, ideological, cultural and political actions are displayed, sanctioned officially and critiqued in official North Korean texts, like textbooks in relation to power.

The basic method and technique of CDA is to combine an approach of linguistic text analysis with that of a social theory of language function in political, cultural and ideological processes.³⁴⁾ CDA uses linguistic approaches and social and cultural theories to analyse the phenomena and power relationships in a society. However, Lee Dong Bae³⁵⁾ points out the flaws of CDA, saying that critical scholars such as Fairclough and Van Leeuwen rely heavily on systematic-functional linguistics (e.g., textual and discourse analysis including genres features, intertextuality, interdiscursivity, modality, metadiscourse) without looking at the “ideology of the unsaid.” So he argues that CDA is more powerful and effective if it investigates “silences,” and “omissions.” Thus this paper will additionally investigate the unsaid messages in these texts.

My analysis involves three levels: words, grammar and narrative. This is based on the work of Fairclough³⁶⁾, Luke³⁷⁾ and Van Dijk³⁸⁾. Fairclough uses the above

32) Van Dijk, T. A. (1993), “Principles of critical discourse analysis”, *Discourse and Society* 4

33) Fairclough, N. (1995), *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*, London: Longman,

34) Kress, G., & Hodge, R. (1979), *Language as ideology*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
Fairclough, N. (1992), *Discourse and social change*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

35) Lee, Dong Bae (2000), *The ideological construction of culture in Korean language textbooks: A historical discourse analysis*, 105, Unpublished doctoral thesis: The University of Queensland.

three levels of analysis to describe power relations, ideologies, domination, and oppression. Luke³⁹⁾ suggests that micro-analysis (vocabularies, grammar) and macro-analysis including story grammar) be used in text analysis. Story grammar analysis can illustrate how particular syntactic structures, discourse selections and 'stylistic conventions' have been bound together in order to present specific semantic and ideological messages.⁴⁰⁾ It also represents values, norms, possible worlds, social relations and character types. Meyer and Rice⁴¹⁾ point out the characteristics of story grammar:

A story grammar is analogous to a sentence grammar, in that each is composed of a set of rules which describes the possible structures of a class of items which can be called well-formed stories or sentences.

Story grammar has several key components; setting (background information on the character or location), episode (containing an initiating event, response and an attempt to arrive at the goal triggered from initiating event) and consequences. In my analysis when the text has these components as well as principal characters, didactic (moral) lessons, and presents social relations and possible worlds, I will use story grammar too.

V. Analysis of textbooks.

It was hard to acquire these four North Korean language textbooks: *Kugo*

36) Fairclough, N.(1989), *Language and power*, London:Longman.

37) Luke, A. (1995/1996), *Text and discourse analysis in education: An introduction to critical discourse analysis*, *Review of Research in Education* 21.

38) Van Dijk, loc.cit.

39) Luke, A. loc.cit.

40) Luke, A. (1988), *Literacy, textbooks and ideology: Postwar literacy instruction and the mythology of Dick and Jane*, London: Falmer.

41) Meyer, b.J.F., & Rice, G.E. (1984), "The structure of text". In P.D.Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research* (319-352), 338, London: Longman.

[National language] 1⁴²⁾ for Grade one, *Kugo* [National language] 2⁴³⁾ for Grade 2, *Kugo* [National language] 3⁴⁴⁾ for Grade 3 published, and *Kugo* [National language] 4⁴⁵⁾ for Grade 4. There were 265 units in the four books. If the units depict more than one category, I allocated them to both, 133 units depict the superiority of their leaders Kim Jung Il, Kim Il Sung and their family members, 54 units portray anti-foreign sentiments, 36 morality, 31 school life and activities after school, 17 superiority of their social and political system, 12 science and nature, 7 Korean heroes. I will choose 7 stories and analyse those which represent the majority of the textbooks.

I have chosen the following story, "We will serve you more loyally," from *Kugo* [National language] 3⁴⁶⁾ for Grade three, which depicts the loyalty to Kim Il Sung and Kim Jung Il and their love and grace to children.

We will serve you more loyally

1. Saying "burst into blossom the buds of Chosun [DPRK]," the *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] embraced us in his warm hearted chest.
2. Day by day, as more buds of happiness burst into blossom, we cannot forget about his caring love
3. Saying "you are the king of the country," the *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] gave us all the precious things in the world
4. Claiming that we are the treasures of the country, the future of our nation, your love and grace are endless.

42) Kim Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup (1999), *Kugo* [National language] 1, *Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo*.

43) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Chang Dug, Yoon Geun Hag, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, & Jeon Myoung Bong (2002), *Kugo* [National language] 2, *Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo*.

44) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Sung Ryong, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, Yoon Kyoung soo, & Cho Dug Sook (2000), *Kugo* [National language] 3, *Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo*.

45) Lee Kwang Sup, Seo Jae Kil, Kim Sung Ryong, Kim Myoung Hwan, Kim Dong Soon, & Yoon Kyoung Soo (2003), *Kugo* [National language] 4, *Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo*.

46) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Sung Ryong, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, Yoon Kyoung soo, & Cho Dug Sook, loc.cit.

5. Saying that "I am the happiest when I meet you," the *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] halted in his stride
6. Sensing our inner-most desires, he medalled us with big wings of hope
7. Whether it rains or it snows, whether it is late at night, I always think of the *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] in my heart.
8. Calling the *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] even in my dreams, I ran up to him and I went into his arms
9. Ah! Father *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] blesses us "Become faithful children to the General even today," smiling graciously.
10. Father *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] is our Sun.
11. I will serve him more loyally forever. (pp. 73-74, my translation)

The *poolungi sasang* and *yoocheon jungchi* discourses are well represented, stressing loyalty to the former leader Kim Il Sung and his son Kim Jung Il. When the great leader Kim Il Sung is depicted as an actor, the embedded modifying structure precedes him in lines 1, 3, 5, and 6. Yet there is no preceding modification for students in lines 7 to 11, though the leader claims that students are "kings of the country" in line 3. In this way, the authors attempt to hail readers to pay attention to the great love and grace of the leader, without thinking of their privileges as citizens and human rights. The author uses "the strategies of condescension," this term used by Bourdieu⁴⁷⁾, which means negating his/her objective hierarchical power symbolically and at the same time actually strengthening his hierarchy. Here Kim Il Sung calls children, kings and treasures of the country, negating his obvious hierarchy symbolism as the great leader, yet the aim of the writer is not to diminish his power, but rather to maximise his power as if he really respected and cared for his citizens. Metaphors are also used as another way of highlighting the leader. Metaphors often structure the way we think, the way we act and our systems of knowledge and

47) Bourdieu, Pierre (2002), Price formation and the anticipation of profits. In Michael, Toolan(Ed.), "Critical discourse analysis", 126-127, New York: Routledge.

belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way.⁴⁸⁾ Here the formation of the metaphor of Kim Il Sung = sun and children = buds gives the message that he can give his citizens the necessities to maintain their happiness as the sun provides sun light to plants.

Next I will look at the lexico-grammatical analysis. There is strong repetition of the word *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung], which is a highly respectable term, repeated 6 times (in the original Korean textbook) to amplify the greatness of Kim Il Sung. The text depicts the students as abstract recipients of welfare, “embraced” and “medalled”, and “with big wings of hope.” Kim Il Sung visits a school and has had photos taken with students, and sent the developed photos to the students in *Kugo* [National language] 1.⁴⁹⁾ He visits schools during the entrance ceremony or at the beginning of year, and poses for photos with students on pages, 108 and 121. North Korean language textbooks depict such things as love and benefits they receive from their leader. Yet the omission of the privileges as kings and treasures for basal readers indicates that they do not have them. Having conducted a survey of those who defected North Korea and came to South Korea, Han Man Kil et al.⁵⁰⁾ discovered that about 50 percent of North Korean students eat three meals a day, and even this food is not nutritious; eating solely boiled potatoes for lunch. They additionally found that 47% of students use textbooks they received from senior students, 32 % received textbooks from the government and 17% purchased textbooks privately from markets. 50% of students have never seen computers at their schools.

Homogenising words like “us” and “our” are used to stress the scope of his love as if all children are cared for by him, but the “us” “our” are exclusive

48) Lee Dong Bae, op.cit., p. 109.

49) Kim Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup (1999), *Kugo [National language] 1, 138-139, Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo.*

50) Han Man Gil, Yoon Jong Hyeog, & Lee Jung Kyu (2001). *Puhankyoyookui hyunshilkwa byunhwa [the reality and change of North Korean education], 109, Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute.*

because only some students received medals, were embraced, posed for photos with him and provided with everything they needed. The grammar of the three sentences in lines 1, 2 and 3 shows that *Daewonsoonim* [Dear Great leader Kim Il Sung] as an actor grants favour ["embraced", "gave", "medalled" and "blesses"] to beneficiary "us". In the latter part when the text depicts the unconditional respect and loyalty of the students and their 'categorical commitment' to the leader, the author uses present tense "rains", "snows", "think", "is" and "blesses," in lines 7 and 10. With excessively high modality "Whether it rains or snows", "whether it is late at night" and "always" in line 7, "even in my dreams" in line 8, "more loyally" and "forever" in line 11, all the consciousness of students always needs to focus on the leader at any cost and at any condition as implied in line 7 even in dreams in line 8.

Line 9 starts with "Ah" which is in the exclamatory form; Kim Il Sung orders students to be faithful children to the General, which refers to Kim Jung Il. Line 9 uses imperative sentences to encourage children to become faithful. Here 'even today' is referring to being continually faithful to Kim Jung Il. This shows the *yoocheon jungchi* discourse, as if respecting and serving Kim Jung Il is the will of Kim Il Sung. Our Sun in *Kugo* [National language] ⁵¹⁾ depicts students who vow to become faithful and loyal to Kim Jung Il who is regarded to be at the exact same standing as Kim Il Sung. This passage emphatically encourages basal readers to show the same loyalty and love to Kim Jung Il. There is heavy ideological imposition on students here. This is banking education. Freire⁵²⁾ explains this strikingly in the following.

51) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Chang Dug, Yoon Geun Hag, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, & Jeon Myoung Bong (2002), *Kugo* [National language] 2, 123-124, Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoseo.

52) Freire, Paulo (1998), "The pedagogy of the oppressed", In Ana Maria Araujo Friere and donaldo Macedo (Eds.), *The Paulo Freire reader* (45-79), 69, New York : Continuum,

The more students work at strong the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them, ...the interests of the oppressors lie in "changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them", for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. To achieve this end, the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients."

Although the citizens are oppressed, they are projected as welfare recipients as if they have received everything they need from their leader. According to Freire,⁵³⁾ the more they receive ideological input, the more they are oppressed. The oppressor deprives students of all critical thinking, and additionally turns the citizens/basal readers into robots negating their human rights. Ideological education and indoctrination is also found in the teacher's guide books published in North Korea. In each lesson, teachers are forced to teach at least one element of the greatness of the leader⁵⁴⁾. According to Freire,⁵⁵⁾ the banking education endeavors to control the thinking and behaviour of students and position them to adjust the oppression, by suppressing their creativity and critical minds and by making students' consciousness "mechanistic and static" and passive "receiving subjects."

After Kim Il Sung's death, North Korea strengthened the ideological education much more using *poolungi sasang* and *yooyoonjunchi* discourses. The following story is quoted from *Kugo* [National language] 2⁵⁶⁾ for Grade two depicts

53) Ibid, p.68.

54) Kim Choon Hwa, Park Eun Hee, Kim Young Shil, Lee Hye Sook, Kim In Hee, Ha Jeong Soon, Han Mee Hwa (2005), *Kugo* [National language] 2 kyosayong [for teachers], Pyongyang: Kyoyookdoso.

55) Freire, op.cit., p. 72

Kangsung daekooknon and *poolungi sasang* vividly.

Respecting the great leader

1. We are happy children who are growing contently in the heart of the warm hearted great Kim Jung Il *Wonsoonim* [great leader].
2. The great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] embraces us in his warm heart saying that children are the precious treasures of the nation.
3. We, are thankful to the gratitude of great *Wonsoonim* [great leader], we bow our heads to him and greet him.
4. Thanks to the great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] Kim Jung Il.
5. The good health of the great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] is our utmost desire.
6. Only when the great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] is healthy, will our country become a better place to live and our hope will blossom.
7. We greet you wholeheartedly wishing that great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] may live a long and healthy life.
8. We sincerely long for the dear Father Kim Jung Il *Wonsoonim* [great leader]'s good health (my translation).

This story depicts the extent of children's gratitude for their leader's protection and love, and their wishes for the leader's health and long life. The *poolungi sasang* (Red flag ideology) stresses the absolute unity of people centring on the *sooryong* (the leader Kim Jung Il) irregardless of what happens to them. This story shows unique reader position portraying "social relation" and "ideal readers" in the following.

- Ideal readers are happy (line 1)
- They are the recipients of Kim Jung Il's protection and love (lines 1 and 2)
- They thank the leader (lines 3-4)
- They wish for Kim Jung Il's good health and a long life (lines 5-8).

The text portrays children as being well cared for by their leader Kim Jung Il, so they should thank him and wish him good health and long life. In order to impose the leader centred ideology, strong repetitions are used: “the great *Wonsoonim* [great leader]” 8 times, “wuri” [we, our, us] 8 times, “health(y)” 4 times, “warm heart(ed)” and “thanks to” 2 times, and “greet” 2 times. Using like “We”, “us” and “our”, the text producer unites his/her basal readers into a single interest group ruling out any dissatisfaction of the leader's control.⁵⁷⁾ The gratitude of text producers to the leader are expressed employing synonyms “hope” and “wishing”, their manners with synonymous expression like “wholeheartedly”, “our utmost desire”, “greet” and “bowed our heads.” Students' decision to show respect and love towards the leader is portrayed in “bowed our heads to him and greet him” in line 3. The gratitude of people to Kim Jung Il is also depicted in lines 1-4.

The expression “in the heart of the warm hearted” in line 1 and “embraces us in his warm heart” implies that Kim Jung Il, like a father, is looking after the citizens as parents do their children. Affective words like “embrace” and “warm heart” are used for this purpose. This is consistent with the *poolungi sasang* [Red flag ideology] discourse, that is; leaders are like parents who give social and political lives to people.⁵⁸⁾ However here there is no detailed description as to why they are happy, what they are provided with, what “the heart of the warmhearted” and “embrace” means, and in what respect the basal readers are

57) Lee Dong Bae, op.cit., p.111.

58) Jeong Woo Gon, loc.cit, p.18.

treasures of North Korea. It can be inferred from other stories in the 4 textbooks. Kim Jung Il visits students' classrooms in *Kugo* [National language] 4,⁵⁹⁾ taking one child and his/her mother to hospital after he found a lady struggling with a sick child in *Kugo* [National language] 1.⁶⁰⁾ He provides a teacher with an airplane so that she/he could arrive at an island to teach, despite the weather being bad in *Kugo* [National language] 2,⁶¹⁾ children say that they received pretty clothes from Kim Jung Il *Kugo* [National language] 1,⁶²⁾ students boast that Kim Jung Il provided them with opportunities to study, by providing school buses, school ferries, school trains and school cars in *Kugo* [National language] 4.⁶³⁾ The story "Visiting hospital" in *Kugo* [National language] 1⁶⁴⁾ depicts Kim Jung Il visiting a dental hospital and one doctor says only kings and presidents in other countries receive dental treatment, then Kim Jung Il says that citizens are the owners of the country, and they should receive the treatment, hence, the story indoctrinates students of the belief that they are given the best care, in similar to top class citizens in other countries, by their leader Kim Jung Il.

The original Korean text "*sesange boorumupshi*" in line 1 states that they have nothing to envy in the world. But the benefits or love such as opportunity to educate, clothes, and hospital cover are from the hardwork of their parents. However the text depicts this situation as if Kim Jung Il gives all to them. These are misrepresentations just for the personality cult of Kim Jung Il. Freire⁶⁵⁾ claims that education of the domination projects people as being abstract and isolated.

59) Lee Kwang Sup, Seo Jae Kil, Kim Sung Ryong, Kim Myoung Hwan, Kim Dong Soon, & Yoon Kyoung Soo, op.cit. pp.4-7

60) Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup, op.cit.,pp.127-128.

61) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Chang Dug, Yoon Geun Hag, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, & Jeon Myoung Bong, op.cit., pp. 84-86.

62) Kim Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup, op.cit.,p.20.

63) Lee Kwang Sup, Seo Jae Kil, Kim Sung Ryong, Kim Myoung Hwan, Kim Dong Soon, & Yoon Kyoung Soo, op.cit., pp.148-149.

64) Kim Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup, op.cit.,pp. 124-125.

65) Freire, op.cit., p.75.

Projecting a one man centered world, readers are isolated completely from the world or from understanding the reality of the society. Even the reader's consciousness is domesticated by isolating it from the world, this is the denial of their true humanity⁶⁶⁾ but the text interpellates such ideology on students. Using "Only when" in line 6 preconditions that making a better place to live is up to Kim Jung Il's health (in line 6). It restricts any other possible worlds from being happy. Students' happiness and possible worlds only exist under Kim Jung Il's umbrella. Using high modal adverbs 'wholeheartedly' in line 7 and 'sincerely' in line 8, the text producer encourages readers to show the great extent of their wishes to their leaders.

Superiority of North Korean systems is depicted in North Korea's imitative in reunification policy towards South Korea in the book.

The following story quoted from *Kugo* [National language] 1⁶⁷⁾.

The kite of reunification rise up

1. Rise up, the kite of reunification
2. Rise up high in the sky
3. Friends in the South all may see, and rejoice and dance seeing it
4. Rise up, the kite of reunification
5. Rise up high in the sky
6. Americans see and run away terrified (my translation).

The story supports the North Korean centred reunification policy. It is in contrast to "A story of balloons" from *Kugo* [National language] 2-1 Reading⁶⁸⁾

66) Freire, op.cit., p.77.

67) Kim Ji Hyun, Kim Chang Dug, & Lee Kwang Sup, op.cit.,pp. 72-73.

68) Kyoyukbu [The Ministry of Education] (1999), *Kugo[National language] 2-1: Reading*, 118-119, Seoul: Daehan Printing & Publishing Company.

which supports a South Korea-centred reunification policy. The above story portrays the idea that the reunification process should be initiated by North Korea. The text uses euphemism in line 3 “Friends in the South all may see, rejoice and dance seeing it,” as if South Koreans all support the reunification policy initiated by North Korea. Two South Korean children are depicted looking at the sky on the North on a pictorial image on page 73. Line 6 depicts the American presence in South Korea as being a barrier to reunification.

For ideological indoctrination the text uses specific lexical grammatical structure. It uses heavy repetition “rise up” four times, ‘see’(in the original Korean text), “kite of reunification”, “high in the sky” twice, and imperative sentences in lines 1,2,4 and 5. The text producer uses physical observational words like “rise up”, “see” and “run away” along with the emotional word “rejoice,” without employing any usage of cognate verbs which could provoke the basal readers to form critical thinking of their political systems. Collocation words “rejoice” and “dance” are used for the welcoming attitude of South Koreans while “see” and “run away” for the Americans' terrified attitude. By employing such lexical and grammatical structure, the story implants in readers the ideological input that North Korea should initiate reunification and liberate South Korea from Americans.

This story is consistent to the propaganda of North Korea, which tries to segregate South Koreans from Americans in order to gain ideological and sentimental support. *Minjog jeiljooi* discourse stresses the importance of the Korean race, and the North often suggests solving the existing problems between the North and the South, in the absence of Americans. However, they exclude South Koreans in the concept of the *minjog* [Korean race]. They only tactically use the term to obtain support from South Koreans. There is binary opposition between line 3 and line 6

- Friends in the South all may see, rejoice and dance seeing it in line 3
- Americans see and run away terrified in line 6

“rejoice and dance seeing it” indicates that South Koreans would welcome the kite

[North Korea centred reunification policy], while Americans would run away fearfully. South Koreans are depicted as friends, whereas Americans are enemies. But the term “friends”, only refers to the citizens, like radical leftists, who agree with the North Korean centred reunification policy. The authors also plant anger towards Americans here, North Korean schools teach that South Korea is like a colony of America. But the text producer omits the explanation of the real barriers of reunification such as worrying about their hegemonic control in North Korea, opposition of military leaders to openness of the door, and isolation policy. Anti-Americanism is also found in the following story “sports day” quoted from *Kugo* [National language] 3⁶⁹) published for Grade three.

Sports day

1. Today is sports day.
2. I went to school early in the morning with my friends.
3. There were so many students crowded in nice sports uniforms on the oval.
4. After the opening ceremony, the sports games started.
5. All the students were divided into two teams, kangcheol [hard steel] and boolkkot [flame].
6. I became a member of kangcheol.
7. Firstly, fourth grade students commenced the game which involved putting up the banner at the historical place of revolution.
8. Our team rooted for our players by beating drums.
9. The boolkkot team also loudly cheered on their players.
10. The second game was to destroy American soldiers. I also participated in this game.

69) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Sung Ryong, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, Yoon Kyoung soo, & Cho Dug Sook, op.cit., pp. 36-38.

11. The gun shot, I ran to them, swiftly, holding a club.
12. The scared American soldier approached me, I struck the head of the disgusting American soldier I really hate.
13. The head of the American soldier was torn off.
14. Our team cheered loudly and they laughed a lot.
15. Our team won this game
16. We really enjoyed our sports day today.
17. On the way home after we finished sports day, I swore to become a min [North Korean]soldier who will protect our dear General Kim Jung Il even if it requires my life (my translation).

This story shows strong anti-American sentiments and loyalty to the leader Kim Jung Il, although it was only a sports day. The text portrays the profound ideological image like “putting up the banner at the historical place of revolution” in line 7. The word revolution refers to communist revolution. There are usually many different types of sports games. Yet by omitting all other sports, and describing only two games, the text producers attempt to instil anti- Americanism sentiment and absolute loyalty to the leader in students' hearts. North Korea has been having significant conflicts regarding nuclear weapon issues with America since early 1990s. Line 17 clearly states that the main character swore to become a faithful soldier who will protect the leader Kim Jung Il at any cost. The use of the pronoun “I” five times positions the readers to identify themselves with the narrator,⁷⁰⁾ so they also will feel an anger and hatred towards Americans. There is binary opposition of the depiction of the main character and American soldiers in the following.

70) Lieu, Yongbing (2005), “The Construction of Pro-Science and Technology Discourse in Chinese Language Textbooks”, *Language and Education*19 (4)313.

Table 1. The binary opposition of the depiction of the main character and American soldiers

Main character	American soldiers
I also participated in this game I ran to them swiftly holding a club I struck the head of the disgusting American soldier I really hate.	In the picture, the two American soldier which have upper bodies including head. The scared American soldier approached me The head of the American soldier was torn off

The words of hostility depicting Americans used here are “disgusting” and “really hate,” in line 12. In the above table 1, the text encourages readers to identify with the main character in the story by depicting the first pronoun “I” in every sentence. Yet, American soldiers are depicted negatively like “scared” in line 12 and “the head of the American soldier was torn off” by one go in line 13 with insulting language *nom* in Korean honorific. As soon as the main character tore off the head of American soldier, students cheered loudly and laughed a lot, consequently removing the American's head led them to win the game. That became their source of great joy in line 16.

However, Macedo⁷¹⁾ argues that by dehumanizing the other people, they dehumanised themselves and if students are constructed in the ideological makeup, their social construction of the other actually become aggressive. Students are portrayed as very aggressive and inhumane, cutting off the heads of American soldiers. Finally the main character using “I” swore to become a faithful soldier for the leader. Being a soldier is different from participating in a sports carnival. Yet the text producer hails readers to become faithful soldiers by using

71) Macedo, Donald P. (2002), “The ideological construction of language and culture”. In Mary Kalantzis, Gella Varnava-Skoura and Bill Cope (Eds.), *Learning for the future: New worlds, new illiteracies, new learning, new people*, 54-55, Altona, Vic.: Common Ground.

sports day settings. Being faithful to the leader is also found in the following organised social life describe this very well, so I chose it from *Kugo* [National language] 27²⁾ published for Grade two.

I will join the boy corps

6 June, Thursday, fine

1. I joined the boy corps, the senior teachers and *inmin* [North Korean] soldiers tied our neckties.
2. I was so happy.
3. I wanted to show myself with my red necktie to my father and mother quickly.
4. So I ran home.
5. As soon as I entered my home, I boasted, " Dad, Mum I have become a member of the boy corps.
6. My father and mother were so happy.
7. My Father said I should work well in the corps.
8. I will do well in the life of boy corps, following the footsteps of *Ahdongdanwon* [resistant boy corps during the Japanese colonial era] who were very faithful to our dear *Daewonsoonnim* [great great leader].
9. I will surely complete and practise the tasks assigned to our group and do many good things.
10. So I will become a member of the true, faithful and loyal boy troops for our great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] (my translation).

The story grammar of this story: A male student (protagonist) → joining the *sonyongdan* [boy corps] (initial event) → senior teachers and *inmin* [North Korean

72) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Chang Dug, Yoon Geun Hag, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, & Jeon Myoung Bong, op.cit., pp. 153-154.

soldiers] tied our neckties (response 1) → parents are happy about my membership of *sonyongdan* [boy corps] and encouraging me to work well (response 2) → My decision to complete all the tasks assigned to me and to do many good things (reaction 1) → My final aim is to become part of the faithful and loyal boy corps for Kim Jung Il (reaction 2). Although the male character initiated action by joining the boy corps, adult characters such as teachers, soldiers and parents encourage him by tying his neckties and giving him advice. In this way the story constructs an 'ideal' child and adult norm to work hard and complete all the tasks assigned to them and a leader centred ideology; to grow into a faithful and loyal boy troop to Kim Jung Il.

The *Kangsung daekooknon* [strong in economy and military] discourse stresses the militarily powerful nation. The name *sonyondan* [boys corp] does not imply that their activities are directly related to military aims. All sentences have at least one "I," and three times in line 5. This encourages readers to share the narrator's point of view and decision.⁷³⁾ Social relations of readers are expected to be members of boy corps. Yet the following expressions show that they are obviously connected to military actions.

- *inmin* [North Korean] soldiers tied our neckties" in line 1
- following the footsteps of *Ahdongdanwon* [resistant boy corps during the Japanese colonial era] who were very faithful to our dear *Daewonsoonnim* [great great leader] in line 8.
- I will become a member of the true, faithful and loyal boy troops for our great *Wonsoonim* [great leader] in line 10.

The term "will" which is used 3 times in line 8 to 10 shows his strong determination to become a loyal soldier for the leader.

73) Lieu, Yongbing, loc.cit.

To encourage boys to join the corps, the text uses favourable words for the boy corps like “so happy” in line 2, “quickly” in line 3, “ran” in line 4, “boasted” in line 5. The main character is depicted as being so happy after he joined the corps as did his parents. He ran home and boasted about his membership. The text depicts parents' role as confirming that his decision was good in lines 5 and 6.

How to become faithful and loyal troops for the leader is not clearly depicted but line 9 implies that each group is allocated to do some given tasks. This implies that after school students are trained militarily in addition to labour work for the society. The expression “many good things” indicates that the students had significant duties to do after school in order to overcome the economic difficulty and ideological re-armorization. For instance, *Kugo* [National language] 374) depicts one boy who successfully blocked the leaking hole of the rice field holes and his story was posted on the school notice board immediately as big news, praising him as a true boy corp, *Kugo* [National language] 475) depicts boy corps looking after/ maintaining the rail way, performing songs for farmers who are planting rice plant. Additionally, *Kugo* [National language] 376) depicts boys corps, numbered around 3 million, as swearing to become commandoes for their leaders and pages 145-146 in the same book depicts students as swearing to become young and faithful revolutionists for the leader Kim Jung Il. North Korean leaders instilled significant amounts of ideological input to protect their regime and vigilance to outsiders like USA and South Korea.

Although many students are forced to work for the society and the country, still there are huge economic problems (food problem) because of their isolation policy. Thus the texts encourage citizens to work hard and they justify the cause

74) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Sung Ryong, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, Yoon Kyoung soo, & Cho Dug Sook, op.cit., pp.101-102.

75) Lee Kwang Sup, Seo Jae Kil, Kim Sung Ryong, Kim Myoung Hwan, Kim Dong Soon, & Yoon Kyoung Soo, op.cit., pp. 140-141, 133-134.

76) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Sung Ryong, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, Yoon Kyoung soo, & Cho Dug Sook, op.cit., p. 148.

of the sufferings of their citizens to their laziness. The following story “A raccoon and a badger” from *Kugo* [National language] 277). The story grammar is: A badger and a raccoon (protagonists) → digging lairs for winter (event) → the badger dug three palm depths faithfully a day and completed, yet the raccoon did not complete it wasting away his time (attempt) → the raccoon was shivering in winter and shedding his tears bitterly (consequences) → people should complete daily duties within the day otherwise they pay the consequences (didactic lesson). There are 36 units depicting morality. The following are the majority: the hardworking among all the other elements is integrated 10 times, which is the most frequent, followed by warnings against greed 5 times, cooperation and self defence 4 times each, love (family, friend), courtesy, and honesty three times. Lee Jung Hwa⁷⁸⁾ analysed fairy tales from grade 1 to 4 North Korean language textbooks published in 1990 and 1996 and argued that 28 out of 33 fairy tales were not ideological, and 8 out of 28 depict hardworking. However there is a certain political reason why North Korean textbooks were included in this study (27.7%) and Lee Jung Hwa's study (28.5%), as both integrate high percentage of hardworking morality in comparison to any other elements. One possible interpretation could be found in their economic difficulties. As a consequence of the isolation and maintenance of *oorishig sahojjooui* [North Korean socialism], the lives of North Koreans has become more tough. Over 2 million North Koreans died because of famine and hunger, food rations were restricted and limited and their living standard deteriorated. But the story contributes the cause of their hunger and sufferings to the laziness of the citizens, rather than criticising the regime's inability and closed door policy.

77) Lee Kwang Sup, Kim Chang Dug, Yoon Geun Hag, Seo Jae Kil, Choi Moon Hee, & Jeon Myoung Bong, op.cit., pp. 23-25.

78) Lee Jung Hwa, (2000), The analysis of the fairy tales in the textbook of North Korean elementary schools: For the restoration of the national identity, 36-37, Seoul: Seoul National University of Education.

Yet the success and happiness of their citizens was depicted as the result of the leader Kim Jung Il. The following story "The phone call from Myoung Hwa" is from *kugo* [National language] 4.⁷⁹⁾ Story grammar of this passage is: Myounghwa (protagonist) → Myounghwa informed of her academic success, her friend Kwangil's success to her mother (event) → she did her best to inform her mother as soon as possible (attempt) → her mother diverted her daughter's success to the great joy of the General [Kim Jung Il]. Kim Choon Hwa et al.⁸⁰⁾ claims that studying hard is a basic responsibility and fundamental revolutionary task for students. Here a female character initially reports to her mother about her success, but her mother redirects her success to the great joy of the leader. Here we see the predominant leader centred ideology.

VI. Conclusion and suggestions

Contemporary North Korean language textbooks construct a particular version of the ideological, social, and political orders. I have shown how contemporary North Korean life-styles are constructed through texts. An ideological blend offering substantive lessons for serving Kim Jung Il more loyally, aspiring for reunification, school life and community life as a member of the boy corps are portrayed. These textbooks close pupils' access to the external reality of the world and imprison them in a shell of Kim Jung Il; this is termed by Lasch 'the culture of narcissism.'⁸¹⁾ In achieving these particular representations, the 'selective

79) Lee Kwang Sup, Seo Jae Kil, Kim Sung Ryong, Kim Myoung Hwan, Kim Dong Soon, & Yoon Kyoung Soo, op.cit., pp. 47-48.

80) Kim Choon Hwa, Park Eun Hee, Kim Young Shil, Lee Hye Sook, Kim In Hee, Ha Jeong Soon, Han Mee Hwa (2005), *Kugo [National language] 2 kyosayong [for teachers]*, 21, Pyongyang: Kyoyookdaseo.

81) Lasch, Christopher (1978), The culture of narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing

traditions' of these textbooks are replete with particular kinds of representations and omissions.

In "We will serve you more loyally", the textbooks portray that the late leader Kim Il Sung still loves and cares for the children providing all things for them. He is depicted as a god-like character who can bless them, while students are portrayed as the subjects, as welfare recipients and as people who need to pay absolute obedience and loyalty to him and his son Kim Jung Il. Yet the textbooks omit what benefits, grace and love they actually receive from the leader. "Respecting the great leader" depicts the extent of children's gratitude to their leader's protection and their love and sincere wishes for their leader's health and long life. The story shows that children's happiness and fulfillment of their dreams are only possible when Kim Jung Il is healthy and lives a long life. In "The kite of reunification rise up", the textbook supports the North Korean government's position for a North Korean-centred reunification policy. It also points out the barriers of reunification as being the American presence in South Korea, yet the text omits the explanation of the real barriers of reunification such as worrying about hegemonic control in North Korea, or the opposition of military leaders to opening the closed door. "Sports day" constructs the strong hatred towards American soldiers and portrays children who give absolute loyalty to the leader Kim Jung Il. The story "I will join the boy corps" depicts a boy who joined the boy corps and decided to become a member of the true, faithful and loyal boy corps for Kim Jung Il. "A raccoon and a badger" stresses the daily hardworking, and additionally ascribes the cause of the hunger and suffering to the laziness of the citizens. Finally "the phone call from Myoung Hwa" depicts the importance of study and studying well and states that it is the way to greatly please their leader Kim Jung Il.

There are many silences and absences in these narratives, North Korean

literacy textbook narratives do not deal with the diverse voices and social realities of new North Korea: the poor, rural people; the crime; social problems like the shortage of food, electricity and basic daily supplies; North Korean defectors in neighbouring countries like China and South Korea; the problems of abduction of South Koreans and Japanese.

In closing I would like to make several suggestions for the improvement of North Korean textbooks. First, the children's genuine and diverse worlds must be integrated into school textbooks and classroom teaching. As this research shows, the children's world is portrayed for the dominant adult perspectives, in particular for Kim Jung Il. The overall cultural representations, themes, and textual information do not represent the children's worlds and interests. Rather, they portray children in a disempowered status, which only exists for the one man (Kim Jung Il)-centered world. This encourages an uncritical acceptance of the leader centred ideological world which encourages internal colonisation of the citizens via pedagogy. Although school curriculum and texts cannot be divorced entirely from the needs of society to educate its youth, they can include children's viewpoints and voices to explore issues surrounding schools, families, and communities. With such curriculum and texts, teachers can go further to examine the problems their students face in their daily lives from critical perspectives.

Second, the shared goal and the general good must be integrated in the textbooks. The represented worlds in the textbooks are one man-centred worlds and are not organised to suit the diverse needs of students. At present, conflicting and opposing worldviews and claims are all excluded. For the safety of their regime, the textbooks indoctrinate students with many political ideologies and myths, yet the textbooks must seek the common benefits of students, parents and local communities genuinely⁸²⁾. Kalantzis, Skoura and Cope⁸³⁾ point out that if

82) Zajda, Joseph (2005), "The educational reform and transformation in Russia". In Joseph Zajda (Ed.), *International Handbook on globalisation, education and policy research*, 422, Dordrecht: Springer.

we really want our children to succeed in the 21 century, textbooks need to encourage students to have 'creativity', 'autonomy', 'great willingness for teamwork and exchange of information', 'flexibility' and 'independent problem solving.' They must be socially relevant, future oriented and stimulating to suit the individual and varying needs of students.

Finally, North Korea often mentions that reunification must be achieved soon. However, if North Korea really wants to prepare for and achieve reunification, they must change textbooks to meet the needs of all Koreans, including Koreans in the Korean peninsula and the overseas diaspora of Koreans, or they need to at least develop textbooks which help students to prepare for the impending reunification and to better understand each other.*

83) Kalantzis Mary, Varnava-Skoura Gella, & Cope Bill (2002), Learning for the future: New worlds, new literacies, new learning, new people, 3, Altona, Vic.: Common Ground.

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<초록>

북한 국어 교재 분석 - 변용된 주체이념을 중심으로

이동배

이 연구는 비평적 담론 분석법을 사용하여 북한 교과서를 분석한 것이다. 첫째, 세계화 시대의 교육의 흐름을 설명한 뒤에 지금 북한이 당면한 문제와 북한 사회를 지배하는 대표적인 담론을 언급한 후에 북한 교육의 변화를 설명한다. 그 다음에 이 연구는 4권의 북한 국어 교과서를 분석하여 그 속에 나타난 대표적인 내용은 지도자인 김정일, 김일성의 탁월성, 반외세, 도덕성, 학교생활 및 조직생활에 대한 것이었다. 본고에서는 대표적으로 나타난 7과를 선별하여 그 속에 나타난 텍스트 자체를 분석한다. 그 분석 결과는 지도자는 존경과 충성을 바쳐야 할 신적인 존재로 묘사되고 있으며 아동들의 행복은 지도자의 건강에 달려있다고 하며 통일 문제에 있어서는 한반도에 있는 미군의 존재를 몰아내고 북한 중심의 통일을 묘사하고 있다. 또한 아동들은 미군에 대한 강한 적개심을 가지고 있고 학교나 소년단이라는 김정일에 감사하고 그 조직생활 속에서 김정일에 충성을 다하고 결사 보위할 것을 다짐하는 것으로 묘사되어 있다. 그리고 도덕성 중에는 열심히 일할 것을 많이 강조하고 있다. 전체적으로 분석한 교과서는 학생들로 하여금 진정한 외부 세계를 알지 못하도록 차단하고 한 사람 지도자의 세계아래에 아동들의 세계를 제한시키고 있다는 것이다. 그리고 다양한 계층의 목소리나 경제적인 어려움 등 진정으로 북한이 당면한 모습들은 많이 생략되어 있다. 마지막으로 세계에서 세계화 시대에 북한이 개선해야 할 내용에 대해 언급하고 있다.

【핵심어】 비평적 담론 분석, 북한의 지배 담론, 교과서 텍스트 분석, 아동의 세계, 지배 이념, 이상화

<Abstract>

Analysis of North Korean Language Textbooks

Lee, Dong-bae

This paper is the analysis of North Korean language textbooks using critical discourse analysis(CDA). Firstly, it describes the context of the global era in North Korea centring on dominant discourses, including educational change. This research, analysing 4 North Korean language textbooks, focuses on the complex ideological mix represented in textbooks around the issues of the superiority of leaders (the two Kims), reunification, anti-Americanism, morality, school life and organised social life. Choosing 7 units from the textbooks, this paper analyses the texts themselves using CDA.

The two leaders are depicted as god-like characters that deserve respect and honour from the citizens. The textbooks portray that the happiness of children are dependent on the good health of their leader. Regarding the issue of reunification, the text supports the North Korea-centred reunification policy, driving out the American presence in the Korean peninsula. Students are depicted as having strong hatred towards American soldiers and as being happy to become part of the faithful and loyal boy corps for Kim Jun Il. They are also encouraged to work hard. Overall the study reveals that the textbooks close the students' access to the real external world and construct children under the one man (Kim Jung Il)'s world. The diverse voices, conflicting views and real social images are all omitted. Suggestions on how to improve these textbooks are outlined in the conclusion.

[Key words] Text analysis in textbooks, critical discourse analysis, ruling discourses/ ideology in North Korea, children's (possible) worlds, personality cult

【토론문】

‘북한 교재 분석-변형된 주체이즘을 중심으로’에 대한 토론

김양희(서울대 국어교육연구소)

이 논문은 기업화·정보 기술 중심으로 변화하고 있는 세계화 추세에 북한이 어떻게 대처하고 있는지를 교육 내용을 통해 알아보려는 목적을 지니고 있습니다. 그렇기 때문에 북한의 국어교육의 내적 구조에 대한 분석 보다는 교과서의 외적 맥락, 즉, 집필자의 이데올로기가 텍스트에 적용된 양상을 단어, 문장 층위의 꼼꼼한 분석을 통해 드러내는 데에 집중되어 있습니다. 단어, 문장 층위에서 이루어진 분석은 흥미롭고 북한교과서를 분석하는 데에 있어서 유효한 방법론이라고 생각합니다. 이러한 논문의 특성을 인정하는 가운데 몇 가지 의문점/이견을 여쭙고자 합니다.

0.

북한의 국어 교육을 이해하기 위해서는 남한과는 변별되는 북한 교육의 특수성을 인정하는 과정이 필요하다고 하겠다. 북한의 국어교육은 공산주의 혁명 인재 양성이라는 학교 교육의 목적 아래 존재하며 이러한 전제에 따라, 국어 교육관과 교수법, 교육 정책, 교과 내용 등이 결정된다. 이런 맥락에서 북한 국어 과목은 체제 유지를 위한 사상 교육 내지 공산주의적 인간형을 위한 도구적 성격이 두드러진다. 그런 의미에서 북한의 국어교육은 정치적 구조(토대)를 반영하는 것으로서의 소극적 역할을 넘어 역으로 교육이 정치적 구조를 강화하는 데 능동적으로 기여하는 특성을 보여준다고 할 수 있다. 이런 특수성을 외부자적 시선으로 본다면, 북한교육은 ‘김일성 중심의 지배 이념을 무비판적으로 받아들여 교육을 통한 내부 식민화를 조장하는 것’이라는 다소 결정론적인 입장을 넘어설 수가 없다. 이러한 입장에 전적으로 이견을 지닌 것은 아니지만, 그럼에도 불구하고 북한의 국어교육의 미세한(?) 변화를 살펴

보기 위해서는 북한 교육의 내적 원리에 기초하여 해석하는 시각이 필요하다고 생각한다. 이러한 입장에서 두 가지 질문을 던지고자 한다.

1. 연구의 대상으로 삼은 텍스트의 적합성

연구자는 교재의 주제에 따라 7개로 나누어 각 특징들을 대표하는 5개 과를 선정하여 분석했다고 밝히고 있다. 그런데 5개과는 '김일성과 김정일에 대한 충성심을 묘사하고 그들의 사랑과 은혜를 기리는 내용', '북한 사회 정치 제도의 우월성', '반외세' 등의 정치적 이념성을 담은 주제를 중심으로 하여 선정된 것처럼 보인다. 즉, 특정한 결과를 도출하기 위해 선정된 텍스트라는 의문을 가질 수가 있다. 그런데 만일, 이 외의 주제를 담은 텍스트를 분석한다면 어떤 결론이 나올까? 앞서 전제한 바와 같이, 북한 교육의 특수성-사회 정치적, 이념적, 문화적인 액션들이 공인되는 과정으로서의-을 고려한다면, 오히려 비교적 비정치적인 주제를 담은 텍스트 속에 숨겨진 의미를 밝혀내는 것이 더욱 의미 있지 않을까 싶다. 가령, 북한의 교재는 순수한 언어지식을 담은 과에서조차도 그 언어지식이 김일성 혹은 김정일의 교시를 통해 전달되며, 이를 잘 습득하는 것은 김일성, 김정일에게 충성하는 일이라는 교묘한 의미를 내재하고 있다. 이러한 의식적, 무의식적 차원에서 실행되는 담화를 critical discourse analysis의 방법론으로 분석한다면 더욱 흥미로운 결과가 도출되지 않을까 생각한다.

2.

이 논문에서 대상으로 하는 제재는 거의 수령형상과 관련이 있다. 수령형상은 해방 후부터 현재까지 전 시기를 관통하는 본질적인 인물형상으로서 주체문예이론→주체문학론으로 계승 발전한 북한식 문학론에 핵심 개념이라고 할 수 있다. 이러한 수령형상의 문제는 김일성 사후에 더욱 강조된 것이 아니며, 김일성과 김정일로의 계승되는 소위 '수령의 계승자로서의 수령형상'의 문제는 김일성 사후 이전인 1970년대 중반부터 불멸의 총서시리즈로 제작되게 된다. 단지 1996년 이후 개편된 교재에 전면적으로 등장했을 뿐이다. 내 생

각으로는 북한의 수령은 이른바, '정신'의 영역으로 승격된 것 같다. 매우 거칠게 말하자면, 수령은 정신적 영역이므로 '김일성'의 몸에서 '김정일'의 몸으로 계승되었다는 식이다. 문제는 이러한 정신의 계승(이동?)에 있어서 내적 필연성을 획득하는 것이고 이것이 김정일의 형상화문제로 이어지는 것 같다. 이러한 북한 문학론의 역사를 참고한다면, 이 논문에서 제시하는 '유훈정치'의 실현으로서의 김정일의 수령형상계승의 문제나, 수령-인민(이동)의 관계에 대해 보다 심층적인 양상, 혹은 의미를 찾을 수 있을 것이다. 부연하자면, '의식적으로 기계적이고 수동적으로 만듦으로써 학생들의 사고와 행동양식을 통제하고 억압에 순응하도록 가르치는' 내적 논리, 즉, 수령이 '왜' 존경받아야 하며, 우리는 '어떤 자세로' 충성해야 하는가를 '설득'하는 것이 북한 교과서의 내용이라면, '왜'와 '어떻게'의 다양한 모습을 밝혀내는 것 역시 동반되어야 할 것이다.

3.

한울님, 백두광명성 등과 같은 동학의 개념이 북한의 수령형상에 적용되고 있다면 단지 이름을 빌리는 것인가, 아니면 보다 본질적인 여러 충위-가령, 통치 이데올로기, 북한국어교과서의 내용적 측면 등에도 적용되는 것인가? 적용된다면 어떻게 나타나는가?

4.

연구자는 인민학교 국어 교육의 비중이 29%에서 31.6%로 증가한 이유를, 언어가 사회주의 혁명을 수행하는 중요한 무기로 보기 때문이라고 해석한다. 그러나, 이러한 견해는 전시대까지 아우르자면 설득력이 떨어진다. 북한의 국어 교육의 비중은 인민학교의 경우 47.6%(1960년)→31.6%(1983년)→33.1%(1986)→29%(1992)→31.6%(1996)로 축소되었으며 고등중학교의 경우 20.7%(1960년)→11.6%(1983년)으로 축소되었다. 물론 92년에 비해 96년은 증가되었지만 전시대와 비교하자면 축소추세를 보인다. 이 인제(1996)는 국어 과목의 시수비율이 약화된 이유를 1980년대 들어 북한

이 강조한 문화어 교육의 개선 방향의 많은 부분이 교과목을 신설하는 방향 (공산주의 도덕, 김일성·김정일 관련 과목)으로 수정된 것으로 해석한다. 즉, 국어 교과가 담당하는 정치사상 교육을 보다 직접적으로 담당할 수 있는 다른 교과목을 신설하기 위하여 국어 과목의 배당시수를 축소한 것으로 보는 것이 타당하다는 것이다

5.

1996년 이전의 교과서와 비교하자면, 개편 이후의 교과서는 몇 가지 변화(내용, 형식체계면)가 나타난다. 위의 담화 분석에 비추어 이전 교과서와 비교하여 달라진 점이 있다면 무엇인가?

6.

붉은기사상은 무엇인가? 또한 변형된 주체사상(제목)이라고 했는데 그 의미는?