



Universiteit Leiden

Japanese and Dutch language policies in Korea  
and Indonesia, 1910–1945

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Master Thesis Asian studies, Politics Society and

Economics of Asia

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Date of submission: 30-06-2017

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## Preface

Before you lies the thesis “Japanese and Dutch language policies in Korea and Indonesia, 1910–1945”. It has been written to fulfill the graduation requirements of the Politics Society and Economics program at the University of Leiden for the master in Asian Studies. I was engaged in researching and writing this thesis from January to June 2017.

To my friends and those close to me, I benefitted tremendously by your help and critiques. A special note to my parents who kept me motivated during the whole period: If I ever lost interest, you kept me on the right track.

Jelle Offinga

Bunschoten-Spakenburg, June 30, 2017

## Abstract

This study aims to answer the question regarding what language policies of Japan and the Netherlands were used in Korea and Indonesia in the period from 1910 to 1945. In brief, I researched the differences between the Netherlands and Japan. The political attitude towards the two different colonies might have been the biggest difference between the two colonisers. Therefore, I gave this subject the most attention during the writing of this thesis. I was curious about the different political policies that the Netherlands and Japan had regarding their language implementation in the colony. This thesis is a literature study that focuses on the available material of the two colonizers and their respective colonies.

In brief, this thesis shows that Japan had a more direct and aggressive approach to colonization compared to the Netherlands. While the Netherlands mainly focused on becoming as rich as possible from the trade, the Japanese wanted to completely assimilate Korea. Several interesting differences were noticeable; one of those was Japan's assimilation policy, which resulted in the uniform Kokuga language/culture. Conversely, the Dutch did not try their utmost to make Dutch the uniform language in Indonesia. Furthermore, the Japanese forbid the use of other languages apart from Japanese whereas the Dutch accepted the use of Malay, Portuguese and many other languages.

## Introduction

*“If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart.”*

- Nelson Mandela<sup>1</sup>

In this thesis, I will describe the language policies of Japan and the Netherlands in Korea and Indonesia in the period from 1910 to 1945. I will address the language policies of both colonisers and whether they differed from each other or not.

Language, and the origins of language, has always been a long-discussed subject. Where do the difference in languages originate? According to the several written myths, the world first communicated in one language. Eventually this changed due to interference of a higher power. In the Bible, the story of Babel is told in which mankind tried to build a tower that would reach heaven. In Genesis 11:4-9, it is written that before the Tower of Babel, everyone had one language and a common speech. The Lord said: “Let us go down there and confuse their language, that they may not understand one another’s speech.” From there on, the Lord scattered them all over the face of the earth.

Different parallel stories have been present in today’s narrative for centuries. On the island of Hao, people used to tell a story about the sons of Rata who survived a flood and tried to construct a building which would reach the sky. God got angry, chased the builders away and changed their language. In Africa, Bantu people believe that the earth only knew one language in the beginning, but during a severe famine this changed. The people started to wander in different directions while speaking strange words, spreading language. In Hinduism, it is believed that Brahma was jealous of the knowledge tree and cut off its branches. When its branches hit the ground,

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<sup>1</sup> Mandela learned Afrikaans during his imprisonment to communicate with the white wardens

they sprang up as Wata trees and made differences in belief and speech (Doane 36).

Scientifically speaking, most children are able to speak and communicate at the age of 4 (Dunbar 1). Around the age of 6 or 7, most children who receive schooling are able to write and express their thoughts in writing. This unique ability separates humans from animals: It has been proven that language does evolve, but only humans are able to communicate through language as we know it. Animals do not have this distinctive trait and are only able to communicate on a very basic level (Dunbar 1).

Historically, language was used as a communication tool between groups that lived close to each other. There was no need to learn a different language because no one was aware of the existence of different languages. When travels began, internationalization and, more importantly, the discovery of the world, made language increasingly important. During the colonization period, from 1594 up until around 1945, the influence of language might have been the biggest in human history. When mostly European countries started to discover and conquer the world, one huge difference became increasingly noticeable – culture, norms and values differed between the newly discovered countries, but more importantly, the language in which they communicated was different. Therefore, the colonizer could not communicate with the colonized. From this point onwards, several attempts were made to try to learn each other's language so one could understand the other. This, in turn, provided opportunities for trade and so on. Furthermore, in understanding each other, a mutual connection is built.

Ever since the Tower of Babel and other, similar stories that are present in today's narratives, countries and or groups/areas have tried to force their language upon others. History has shown us that people like to force their language upon other groups. This was particularly noticeable during the colonization period that began at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Two nations involved in this colonization – the Netherlands and Japan – had language policies which they used to try to completely dominate and educate other countries - such as Indonesia and Japan. During the colonization period, they tried to force their language upon their colony. Although the Netherlands and

Japan did not start their language policies at the same time, there was a moment of overlap between the two countries. From 1910 up until 1945, they both had a colony in which they incorporated their own language policies to educate the locals.

This is the main idea behind this thesis: What language policies did the colonizers use in order to communicate with and educate the locals so that everyone could understand each other more properly and help establish relationships? This study will highlight the different language policies that were used by the colonizers from the Netherlands and Japan in the Dutch East Indies and Korea from 1910 to 1945. It will examine how language policies were used in order to teach a huge group of people a foreign language.

This was the period when Japan colonized Korea and the Netherlands changed its policies which resulted in the ethical period, which started in 1894 and which will be described later on. Scholars such as Groeneboer (1993), Errington (2008), Sneddon (2003), and Hattori (2008) wrote about the language policies in one of the colonies. However, there seems to be no comparison made between the Netherlands and Japan. Furthermore, this paper will compare the two colonizers and determine whether there were any differences or similarities in policies and, if so, what they were and what they resulted in.

This thesis will consist of four parts. In chapter one, an explanation about the different forms of colonization will be given, including why this is important for the remainder of the thesis. In chapter two, the Dutch language policies will be described, which will be followed by the Japanese policies in chapter three. In chapter four, the major findings will be evaluated while comparing the outcomes of chapter two and three with each other.

## Chapter 1 – Colonization

*“Because colonization is the extension of the mother country, the history which the colonist writes is not that of the despoiled country, but the history of his own nation.”*

- *Frantz Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth, 1961*

Colonization has shaped the world in several ways. It has influenced current situations – such as trade agreements and so on – in the world. Generally speaking, the aim of European imperialism and colonialism was meant to expand in such a way that colonies would grow economically. There were several forms of colonization: exploitation, settlement and maritime. The latter will not be discussed since neither the Dutch nor the Japanese had maritime colonies. Examples of maritime colonies are Singapore and Hong Kong, which eventually flourished thanks to this form of colonization.

Different colonizers used different policies in their respective colonies to introduce their native languages. This chapter will not look at the reasons behind colonization. This chapter will merely focus on the different forms of colonization that are of importance for further research in this study.

The colonization period played a role in languages all over the world. Examples are the English language, which is spoken in India; the Dutch language, which is spoken in Surinam; or the French language, which is spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. When colonizers arrived in the colonies, they had several plans, depending on their methods of colonization, which will be discussed in the following subchapters.

During the colonial period, the colonizers became aware of the differences between the colonizer and the colonized. One of those major differences was the language each spoke. It became clear that this gap in language needed to be bridged in order to come closer to each other. Even simple communication or instructions were difficult to comprehend due to the language barrier. It should not come as a surprise that these differences in language needed to be changed. History shows us that several attempts were made in order to come to an understanding of language (Errington 1-4).



The countries that engaged in expansion and colonization, which started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, made use of two different forms of colonization - exploitation or settlement colonization. One of the reasons the colonizers did not settle in specific areas was because the conditions were inhospitable.

## Chapter 1.1 Settler colonization

One of the two different forms of colonization that will be discussed in this chapter is settler colonization. Settler colonization is a form of colonization in which citizens from a foreign country move into a new country that has been colonized. The inhabitants of the colonizer use this newly conquered country to start building a life. Countries such as Australia, the USA, Canada and New Zealand were colonized according to this principle.

The above-mentioned countries were all colonized by the British Empire, and the language that is spoken in those countries is English. During the settler colonization period, the colonizer insisted that the countries' home rules were used in the colony. As mentioned previously, the reason for educating the colonized in the colonizer's language was because simple rules needed to be understood. This was described as 'command of colonial languages' (Errington 3).

In settler colonization, the colonizers used different forms of regulation compared to exploitation colonization, which will be described in the following paragraph. The areas in which settler colonization was emphasized were institutions and regulations. These institutions and regulations focused on making the colony as habitable as possible for the people from the colonizing country. This meant that these institutions and regulations needed to be in line with the ones in the 'home' country (Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson 1370). Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) researched the settler mortality rate and discovered that if this number was too high, it would influence the commitment to settle in that place. Hence, there was settlement of people in countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, and others who spoke the language of the colonizing country. Decisive factors for settling in the other countries were the economic opportunities the newly conquered

country offered (MacQueen 20).

According to Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001), the institutions that were built upon arrival heralded the beginning of language policies. Groeneboer (1993) and Brugmans (1938) describe the importance of schooling after arrival in the Dutch Indies. At the same time, history has shown the importance of language for the colonies.

These factors contribute to the use of the same language in the colonizing country. By using the same set of rules and regulations, it is apparent that language would follow easily. For those reasons, settlement colonization would contribute to the distribution of language in that colonized country/area. This will be further discussed with the Netherlands' and Japan's exact policies in chapters two and three.

Interestingly, Veracini (2013) raised this point by stating that colonization and settler colonization could be compared to viruses or bacteria (Veracini 618). When studying the history and the white man's burden, it could be stated that Veracini's metaphor is correct. Settler colonization was not necessarily something good. Veracini's first argument is that colonization could be compared to viruses since they both wiped out entire populations (Veracini 618). While this might be true, there is a counter argument. Not all populations were wiped out by colonization; some of the settler colonization areas focused on successfully making a living. An equally significant aspect of settler colonization is the eventual influence it had on the development of that area/country. Countries that were colonized under this form are today much more progressive regarding their economic development compared to those that were conquered under the exploitation rule.

## Chapter 1.2 Exploitation colonization

The central theme in this subchapter is exploitation colonization. Exploitation colonization is slightly different compared to settler colonization in several fields. Although both share some similarities, there are some striking differences which will be described in this part of the thesis.

Traditionally, exploitation colonization was a way of controlling a country by controlling the elite and dominating the common people. As a result, colonizers were able to control the whole country and use it for their own benefit. In fact, colonizers who resolved to partake in exploitation colonization did not want or intend to settle in the newly conquered country themselves. This was likely largely due to several logical reasons. Most of the time, the land they conquered was too inhospitable for settlement as Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) described. One other indicator was the settler mortality rate, where the colonizer noted the number of settlers who died or were killed in the new area as part of the colonization. If this number were too high, they would not settle in that area; instead, they would only use it for exploitation.

The sole purpose of exploitation colonization was to exploit the natural and human resources the colonized country had to offer. Emerson and Fieldhouse (1968) state that one of the strategies the colonizer used was to get rid of the leaders of the colonized country and select leaders who were considered allies with the colonized. A different strategy that was implemented was to promote a middle class of indigenous civil servants through formal education (Emerson and Fieldhouse 9). Basically, this meant that the colonizers wanted to decrease the power of the colonized and make them subject to the rules of the colonizer. Another essential point in exploitation colonization is the fact that the countries that imposed such a system did not see any did not see any favourable results/response to this.

In addition, the countries that were exploited did have one thing in common; they did not accept the foreign leaders as their rulers, and many uprisings followed.

An example of this is the case of the Congo during the reign of King Leopold. Leopold was a harsh man who only had an eye for profit and personal gain. It was not until later – with the critique of others – that the power transferred from King Leopold to Belgium (Khapoya 115). As explained by MacQueen (2008) several colonizers – such as Portugal – did not settle in certain colonies because they were simply not able to do so; they lacked the capabilities to use settler colonization (MacQueen 5).

MacQueen (2008) begins by noting that Spanish, French, Portuguese, and English are the Lingua Franca in most of the colonized countries. The Portuguese language is even considered to be a gift towards the colonized countries (MacQueen 157-161). Errington (2001) agreed that language played a major role in exploitation and settler colonization. Different techniques were used, but both focused on language. He states that different countries used different names for language policies (French - Vehicular Language, German - Language of unity, and English - Language of wider communications), and that all were used to create the hierarchy that was needed to master the colonies. This was seen as education in which the colonized were taught the language and systems of the colonizer (Errington 124). MacQueen (2008) demonstrates that language was a binding factor for the colonizer and the colonized. She claims that language was the reason behind the Commonwealth and CPLP<sup>2</sup> (MacQueen (161). However, she identifies the importance of language and also mentions the significant role the Commonwealth played in postcolonial diplomacy (MacQueen 162).

To conclude, exploitation colonization did not use the same structure and the same systems that settler colonization used. Language was important due to several factors. First, communication/language was needed to educate the colonized in the idea of exploitation. Secondly, language was needed to master the colonized, to show that the colonizers dominated. Finally, the language that was taught created a form of mutual understanding.

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<sup>2</sup> Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (The Community of Portuguese Language Countries) is an intergovernmental organization of nations across four continents where Portuguese is an official language; mostly of former colonies of the Portuguese Empire.

## Chapter 2 – The Dutch in the Dutch East Indies

*“I hate imperialism. I detest colonialism. And I fear the consequences of their last bitter struggle for life. We are determined, that our nation, and the world as a whole, shall not be the play thing of one small corner of the world.”*

- Sukarno 1956, during United Nations speech

This chapter will focus on the different language policies that existed in the Dutch East Indies. Although the period from 1910-1945 is the main focus, I feel it is necessary to discuss the history of the language policies throughout the whole colonization period because it set a starting point for the ethical period. Therefore, the colonization period that led up to the ethical period, which started around 1900, will be briefly discussed.

When the Dutch came to the Indonesian archipelago, they brought with them a whole new culture, new ideas, and new rules. The Dutch language was introduced. At first, the Dutch did not have much of an influence in the overall policies. Over time, however, the Dutch did try to change their policies in such a way that their language would play a more significant role in daily life. Groeneboer (1993) and Brugmans (1938) argue that the Dutch did not try hard enough to educate the inhabitants in the Dutch language. To illustrate, Dutch never became a prominent language in Indonesia while Malay did become important.

Groeneboer (1993) confirmed that Brugmans (1938) was indeed right in identifying that the lack of a structured language policy was the major problem in the non-acceptance of the Dutch language in Indonesia. Complementary to this, Errington (2008) claims that the Dutch had several other problems that caused them to be unable to educate the colonized in their language.

The Dutch war with Spain (1585-1604) marked the beginning of an era that would later be described as the Golden Age for the Netherlands. Portugal had to take sides between the Netherlands and Spain and because of the geographical location, it was forced to team up with Spain. In the past, the

Portuguese had sole control over Indonesia and the control over spices. The Dutch were fine with this since they still made a significant profit by selling the spices to the rest of Europe. However, the war changed all of this. The Spanish occupation of Portugal (1580-1640) had a direct impact on trade for the Netherlands since trade was impossible. As a result of this war, the Dutch started to explore different ideas and routes to Indonesia so they could trade on their own. These factors contributed to the downfall of the Portuguese dominance in the spice trade industry while it marked the beginning of Dutch dominance.

Thus, new policies needed to be formulated, one of which was the language policies. In the next section, the development of language policies in Indonesia is discussed.

## Chapter 2.1 History of language policies in the Dutch East Indies

### Chapter 2.1.1 The VOC

The key aspect discussed in the previous section showed how the language policies led to the eventual policies that were present in the Dutch East Indies from 1910 until 1945. Upon the Dutch arrival in the Indonesian archipelago, it became clear that the major languages spoken were Malay and Portuguese (Groeneboer 1993, 20). After the Dutch arrived, the Dutch language made its entrance. However, during the whole colonization period, it never became the *Lingua Franca*. The Dutch East Indian Company's language policy largely focused on the main language in churches and schools. However, these policies could not battle with the Portuguese language (Groeneboer 1993, 28). In addition, Brugmans (1938) stated that the Dutch language could never grow due to several privileges and limits that were given to the Indonesian people (Brugmans 36). An illustration of such an example is that people could express themselves in several languages; however, not in Dutch (Brugmans 38). Despite this, the Dutch tried to teach and educate the Indonesians in their language. One of their major mistakes was not allowing the Indonesian people to speak in broken tongue. Only those

who were fluent in the Dutch language could converse with someone of rank (Brugmans 38).

During the colonization period, it became more important to educate the inhabitants of Indonesia, so several schools were formed. Over time, schools were founded on the different isles of Indonesia. The first school was founded on the Moluccas in 1607, followed by Batavia, Formosa, and Ceylon (Groeneboer 1993, 32). The first schools that were founded focused primarily on the education of Christianity. The problem was not directly the language nor the purpose of education on the schools; it was the inability to create enthusiasm for the Dutch language (Groeneboer 1993, 35). Even more interesting is the fact that the first minister who came to the Island of Ambon decided to speak the Malay language since the Dutch language was too difficult to learn – even harder than Latin (Groeneboer 1993, 35).

Similarly, Groeneboer (1998) stated that the Dutch never chose to use the Dutch language as the *Lingua Franca* (Groeneboer 1998, 6). Groeneboer (1993) pointed out that the Dutch did not want to follow language policy like the British did in India (Groeneboer 1993, 165). They argued that the distribution of Western knowledge in the archipelago could send the colony into danger. Groeneboer (1998) goes on to state that eventually, the Dutch accepted the fact that it would be advisable that the upper class of Indonesians would learn Dutch (Groeneboer 1998, 6). The result was that the Dutch never pushed their language on the Indonesians. It was because of this, and their own rules, that Dutch never became a completely accepted language. These factors contributed to the rise of Malay in Indonesia, and as a result of the national movement in 1928, Malay was chosen as the *Lingua Franca* in the newly founded Indonesia (Groeneboer 1998, 8).

Groeneboer (1993) found that the Dutch language already had huge problems upon arrival in Indonesia in the 17th century. He demonstrates that Portuguese was the *Lingua Franca* at that time and even the language in which the Dutch and different people communicated (Groeneboer 1993, 29). The evidence suggests that although the Dutch tried to educate the Indonesians in the Dutch language, few efforts were made to actually teach them correct Dutch. As a result, few schools implemented the Dutch language

completely. Next to Dutch, the Malay and Portuguese languages were being taught. The Dutch language seems to be disappearing more and more from Indonesia.

Another essential point that should be addressed is the idea behind the Dutch language policy. Groeneboer (1993) mentioned that in the beginning, the Dutch focused mainly on religion and the distribution of religion (Groeneboer 1993, 88). However, Groeneboer (1993) stated that after a while, the focus shifted from religion to other ideas (Groeneboer 1993, 88). It became evident that the locals who learned Dutch could be useful for further purposes. Groeneboer (1993) highlights the perception of the Dutch people in Indonesia who recognized the importance of the Dutch language. In the middle of the 18th century, it became clear that the Dutch language could be used for other purposes apart from religion. He pointed out that the Dutch language was important to the future existence of the Dutch East Indies Company. Everyone who worked with or for the company should be able to learn the language (Groeneboer 1993, 88). Equally important was the idea that the Dutch culture could disappear in Indonesia. In the 17th century, the fear was already present that the Dutch language could disappear. A century later, this fear was directed once more to the area's leaders (Groeneboer 1993, 89).

The majority of the non-European families used Malay as the language in which they conversed (Brugmans 96). Similarly, van den Berg (2000) researched languages in Indonesia by using material from Brugmans (1938) and mentioned that Malay was the main language used most often throughout the whole of Indonesia (van den Berg 15). The Dutch East Indies Company's main focus was trade; initially, there was not much emphasis on language. The realization that the Dutch language could provide benefits in the future would only become clear later, when the company ceased to exist.

The Dutch government changed its policies after the bankruptcy of the company in 1796. The VOC did not have the power over Indonesia from that time onwards; it was transferred to the Dutch government. When the company was unable to deliver the required results regarding the language



policies, it became clear that a different path was needed. This path will be discussed in chapter 2.1.2.

It has been shown that the Dutch never used their position in such a way during the VOC period to make their language become dominant. The Dutch only used their language in a superficial way and did not try to force it upon the locals. Later on, when it was too late, the Dutch realized that their language could be used for the survival of the company and for projects. They realized that the Dutch language should have had a more dominant role in history. While their main focus was on the language distribution religion-wise, the Lingua Franca was Malay and Portuguese. Although the Dutch eventually realized that their language was useful for other purposes, they likely assumed that it was too late to turn things around. As Groeneboer (1993) phrased it, 'the language policy of the VOC was a total failure' (Groeneboer 1993, 89-90).

#### Chapter 2.1.2 Dutch in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

When the Dutch East Indies Company went bankrupt in the beginning of the 19th century, the language policies were almost non-existent as well. In Indonesia, most schools had closed; only a few were operational (Groeneboer 1993, 97). In the years after the bankruptcy of the company, it was difficult to have and maintain language policies. This had to do with the tensions in Europe itself. From 1800 until 1811, Indonesia was under the control of France, England and the Netherlands, and during this period, the language policies languished (Groeneboer 1993, 98).

If language was taught, it was not under the supervision of the government; rather, it was taught privately and without the interference of the government. When the British gained full control over Indonesia, the Dutch language policies disappeared completely and the English took over. However, the British did not do anything regarding their own language policies in Indonesia while they were in control. Schools were founded, but they were only accessible by Europeans or children of European parents. The schools were not open to the locals (Groeneboer 1993, 105). In the following

years, it became evident that the Dutch did not have the kind of control over language as they had before.

The Lingua Franca changed to Malay, even in the higher positions that previously were only filled by Dutch speakers, Malay was accepted as well. (Groeneboer 1993, 106). At the end of the 19th century, the majority of Indonesia spoke either Malay, Javanese, or a different local language. Dutch seems to have been forgotten as a language and did not have the influence it had previously (Groeneboer 1993, 152). As Groeneboer (1993) concludes, the Dutch did not have any influence in the 19th century over language politics. The schools that were founded only focused on the Europeans; the locals were completely forgotten (Groeneboer 1993, 154).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was actually a bit forgotten regarding the language policies the Dutch had in Indonesia. They did not have the power or the influence to create the policies like they did in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As is discussed in chapter 2.1.3, the Dutch gained more control over the country and tried their best to influence the citizens in such a way that the language could be accepted once more. The 19<sup>th</sup> century could be addressed as lost century since there were no major developments regarding language policies as there were before and after.

#### Chapter 2.1.3 Dutch in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The central theme in this chapter is the language policy from 1910 to 1945 in the Dutch Indies. A few years earlier, there had been a major shift regarding the views on Dutch policies. More changed during this period than in the periods prior to this one. The Dutch realized that they wanted to improve in Indonesia. According to Groeneboer (1993), this was the ethical course, as he mentioned in his book (Groeneboer 1993, 237). The policies changed, and therefore the eventual course had been set.

With the help of Van Heutsz, the governor general, a focus on language policies started in Indonesia. It became more intensive and more Western oriented. Brugmans (1938) pointed out that the language policies the Dutch had completely changed (Brugmans 290). An illustration of this change was the acceptance of all students into Dutch schools. In the past, only Dutch

students were accepted, and those who were able to communicate in a proper way were accepted into higher-level schools (Brugmans 290). Education needed to be the cornerstone of civilization and the new politics.

Positive sounds reached the whole of the island and many other schools were involved in the new ethical politics. This ethical focus received a lot of support from the Dutch side (Brugmans 290). However, the Dutch seemed to struggle with the locals regarding the language and their policies. No one felt the obligation to learn the Dutch language as almost everyone communicated in Malay or Portuguese.

While Brugmans (1938) did not note where the idea of ethical politics originated, Groeneboer (1993) mentioned an article named 'Een eereschuld – A Debt of Honour' which was written by Conrad Th. Van Deventer in 1899 as a catalyst for the newly set course (Groeneboer 1993, 237). In the 'troonrede – Kings Speech' the following year, it was mentioned that the Dutch were obliged, as a Christian society, to cease the exploitation and help the Indonesians (Groeneboer 1993, 237).

Groeneboer (1993) described the 'troonrede', which was held in September 1901. In the 'troonrede', the ethical political period is described, and the following is mentioned:

Als Christelijke Mogendheid is Nederland verplicht geheel het regeeringsbeleid te doordringen van het besef, dat Nederland tegenover de bevolking dezer gewesten een zedelijke roeping heeft te vervullen (Groeneboer 1993, 237)

It is roughly translated thusly:

'As a Christian Power, the Netherlands is obliged to fully understand the government's policy of realizing that the Netherlands has a moral calling to the people of these regions (Groeneboer 1993, 237).'

Previously, the Dutch did not care about the language and their policy was only focused on the growth of the VOC. Later, when they realized their debt of honour their change of attitude was created.

Basically, what had been done in previous centuries created a form of understanding and a guilt that the Dutch wanted to undo. The exploitation period during colonization had to be changed. The speech by Queen Wilhelmina facilitated this. One of the first things to do and change was the schooling. Several different schools were founded, and teachers from Europe were needed in order to lift language planning to a higher level (Brugmans 306-307). While everything changed during the ethical period, the level at which language was spoken, written, and read was still underdeveloped.

In the same way, Van Klaveren (1983) described the Ethical period like Brugmans (1938) and Groeneboer (1993) did. Despite this, Van Klaveren (1983) mentioned an important point that the previously mentioned scholars did not cover. In his book *The Dutch Colonial System in the East Indies*, Van Klaveren described the discrimination the Indonesians faced during the entire colonization period and during the later ethical period. The Eurasians, who wanted to apply for several functions, faced serious discrimination (Van Klaveren 169). Nevertheless, the author does mention that this could be due to practical reasons (Van Klaveren 170).

Prior to this ethical movement, several schools were founded, as mentioned before, in Ambon, Ceylon, and the Moluccas. During this period, the schools received an upgrade from their previous condition. Brugmans (1938) described this shift in schooling and showed that the Dutch focused more on the importance of schools than they had before.

Previously, the importance of schooling was not focused on the schools or the language, but on religion. As described earlier, the focus shifted from religious schools to schools that focused on language. The language policy began to take on a stronger, stricter hold in society. The new ethical policy was good for language and numerous other reasons. Reforms spread to all schools. A system was created to allow everyone who started at primary school to continue to secondary school and further. However, there was still a separation between Western and local schools (Brugmans 315).

Thanks to this ethical policy, the Dutch language became more important. The jobs that were created and needed required the Dutch language. The colonial influence became more important thanks to the shift

of the colonial power. The shift from an exploitation society/company towards a society that wanted to contribute resulted in a demand for Dutch speakers. At first, the ethical policy seemed like an amazing idea, and it was quickly implemented. Brugmans (1938), however, debated the fact that the Dutch were so quick with implementing the ethical policy that they did not see the whole picture (Brugmans 290). Brugmans (1938) points this out by stating that the Dutch wanted to lift local society to a higher perspective (Brugmans 290). While (Nugteren 2003) admits this is the case, he points out that the Dutch did not have a monopolistic position, education-wise (Nugteren 12).

Although I do agree with the above points, I believe that the shift to the ethical policy created many opportunities that were beneficial for language development. However, the colonial management's policy was not only focused on economic ideas. The cornerstone of the policy was the obligation to do something good for the Indonesians after such a long period of exploitation.

Groeneboer (1993) concluded that education might have been the biggest problem in the first place (Groeneboer 1993, 249-261). He noted that the locals mainly focused on language according to speech, and not as language pertains to writing or reading. The focus was on speech only; all other aspects of language were deemed unimportant. The constant repeating of sentences is an example that Groeneboer (1993) proposed, which showed the inability of the colonial government to educate its citizens properly.

## Chapter 3 – Japanese in Korea

*“Half of Japan still couldn't tell the difference between crime and politics.”  
- Jon Courtenay Grimwood in End of the World Blues 2006*

The central theme in this chapter is the influence of the Japanese in Korea. In 1868, when the Meiji restoration took place, the Japanese underwent a tremendous shift in policies. Theodore (2002) argued that the Meiji restoration was a huge turning point in Japanese history and that it influenced later language policies the country had overseas (Theodore 5). During the Meiji restoration, the emphasis was on the language and schooling system in Japan. At the beginning of the restoration, several highly-positioned people were sent across Europe to learn about the systems that other countries had implemented. To elaborate, a few Japanese traveled to European countries to look at the military, the education policies, the navy, and several other important aspects of development. Basically, the Japanese used all these systems and models for their own good to help Japan grow. This modernization period, which began with the inauguration of President Meiji, created a lot of development.

Based on the findings of Theodore (2002), it can be argued that the one thing that was accomplished during the Meiji restoration was the Japanese universal language policy. Theodore (2002) claims that education was completely standardized and centralized. This meant the nation was then able to access education throughout the whole empire (Theodore 82). During this period, the entire nation enjoyed education, and this helped the nation grow in several ways. It is important to note that the Meiji restoration is the reason that Japan was able to do the things it did later on during its colonization period. During this period, Japan saw itself as the big brother that needed to liberate Asia from the white colonizers. Similarly, Lee Yeounsuk (1996) stated that Japan used its power and advantage compared to other Asian countries in order to liberate them (Lee Yeounsuk 4).

Lee Yeounsuk (1996) noted that a national ideology was inherited through language, called Kokugo. As a result of his findings, one can state that this national feeling increased the thirst for language unity. He

emphasizes that this schooling system was of much importance in the assimilation strategy the Japanese enforced in the colonies (Lee Yeounsuk 4). Theodore (2002) pointed out that the Meiji schools were quickly accepted in imperial Japan and within a couple of years, the schools were widely accepted in the whole of Japan (Theodore 94). Theodore (2002) goes on to state that the language planning in Japan resulted in the rise of the nation as a first-world country (Theodore 108). It is also worth mentioning that Kokugo, according to Lee Yeounsuk (2002), was deeply intrinsic to Japan's identity and therefore was essential to the assimilation policy the Japanese enforced (Lee Yeounsuk 4). Foundational to this idea of Kokugo is the nationalistic idea the Japanese had, which never left the spirit of the country (Lee Yeounsuk 52). It was this spirit and feeling of nationalism that allowed the country to keep its own language without the influence of other languages.

To summarize, the Japanese had a strong, independent feeling before assimilating in Korea and other areas in Asia. This sense of being the big brother in combination with their nationalistic view towards Japan and Asia helped them conquer huge parts of Asia. As mentioned in chapter two, there are several forms of colonization that a country can follow. In the following paragraph, we learn that Japan did not follow the paved way quietly regarding colonization. As mentioned, the Japanese enforced a full assimilation strategy regarding Korea. While the reason for this will not be described in the coming chapters, the assimilation strategy was important to the Korean and Japanese language. This introduction to the Meiji restoration was the catalyst for the strategies that the Japanese followed not only nationally but also internationally. When the focus on nationalism was completed, the international focus started to take shape, beginning with the occupation in Japan.

### Chapter 3.1 Japanese after the Meiji restoration

Lee Yeounsuk (2002) stated that Ueda Kazutoshi was sent to Germany to learn about Western language and the science behind it (Lee Yeounsuk 53). This means that Ueda played a major role in the language policy in Japan and

Korea. He was the person who eventually promoted the language and the Kokugo. Ueda believed that the Western way of teaching language (mainly the German way) should be implemented in the Japanese way in order to increase the knowledge of the inhabitants of Japan as a whole. He reported to the emperor, and several policies he focused on were implemented later in all of Japan. As a linguistic scholar, he was responsible for the language policy that the Japanese followed during the Meiji restoration. He recognized that language must be uniform in order to become a modern state nation (Lee Yeounsuk 108). This realization caused the nation's leaders and builders to focus on language, to implement the German schooling system and to eventually spread it towards the colonies. He brought it to national attention that Japanese could and should become the common language in all of Asia. The spread of the Japanese language was not only good for the education of the Japanese people but also for the spread of the language in Korea, China, and India (Lee Yeounsuk 109). This implied that the Japanese language should be the Lingua Franca in those countries and should be used throughout the whole of the Japanese territories.

At the time of the dominance of Japan over Korea, Japan faced serious struggles regarding Korean containment. The riots that continued during the occupation show the aggressiveness of the Koreans towards the Japanese. The Koreans' reaction was very hostile concerning the 1895 treaty, which caused the Japanese to implement this Western style of education in Korea (Jeong-Kyu Lee 3). The Japanese government reacted after the Japanese-Russo war by making Korea a protectorate and moving all the power from the government of Korea towards the government of Japan (Jeong-Kyu Lee 4). This gave the Japanese government all the freedom it needed to implement the Japanese language in Korea. Eventually, this would turn into the total assimilation of Korea and the complete dominance of Japan across the peninsula. Over the years that followed, Japan tightened its grip over Korea by decreasing the influence of the Koreans over their own language.

More importantly, the use of the Korean language was eventually completely forbidden in Korea – the Japanese language was the only language that was accepted. The Korean language was prohibited (Jonathan Hopfner



25). Here, we see the eventual plan that the Japanese had regarding the Koreans. A total assimilation took place, and Korea was nothing more than a province in the eyes of the policy makers from Japan (*Japanese Policies in Colonial Korea - A source of Historical Animosity between Korea and Japan 2*). This assimilation policy is the key factor in the language policy that the Japanese eventually had in their colony.

### Chapter 3.2 Japanese language policy in Korea

In the past paragraphs, we saw the influence of the Japanese government in Japan and Korea. Several scholars noticed the Japanese thirst for domination in Asia. They recognized that Japan wanted to be the big brother of Asia and therefore needed to grow tremendously to be able to inhabit that role. The Meiji restoration was the starting point of the development of Japan, turning it into a modern state, which resulted in the eventual imperial ideas. When the Japanese reformed the nation by looking at Western ideas and systems, their view expanded towards territorial areas. An important colony of the Japanese was Korea. Many colonizers used their colonies for either exploitation purposes, extracting as much as possible from the colonies, or as a settlement, moving to the colony to start a life there. Japan's colony strategy seems to be in line with the settlement strategy.

In the beginning of the assimilation period, several thousands of Japanese moved to Korea to start their life over there. The Japanese government facilitated the building of schools, where the new settlers could enjoy education. Mina Hattori (2008) pointed out that although Ueda was responsible for the language planning in the whole of Japan and the colonies, his views were received with criticism from his students (Hattori 16). This criticism was based on the fact that one cannot change a language suddenly; language is inherited in the culture. The major problem the Japanese faced was the fact that language was not something one could force upon someone, especially a nation.

As mentioned before, the language policies were received with hostility from the moment they were forced on the nation. In the beginning years, the

language co-existed with Korea. In later stages, from 1938 onwards, the Korean language was completely forbidden. Several authors, including Hattori (2008), Yeounsuk (1996), and Kyu-Lee (2002) hypothesised that if Japan had not been beaten in the Second World War, Koreans would today be speaking Japanese. The major problem that the Japanese faced was the fact that their policy did not last long enough to eventually make a big impact.

According to Burton (1994), the language policy of Japan was very comprehensive – he states that the policy covered all levels of education and schooling (Burton 3). In his thesis, he describes the language planning of Japan as successful in terms of language learning. Burton (1994) takes us on a tour through the history of Korea and Japan and shows us that the Japanese already had a long-established relationship with Korea long before the nation was assimilated. Even before 1905, when Japan became the protectorate of Korea, several hundreds of thousands of Japanese lived in Korea and enjoyed schooling in Japanese (Burton 21).

Burton (1994) highlights the importance of the focus on children in the newly set atmosphere. It was the opinion that if you teach all the children Japanese, eventually the whole nation would speak Japanese, i.e., starting at the root, or the beginning, instead of from the top down (Burton abstract). Burton (1994) identified five different stages of language planning in Korea:

- I. The shift from Korean to Japanese initiative in language planning (1876-1905)
- II. "Protectorate" stage (1905-1910)
- III. First Korean Education Order period (1911-1921)
- IV. Second Korean Education Order period (1922-1937)
- V. Third Korean Education Order period (1938-1945) (Burton 16)

In the first stage, a Japanese linguistic scholar (Okakura) was invited to Korea. Korea accepted his presence, and he was given the task to set up a language academy in Seoul for Japanese speakers (Burton 19). According to Burton (1994), this was said to be the first influence of Japan that showed language planning. Apparently, Okakura wrote a plan in which he said that

it would be most beneficial for Koreans to learn Japanese instead of Chinese or English as a second language (Burton 20). As mentioned before, the Japanese saw themselves as the big brother of Asia, the liberator of Asia. This image was fueled by the win over the Russians in the Russo-Japanese war, which lasted from 1904-1905 (Burton 21). It showed the Japanese, as well as the Asians, that an Asian country is able to win over a Western power - something that had never happened before.

In the second stage, it was realized that the Korean way of schooling was backwards and not profitable for anyone. The Korean way of teaching was far from academic, and it should not be accepted as such (Burton 30). In this stage, the Japanese took on the idea that they had to civilise the Koreans because their language was far from perfect compared to the Japanese language. Furthermore, it is said that the Korean teachers did not have enough knowledge or educational experience to educate at a proper level. Therefore, the Japanese teachers should intervene and take over (Burton 30).

In the third stage, the annexation of Korea took place. Korea was now formally and completely assimilated by Japan, and this resulted in some extreme measures. All Korean books in Seoul that had anything to do with Korea and its nationalistic views were removed from bookstores. The governor-general at that time, Terauchi Masatake, increased the power of the schools, thereby controlling the Koreans completely. According to Burton (1994), private schools were forbidden in an act named 'Regulation Act for Private Schools'. With the closing of these schools, the Korean education system almost completely vanished, and Japanese was the leading language taught at schools.

The fourth stage saw a shift of focus from Japanese towards Korean. In this stage, the Japanese allowed Korean to be taught and spoken because the idea was that people who lived under one flag could and should be able to speak their own language (as long as Japanese remained the national language). As identified by Burton (1994), this had to do with the continuous resistance from the Koreans towards the Japanese language policies (Burton 42). Korean was taught at schools, and even history was given to Korean

students. However, the history that was given was in line with Japanese history, so it was not Korean history as it had been taught before.

In the final stage, Japan again took a rather aggressive approach towards the Koreans. The idea that Japan and Korea should become one nation was formulated (Burton 49). This aggressive approach had to do with the intention of Japan to invade China, and much support was needed in order to succeed. Since Japan geared for the war with China, it was believed that the military should use one language only (Burton 55-57). Korean was an elective at school, and although there was Korean television, all the names had to be read in Japanese. This final stage, and the shift of focus, could therefore be solely credited towards the initial intentions of Japan to go to war with China.

## Chapter 4 – Analysis

After examining the case of the language policies of the Netherlands and Japan, it is clear that there are striking differences. Although the Netherlands had a much longer influence in Indonesia compared to Japan in Korea, its total influence was less significant. The Netherlands, which started with its influence in the 16th century, focused on the exploitation of Indonesia. Throughout the years, the focus did shift. From the first period, when the Dutch set foot in Indonesia, until their last moment, they had influence in Indonesia. The Netherlands shifted its focus from exploitation towards a more ethical approach, known as the ethical period. The Dutch did have some language policies, but they failed thanks to the influence of Malay and Portuguese. The Dutch language never became the Lingua Franca because it co-existed next to the other, previously mentioned languages.

Japan, on the other hand, had a more direct and aggressive approach when it came to language policy. Evidence suggests that Japan had more influence regarding language in Korea compared to the Netherlands in Indonesia. It is important to note that the Meiji restoration that took place from 1868 onwards and lifted Japan to extraordinary heights regarding development caused the nation and the economy to flourish; therefore, Japan was able to compete on an international level. It is important to remember that the Japanese had sent a delegation to Western Europe to look at the different systems – such as military, navy, schooling and so on - that were used in order to optimise and use them. This delegation had a huge influence on the outcome of the development. These factors had their influence in the language policy that Japan eventually used in Korea; the acquired Western knowledge was used in their own policies

Furthermore, it has been shown that the Japanese did not accept other languages to be spoken in the colony whereas the Dutch did allow other languages to be spoken. The Dutch even noted a difference between high-level Malay and low-level Malay. This influenced the schools they were sent to and the level of education they could attain in school. In Japan, the system was built upon the ideas of Uade (see chapter 3.1) and Germany. There is limited

evidence, however, regarding what the influence was on the language policy of Japan when the German system was involved. The hypothesis could be that because Japan did not have a complete uniform 'Kokugo' language, it was easier to distribute it among the common people, therefore making it more tangible for everyone. As it is identified by Kyu-Lee (2002) and Yeounsuk (1996), the Japanese had a very aggressive focus on the language and the distribution of it in Korea. Kokugo played a role in it since it was part of the culture and also inherited, as they said. It was the national language of Japan and should become the national language of all the colonies. Japan used this method in all of its colonies.

Although Japan and the Netherlands had colonies, their idea behind the colonies differed amazingly. The Netherlands exploited colonies to get as wealthy as possible while the Japanese had a different point of view. They saw themselves as the liberators of Asia and believed the Western nations should leave Asia. Basically, this meant that Japan reacted when the Dutch acted. After Japan introduced the systems from the Western countries to their own nation, it started to become Western itself, and this might have been their change in attitude.

While the Japanese stuck to the Kokugo, the Netherlands changed their attitude towards language policies several times. The total assimilation played a role in their attitude towards Korea and language. The Netherlands never attempted to completely assimilate Indonesia. It did help that the Japanese used a Western language policy and adopted it in their own language. For this reason, they had more binding with the language and their policy. It could be important to note that Japan was still a 'developing' country whereas the Dutch were further on in their development. However, this is speculation.

The Japanese used the knowledge they acquired from Germany and implemented it in their own policies. These policies were redirected towards the colonies and implemented. As Burton (1994) stated, the Japanese were strict in their policies and did not accept any other policy than Japanese. This has been confirmed by Kyu-Lee (2002), who stated that the Japanese were in total control over the Korean peninsula. This is in contrast with the Dutch, who did not have a complete assimilation control over Indonesia. The signed

treaty by Korea gave Japan complete power over it; therefore, Japan could act as it liked. This treaty helped give Japan all the power over Korea.

An interesting fact, however, is that due to the influence of the Japanese in Indonesia, the newly set ethical course could not be completed. As Groeneboer (1993) and Brugmans (1938) state, the influence of the Japanese in Indonesia caused the Dutch to eventually stop their policies regarding language. Consider the Second World War, in which the Netherlands lost the battle and had to reinvest – it did not have the money or the supplies to also reinvest in Indonesia to keep its colony strong as it was before. In a way, the Japanese caused the language policy of the Dutch to fail.

The problem for the Japanese was the size of their empire. They were unable to be present in, and thus defend, every single part of their empire. Furthermore, the Japanese lost the Second World War, and this caused their language policy to stop in Korea. As Kyu-Lee (2002) and Yeounsuk (1996) mention, the policy of the Japanese faded away when the Japanese were defeated. The influence of the Japanese in Korea was too short-lived to have any real impact for the future in Korea. People who had spoken Korean before started to speak Korean shortly after the liberation. Four years of language policy in Korea was not enough to change the whole nation. If Japan would have stayed longer in Korea and kept their influence in it, it would have been highly likeable that the Japanese language would have played a much bigger role in today's society in Korea.

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