



Volumen 21, número 2, 2025

An Examination of Four Ideological Signs through Critical Decolonial Discourse Analysis: Soviet Language Policy (1905-1926)

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Abstract

This article examines the soviet language policy before and after the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia through the lens of ideological sign (Volóshinov, 2009) and decolonial theory (Walsh, 2019). Utilizing glotopolitical language analysis (Arnoux, 2021) as a qualitative methodology (Álvarez, Arribas y Dietz, 2020), the study based on the research of documents in Spanish, English, Russian, French, and Italian, classifies bolshevik interventions in translation services from 1905 to 1926 and analyzes them ideologically through dialogism (Bajtín, 2012). The findings stimulate a discussion on the significance of concepts such as self-determination, linguistic equality, and community-driven policies for the 21st century. The conclusions draw parallels between decolonial critical theory and early bolshevik principles of the socialist revolution, suggesting mechanisms for their contemporary application.

Keywords: *ideological sign; decolonial theory; translation language policy; USSR; Valentín Volóshinov; Latin America.*

Un examen de cuatro signos ideológicos a través del análisis crítico de discurso decolonial: la política lingüística soviética (1905–1926)

Resumen

Este artículo examina la política lingüística soviética antes y después de la Revolución de octubre de 1917 en Rusia a través del concepto de signo ideológico (Volóshinov, 2009) y la teoría decolonial (Walsh, 2019). Utilizando el análisis glotopolítico del lenguaje (Arnoux, 2021) como metodología cualitativa (Álvarez, Arribas y Dietz, 2020), el estudio, basado en la investigación de documentos en español, inglés, ruso, francés e italiano, clasifica las intervenciones bolcheviques en los servicios de traducción entre 1905 y 1926 y las analiza ideológicamente mediante el dialogismo (Bajtín, 2012). Los hallazgos propician una discusión sobre la relevancia de conceptos como la autodeterminación, la igualdad lingüística y las políticas impulsadas por las comunidades para el siglo XXI. Las conclusiones establecen paralelismos entre la teoría crítica decolonial y los principios bolcheviques tempranos de la revolución socialista, sugiriendo mecanismos para su aplicación contemporánea.

Palabras clave: *signo ideológico; teoría decolonial; política lingüística de la traducción; URSS; Valentín Volóshinov; América Latina.*

Introduction

The text focuses on the debate based on the current situation of decoloniality in the 21st century regarding the issues of the revolutionary interventions of Bolshevik politics that transcended its historical context of application due to the humanitarian, social and universal nature of the linguistic rights that were applied in Soviet language policy based on Lenin's concept of self-determination. Thus, the objective of the article is to use Voloshinov's theory of the ideological sign (2009) to carry out the counterpoint analysis between the language policy of Lenin and Trotsky in contrast to that promoted by the Stalinist state. To achieve this end, the concept of ideological sign is updated from decolonial theory (Mignolo, 2007; Mignolo & Escobar, 2013; Walsh, 2019) and glotopolitics (Guespin & Mercelleci, 1986; Arnoux, 2020), to understand it as a discursive construction with verbal-ideological significance. From this, with the methodology of critical discourse analysis, ideological signs are selected from both contexts and their multilingual or monolingual features are studied, with the aim of generating an updated reflection on which ones are valid for our context, given the universality of the linguistic rights that they imply for Latin American countries.

Bolshevik policy has been reviewed from Westernizing, socialist and pro-Russian points of view (Pavlenko, 2011). However, the validity of this article, in epistemological terms, represents the application of the dialectical materialist method for the study of the ideological sign as a phenomenon within the context of linguistic imperialism, giving continuity to the work of the Bakhtin Circle, in dialogue with glotopolitics (Arnoux, 2020) and decolonial theory (Mignolo & Escobar, 2013). Thus, the ideological sign is defined, applied with qualitative dialectical critical methodology in multilingual and monolingual discursive paradigms of Soviet language policy, the results are analyzed, and conclusions are presented.

The theoretical framework section outlines the epistemological foundation of the conceptual categories underpinning this research. Drawing on the ideological sign theories of Voloshinov (2009) and Bajtín (2012) from the field of language sciences, this transdisciplinary approach supports the theoretical premises applied in the critical analysis of language policies in Soviet Russia before and after the revolution (1905-1937). Key areas

of focus include glotopolitical conflicts between languages, decolonial theory, and discourse analysis.

The materialist and critical philosophical nature of Voloshinov's (2009) concept of the ideological sign is central to the methodological framework and is particularly emphasized in the analysis of Soviet Russian language policy. This concept is presented as a significant qualitative advancement over other idealist approaches in Western bourgeois linguistic sciences, such as the linguistic sign. It transitions from critiquing the idealist, abstract, and psychological study of language to proposing a conceptual framework that facilitates the analysis of language in both individual and social contexts.

Thus, Voloshinov's multidimensional concept of the ideological sign represents a substantial epistemological advancement in Marxist dialectics (Marx, 1974, 2003, 2017). It posits that all discursive practices or language uses are to be understood as ideological phenomena, which can only be analyzed through the context of conflicts between communities and identities influenced by power relations.

Ideological signs emerge within the ideological structures of society, such as literature, education, or religion (Voloshinov, 2009; Bajtín, 2012). They are realized through the material interplay between empirical social activities and their symbolic representations. These signs reflect and refract social reality (Voloshinov, 2009), influenced by the evaluative meanings that individuals assign to them. For instance, the moral principles of the dominant social class are mirrored and distorted in the institutions it creates the laws it enforces, the decrees it issues, the actions it takes, the art and culture it supports, and the social relations it deems legal or illegal. Similarly, ideological signs are evident in educational and linguistic policies, in speakers, words, and discourse.

In addition, decolonial theory is understood as an epistemic practice specifically adapted to the plurilingual regions of Latin America. It aims to reveal and dismantle the colonial structures of material and symbolic power that capitalist European core countries have imposed through processes of original accumulation (Marx, 2017; Lander, 1993; Mignolo, 2007; Mignolo & Escobar, 2013; Espinosa, 2016; Walsh, 2013, 2019; Ortega, 2022). In the context of the social and human sciences, decolonial theory challenges and disrupts the Eurocentric notion of the superiority of Anglo-Saxon and Central European races,

cultures, and languages. Within Marxist thought, it critiques the teleological view of history, which suggests a linear progression of human civilization following a uniform cultural pattern. Furthermore, Latin American Marxist theory has introduced a decolonial perspective in its critique of Stalinist centralized socialism (Stalin, 1913, 1950), the concept of the revolutionary subject, and revolutionary conditions in the context of Soviet revolutionary policy (Mariátegui, 2007; Álvarez, Arribas y Dietz, 2020; Espinosa, 2016; Ortega, 2022; Walsh, Fernandes & Candau, 2018; Walsh & Monarca, 2020).

Methodology

This study conducts a qualitative documentary analysis to examine ideological signs (Bondarenko, 2008) within the context of translation language policy during the revolutionary transformation in Soviet Russia (Arnoux & Bein, 2023; Álvarez, Arribas y Dietz, 2020); a topic to be explored and published in Latin America. It employs glotopolitical discourse analysis as its methodological framework (Arnoux, 2020, 2021) to apply theoretical concepts and design results pertaining to ideological signs (Volóshinov, 2009; Bajtín, 2012). The objective is to explore the revolutionary and transformative aspects of Soviet Russia's language policy from 1905 to 1926, focusing on how it altered the dynamics between capital and labor in capitalist societies, challenged colonial power structures (Mignolo & Escobar, 2013), and how these constructions can be applied in the 21st century.

To examine the decolonial characteristics of Soviet Russia's language policy, the study analyzes selected discourse units through both monolingual and multilingual dimensions of ideological signs. A total of six discourse units have been identified for this analysis, as detailed in Table 1.

Table 1. Discourse Units of Study.

Language Policy in USSR	Ideological Sings
Language Policy Based on Self-determination (1905-1926)	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Language Equality2. National Language3. Native Languages4. Emancipation of the Colonies
Source: author's development.	

For the collection of qualitative data on the ideological signs of Soviet language policy, a documentary research design has been employed, involving archives, documents, and academic studies (Álvarez, Arribas y Dietz, 2020) in Spanish, English, French, Russian, and Italian. After reviewing the literature, the sources have been evaluated using the methodological procedure of discourse analysis, which involves categorizing and locating data, examples, laws, and multilingual-monolingual regional or local policies applied during the Bolshevik Revolution.

The utility of ideological signs in studying discourse arises from their dialectical components. Voloshinov (2009) argues that the ideological sign is a crucial concept for revealing how the values of a particular social class are reflected and refracted in our statements and dialogues. Consequently, it extends beyond mere linguistic description to encompass the social and ideological dimensions, closely tied to human interactions, as outlined by dialogism theory (Bajtín, 2012).

Thus, the ideological sign (Bondarenko, 2008) is divided into two dialectical dimensions that are in continuous movement: the first begins in individualistic, subjective, and monolingual terms, with the 'reflection of reality' and with ideological critique transforms into 'social reality in interaction', as a collective, social, and plurilingual sign; the second begins as 'individual consciousness' monolingual to transform into 'social sign material' plurilingual.

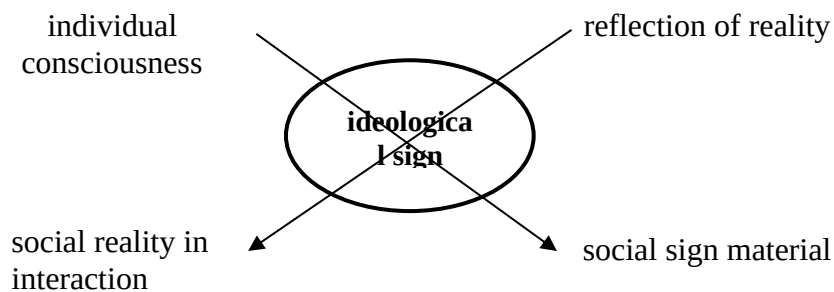


Figure 1. Dimensions of Critical Language Analysis in Voloshinov's Ideological Sign.
Source: author's development based on Voloshinov (2009).

Hence, Voloshinov's (2009) theory of the ideological sign serves as a valuable tool for the critical and dialectical analysis of social reality, particularly in examining language

phenomena such as discourse analysis. In this research, discourse analysis is framed within a Marxist dialectical critique, adapted from Latin American glotopolitics (Arnoux, 2020, 2021, 2023), and incorporates decolonial plurilingual theoretical-methodological approaches (Walsh, 2013, 2019). Thus, glotopolitics is understood as a critical research methodology for analyzing language phenomena, focusing on how mechanisms established by ruling social classes influence the promotion of specific languages and discursive relationships (Arnoux & Bein, 2023). These mechanisms are ideological interventions that shape language policies in public domains such as educational institutions, judicial settings, and media.

Each ideological sign has been analyzed according to two dimensions: context and debate with the ideological sign. Finally, a discussion is developed concerning the decolonial elements of Bolshevik policy, followed by the presentation of the conclusions.

Results

Language Equality as a Result of Self-Determination

The ideological sign corresponding to the onset of the Soviet Revolution in Russia, central to Lenin's theory of national self-determination, is the concept of minority languages. The historical verification of the Leninist postulate regarding the beginning of the conceptualization of minoritized languages and self-determination dates back to 1905 (Shelestyuk, 2019; Krutwig, 2011). Although Lenin published the text "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" in 1914, this principle was previously rooted in the Marxist foundations of the Bolshevik movement; there are three postulates of Marx's theory that permeate the self-determinist ideology in the Bolshevik party: dialectics, internationalist proletariat, and workers' democracy (Shelestyuk, 2019). Marxist dialectics requires the interrelation of historical-social phenomena (Marx, 1974); in other words, the Bolshevik revolution is not limited to Russian urban centers but involves all nationalities. The revolution, in its socialist character, necessitates the freedom of peoples (Lenin, 1914, 1914a, 1916; Seguin, 2022). Solidarity with the international proletariat is the empirical or practical consequence of the theoretical postulate of the dialectic of self-determination. Finally, workers' democracy becomes the critique.

Four examples illustrate the implementation of the Bolshevik linguistic policy of self-determination, which began with Lenin's Marxist postulates in 1905 and was published in documents from 1914 and 1916. The first concerns the Bolsheviks' editorial policy. The main tool for enabling peoples to achieve cultural and linguistic self-determination was the publication of multilingual printed media, such as newspapers, magazines, legislative reports, and Soviet bulletins, as well as textbooks and educational materials (Khalitova, 2010; Krutwig, 2011). The Bolshevik self-determinist policy began to be implemented immediately after the October Revolution of 1917; it was multilingual in nature and remained active until 1937 (Baranova, 2017). The experience of the Bashkir people is one such example, with publications in the Bashkir language, such as *Yany Yul* or *Bashkir Cooperator* (Khalitova, 2010).

National Language Debate in Russia (1905-1917)

The concept of a nation is the ideological sign identified with various facets of its application during Russia from 1905 to 1917, depending on the agent using this ideological tool, whether for labeling individuals within an empire or for their identification and recognition of status as members of a national group separated from a centralized state (Slezkine, 1994; Cabal, 2019; Grenoble, 2003; Moret, 2017; Ornstein, 1959). During the early days of the 1905 Revolution and under the regime of Nicholas II, the definition of nation was still determined by religious parameters; the national character of a Russian identity was validated through "religious confession" adhering to the Orthodox religion, and the individual, in turn, benefited from the national character by being categorized as a native entitled to the protection of his Tsar (Slezkine, 1994; Bilinsky, 1981). "Not all of the tsar's subjects and not all Orthodox believers were Russians, but all Russians were expected to be Orthodox subjects of their Orthodox tsar" (Slezkine, 1994, p. 426); thus, those inhabitants within the territory who were non-Orthodox were designated as non-natives. This stance, which was still exercised in Russia from 1905 to 1914 by Nicholas II, is linked to a Tsarist tradition of anti-reformist and anti-concessionary regimes of Tsars Nicholas I and Alexander III, from which the populace, at a moment in time when Russia was undergoing a socialist-oriented Revolution, began to feel estranged and not aligned with Tsarist principles (Bein, 2023; Zeepvat, 2000; Zamyatin, 2021; Hogan-Brun & Melnyk, 2012).

With the onset of the Provisional Government, the substantial task of the Bolsheviks began, focusing on the search for "the essence of Soviet national policy," with the primary objective of uprooting the national character of traits defined as such under imperialist standards (Slezkine, 1994). In this way, non-Orthodox individuals and those previously designated as non-natives under Tsarism began to be referred to as *narody* (people); new terminologies such as *natsional'nosti* (nationalities), *natsii* (nations), and *plemena* (tribes) were introduced, assigned according to the "ethnographic coincidence" of the various peoples comprising the territory of Tsarist Russia, thereby granting the right to secession from an imperialist state (Slezkine, 1994).

In the early years of Bolshevik policy, the national stance adopted was to rely on a progressive formula through which the rights denied to persecuted peoples under Tsarism were restored, thus granting them the right to self-management within a framework of socialist construction (Leprêtre, 2002; Cabal, 2019; Tchougounnikov, 2015). Furthermore, during the initial phase of Bolshevik governance, legislation to grant official status to nations claiming their right to self-determination was guided by Lenin's principles proposed in his 1914 article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination." This legislation set an initial position aimed at promoting the development of the mother tongue of each emerging nation (Bein, 2023), as it was considered that each people's language was the fundamental tool to determine the principles under which they wished to govern themselves and thus achieve the construction of their nation-state (Khalitova, 2010; Ovchinnikova, 2020).

According to Bolshevik self-determinist ideology, which is based on Marxist dialectical principles, the concept of a nation is fundamentally linked to democratic values. This perspective supports the recognition of newly emerging nation-states formed by oppressed national groups and their right to self-determination. It allows these groups to separate from expansionist states and manage their own affairs independently (Trotsky, 1917, 1924, 2015). However, these democratic principles are upheld only if they promote the emancipation of colonies without oppressing others. Social democracy cannot endorse the existence of expansionist nations that seek to absorb minority groups, like the centralizing tendencies of imperialism (Lenin, 1914; Trotsky, 1917). In the case of the Bashkir people, the Marxist-Leninist stance adopted by the Bolshevik Party in early 1917 to address the national

question among the various nationalities within the emerging global Soviet continued along these lines until 1930 (Khalitova, 2010).

After the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks along with local authorities, began the work of establishing the same official status of equality for each of the peoples considered backward by centralist Russia (Khalitova, 2010). In this regard, the Bashkir Conference of the PCR, held on September 8, 1921, stated: “The general task of the Communist Party in countries as backward as Bashkiria is, by destroying all remnants of national inequality, to help the working masses of all their nationalities catch up with the advanced central Russian population” (Quoted in Khalitova, 2010, p. 157). To accomplish this task, the party considers the mother tongue of each nation as a crucial tool for the national state of each indigenous people, as the native language allows for the continued development and strengthening of ethnic culture (Khalitova, 2010).

During the initial period from 1917 to 1930, the USSR's language policy aimed to advance the use and development of minority languages, granting them the same official status as Russian to ensure equal rights of self-management for each national group (Bein, 2023). In the Republic of Bashkir, party documents began to be published in the Bashkir language, a new alphabet was developed for the Bashkir literary language to transition from oral to written form, and schools were established to promote the study of Bashkir language and culture. As a result, the Bashkir language was granted equal status with Russian (Khalitova, 2010; Yefimenko & Olynyk, 2017-18). This approach was similarly applied to other indigenous languages within the Soviet Republics, including Kirmanj, Chuvash, Turkmen, and Tajik, all of which were recognized as state languages to facilitate the autonomous management of their respective national territories.

The use of minority languages as a vehicle for Bolshevik self-determinist ideology in the national question is due to the Marxist-Leninist position that guides every action and reflection of Russian society in the period before and after the October Revolution of 1917. This position asserts that the working masses, oppressed sectors, and minority groups should be included in the practical implementation of social democracy through a clear understanding of democratic principles. Organized into different nations, but united under

a collective stance of non-coercion they can consolidate the self-determination of proletarian internationalism (Pannekoek, 1920).

The initial Bolshevik policy was grounded in the principle of proletarian internationalism, which led to the establishment of intermediary bodies known as Narkomnats (Наркомнац). This approach aimed to equip workers with the ideological tools necessary to challenge the bourgeois notion of nationalism (Pannekoek, 1920) and to promote the dominance of the working class. According to this principle, workers are considered to have "no nation" of their own; instead, they should unite under the concept of a working-class nation. This would, in theory, transcend capitalist dominance and eliminate class distinctions within nation-states, ultimately overcoming national and territorial boundaries. However, it is acknowledged that the realization of this vision requires the formation of national-territorial entities, each with the autonomy to determine its own future, while adhering to Marxist principles. This entails ensuring that no nation can oppress another (Smith, 1999, citing Marx, 1974).

Consequently, the provisions adopted by the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party begin by granting the right to self-determination at the regional level, allowing each locality that perceives itself as different due to its conditions and customs to exercise its right to secession and equality for all citizens, with the goal being to achieve the hegemony of the working class (Smith, 1999). Through the equal status of minority languages, the aim is for working communities to be perceived with the same level of equality as citizens previously recognized as Russian during Tsarism. This includes the initiation of press publications, Party propaganda, and the opening of schools in indigenous languages. Each national group gains the right to use and develop its own language, thereby regaining control over its linguistic policy and the construction of its nation in coexistence with other nations in the global Soviet (Khalitova, 2010).

The Party successfully established the distinct national identities of previously oppressed groups with the objective of eventually achieving proletarian nationalism. The subsequent step in this process was to encourage coexistence among these nations based on Marxist dialectical principles concerning the national question, specifically the notion that "no nation oppresses another" (Khalitova, 2010; Smith, 1999, citing Marx, 1974). Through the

Narkomnats (People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs), efforts were concentrated on fostering self-determination for emerging national groups, promoting the development of their cultures, education systems, and the standardization of their spoken languages into written forms, all while involving them in socialist endeavors (Khalitova, 2010). These intermediary efforts aimed to connect all nations, materializing the concept of a commissariat that facilitated coexistence and brotherhood among nations and sought the simultaneous development of all cultural expressions to eliminate any remaining inequalities through the establishment of equal status.

In the early decades of Bolshevik rule, minority languages played a crucial role in the development of national cultures. They were used as instruments for advancing socialist ideology, fostering integration, and establishing equality. Several indigenous languages were granted official status, facilitating the emergence of new nation-states. However, these languages were not regarded as the sole determinants of national identity for their speakers (Alòs i Font, 2016; Khalitova, 2010; Slezkine, 1994). During the era of the Provisional Government, national identity began to be defined through ethnographic principles, with language serving as a key marker of ethnicity. This approach aimed to challenge the Tsarist notion of nationhood (Slezkine, 1994). The Bolsheviks considered it essential to preserve ethnic values as a form of recognition for the various peoples who had endured ethnic injustices under imperialism (Slezkine, 1994).

Promoting Native Languages through Translation Services

The ideological concept of a "single language" in the development of the Soviet Republic was inconsistent with the Bolshevik language policies implemented over the preceding decades. According to Volóshinov's (1929) framework of ideological signs, the idea of a "single language" is not aligned with the linguistic planning conducted between 1917 and 1930. Rather, it is associated with the later Stalinist vision, which bears a pragmatic resemblance to Tsarist policies. (Alpatov, 2003; Bein, 2023; Das, 2011; Hogan-Brun & Melnyk, 2012; Khalitova, 2010; Fowler, 2007; Shelestyuk, 2019; Gubanova & Rangsikul, 2018; Zhumanova, 2012).

The Bolshevik premises are based on Marxist-Leninist dialectics concerning national issues and minority languages, therefore leaning towards a pluralistic stance by adopting a

policy of indigenization (*korenizatsiia*) throughout the first period of their administration from 1917 to 1930. Thus, it was anticipated that all indigenous languages would achieve the same official status as the Russian language, and consequently, that all new nations would modernize accordingly, gaining validation as nation-states independent of a centralist state. The party's program envisioned that all languages within the Soviet global framework would participate in discussions and in the construction of the new socialist Republic (Hogan-Brun & Melnyk, 2012; Khalitova, 2010). In order to achieve the ultimate goal of a single socialist community, Bolshevik policies consider the equal status of all nations as an essential pathway. This requires the working community of each of these nations to adopt a sense of brotherhood with their counterparts. However, first, each must be in the same privileged conditions granted by the right to self-determination: the right to self-management through indigenization, restoring the collective rights abolished under Tsarism (Leprêtre, 2002).

Two examples demonstrate the application of the indigenization policy during the early years of Bolshevik governance, which aimed to acknowledge local boundaries set by indigenous peoples based on their cultural heritage. Baranova (2017) describes the case of the 'Mariupolitan Greeks,' an ethnic Greek community residing in the Ukrainian region. Initially, under the Bolshevik language policy, which emphasized self-determination, the strategy focused on promoting local administration and engaging representatives from various ethnic groups. In early 1918, this approach permitted each ethnic group to determine the division of their administrative boundaries. Consequently, the language program was overseen by local linguistic planners who carried out micro-planning in accordance with the region's multi-ethnic history (Baranova, 2017).

Similar to the previously discussed case, the Tatar people in the Republic of Bashkortostan offer another example. While efforts were underway to modernize the newly established Bashkir nation-state (Khalitova, 2010), the Narkomnats addressed the issue of Tatar self-determination at the Second Congress of the Peoples of the East in 1919. This consideration reflected the Tatar people's distinct cultural characteristics and their political activity advocating for separation from Bashkiria and recognition as a separate nation. As a

result, following the reorganization of the Republic of Bashkiria and based on national criteria, the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established (Smith, 1999).

Translation Services as a Means to an End: Emancipation of the Colonies

The ideological sign that converges with Lenin's theory of self-determination, presented as a revolutionary continuation within Bolshevik social democracy, is the emancipation of the colonies. The principle of self-determination is the first step in the revolutionary effort to eradicate imperialist tendencies; however, another action that defines the direction of social democracy is the separation of colonized peoples from centralist states (Krutwig, 2011; Bilinsky, 1981; Bowring & Borgoyakova, 2017; Kangal, 2024; Novorodovska & Novorodovski, 2023; Polivanov, 1974; Sharma, 2018). A socialist society cannot be achieved with peoples oppressed simply because they are considered "weak" (Trotsky, 1917). The emancipation of minority peoples must be guaranteed within the proletarian peace program. The separation of nations is carried out voluntarily as a revolutionary program cannot accept undemocratic movements (Kangal, 2024). This separation, however, is carried out with the goal of forming an international economic cooperative of nations, exercising their cultural values freely while being regrouped in the pursuit of proletarian internationalism (Trotsky, 1917).

Emancipation must be firmly grounded in the principle of national self-determination, which requires respecting the will of the nations involved. Consequently, the principle of self-determination must retain its revolutionary essence while adapting to practical realities, serving as a democratic solution for liberating peoples oppressed by imperialist forces. This approach aims to establish independent nations that will advance the revolution in alignment with the core objectives of the social democratic movement. As nations emerge, the principle of self-determination should self-regulate and adapt, using it as a means to address capitalist tendencies. Thus, the demands of self-determination should not overshadow the central aim of social democracy: the promotion of proletarian internationalism amidst a diverse and culturally rich coexistence (Lenin, 1914, 1914a, 1916; Trotsky, 1917, 1924, 2015). The case of Bessarabia, a region that succeeded in proclaiming its annexation to Romania and its self-determination under the name of the Republic of Moldova during the Russian Revolution of 1917, serves as an example of Bolshevik praxis in

accepting the will of separation or annexation of a nation wishing to freely express its culture (Cazaco, n.d.).

After the 1917 Revolution, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party articulated its stance in the document "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," which advocates for the growth and right to self-determination for all minority nationalities and ethnic groups persecuted under Tsarism, while simultaneously abolishing any possibility of particularist privileges. However, this Declaration was reconstituted in 1918 and evolved in a way that sought to protect the core of the revolution. Once the objective of territorial reorganization by emancipated nations was achieved, maintaining the national work of their cultural development, the aim became the reorganization of these nations through the struggle for the emancipation of the workers. Consequently, the Declaration was renamed "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," a document urging the emancipated nations to organize themselves as subjects of cooperation for the emancipation of the working masses (Shelestyuk, 2019). In other words, the liberated nations continue to develop their national principle in cultural expression, but this time regrouped under proletarian internationalism. The final goal of social democracy is not individual emancipation but the organization of all liberated peoples (Khalitova, 2010; Leprêtre, 2002; Faller, 2000; Pamir, 2005). The dialectic of self-determination is once again evident in the Bolshevik Revolution through the revision of the Declaration, which was reformed according to Lenin's theory of self-determination. This revision underscores the idea that the liberation of colonies is a result of historical progress essential for establishing conditions conducive to the development of proletarian internationalism.

Discussion and Conclusions

The following section addresses the debate on each ideological sign analyzed: language equality, national language, native languages, and the emancipation of the colonies; along with the conclusions. The relevance of the experience of Soviet glottopolitics lies in the empirical demonstration of the application of a plurilingual language policy based on the principle of self-determination, and the consequences in the reproduction of relations of revitalization of minority languages through translation and mass dissemination of linguistic diversity. This principle fits transversally with the need to deepen plurilingual

policy actions in the current Latin American context, towards plurilingual planning, where the guarantee of the rights of translation, interpretation, and linguistic diversity are not limited to normative discourse or in the hands of technological conglomerates, but are applied globally based on the principles of self-determination.

Debate on the First Ideological Sign: Language Equality

As an ideological sign, minority languages in Russia underwent a profound transformation between 1905 and 1926. This transformation can be analyzed through the dimensions of the ideological sign proposed by Volóshinov (1929). Firstly, the dialectic of the ideology of the sign of minority languages transforms from 'individual consciousness' to 'social semiotic material'. They shift from being oral languages, isolated from other linguistic communities, and thus from 'individual consciousness', to becoming mother tongues spoken in public spaces, taught in schools with educational materials and writing, thereby reflecting in speakers as 'social semiotic material'. Secondly, the ideological sign of minoritized languages transforms from being a 'reflection of reality' to a 'social reality in interaction'.

The mass translation and dissemination of minority languages demonstrates the empirical application of the Soviet multilingual policy from 1905 to 1926; therefore, it dialectically transcends as a process, from the passive moment of 'reflection of reality' to the applied, active point of 'social reality in interaction.' Thus, the implication in the process is that it moves from mere drafting of laws as a reflection of reality to their application in this reality through the social interaction that translation enables.

Debate on the Second Ideological Sign: National Language

In this way, the ideological sign of "nation" is considered from two antagonistic beliefs present during the period from 1905 to 1917 and analyzed according to the dimensions of the ideological sign as outlined by Volóshinov (1929). In the first dimension, the ideological concept of "nation" applies to individuals belonging to an imperial territory from the Tsarist 'individual consciousness,' which adopts a unilateral stance by considering only the religious trait of the inhabitants to determine their national character. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the territories conquered by the empire internalize the ideological sign of Russian nationality as 'social signifying material' by identifying themselves as native-

Russians or non-natives. This ideological sign returns to the dimension of 'individual consciousness' once Bolshevik ideas about the definition of the nation begin to be implemented; the inhabitants realize that the Tsarist vision is alien to their reality and adopt the new socialist character of 'social signifying material.' It shifts from 'individual consciousness' to 'social signifying material' with the articulation of the Bolshevik Party's positions, and the application of party theory through the development of means to propagate the ideology of equal status. The ideology of self-determination begins to be debated among party members, local officials, and the working masses.

In the second dimension, the ideological sign of "nation" is identified as it transforms from 'reflection of reality' under an anti-dialectical imperialist view, which is an unilateral perspective that does not consider the real aspects of individuals to determine their national status, to 'social reality in interaction' by social actors (the population, party discussion circles, artists, and intellectuals). However, this nature of the ideological sign is once again transformed, acquiring a new multilateral nature and deriving from a dialectical exercise. In summary, the ideological sign of nationality shifts from 'reflection of reality' in 1905 to 'social reality in interaction' following the Bolshevik Revolution. The term 'nation' ceases to be an individualistic notion and a tool of coercion, thus being a 'reflection of reality'; and adopts a new multilateral nature by becoming a compatible and achievable marker for national groups as 'social reality in interaction.'

Debate on the Third Ideological Sign: Native Languages

The ideological sign 'a single language,' during the period of 1926-1937 in Soviet Russia, as observed from the object-subjects of the period, shows in the first dimension of Voloshinov's ideological sign a regression from 'social semiotic material' to 'individual consciousness'; in other words, from a plurilingual to a monolingual profile. This occurs as the indigenous peoples adopt the Bolshevik's multilingual policies, thus developing a multilingual environment within the nations, and then, changing to a Russian centered policy during Stalin's ascend into power. Similarly, in the second dimension, the ideological sign reverts from 'social reality in interaction' to 'reflection of reality.' First, with the triumph of the revolution in 1917 the monolingual ideology ceases to be assimilated by the masses; however, the epochal pragmatism is shaped with a multilingual nature, as evidenced by the

examples. But then, the monolingual approximation of Stalin's policy in 1926 begins a prorussian contrareform. Thus, the ideological sign 'one single language' remains in individualistic consciousness, returning to the dimension of 'reflection of reality', in which the self-determination principles are not only forgotten, but reversed, as Stalin's autocratic conservative reforms begin to prohibit and persecute them.

Debate on the Fourth Ideological Sign: Emancipation of the Colonies

The emancipation of the colonies, examined through the lens of Voloshinov's (1929) concept of ideological signs between 1905 and 1926, evolves from the dimension of 'individual consciousness' to 'social semiotic material' with the issuance of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." This transformation represents a significant shift from individual awareness to a collective ideological sign of self-determination. In this context, emancipation emerges as a crucial social phenomenon for the oppressed peoples under Tsarism, marking a qualitative advancement in their pursuit of self-determination.

In the second dimension, the ideological sign progresses from 'reflection of reality' to 'social reality in interaction' as it pertains to the cultural development within the newly emancipated nations, mainly by the advancement of the translation and education services. Culture, once a vehicle for the propagation of oppression, subjugation, and linguistic and identity inferiority under Tsarist rule, undergoes a profound change: now everyone in the different minority nations of Russia can use their native language in schools and public places, or read the news and books. It evolves from a reflection of the oppressive Tsarist regime into a dynamic cultural force that transcends the boundaries of Tsarist territory and national identity, guided by principles of social interaction.

This research has found that, after reviewing the language interventions of Bolshevik politics, understood as ideological signs, decolonial features are predominant, according to the paradigm of self-determination of cultures and languages in Soviet nations established in 1917; however, there were also monolingual and oppressive ones. The decolonial theories of the 20th and 21st centuries are positioned, in this way, as epistemic associates of that dialectical revolution. The relevance of both to understand the struggle between the monolingual and multilingual forces of language (centripetal and centrifugal, in Bakhtinian terms), is demonstrated in this article. Thus, the Bolshevik ideological signs analyzed:

minority languages, national languages, nationality and emancipation, are current decolonial tools of struggle, which each generation has the obligation to guarantee their continuity and delve into the respective contexts. The historical learning of the continuous movement of the dialectical conflict between languages and cultures allows to highlight the relevance of the ideological conceptualization of the forces of language.

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