

### **1656 / *Social Forces* 77:4, June 1999**

works as Professor of Sociology at the University of Geneva. At the same time, he is also a member of the National Council of Switzerland (the Swiss equivalent of the House of Representatives). It is this dual role that Ziegler plays that manifests itself in the book. There are passages that are scholarly, thorough documentation that backs intellectually conservative conclusions. At other times, the book reads more like a political statement. The message is what seems to be important, not technical niceties such as footnotes and references. Ziegler tries to convince you with the moral force of his argument, not with his research methodology.

It is these conflicting tendencies that make it difficult to evaluate the book. It is fascinating history, filled with scholarly insights, but also filled with emotion, as acknowledged by Ziegler in the preface: "Unlike my sociological works, this book is clearly subjective, expressive of my great love for my country, the anger and fascination with which I view the aberrations of its mighty, and my hopes for a better Switzerland created by our children." At the same time, I believe he is too modest. Though the book is not based on a methodology that would befit the science of society, Ziegler proves that a sociologist does not have to be a moral eunuch. One can be an advocate of a position, a commentator, and a scholar all at the same time. Ziegler shows in *The Swiss, the Gold, and the Dead* how this can be done.

### **Han Unbound: The Political Economy of South Korea.**

By John Lie. Stanford University Press, 1998. 255 pp. Cloth, \$ 39.50.

Reviewer: SEUNGSOOK MOON, *Vassar College*

In the aftermath of the recent anti-climactic collapse of Asian economies, earlier celebration of economic dynamism in South Korea and the other NICs is eclipsed by critical reassessment of what was once hailed as the "successful model" of late industrialization. This kind of largely unforeseen turn of events in national and global economies offers an ample opportunity to question and reexamine existing accounts of South Korean development. In this lucidly written book, John Lie challenges some of the popularized explanations of economic transformation in South Korea. In so doing, he does not so much refute them entirely as elaborate them with additional interpretations. For instance, he takes issue with the export promotion strategy praised by the proponents of the so-called East Asian model of development. He argues that while export-oriented manufacturing has become the engine of Korean economic growth, it did not constitute the core of economic planning in the 1960s. Rather, export promotion evolved into an effective strategy as a consequence of "the complex confluence of external and internal factors" contributing to the rise of manufacturing industry in South Korea and the restructuring of the global market.

This emphasis on the confluence of multiple factors underlies Lie's "structural sequence analysis" of industrialization and political democratization in South Korea. Explicitly following the tradition of classical political economy, Lie focuses on several structural factors and historical contingencies that made South Korean industrialization possible: land reform, the developmental state, cheap labor, the global economy, and geopolitics. *A la Marx in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, he weaves the following line of argument. The 1952 land reform, implemented during the Korean War, dismantled the material basis of landed aristocracy that formed a powerful barrier against industrialization. Both the land reform and the war contributed to the rise of such modern ethos as egalitarianism among the population. The emergence of the developmental state was made possible by the overthrow of Rhee's corrupted regime by the 1960 student uprising joined by intellectuals. This event signified another fatal blow to the remaining political and economic dominance of the landed-class represented by Rhee's regime and dependent capitalists, which were supported by U.S. aid. The 1961 military coup d'état and Park's regime finally replaced the old political and economic elites with new ones. The authoritarian state under consecutive military regimes exploited conditions of the global economy and geopolitics that allowed South Korea to gain access to the global market, as well as to technology and capital from Japan and the United States. At the same time the Korean state ensured the supply of low-cost labor by repressing workers.

Similarly, Lie explains the political democratization since the mid-1980s in terms of internal and external factors. Industrialization resulted in the growth of the urban working class who bore the heavy burden of repressive labor policies of the authoritarian state. It also led to diversification within the civilian and military bureaucracies and thereby undermined the concentration of power among a handful of elite. Furthermore, the authoritarian nature of industrialization, pursued in the name of nation building, alienated various social groups from the military regimes. Ironically, economic growth, perceived as the only source of tenuous legitimacy, subverted the regimes' attempt to gain popular support. Moreover, with the activation of civil society in many Third World countries, covert American support for dictatorship in these countries was superseded by overt denouncement of it.

While Lie constructs the "structural sequence analysis" cogently by using the existing body of literature on South Korea's recent history, particularly that of political economy, his discussion of the 1990s in the last chapter is too thin. He tries to deal with this problem by limiting readers' expectation with the specification that the chapter is "a brief survey of South Korea in the mid-1990s." Nevertheless, this survey of social and cultural transformations is too cursory and lacks tight connection to earlier discussions of economic and political transformation. He assigns only a page or two each to treat such issues as "changing family and gender relations" and "nationalism and the minorities." Although these are unequivocally

crucial issues, readers are left puzzled about what structural factors and historical contingencies contribute to changing gender relations and family, as well as the problem of “the minorities.” His own warning against “airport sociology” and “the needs for a certain cultural immersion” seem to be relevant here.

Nonetheless, this book is a comprehensive study of the causes of South Korean development based on adroit synthesizing of the body of existing literature on the topic. The 56-page reference for the 171-page text is quite impressive and would make a useful guide for those who are not familiar with South Korea.

**Czechoslovakia 1918-1992: A Laboratory for Social Change.**

*By Jaroslav Krejci and Pavel Machonin.* Macmillan Press, 1996. 266 pp.

*Reviewers:* MICHAEL D. KENNEDY and ELAINE WEINER, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

These two prominent Czech sociologists seek to “provide the Anglophone reader with a succinct account of a unique experiment in nation-building: an attempt to build up a composite ethnic (Czechoslovak) nation and provide it with an adequate political framework.” Their own lives exemplify some of the themes about which they write. Krejci fled Czechoslovakia shortly after 1968 and resumed his academic career in England. Machonin, banned from professional work following the Prague Spring, was able to resume his scholarly pursuits only after 1989. This volume reflects a synthesis of each scholar’s life work, although divided into three separate sections.

In Part I, *Ethnopolitics*, Krejci analyzes the composite nation from its founding in the wake of World War I through World War II, communism, the Velvet Revolution and finally the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1992. He uses the idea of “partnership” to explore relations between Czechs and Slovaks, and “coping” to address the nation-state’s relationship to its ethnic minorities, including Magyars, Jews, Poles, Ruthenians and Sudeten Germans. Krejci’s background in National Accounting is clear in Part II, *The Economic Context*. He explains economic development in Czechoslovakia during the First Republic, its disruption in 1938, and its initial achievements and eventual failings under communism. Krejci organizes much of the discussion around regional differences, especially between the Czech lands and Slovakia. In Part III, *Social Metamorphoses*, Machonin explores the fundamental social changes from the birth of the Czechoslovak nation-state to its dissolution. His pioneering 1967 survey on stratification serves as one of the principal benchmarks for understanding change. He states that analyzing the impact of social change on the relationship between the two nations is “unprecedented.”