

what position Australia might aim for in a world of more greatly differentiated nuclear capabilities, where US systems such as MIRV, Trident and surveillance satellites bear no relationship to the sorts of systems which an India or South Africa might acquire for quite different and local purposes. Third, he does not suggest a force structure in relation to a specific set of missions. This would lead to a systems analysis exercise involving problems of redesign in the light of changing hostile systems, problems of fuels, reaction times, and penetration capabilities which the book does not attempt. Partly for these reasons, and partly because of the constantly changing economics of nuclear technology, the figures he suggests for possible alternative Australian force structures also seem somewhat speculative.

Nor does Bellany discuss the dangers which the spread of nuclear technology poses for the monopoly of nuclear control by the governments of nation states. For these are territorially defined and have governments which can be called to account. But what if such materials come to be used, or their use is threatened, by liberation or terrorist groups of various kinds? These dangers as well as possible measures of defense against them, have been inadequately examined in the literature.

Within Australia, Bellany has come in for much criticism on the grounds that he has not merely ignored the domestic politics of these issues but has also failed to condemn those groups which have argued in favor of maintaining a nuclear option. For me however, the avoidance of *a priori* political and moral strictures is one of the strengths of this calm and sensible, if limited, book. Bellany points out instead that for Australia support of antinuclear weapon and anti-proliferation measures is for the time being quite compatible with the acquisition of nuclear technology and the refining of nuclear options. His recommendation that Australia should ratify the NPT, written well before the new Labour Government did so in early 1973, is also on grounds which some of that government's supporters might find objectionable:

... Australia is signing away very little. It may expect to get in return a more open-handed attitude on the part of the nuclear exporting countries, which will make the growth of an Australian nuclear industry easier, which will in turn make a threat, real or implicit, in the future to ignore the provisions of the NPT more credible and make a decision to acquire a nuclear force a rational policy alternative sooner. And yet an Australian ratification ... if it contributes to the success of the treaty, will decrease the chances that Australia should ever have to become a nuclear power to protect itself from the effects of a competitive proliferation of nuclear weapons among its neighbours. ...

And the beauty of the NPT from Australia's viewpoint is that it does not preclude it or any non-nuclear signatory from taking steps, within limits, to insure itself against the day when the benefits of the treaty are seen to be outweighed by its disadvantages (p. 113).

Plainly, therefore, ratification does not of itself resolve the dispute between those who wish to "ban the bomb" and those who wish to refine Australia's technical capabilities. It is not the only respect in which Bellany's analyses and recommendations seem perceptive in retrospect. He points out that the US alliance is likely to become less important for Australia, that Australia is becoming readier to play a part in regional politics and that the machinery of the Australian federal government is, or was, quite deficient in its ability to understand and analyse the nuclear dimension of world politics. There have recently been some signs that Bellany's point has begun to be appreciated in Canberra. It is, indeed, time.

HARRY G. GELBER

*Monash University*

**The Politics of Iran: Groups, Classes and Modernization.** By James Alban Bill. (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972. Pp. ix, 174. \$3.95, paper.)

Although conditions in Iran are hardly conducive to free inquiry by social scientists, this has not dissuaded determined and enthusiastic scholars from attempting to unravel the intricacies of its rapidly changing political processes. Indeed, in the last decade, literature on the Iranian political system has appeared with regular frequency. The relative impunity of Western, particularly American scholars, to restrictive governmental measures has partially compensated for the difficulties encountered by native and often highly trained western scholars to probe the present political system critically and scientifically.

After several years of fieldwork Professor James Bill has produced one of the most perceptive and intriguing accounts of contemporary Iranian political processes. His emphasis is on the appearance of a new professional middle class and its relationship to other classes. The process of social change and political modernization is analyzed in terms of its impact on group and class relations.

The rise of the new class is traced to the constitutional movement of the early 1900s, continuing through Reza Shah's rule in the interwar years, and becoming an explosive and critical new force by the mid-1940s and early 1950s. This "professional bureaucratic intelligentsia" rejects the traditional power relationships, possesses or is

# The Politics Of Iran Groups Classes And Modernization

## Merrill Political Science Series

**Lingsheng Yao**



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Turkey Iran and Saudi Arabia Robert D Lee examines each country in terms of four domains in which state and religion necessarily interact national identity ideology institutions and political culture In each domain he considers contradictory hypotheses some of them asserting that religion is a positive force for political development and others identifying it as an obstacle Among the questions the book confronts Is secularization a necessary prerequisite for democratic development How is it and why is it that religion and politics are so deeply entangled in these five countries And why is it that all five countries differ so markedly in the way they identify themselves and use religion for political purposes The book argues that the nature of religious organization and practice in the Middle East must be understood in the context of individual nation states The second edition is updated throughout and includes an entirely new chapter discussing the political and religious climate in Saudi Arabia Earlier introductory analysis has been condensed to make room for new material and chronologies at the end of each chapter have been added to help students understand the broader context The second edition of Religion and Politics in the Middle East is a robust addition to courses on the Middle East      **The National Union Catalogs, 1963- ,1964**

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