



Article

A Comparative Analytical Study of Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi's Book (The White Revolution)

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Abstract: Iran's recent political history is highly significant due to the following events and developments that have had a significant impact on the country's political reality, particularly in the wake of the events and changes that the country has experienced: The White Revolution during Mohamed Reza Pahlavi's reign was one of the major events in recent Iranian history because of the changes it brought about on a number of levels, including the social and economic, which was one of the most notable aspects of the uprising led by Imam Khomeini in June 1963 of the fifteenth Persian Gulf War. The importance of the subject of the study is also due to the fact that it is one of the main preliminaries that led to the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Therefore, the choice of this topic came to delve into this revolution and find out the reasons that prompted the Iranian Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi to implement his reform program according to what he called the White Revolution or the revolution of the people and the Shah and the most important principles contained therein, and the extent of improvement witnessed by Iranian public life because of this revolution. The nature of the study required dividing it into an introduction, three sections, a conclusion and a list of the most important sources and references used in this research.

Keywords: History of Iran, White Revolution, Uprising, Islamic Revolution

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1. Introduction

The White Revolution and its Causes (1961 - 1963)

During this period, Iran witnessed an economic crisis, and many problems, including: social, economic and administrative, most Iranians have suffered from the effects of inflation, high prices and increasing social differences, as well as strengthening the position of bourgeois groups in markets and state institutions, and corruption resulting from the failure of plans that were developed to address the economic crisis that the country suffers from, which led to the emergence of the idea of the white revolution, which is intended as a revolution that occurs without bloodshed or methods of violence, whiteness symbolizes the implementation of the revolution and the achievement of its goals. By non-violence in the form of a peaceful coup, in order to lift the country out of its bad conditions (Kaabi, 2013, 30).

The reason behind this economic crisis, which the country is experiencing, was many factors, including the unequal distribution of wealth and financial resources, and

high and expensive military expenditures, which cost the economy a lot of money, which highlighted the phenomenon of bribery and administrative corruption, as well as the policy of economic openness to the West and the government's measures in the fields of taxes and the distribution of investment shares in order to protect the emerging industry, which posed heavy burdens on the local production of traditional goods (such as carpets, wool), in addition to the deficit in the Iranian budget, which was estimated at (three billion) Iranian rials, especially since this burden fell on the shoulders of the middle class of earners, craftsmen and workers, which generated popular resentment and widespread mass protests that constituted a tangible challenge to the Iranian government and the Shah (Al-Budairi, 2006, 38-39).

A series of political movements have also crystallized, represented by mass meetings, mass demonstrations, student strikes, as well as agricultural uprisings, and opposition organizations have begun to raise their orientations and slogans demanding comprehensive economic reform, foremost of which is land reform and raising the standard of living for the downtrodden social groups, which were represented by the Iranian farmer, the greatest suffering in Iranian society) (Kaabi, 2013, 32).

In the face of these deteriorating economic conditions and the government's inability to address them, the ministry was forced to resign on July 5, 1961, to be succeeded by Dr. Ali Amini (Ali Amini (1905-1992) Iranian politician, born in Tehran, studied law at France universities and joined the judiciary, headed the Customs and Monopolies Administration in 1933, became assistant to the Prime Minister in 1940, was appointed Iran's ambassador to Washington (1951-1958), and then became president

The new prime minister announced his government's desire to eliminate corruption and injustice and seek to achieve economic and social reforms, and at the same time stressed the need to launch freedoms, including freedom of the press and assembly, and also touched on the projects of his new government, especially agricultural reforms, land reform and the fight against corruption. In addition to improving the deteriorating economic conditions in the country, he noted that the Iranian government's debt had risen from ten million dollars to five hundred million dollars in 1961 (Mohamed, 2016, 73-75).

Among the measures taken by Amini to confront the crisis is the dissolution of the newly elected House of Representatives, the opening of negotiations with the Second National Front, and his broad campaign to combat administrative corruption in the government, and the Agrarian Reform Law has entered into force, and despite these measures, the Amini government has taken to face many obstacles, including the Shah's rejection of the Prime Minister's request to reduce the military budget, and the United States stopped supporting the state budget, which contributed to the exacerbation of the economic crisis. This led to the government's failure to implement its program (Al-Shammari, 2006, 33), and the internal unrest that the country witnessed, especially after the renewed demonstrations under the policy of repression by the security services, which prompted the government to submit its resignation on 19 July 1962 (Zahir, 2015, 64), to be tasked with establishing another figure to form the new ministry, which is the figure of Assad Allah Alam. Assad Allah Alam (1919-1978): Born in Birjand, educated at a school in Iran, he is one of the first landowners in Iran to distribute their property to the peasants, and was appointed director of the Pahlavi Foundation, a charitable foundation, who became prime minister at the age of 43.

In the face of these developments and the escalation of political tension significantly, and with the exacerbation of the country's problems, Iran began moving at a rapid and decisive pace towards a new stage, when Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi (Mohamed Reza Pahlavi (1919-1981): He was born in Tehran, studied in Switzerland, then joined the Military Academy after returning to Tehran and graduated in 1938 with the rank of lieutenant in artillery, and assumed the throne in. Twenty years old, his regime fell in 1979 with the Islamic Revolution led by Khomeini (Kayyali, undated, 581), with the launch of

his White Revolution, which aims to achieve two main goals, one political and social and the other economic, when the government wanted to absorb the pressure of the internal opposition that criticizes the phenomenon of land ownership and reduce the domination of feudal lords who own agricultural land in the countryside and practice their profession by trading in cities (Kaabi, 2013, 53).

Another reason for which the Shah aimed at his White Revolution was to strengthen his internal position and consolidate his absolute rule, he hoped to exploit his strong internal position and external image to be a reformed ruler to establish new rules in foreign policy in order to qualify Iran for a more effective domestic and regional role (Kaabi, 2013, 34). The Shah also announced that he aims behind this revolution and the reform steps other than the happiness and happiness of the Iranian people and that this revolution is in line with Iranian traditions, especially since we did not present this revolution to the people as an imported commodity, because the people are not worthy to wear a borrowed dress, especially since throughout the years he is creative of thought and an innovator of philosophy and logic... All that was necessary in this particular revolution was our own creativity (Pahlavi, 1968, 20).

As stated by the Shah, according to some sources, "that this revolution is not imposed on us or instructed to us, but on the contrary, it is a revolution based on the free cooperation of each member of society on the basis of the realization of its true concept, and what requires the realization of the origins of this revolution completely is that the knowledge of the members of the nation has the most depth and perfection possible and that they participate freely and with sincere faith in the implementation of these goals, whose goal is to secure their real interests in particular" (Affan, 1970, 14).

The Shah's goal behind these reforms is to achieve a number of things, including: weakening the political elite that was opposing him and his system of government, and this elite is represented by large landowners who enjoyed a prestigious economic and social status, in addition to achieving political stability in order to delegate his opponents and fill the gaps in political power and make his authority the only authority in the country without any challenge, as well as disarming the opposition by eliminating the marked opposition represented by the nationalists (Al-Ameedi and Al-Momen, 2017, 3).

All these reasons and goals sought, whether by the Shah or by United States, which aspired to make Iran a large market for it, prompted the Shah to announce his reform project, which he called, as we mentioned earlier, the White Revolution or the revolution of the Shah and the people, consisting of six points, which will be mentioned in the coming pages, and for that he tried to legitimize his project by holding a popular referendum to approve it on January 26, 1963, but the terms of the project It faced strong opposition from many groups when they announced a boycott of the referendum and their rejection of these reforms (al-Shammari, 2006, 35).

As a result, religious resistance against the Shah's reforms escalated, as Ayato Allah Khomeini issued a statement published in Tehran and other provinces in January 1963, in which he declared a boycott of the referendum because it was contrary to principles and law and imposed on the people by force (Najati, 2008, 227-229). This is not limited to the countryside only, but also among the segments of Iranian society (Al-Budairi, 2006, 72).

The position of Khomeini and the clerics in Iran on this project stems from their refusal to change the Islamic identity of the country, especially their rejection regarding one of the project's provisions for women (Khani, 2011, 17).

Khomeini's position was determined by him towards the Shah and his project, especially after he realized that this project is nothing but a conspiracy hatched by America and that it will achieve its interests at the expense of the national interests in the country. The events taking place today threaten the foundation of Islam and expose it to great danger and mass destruction, as the conspiracy is carefully hatched against Islam and the Muslim people and the exploitation of Iran, even if we were able to spread awareness in the hearts of people, and wake them up from their slumber to stand in the

face of these conspiracies and the rest of the Shah's plans, and we leave no room for the practice of colonialism and methods of deception with its dubious games... (B Center for Studies, 2001, 91-92).

This attitude of the religious establishment and the clergy was reflected in the continuation of the confrontation between them and the Shah, which escalated to the point that the Shah attacked the religious establishment in a sermon he delivered on 27 January, 1963, filled with insult and contempt for the clergy, as he called them thieves and bandits and considered them malicious people contrary to every useful order, and demanded that the Iranian people stay away from them as they stay away from harmful unclean animals (dry, 2008, 275).

Khomeini led the uprising known as the fifteenth uprising of Khordad, corresponding to the fifth of June 1963, and prepared for it through speeches and letters addressed to the clerics and the Shah and was able to attract large numbers of demonstrators from bazaar merchants, craftsmen, workers, employees, peasants and students of the University of Tehran, which posed a danger to the state (Budairi, 2015, 201). This coincided with the Shah's soldiers attacking those present at the funeral councils and confronting thousands of citizens crawling to Qom, then Khomeini issued a statement saying: "The more the regime persists in its crimes, the more it exposes itself, and this is a great victory for Islam and Muslims, and that the violation of sanctities and the killing of scholars and Muslims under torture and attacks on universities is one of the fruits of the White Revolution, and this consequently led to the masses in the country marching from end to end chanting "Death to the Shah" (Khalil, 2010, 190-195), and consequently the impact of the continuation of a violent clash that led to the death of a number of wounded, and the Shah's accusation of various kinds of accusations against Khomeini as well as methods of arrest and conviction, an attempt to distract the Imam and his preoccupation with legal procedures and trials (Madani, 1993, 76-77).

2. Materials and Methods

Research Design

This study utilizes a comparative analytical methodology to explore Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi's The White Revolution. By dissecting the political, social, and economic reforms articulated in the Shah's reform program, the research analyzes the outcomes and critiques these reforms in light of their historical context and the opposition they faced.

Data Collection

The study is based on the following sources:

1) *Primary Sources:*

- Shah Mohamed Reza Pahlavi's book The White Revolution.
- Historical documents, speeches, and declarations related to the reforms and events during the White Revolution.

2) *Secondary Sources:*

- Scholarly articles, books, and theses analyzing the White Revolution.
- Records of opposition movements, including those led by Imam Khomeini.
- Comparative studies on similar reform movements in Iran and other nations.

3) *Archival Research:*

- Access to documents such as legal amendments, referendum records, and policies implemented during the White Revolution.
- Statements and reactions from various stakeholders, including religious clerics and political opposition.

Methodological Steps

1) *Thematic Analysis:*

- The study breaks down the Shah's reform program into its major themes: political, social, and economic reforms.
- Each reform's intent, execution, and impact are scrutinized to identify patterns and discrepancies.

2) *Comparative Analysis:*

- The reforms are compared with the goals articulated by the Shah and their practical outcomes.
- The study examines the differences between the Shah's claims and the opposition's responses, particularly from religious and political groups.

3) *Critical Evaluation:*

- Outcomes of the reforms are critically evaluated to assess their efficacy and their role in escalating political unrest.
- Analysis of how the White Revolution influenced the socio-political fabric of Iran and contributed to the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

3. Results

The social principles of the White Revolution

First: Election Law

One of the issues that the Shah paid great attention to his reform program was the amendment of the electoral law, so that Iranian women have the right to participate in the election process and the right to vote in it, and represented his saying, according to what was stated in his book regarding the article related to the law, that "those deprived of the right to vote are: women, those who have not reached the dream and are still under the supervision of the legal values, fraudulently bankrupt, perpetrators of murder and theft, and other criminals on whom Islamic hudud is obligatory," and he also mentioned that I am issuing Decree 27 February 1963 By equalizing the rights of women with men in the matter of elections, I have fulfilled one of the duties before the people, erased a social stain from the forehead of the nation, and eliminated a situation that changed the spirit of the holy Islamic law and also contradicted the country's constitution. I am sure that the women of Iran prepared themselves to serve the country after they had equal rights with men, and that women represented a disadvantaged class, so they will descend into the field of social activity with great enthusiasm and pledge to work hard and attentively. 1998, 108-109). Especially since Islam has placed women in a decent place in Islamic society, and for us Iranians who inherited a great civilization and a great culture, we did not consider women as something neglected and did not have the necessary competencies to participate in life (Arabian Gulf Center, 2016, 133).

The Shah's goal behind this article is to suggest to the United States of America that his country is moving in the line of modernization, reform and development by involving Iranian women in all joints of public life, whether political, social or economic, after allowing them to be represented in parliament, as stated in Article V of his reform program, which stipulated "reforming the electoral system so that it includes the right to vote for women. Iranian women are on his side in his conflict with the religious establishment for the reason that they opposed his regime known as dictatorship and the oppression of Iranian men and women, which is explained by his attempt to save his regime from collapse (Majeed, 2015, 135-136).

This article provoked great opposition by the clerics, which raised slogans directed at the Shah's regime, which according to their opinion has torn the beliefs of the Islamic countries and violated the constitutional laws and other accusations that found resonance among the demonstrators, which led to confrontations between the two parties, and the spread of unrest to areas further from Tehran as well as Qom, which prompted the Shah to arrest members of the National Front (Budairi, 2006, 48), and the arrest of Imam

Khomeini and his deportation to Tehran, and this made matters worse, thousands of masses came out in various cities and provinces of the country chanting ((death)) or ((Khomeini)) so there was no way but to release Khomeini and his detained scholars, so the masses took to receive him and with great happiness (Najafi and Haqqani, 2013, 255).

In his book, Mohamed Annan explained his opinion on the issue of granting women the right to vote, stating that the revolution with these rights granted to women and this equality had removed the brutal social injustice and opened up for Iranian women to increase their effectiveness in the affairs of national life to bring the standard of social life of Iran closer to the ranks of the finest world societies (Affan, 1970, 37).

The amendment to the electoral law was approved on February 17, 1963, and under the amendment of the law, elections were held for the twenty-first session, which is the first electoral cycle after the White Revolution, in which a number of court women, notables and nobles won deputies in the Iranian Assembly, including: ((Shawkat Jahanbani, Farkh Robarsa, Hajar Tarbet Maharankiz, Dolshahi)), and that the Shah's endeavor to liberate Iranian women, according to Khomeini, aims to corrupt chaste women (Kaabi, 2013, 49). He stressed that the Shah and Prime Minister Assad Allah Alam worked on the Iranian work in deceptive topics and slogans that bring nothing but unhappiness and corruption to the country, and he said in this regard: "With these miserable conditions, and instead of thinking about finding solutions to the dilemmas, the government preoccupies itself and the people with issues in exchange for women's participation in elections, or granting women's rights to other deceptive slogans... Religious scholars have already predicted all these things, and they openly declare that the list recently approved by the government regarding the participation of women in elections is worthless from the point of view of Sharia, we ask Allah Almighty to wake our government from the sleep of inattention, and to have mercy on the Muslim people and the Islamic country" (Al-Mahawili, 2019, 51-52).

The adoption of this law constituted a pivotal stage in the political history of women in Iran and was the beginning of their launch by entering politics from the widest doors, after they were deprived and prohibited from participating politically in elections (Al-Amidi and Al-Momen, 2017, 5).

Second: The Educational System:

One of the other things that the Shah paid special attention to in his White Revolution, as he calls it, is the education system or what he calls the army of science, when he said that one of the great gifts that our revolution can offer to the large Iranian masses is thus the successful efforts to educate them by using the constructive energy inherent in the soul of every Iranian youth, and work began to implement the education army project through two lists that we presented to Parliament on October 26, (3 December) 1962. It was voted by the general public on January 26, 1963, and the first platoon of the Army of Science began its training course, which lasted four months (Pahlavi, 1998, 118), and these became cadres to eradicate illiteracy among the people of villages and countryside, entitled (teacher in the villages), and the first session included (2460) students, while the second session of formal education included (3500) students, and the Shah has counted what these and these battalions are doing as a sacred national jihad because they fight ignorance and illiteracy and lay the foundations of society Sophisticated Learner (Mohamed and Abed, 2019, 360-361).

Through what we called the Iranian flag army, we were able to legitimize reading and writing in front of approximately (450,000) boys, (120,000) girls, (240,000) illiterate men and (11,555) illiterate women, in addition to its ability through this army to establish about (10,000) school buildings and restore (6000) other school beginnings, as well as the restoration of approximately (7000) mosques and the construction of (900) a new mosque, as well as the registration of more than (7,500) associations in the name of the Family and School Association, and other aspects related to education matters such as the

Primary Teachers' House, two industrial colleges, universities, and other institutes that all contribute to the creation of the new Iranian generation (Affan, 1970, 41-42).

The educational programs expanded to include the training of workers on professional work, which contributed to the graduation of more than (2500) trainers and technical workers from vocational education centers in 1962, and they were also provided with professional certificates, in addition to that approximately (5000) people from supervisors in the country's factories have learned the principles of training and supervision, and classes were established to combat illiteracy numbering (500) rows in various laboratories and other achievements in this field (Kaabi, 2013, 53-54).

The Shah also stated that this revolution is a humanitarian and human revolution above all, that is, it depends on ensuring the rights of the disadvantaged masses, and he also explained that the issue of the struggle against illiteracy is a global issue and we, as heirs of the spiritual traditions of the ancient Iranian culture, can accept that there is any difference in terms of human rights between the illiterate in our country and the illiterate in the rest of the world, and this is what actually happened, the revolution has achieved great and important results in the field of education and the fight against eradication. Illiteracy (Pahlavi, 1998, 126-127).

The third topic

The economic principles of the White Revolution

First: Agrarian Reform

The opinions of many historians differed about the main reasons that prompted the Shah to present his agricultural program, some saw that this is an unparalleled step, as it is not left for any Iranian king to request an official mandate from citizens, while other historians stated that the Shah's taking this step has made him a hero in front of peasants and workers at the expense of landowners, merchants and industrialists, while others saw that the Shah had aimed behind this step to obtain a new segment that expands his legitimacy. The real reason for starting this agricultural project is to deceive the poor peasants on the basis that they will become landowners who use them against anyone who stands against him (Kaabi, 2013, 57).

In the article on agrarian reform, the Shah focused on the lands of the feudal lords, when he gave them five options regarding land: leasing the land to the peasants according to thirty-year contracts, selling the land to the peasants at amicably agreed prices, dividing the land according to the prevailing crop distribution ratios, forming joint stock companies that the feudal lords and peasants hold or buying the land from the peasants (Mohamed and Abed, 2019). 93-94), on the other hand, the Shah began to distribute royal lands and princely lands, as more than 300 villages were distributed to 35,000 peasants and (50) private villages that were owned by the state to (3000) farmers, and he also decided to determine the maximum limit of agricultural ownership with (350) hectares for irrigation land and (700) hectares for lands irrigated with rainwater, and this resulted in an overwhelming majority of the Iranian people obtaining the desired benefit (Fahmi, 1923, 147).

The White Revolution aimed to address the conditions experienced by the Iranian farmer, and the economic and social conditions he suffered, as well as the conditions generated by World War II, the Shah wanted to raise the productivity of agriculture, especially since about 45% of the arable land was cultivated with full dependence on the owner and the farmer's participation in the crop, then the Shah and the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law began to distribute land in Babulsar from the Mazandaran district in northern Iran by distributing title deeds to 18 villages to their farmers. On June 13, 1961, he distributed princely lands near the Iran-Soviet border to peasants and other lands that he distributed in different regions of the country (Kaabi, 2013, 59-60).

The first phase of the agrarian reform came at the beginning of 1992 by determining the ownership of one person in one village or six separate villages, and expelling the peasants working in the possible fields, that is, in which agricultural mechanization is used, and then the land was redistributed to those who were working in it to pay for it plus (10%) within fifteen years, and this led to the expulsion of many of those who did not pay the installment, and the percentage of families included in the distribution of land reached (19%) of the group of families, while the percentage of (81%) its conditions have not changed, which led to the escalation of the economic and social crisis in the country and thus contributed to the migration of peasants from the countryside (Al-Shammari, 2006, 36-37).

On the other hand, the agrarian reform was not limited to the distribution of land only, but worked to repeat a number of terms such as Feudal (feudal) conscious, supervision (aristocracy) and mayor owner (i.e. owner of large lands), as well as dividing the countryside into about (1300) commercial enterprises, each of which owns more than (200) hectares, and about (640) thousand landowners, a large number of whom are absent owners who own between (10 and 200) hectares and one million and two hundred thousand families (Ibrahimian, 2014, 186).

The agrarian reform also included a law stipulating the establishment of agricultural cooperatives, when nearly eight thousand agricultural cooperatives were formed, and they included about one million affiliates, and these cooperatives carry out their activities of providing loans to market agricultural crops, as well as carrying out social services such as education, health and others, and that the reform included religious endowments, which caused great opposition by the clergy, led by Khomeini (Al-Shammari, 1983, 87), and there are those who mentioned that the agrarian reform project is only an American project behind which the United States of America aimed to make Iran a large commercial market for it, and indeed this is what happened when the agricultural reform in the commercial and industrial field relied on foreign investments, especially the United States, to cause great damage to Iranian agriculture, when Iran turned from an exporter of wheat to an importing country. and the use of villagers as cheap workers to serve the assembly and service industries (Al-Sultani, 2013, 635-636).

The implementation of the law has made great progress, especially in its first phase compared to the next two stages, as it included in its first phase about (14,646) villages, i.e. (30%) of the total Iranian villages, despite the mixed reactions towards, especially by the influential feudal class and large landlords who rejected the law because they felt the danger that threatens their inherited interests and privileges, despite the appeal it made to the government, in which it demanded the abandonment of the reforms to be implemented in the countryside as it contradicts the provisions of the constitution that stipulated the confiscation of private property, but the government neglected it and this made the power of the feudal lords turn into a hand against the government (Kaabi, 2013, 69-70).

Thus, by passing the Agrarian Reform Law, the Shah and his government were able to weaken the influence of rural notables, producing large numbers of independent farmers and landless agricultural workers who became a large and influential political force, especially since this reform program was designed to pre-empt a red revolution against the Shahshahi regime (Jurani, 2015, 97).

Second: Nationalization of forests and rangelands

Among the articles of the White Revolution, the revolution of the Iranian Shah was the nationalization of the forests that were referendum, and after this article was approved, the sources and wealth of Iran became subject to the public ownership of the state (Kaabi, 2013, 75), and many factors contributed to the Shah's nationalization of these forests, including the problem of private property of forests, as those in charge of them were interested in their personal interests only and they were often burning trees in order

to obtain coal from them or uprooting trees and leaving their places fallow. As they were, they then moved to other parts of the forest, and the forest organization did not have a way to save it from damage, but only collected legal fees and confronted with the obstacles and obstacles that prevented it from fulfilling its duties, all of these reasons prompted the Shah to take this step to eliminate this situation (Pahlavi, 1998, 65-66).

As a result, the government ratified the Forestry Nationalization Law on March 17, 1963, under which all the country's forests became the property of the nation, and took rapid measures to manage, guard and expand forests, as well as the issuance of the Forest and Forest Consumption Law, and the area of forests in Iran reached eight million hectares, most of which are located in the north of the country, and pastures were nationalized and the Qaimqamiya of Janour in 1963 took a set of measures to resolve disputes between farmers and livestock owners (Kaabi, 2013, 76-77).

The Shah stated in his book that almarai had come into the ownership of the people, and that governmental organizations would now implement their reformist artistic programs on the basis of the finest progressive reformist arts in the civilized world, and that the spirit of assistance and cooperation would be the best guarantor of this program (Pahlavi, 1998, 74).

Third: Involving workers in the profits of factories and factories

The second article also stipulated the law on the participation of workers in the shares of factories, which is one of the principles of the White Revolution, as follows: ((The managers of factories that the committee mentioned in the first article deems to be covered by this law and to hold collective contracts within a maximum period June 1963 with representatives of the workers of the factory or the union representing the majority in the factory, on the basis of granting the reward in proportion to increasing production or reducing cost and reducing losses or on the basis of involving workers in profits or Under this law, the Agricultural Bank grants landowners some of the shares of the State Factories Joint Stock Company instead of cash loans (Kaabi, 2013, 72-73).

Thanks to this law, the Iranian worker today enjoys the finest labor laws in the world, and in June 1963 a law was developed in the name of ((Annex to the Law on the Participation of Workers in the Profits of Industrial and Productive Enterprises)), as well as the establishment of a bank named ((Bank for the Entertainment of Workers)) thanks to which (250) cooperative companies with labor credits comprised (120,000) members of workers, as well as the bank's provision of more than one billion and three hundred million riyals for the preparation of housing, the restoration of residential houses, its preparation and the payment of their debts. Pahlavi, 1998, 90-91).

Despite the results achieved in this area, they were not satisfactory, as government statistics indicated that there were twelve thousand factories and factories, each of which did not exceed ten people, and the law of participation of workers in profits was not applied in more than (140) factories of the total total, and this means that the workers were not at the same level, as some of them enjoyed a small amount in addition to bearing the types of deprivation and pledging to remain silent about the struggle to improve working conditions. This led to labor strikes on January 26, 1962, when workers realized that the issue of their shares of factory profits was nothing but a slogan to raise and a means to suppress them (Kaabi, 2013, 74-75).

Fourth: Selling the shares of government factories

Among the articles of the reform program of the Iranian Shah this article related to the sale of factory shares, which was offered on March 26, 1963 and was accepted, and under this law became (55) government factory affiliated with the Ministry of Economy and by the factory for the manufacture of sugar, textile and cement and made the shares of those factories an asset for agricultural reform as a complement to it, and was established for this company known as the company ((shares of government factories)), and the percentage of sugar factories (43%) of the company's capital and (38) returns to

textile factories, and other percentages that The aim was to provide the government with new financial revenues that would enable it to finance the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law (Kaabi, 2013, 70-71).

The revolution, assuming the Shah's goal in its steps and approach and seeking to achieve it, was nothing but a complete failure in the end, as its results were the opposite of what the Shah wanted and came contrary to its white-red character with the color of the blood of the victims of the various teams of internal conflict in the country, it turned into a social and economic disaster and into pools of blood and tragedies, and the proof of this is that it was the reason for the outbreak and establishment of the revolution in 1979, known as the Islamic Revolution (Hamati, 1980, 24).

4. Conclusion

The study reached a set of conclusions, including:

1. United States had a long hand in the Shah's reform program known as the White Revolution, and its support for the Shah and his program stemming from its goals that it sought makes Iran closely linked.
2. The Shah aims behind this revolution to reform the general conditions in the country and improve the conditions of the people who suffer from deprivation and low standard of living, but he had mystical goals he wanted to strengthen his position and rule and appear as a patriot defender of the working class in the country and the best evidence of this is his closeness to the class of peasants and toilers, who put them first in his reform program was aimed at gaining a class that has weight in the country to then use them against Whoever stands up to him.
3. Through this reform program, the Shah wanted to strike the Iranian opposition in the heart, especially the clerics, by stripping them of their privileges first and liberating them from their base of supporters, which is concentrated in the poor areas, namely the countryside, which ultimately led to multiple confrontations between the Shah and the clerics, led by Imam Khomeini, which reached the stage of martyrs and wounded.
4. Despite the many results achieved by the White Revolution in various social and economic aspects, it was not without negatives and failures, as evidenced by the exacerbation of the suffering of the Iranian peasant and his poor conditions, which prompted him to emigrate from the countryside.
5. Although the White Shah's revolution faced opposition from various parties, foremost of which was the religious establishment, we find that the Shah did not stop, but began to apply it even after 1963 and the uprising against him, and the evidence for this is that he added other principles after 1964, and the six principles increased.

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