CHAPTER VI

Conclusions
Conclusions:

In the first chapter we have discussed the concept of foreign policy, importance of foreign policy, determinant factors of foreign policy. Definition of key terms in the study, objectives of the study, hypothesis, significance of the problems methodology, literature review and chapterisation of the study.

The second chapter of the thesis deals with the principles and objectives of foreign policy of India and Iran. An attempt is made in this chapter to study the main objectives of the foreign policies of both the countries in a historical perspectives. The roots of India’s foreign policy can be traced back to Buddha, Ashoka the great and Kautilya, The realist political thinker. It is also based on the Hindu Philosophy namely vasudaiva kutumbakam and Gandhi an principles. Buddha although was a king could not think to wage the war against any country or individual king. Buddha’s principle of tolerance has really helped to establish place and tranquility in the country which has been adopted by most of the countries of the world. Even the concept of Panchasheela is borrowed from Buddhist ideology which claims mutual respect for each other, non aggression, mutual non-interference, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. India’s foreign policy is totally based on the Buddhist philosophy who was the heredaral of peace to the entire world community.

India has also adopted the principles of Ashoka who renounced war in 299 A.D wherein millions and millions of soldiers were brutally killed. Ashoka declared that he would not beat the drum of war, whereas he vowed to beat drum of peace for the survival of humanity. India’s Foreign policy also adopted the kautiliya ideas who believes in the principle of protecting the self interest, as a realist thinker, kautilya laid emphasis on maintaining the power and wealth for the welfare of each citizen who live in that. He was responsible, for establishing a strong and stable Mauryan empire in which kautilya himself was a prime minister. He was a friend, philosopher and guide under who’s stewardship the Mauryan empire attained the higher water mark and zaneth.

India was under the yoke of Foreign rule for nearly 150 Years under who’s administration, India has suffered a lot in all walks of life. This experience has brought turbulences and great depressions to the Indian people at large and political leaders in particular
India was in a great dilemma when we achieved independence in 1947 with regard to the formulation of India’s Foreign policy. Nehru declared on the floor of the parliament in march 1950 that India is friend to all the nations and enemy to none. He also made his views candid clear that, we are liberated from the clutches of the British administration and we want to progress in the fields of social, economic, cultural, education and technology and therefore India will stretch its hand to all the nations for the help. for the all round development of our vast nation and people. The makers of the Indian constitution clarified the objectives of our foreign policy in terms of international peace and pacific settlement of international disputes through mediation and dialogues.

The thesis also throws light on the objectives of India’s foreign policy in a nut shell in conformity with the principles of United Nations which we consider it as a world government. The main objectives of the foreign polices are discussed as following

- Promoting Peace
- Disarmament
- establishing fare, stable and equitable global order

Although Nehru was sandwiched between western and eastern blocks, however he couldn’t stick to any block for various reasons more particularly the political one. He openly appealed the entire world fraternity to help in their ways and range to develop India’s society, economy and politi. As a prime minister and minister for foreign policy. he Pressurizes WHO FAO, UNISEF and UNESCO of stretch their hands in fighting diseases, starvation, poverty, illiteracy and famine. Nehru as a scholarly politician chose middle path that is I Non alignment Policy, there was a great pressure on Nehru and his cabinet to adopt British policy in our foreign affairs but he politely denied and argued that India is the most important country in the world in general and south Asia in particular. India had have two immediate enemy countries namely Pakis than and china, trying to destabilize the fabric of our society, economy and polity. therefore Nehru adopted the policy of NAM without caring the western block which criticised our foreign policy as “sitting on the fence policy.
We have also discussed the principle of pancha sheela or Peaceful co-existence which was signed between India and China in 1964. Keeping in view, the better future relationship. However then China’s primer Chaoenlibroke. The faith in the world in pancha sheela and waged war in India in 1964 which has not only created a tense situation among both the countries but also we lost Jawaharlal Nehru who was considered as uncrowned king and unquestionable leader.

The Foreign policy also aims at the question of opposition to racial discrimination. In fact India supports all those people and race who are the Victims of racial discrimination. This principle has been adopted in our foreign policy. In accordance with the gandhian Principles who himself was ill-treated in south Africa by the whites. This policy helps not only the black apartheid but also strengthen the principles of fraternity, equality and justice which we have discussed in the body of thesis in a detailed way.

The other policy is getting economic aid for the rapid and around development of industries and economy. Over a period of 6 decades, India has gained financial technological and technical no vow from all the countries more particularly from rest while soviet union and U.S.A. The minute details are discussed in the thesis fro supporting our arguments. The other important discussion in the thesis is supporting to the united nations and Vice-Versa. India is assisting in the matters of offer Asian and lower American countries. India has also helped in resolving Korean war. united Nation has considered India as one of the most trustworthy friend to all the neighboring countries which we have discussed in our thesis.

The other principles of the India’s foreign policy are:

- Peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- In accordance with Article 51 of the Indian constitution which proclaims that “State shall Endeavour to seek peaceful settlement of international disputes”. India has made all attempts to resolve the crisis through diplomatic means.

We have made an attempt to discuss the determinance of India’s foreign policy in our thesis. The most important determinants are geography, economic factors, Ideological factors, the charismatic personality of Jawaharlal Nehru etc.
1) Geography

India is a biggest country in the world and more particularly in South Asia which has strategically, situated with mighty Himalaya in the North and Indian Ocean across the country. The Neighboring countries of India are Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan, and earstwhile Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Indonesia. India has strived hard to maintain cordial relation with every nation more particularly with the neighboring countries. Although India is having irritant relation with Pakistan and China because of the boarder disputes. China and Pakistan have provoked unnecessarily India as a result both of countries involved in a war situation which ultimately spoiled our relationship this has been discussed in the thesis in a detailed manners.

2) Economic Factors

After Independence India maintained her economic and trade relationship with Great Britain, United States, Germany, Japan, Middle-Eastern countries and other nations to develop its agriculture, science and technology and trade relationship. It was the need of the hour for India to develop its economy in order to modernize and development. Therefore, it borrowed technical know-how from developed countries more particularly from United States of America after the collapse of USSR in 1991. India is a developing country after 1991 because of the new economic policy introduced by late Prime Minster Sri. P.V. Narasihmarao. Even India is playing strategic role in the era of the end of cold war.

3) Ideological Factor

India’s foreign policy is based upon the synthesis of liberalism and Marxism. As the Prime Minister and also the Minister for foreign Affairs, Jawaharal Nehru, chosen non-alignment policy to keep both the blocks in equi-distance from 1947-1964. The ideology of India’s foreign policy is once again not the whole philosophy of Nehru alone but it has the cardinal principles of Buddhism, Hinduism and Gandism which have been discussed in the thesis in detail.

4) Charismatic Personality of Jawaharal Nehru

Jawaharal Nehru represent the elitist political background because his grandfather Motilal Nehru himself was a great scholar. Nehru was the product of Cambridge University wherein he
studied the Liberal Philosophy of Herold Laski and others. Jawaharal Nehru influenced by Mahatma Gandhi who instilled in him the sense of nationalism and brotherhood of a man. As a prime minister of India he faced the critical internal and external problems with great courage and conviction. Because of his a farsightedness and charismatic personality shaped the Indian destiny and therefore he is rightly called as the “Architect of Modern India”, whose ideals have really helped for formulation of India’s foreign policy which we have elaborated in detailed ways.

**Foreign Policy of Iran:**

In the 2nd chapter of the thesis we have made an attempt to discuss the importance and determinance of the foreign policy of Iran. The foreign policy of Iran can be discussed in two parts namely foreign policy during pre-revolution period and post-revolution period. Iran had adopted foreign policy of its own after 1979 revolution keeping in view its emerging needs and demands and also its immediate cordial relationship with the neighbouring countries.

There are divergent opinion with regard to the foreign policy of Iran. The view of the first group laid emphasis on maintaining and sustaining its national identity. The second view point is that Iran is a dependent country in many ways and therefore it should have good relationship with other countries in general and neighboring countries in particular.

Article 152, 153, 154 and 155 defines the foreign policy of Iran. The guidelines of Islamic Republic of Iran are as follows.

- Rejections of Domineering
- Preserving independence
- Non interference in the internal affair of the other countries
- Maintaining integrity, freedom and unity
- Peaceful relation with other nations
- Respecting the international agreements and contracts
- Resolving the disputes through diplomacy or peaceful negotiation.
The objectives and characteristics Iran foreign policy has been discussed in the thesis in a more scientific way. The linkage has been provided to understand the foreign policy between India and Iran from ancient to modern periods. The constitutional provisions of India and Iran are being discussed in the 2nd chapter with utmost care and in a academic discipline.

The 3rd chapter of the thesis deals with Indo-Iran relationship from ancient to modern period. India and Iran are the older civilizations of the world and their relationship can be traced back to 2000 BC when the Iranians migrated to India. It is believed that both Indian and Iranians belong to same stack of race known as Aryans. There are similarities in terms of cultural ethosis and patterns which can be seen in Hindu scripture Veda and Iranian zenda Avesta. The identity of the similar culture of both the race are being discussed by Panini in his famous Sanskrit work. Even there are similar nominative forms like Manu and Nun. Both the countries have developed enormous socio-cultural, economic trade and commerce relationship for many centuries and it is the evident in the 14th century BC where in the people called Mittani king belonged to Indo-Iranian names.

It is also evident from the historical records that Punjab was the part of Persian empire. Herodotus who visited India given an account that Indian people they were very rich and paid their tribute to king Darious. Hirodotous also mentions that there was exchange of infantry, cavalry and chariots between India and Iran during wars. Greek Philosophers Putnagoras also mentioned that India had strong relationship with Iran, from 6 to 4 century B.C.

In two pillar edicts of Ashoka the great there is a mention about Achaemenian Pillars erected by Ashoka. There was a strong relationship between the two countries during Chandragupta Murya period wherein he mentioned about the Iranian names like Pahalavas who stayed in north western India. Even both the countries had strongest relationship during Pulakeshi II. The king of Badhami in Karnataka who sent an ambassador by name Khosro II (Parviz) in 625 AD. Relationship were also strong between the two countries during Gupta period and the Sassanian of Persia paid visit to Pataliputra which was the capital city of Gupta empire. Buddhism has greater influence on Persia because Kanishka the rulers of north west India begin to spread Buddhism in central Asia and Far East.
The Gandhara school of Buddhist art was introduced in Persia and it has got its own impact on Iranian culture in the province of Khosasam. There is a strong relationship between Zoroastrianism and Buddhism over the centuries. The parthian of east Iran and central Asian Iranian translated Sanskrit text in Persian and there is a reference that around 5 Sanskrit works of Buddhism are still available as a mark of cultural relationships. The famous pantenathartha was translated by Pahallavi and text is available in Arabic Persia. Both the countries exchanged sandlewood, magnets, pearls, gold and silver in their trade during 6th century.

The Charakasamitra the famous Sanskrit text was translated in 7th century A.D. in Persian language With the advent of Islam many Islamic Arab armies under the commandership of Mohamudbin Quasime helped each other during 7th century. There are enough evidence that most of the Iranian lived near Thana of Mumbai in the early 8th century A.D. Many treatises were translated in Arabic under the title of gij-alarjabhar. It is also believed that two monumental works of Brahma Guptha namely Bramasputna Siddantna and Kanda Kavya were taken to Bhagdad and translated to Arabic.

It is said that Islam entered India through Sulthan Mohamad Ghaznavi who introduced magnificent art of Iran in India. Khiljis started their rule in 14th century and in the later part many muslim kings ruled India. soffism which is a strong spiritual philosophy of Islam was introduced in India and Akbar the great in his Din-elahi argues about the Islamic secularalism. The great poets Din-E Elahi like Abusaid Abil Kahir, Abdul Masid Sanai, Fariduddin altaar Jalaluddin balkhi and Summa runi are the worth mentioning sufii poets. The most plominant souffis were moinuddin chisati, faridduddin gans, shakr, Nijamuddin Aulla, Jalaluddin Thabriji, Bahauddin Jakria and Quthbuuddin Bakhthiar. There is a mention about the Mugual pattrenage in India. Babar himself was a Persian poet and was a pattern of Persian poems Latter on Humayuns son Baber defeated Afghan king by using military help giranion king Shaha Tahmasp Saffavi. Humayun visited several places of Iran like Sisthan, harat, Ham tabriz and Ardebil. The Moghals have borrowed most of the Ideas from the Iran.

Babar initiated lots of interest to develop the gardens in India. one such famous garden is Mughal garden in Delhi Taj Mahal which is the world famous monument which is the replic of muslim art and architecture. Even the Persian carpets which were introduced in India which voluminously speaks about the Persian contribution to India.
However, there was a decline in the Indo-Iranian relationship when the Muslim rulers started their invasion on India with religious phanaticism and unsecular tendency. But there are many families still leaving in Iran with business. There are few Hindu temples built, and Guru Dwara was built in Zahedan in 1927. Jawaharlal Nehru paid several visits to Iran to sustained relationship between the two. 1974 Mrs Indra Gandhi paid visit to P.V. Narashima Rao in 1993, Atal Bihari Vajipaye in 2001 and the Iranian diplomats and presidents have also visited in recent past. Rabindranatha Tagore declared that despite of our cultural differences and political problems both India and Iran will continue to work in cooperation in the days to come.

The fourth chapter of the thesis throws flood of light on the relation between India and Iran from 1947 to 1989. After Independence India experienced a complex fall out of the second world war. India was in a trauma because of its partition in which we lost nearly 590 miles of common boarder with Iran. However Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, He helped Iran by way of requesting Russia for the withdrawal of its army which has created enormous problems to Iran. Nehru supported Iran in and out more particularly in its external affairs relationship. As a result Iran participated in the first non-governmental organization, Asian relations conference which was held in new Delhi in March 1947. Iran worked as a buffer state between India and Pakistan to ease the tention vice-versa to help India emerged as a powerful nation in Asian continent. The India Iran relationship were strong in many ways which can be evident from the following.

- Both the countries amicably settled many problems and sustained their relationship through mutual peace and friendship.
- Both the countries identified the irritant areas and tried to solve the differences through diplomatic mechanism.
- Shah of Iran visited Pakistan and acted as the heralder of peace between the two countries.

President of India visited Tehran on March 15th 1950 and signed the treaties with Iran on many issues. The major agreements between the two were to promote and strengthen the relationship between two. In accordance with article are Both the countries agreed to respect the
international law and act according to the provisions of the law in pursuance with article second of the treaty. Similarly the agreement was made between the two countries with regard to trade, commerce, navigation and cultural relationship. The treaty also included for the settlement of the differences through diplomatic channels and peaceful procedures. President Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad paid a good will visit to Iran and made an appeal to make use of the knowledge system that India has developed after independence. As a result a team of students and two deputy ministers of external affairs visited India in January 1953.

The continued cordial relationship helped both the countries in many ways in terms of the Industrial inputs and outputs and the traditional ties were strongly built for many years. Despite of the fact that Iran was not happy with India because of the radical stand taken by Egypt and Syria. However Nehru as a great visionary and diplomat tried to resolve the problems of Iran with Syria and Egypt. In table 4.1 we have made an attempt in this thesis, the export import that was carried out by both the countries from 1947 to 1960. In the next decade, i.e. 1960’s, the foreign policy between the two countries was like a client relationship.

The shah of Iran was not at all comfortable with CENTO. However Iran, Turkey and Pakistan established RCD that is Regional co-operation for development which has patternised the relationship between the trios and vice-vis U.S.A and U.S.S.R. In 1961, the Indian trade deligation headed by Mr. Kilnani the joint secretary minister of commerce and industry visited Tehran in April 1961 which has opened up the negotiations with Iran government. It is estimated that India imported fruits worth of 15 million rupees and also exported the commodities to Iran worth of 2.5 million rupees. Similarly the relation between the two counties, it was not as cordial as before because of the out break of the war between India and China. However Dr. S. Radha Krishnan, the former President of India visited, Iran and emphasized on the importance of Science and technology for the welfare of common man in both the countries.

India has exported worth of seven hundred lakhs of rupees in 1961 and 1962 and nine hundred thirty eight lakhs of rupees in the year 1965 and 1966. It means that India had a strong relationship with regard to trade and commerce. Eventually Iran also signed an agreement on January 17th 1965 in which the ONGC was set up and the National Iranian oil companies helped India by exporting gas and petroleum products.
Mrs. Indira Gandhi expressed her great desire to develop a strong relationship between the two countries. She visited Iran with M.C. Chhagla, the then minister for external affairs in November 1967 and agreements were signed between the two countries on many issues. Mrs. Indira Gandhi requested the Shah of Iran to visit India as a part of the norms of foreign policy relationship. In response to the invitation extended by Mrs. Indira Gandhi shah of Iran stayed in India for pretty long time, i.e. 2 weeks and the bi-lateral agreements were made on many issues. As a result both the countries established a joint fertilizer corporation which has helped the agricultural fraternity of both the countries.

Table No. 4.4 clearly indicates the exports and imports of both the countries between 1966 to 1971 and which has been discussed in our thesis in a detailed manner.

**Indo-Iran relationship in the decayed of 1970s:**

Both India and Iran have emerged as important regional players and both of them tried their best to be the predominant power in South Asia. However, Pakistan played a mischief successfully wooing of the gulf Arab states to isolate India from Iran. But it was defeated by the Shaha of Iran. During 1970’s India and Iran signed many agreements for import and export. The major agreement between both the countries was to invite Iranian engineers and technicians to study the Indian railways for five years. similarly CENTO warned Pakistan to refrain itself from provoking India for war situation.

In 1971 number of agreements in relation with Persian gulf and the Indian ocean. India’s appealed to united states to stop all military support to Pakistan. In 1973 Swarn Singh who met Iranian leaders declared that India is ready to extend its trade and technical cooperation to Iran. Similarly the Iranian leadership assured India that it would have a meaning full dialogue with Pakistan to have peace and tranquility in the Indian sub continent.

In 1973, Mrs. Indira Gandhi paid the visit to Iran in April 1974 and had dialogues with her counterpart on many issues. The agreements were signed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Shah of Iran to set up an Iron plant in Iran and export the raw product from kudremukh through the shipping to the tune of five lakhs tons every year. Mr. Shah declared that Iran will beat Britain in 10 years and it will be number 1 country in 25 years as far as the industrial developments are concerned. In terms of economic field both the countries have agreed to import and export many
consumer goods, technological equipment and skilled man power. In 1964, Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressed both the houses of Parliament on expressed happiness about the relationship between the two countries.

In 1976 president Fakhrudin Ali Ahmad visited Iran and subsequently Moraji Desai also paid a visit to Tehran. The consensus between the countries were to strengthen regional co-operation taking into confidence China as a buffer state. In 1977 and 1978 common agreements were made in terms of promotion of economic relations between the two. However in 1979, under the great leadership of Ayatullah Khomeni, a great political revolution was brought in. it was a turmoil political situation in Iran. However Ayatullah Khomeni declared himself to be the supreme leader of the country in December 1979. As soon as Ayatullah Khomeni assumed the power, declare that his government will not depend either on east or west, U.S. as the main enemy protecting the rights of the oppressed Muslims and liberation of Jerusalem.

The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran outlined its foreign policy under Article 152, 153 and 154 which we have discussed in the beginning of our thesis.

The Foreign Policy of India and Iran in the decade of 1980’s :

There was a great war between Iran and Iraq which commenced on 22nd September 1980. Both the countries involved in wars and used deadly chemical weapons and balistic missiles against each other, in which millions and millions of people either died or wounded. There was no much progress between the two countries because of the fact that Iran was pre occupied with war and did not show any political interest because of its continuous engagement in war.

However in the later stage of 1980’s decade some important bilateral agreements were made between India and Iran in 1986 In the august 1986 Delhi declaration opened up the diplomatic relationship, negotiation on oil business Import and export of commodities like steel, industrial collaboration, transport tele communications and railways. Similarly in 1987, former Indian Minister for industries Mr. Vengal Rao and finance minister Naryan Datt Tivari paid their visit and discussed and agreed for mutual co-operation on public and private sector areas like Automobiles, machine tools, power engines and foundary items.
In 1989, the external affairs joint secretary Naresh Dayal met Iranian Ambassador and signed the MOU to start Iranian schools in India. Ayathulah Khomeni died on June 3rd 1989 and then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in his condolence message expressed that:

“India has lost a towering spiritual leader of magnetism and charisma. However we keep on maintaining our relations in the years to come”.

Thus the relation between India and Iran form 1947 to 1979 had fluctuating divergent and convergent relationship. In conclusion, we can say that both the countries have benefited in economic, trade and commerce, technology and political fields which has bound the relationship irrespective of the external factors which have tried to create the distance between the two.

5th Chapter of the Thesis deals with relation between India and Iran since 1992 to 2010:

The serious attempt has been made in this chapter to study the political changes which have taken place in India and Iran in particular and world at large in general. The former prime minister of India late P.V. Narashima Rao introduced liberalization privatization and globalization only to help India to improve its economy in a greater speed which as eventually helped many ways both Iran and India. The other factor is end of cold war in the early 1990s which created unipolar system in which America emerged as powerful nation after fallback of earst while soviet union.

The other important factor which shaken the very political relationship of many countries because of the emergence of Taliban out rightly supported by Afghanistan which obviously created fearful situation between India and Iran. Because of the terrorist activity which spread in India more particularly in Kashmir region. Despite of this fact the leaders of both the countries tried to combat terrorism through their matured political diesicion. In this thesis we have made an attempt to study the relation between India and Iran from 1990 to 2010 under following heads namely:

- Political relationship
- Economic relationship
- Energy relationship
- Cultural relationship
• Security relationship

The major visits of Indian political dignitaries right from 1990 to upto 2010 are being presented with minute details in the form of tabals.

**Relationship and declarations between India and Iran from 1990 to 2000**

After Islamic revolution former prime minister Narashima Rao visited Theran in September 1993 and signed MOU with Iran government on the construction of the pipeline to supply Iranian natural gas to India for which there was a positive response from Iran government similarly the present president of Iran Hashemi Rafsanjani visited New Delhi April 1995 and declared that his country was interested to have relations with India in the field of tourism, telecommunication, postal services and other aspects. Similarly the Indian former Prime minister Atal Behari Vajepaye visited Iran in 2001 and signed the treaty with regard to technical political and cultural stability both the countries agreed to respect territorial integrity, sovereignty and non interference in each other’s internal affairs. We have also supplemented the visits of V.V.I.P. of the countries since 1993 to 2010 in the form of tables.

The text of Teharan declaration of 2001, text of New Delhi declaration of 2003, Indo-Iran joint economic commission summit of 2008, 2010 are enlisted with are details in the form of tables and diagrams we have also supplemented diagrams from 2001, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 which indicates import and export between the two countries. We have also given the details of exports and imports between the two countries from 2001 to 2010 with official statistics and with original declaration texts of both countries.

The data supplemented by both the countries are being used from the government official records to authenticate our arguments only to show that both the countries have sustained lots of political interest to maintain very cordial peaceful and democratic valces since 1990 to 2010. Historically speaking Iran and India have the strong socio-cultural, trade and commerce and political relationship for the last 3000 years which signifies that both the countries have the oldest civilizations in the world.

A since attempt has been made in this thesis to evaluate the mutual relationship between two countries from 1947 to until 2010 using the secondary and primary sources.