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CONCLUSIONS
India and Iran are not just two nations but also rather two civilizations with almost three thousand years of contact and interaction. In the present thesis, I have not only discussed the details of this contact and interaction over the centuries, but also extended this discussion to the contemporary years. In chapter one, the discussion starts with the pre historic days, when the Neanderthal man evolved out of the Homo erectus in Western Europe. According to the archeological evidences, the Neanderthal man expanded into west Asia, Iran and to use the borders of India around 50,000 years ago. The Indus valley and the Mesopotamian culture had established their cultural and trade contacts through the land of Iran for centuries. In the second millennium B.C., several centres of culture in central Asia contributed to the formation of the Aryan culture. The Pastoralists who moved to the Indian borderlands came from Bactria-Margiana Archaeological complex (BMAC), which saw the genesis of the culture of the Rgveda. The burial assemblages including artifacts and ceramics can prove the migration of population from this area to Iran, southern Afghanistan, Qandhara and Quetta regions.

It was not only the Aryan language and the Aryan culture, which could claim its linkages with Iran, but also that of the Dravidian. In fact it has been proved by linguistic studies that the Dravidian languages of India and the proto-Dravidian languages of Elam of Iran had close affinities. Even the language found in the inscriptions of Elam of the 3rd millennium B.C. is
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connected with the Dravidian language. Both Rgveda and Avesta speak of animal sacrifice, including that of the horses (Aswamedha).

When we enter the historical period we come across instances of Indian soldiers getting recruited in the Persian army. In the battle of Gangamala (331 BC) and Arbela (330 BC), the Indians in the Persian army had fought against Alexander. The Indian mercenaries in the Persian army had reached the shores of Greece and the Greeks had reached India in the service of the army of Darius.

The fall of the Achaemenian Empire in Persia was followed by the rise of the Mauryan Empire in India. The Persian artisans and crafts men had reached Pataliputra in the service of the Mauryans and contributed significantly to the growth of the Mauryan art. The Christianity in Malabar grew in the early centuries of the Christian era under the influence of the Persian church.

Regarding the transfer of technology, we have several interesting evidences, such as the invention of the water-lifting device called arahatta-ghati-yantra and its adaptation in west Asia under the name, Noria, the introduction of the Persian wheel and its adaptation in India. It was the entry of the Persian spinning wheel, which revolutionized the Indian textile production, which reached its zenith by the close of the 17th century. The
Indian devices like cotton gin and the cotton carders bow made entry in to Iran's process textile production.

The exodus of Persian scholars, artisans, craftsmen and religious leaders to India was noticed during the Mughal period. Many of them like Abul Fazl and Hakim Nuruddin wielded great influence on Akbar. Infact, Akbar's religious ideas were influenced to a great extent by some of the Persian thinkers.

When one looks at the growth of Indian architecture, one cannot ignore the Persian influence. While some of the Sultanate structures reveal Iranian influence, it was during the Mughal period that one notices greater influence of the Iranian architectural style. The Iranian architects of the 13th and 14th centuries had imposed order on architectonic and decorative forms by a consistent system of articulation, which had a five-fold relationship between arch and panel and arch and arch. The Iranian architects of the 14th century had also developed a technique for providing doomed roofing to long rectangular structure.

In the field of painting too, we come across Persian influence. During the period of Humayun, we have many Persian painters such as Dost Musawair, Maulana Yusuf, Maulana Dervish, Kwaja Abdus Samad and others. A distinct Mughal school of painting was later developed under the tutelage of the master painters of Iran.
With the rise of the Mughal Empire in India, the influence of Persian language and literature also increased in the country. Several Persian words became common usage in different Indian languages. Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shahjahan brought Persian poetry to its heights. The Safavids in Iran and the Timurids in India were on friendly terms. Hence, they encouraged the exchange of scholars, poets, statesmen, artists etc. Even several Hindu scholars took to the writing of ghazal. Manohar Lon Kiran for example wrote Persian poetry and presented it in Akbar's Court. Other Hindu poets who wrote in Persian language were Bhupat Rai Bairagi, Bhagvandas Bismil and others. Lala Hakim Chand translated Bhagvad Gita into Persian in verse form and wrote a *Mattnavi* under the title of Zarrahi-o-Khusrid. Lala Mustaq Rai Qudrat completed the task of rendering the Ramayana and Mahabharata in to Persian verse.

The Indian works on Science had found their way to Baghdad long before the establishment of Delhi Sultanate. Sanskrit traditions along with Greek learning were absorbed in the Persian and Arab-speaking world. Indian knowledge in astrology, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, philosophy, numerals etc was highly appreciated.

During the post second world war period, particularly after 1947, due to changed international system, there was a quantitative difference in the Indo-Iranian relationships. By 1947, both Iran and India experienced a complex fall out of World War II. Iran found itself deeply involved in the
throes of the cold war. The Iranian leaders interpreted communism as a potential threat to the territorial integrity of the state, its social system, religion and also its security. This perception brought Iran closer to the western bloc. Iran also joined the US sponsored military alliance CENTO. However, India, which had experienced colonial exploitation for more than two hundred years, did not want any kind of foreign entanglements. Hence India decided against joining any military blocks. India further pursued to promote neutrality as far as the superpowers were concerned. The non-alignment movement led by India, Egypt and Yugoslavia was a culmination of this line of thinking. Hence during the shah regime, closer association and alignment with the west was pursued. India on the other hand pursued the policy of non-alignment. These factors heavily determined the Indo-Iranian relations.

During the fifties and the sixties of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century West Asia had two power centers-Nasser of Egypt and the Shah of Iran. Nehru’s endorsement of Gamal Abdel Nasser as the leader of the Arab world did not go well with the Shah. Nasser’s anti-monarchic stand and his attempts at the unification of the Arab states resulted in increasing suspicion in the minds of the Shah. He became increasingly security conscious and took Iran completely to the western bloc.

Hence, Shah used Islam as a counter ideology in undermining and to neutralize Nasserism. It was with this purpose that he organized the Islamic
conferences in the 60’s. Secondly, the Shah intensified his efforts to shore up Iran’s isolation by cultivating friendship with the non-Arab states including Pakistan. Shah’s motives in cultivating both Islam and befriending Pakistan was basically political and not Islamic. However, despite its tilt towards Pakistan, Iran continued to have increasing commercial contacts with India.

Pakistan on the other hand, right from its formation, carried on propaganda in a sustained manner against India in the west Asian and North African states in order to establish an Islamic bloc and to internationalise the Kashmir issue. This was evident from the fact that Iran was the first country to establish diplomatic links and recognize Pakistan. In 1950, both Iran and Pakistan had signed a treaty of friendship.

In the sixties when changes began to take place in the international scene, its repercussions affected the Indo-Iranian relations. The diversification and the expansion of trade during the period was a noticeable feature. By the 1960’s, India was slowly emerging as a power with technical manpower and scientific advancement to offer its expertise to some of the developing countries.

In the middle of the sixties, the détente between the superpowers led to changes in the regional equations. The USA no longer considered Iran as a crucial element in its security perceptions, vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.
Shah also realized the limitations of external assistance and its conditional nature. This led to a new policy direction in Iran, which attempted to establish friendly relations with not only India but also the Soviet Union.

The relations between India and Iran experienced a setback with the advent of the Islamic Revolutionary regime. Though the government of India welcomed the changes in Iran, later developments suggested that Iran showed a definite bias in favor of Pakistan in its policy towards India and Pakistan. One possible explanation could be the convergence of interests between Pakistan and Iran in Afghanistan after the Soviet entry and the installation of a pro-Communist regime. Three factors led to the convergence of their interests-ideological affinity between Iran and Pakistan, Iranian importance to Pakistan for security reasons specially on the western flank, Pakistan's perception about itself as a bridge between Iran and the US. Hence Pakistan was likely to figure more prominently in Iranian foreign policy as compared to India. A cooperative relationship between India, Iran and Pakistan could be mutually beneficial.

After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, Iran has been projecting Islamic identity, but a closer scrutiny would reveal that its foreign policy makers were cautious in not mixing up religion and national interest. On the contrary Iran has been successful in making a subtle distinction between its commitment to Islam and promotion of its national interests.
Leaving aside Indo-Iranian cultural, religious and political relations going back two millennia, international developments since 1991 have generated new trends in Indo-Iranian cooperation. The attempt of the United States to isolate Iran, Iran's complex relations with the ruling power structures in the Gulf, the dilution of the assertive religious fervor of Iran after the revered Khomeini's demise, and the emergence of Central Asian Republics have created new politico-strategic circumstances leading to a convergence of interests between India and Iran, which in turn has resulted in more frequent and closer interaction between the two countries. Iran needed friends as well as cooperation with other countries to break out of its isolation. India can play an important role in helping Iran to join the mainstream of world polity. India needed influential friends in the Islamic world to temper Pakistani hostilities and to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity in the context of Pakistani claims on Kashmir. Both the countries realized that Indo-Iranian relations were not determined only by the issue of Islam and Kashmir and that they extend much further. The mutual desire for friendship and cooperation lessened the misunderstandings that had developed between the two countries in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Masjid and turmoil in Kashmir. Both the countries can now look forward to a more stable relationship.

After the Revolution, Iran's foreign policy showed a metamorphic change. Iran made a fundamental drift from the USA and the West. The natural course of foreign policy shift was towards the non-alignment. Iran
became increasingly attracted towards anti-imperialism and third world identity, something which Nehru and Nasser were fond of in the fifties. However, there was a basic difference in the post revolutionary foreign policy. Islam became the infrastructural element of the foreign policy of Iran. The essence of orientation during this period was political delink from the capitalist and socialist systems and the pursuit of populist economic policies. Revolutionary slogan of *Isteghal* (independence) permeated every gamut of the ideology of the Republic. But the basic orientation was anti-monarchical and anti-secular. One of the revolutionary slogans was, “neither west nor east”. But this slogan created enemies for Iran in both the camps.

During Rafsanjani’s tenure, certain pragmatic steps were undertaken. Firstly, it was accepted that Iran couldn’t change the region’s political map. Secondly, Iran must try to adjust to a new balance of power in the region. Thirdly, efforts must be made to initiate positive relations with Saudi Arabia. Rafsanjani made a sincere effort to recover the ground lost during the eight years of Iran-Iraq war and also to reassert its position as a regional power.

Khatami followed a policy of détente. His policy was to establish friendly relations with all the countries around. According to him this policy was not to be construed as a tactics but as a strategy in the interest of the country, the region and the world.
In the triangular relations between India, Iran and Pakistan, Kashmir continues to be a serious problem. Kashmir has been a point of difference. In the earlier days, Tehran had taken a firm stand, supporting Pakistan. Iran had in fact supported Pakistan vehemently in 1965 and 1971, when India and Pakistan fought against each other. However, this policy had to be changed by Iran. In the aftermath of the Iraq Kuwait crisis of 1990-91 and also to counter western pressure, Iran was compelled to get closer to regional powers, particularly with India. In fact during post 1990 period Iran recognized the fact that Kashmir was an integral part of India. Iran also supported the territorial integrity of India by the 1990’s against the separatists, and the terrorists. However, while dealing with Pakistan, Iran also expressed the view that it favoured the right to self-determination by the Kashmiris. Thus the policy was dual in some respects.

Regarding Afghanistan, there has been a convergence of views in the nineties. The rise of Taliban in Afghanistan had drawn India and Iran closer in their assessment of the new threats to regional security. Iran was worried about Taliban role in drug trafficking and its harsh treatment of the Shia community. On the other hand, India was worried about the Pakistan sponsoring of the Taliban and its nexus to Kashmir Jehad. Both India and Iran did not recognize the administration of the Taliban militia and its fundamentalism, which swept Afghanistan in 1996. Both India and Iran supported the de-Talibanisation of Afghanistan. In fact Iran provided material support for those forces opposing Taliban within Afghanistan. With
regard to the reconstruction of the post-war Afghanistan, India has been playing a key role.

India's interest in Central Asia had been growing. Indian products are in greater demand in the central Asian republics and Iran continues to be India's gateway to central Asian countries. India also has the potential to help both Iran and the central Asian republics through its technical and managerial skills. This has been evident already in the area of infrastructural development.

India and Iran have of late gone beyond the commercial and energy issues. Iran is anxious to get its hydrocarbons out of the ground and into new markets and energy-hungry India wants to be such a market. China, like India also seeks energy demands from Iran and central Asia. Currently, Indian crude oil imports from Iran ranges between 100,000-150,000 barrels per day, which amount to 7.5% of India's total crude oil imports. India also seeks to obtain natural gas from Iran by the much-disputed pipeline.

Iran and India also appear to be moving forward on their commitment to build a north-south corridor with Russia. Russia, Iran and India signed this agreement called the inter governmental Agreement on International North-South Transport corridor. This corridor was basically the result of an Indo-Iranian initiative. In 1997 India and Iran had entered in to a trilateral
agreement with Turkmenistan for the movement of goods from north to south.

India's co-operation with Iran on nuclear research and space research has entered into rough weather due to US apprehensions and opposition. In 1991 India had sought to sell Iran a 10 megawatt research reactor to be installed at Moallem Kalyach and had agreed to sell Iran a 220 megawatt nuclear power reactor. However the project could not be implemented due to US pressure. US argued that Iran would use these facilities to make weapon grade fissile materials.

US objection to space research co-operation between India and Iran also created greater problems. According to US perception any co-operative venture between India and US would lead to US technology passing on to Iran. The US went to the extent of accusing that transfer of space technology would boost Iran's nuclear programmes.

Thus the US animosity continues to haunt the contemporary Indo-Iranian relations.