

INDO IRANIAN RELATIONS TRAVELLING THROUGH AGES

Shamim Ahmad Wagay

Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Vikram University, Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, India

Received: 23 Jan 2018

Accepted: 30 Jan 2018

Published: 13 Feb 2018

ABSTRACT

India and Iran are two great historical civilisations. Although Iran India relations are rich in terms of cultural, economical and political relations, it is accompanied by fissures, impermanent breakdown and cordial relationships between the two. However, in order to review the relations between the two countries various steps have been taken by both the countries. The Iranian revolution or Islamic revolution of 1979, witnessed the dramatic change in Indo-Iranian relations.

KEYWORDS: *Cold War, Relations, Islamic Revolution, Bilateral, Conclusion*

INTRODUCTION

Indo-Iranian Relations Pre-Historic Period

India and Iran share deep historical cultural and civilisational linkages. The contacts between the people and civilisation of these two regions go back to the dawn of history'.¹ The people of the two civilizations have been enjoying close historical harmony through ages. They had common motherland and shared a common linguistic and ethnic history. The two civilizations have the same foundation which is traced back to the Aryans. As such a lot of likeness and similarities are found between these nations not only in their customs, traditions and languages, but also in approach towards life.

Relations, interactions and culture common points of Iran and India go back to over 3000 years ago and the Aryans immigration. The proof of that is the common legends of the ancient time. The relations of Iran and Indian subcontinent before Islam have been based on common race, language and customs. Iran and Indian subcontinent with the Dari Persian language created the same relations they had with Pahlavi, Avestan and Sanskrit languages and by prevalence of different languages that today 22 languages officially has been recognised in different states of this country 1400 official accents has turned this society to large democracy.

In the splendid civilization of Mohenjo-Daro and the Sindh Valley, which flourished between the 2500 and 1500 BC., there are visible signs of relationships with the Iranian civilization. The ancient earthenware and the marked resemblance in their designs and patterns are strong evidence in favour of this assertion.² India and Iran's common civilization is followed by the arrival of Aryans in this region. As per history, it is believed that before 2000-3000 B.C.

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, *selected speeches, September 1946-September 1961*, the Publications Davison, Ministry Of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1961, p.84.

² H.E.Hassan Nourian, 'India and Iran on the threshold of Strategic Relations', in R. Sidda Goud and Manisha Mookherji (ed.), *India and Iran in contemporary Relations*, Allied Publishers Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 2014, p. 43.

the inhabitants of modern Iraq and Southern Iran and also the people of West and North West India came from the same region. Later, around 1500 BC, Aryan tribes from north invaded and defeated these people and marched further to South Asia.

The relations between the two old civilizations including the Indus Valley Civilization in India and the Elamite Civilization in Persia have been relatively evident. The Harppan Civilization was existing with the Proto-Elamite and Elamite Civilization in the ancient Iran. Trade links existed between the two civilisations through the ocean routes. Later, the cultural and diplomatic relations also existed between Iran's Safavid dynasty and the Mughal dynasty in India.³ In Susa (Western Iran), the decorated potteries which have been excavated appears to be analogous to those of the Kulli culture in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent. Persia was a source of import of silver, copper, turquoise and lapis lazuli from the olden Persia and Persians used to import ivory and spices like black pepper from the Harppan civilisation.⁴ The grape, introduced from Persia with the almond and walnut, was cultivated in the Hindukush and Western Himalayas and also one of the earliest Indian words for a coin, that is, Karsa traces back its origin into Persia.⁵

The two civilizations also shared their diplomatic and friendly relations during the Gupta period. The founder of Mauryan dynasty Chandragupta Maruya, had cordial relations with the descendants of the Macedonian conqueror in Persia. There are also evidences of relations between the two civilizations during Achaemenid period also. The history reveals that during the Achaemenian period, some parts of the northwest India came under Persian rule. The records of history show that Achaemenian art and culture had a significant influence on north-western part of Maruya India.

Indo-Iranian Relations from 1947-1979

With the dawn of independence in India on 15 August 1947, there stimulated a great requirement to establish diplomatic relations with the bordering countries as well as with the key powers in Asia, Europe, Africa and the America. Its strong historical, political, cultural, and economical ties, determined the Indian foreign policy perceptions with Iran. Till 1947, India and Iran shared borders and share a number of common features in their language, customs and traditions. But, these close relations were ruined by the British rule and the subsequent loss of contiguity owing to the formation of Pakistan. This loss of geographic affinity was reflected in the political arena as well, when Iran became the first country to recognise Pakistan. The bitter and violent partition and the divergence over Kashmir in the immediate aftermath enabled Pakistan to earn substantial empathy in many countries in the Middle Eastern region, including Iran.

The Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran (1941) during the Second World War to secure oilfields and ensure Allied supply lines did not find favour among the Indian nationalists and Jawaharlal Nehru was supportive of withdrawal of Soviet forces from Iran.⁶ As a gesture of friendliness towards India, Iran participated in the first Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March 1947. At this forum, the Iranian delegate extended his country's friendship and

³ Ahmad Faisal and M. Basra Alma, *Bilateral engagement and geopolitics: A case of India and Iran*, The Romanian Economic Journal, Vol.XVI no.48 June 2013, p.56.

⁴ Faisal Ahmed, 'India's Engagement with Iran: A Geo-Economic Perspective', in Anwer Alam (ed.) *India and Iran an assessment of Contemporary relations*, New Century Publications, New Delhi, 2011, 258.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Meena Singh Roy (ed.) *international and Regional Security Dynamics*, Institute of Defences Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2009, p. 7.

good desires for India's impending independence.⁷ Although the relations between the two countries appeared to be dim in the beginning but they had reached agreements such as Air Transport in November 1948 and the visit of an Iranian economic mission to the India in December 1949 in order to explore the projection of mutual relations.

In the Post-World War II period, such relations entered a new phase. On March 15, 1950, New Delhi and Tehran signed a friendship treaty which called for 'perpetual peace and friendship between the two, committing the two states to amicable relations. Three points appear significant in this document:⁸

- First, "perpetual peace and friendship between the governments" was envisaged but there was no mention of the nature of relationships between the people and the countries.
- Second, it provided a mechanism to settle the "differences" which were not identified. The statement, though vague, was significant.
- Third, was it a coincidence that this treaty synchronized with the Shah's visit to Pakistan and a similar treaty with that country? Or was it an indication that Iran tended to treat India and Pakistan on an even footing.

Text of India-Iran Treaty of Friendship, Issue in Tehran on 15 March 1950

The President of India and his Imperial Majesty the Shah of Iran recognizing the ancient ties which have existed between the two countries for centuries and their common need for cooperation in strengthening and developing these ties and urged by their mutual desire to establish peace between the two countries with a view to common benefits of their people and the development of their respective countries, wish to enter into a treaty of friendship with each other and to this end have appointed the following persons as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of India: His Excellency Seyyed Ali Zaheer, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.
The Shah of Iran: His Excellency Ali Gholi Ardalan, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, having examined each other's credentials and distinguished them good and in due form, have agreed as follows.

Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the governments of India and Iran the said Governments shall promote and strength such peace and friendship between their respective nationals.

Article II

The High Contracting parties agree to appoint diplomatic representatives in the capitals of the two countries, and consular representatives as may be necessary and at such places as may be agreed upon. Each party shall grant to such representatives of the other party such privileges and immunities as are accorded under International Law, so however that neither party shall deny to any diplomatic or consular representative of the of the other party any special privileges and immunities which it grant to the diplomatic and consular representatives of a similar country of any other State.

⁷ A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) *India, Iran and the GCC states*, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 239.

⁸ Foreign Policy of India, text and documents: 1947 -1964, *Lok Sabha Secrete rate*, 1966, New Delhi, p. 42-43.

Article III

The High Contracting Parties agree to conduct their commercial, customs, navigation and cultural relations as well as matters relating:

- extradition
- Judicial assistance between the two countries, and
- The condition of residency and stay of the citizens of one party in the territory of the other, based on special agreements between the parties.

Article IV

The High Contracting Parties agree to settle all differences of any kind between each other through ordinary diplomatic channels by arbitration and by such other peaceful procedure, as they deem most suitable.

Article V

- This treaty shall be ratified by the legislative body of each party and the exchange of the instruments of ratification shall take place in Teheran as soon as possible.
- This treaty shall take effect fifteen days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification has taken place.

One year after the formalization of bilateral relations, a significant event occurred in Iran that was nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company by the Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq. Although it is believed that India extended its support to Iran in its bid to set free itself from the clutches of British imperialism, the fact emerges that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was critically equivocal in his reaction. In his usual briefings to the chief ministers, Nehru wrote the following about the Iranian oil dispute.

"The Iranian government has taken up a very strong and unbending altitude and perhaps it may be criticized to some extent. On the other hand, we must always remember that such disputes had long roots in the past. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company does not appear to have shown much wisdom in the past. If they had approached the matter sympathetically a year ago or more, probably no crisis would have arisen now. So far as we are concerned, we have kept out of this dispute. But I have ventured to suggest to the Iranian governments, as well as to the British government, that it is in the interest of all concerned as well as of world peace to have a peaceful settlement." ⁹

President Rajendra Prasad was more forthcoming and specific in his address to the parliament. He said: in Iran, behind the dispute about oil, lies a great awakening (emphasis added). I hope that this dispute will be settled amicably so that Iran may prosper and the world may also benefited from her great resources in oil... ¹⁰

The education minister of India, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad paid a goodwill visit to Iran in August 1951. A party of two Iranian professors and eight students visited India in April 1952 to study some of the veterinary institutions of India. Two Deputy Ministers of External Affairs went on a goodwill mission to Tehran in 1953, and a press delegation

⁹ Letter dated 7 July 1951, Jawaharlal Nehru, Letters to Chief Minister, 1947-1964, Vol. 2 (1950-52), p. 438.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XIV, part II, p. 19.

from Iran visited India in January 1953.¹¹

In December 1954, a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was concluded between Iran and India. The Treaty provided for the rights of the nationals of either country in the other and their rights engage in trade, commerce, and industry ad to acquire movable and immovable property. A very important feature of the treaty was its most favoured nation provision. Concessions were shown as far as the imposition of custom duties and charges. The desire for having close relations also found expression in the exchange of visits by dignitaries of the countries¹².

In the course of the 1950s, in its quest to counter the threat of communism and build up strong defence force, Iran found itself strongly entrenched in the United States led Western bloc. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, forged very close ties with West, especially the United States. Nehru's avowedly socialist inclinations naturally led to differences between the two leaders. There was also a strong perception in Iran that India, although supportive of Iran, seemed to tilt towards the Union of Soviet Republics (USSR). Iran's principle foe at that time. While India pursued an independent foreign policy, Iran, along with Pakistan, entered the US-led Baghdad pact (later renamed the Central Treaty Origination, or CENTO) in 1955.¹³

In reply to these developments, in a speech in the Lok Sabha on 29 March 1966, Nehru stated:

"It is clear that the approach of military pacts, like the Baghdad pact..... is a wrong approach a dangerous approach and a harmful approach..... The Pakistan newspaper and the statements of responsible people in Pakistan make it clear that they joined this pact because of India. they have joined the Baghdad Pact and SEATO essentially because of their hostility to India.¹⁴

The Shah of Iran visited India in February-March 1956, just after four months after the adherence to the Baghdad pact. In his talks with Indian leaders and in his public statements, the Shah did refer to the 'differences' between the two countries but he also emphasised the 'traditional ties'. He also assured India that Iran's close ties with Pakistan were neither directed against it nor would they impact Iran's friendship with India. However, the fact that no joint statement or communiqué was issued at the end of the visit suggested that the deepening gulf between the two leaders.¹⁵ During the 1950s the two countries had very little in common in terms of their political and foreign policy aspirations and aims. Jawaharlal Nehru paid his return visit to Iran in September 1959 but the visit did a little. The visit, in fact, highlighted the political gulf between the two countries. During this decade various irritants prevail between the Indo-Iranian relations like Nehru's close political relations with Gamal Abdel Naseer and relationship with certain radical Arab States like Egypt and Syria, in fact, after the 1952 revolution, India was the first Asian country to extend diplomatic recognition to the new Egyptian regime in 1953.¹⁶ India's refusal to align itself with any bloc and the leading role it subsequently played in the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) further created tensions between the two countries.

¹¹ *Indian Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 1, no. 4, February 15, 1953, col. 149.*

¹² Sunanda Sen, *India's Bilateral payments and Trade Agreements 1947-48 to 1963-64*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 195.

¹³ Mushtaq Hussain, 'Indo-Iranian Relations during the Cold War', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 36, No. 6, November-December 2012, P861

¹⁴ Farah Naaz, *Indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000*, institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2088, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01.html>.

¹⁵ A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) *India, Iran and the GCC states*, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 244.

¹⁶ Mushtaq Hussain, 'Indo-Iranian Relations during the Cold War', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 36, No. 6, November-December 2012, P861

By the 1960s, we witnessed certain changes in the international environment, the repercussions of which affected Indo-Iranian relations. The diversification and expansion of trade during this period tended to bring India and Iran closer and improve their relationships. In 1960s, India was in a position to share its experience and expertise with other developing countries due to the importance that India attached to technical and commercial collaboration with them.¹⁷ The global-super power detente of the mid-1960s also influenced the course of Indo-Iranian relations. A subtle readjustment in the US attitude towards Iran further brought about changes in the latter's foreign policy posture. The US toned down its security guarantees to Iran, and gave indication that it would be reluctant to come to its aid in case of a threat from a source other than the Soviet Union. There was also a gradual decline in the US military and economic aid to Iran. Furthermore, Iran felt aggrieved over the perceived preference accorded by the US to both Turkey and Pakistan at the cost of Iran.¹⁸

In view of these actual apparent changes, there was a recalibration of Iran's foreign policy, termed by the Shah as *Siyasat-e-Milli* (independent foreign policy). The Shah started looking beyond the Persian Gulf and Pakistan for support and alliances in favour of Iran's new regional policy. The Shah also strived to achieve, as much as the geopolitical realities permitted, normalcy in its relations with the Soviet Union. As a consequence, on 15 September 1962, it assured the Soviet government that it would not grant any foreign nation the right of possessing any kind of rocket bases on Iranian soil. After this assurance Soviet-Iranian relations entered into a new phase and received a big boost. This further resulted in India's attitude towards Iran.

The Shah of Iran also realised the importance of CENTO. In fact he lost faith in CENTO and signed a pact with Turkey and Pakistan known as Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). Intimated by President Ayub Khan in 1964, the RCD was a consequence of the growing dissatisfaction of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey with their ties with Western bloc. The RCD partners could see that USA and USSR were emerging towards a relaxation of tensions, reducing the value of military pacts.¹⁹ A bigger factor, which added flavour in faith between Indo-Iranian relations was the unqualified support extended by Iran to India during 1962 Sino-Indian War.

In 1961 India and Iran signed their first trade agreement. An Indian delegation led by Sri K.R.F. Kineme, the then joint Security, Minister of commerce and Industry visited Tehran in April 1961 to open negotiation with the Iranian government.²⁰ During this a joint agreement was signed between the two countries under which Iran agreed to import 6000 tones of sugar from India and in turn India undertook to import dry fruits of value • 15 million and other products like gums, dates etc., of the value • 2.5 million from Iran.

After the Sino-Indian war in 1962 the Iranian gesture of goodwill was reciprocated by India through the President S. Radhakrishna's visit to Tehran in May 1963. In the same year, Nehru visited Iran for the second time.²¹ These visits further contributed in the warmth in bilateral relationships between the two countries. During the visit of Indian President S. Radhakrishna tried to emphasise on the importance of scientific and technical knowledge and its dissemination

¹⁷ Abdul Amir Jorfi, "India and Iran: Two Asian Power", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 43, No. 2, May 1995, p. 261.

¹⁸ Farah Naaz, *Indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000*, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2088, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01.html>.

¹⁹ S.M. Burke and Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Karachi:OUP,1990), p-305.

²⁰ Brajendranath Banerjee, *India's Aid to its Neighbouring Countries*, (New Delhi), 1982.

²¹ Kashif Mumtaz, 'Changing Patterns of Iran-India Relations', Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, at http://www.issi.org.pk/old-sites/ss_Detail.php?dated=388.

particularly for the welfare of the common people in both the countries.²²

In March 1964, both India and Iran signed another trade accord. According to this concurrence numerous Iranian business firms were certified to import Indian sugar, coconut etc., without any governmental margins. The agreement envisaged trade in the ratio of 1:6 in India's favour. However this brief period of goodwill proved premature and short lived.

During the India-Pakistan war of 1965, Iran extended strong political and material support to Pakistan. In a letter to his Indian counterpart, the Prime Minister of Iran expressed grave concern and deep anxiety regarding the crossing by Indian forces of the internationally recognised borders of Pakistan and the violation of Pakistan's territorial integrity.²³ At the UN General Assembly, the Iranian representative argued in favour of a settlement "in accordance with the Security Council Resolution" and "on the basis of the principles of self determination."²⁴ On the material side, Iran's help consisted of fuel, gasoline, small arms and ammunition and medical support.²⁵ The Shah of Iran confessed the fact of arms supply to Pakistan and justified his stand on the ground that had Iran not supported Pakistan the latter would have approached to China. Moreover, according to him, from the security angle dismemberment of Pakistan would have adversely affected the security of Iran.²⁶

In accordance with its highly complicated history, Indo-Iranian relations were once again held hostage by the external developments. While Iran's much publicised pro-Pakistan stance did not go down well with the Indian establishments, there was nonetheless an appreciation of the fact that on several occasions Iran had not interpreted its oil supplies to India and had acted as retraining influence on Pakistan in the latter's disputes with India.²⁷

Nonetheless, the economic relations between India and Iran continued, regardless of certain political differences over Afghanistan and Pakistan. On 17 January 1965 the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) of India in partnership with the Philips' Petroleum Company of the United States and AGIP of Italy, enforced into agreement with the National Iranian Oil Company (NOIC).²⁸ The National Iranian Oil Company itself recommended the involvement of the American Oil Company because the financial outlay necessary to work on the concessions was away from the resources of the India. Under the agreement "an offshore area comprising four blocks in the Persian Gulf was assigned to the contracting parties for the exploration of oil and natural gas and for developing these, if discovered. The total area covered was 2250 square kilometres. This experiment opened a new chapter in the oil industry of India".²⁹

In April 1967 one of the bold step taken by the Mrs. Gandhi was to send M.C. Chagla the then Minister for External Affairs to Iran. This step is regarded as the major step by India to warmth the bilateral relations with Iran. Followed by this, in Nov. 1967, both Iran and India agreed to extend the trade agreement for a period of 3 years ending on

²² *Asian Recorded*, Vol. 9, No. 25, 18-24 July 1968, p. 5259.

²³ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1965-66, p.37, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1965-66.pdf>.

²⁴ UN, Official Records of General Assembly, 20th Session, 136, 2nd, Plenary Meeting, 14 October 1965.

²⁵ S.M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (London, 1973), p. 354.

²⁶ "Shah Reviews Foreign Policy," *Asian Recorder*, No.33, 13-19 August, New Delhi 1966, p 723.

²⁷ A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) *India, Iran and the GCC states*, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 239.

²⁸ S. Kumar Dev, "Collaboration in Offshore Exploitation", *commerce*, Vol. 117, No. 3008, 28 Dec. 1968, p. 17.

²⁹ Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Reports 1966-67*, p. 1.

10 March 1970.³⁰ It was signed by B.D.Jayal, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and leader of Indian Delegation on behalf of India and R.S. Tehrani, Deputy Minister of Economy, on behalf of government of Iran. The main agenda of the trade agreement focused on the expansion and diversification of trade between the two countries.³¹

In 1968 the Shah of Iran visited India and was received with warm welcome from India at the Palam Airport in Delhi. Shah landed at the said airport when he was on the way to his home from Thailand and Malaysia. This gesture was taken as the important factor in cordial relations between the two countries by Mrs. Gandhi and consequently the Shah of Iran assured India that Pakistan is no way affecting our traditional friendship with Iran. Morarji Desai who was the Deputy Prime Minister and the Finance Minister made a significant visit to Iran from 14 to 19 July 1968.³² Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad, the Minister for Industries Development and Company affairs paid a Tehran visit in order to establish cordial relations with Iran.

Another phase of bonhomie in relations began with the Shah's 12 days visit to India in January 1969, which further cemented the relationship between Iran and India. During this visit it was decided to appoint a joint commission on economics, trade and technical co-operation headed by the Ministers of the two countries. It was decided to plan and implement specific schemes for co-operation through exchanges of technology, joint industrial ventures and the expansion of bilateral trade.³³ During this visit the Shah of Iran came to know that India was certainly marching ahead to the development. The visit was taken as the great opportunity of co-operation and economic development by both the countries and they emphasised on the best possible utilization of this enormous opportunity. The joint communiqué issued at the end of the Shah's Visit reflected his concurrence with the idea of deeper and wide-ranging economic co-operation with India. An Indo-Iranian Joint Commission for Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation, established in January 1969, was an outcome of this visit.³⁴

The first meeting of the Joint Indo-Iranian Commission was held in Tehran from 18 to 21 June 1969.³⁵ The Joint Commission discussed the pros and cons of Indo-Iranian economic relations between the two countries. After meticulous discussion the Commission acknowledged three specific projects to work upon. The first one was a joint venture to make ammonia jointly by the Fertilizer Corporation of India and the National Iranian Oil Company. It was proposed that the share of India in ammonia projects of a capacity of 2 to 3 Lac tones per year would be one fifth of the total equity participation in the form of supply of machinery and equipment for the project and that the major production of ammonia, thus produced in Iran, would be available to the fertilizer projects in India.³⁶

The joint venture was advantageous to both the States. As Iran was rich in Petroleum by-products as well as ammonia. India in contrast was in need of fertilizers to carry on her green revolution for food adequacy. One more area where Iran sought Indian technical capability was the production of railway wagons. Hence, both the countries reached an

³⁰ Dilip Mikherjee, "New Equations of Friendship in Changing World" *The Statesman, Delhi, 19 April 1968*.

³¹ Ibid.

³² *Indian and Foreign Review*, Vol. 5, No. 20, Aug 1, 1968, p.6.

³³ *Indian Express*, Delhi, 14 January 1969.

³⁴ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1965-66, p.37, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1969-70.pdf>.

³⁵ *Indian Foreign Review*, Vol. 6, No. 18, 1 July 1969, p. 5.

³⁶ "Ammonia for Fertilizers, *commerce*, Vol. 118, No. 3027, 10 May 1969, p. 904.

agreement to explore the possibilities of setting up a plant for making railway wagons in Iran.³⁷

A high-level co-ordinating and implementation working group was set up to make sure the successful implementation of the decisions taken time to time to plan uninterrupted widening of the areas of the joint ventures and mutual aid. Consequently, a joint working group and five committee on petro-chemicals, petroleum industries, trade, transport and technical co-operation was established. Ipso facto during the period from 1966-67 to 1970-71 there was a huge increase in import export between the two countries.

The second meeting of the Indo-Iranian Joint Commission was held in 1970. During the discussion both the countries signed a protocol a long-term trade and joint industrial ventures. The accord proposed the supply of One million tones of liquid ammonia needed for pushing fertilizer production, fifty four million worth of Phosphoric Acid and round about ninety thousand to one Lac tones of Sulphur per annum. In return, India agreed to sell 492 railway wagons. The third meeting of the Indo-Iranian Joint Commission was held by the end of the same year in Tehran on 28 to 30 December 1970, during the thorough discussion it was proposed to explore the new trends and techniques of mutual benefit at the same time it was decided to make an agreement for the import of Sulphur and Phosphoric Acid.

The begging of the 1970s, again witnessed a downturn in bilateral relations. With the outbreak of the India-Pakistan War in 1971, Iran offered diplomatic and material support to Pakistan, helping to route American military supplies through its territory.³⁸ While Iran's help to Pakistan was significant, what it chose to do was also notable. It might be said in Iran's defence that it supported Pakistan so as to retain the balance of power in the region and make certain the latter's territorial integrity. But even then it did not take a very harsh attitude towards India and resisted Pakistan pressure to activate CENTO, nor did it indulge in any direct provocation against India.³⁹ Its positive gesture could be interpreted as deliberate signals to reassure India. However, relations remained cold for a couple of years after the war. There were various reason for frozen their bilateral relations. Some of which were:

- Difference in perception regarding the superpowers role in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean;
- Unprecedented arms purchase by Iran from the United states in the midst of congruity of their strategic objectives;
- India's thinking that the United States was using Iran as a conduit to channelize its political and military support to Pakistan to continue its confrontational posture;
- Iran's apprehension regarding India's alleged "designs" against the truncated state of Pakistan; and Iran's attempt to bolster Pakistan after the 1971 war being interpreted by India as an effort to change the power equation in the subcontinent.
- Iran's conclusion that India was in league with the Soviet Union in the perceived design of splitting Pakistan into a group of pro-Soviet and pro-Indian successor mini states;⁴⁰

³⁷ Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Report 1970-71*, p. 33.

³⁸ Stephen R. Shalom, 'The Men behind Yahya in the Indo-Pak War of 1971', Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade, at http://coat.ncf.ca/our_magazine/links/issued47/articles/a07.htm.

³⁹ Farah Naaz, *Indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000*, institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2088, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01.html>.

⁴⁰ William E. Griffith, "Iran's Foreign Policy in the Pahlavi Era," in *Iran under the Pahlavis* (ed.,) George Lenczowski, California, 1978, p. 382.

Indo-Iran relations reached its apex particularly since 1973. It was a spell of visits exchanged by the External Affairs Foreign Ministers of both the countries that restored a semblance of normalcy to the bilateral relations. A major breakthrough was achieved between two countries during Indian External Affairs Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's visit to Tehran from 9-12 July 1973. The visit is widely regarded as the "turning point" in Indo-Iranian relation.⁴¹ During this visit the high-level discussion yielded, a new protocol for trade and technical cooperation accord which was signed between the two countries for mutual benefit on the basis of mutual interests. It was decided to hold the fourth meeting of the Indo-Iranian Joint Commission, which had not met since December 1970.⁴² The visit also contributed a lot in order to bridge the gap between the two countries and also helped in widening mutual co-operation between the two countries, while his Iranian counterpart Abbas Ali Khalatbary visited India in December 1973. The two ministers consecutively chaired the meetings of Indo-Iranian Joint Commission and discussed all issues pertaining to the bilateral relations.⁴³ The divergence of the Indo-Iranian was also reflected in the interview that the Shah of Iran gave to the Times of India in the Month of July 1973. He stated that not to speak of his encouraging Intransigence on the part of Pakistan, he was imploring it to pursue a policy not only of peaceful co-existence but also of active co-operation with India because it was evident to him that there could be no stability in Asia without it.⁴⁴ Moreover, as a gesture of goodwill, he dispatched his twin sister, Princess Ashraf, on a 15- day visit to India.

There were some reasons which compelled Iran to normalise its relations with India.

- First, Iran realized that in the midst of the new power equation in the Persian Gulf and South Asian regions its aspirations to emerge as the prominent power in the Persian Gulf were to be achieved, it must evolve a cordial working relationship with the major power in the contiguous region.⁴⁵
- Secondly, Iran wanted to demonstrate to Pakistan that if Islamabad could diversify its relations in the Persian Gulf, Tehran was in a position to cultivate its ties in South Asia.⁴⁶
- The third reason was Iran's hope that closer relations with India might reduce the latter's political, economical and military dependence on the Soviet Union whose "pincer Movement" could thus be blocked⁴⁷.
- The last positive incentive to improve ties with India was the remarkable unity of the Arab states in the October 1973 war. In its wake, he changed his strategy. Besides befriending the alienated states ---Egypt and Iraq - the Shah also thought of opening up with India.⁴⁸

Prime Minister Of India Indira Gandhi and Swaran Singh paid an official visit to Iran in April-May 1974 and the Shah's return visit in October 1974. These visits marked the highest development in the bilateral relations between the two countries. The discussions were held in order to develop a path to carry on trade and energy co-operation for mutual

⁴¹ Lok Sabha Debate, Vol. 30, No. 17, August 1973, New Delhi, Col. 60.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report, 1973-74, p. 46, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1973-74.pdf>.

⁴⁴ *The times of India*, 4 July 1973.

⁴⁵ Mohammad Ayoob, "Indo-Iranian Relations: Strategic, Political and Economic Dimensions," *India Quarterly* No 1, January-March 1977, p11.

⁴⁶ Shahram Chubin, "Iran: Between the Arab West and the Arab East," *Survival*, No. 4, July-August 1974: p. 177.

⁴⁷ Howard Wriggins, "Changing Power Relations between the Middle East and South Asia," *orbis* 3 (fall 1976): 797.

⁴⁸ Chubin, "Iran:Between the Arab West," 177.31.

benefit on the basis of mutual assistance. "The speeches of the Prime Ministers of both countries reflected this understanding speaking at a banquet given in her honour on 29 April 1974 Mrs. Gandhi said, "it was short sighted to seek exclusive relationship, friendship with one of countries should not mean hostility for another."⁴⁹ The Iranian Prime Minister stated that "no cloud suspicion or misunderstanding can make the atmosphere of Indo-Iran relations."⁵⁰

By February 1975 there was a tremendous improvement in bilateral relations between the two countries. The most important was the concurrence to collaborate atomic energy accord. With the result Iran and India signed a nuclear cooperation agreement in February 1975. The Minister for External Affairs visited Iran in November 1975 to attend the fifth meeting of Indo-Iranian Joint Commission. A significant outcome of this visit was to finalization the \$630 million agreement for the exploitation of the Khudremukh iron ore project, which was a landmark in Indo-Iran economic as well as political relations.

In May 1976 the Indo-Iranian relations received an impetus by the visit of the Iranian Prime Minister Abbas Hoveyda, to India, followed by the return visit of the Indian President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad's visit to Tehran in the month of June 1976. In 1977 after election, the Bhatia Janta Party emerged as useful with majority and formed the new government in India headed by Morarji Desia. The newly formed government was keen to develop cordial relations with the rest of world more particularly, with her neighbouring countries. Consequently Prime Minister Morarji Desia visited Iran In June 1977 and a return visit was paid by the Shah of Iran in February 1978.⁵¹ These high-level visits concentrated on matters of common interest and multifaceted co-operation. There was also close similarity of views on major international issues such as disarmament, the West Asian problem and the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as zone of peace. Keeping in view the long history of close cultural interaction, it was decided to establish two chairs, one at Tehran and other at Delhi, to promote research into the history of Indo-Iranian relations.⁵²

During the Shah's visit to India on 1 February 1978 further attempts were made to cement the bilateral relations between the two countries. The Shah shared his fear with foreign Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee during the latter's visit to Tehran in May 1978. Vajpayee turned down Iran's request for Indian backing to a possible Iranian-Pakistan front in case Afghanistan posed a threat. Yet, the two countries agreed that the development in Afghanistan should not be weaned away from the Soviet Union.⁵³

Indo-Iranian Relations after the Iranian Revolution 1979 to 1991 or Islamic Revolution

The Revolution (also Known as Islamic Revolution or 1979 Iranian Revolution) of Iran, under the leadership of Imam Khomeini, put an end of Iran's Monarchy (Pahlavi dynasty) under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and its replacement with an Islamic Republic under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of Revolution. Regardless of domestic economic crises and international isolation, the revolution has demonstrated as landmark development.

Demonstrations against Shah Mohammad Reza commenced in October 1977, and received the boost in 1978.

⁴⁹ Indira Gandhi in Iran April 28-May, *Ministry of External Affairs*, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1977-78, pp. 12-13, at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelations/Iran-January-2012.pdf>.

⁵² Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1977-78, pp. 12-13, at <http://www.mealib.nic.in/?2036>.

⁵³ Report, 1977-78, MEA, Government of India, New Delhi, 1978, p.12.

From August to December 1978 strikes and demonstrations paralyzed the country at large. The Shah left Iran for exile in mid-January 1979, which resulted power vacuum in Iran two weeks later Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran with warm welcome by several million Iranians. The royal regime collapsed shortly after on February 11 when guerrillas and rebel troops overwhelmed troops loyal to the Shah in armed street fighting. Iran voted by national referendum to become an Islamic Republic on April 1, 1979, and to approve a new theocratic constitution whereby Khomeini became Supreme Leader of the Country, in December 1979.⁵⁴

On February 11, 1979 Imam Khomeini affirmed a interim government. On march 30, 1979, the interim government asked all Inhabitants of Iran having minimum sixteen year of age irrespective of gender, to vote in a referendum on the issue of accepting an Islamic Republic as the new-fangled form of government and constitution. In fact, the election of Mohammad Khomeini, a left-leaning cleric, with support from varied segments of the Iranian inhabitants counting students, intellectuals, women, captains of big industrialized companies and small vocal labour unions, confirmed Khatami's hold over the electorate. Consequently, over 98% voted in goodwill of replacing the Monarchy with an Islamic Republic. Besides the position of Supreme leader, the constitution also proposed that a president should be elected after every four years. Imam Khomeini himself became instituted as the Supreme Leader for life, and officially decreed as the "leader of the revolution "on February 4, 1980, Abol Hassan Banisadr was elected as the first president of Iran.⁵⁵

During the period of Shah of Iran until 1979 India and Iran continued to be on different camps, while India continued to follow a Non-Alignment policy, Iran besides with Pakistan were closely allied with the United States and were members of the military alliances known as Baghdad Pact later known as CENTO in 1955. The February 1979 Islamic Revolution changed the deep-seated roots of Iranian foreign policy and called for a major reconstruction in its relations with the rest of world. The Islamic revolution was, after all, to a certain extent, a response to the Shah's dealings with the United States and his 'westernisation' policies. The Revolution aimed at resisting Western cultural influence and on put emphasis on Islamic legitimacy and uniqueness. The core message of the new regimes foreign policy was 'neither East, nor West, Islam is the best.'⁵⁶

The Main Guiding Principles for the Conduct of Iranian Foreign Policy were

- Rejection of dependence on either the West or East.
- Identification of the United States as the Principle enemy of the Islamic Revolution.
- Struggle against superpower and the "Zionist Power."
- Close relations with all oppressed people, especially those in Muslim countries.
- Liberation of Jerusalem and opposition to pro Israel States.
- Anti imperialism and support everywhere the oppressed people.
- The new regime's foreign policy has been clearly outlined in Articles 152, 153 and 154 and pattern of the

⁵⁴ Ervand Abrahamian, 'Mass Protests in the Islamic Revolution, 1977-79', in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (ed.) , Civil Resistance and Power Politics the Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present, oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 162-78.

⁵⁵ Roy , Olivier, Globalized Islam, *Columbia University Press*, 2004, p. 67-68.

⁵⁶ FIBS, June 20, 1983..

Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Article 152

"The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the negation all forms of domination or submission there to, the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of the country. The defence of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment before dominating powers and mutual peaceful relations with non aggressive states."⁵⁷

Article 153

"No contract is to be concluded involving foreign domination over the natural or economical resources, the culture, and the army of other domains of Iranian nations."⁵⁸

Article 154

"The Islamic Republic of Iran aspires for the property of man in the whole human society and recognises independence, liberty and the rule of justice and truth as rights for all people of the world. Hence, while refraining from any kind of intervention in other nations internal affairs. The Islamic Republic of Iran supports the truth seeking struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors in every part of the world."⁵⁹

The Iranian Revolution legacy had an significant impact on Iranian foreign policy formulations. Iran withdraw from the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and totally disassociated itself from strategic and military co-operation with the US and other Western world. Foreign policy aims were retune to a 'Neither East nor West' policy, which required to prevent all forms of political, economical and strategic reliance on the either Western capitalism or Eastern socialism. Iran also began to develop a favourable opinion of the NAM member countries.⁶⁰

India viewed the revolution in Iran as a reflection of Iran's quest for identity and national self-assertion and a desire to charter an independent course without Big Power influence.⁶¹ An unofficial Indian goodwill delegation visited Iran in March 1979 and established contacts with the new Iranian leaders, who appreciated the visit and reciprocated the greetings and good wishes which the delegations brought from the government and the people of India. India welcomed Iran's withdrawal from the CENTO and its decision to join the NAM.⁶² This brought India and Iran a step closer. Further more, ipso fact there was a substantial goodwill of the Indian Muslims for the Iranian revolution. Khomeini has also sent a letter to the religious leaders and the people of India in December 1978 describing the situation of the Iranians under the Pahlavi regime and their struggle against discrimination. He exhorted Indian leaders to support the movement of the oppressed people of Iran.⁶³ Furthermore, in December 1979, while delineating the importance of the fundamental independence of Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini said that 'we should learn the good things from foreigners and reject the bad

⁵⁷ .Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Islamic propagation, Tehran), 1982, p. 70.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Eva Partica Rakel, 'Iranian Foreign Policy since the Iranian Islamic Revolution: 1979-2006', *perspective on Global Development, and Technology*, 6, 2007, p. 167, at http://all-iran.info/ise/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/26210546-ir_foreign_policy_a997-2006.pdf.

⁶¹ A.K. Pasha (ed.) *Contemporary Iran and Emerging Indo-Iranian Relations*, Neelkanth Publishers, New Delhi, 1995, p. 145.

⁶² Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1979-2009', p. 22, at <http://mealibnic.in/?2033>.

⁶³ Mandana Tishehyar, 'The Dynamism of Iran-India Relations: 1979-2009', *Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs*, 2 (2), 2011, p. 132.

things, and held up the examples of Japan and India.⁶⁴

In June 1980, the Iranian Commerce Minister, Reza Sadr visited India as the head of the high-delegation. In fact, this was the first delegations sent out by the Iran after the overthrow of Shah's regime. Reza Sadr said "Iran had chosen to send the delegation to India not by accident but by design." The delegations emphasised on economic development between the two countries. The designed delegation visited various industrial units. Despite the fact that during the Iranian revolution in 1979 or Islamic Revolution of Iran, the two countries shared the cordial relations it can not be denied that certain significant differences persisted between India and Iran throughout the 1980s and the early 1980s. This period witnessed minimal exchange of visits between the two countries. There were various reasons for cold down the relations between the two age old civilisation. However the subsequent Iran-Iraq war from 1980-88 and the new regimes foreign policy deeply rooted in Islam made matters more complicated. There are dual opinions regarding India's stance over the Iran-Iraq war, some scholars argue that India remained neutral where some others argue that India was more sympathetic towards the Iraqi secular regime of Saddam Hussein with whom enjoyed cordial ties as being one of the Arab leaders who supported India's cause on Kashmir. In the post revolutionary Iran Supreme leader Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic solidarity with the oppressed and struggles of Muslim all over the world which also includes the Muslims of India especially in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was an irritant in the Indo-Iranian relations.⁶⁵

However, the Indo-Iranian relations didn't entirely lost the track of friendship various efforts very put in this direction to clear the misunderstandings. Abol Hassan Banisadr, the President of the Iran in 1980, said: "India and Iran could co-operate and help each other reversing the dependence on the West." ⁶⁶ Iran confessed that india is on of the most advanced country in the developing world and India is not behind in the race of development. In other words India has developed in every aspect of the technology and the need of the hour is to develop the cordial relations with the India. Furthermore, Iran assured India to continue supply of oil production; from six million barrels to about three million barrels a day of that it needed one million barrels for domestic consumption.⁶⁷ Ali Akbar Mainfar, Oil Minister of Iran in 1980, said that India is high on our priority list for oil supplies and will always get special consideration. He also said that because of our good relations with our Indian friend, we kept a reasonable amount (five million tones) for India this year.⁶⁸

Ali Akbar Valatie Foreign Minister of Iran visited India in 1982, this visit paved a path to restore the worse relations between the two countries. During this visit it was decided to set up a new Joint Commission to cement their bilateral relations. The Iranian Foreign Minister at the end further added that Iran had considerable expertise in the field of oil and it was prepared to help India.⁶⁹ In their joint communiqué, both Velayati and P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then External Affairs Minister of India expressed grief our the turmoil situation of the Afghanistan and expressed their views in favour of settlement at an earliest, which would ensure self-determination for the people of Afghanistan as well as non-interference by the external forces.

Regarding the development in West Asia, both the countries expressed their concern about the Israeli occupation of Golan Heights as it violated the basic principles of international law. On the Iran-Iraq issue, his statement only aid that

⁶⁴ R.K. Ramazani, 'Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientation', *Middle East Journal*, 43 (2), 1989, p. 212.

⁶⁵ Pradhan, Bansindhar, 'Changing Dynamics of India's West Asia Policy', *international Studies*, 41(1), 2004, pp. 1-89.

⁶⁶ Hindustan Times, 11 June 1986.

⁶⁷ P.G. Salvi, *India in World Affairs*, B.R .Publishing Corporations, New Delhi, 1985, p. 1-6.

⁶⁸ Times of India, 1 March 1980.

⁶⁹ Times of India, 3 May 1982.

the Iranian side had briefed the Indian side.⁷⁰ The most important factor which added flavour to the cordial relations of both the countries was the cooperation in the nuclear in 1982. After West Germany halted work on Iran's Bushehr nuclear reactor in 1980, Iran urged India's help in completing this project. Indian radio reported on October 1, 1982, that India would send a group of nuclear engineers and scientists to Iran in November, who would inspect the Bushehr nuclear power plant to study the problems.⁷¹

The Indian Prime Minister visited Iran on 18 July 1983. He was accompanied by several other Ministers of the State which includes K. Natwar Singh, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs and other high-level officials. During his visit to Iran P.V. Narasimha also called on Seyyed Ali Khamanai, the President of Iran, Mir Hussain Musavi, the Prime Minister, Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of the Majlis, Asgarowaladi, the Minister of Commerce, Behzad Nabvi, Minister of Heavy Industries and others.⁷² This visit was an imminent step towards the development of the relations between the two states. Various issues of development were discussed during the talks. The visit yielded the result of an agreement between the two countries and signed up the Iran-India Joint Commission. The visit also paved the way for lifting iron ore from the Khudremukh plant, on his return, Prime Minister said that "There had been some progress regarding the Khudremukh project, though some issues remained to be finalized. The visit resulted in forging closer bonds and in widening the areas of co-operation between the two countries."⁷³

In December 1984 the second session of the Indo-Iranian Joint Commission was held. During this session the new ways to cement the bilateral relations were explored. The two nations emphasised on the importance of Non-Alignment and its role in maintaining the international peace and security. In January 1985 Indo-Iranian held another meeting of Joint Commission, which paved the way for the highest development in the bilateral relation between the two countries. On 7th January 1985 at the end of meeting an agreement was signed at Tehran. According to this agreement, India would assist Iran in various fields including setting up of jobs intensive rural industries, satellite communication, textile and agriculture implements factories. The emphasis was an industrial co-operation, the commission also agreed to set up joint ventures in the two countries to tap their domestic and international markets.⁷⁴

In 1986, a high-level delegation of Iran led by Iran's Foreign Minister Velayati visited India. They were received with warm welcome by Indian leaders. The delegations analysed the overall activities of the Joint Commission and proposed new trends to develop co-operation. It was also agreed that the fourth session of the Joint Commission will be held in Delhi at the end of 1986 or early 1987 as per the jointly suitable dates to be finalised from end to end diplomatic channels.

Text of India-Iran Economic Bilateral Co-Operation in Delhi on August 1986

- It was decided that the fourth session of the Indo-Iranian joint Commission would be held in Delhi at the end of 1986 or early as per mutually convenient dates to be finalized through diplomatic channels.
- A high level and comprehensive Iranian economic delegation will visit in early September to negotiate an oil linked trade and to work out banking arrangements to facilitate lifting of Iranian oil by India and counter purchase

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ At http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/1825_1826.html.

⁷² Press Information Bureau, New Delhi, July 23, 1983 "P.V. Narasimha Rao Concludes Visit", pp.1-4.

⁷³ Times of India, 22 July 1963.

⁷⁴ Financial Express, January 14, 1986.

of India's goods by Iran.

- Iranian side expressed interest in the import of commodities in the import of commodore, meat corn and different types of the steal. Indian sides took note of the request and it was agreed that the list of commodities will be provided in advance and finalized during the visit of the economic delegation to India.
- Secretary (Steel will visit in September 1986 to review progress relating to Khudremukh iron ore project.)
- Both sides agreed that there are good prospects for industrial collaboration and co-operation between the two countries particularly in the field of power, steel, transport, telecommunication and railways. An Iranian delegation would visit India to explore co-operations in cement industry.⁷⁵

Behzad Nabavi Minister for Heavy Industry In December 1987 a high-level Iranian Industrial delegation visited India and met J. Vengal Rao Union Minister for Industry, and Narayana Dutt Tiwari, the finance Minister.⁷⁶ Both the countries agreed to Singh a memorandum of understanding (MoU).According which both the countries to agreed to share science and technology for mutual co-operation. In September 1989, a memorandum of understanding was signed to overcome consular and visa problems. At this time a Memorandum of Understanding was signed to overcome the consular and visa related problems by the External Affairs Joint Secretary Naresh Dayal and Iranian Ambassador Ibrahim Rahimpur. Here efforts were made for speedy grant of visas to teachers to teach in Indian schools in Iran and also to doctors in Iran.⁷⁷

It was 3 June 1989, when the Iranian Leader Ayatollah Khomeini died on this sad demise of death of leader of Iranian Islamic Revolution the then prime Minister Of India Rajiv Gandhi stated, " Iran lost a spiritual leader of magnetism and charisma, Imam Khomeini was a revolutionary of great eminence and of great conviction. It is a grievous loss for the people of Iran and is shared by the people of India. Imam Khomeini extolled the high values of Islam. He exemplified the Shiite ethics of self-denial. He protested against the rampant Westernization an materialism, which have destroyed traditional values. The outpouring grief at the passing away of Imam Khomeini is measure of the stature and the affection and the devotion that his countrymen gave him. In Khomeini's place in history is assured.⁷⁸ The end of the cold war the subsequent retreat of Soviet Union from the soils of Afghanistan brought in a hope of new changes in the relationships. However, Kashmir issue time and again cropped up as the irritant in the Indo-Iran relationship. Though India came out in support the Iranian Jet airlines crisis, the leaders ignored Pakistan's nefarious actions to destabilise India and condemned the Indian government for inappropriate handling of the crisis in Kashmir. On January 24, 1990, the official spokesman of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, addressing a press conference in Tehran, expressed "profound regret" over the handling of riots in Kashmir and called deployments of the Indian armed forces in the riot stricken areas (Kashmir) "unjustified" while IRNA (Iranian News Agency), in an outrageous manner, wrote that "Kashmir is being reduced to fire and blood." Iran not only condemned India on the mishandling of the Kashmir issue but also expressed its displeasure by withdrawing the invitation to the Foreign Minister of India, I.K. Gujral who was to visit Iran in April 1990 to co-chair the meeting of the

⁷⁵ Foreign Minister of Iran visits India: The Text of Agreed Talks" Foreign Affairs Record, Government of India, New Delhi, Vol. XXXIV, No. 8, August 1986, p. 224.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 224.

⁷⁷ Asia Recorder, Vol. XXXV, No. 45, November 1989, p. 20850.

⁷⁸ Atal Behari Vajpayee, 'India and the Changing International Order, "*India and foreign Reviews*, NO. 9, February 15, 1978, p. 12.

Indo-Iranian Joint commission in Tehran.⁷⁹

Despite sharing civilisational affinities and historical links, partnership between Indian and Iran has never been consistent. Partnership between the two countries has seen both ups and downs during the Cold War period due to their divergent foreign policy priorities. The relations between the two countries were suffered by the two power blocs, either directly or indirectly. Although both the countries tried a lot to escape from the situation. Topography, natural resources, economy, national consistency, national awakening, new ideologies, cold war, strategic thinking and insight of national leaders were the main inputs which determined bilateral relation between the two countries.

REFERENCE

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, selected speeches, September 1946-September 1961, the Publications Davison, Ministry Of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1961, p.84.
2. H.E.Hassan Nourian, 'India and Iran on the threshold of Strategic Relations', in R. Sidda Goud and Manisha Mookherji (ed.), India and Iran in contemporary Relations , Allied Publishers Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 2014, p. 43.
3. Ahmad Faisal and M. Basra Alma, Bilateral engagement and geopolitics: A case of India and Iran, The Romanian Economic Journal, Vol.XVI no.48 June 2013, p.56.
4. Faisal Ahmed,' India's Engagement with Iran: A Geo-Economic Perspective', in Anwer Alam (ed.) India and Iran an assessment of Contemporary relations, New Century Publications, New Delhi, 2011, 258.
5. Ibid
6. Meena Singh Roy (ed.) international and Regional Security Dynamics, Institute of Defences Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2009, p. 7.
7. A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) india, Iran and the GCC states, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 239.
8. Foreign Policy of India, text and documents: 1947 -1964, Lok Sabha Secrete rate, 1966, New Delhi, p. 42-43.
9. Letter dated 7 July 1951, Jawaharlal Nehru, Letters to Chief Minister, 1947-1964, Vol. 2 (1950-52), p. 438.
10. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XIV, part II, p. 19.
11. Indian Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 1, no. 4, February 15, 1993, col. 149.
12. Sunanda Sen, India's Bilateral payments and Trade Agreements 1947-48 to 1963-64, Calcutta, 1965, p. 195.
13. Mushtaq Hussain, 'Indo-Iranian Relations during the Cold War, Strategic Analysis, Vol. 36, No. 6, November-December 2012, P861
14. Farah Naaz, indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000, institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2088, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01html>.

⁷⁹ Sheel K. Asopa, 'India and the West Asia in the New World Orders: Perspectives and Trend', in Arun Chaturvedi and Sanjay Lodha (ed.) *India's Foreign Policy and the Economic World Order*, printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1998, p. 212.

15. A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) india, Iran and the GCC states, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 244.
16. Mushtaq Hussain, 'Indo-Iranian Relations during the Cold War, Strategic Analysis, Vol. 36, No. 6, November-December 2012, P861
17. Abdul Amir Jorfi, "India and Iran: Two Asian Power", Strategic Analysis, Vol. 43, No. 2, May 1995, p. 261.
18. Farah Naaz, indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000, institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2088, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01html>.
19. S.M. Burke and Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan's Foreign Policy (Karachi:OUP,1990), p-305.
20. Brajendranath Baneerje, India's Aid to its Neighbouring Countries, (New Delhi), 1982.
21. Kashif Mumtaz, 'Changing Patterns of Iran-India Relations', Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, at http://www.issi.org.pk/old-sites/ss_Detail.php?dated=388.
22. Asian Recorded, Vol. 9, No. 25, 18-24 July 1968, p. 5259.
23. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1965-66, p.37, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1965-66.pdf>.
24. UN, Official Records of General Assembly, 20th Session, 136, 2nd, Plenary Meeting, 14 October 1965.
25. S.M. Burke, Pakistan's Foreign Policy (London, 1973), p. 354.
26. "Shah Reviews Foreign Policy, "Asian Recorder, No.33, 13-19 August, New Delhi 1966, p 723.
27. A.H.H. Abidi, 'Relations between Indian and Iran: 1947-1979', In A.K. Pasha(ed.) india, Iran and the GCC states, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 239.
28. S. Kumar Dev, "Collaboration in Offshore Exploitation", commerce, Vol. 117, No. 3008, 28 Dec. 1968, p. 17.
29. Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Reports 1966-67, p. 1.
30. Dilip Mikherjee, "New Equations of Friendship in Changing World" The Statesman, Delhi, 19 April 1968.
31. Indian and Foreign Review, Vol. 5, No. 20, Aug 1, 1968, p.6.
32. Indian Express, Delhi, 14 January 1969.
33. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1965-66, p.37, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1969-70.pdf>.
34. Indian Foreign Review, Vol. 6, No. 18, 1 July 1969, p. 5.
35. "Ammonia for Fertilizers, commerce, Vol .118, No .3027, 10 May 1969, p. 904.
36. Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report 1970-71, p. 33.
37. Stephen R. Shalom, 'The Men behind Yahya in the Indo-Pak War of 1971', Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade, at http://coat.ncf.ca/our_magazine/links/issued47/articles/a07.htm.

38. Farah Naaz, *Indo Iranian Relations, 1947-2000*, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, 2008, at <http://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-8-01.html>.
39. William E. Griffith, "Iran's Foreign Policy in the Pahlavi Era," in *Iran under the Pahlavis* (ed.) George Lenczowski, California, 1978, p. 382.
40. Lok Sabha Debate, Vol. 30, No. 17, August 1973, New Delhi, Col. 60.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report, 1973-74, p. 46, at <http://mealib.nic.in/reports/1973-74.pdf>.
43. *The Times of India*, 4 July 1973.
44. Mohammad Ayoob, "Indo-Iranian Relations: Strategic, Political and Economic Dimensions," *India Quarterly* No 1, January-March 1977, p11.
45. Shahram Chubin, "Iran: Between the Arab West and the Arab East," *Survival*, No. 4, July-August 1974: p. 177.
46. Howard Wriggins, "Changing Power Relations between the Middle East and South Asia," *ORBIS* 3 (fall 1976): 797.
47. Chubin, "Iran: Between the Arab West," 177.31.
48. Indira Gandhi in Iran April 28-May, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 5.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1977-78, pp. 12-13, at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelations/Iran-January-2012.pdf>.
51. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1977-78, pp. 12-13, at <http://www.mealib.nic.in/?2036>.
52. Report, 1977-78, MEA, Government of India, New Delhi, 1978, p.12.
53. Ervand Abrahamian, 'Mass Protests in the Islamic Revolution, 1977-79', in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (ed.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 162-78.
54. Roy, Olivier, *Globalized Islam*, Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 67-68.
55. FIBS, June 20, 1983..
56. *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Islamic propagation, Tehran), 1982, p. 70.
57. Nisha Singh, *The Bangladesh Factor in Indian Foreign Policy: In Post Cold War Era*, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IJHSS)*, Volume 3, Issue 2, February-March 2014, pp. 181-190
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*

60. Eva Partica Rakel, 'Iranian Foreign Policy since the Iranian Islamic Revolution: 1979-2006', perspective on Global Development, and Technology, 6, 2007, p. 167, at http://all-iran.info/ise/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/26210546-ir_foreign_policy_a997-2006.pdf.
61. A.K. Pasha (ed.) Contemporary Iran and Emerging Indo-Iranian Relations ,Neelkanth Publishers, New Delhi, 1995, p. 145.
62. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Annual Report 1979-2009', p. 22, at <http://mealibnic.in/?2033>.
63. Mandana Tishehyar, 'The Dynamism of Iran-India Relations: 1979-2009', Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs, 2 (2), 2011, p. 132.
64. R.K. Ramazani, 'Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientation', Middle East Journal, 43 (2), 1989, p. 212.
65. Pradhan, Bansindhar, 'Changing Dynamics of India's West Asia Policy', international Studies, 41(1), 2004, pp. 1-89.
66. Hindustan Times, 11 June 1986.
67. P.G. Salvi, India in World Affairs, B.R .Publishing Corporations, New Delhi, 1985, p. 1-6.
68. Times of India, 1 March 1980.
69. Times of India, 3 May 1982.
70. S. Bharadwaj, Dylan Thomas's 25 Poems: a Cold War, International Journal of English and Literature (IJEL), Volume 4, Issue 5, September-October 2014, pp. 55-78
71. Ibid.
72. At http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/1825_1826.html.
73. Press Information Bureau, New Delhi, July 23, 1983 "P.V. Narasimha Rao Concludes Visit", pp.1-4.
74. Times of India, 22 July 1963.
75. Financial Express, January 14, 1986.
76. Foreign Minister of Iran visits India: The Text of Agreed Talks" Foreign Affairs Record, Government of India, New Delhi, Vol. XXXIV, No. 8, August 1986, p. 224.
77. Ibid, p. 224.
78. Asia Recorder, Vol. XXXV, No. 45, November 1989, p. 20850.
79. Atal Behari Vajpayee, 'India and the Changing International Order, "India and foreign Reviews, NO. 9, February 15, 1978, p. 12.
80. Sheel K. Asopa, 'India and the West Asia in the New World Orders: Perspectives and Trend', in Arun Chaturvedi and Sanjay Lodha (ed.) India's Foreign Policy and the Economic World Order, printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1998, p. 212.