

Canada and Emerging India

Contending Economic and Security Agendas

Louis A. Delvoie

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Occasional Paper Series

The Queen's Centre for International Relations (QCIR) is pleased to present the fifty-ninth in its Occasional Paper series. The Occasional Papers are intended to reach the policy-community and the broader public with short analyses of contemporary trends and issues in international security and in Canadian foreign and defence policy.

A former Canadian diplomat with extensive experience in South Asia, including as High Commissioner to Pakistan, Louis Delvoie assesses the prospects of Canada's relationship with India, an emergent economic and military giant dominating South Asia and seeking its rightful place in the concert of great powers. As India undertook to liberalize its economy and to engage fully in the globalizing post-Cold War world, Canada responded to the new trade and investment opportunities with the now-customary parade of Team Canada visits. Temporarily stymied by the crisis over the 1998 nuclear tests, and frustrated by the cautious response of Canadian business, the process of economic rapprochement has so far produced rather modest results – certainly so when compared to the figures for China.

Delvoie nevertheless sees a considerable upside for the relationship, while all the time cautioning us as to the serious political and cultural obstacles that stand in its way. Among these are continuing Canadian concerns about India's nuclear aspirations, the Kashmir issue, and broader regional tensions. The

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Canada and Emerging India: Contending Economic and Security Agendas

In the early 2000s, the Canadian government's policy towards India was largely defined by the 1990s. The focus was on economic cooperation and trade. However, the 2000s saw a shift in focus towards security and strategic interests. This was driven by the rise of China and the growing importance of the Indian Ocean region. The Canadian government's policy towards India in the 2000s was characterized by a focus on economic cooperation and trade, while also addressing security and strategic concerns. This was reflected in the 2005-2006 Strategic Trade Policy Review, which identified India as a key market for Canadian goods and services. The review also highlighted the importance of India in the Indian Ocean region, and the need for Canada to strengthen its ties with India in this region. The 2005-2006 Strategic Trade Policy Review also identified India as a key market for Canadian goods and services, and the need for Canada to strengthen its ties with India in this region. The review also highlighted the importance of India in the Indian Ocean region, and the need for Canada to strengthen its ties with India in this region.

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A Framework for Renewal

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e. He i he e i ee | g he d | Q ebec Ci i 2001. Wha i e, he a eg f i g a e ed ec, ic ec e ed i h a d e c aged he Ca adia g e e a i he eff i b h ade ic a d ade i e he g e.⁶

An Economic Agenda

I a agai hi bacg d ha he Ca adia g e e e bega de - , aea, e i ee i dia a a e ia ec, ic a e.⁷ Oc be 1994, he Mi i e fl e ai, a Tade, R Macla e, eda aj ade i i, dia. Acc a ied b 40 b i e e e e e e g he e g i ee i g, e ec ic, e ec ica i, a d a ai, ec Macla e ade i cea ha he Ca adia g e e a e a ed ie | dia a, e f he i i g a e he A ia-Pacific egi, f Ca adia b i e,⁸ a d, ge a ac he agi fi g a d i g ec, ic i i ie | A ia. | a eech | Va c e a fe h a e Macla e e ici ec g i ed | dia g g i a ce | he i ca-ec, f he A ia-Pacific egi :

Be d he c i ed a d a id g h f Ja a a d he A ia Ti ge, he egi, i he c a d e f he e e g e ce f e a d hi he c ed ec, ie : Chi a a d | dia. M e ic d ha e a i e, he i e e g e ce i e d h c d a e h gh he g ba ec - ic e h d a e ha i, eed be a aged a d i a e ab bed, a h gh e be hi | he, e W d Tade O ga i ai, b a h gh e be hi | APEC.⁹

Ea i 1995, he Ca adia g e e e e a he aj ade i i, | dia, c, i i g f 44 b i e e e a d ed b Sec e a f S a e, Ra d Cha . A he a e i e he De a e f F e ig Affai a d | e, ai, a Tade (DFAIT) i ia ed a e e i e ce f c, ai, ih | cia g e e a d i h a e ec c ai, | de de e a c he e a eg e Ca ada' ade a d ec, ic i e e | | dia. The e f he ec, ai, e | he bica i, | J, e 1995 fa e e ea ched a d de ai ed d c e e i ed *Focus India: Building a Canada-India Trade and Economic Strategy*. The a ed e f h i d c e e e h eef d: c e a e a h i g e f i f | dia | Ca ada; ai e he a a e e a d i e e f he Ca adia a e ec i hi a e e g i g a e a d c | dia e g e e g a a d a c i i e | de bec e a ca a f | c e a ed a e ec e e | | dia.¹⁰

Whie i i g a g a fac i i e be, de a d b he Ca adia g e e e, *Focus India* cea aced he e ha i, he e f he Ca a dia a e ec i e i i g he i i e e e ed b he, e | dia |

he fied f ade, i e e , a d j i e e . Re ee ih ec a a a -
 e f De a ca i hich he ea ea ed bea a ic a g d fi be ee
 l dia e ie e a d Ca adia ca abiiie (e.g., eec , ica i , e
 ge e ai , a d e i e a eci ,), hed c e a ffe ed de ai ed
 ad ice a De c dii , ce ffi a ci g , a d he a ai abi f ade
 i , . A h gh *Focus India* a e e i e ai g he ie
 a d e ia f he l dia a De i a a i b ed ih e ai i e ig
 ha i i , a a De f he i id , i ia ed a d ha i ie fl dia'
 ec , ic ef , b ea ca ic b e ec D , c fic i g ag e ici e a d
 g ide i e , i fa c e be , hei a ce fc , eci , a d c a
 diffe e ce a De l dia a diffic a De e e e .¹²

The iie ece i , acc ded he bicai , f *Focus India* b he Ca-
 adia b ie c i a heg , d De he Ca adia g e e e
 a bi e dea e ce a e a , e a d e i ig a ed e ai , hi
 ih l dia . Ja a 1996 l dia a hef ca i fa Tea Ca ada i -
 i , A ia . Led b P i e M i i e Ch ie , he i i , c , i ed f e e
 i cia e ie , fede a Cab i e i e a d e 300 b ie e e
 e e e ig 204 c a ie . The i i , a e e a a ie f e :
 ai e he fie f Ca ada a , g l dia' i ca a dec , ice ie ,
 f e di ec c , ac a d dia g e be ee he i ca e ad e hi f he
 c , ie , highigh Ca ada' id ja ca abiiie he l dia b ie
 c , i , a d c c de a , be f age e e a d c , ac . l he
 e e , e 75 c e cia age e e e e ig ed i Ne De hi a d B -
 ba , ha i a e \$3.4 bi i , a d he i i , a j dged a e , di g
 cce b he Ca adia g e e . l he d f Sec e a f S a e
 Ra , d Cha , he i i , had e ed e ia i e he e ai , hi a dhed
 he ec fa e c e , a e a di g a d i-di e i , a
 e ai , hi be ee l dia a d Ca ada i he 21 ce .¹³

l he ea f ig he Tea Ca ada i i , he e a a , ice-
 abe i ce a e i he , be f bia e a e cha ge a d i ia i e . A de e gai ,
 f he C , fede ai , fl dia l d i i ed Ca' ada i J , e 1996 , a d a
 fficia i i b he l dia M i i e f E e a Affai , K a G ja , De ace
 i Se e be f ha ea A he a e i e , he Ca adia g e e e a -
 ced i i e i , e g he i c e cia aff i Ne De hi a d
 B ba , a d e e e c , a a d c e cia ffice i Ba ga e , Ma-
 da a d Cha dig a h . S b e e he Ca adia E De e e
 C ai , de ig a ed l dia a e fi he e i i a De a d de
 Da ac i e ea chf b ie l dia . l 1997 , i a he f Ca adia
 F eig M i i e L d A h i i l dia a he head fa de e gai , f
 b i e e e ad a ja e a ja . F i ghi a De ih M i i e G ja
 i Ne De hi , i a a , ced ha a J i M i i e a C i ee d be
 f ed facia ec , ai , be ee he g e e , a ide a ge
 f i ca a dec , ici e . A di a eech i Cac a , A h e he
 , ef a , e ha e i he e ai , hi he he aid ha l dia i e e gi ga

... e f he aj _ d a e _ f he 21 ce _ Ca ada ec g i e hi , a d
 e a _ gi e l dia he i i i de e _ e i _ f eig e ai , .¹⁴
 A f hi aci i b he Ca adia g e _ e ca e ag i di g ha ih
 he l dia , cea _ ea _ e f Ma 1998 (ee be) , b a fe a hia f
 ea _ h ee ea _ i i ed _ eedagai f i g he a , , ce e i
 Ma ch , 2001 f he Ca adia g e _ e _ i e i , e e gage ih l dia .
 The e e e i i l dia b De P i e M i i e J h Ma e , l ig a i ,
 M i i e E i _ Ca a , Na a Re ce M i i e He b Dh a i a a d l e a -
 i , a Ta de M i i e Pie e Pe ig e a he head fa a ge b i e de e gai , .
 D i g a i i O a a b he l dia M i i e f P e _ he Ca adia E
 De e _ e C _ ai , ig ed a ag ee e e e di g a \$ 115 i i , i e
 f c e di l dia ' P e Fi a ce C _ ai , fi a ce he f g d
 a d e ice b Ca adia e _ e .¹⁵ A d i a e e ci e e i ce f he
 F c l dia _ jec f 1995 , Pie e Pe ig e a , , ced i 2002 he a , ch f
 a , e S h A ia Ta de A ci , Pa , ai ed a e ha ci g he Ca adia b i -
 e c , i a a e e f he ade , i e e a d j i e e
 i i e f fe ed b he e gi , .¹⁶ M e ce , i 2005 , he Ca adia g -
 e _ e , ig ed a a d a Pa ge e e ih l dia i he fie d f cie ce a d
 ech g , fie d hich he g e _ e ha i de ified a De c _ e i
 i e e gi g a De _ a eg .¹⁷
 Whie a f h e i i a i e f he Ca adia g e _ e a e i dica i e f
 i de e _ i ai , a d e i , e f _ e i de e i g a , e ec , ic
 e ai , hi ih l dia , he e da e , ea ed b he , be , a e e -
 ha e ha _ e he i g f _ a Ca adia e _ e ci e . The ade fig e i
 he f i g a be i a e he i :

CANADIAN TRADE WITH INDIA¹⁸
(MILLIONS OF CANADIAN DOLLARS)

Year	Exports	Imports
1992	525.0	280.2
1993	267.1	354.4
1994	282.3	458.8
1995	427.7	597.1
1996	341.6	603.8
1997	481.9	743.2
1998	414.4	898.6
1999	388.1	1,015.8
2000	541.0	1,232.1
2001	611.5	1,153.8
2002	617.1	1,327.3
2003	760.3	1,423.7
2004	875.3	1,576.2

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The e fig e h a e f aj ead g h i Ca ada' e -
| dia e he a decadé .| deed, he | di ce' ibé a e i
f g h i | dia' e Ca ada. Whi e he Ca' adia g e e ade
i i | dia e e d bed high ef i e abi hi g c' ac a d
ai i g he Ca' adia' fi e i | dia, e f he h a | di g he

a egi g e i e e ab aed a a d d c i e f a de e e f ce
c i i g f a f - b j a d f d e i e e : a i c a f , a d - b a e d i i e
a d e a - b a e d i i e .²⁹ D i e g a d i g h e e e e f C a a d a
a d h e W e e c j e l d i a c i e d c d c e f a a j e f
c e a - c a a b e b a i i c i i e i c d i g h e A g i i e e d i a e a g e b a i -
i c i i e . A d e a i 2003 i a a c e d h a l d i a h a d c c d e d a d e a
i h R i a (a e d a \$ 3 b i i) e a e f g a g e b b e c e a
c a a b e b a i e a d a a i c a f c a j e A a f h e d e a h e l d i a D e
f e c e M i i e i d i c a e d h a h e c j e h a d a a g e e d e
e i a j i g a e d e e a e g a g e c e a - c a a b e
c i e i i e .³⁰

The e e e a i e f l d i a ' c e a e d b e d c e a e b e
f C a a d i a i c a b e a h e e e D d e e h e b i a e a e a i h i
i h l d i a . The e e e i a e d i a d i g h e i i O a a i S e e b e
2002 f h e l d i a M i i e f E e a A f f a i Y a h a S i h a l h e c e f

O he a ec f he egi, a ec i i ai, a a e be aic
i | d -Ca adia e ai, he ea f he bei g he | d -Pa a ic,
fic e Ka h i Si ce he e i a acD, he U ied S ae i Se e be
2001, he | dia g e e ha a e e ed e Df ec e We
e f i i i, hi c e i ca, ide gica a d e i ja
di eb a i gi a i e e ha a he hea e i heg ba a
e i (i ch he a e a a R ia P e ide, P i a d l ae i P i e

a ade ih| dia acc dij g Sai ic Ca ada.) A df_ ad e ic
iic e_ ecie, hie he ei a agea dij e ia | dia c , i |
Ca ada, he ei a a agea dij e ia Chi e ec , i .A he c -
ica | g fac _c d be he e e_ hich he U ied Sa e igh decide
a | dia f faga | Chi a | i eff _ _ e abii | S ha d Ea
A ia. | ha e e_ , Ca ada' e dea _ _ e-e gage ih| dia igh a
feed | Ca ada' a i _ a bia ea e ai, hi ih he U ied Sa e .
| b jef, he, cea_ a d legi, a ec | eaiie a e f fficie, i _

l a a he i ai, ega di g e ec f ci i a dh a igh
 ege e a i, ebe ig .A a A ia c , ie , hef ig
 h a igh ab e a ee de ici l dia:ge' de di ci i ai , chid ab
 chid i i , chid b , ded ab a dad b , ded ab Me be f
 ched ed ca e a d ha a e D a ba D a d e i i e c , i e
 ffe di ci i ai , a de i ai , a he ha d f e ca e .The Na
 i , a H a Righ C i i , hich a ce a ed i 1993 i , a a ic a
 effeci eb d a di , fee f iica i e fe e ce .Wha i e , he l dia
 g e e ha c e e e he ai , a e je fa hich i f i ge ,
 ci i i be ie .The e i c de he P e e i e De e i , Ac f 1950 , he Maj e
 a ce f l e , a Sec i Ac f 1980 a d he Te i a d Di i e Ac i i e
 (P e e i) Ac f 1985 . U de c e f he e Ac , l dia ec i f ce
 ha e e g a ged i iica D i g , abd ei , a d ai f fc ecie
 , i h e i a e a i hich e a ai i ge e e ha e a i
 fe ed he e e , e.g. Ka h i P , jab , A a a d he a e i N he a
 l dia .The e a e ab e ha e be e d c e ed b i e ai , a b die
 cha H a Righ Wach a d A , e l e ai , a hich ha e i ed
 e e l dia.⁴⁵

The e g e a ce a dh a igh i e ca , he b i hibi he
 e e hich Ca ada ca de e ac e e ai , hi i h l dia , f a g
 a Ca adia f eig ic i e a g a e c , e a dah a
 ec i age da .Tha d e , a ea i e cha ge i he f e e ab e f
 e .The g e e f eig ic a e e f A i 2005 a e ha
 ab , da cea

Ca ada i c i ed e e di gh a igh a dh a ec i
 h gh he d , ac i e ha a f hef dai , f
 a ach g dg e a ce .Ca ada i a e g a i f
 e c i e , h a igh , de c ac a d he e fa ha
 ace i di id a ci e a he hea f cie a d ce a e a ae
 c i ed ec i g hei e fa e.⁴⁶

l he ca e f l dia , he be fg e a ce a dh a igh a e
 dee ed a d he ea a ai abe Ca ada effec a cha ge a e ,
 a he ea , e e e i i ed .Ca ada i ei he a i a a , a aj
 ec , ic a e f l dia , a di h , i e j ch i i ca i f e ce
 i h he l dia g e e .A d Ca ada b , e de ga e f
 bia e a a i a ce l dia i , i e ha e e ha de i ac , a d
 i ce ai i fficie i de he Ca adia g e e i ha e e age
 i ac , i e l dia he e , he d f he Ca adia l e ai , a De e
 e Age c , he e fe e a a i a ce i c , i e h i Da he
 ec , g ge .⁴⁷ l h he Ca adia g e e i ha e
 ai i e ai , hi i h l dia h gh a da , da e e f h gh ,
 a a be e ai i e i e f Ca adia a e .Thi a e i he i fa

id b i e i De e ai hi ba ed , cea def i ed a i e e , b i
 i , i De d c , è cha ac e i ed b a h' ge i e f i e d hi .

Knowledge and Perceptions

Ye a he b ace he dee e i g f he Ca ada l dia e ai , hi fa
 he ea f D edge a d e ce i . The e ee i e d b ha
 a Ca adia , D e ab l dia ha he hei a ce did
 è hi ea ag . C , j b i g hi ead f D edge ha bee
 he e e ce i Ca ada fa a ge a d e e i cea i g c i f l dia
 i g i , a f h e e be ha e i e e ce i ic , b i e
 a d he fe i . A he c , j b i g fac i he e a Pa be D d e
 b he Sha i l d - Ca adia i e i g acade ic a d h e
 cha ge be ee he c , ie , a d i g l dia die a d
 e ea ch ga e i Ca adia i e i ie . Tha aid , h e e i i diffic
 di ag ee i h he ge e a i i , f a d b P fe J h W d
 he effec ha :

De i e a f he he ic ab 'c , a i e ' i i i e a a e
 ha Ca ada a d l dia a e , i e ide f he g be , i diffe e
 ci a ic e , a d ide e a a e d b hc a a d a be
 f cia a dec , ic i dica De i e a he e a e i he
 be f Ca adia f l dia i g i , he a aj i f e e i
 b hc , ie D i e ab each he⁴⁸

He g e ha hi i ai , i c , ded b he fac ha
 The c e age f he he c , each c , edia i i g , b
 i a he ica ea⁴⁹

A he_diffic i a f hi i ha he i age hich Ca adia a

Notes

1. G e e f Ca ada, *Canada's International Policy Statement: Overview* (O a a, 2005) .17.
2. G e e f Ca ada, *Canada's International Policy Statement: Commerce* (O a a, 2005) .17.
3. See f e a e A_h _G. R b j ff (ed.), *Canada and South Asia: Political and Strategic Relations* (T : U i e i f T P e , 1992). See a J.S. G e a a d H. J h , (ed), *The India-Canada Relationship* (Ne De hi: Sage P b i c a i , , 1994).
4. J h R. W d , Ca ada- l dia Re a i : The C e l e i Re e a Ch dha i T e b a et al. (ed), *Interfacing Nations: Indo/Pakistani/Canadian Reflections on the 50th Anniversary of India's Independence* (Ne De hi: B.R. P b i h j g C e a i , , 1998) .400.
5. A h Dka — Ca ada a d he Si ai , i S h A ia i *CANCAPS Bulletin* N .4, Oc be 1994, .4.
6. B 2001, he M j i e f l e a i , a T a d e c d e h a e a e j d f e e a h e a e f Ca ada' e h a d g , e f 25 e c e 45 e c e f GDP, a d h a a - i a e 80 e c e f h e i i , e j b' c e a e d i Ca ada i c e 1993 e e e a e d a d e g h. See DFAIT, *Statements*, N .11 (O a a, 2001) .1-2.
7. The f i g f a a g a h d a d i e c , a e a i e a i c e f i e. See L i A. De i e, Ca ada a d l dia: A Ne Beg j , i g? i *The Round Table*, N .345, J a a 1998, .57-59.
8. DFAIT, *News Release*, N .94 (O a a, 1994).
9. DFAIT, *Statements*, N .3 (O a a, 1995) .2-3.
10. DFAIT, *Focus India: Building a Canada-India Trade and Economic Strategy* (O a a, 1995), .43.
11. *Ibid.*, .43.
12. *Ibid.*, .1.
13. DFAIT, *Statements*, N .1 (O a a, 1996), .3.
14. DFAIT, *Statements*, N .1 (O a a, 1997), .1.
15. DFAIT, *News Release*, N .77 (O a a, 2001).
16. DFAIT, *Statements*, N .2 (O a a, 2002), .1-5.

21. The idea of a free trade agreement between Canada and India was first proposed in the late 1970s. The idea was to create a free trade area between the two countries, which would help to increase trade and economic growth. The idea was first proposed by the Canadian government in the late 1970s. The idea was to create a free trade area between the two countries, which would help to increase trade and economic growth.

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39. S. G. G., *Emerging India: Nuclear Security*, Th. a. d. G. a. (ed.), *India's Nuclear Security*, 56-58. A. ed. Ca. adia. je. ec. i. affai. gge. he. c. e. ii. a. e. d. e. ace. See G. e. D. e. A. ia. Ri. a. Se. E. gage. Ne. S. ace. Race. *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, J. e. 10, 2003, . 7.
40. Pa. R. B. a., *India: De. ca. ic. ge. a. d. be. i. Seig. Ha. i.*, et al. (ed.), *India and Pakistan: The First Fifty Years* (Ca. b. idge: Ca. b. idge. U. i. e. i. P. e., 1999) . 34. i. e. , 102 c. , je. , he. Be. i. ba. ed. ga. i. ai. , Ta. a. e. c. l. e. ai. , a. a. D. l. dia. a. , g. he. 30. c. c. , je. i. e. f. he. i. e. f. bic. ffice. f. a. e. ga. i. . See *The Economist*, Feb. a. 1, 2003, . 90.
41. DFAIT, *News Release*, N. 71 (O. a. a., 2003).
42. Pa. R. B. a., *The Politics of India since Independence* (Ca. b. idge: Ca. b. idge. U. i. e. i. P. e., 1994) Sec. , d. edi. i. , . 353.
43. Sida. h. Bha. ia., *Ligh. i. g. he. f. e. f. ha. ed. i.* *The Globe and Mail*, Dece. be. 19, 2002, . A23.
44. i. dia. P. i. ic. : The. , ai. , ai. 'da. P. ic. i. its. rel.

Biographical Note

L i De i e a e d c a e d a L a C e g e , h e U i e i f T , M c G i U i e i a d h e N a i , a D e f e c e C e g e f C a a d a . H e j i e d h e C a a d i a F e i g S e i c e | 1965 . B e e e 1965 a d 1980 h e P e d i L e b a , E g , T e , A g e j a , B e g i a d Y g a i a , a e a | O a a . H e b e e e e e d a b a d a A b a a d A g e j a , D e H i g h C i i , e h e U i e d K i g d a d H i g h C i i , e P a a O a a , h e a D i e c G e e a f h e B e a f l e a i , a S e c i a d A C , h e D e a e f E e a A f f a i a d A i a D e M i i e f P i c h e D e a e f N a i , a D e f e c e . H e e i e d f h e F e i g S e i c e | 1995 .

F 1995 2002 , h e a a a d j , c f e f i e a i , a e a i , a Q e e ' U i e i a d a R a M i i a C e g e . H e i a S e i F e i h e C e e f l e a i , a R e a i , a Q e e ' U i e i a d a i i g e c e a h e C a a d i a F e i g S e i c e | i e | O a a . H e i a f e e c e a , M i d d e E a e a d S h A i a a f f a i , C B C R a d i . H i e a i c e , C a a d i a f e i g a d e c i c , a d , i e a i , a e a i , g e e a , h a e a e a e d | *International Journal, Behind the Headlines, Canadian Defence Quarterly, Policy Options, Canadian Foreign Policy, The Round Table, British Journal of Canadian Studies, Canadian Military Journal* a d i a a e f b D .

