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Maryse Grandbois

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THE IMPACT OF CANADIAN ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS ON BILATERAL TRADE WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Maryse Grandbois*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Canada is one of the least self-sufficient countries in the world. It is a trading nation. Over thirty percent of the Canadian Gross National Product comes from export of goods and services, mainly to the USA, Western Europe, and Japan.

In most countries, trade policies — trading of goods and natural resources; investment abroad; rates of exchange; private financing practices — affect environmental regulations. However, in Canada, the reverse may be true. Thus, this paper addresses the question of

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whether Canadian environmental regulations adversely affect Canadian international trade.

Part of the answer to this question appears in the commercial exchanges between Canada and Eastern Europe. The first section of this paper discusses these trade relations. The second section examines the Canadian environmental regulations governing these exchanges.

II. CANADIAN BILATERAL TRADE AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Canadian trade relations with Eastern European countries dates back to the 1920's. From that time, commercial transactions have fluctuated throughout years and are now expanding to industrial cooperation. However, Canadian trade with Eastern Europe represents only one percent of total trade between OECD member countries and Eastern Europe. In addition, Eastern Europe accounts for only two percent of Canada's total international trade.

A. *Historical Perspective*

The formal bases of Canadian trade relations with Eastern Europe are trade agreements whose integral feature is the most-favored nation (MFN) tariff treatment. Canada entered into bilateral agreements with Yugoslavia in 1928, Czechoslovakia in 1928, Poland in 1935, the USSR in 1956, Bulgaria in 1963, Romania in 1971, Hungary in 1972, and East Germany in 1983.¹ Bilateral trade relations are also governed by Canada's membership in the GATT.

Canada has also entered into bilateral commercial agreements facilitating trade in specific commodities. Such as fishing and textiles,² Eastern Europe is especially a primary market for Canadian wheat and barley, although volume has fluctuated over time. The USSR has dominated this trade as Canada's largest global wheat buyer for most of the past thirty years. In the 1970's, Eastern Europe was also a strong market for Canadian manufactured products. During this time, large Canadian engineering and capital goods sales were realized as the region was expanding its industrial production capacity. These

1. *Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, Science and Technology, and the Environment*, Dept. of External Affairs Canada (Oct. 1986). (Document written for the Conference sur la securité et la cooperation en Europe, Vienne, 1986) [hereinafter *Cooperation*].

2. Fisheries agreements have been signed with the GDR, Poland, and the USSR. Textile agreements are with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. There are also agricultural agreements and phytosanitary arrangements which facilitate the export of Canadian agricultural products.

large projects have tapered off in the 1980's. As a result, the exchanges are now based mainly on food products and raw materials and less on manufactured goods.³

Canada's trade relations with Poland date back to a 1935 trade agreement.⁴ At its peak, two-way trade totalled over 400 million Canadian dollars in 1982. Recently, however, trade has leveled off to a much lower level. In 1985, exports were \$34,961,600, and imports were \$57,936,200.⁵

This lower level of trade is the result of Canada's refusal to grant new credits to Poland. Poland's hard currency foreign debt — of which \$2.2 billion is owed to Canada — is, of course, the principal trade-related issue. Canada's trade with Poland has also declined because of Canadian adherence to the Reagan administration's policies toward Poland.⁶

B. *Commercial Transactions*

Despite the cold trade relations between Poland and Canada, one half of Canada's exports to Poland consists of grains. The balance comprises of such items as hides, yarns, alcohol, and aircraft engines. Imports from Poland consist of food products, raw materials, metal products, appliances, furniture, motors, textile goods, and smaller consumer products.⁷

A long-term economic agreement with Poland has been initialed and may be signed in the near future.⁸ Such long-term economic agreements have been in place with Czechoslovakia since 1986, with Romania since 1982, and with the USSR since 1976.

Numerous additional bilateral commercial agreements facilitate trade in specific commodities. Most of these bilateral agreements are renegotiated periodically. Bilateral trade consultations take place regularly every one or two years.

In 1984, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and private Canadian companies formed the Canadian-East European Trade Council. This

3. *Canada's Bilateral Relations: Some Key Statistics*, Dept. of External Affairs Canada 11 (Dec. 1985).

4. *Convention de commerce entre le Canada et la Pologne*, signed in Ottawa on July 3, 1935, effective on Apr. 15, 1936. *RÉCUEIL DES TRAITÉS*, 1936, no. 15.

5. Domestic Exports by Country, Commodity Category and Province of Origin; Imports by Country, Commodity Category and Province of Clearance, STATISTICS CANADA 1982-1986.

6. *International Canada*, Dept. of External Affairs Canada 9 (Apr.-May 1983).

7. STATISTICS CANADA, *supra* note 5.

8. *Cooperation*, *supra* note 1, at 1.

council substantially aided the infrastructure of commercial relations between Canada and Eastern Europe. In its first year, the council sponsored a series of seminars on market mechanisms in Eastern Europe and developed framework agreements for cooperation with counterpart organizations in the region.⁹

An essential element of a Canadian exporters' marketing mix is attendance at major East European trade fairs. More Canadian business representatives were encouraged to schedule their promotional visits to these countries to coincide with Canadian participation in these fairs.

In 1985, eighty-seven percent of the Canadian exports to Eastern Europe consisted of live animals, food, and feed commodities. Raw materials made up only five percent. The remaining eight percent consisted mainly of crude materials, such as chemicals, wood pulp, asbestos, and other raw materials. In contrast, sixty percent of Canadian imports from East Europe were raw materials and twenty-seven percent were fabricated materials (see Appendix Table 2).

Most of the Canadian commercial transactions with Eastern European countries are carried on by two provinces: Quebec and Ontario. These provinces have developed individual bilateral relations with other members of the International Community. But neither province can independently afford to maintain numerous relations. Quebec, for example, developed trade relations with Czechoslovakia in the sixties, and carried on substantial trade with Poland in the seventies.¹⁰ In addition, Quebec has developed hydroelectricity programs with the USSR and is currently interested in concluding similar agreements with the Nordic countries.¹¹

C. *Industrial Cooperation*

In Canada, the role of cooperation agreements, projects, and joint ventures has grown considerably in recent years, and all signs point to the continuation of this growth. Numerous types of arrangements exist, including joint ventures, co-production, joint marketing, and joint research and development.

9. *Annual Report*, Dept. of External Affairs Canada 31-32 (1984-1985); *Dés Délégations de l'Europe de l'Est Visitent le Canada, L'innovation*, COMMERCE CANADA (Sept.-Oct. 1985).

10. *Presence Internationale du Québec*, Chroniques des Années 1978-1983, G. Harvouet et Hélène Galarneau dir., Centre Québécois de relations internationales, 1984, ch. VIII, Les relations du Québec avec l'URSS et les pays d'Europe de l'Est, at 255 à 220.

11. Ministère des relations internationales du Québec, *Le Québec dans le monde, le défi de l'interdépendence*, Enoncé de politique de relations internationales, Québec, Juin 1985, at 75-83.

1. Joint Ventures

The pattern for the 1980's is one of divergence from traditional export sales to more complex forms of exchanges which take advantage of specialization in various factors of production.

For example, an Alberta company and two Hungarian enterprises will, in the near future, manufacture and distribute as a joint venture oil drilling equipment for sale in Hungary and third markets.¹² Also, a joint venture between an Ontario livestock company and a Hungarian state-owned farm will attempt to produce superior cattle production for domestic and international trade. Meanwhile, a Polish aviation firm and a Canadian aircraft servicing company will attempt a joint venture to market and sell a new trainer airplane.¹³ Other Canadian-Polish ventures are being studied in the building construction and mining sectors.¹⁴

2. Licensing Agreements

Licensing agreements have enjoyed a somewhat longer history, although the actual number of such agreements is relatively small. However, the Canadian Government encourages this cooperation through application of marketing assistance programs.

For example, a Czechoslovakian enterprise, under license from an Ontario electronics firm, currently manufactures telecommunication products for export from Canada.¹⁵ A Hungarian software enterprise has a license from another Ontario company for modification of computer programs sold in North America. Additionally, a Soviet enterprise is manufacturing farm equipment under license from a Saskatchewan company.¹⁶

3. Co-production

Co-production appears to be the most common form of Canadian industrial cooperation with East European countries. Co-production,

12. *Cooperation*, *supra* note 1, at 6.

13. *Id.* at 7.

14. It is especially the case of the Québec government. *Les groupements momentanés d'entreprise (joint ventures): nature juridique en droit civil et en common law*, 44 REVUE DU BARREAN 463 (1984).

15. *Cooperation*, *supra* note 1, at 7.

16. *Id.* at 8-9. Two Polish companies are located in Canada: Dalempex Ltd. (St. Laurent, Québec, consumer and industrial goods); Pekau Trading Co. Ltd. (Toronto, Ontario, financing of trade turnovers).

normally an inexpensive exchange of existing capabilities, includes contract manufacturing. This method of co-production is frequently encouraged by the Canadian Provinces.

For example, a Polish aircraft manufacturer makes precision parts for a Quebec aircraft engine company and air frames for final assembly by an Ontario aircraft manufacturer. A Czechoslovakian company manufactures integral components for an Ontario telecommunications company. Another Ontario company receives bus shells from a Hungarian manufacturer who also has rights to Canadian sales. There are also applied commercial research projects, as well as technical seminars and training.

As a general principle, the Canadian government supports and encourages the broad range of activities subsumed under the heading of industrial cooperation. However, on a practical level, Canada relies on private initiatives to give impetus to economic activity with foreign markets as well as within the domestic market.

III. IMPACT OF ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPEAN TRADE

Canadian commercial exchanges and bilateral relations with East Europe are probably adversely affected by Canadian environmental law. Although the effects are, for the most part, indirect, they do exist. Environmental regulations may reduce the volume of import-export, and managing renewable resources undoubtedly affects the international markets for natural resources.

A. *Environmental Regulations and Commercial Exchanges*

Commercial exchanges must take into account the Canadian public health and safety regulations. Thus, these regulations restrict the importation of dangerous goods. In addition, the statutorily-mandated preservation of endangered species creates a trade limit.

1. Import of Dangerous Goods

The importation of dangerous goods in Canada is regulated by agricultural, environmental, and transportation laws. These laws which may apply simultaneously, are not easily coordinated. Importation of substances that contaminate the environment is generally forbidden under the Environmental Contaminant Act (FIFRA).

FIFRA states that no person shall import a substance specified in the act "in a quantity or a concentration that exceeds the maximum quantity or concentration prescribed," or under conditions set forth

in the act.¹⁷ Any one who contravenes this section is guilty of an offense and is liable on summary conviction for a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, or on conviction upon indictment, to imprisonment for two years.¹⁸

Only a few substances are regulated under this act, and since its implementation in 1975, indictments have been rare.¹⁹ However, another act, the *Pest Control Products Act*, also regulates the import of dangerous goods. Similar to the FIFRA, it forbids the import of any control product "unless such control product has been registered, conforms to prescribed standards and is packaged and labelled according to the regulation."²⁰ A control product may be imported if it is accompanied by a declaration (in a form prescribed by the relevant ministry) stating the name and address of the importer, the person shipping the product, the brand name of the product, the product's active ingredients and the total amount of the control product being imported. The purpose of the importation must also be indicated, using the words "for sale," "for manufacturing purposes," or "for research purposes."²¹

Finally, two agricultural laws prescribe registration of products before they may be imported. The *Plant Quarantine Act*²² and the *Feeds Act*²³ both limit the import of contaminated plants or other matters.

Canadian law has also prescribed safety rules for the transport of dangerous goods. These rules may affect trade by adding delays or increasing expenses. One examples is the requirement of a shipping document for the transportation of dangerous goods.²⁴ These rules do not, however, restrain trade in any substantive respect.

Enforcement of the safety rules requires cooperation among the departments of agriculture, transportation, and environment. It also requires international cooperation. In practice, countries generally impose higher safety standards on imports than on exports. Canada, for instance, exports tuna that falls short of the domestic standards.

17. Environmental Containment Act Can. Stat. 1974-75-76 c. 72, s. 8 (1)(2).

18. *Id.* art. 8 (5).

19. Castrilli, *Control of Toxic Chemicals in Canada: An Analysis of Law and Policy*, 20 OSGOODE HALL L. J. 322 (1982).

20. Pest Control Products Act, R.S.C. 1970, c P-10, art. 4(1).

21. Pest Control Products Regulations, CAN. CONS. REGS., 1978, c. 1253, s. 7.

22. R.S.C. 1970, c. P-13.

23. R.S.C. 1970, c. F-7.

24. Transportation of Dangerous Goods Act, Can. Stat. 1980-81-82-83, c. 36.

2. Preservation of Endangered Species

The Canadian Parliament has not enacted an endangered species act. However, Canada signed the International Agreement on International Trade of Endangered Species and amended its Export and Import Permits Act and Regulations so as to implement the agreement terms.

However, the contraband of endangered species has been a major issue in the Canadian national parks. Especially in the Rocky Mountains, where the Peregrine Falcon and the Bighorn Sheep are frequently smuggled out. Under the National Parks Act and Regulations, offenses can carry a fine of \$500. Unfortunately these fines have limited deterrent effect, since as collectors will pay as much as \$5000 for a protected bird or animal. Thus, endangered species are threatened even in the reserved lands.

Furthermore, the Canadian maritime fauna is threatened even more than the land fauna. Although seals, halibut, and salmon are preserved by international agreements and are not yet endangered species, traditional practice and law support maximum exploitation of Atlantic fisheries.²⁵ This situation may change with the increased recent Canadian concern over the environment and the new regime of the sea. However any change will likely be slow.

B. *The Management of Renewable Resources*

The management of renewable resources has been a concern of Canadian law since the 1970's. The Canadian Constitution, which created a federation, allows the two levels of government — federal and provincial — to legislate in the fields of their respective competence. In the field of renewable resources, the federal government acts directly on the sea fisheries. Also, as owner of provincial and territorial lands, the federal government can regulate the economic exploitation of these lands.

1. The Fisheries Agreements

According to the OECD, the new regime of the sea has not only increased international trade of sea products, but it has also affected patterns of consumption, most notably in the socialist economies.²⁶

25. Grandbois, *Le droit fédéral et québécois de la conservation de la faune*, 16 REVUE DE DROIT DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE SHERBROOKE 261 (1985).

26. *International Trade in Fish Products: Effects of the 200-Mile Limit*, OECD, 1982; *Problems of Trade in Fishery Products*, OECD, 1985, at 383, 36ss.

After a long period of overexploitation, the Atlantic fisheries were subject to adjustment and new trade policies. For Canada, these adjustments, which took place during the mid-1970's prior to implementation of the new law of the sea, were a response to the poor condition of the nation's fisheries.

The Canadian strategy is to put into place an international fishery regime founded on bilateral agreements. These agreements facilitated cooperation in the fisheries. In 1985, the Canadian Total Allowance Catches (T.A.C.) was 1,046,000 tons in the Atlantic, of which twenty percent (294,165 +) was allocated to foreign nations.²⁷ In 1985, Canada also strongly enforced the 200-mile zone, and fines for offenses of the Coastal Fisheries Protection Act totalled \$751,520.²⁸

One year after signing its first fishery agreement, with Norway in 1975, Canada concluded its second such agreement, with Poland.²⁹ It has been re-negotiated periodically and is still in force.³⁰ In this agreement, which takes into account the tradition of Polish fishing in Canadian waters, the two governments affirm their desire to maintain mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of fisheries and to expand economic cooperation in this field.

The Canadian government agreed to permit Polish vessels to fish within the Canadian 200-mile limit in exchange for allocations from T.A.C. surplus to Canadian harvesting capacity.³¹ Polish vessels must obtain licenses, comply with the Canadian conservation measures, and avoid the taking of anadromous stocks spawned in Canadian waters.³² In return, Poland undertakes to maintain a "satisfactory trading relationship with Canada in Canadian fish product."³³

The two governments also agreed to cooperate in scientific research on the management, conservation, and utilization of the living resources of these fishing zones. Additionally they agreed to promote bilateral cooperation in such matters as exchanges of technical information and personnel, improvement of utilization and processing of catches, and expansion of markets for fish and fish products originating

27. *Review of Fisheries in OECD Member Countries*, OECD, 1986, at 72.

28. *Id.* at 74.

29. LEGER, *LES ACCORDS BILATÉRAUX LA PECHE ET RAGÈRE DANS LES EAUX CANADIENNES*, 1978 *ANNUAIRE CANADIEN DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL* 116.

30. Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Polish People's Republic on their Mutual Fisheries Relations I, May 14, 1982 (Ottawa).

31. *Id.* at II (1)(2).

32. *Id.* at II (3); III.

33. *Id.* at VI (3)(4).

in Canada. Finally, the two nations agreed to encourage cooperative arrangements between Canadian and Polish enterprises with respect to utilizing the living resources of waters off the Canadian coast.³⁴

Because international environmental law did not lower the catches allocated to each state, coastal states benefitted greatly from the new regime of the sea. The conclusion of ten bilateral fishery agreements³⁵ increased Canadian trade on fisheries by twenty-four percent.³⁶

In effect, environmental laws have served contradictory purposes. They attempted to preserve natural resources while at the same time they justified overexploiting these same resources. According to the biologists, the Atlantic fisheries, particularly the herrings are still overexploited because the T.A.C.s are based on a questionable concept — the waters' capacity of renewing. The capacity of the Atlantic to renew living resources seems to be frequently overestimated.

2. Protection of Environmentally Sensitive Lands

Canadian environmental law affects international trade not only through product regulation but also through land use regulation. This occurs through the protection of environmentally sensitive lands and the regulation and management of preserved federal lands, on which lumbering and mining are usually forbidden.³⁷

As the largest coastal state in the world, with shores 100,000 kilometers long, Canada enacted the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act in 1970, to protect its Arctic shores and waters from oil pollution.³⁸ An objective of this act, which took effect in 1972, is to allow for economic development of the Canadian Arctic and at the same time preserve its unique marine environment.³⁹ To this end the act provides stiff penalties for the deposit of waste either in the waters themselves or on the mainland or islands where such waste can enter these waters.⁴⁰ The act also requires the elimination of the sixteen shipping safety control zones and of regulations relating to navigation in these zones.⁴¹

34. *Id.* at II (4); VI (2).

35. Bilateral agreements with Norway, Poland, USSR, Spain, Portugal, Cuba, Bulgaria, G.D.R., Romania, and Japan.

36. *Review of Fisheries in OECD Member countries*, *supra* note 27, at 72.

37. National Parks Act; R.S.C., C N-13; National Parks General Regulations, CAN. CONS. REGS., 1978, c. 1124.

38. R.S.C., 1970 1st supplement c. 2.

39. PHARAND, *THE LAW OF THE SEA IN THE ARCTIC* 224 (1973).

40. Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, § 4.

41. *Id.* at s. 11-12. *See also* Arctic Shipping Pollution Prevention Regulation, ERC 1978 c. 353.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, Canada has wanted to implement in the Arctic a systematic and comprehensive process of planning "that takes into account the relationship between the natural ocean system, its resources, human uses and regulatory programs."⁴² Such management is not without consequences to international trade, especially in the Northwest Passage. Canada continues to strive for cooperation to ensure development of Arctic and Nordic resources, and has signed bilateral agreements for this purpose notably with Denmark and the USSR.

IV. CONCLUSION

The effects of environmental regulations are essentially indirect. They do not restrain trade or change its course in any significant way. But if environmental law is not a substantive feature of Canadian international trade, nevertheless it has introduced a new governmental concern. Today all countries must take into account the consequences of trade that affects the environment. Environmental concern is thus not only a matter of statutory standards; it is as well a growing ethical and legal issue in international law.

42. Beauchamp, *Ocean Management: A Theoretical Perspective*, in OCEAN POLICY AND MANAGEMENT IN THE ARTIC 145, 186, Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 3rd National Workshop on People, Resources & the Environment North of 60°, Yellow Knife, June 3, 1983 (Ottawa 1984)

APPENDIX

1985 TRADE
CANADA – USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

	EXPORTS from Canada	IMPORTS to Canada	surplus (Deficit)
Albania	112,669	62,480	50,189
Bulgaria	28,207,331	9,751,116	18,456,215
Czechoslovakia	21,572,742	66,600,627	(45,027,885)
Germany-East	105,856,451	11,468,985	94,387,466
Hungary	15,750,496	33,896,011	(18,145,515)
Poland	34,961,645	57,936,230	(22,974,585)
Romania	39,119,541	45,098,893	(5,979,352)
USSR	1,607,916,468	27,661,263	1,580,255,205
Yugoslavia	41,063,311	43,253,267	(2,189,956)
1985 TOTALS	<u>1,894,560,654</u>	<u>295,728,872</u>	<u>1,598,831,782</u>
1984	2,479,854,160	302,466,707	2,177,387,453
1983	2,110,262,000	250,095,000	1,860,167,000
1982	2,578,093,000	240,318,000	2,337,775,000
1981	2,340,525,000	350,392,000	1,990,133,000

Sources: Statistics Canada, International Trade Division, External Affairs, USSR and Eastern Europe Trade Development Division

Note: All figures in current dollars Canadian.

**1985 TRADE BY COMMODITY CLASSIFICATION
CANADA – USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE**

	Canadian Exports		Canadian Imports	
	\$000	%	\$000	%
Live Animals, Food, Feed	1,644,946	87.8	21,405	7.2
Crude Materials (Inedible)	130,891	6.9	10,521	3.6
Fabricated Materials (Inedible)	24,337	1.3	80,395	27.2
End Products (Inedible)	94,279	5.0	177,599	60.0
Special Transactions	107	—	5,809	2.0
TOTAL	1,894,561	100.0	295,729	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, International Trade Division

Note: Includes Yugoslavia

POLAND

MOST IMPORTANT CANADIAN EXPORTS (thousands cdn \$)			
	1982	1983	1984
Wheat	347,809	18,605	12,527
Asbestos, Unmanufactured	0	0	4,647
Aircraft, Engines and Parts	836	1,939	2,962
Organic Chemicals	0	1,351	2,461
Raw Hides and Skins	2,392	0	2,334
Other Foods and Materials for Food	822	892	1,748
Iron Ores and Concentrates	0	0	1,545
Yarn, Thread, Cordage, Twine and Rope	304	1,029	1,476
Other Special Industry Machinery	401	673	1,428
Pulp and Paper Industries Machinery	773	2,123	1,085
MOST IMPORTANT IMPORTS INTO CANADA (thousands cdn \$)			
	1982	1983	1984
Other Metals in Ores, Conc., Scrap	0	0	6,902
House Furnishings	3,450	5,040	5,503
Outerwear, Except Knitted	4,158	2,518	4,950
Aircraft Engines and Parts	3,312	3,170	4,004
Outerwear, Knitted	3,240	2,417	2,835
Kitchen Utensils, Cutlery Tableware	1,634	1,612	2,276
Footwear	4,634	2,228	1,549
Other Special Transactions— Trade	1,163	1,155	1,535
Other Textile Fabricated Materials	1,077	1,673	1,525
Plate, Sheet and Strip, Steel	142	0	1,422

ANNEXE I
TABLEAU 1
EUROPE DE L'EST ET URSS
VALEUR DES EXPORTATIONS CHARGÈES AU QUÈBEC
PAR PAYS DE DESTINATION* 1978-1982

PAYS	1978	1979	1980 000\$	1981	1982
Albanie	119	—	—	—	83
Bulgarie	2 083	3 797	1 155	1 152	607
Tchécoslovaquie	5 254	25 075	99 139	13 601	17 046
Allemagne (RDA)	3 309	6 643	2 193	1 829	1 423
Hongrie	4 249	4 070	2 414	3 108	1 515
Pologne	27 121	80 592	68 664	11 046	6 786
Roumanie	9 316	19 374	5 360	4 304	3 716
URSS	111 067	113 341	85 066	45 822	36 248
Yougoslavie	15 686	18 850	36 894	41 470	49 921
TOTAL	178 208	271 746	300 888	122 335	117 349
% par rapport aux importations totales du Québec	1,9	2,2	2,0	0,8	0,8

Compilé à partir de:

- Bureau de la statistique du Québec, *Importations internationales du Québec, 1980*, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1981, 59p.
- Bureau de la statistique du Québec, *Commerce international du Québec, 1982*, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1983, 108p.

TABLEAU 2
EUROPE DE L'EST ET URSS
RÉPARTITION DES IMPORTATIONS DÉDOUANÉES
AU QUÈBEC PAR PAYS D'ORIGINE 1978-1982

PAYS	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
	000\$				
Albanie	38	50	103	4	35
Bulgarie	2 161	4 447	3 406	1 762	3 624
Tchécoslovaquie	24 597	30 365	27 765	33 194	25 832
Allemagne (RDA)	3 145	4 227	5 492	6 321	6 132
Hongrie	13 049	16 917	12 585	14 805	10 067
Pologne	45 969	53 666	41 805	48 678	25 270
Roumanie	20 609	32 958	29 299	34 538	22 471
URSS	14 795	12 525	17 242	14 828	6 311
Yougoslavie	9 247	12 467	13 809	13 567	8 928
TOTAL	133 613	167 627	151 510	167 701	108 705
% par rapport aux importations totales du Québec	1,4	1,4	1,1	1,0	0,9

Compilé partir de:

- Bureau de la statistique du Québec, *Importations internationales du Québec, 1980*, Direction des statistiques économiques, 1981, 59p.
- Bureau de la statistique du Québec, *Commerce international du Québec, 1982*, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1983, 108p.