CANADA

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

INFORMATION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
OTTAWA - CANADA

70/16

CANADA'S TRADE WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

An Address by the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin,
Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce,
to the University of Windsor, November 6, 1970.

Two-thirds of mankind lives in countries defined as "developing".

World peace cannot be established on relatively firm ground unless the economies of these countries are strengthened, unless these countries are brought into the normal world trading patterns ... (this is only one condition of peace, but it is an important one). Much of the success of the United Nations is predicated on the need to achieve international co-operation to eliminate the social and economic gaps between the developed and developing countries.

Developed countries have now generally assumed a responsibility in this respect -- for moral, political, or straight economic considerations.

Developing countries not only expect to be admitted in these world trading patterns, they claim it a right to be.

Three main economic instruments are available to bring about this objective: aid, investment and trade.

AID

Developing countries are now receiving some $7 billion annually in official development assistance from the industrialized countries. Canada has been expanding its total assistance program, which will reach $380 million this year.

Our own bilateral aid program (exceeding $280 million this year) of grants, loans and food aid is directed to Colombo Plan countries in Asia, Commonwealth Caribbean, *francophone* Africa, Commonwealth Africa, and Latin America and has involved more than 50 countries at various times.

We are major contributors to such multilateral agencies as the World Bank, the International Development Agency, the UN Development Program and to the regional development banks in Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean as well as to such international organizations as the World Food Program.

A lot of debate amongst ourselves has centered on the value of these programs. They have received criticism but it is not without pride that we make contributions in the field of international development.

INVESTMENT AND TRADE

However important aid can be, investment and trade are more so. Eighty per cent of the foreign-exchange earnings of the developing countries are accountable to international trade.

Mr. Pearson once said:

> "There is little logic in encouraging growth in developing countries through aid and other measures while imposing barriers against imports of products they can appropriately produce on a competitive scale."

This is generally accepted. There is a growing awareness and understanding in Canada and in the international community of the degree to which developing countries are dependent upon their export earnings to pay for their imports of capital equipment.

The goal of the international development effort should be to put the developing countries in a position where they can realize their aspirations with regard to economic progress without relying on foreign aid. Trade must provide the missing link in their evolution from poverty to affluence.

The question is how? How can trade and its extension investment, contribute in bridging the development gaps between developed and developing countries?

This is not an easy question to answer. Let us assess some of the difficulties.

The complexity of the development process was underestimated by the classical approach to economic growth as a simple operation of capital injection. This was the pattern followed in Canada. But all the countries which face these tasks now cannot benefit from the same economic base, resource potential or educational levels. Repeatedly, African and Asian leaders have pleaded with advisers from the developed countries to gain a better understanding of the physical and cultural environment of their countries, before suggesting programs for development.

The problem is also oversimplified by the convenient shorthand which consists in classifying countries as "developed" or "developing" countries.

In fact, a wide spectrum in degree of development exists both among and within each group:

a) Some "developed" countries include those that have not yet achieved balance between the manufacturing, raw-material processing, and primary-resource extraction sectors. In some ways, Canada is one of those. It could be very well said that some regions of Canada are developing.

b) The group of "developing" countries includes some with essentially agricultural economies of subsistence (e.g. most of Africa and Asia), but there are others outside the market economy close to take-off points of self-sustained growth, with modern industrial sectors and cosmopolitan cities with high standards of living (e.g. most of Latin America)....

Canada and Developing Countries in World Trade

A) Volume

While developing countries' exports have not grown as fast as trade among industrialized countries, their growth rate (6.5 per cent) in the last decade was better than predicted.

World trade in 1969 reached the level of $272 billion (U.S.). Of this, developing countries accounted for about $50 billion. (This represents 18 per cent of world trade as opposed to 21 per cent in 1913, 31 per cent in 1948 and 22 per cent in 1960.)

Canada's share of world trade in 1969 was 5 per cent; although this looks modest, it is nevertheless equal to the contribution of the whole of Latin America. It was also more than the share of Africa or Southeast Asia taken separately.

There were projections some years ago that the trade-account deficit ($1.5 billion) of the developing countries (1960) might rise to more than $10 billion by 1970. Yet by 1969, the size of this deficit had not grown ($48.5 billion in exports and $50 billion in imports). The fear of the gap widening never materialized.

Developed countries take over 75 per cent of the exports of developing countries. Yet in 1969 Canada only took 2 per cent of their total exports. This still represents over $1 billion, or 8 per cent of total Canadian imports. In 1969, developing countries took about $900 million, or 7 per cent of total Canadian exports.

So who has been benefiting on the exchanges in recent years?

Since 1966, the balance of trade between Canada and developing countries has been in favour of the developing countries (last year by over $100 million -- see Appendix).

B) Direction

Canada's trade to developing countries has not changed direction significantly in the last decade. In 1969, as in 1959, Latin America still led in volume with 50 per cent, Southeast Asia with 26 per cent, the Commonwealth Caribbean with 13 per cent, the Middle East with 7 per cent, and Africa with 4 per cent.

C) Composition

Developing countries still obtain over 80 per cent of their foreign-exchange earnings from exports of primary commodities. These include food, raw materials, ores and minerals, and fuels.

For many years ahead, favourable conditions for the international marketing of primary commodities will remain a basic prerequisite of the modernization and industrialization drive of the developing countries.

It is not surprising therefore that Canadian imports from developing countries are largely composed of tropical foodstuffs and raw and semi-processed materials. The remainder is made up of miscellaneous manufactured products, textiles, and chemicals.

The composition of Canada's exports to developing countries is largely made up of foodstuffs (70 per cent) and manufacturers' industrial materials (25 per cent), for which there is continuing demand by developing countries whatever their degree of economic development.

However, as many of the developing countries make significant progress towards industrialization there are now significant sales of capital equipment and technical services.

In the years to come we expect Canada to be particularly well qualified to provide the necessary equipment and expertise in such fields as telecommunications, grain-storage facilities, hydro-electric equipment, port-handling equipment, pulp and paper machinery, specialized aircraft, road and rail equipment, nuclear reactors, airport construction, aerial surveys, consulting engineering services and educational equipment.

Recently, we have sold quantities of hydro-electric turbine equipment to Brazil ($5.6 million), oil-well production equipment to Saudi Arabia ($1 million), locomotives to East Africa ($14 million) and highway-construction equipment to Indonesia ($28 million).

To appreciate fully Canada's trading position *vis-à-vis* developing countries it is useful to review the basic elements of the Canadian approach to trade. Since the World War, Canada has adhered to the rules and principles of multilateralism, freer trade, and reciprocity as embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This has been reflected in the full support that successive Canadian Governments have extended to six different rounds of GATT trade negotiations, which culminated in the Kennedy Round in 1967.

We have followed this policy because Canadian farms and industries need the widest possible markets of the world in order to take advantage of specialization and economies of scale, in so doing providing better employment in Canada.

Freer international trade also serves the interest of the Canadian consumer in providing him with goods and services of wider variety and at a lower cost.

How does this GATT-oriented policy apply to our trade relations with developing countries?

Since the large majority (70) of developing countries have become members of the GATT -- it is no longer a rich man's club -- Canada exchanges the most-favoured nation (MFN) treatment with them through the GATT. With countries such as Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, which have not acceded to the GATT, we have bilateral arrangements of non-discrimination.

As for our Commonwealth trading relations (which predates GATT), the GATT obligations have meant a freezing of the margins of tariff preferences exchanged on a contractual basis with countries such as the West Indies at the levels existing in 1948, when the GATT was formed. Multilateral tariff reductions have tended, over the years, to erode the significance of the Commonwealth preferences.

The ground rules of the GATT have also emphasized reciprocity as a major feature of international trade. The significance of this rule for developing countries has, in fact, been considerably diluted over the years, to the point where the GATT obligations tend to be applied unilaterally to the developed members. Indeed, the non-reciprocity principle has been incorporated in 1965 into Chapter IV, added to the GATT to deal with development problems.

A policy of freer international trade as it applies to Canada has completely eliminated tariffs on almost 70 per cent of imports from developing countries.

1. PRIMARY COMMODITIES

How can developing countries market their primary products in the best possible way?

As an important commodity trader, it has been Canada's experience that an expansion of this traditional type of supply is geared to the industrial activities in the industrialized countries. This applies to the exports of industrial materials of developing countries as well.

a) Freer access for industrial materials

i) Canada has strongly pressed for multilateral free trade in industrial materials and resource-based industries, such as forest products and non-ferrous metals, in both primary and processed form. We continue to support this objective.

ii) A sound international allocation of these resources would require that access to world markets be freed on a world-wide basis. Such a concerted move would provide the greatest benefits to all concerned, whether developed or developing, exporters or importers.

iii) Access to the markets of the U.S.A., the EEC, Japan, and Britain is already free for products such as bauxite, tin and iron ore, but not generally so for products like unwrought aluminum, copper, lead and zinc.

Progress has been made and Canada has made significant contributions ... but more must come.

b) Freer access for tropical products

i) Because of their geographical position, developed countries do not as a general rule grow tropical products. The existence of import duties is not, therefore, intended to protect domestic growers but to maintain a competitive advantage of preferential developing suppliers.

ii) Tariffs on several tropical products (e.g. coffee, tea, cocoa) were significantly reduced as a result of the Kennedy Round negotiations, but import duties still remain, mainly because of unreadiness of preferential suppliers to share their markets with other competing developing countries.

iii) Most of Canada's Kennedy Round reductions on tropical products were implemented in one stage on January 1, 1968. This means that Canada provides duty-free access for products such as cocoa beans, cocoa butter, green coffee, coconuts and peanuts.

Canada continues to support freer access for tropical products in the markets of advanced temperate countries by calling for the avoidance of fiscal duties on such commodities by importing countries, which tends to reduce the free flow of goods.

iv) If all industrialized countries were to move in that direction, existing preferential suppliers (i.e. developing countries of the Commonwealth and those associated with the EEC) would be adequately compensated for the sharing of their preferences through improved access in other markets.

This would be another step forward towards duty-free non-discriminatory trade.

c) International commodity agreements

Canada believes that international commodity arrangements can play an important role in the trade prospects of primary-commodity producers by stabilizing price fluctuations at levels remunerative to efficient producers and fair to consumers. In some cases, commodity arrangements may be necessary to ensure adequate supplies of particular commodities.

Commodity arrangements may also take the form of international agreements involving contractual obligations in which exporters and importers, developed and developing alike, accept reciprocal commitments regarding price levels and supply commitments, as in the case of the wheat and tin agreements.

There are other commodity arrangements involving informal price agreements (e.g. hard and soft fibres), or intergovernmental arrangements consisting merely of regular international consultations on the market situation and outlook (e.g. olive oil, tea).

Canada is a member of all the major international commodity agreements. In so doing Canada fosters the mutuality of interests and benefits in international trading.

a) In the case of the International Grains Arrangement, Argentina benefits from commercial sales at price levels fixed under the Arrangement. Developing importing countries benefit through the Food Aid Convention, which provides 4.5 million tons of wheat annually. By the way, the experience under the Grains Arrangement points to the difficulties of maintaining prices at agreed levels when there is a substantial surplus.

b) In the International Sugar Agreement, several developing countries are exporting members who benefit from a higher and more stable price for raw sugar (e.g. the West Indies, Mauritius, Cuba), while importing members like Canada benefit from supply commitments and quota increases at specific price levels.

c) In the International Coffee Agreement, all exporting members are developing countries and, in some cases (Brazil, Colombia) a large percentage of their export earnings come from sales of coffee at higher and more stable prices. The Agreement contains a diversification fund for inefficient coffee producers, which is raised through a premium of exports above agreed annual export quotas. There is also a device for controlling production.

d) The International Tin Agreement, through a buffer stock mechanism, greatly assists its developing exporting members (e.g. Malaysia and Bolivia).

e) Canada has also actively participated in efforts to negotiate an International Cocoa Agreement, which would be of particular benefit to Ghana and Nigeria. It is interesting to note that since cocoa prices have risen and stablilized at higher price levels, developing countries are not as anxious to obtain an early agreement. In addition, the developing producing countries cannot agree on which countries should be entitled to export quotas under any agreement or how the quotas should be divided amongst them.

Canada is also a member of various international study groups on a wide range of primary commodities of interest to developing countries (e.g. rubber, lead and zinc, vegetable oils). There have been suggestions for more commodity agreements (e.g. iron ore, oilseeds, oil and fats).

Obviously the system is a good "gimmick". The technique offers great possibilities. But it is not a panacea. Each case must be studied on its own merit, taking into account the particular characteristics of the commodity involved. In some cases (e.g. oilseeds), the difficulty could lead to the use of substitutes, in others (e.g. rubber), it is the risk of encouraging the development of synthetics which would limit the volume of the natural products traded internationally. In still other cases, where world trade in a commodity is growing very rapidly (e.g. iron ore), a formal agreement might stimulate vast surpluses, encourage inefficient production, or discourage new investment ventures, depending on the price level fixed.

Needless to say, in assessing the need for such agreements, Canada must take into account its own industrial development interests, its competitiveness by international standards, and the conditions of trade in the world market. I think I've demonstrated that our conduct has to take into account the interests of the developing countries.

2. MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS

Developing countries cannot be left to primary exports. They are also entitled to industrialize.

Because of the limited size of domestic markets in most developing countries and because of the relatively weak purchasing power even in countries such as Brazil, industrialization cannot proceed on the appropriate scale and with the necessary specialization unless the countries can sell their manufactures in world markets.

Developing countries also have to find new market opportunities in industrialized countries in order to obtain foreign-exchange earnings to pay for their growing requirements of industrial equipment and capital goods from abroad.

If this could be brought together it would accentuate the trade flows.

A) Regional blocs

What are the techniques available to increase trade flows? The formation of regional markets is a technique often used to achieve the benefits of rationalization and large production scale.

Canada has taken a generally positive position towards the formation of customs unions or free-trade areas among developing countries (e.g. Latin American Free Trade Area, Central American Common Market, Caribbean Free Trade Area). We have been anxious to ensure, however, that these regional trade groupings remain outward-looking and are not used simply to extend national import substitution policies on a regional or a non-competitive basis.

Canada is not attracted by the formation of special regional trading arrangements encompassing developed and developing countries of the northern and southern hemispheres. For example, we are concerned about the proliferation of special preferential trade deals negotiated by the EEC with a large number of African and Mediterranean countries. There are serious risks that the eventual accession of Britain to the EEC will lead to similar discriminatory arrangements with many Commonwealth developing countries. Trade discrimination along hemispheric lines would lead to a polarization of the world into economic blocs with their economic spheres of influence. This kind of arrangement, which could result in old-time protectionism within wider borders, will inevitably generate resentment and political confrontation between trading blocs. Developing countries should be aware of these dangers to international trade and consequently to themselves.

B) Freer access through MFN liberalization

It is Canada's conviction that it would be in the long-term interest of the smaller trading nations, both developed and developing alike, to open up new markets for industrial products of developing countries on the basis of equal opportunity for all. The erosion of basic trading rules through discriminatory arrangements could only benefit the strong rather than the weak.

We are concerned about current protectionist pressures in the U.S.A., since it takes about one-fifth of developing country exports. A shift toward more protectionism would have substantial negative effects on the economies of the Third World and would lead to pressure on countries like Canada to take more or to go the same way (pressure is twofold).

Another major source of great concern arises from the negotiations for EEC enlargement. Unless such a powerful trading bloc in Europe adopts an outward-looking attitude, particularly with respect to its Common Agricultural Policy, it could have substantial adverse effects on the interest of third-country suppliers of agricultural products, developed and developing alike.

C) Tariff preferences

Trading conditions should be further substantially improved as a result of the institution of a temporary and non-reciprocal "generalized preference scheme" of tariff preferences for manufactured and semi-manufactured goods of developing countries in the markets of all Western industrialized countries. As we see it, such a scheme should facilitate an expansion of trade and not create an obstacle to further trade liberalization on a multilateral basis, and this is being done by being temporary.

The offer of tariff preferences which Canada recently submitted to UNCTAD should provide maximum trading advantages to developing countries consistent with the objectives of Canadian industrial policy.

Under this offer, Canada is prepared to extend tariff reductions equivalent to the lower of either the British preferences or one-third off the MFN rates for manufactures and semi-manufactures except for a limited list of sensitive low-cost products. Tariff reductions of varying magnitude are also offered on a selected list (45 tariff items) of agricultural products of special interest to developing countries.

The importance of this offer has to be seen in perspective, since almost 70 per cent of developing-countries exports to Canada are already duty-free. The offer will further substantially improve this situation by adding more than 300 tariff items on the duty-free list and by extending more than 50 percent tariff reductions on about 100 more items.

This preference offer does not impose any quantitative limits on preferential imports. We have put it as a first step toward liberalizing tariff treatment for developing countries. Further reductions will be considered in the light of experience.

The extension of the British preferential rates -- except in a few cases of particular interest to the West Indies, e.g. bananas, rum, citrus fruit -- to all developing countries entitled to MFN treatment in Canada is an additional step forward in line with our general trade policy of non-discrimination.

How does Canada's tariff-preference offer compare with that of other countries? Let's have a look at some of the main features of other offers.

The U.S.A. has offered duty-free treatment but has excluded most textiles, footwear, and petroleum products. Our approach is much more selective and is based on the injury conception. It is still possible that preferential treatment will be denied in the U.S.A. to developing countries extending preferential access to countries of the Commonwealth or the EEC unless these are gradually phased out.

The EEC has also offered duty-free treatment but has put quantitative ceilings on the volume of preferential imports. Japan has adopted a similar approach.

Canada has no quantitative ceiling. So we think we have a good liberal offer.

D) Non-tariff barriers

In a world where tariffs have gradually come down, non-tariff barriers (e.g. export subsidies, government purchasing, standards, valuation procedures, quantitative restrictions) have become relatively more important. The GATT work program designed to identify these problems and to prepare the way for their future multilateral negotiations could also bring substantial direct benefits to the developing countries. We have been actively campaigning for rapid progress in this area.

E) Freeing of trade by sectors of industry

In the GATT, Canada has also proposed that further trade liberalization on a multilateral basis be explored through sectoral negotiations. This approach for freeing trade with respect to tariffs and non-tariff barriers, and covering both primary, semi-processed and manufactured forms of production within the same sector, is particularly appropriate at a time when developing countries are endeavouring to export more of their primary industrial materials in processed forms. As resource industries are characterized by high levels of capital investment, advanced technology, large-scale production and often by multinational corporations, the sector approach would also allow developing countries to deal with problems arising from corporate and governmental policies affecting trade in these fields.

F) Low-cost imports

Action on tariffs does not necessarily answer problems of market disruption caused by low-cost imports, in certain sectors in which developing countries have already significant competitive advantages such as textiles.

The situation with regard to international trade in textiles is very difficult because of the restrictions maintained by a number of importing countries -- and we all know the pressures in the U.S.A. for more restrictive measures. In these circumstances, the relatively open Canadian market is rather inviting for suppliers who are constantly seeking out alternative markets.

This highly restrictive world environment has had a double impact on the Canadian industry. Firstly, the restrictions by other industrialized countries have led to increased pressures from "low-cost" competition on the relatively open Canadian market. Per capita, overall penetration by "low-cost" textile products is more than double the level reached in the U.S.A., and many times more than the degree of penetration in the countries of the EEC. Canada can hardly be accused of not having done its share to accommodate "low-cost" suppliers. Secondly, the tariffs of other countries have severely limited the access for Canadian textile and clothing exports, thus limiting the attainment of full competitive potential for the Canadian industry.

It is for this reason that some established Canadian sectors of the textile industry are particularly vulnerable and are being seriously damaged. Plants are often located in slow-growth areas, where Canada too has problems of industrial development.

In the recently-announced textile policy, I indicated that Canada is prepared, indeed anxious, in step with others, to move toward a more liberal international trade regime in textiles. In the meantime, however, Canada could not be expected to leave its established industry unreasonably exposed. In the current period, therefore, while Canada has not sought comprehensive limitations on textile exports to Canada, we have found it necessary to seek protective arrangements on a relatively narrow range of specific items.

We look forward to the transformation and restructuring of some of Canada's traditional industries into international viable industries, but this could only take place gradually. We've got to have the right mix of trade and industrial policies and we are moving in that direction.

In fields where we have already experienced problems of adjustment caused by low-cost imports, we must press other industrialized countries to do their share so that we can look ahead to a continuation of a progressive liberalization and orderly growth of international trade.

Such a restructuring of developed economies is already taking place as a result of a continuously changing pattern of world trade and swift changes in technology.

For a country like Canada so dependent on world trade, this would mean to specialize deliberately some research and science-based industries where we can.

G) Assistance in export-promotion techniques

Progress in export-promotion techniques and better knowledge of market conditions in both developed and developing regions are also conditions for successful international marketing of products produced in developing countries. Canada sees assistance in export promotion as a good way to ensure that developing countries will not experience new frustrations by losing export opportunities provided by better access to world markets.

Experience gained by the ministerial mission to Latin America in 1968 has confirmed that problems such as the lack of direct shipping lines or of appropriate contacts between businessmen result in loss of trading opportunities.

The assistance provided by the GATT-UNCTAD International Trade Centre and the Inter-American Export Promotion Centre is an effective means to help developing countries to market their products in industrialized countries. In addition to market surveys, the International Trade Centre offers developing countries training programs for their trade experts to familiarize them with modern marketing techniques.

We also extend technical assistance in trade promotion bilaterally. For example, in recognition of the need for Latin American countries to increase their export trade, CIDA recently undertook the financing of a survey of the potential for Mexican and Brazilian products on the Canadian market.

3. THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Better access to industrialized markets could by itself be of limited practical value to developing countries, particularly in non-traditional sectors. Consequently, foreign private investments have an important contribution to play if production facilities are to be set up to take advantage of new export opportunities, particularly for capital-intensive industries.

Canadian business and industry have a growing role to play in the development-assistance program. Canadian experience with small-scale and medium-scale industrial enterprises, and in such sectors as food-processing, wood products and raw-material processing, is often particularly relevant to the requirements of a number of recipient countries at this stage of their development.

Direct investment in developing countries by Canadian business is not negligible. Examples include: electronics plants in Turkey, Greece and the Philippines; mining developments in the Dominican Republic and Brazil; and bauxite-mining and alumina-processing plants in Jamaica and Guyana.

Investment brings with it some of the best managerial talents and know-how, and transfer of technology badly needed in these areas. It also paves the way to new trading connections in a part of the world which, if development efforts succeed, could become the fastest-growing market in the world before the turn of the century.

Foreign investments now make up 45 per cent of the total transfers of financial resources from developed to developing countries ($5.8 of $12.8 billion).

The flow of private investment largely depends on the attitude of the developing countries themselves. They must create a "sound" climate-- not only foreign but also domestic private capital.

Under the Export Development Corporation there is now available to Canadian investors an insurance facility against some of the special risks inherent in productive ventures in developing regions (e.g. expropriation, inability to repatriate earnings or capital, revolution). The Corporation encourages local participation in the investment.

This Investment Insurance Program of the EDC is in addition to its more established functions of (1) insuring credit extended in connection with exports from Canada, and (2) making direct long-term loans to foreign buyers of Canadian capital goods in particular. While both activities are designed to improve the access of Canadian goods to world markets, they also help developing countries to acquire needed capital goods. All but $3 million of the $395 million of loans outstanding have been made to developing countries. As for export credit insurance, over 40 per cent of this covers exports to developing countries ($103 million out of $241 million as of December 1969).

The Canadian International Development Agency has recently introduced a pre-investment incentives program to assist Canadian firms undertaking "starter" studies and feasibility studies of investment possibilities in developing countries. This program should encourage Canadian business and industrial firms to increase their participation in the economic growth of developing countries.

In the event the company decides not to proceed with an investment following examination of the results of the study, CIDA will reimburse the company to 50 per cent of the approved costs of the study on condition that it becomes the property of the Government. In such cases, the study will be made available to other potential investors.

The foreign policy review indicated a number of additional ways in which the Government intends to assist future Canadian investment in developing countries. These include the dissemination in Canada of information about investment opportunities and the negotiation of double-taxation agreements, where appropriate.

Like all foreign investors, however, Canadians must be prepared to accept the host countries' terms with regard to such matters as corporate control and taxation, training of local personnel and their employment in responsible positions, and local processing of raw materials. There will be a normal tendency on the part of developing countries to accept foreign investment when the need is colossal and to be more selective when this need reduces....

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APPENDIX

Canadian exports to developing countries-- $ million (excludes Mainland China)

Area	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Middle East	25.1	27.2	24.9	3.7	28.2	33.4	41.9	29.8	53.2	65.3
Africa (excludes South Africa)	23.5	17.7	29.7	29.3	33.2	37.2	30.7	34.5	40.7	37.1
Southeast Asia	107.4	118.1	194.2	134.3	159.9	150.9	223.1	274.6	254.8	235.8
South America	121.8	145.8	150.0	173.9	180.2	191.9	232.5	233.4	281.6	291.5
Central America	131.4	159.8	152.1	181.2	253.4	238.3	259.8	245.1	257.8	292.3
TOTAL	409.2	468.6	550.9	522.4	654.9	651.7	788.0	817.4	888.1	922.0

Canadian imports from developing countries

Area	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Middle East	107.0	97.9	97.6	116.5	77.2	104.5	110.8	98.8	94.9	117.4
Africa (excludes South Africa)	22.0	36.0	33.7	55.2	68.4	59.3	88.9	87.0	69.6	88.8
Southeast Asia	94.9	94.8	113.8	132.1	130.7	152.4	156.8	181.2	203.1	246.5
South America	276.5	305.6	319.7	350.7	394.3	364.8	319.0	377.5	465.6	466.3
Central America	143.8	142.6	154.2	184.9	186.5	183.2	183.6	204.0	215.9	247.5
TOTAL	694.2	676.9	719.0	839.4	857.1	864.2	859.1	948.5	1049.1	1066.5