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NATO CONFIDENTIAL

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ROMANIA: TRADE WITH, AND DEPENDENCE ON, THE USSR

Note by the Secretary General

As part of its periodic review of the economies of Eastern countries, the Economic Committee has prepared the attached report, which deals more especially with Romania's foreign trade.

2. This report is submitted to the Council for information.

(Signed) Joseph M.A.H. LUNS

NATO, 1110 Brussels. -2-

C-M(79)20

ROMANIA: TRADE WITH, AND DEPENDENCE ON, THE USSR

Report by the Economic Committee

Summary

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- The recent conduct of Romania its attitude at the Warsaw Pact Summit, its position vis-à-vis Cambodia, its separate negotiations with the EEC - have confirmed President Ceauscescu's determination to reassert his country's independence and raises the question of possible Soviet direct and/or indirect (via CMEA) economic pressures to reverse this course. It is highly unlikely that any other CMEA country would curb its trade with Romania in order to support Soviet strategy, if the USSR ever decided to take such action. Moreover, Romania's economic dependence on the Soviet Union has been decreasing fairly steadily since the early sixties, and the turnover with the USSR represented a mere 15.4% in 1978. Nevertheless, in the short term, Romania could be significantly affected by a cut in Soviet supplies of certain raw materials (iron ores, coal, apatite: but no oil is imported on a regular basis). However, so far no sign of economic pressure has become apparent: among other things, the usual Romanian-Soviet trade protocol for 1979 was signed, on 26th December, 1978.
- 2. Whilst all CMEA nations are economically interdependent to varying degrees, but with the USSR as the major client of and supplier to Eastern Europe, Romania is the least dependent on the USSR: it entertains the lowest relative level of exports both with the Communist countries in general, and with the USSR in particular, as shown in Table I, and had until 1977 a constant although small trading surplus with the USSR.
- 3. The share of Romanian foreign trade turnover with all Communist partners declined from 73% in 1960 to 48% in 1977, and there was also a relative decline of turnover with CMEA alone as a result of a deliberate withdrawal from dependence on countries themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. Trade with CMEA countries dropped below the 50% mark in 1970 from 66.8% in 1960 and it is currently oscillating between 38% and 42%.
- 4. As far as the turnover with the Soviet Union itself is concerned, the decline was even more dramatic: from 40.1% in 1960 to 19.1% in 1977 and 15.4% in 1978. However, 15.4% can be considered significant although it corresponds only to 2.5% of Net Material Product, and the Soviet Union keeps persuasive arguments to convince Romania that a policy too

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

C-M(79)20 -3-

unorthodox could lead to economic problems. The current 34-39% turnover with the industrial West and 17-19% with LDCs is no guarantee against economic pressure by Moscow and the other CMEA capitals if they decide to exert it.

As will be seen at Table II, Soviet supplies to Romania cover essential products to a significant percentage. In 1976, over one-third of iron ores and cotton yarn used by Romanian industry was imported from the USSR as well as probably all the apatite concentrate and potassium fertilizers, around 10% of metallurgical coke and 15% of coking coal. Romania has instituted measures in recent years to further diversify its foreign sources of raw materials. These measures include agreements concluded in 1978 with Canadian firms to purchase annually 2 million tonnes of coal over the next The USSR - in any event - lacks the strongest 20 years. potential lever on Romania: a possible cut in oil and gas Since 1976 Romania has been a net importer of deliveries. oil and is likely to remain so during the foreseeable future as shown by recent trends presented in the following table:

OIL (OOO TONNES)

	Production	Imports	Exports	Net imports	Net exports
1975	14590	5085.0	6175.7		1090.7
1976	14700	8475.0	7842.2	632.8	
1977	14650	8844	6741.9	2102.1	
1978	13724	10800	5750	5050	

Unlike the other European CMEA countries, Romania imports its oil mainly from OPEC (and some from China). The only recorded sale of Soviet oil to Romania was in 1977, when one million tonnes was purchased. This oil was in payment for a one-time transaction with the USSR and although similar deals may occur from time to time there are no indications that the USSR will become a regular supplier of oil to Romania.

6. Romania has been successful in redirecting trade since the early 1960s to diminish its economic vulnerability to Soviet pressure. Moreover, the raw materials it obtains from the Soviet Union are not difficult to find on world markets, although such purchases would increase Romania's permanent - if manageable - hard currency deficit and would take time to organize. In general terms the Romanian economy is the fastest growing in the socialist world and has been able to maintain control over its balance of trade. While the

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

-4-

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C-M(79)20

Romanian leaders would not like to see this situation jeopardized by obstacles to trade or external economic pressures, they know that blackmail is not really practical for the Soviet Union to use. Nevertheless, it may be concluded that Romania is still fairly vulnerable, at least in the short term, to Soviet economic pressure, should the USSR decide to exert it. So far, however, no signs of such pressure have become apparent, as - among other things - the Romanian-Soviet trade protocol for 1979 was signed on 26th December, 1978, i.e. after the Warsaw Pact Summit. By now, trade protocols have been signed with all NSWP countries, except Czechoslovakia, which is usually late in concluding such agreements with Romania.

(Signed) J.N. GIBAULT Chairman

TABLE .

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PUBLIC DISCLOSED/MISE

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ROMANIA: FOREIGN TRADE BY AREA STRUCTURE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

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'y .eports	281.4	434,4	528.8	1,062.2	1,118.4	1,345.4	1,502	1,459	19.2	39.9	28.6	19.9	be .	9 .		D. 4
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30 Belence			120.1	736.3	1,116.2	1.097.6			3.4	5.3	5.1	13.0	14.1	15		
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Miion Lei Se Net Material Product	94,700	146,500	212,100	%1.9 0 0	400,00c	431,700	474.72A	525,805	100	100	100	100	100	100	•	1.x
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caport and import figures in currency-lei for 1960-1977 are derived from: Amusrul Statistic at Republicit Socialists Rosania "374-pp. 446-45), regrouping countries following the classification at Table III. Like are derived as a realdusi.

Exchange rates: UN, yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1976, p. 779

Not Material Product Is derived from Amarul, og. cit., pp. 87 and 90-91, applying the consumer price index of p. 417 for 1976-1976, a 2.2% price increase for 1978, and assesse a 25 irfaction in 1979. Data for 1960, 1965, and 1970 assume no inflation. The figure for 1977 is reported as in the cited yearbook, for it refers to MPD in prices as of 1st January, 1977 and inflation in 1977 ran at 1980 knownish-USSk trade in 1979 and 1979 (plan); communication of the German Delegation.

1978 total turnover, total exports and imports: Scintels, 2nd February, 1979.

Communist countries during the period covered in this table.

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

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C-M(79)20

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COUNTRY AND AREA CLASSIFICATION (1)

COMMUNIST COUNTRIES INDUSTRIAL WEST

CMEA North America

USSR Canada
Bulgaria United States

Czechoslovakia

East Germany <u>Europe</u> Hungary

Poland EEC

Romania Benelux
Cuba (1972) Denmark
Mongolia (1962) France

Mongolia (1962) France
Vietnam (1978) Germany
Ireland

Italy

OTHER United Kingdom

China EFTA North Korea Austria

Albania (1961) Faeroe
Yugoslavia Finland
Iceland

Norway Portugal Sweden

Switzerland

LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES C.

All other countries of the Gibraltan Greece Malta

World. Unlike the UN Spain

classification, Cuba is

included in "Communist South Africa

Countries" (and not in LDCs)

Asia

Israel

as well as Yugoslavia (not in Japan

"Other Europe"). Oceania

Australia New Zealand

Note: (1) To the best of our knowledge, this classification corresponds to that adopted in CMEA official statistics

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