

# Eastern Europe before Transition:

Exploring historical trade data on  
external economic relations in CESEE's  
command economies

Doris Hanzl-Weiss





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# Abstract

This paper revisits the external economic relations in the former command economies of Central, East and Southeast Europe (CESEE) by exploring historical trade data. It provides a descriptive analysis of foreign trade statistics, drawing on the newly introduced wiiw COMECON Dataset, which contains economic time series of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) countries from 1945 to 1994. While trade with the West was limited, the majority of trade took place among the CMEA members states, with the Soviet Union (USSR) serving as the most important partner. The USSR supplied energy and raw materials to its partners in exchange for manufactured products and other goods. However, when examining historical data from CESEE's command economies, it is important to consider the limitations of data and distinctive features of this economic system.

**Keywords:** Command economies; Central, East and Southeast Europe; international trade; CMEA; COMECON; economic history, historical statistics

**JEL classification:** N74



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# 1. Introduction

The countries in Central, East and Southeast Europe (CESEE) are currently among the most open economies in the world, with trade playing a vital role. Today, exports of goods and services account for 72% of GDP in Czechia, 81% in Hungary, 84% in Slovenia, and even 91% in Slovakia. Over the past 30-plus years since the fall of communism, these countries have come a long way. Previously, they were part of a vastly different trading system. Geopolitical factors promoted isolation and autarky, with the Soviet Union (USSR) and other Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) countries serving as their main trading partners. Trade played a much smaller role and followed different rules. While trade with the East was governed by central planning and the non-convertibility of the currency, trade with the West was restricted both externally – by controls of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom) – and internally – due to limited access to hard currency. The partial isolation from competition in global capitalist markets, combined with secure Eastern markets, resulted in a widening gap in the quality of sophisticated manufactured products (Richter 2021).

This paper revisits the external economic relations in CESEE's command economies by exploring historical trade data. It provides a descriptive analysis of foreign trade statistics, drawing on the newly introduced wiiw COMECON Dataset, which contains economic time series of the COMECON countries from 1945 to 1994. Besides general data (for details on all indicators, see Schwarzhappel et al. 2004), the trade data exhibits export and import figures for Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (CSSR), the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union (USSR) and Yugoslavia as well as a few series for COMECON as a whole. In addition to breakdowns by partners, regions and different commodity structures (mostly in national currency units), a range of export and import data by commodities are available. However, details and coverage differ across countries.

This dataset, available through the website of the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw), is built upon a rich data archive that wiiw has maintained since its founding in 1972 and focuses on comparative analyses of centrally planned economies. Over the years, wiiw has published annual COMECON yearbooks, which include general economic and trade data, as well as specialised volumes on COMECON trade (see wiiw 1986, 1989, 1992; Erste österreichische Spar-Casse-Bank 1984, 1985, 1988).

A major issue in the economic analysis of the command economies has been the quality and trustworthiness of the statistics, which was particularly also a challenge for the trade data. As a result, wiiw devoted significant effort and care to collecting and analysing these data. The wiiw COMECON trade publications of that time distinguish between two sources and are structured accordingly: 'foreign trade according to national statistics' (from the individual countries plus comparative statistics from the Statistical Yearbook of the CMEA Member Countries, published in Moscow) and 'East-West trade according to Western statistics' (OECD, UN, UNCTAD, World Bank etc.). While the former reports trade data in national currency units, the latter presents it in US dollars.

The paper presents a range of trade data and examples. It highlights which data are available and where gaps exist while also pointing out data flaws. Section 2 examines the key features of the command economies' trading system and resulting data problems. Section 3 analyses the trade patterns of CESEE's command economies, focusing on trade by partners and commodity structures. Section 4 takes a special look at the automotive industry. Lastly, Section 5 provides a summary and concluding remarks.

## 2. Stylised features of the command economies' trading system and resulting data problems

The socialist/communist system was characterised by a pursuit of autarky and its rigid centralised control over foreign trade activities, determining both the regional and commodity structures of exports and imports. This system was operationalised through the state monopoly on foreign trade, which was implemented both institutionally and monetarily. Institutionally, only specialised foreign trade organisations (FTOs) were authorised to engage in foreign trade, whereas domestic producers were strictly forbidden to engage in these activities. Domestic companies operated under five-year and annual plans, with prices administered by central authorities. As a result, prices did not reflect the cost of resources or what buyers were willing to pay. In addition, the prices of foreign transactions, which were negotiated bilaterally, differed from the centrally administered domestic prices. In monetary terms, the state maintained a foreign exchange monopoly, with a strict separation between foreign and domestic financial flows and a centralised distribution of foreign exchange. The currencies of communist countries were non-convertible, with the currencies of CMEA countries having artificially set exchange rates, which resulted in multiple exchange rates for each country.

Two basic trading regimes can be distinguished, each operating under different prices and exchange rates (though these factors had limited influence on the size and composition of trade, as previously mentioned). There was trade with Eastern bloc and other command economies (referred to as 'intra-CMEA trade'), and there was trade with Western countries (referred to as 'East-West trade').

Intra-CMEA trade, which started as bilateral barter trade, was planned and coordinated. Money flows did not play a role. Later, clearing trade was conducted using the transferable rouble, which served as the bookkeeping currency for intra-CMEA trade between 1964 and 1990. Bilateral claims were settled through the Moscow-based International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) (World Bank 1993). Regarding prices, the 'Bucharest price principle' was approved in 1958. For any running five-year planning period, the average world market price of the former five-year period was calculated and applied in intra-CMEA trade. From 1975 onwards, a 'sliding price basis' (i.e. a five-year moving average of world market prices) was applied (see Richter 2021).

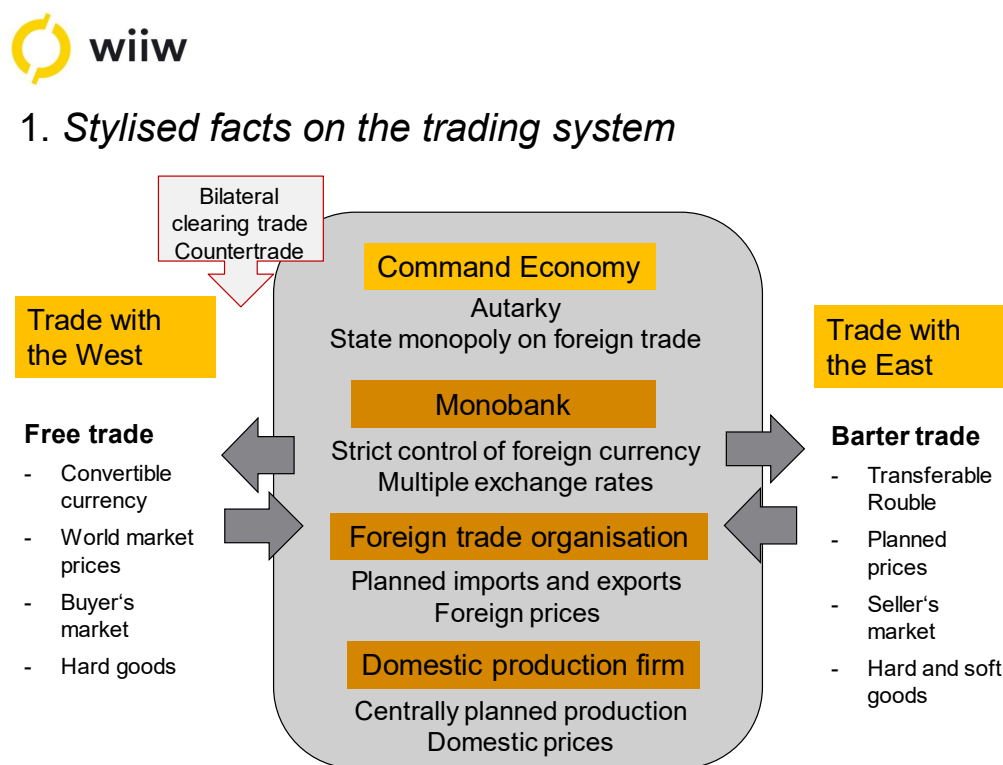
The market regime in socialist economies was often termed a 'seller's market', as sellers had more leverage and could dictate terms to buyers, who had to adapt (for details, see Kornai 1992: 219). Kornai (1992) characterised the resulting dynamics and motivation for trade and exports under these conditions as 'tie-ins, export preferences and pursuit of zero balance'. Tie-ins arose due to planning, which caused rigidities to develop over time, and exports to the regions were favoured due to the comfort and security provided by the seller's market. The CMEA bilateral clearing framework envisaged mutually balanced trade.

Conversely, command economies also engaged in trade with Western countries. These transactions were conducted at world market prices, with payments settled in convertible currencies, mostly the US dollar (USD). In this context, exporters faced a buyer's market in which the buyer held more power,

forcing the seller to adapt to the buyer's needs. Kornai (1992) described the dynamics of this trade as being characterised by 'import hunger, export aversion, and a propensity for indebtedness.' The strong demand for hard goods led to the need for import restrictions, and imports from the West required licensing. Export aversion arose from the challenges of competing in a buyer's market, making it easier and more comfortable to sell within socialist markets.

In practice, two deviations from these trade systems emerged. First, bilateral clearing trade was conducted with selected Western and developing countries. For instance, until 1970, Austria engaged in bilateral clearing trade with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries using the clearing dollar. After 1970, countertrade deals became increasingly common (Richter 1984). Second, hard currency trade between CMEA countries in USD also began to develop starting in the mid-1970s (Richter 2021).

Figure 1 / Stylised features of command economies' trading system



Source: wiiw

Taking a closer look at data and problems of that time, trade data were collected by the FTOs. Foreign trade transactions were settled in foreign currencies (i.e. convertible currencies) (with the West), in bilateral clearing currencies (with Finland and some developing countries), or in transferable roubles (with other CMEA countries) and then converted into national currencies. All planned economies used a system of multiple exchange rates (i.e. a small or large number of special exchange rates, depending on the type of transaction). Thus, several types of exchanges rates – also known as 'coefficients' or 'conversion rates' – existed. The World Bank (1993) published the following exchange and conversion

rates: single-year converter, devisa/official, commercial, non-commercial/tourist, informal market, and transferable rouble/\$ cross rate (commercial TR/\$ cross, uniform TR/\$ cross).

Havlik (1990) describes the existing exchange rates of this time in detail and highlights the main implications for data quality in general and trade data in particular. Summarising, Havlik (1990) states that 'unrealistic exchange rates, central restrictions of exchange and the resulting separation of domestic and foreign transactions have important statistical effects', which included that, first, official trade data cannot be compared with other parts of national accounts since they use different prices and, second, that various exchange rate regulations influence the regional structure and the commodity structure of foreign trade. Thus 'significant distortions cannot be excluded in the non-convertible part of trade ... and questions arise as to whether it is even possible to use this data for any analytical purposes' (Havlik 1990: 25).

For data analysis, this means that the most common indicator for trade importance (i.e. exports and imports as a percentage of GDP) cannot be calculated, including due to discrepancies between GDP and net material product. Additionally, intra-CMEA trade is distorted by its internal characteristics and the use of the transferable rouble, while data on East-West trade is somewhat more reliant, as it is based on convertible currencies. These data limitations should be kept in mind when analysing trade figures.

Export and import data in the wiiw COMECON Dataset are primarily in national currency units, with only total CMEA trade and Yugoslav trade reported in USD. For a detailed overview of data availability, see Annex A.

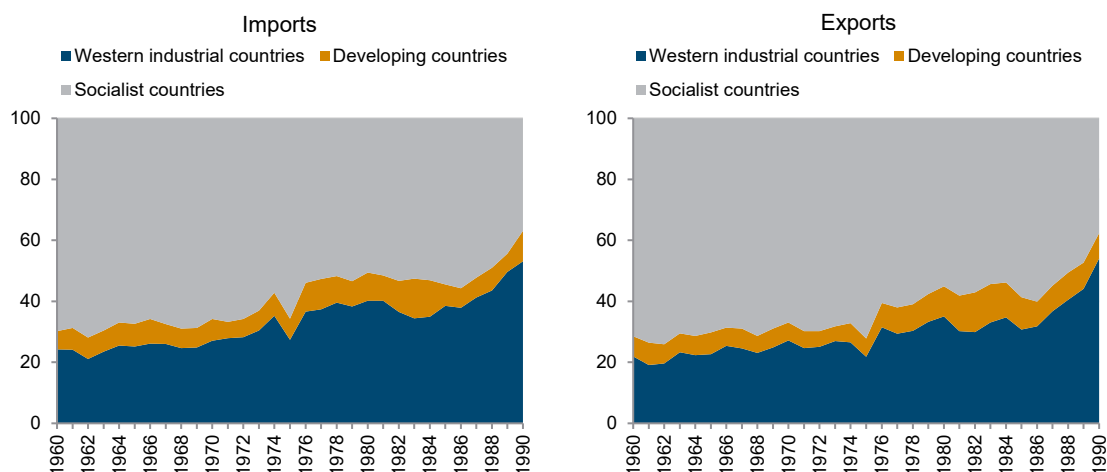
## 3. Trade patterns of CESEE's command economies

### 3.1. TRADE BY PARTNERS

Autarky was an important part of communist ideology, but it was also driven by the geopolitical conditions and political climate of that time – namely, the Cold War and the Iron Curtain. Richter (2021) speaks of a 'dual autarky', referring to national governments' endeavours to achieve both country- and regional-level autarky. The Cold War fostered efforts to gain maximum independence from the West and a desire for isolation.

From 1949 to 1991, the CMEA was an economic organisation of socialist states led by the Soviet Union that aimed to foster economic cooperation, development and integration among its members. These included Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, Poland, the GDR and the Soviet Union. Albania joined but suspended its membership in 1961, while Yugoslavia obtained observer status in 1964. Members outside the CESEE region included Mongolia (after 1962), Cuba (after 1972) and Vietnam (after 1978). Several other countries (e.g. Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Finland, Iraq, Laos, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, North Korea and South Yemen) also held observer status (see Gevorkyan 2018).

**Figure 2 / Hungary: Imports and exports by partners, in % of total**



Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

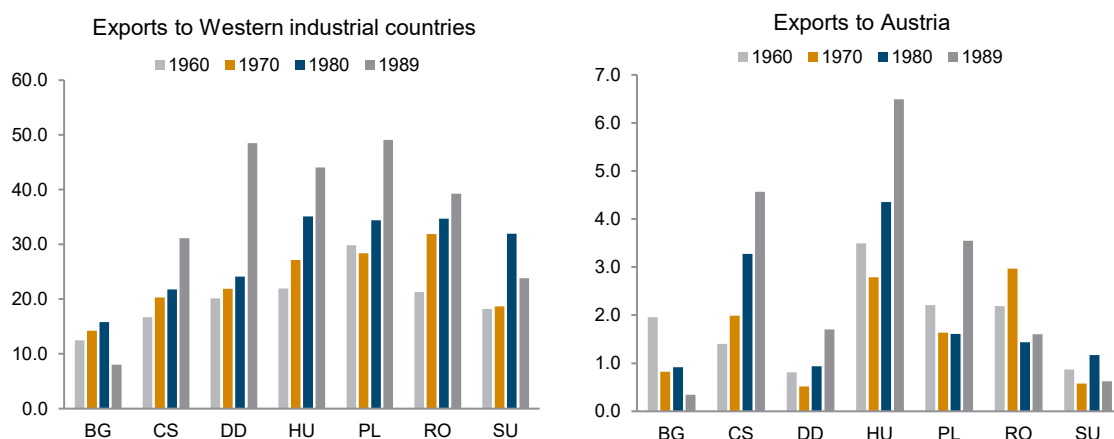
Trade ties among the CMEA partners in general and the Soviet Union in particular were strong, while trade with countries in the West remained more limited during communist times.<sup>1</sup> For instance, as shown in Figure 2, Hungary's trade with the socialist countries dominated but declined over time. In 1960,

<sup>1</sup> For remarks on how the political exchange rate (i.e. a politically motivated 'strong rouble' and a 'weak' USD) shifted up shares of trade with the East, see Richter (2021), footnote 8.

socialist countries accounted for 70% of Hungary's imports and exports, but this share fell to around 53% for imports and 57% for exports by the 1980s. It dropped further (and sharply) towards the beginning of the transition. Developing countries maintained a consistent, small trade share of ranging between 5% and 10%. Western industrial countries saw their share of Hungary's imports rise from 22% in 1960 to 40% in the 1980s and then to 50% at the start of the transition. Similarly, Hungary's exports to the West grew from 22% in 1960 to 30% in the 1980s, eventually surpassing 50% by 1990.<sup>2</sup>

When examining trade partners across CESEE countries, certain differences in trade direction emerge among individual countries. Focusing on export data and East-West trade (Figure 3), Hungary, Poland and Romania had the largest shares of trade with Western industrial countries. Havlik (1990) demonstrated that these larger shares were also due to changes in the exchange rate in these three countries, meaning a strong devaluation and a pronounced jump in the share of exports going to Western industrial companies. These changes occurred in 1976 in Hungary, 1981 in Romania, and 1982 in Poland. Due to its historical ties with the region, Austria maintained a significant trading relationship with CESEE countries even during the communist period. Austria played an important trade role for Hungary and, subsequently, for CSSR, as well.

**Figure 3 / Exports to Western industrial countries and Austria, in % of total**

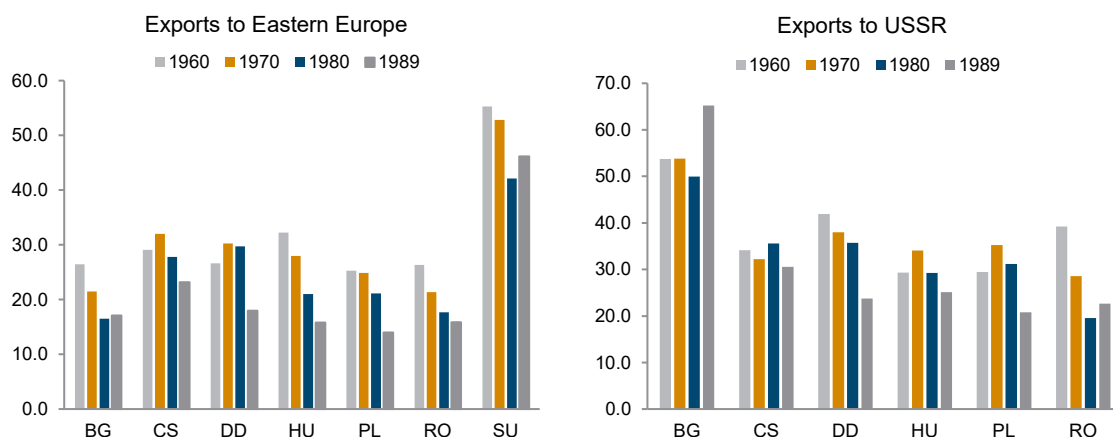


Note: The abbreviations refer to Bulgaria, CSSR, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

When looking at intra-CMEA trade, we can distinguish between 'CMEA total' and 'CMEA Europe'. CMEA Europe again consists of Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Romania) and the Soviet Union (see Figure 4). Looking first at exports to Eastern European countries, exports to this region were traditionally pronounced from the Soviet Union (over 50%). In 1960, exports to this region made up 30% of total exports from the CSSR, the GDR and Hungary, though this share declined in subsequent decades. When looking at exports to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria maintained the strongest trade orientation towards the USSR, with about 50% of its exports consistently going there over the years. For other countries, exports to the Soviet Union accounted for around 30%.

<sup>2</sup> For the other countries, see Annex B1.

**Figure 4 / Exports to Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, in % of total**

Note: Eastern Europe includes Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

### 3.2. TRADE BY COMMODITY STRUCTURE

In terms of the commodity structure of exports, data for the region are available in a comparative manner based on the CMEA trade nomenclature (CTN), which consists of nine groups, though these are aggregated into five broad groups in the wiiw COMECON Dataset. Additionally, some countries have their own national nomenclatures,<sup>3</sup> and the SITC classification is available for a few,<sup>4</sup> particularly for the period toward the end of the communist era.

At a broad level, total exports to the world coming from nearly all CMEA countries shifted towards industrial machinery and equipment between 1960 and 1980, with the exception of Hungary and the Soviet Union (see Figure 5). By 1960, machinery and equipment already made up about 50% of exports in the CSSR and the GDR, which were more advanced countries, and this share increased slightly by 1980. In Bulgaria, exports in this category saw a dramatic rise, jumping from a share of 13% to 44% during this period. Poland also experienced notable growth, with exports in this category rising from 28% to 45%, whereas the increase was more modest in Romania, from 17% to 25%. This trend has largely been attributed to the expansion of heavy industry in communist countries at the expense of consumer goods production. The share of consumer goods exports (CTN 9) was relatively small and generally declined over time.

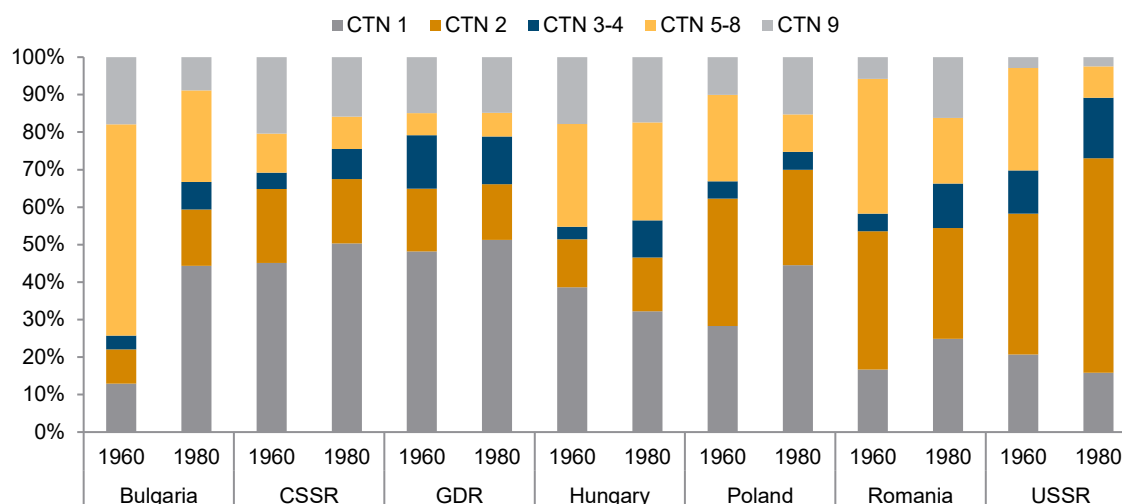
However, two countries deviated from this pattern: In Hungary, foodstuffs (CTN 5-8) played a more significant role, and exports of raw materials (but also the share of chemicals) grew between 1960 and 1980. And the Soviet Union, traditionally an exporter of fuels, mineral raw materials and metals, saw the share of exports in this export category (CTN 2) rise from 38% in 1960 to 57% by 1980.

<sup>3</sup> Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

<sup>4</sup> The CSSR, Hungary, Poland, the GDR (1985-1989), the CMEA as a whole, and Yugoslavia.



**Figure 5 / Total exports by CTN commodity groups (CMEA trade nomenclature) to the world, in % of total**



Notes: CTN 1 / Industrial machinery and equipment (including transport machinery)

CTN 2 / Fuels, mineral raw materials, metals

CTN 3-4 / Chemicals, building materials

CTN 5-8 / Raw materials (non-food), foodstuffs and food processing industry

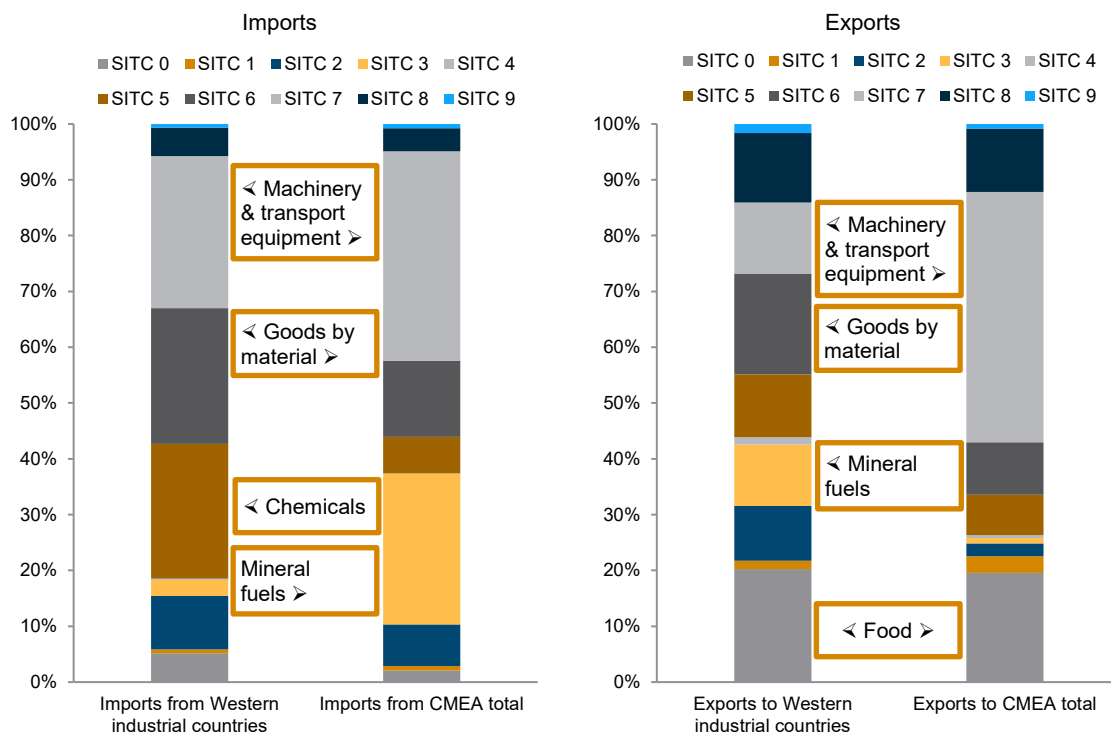
CTN 9 / Industrial consumer goods (other than food)

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

As previously explained, major difference existed between trade with the West and trade with the East, which resulted in distinct trade patterns. Classifying goods into 'hard' and 'soft' goods provides some guidance for this analysis. Generally, energy and raw materials were considered hard goods, while machinery was often seen as soft goods. However, machinery from the GDR and the CSSR, which were more industrialised countries, was regarded as 'harder' than that from the other CMEA countries. For Hungary, manufacturing goods were treated as soft goods, while food and agricultural products were considered hard goods. In the case of the Soviet Union, fuels and most raw materials were viewed as hard goods (see Richter 2021). While soft goods could only be traded among the CMEA countries, hard goods could be sold to the West for hard currency, though they were also traded within the CMEA. This feature was subject to a specific period and to specific relations between two countries (for details, see Kornai 1992).

A closer examination of Hungarian trade patterns is shown in Figure 6, which specifically illustrates the structure of Hungary's imports and exports with both the West and the East.<sup>5</sup> Exports to the East largely consisted of lower-quality machinery and transport equipment (45%), along with a significant share of food products. In contrast, machinery and transport equipment accounted for a much smaller portion of exports to the West (13%), which were dominated by goods made from raw materials, mineral fuels and food products.

<sup>5</sup> A similar pattern can also be found for other countries; see the tables for the CSSR, Hungary (for comparison purpose, please note the slightly different trade partners), Poland and Yugoslavia in Annex B2.

**Figure 6 / Hungarian trade structure by SITC commodity structure, 1980, in % of total**

Notes: SITC 0 / Food and live animals  
 SITC 1 / Beverages and tobacco  
 SITC 2 / Crude materials, inedible, except fuels  
 SITC 3 / Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials  
 SITC 4 / Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes  
 SITC 5 / Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.  
 SITC 6 / Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material  
 SITC 7 / Machinery and transport equipment  
 SITC 8 / Miscellaneous manufactured articles  
 SITC 9 / Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

Looking at Hungarian imports, those from the East consisted largely of machinery and transport equipment (38%), together with a large share of mineral fuels (27%), mostly sourced from the Soviet Union. Imports from the West also included machinery and transport equipment (27%), but also a high share of manufactured goods classified chiefly by material and chemicals (24% each). Overall, the import of high-tech products was restricted by the CoCom, which embargoed several items, such as ammunition, nuclear energy products, dual-use goods and selected high-tech items (e.g. microchips).

## 4. Special focus on the automotive industry

This section looks in more depth at historical foundation of the automotive industry in the CESEE region. Since the fall of communism, the automotive industry has emerged as one of the most important industries – if not the leading one – in several CESEE countries. When examining passenger-car production numbers, Czechia and Slovakia stand out as the top producers. In fact, Slovakia has become the world's largest car producer per capita. In 2023, Czechia produced 1.3 million passenger cars, while Slovakia produced 1 million. Romania and Hungary (each with around 500,000 cars) as well as Poland (with 300,000) also play important roles. On the other hand, Slovenia (60,000 cars) and Serbia have fallen behind in car production. Meanwhile, Russia produced approximately 530,000 cars in 2023, significantly down from the 1.2 million it manufactured before its full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

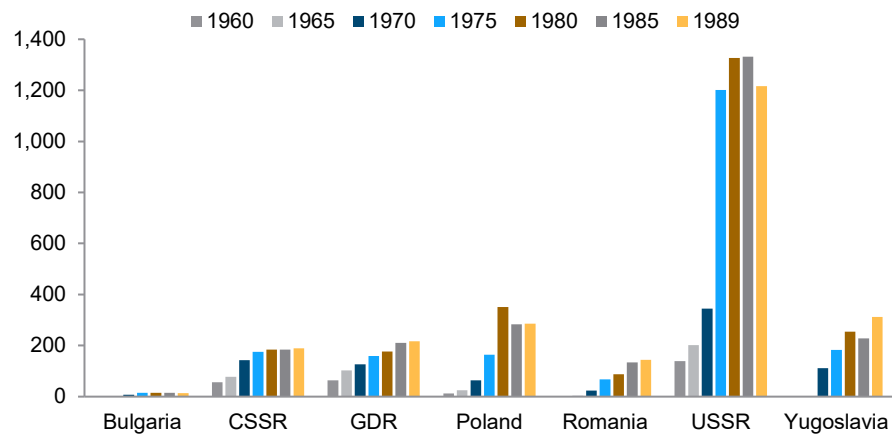
During the communist era, car production was significantly lower, as shown in Figure 7. Before 1975, the numbers were particularly modest compared to now. In 1980, passenger-car production reached 200,000 units in both the CSSR (Škoda) and the GDR (Trabant, Warburg). Surprisingly, production was higher in Yugoslavia, with 250,000 cars produced in 1980 and over 300,000 by 1989. Poland's production peaked at 350,000 in 1980 but declined to 280,000 in subsequent years. In the Soviet Union, car production rose from 340,000 in 1970 to 1.2 million in 1975 thanks to the construction of new car factories. While one factory produced Lada/Zhiguli cars under a Fiat license, another one produced Moskvitch cars.

Overall, intra-firm cooperation with the West played an important role in the automotive industry and was based on the purchase of licences. In Poland, for example, the Polski Fiat cars were based on a licence from Fiat. In Romania, Dacia relied on Renault technology from France (see Richter 2021). In Yugoslavia, Zastava assembled Fiat models.

Joint ventures were allowed very early in Romania (1971), Hungary (1972) and Bulgaria (1980), while they were only possible in the other countries towards the start of the transition (see Havlik 1990).<sup>6</sup> In fact, in Romania, the Romanian automotive company Olcit was established in 1976 as a joint venture between the government and the French company Citroën. This cooperation lasted until 1994, when Daewoo from South Korea acquired a stake in the company (see Hanzl 1999 and Gatejel 2017). Slovenia-based IMV (for Industrija motornih vozil, or 'Industry of Motor Vehicles') signed a partnership agreement with Renault in 1972. This led in 1988 to the joint venture Revoz, which became wholly owned by Renault in 2004. Interestingly, some of these cooperations re-emerged in the 1990s.

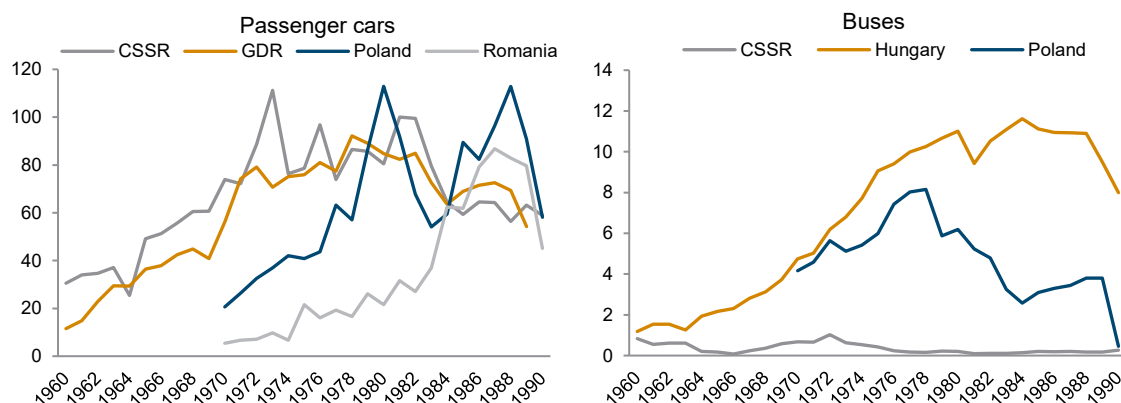
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<sup>6</sup> Poland (1986), CSSR (1989), USSR (1987), GDR (1990).

**Figure 7 / Passenger car production, units, in thousands**

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

Overall, cars were scarce commodities, and shortages led to long waiting periods. In the GDR, for example, the average waiting period for a car was eight years in the 1970s, increasing to 12 years by the mid-1980s (Kaminsky 2001). Nevertheless, cars were traded among CMEA countries (see Figure 8, left side). Available data show that cars were exported from the CSSR, the GDR, Poland and Romania, peaking with above 100,000 units only in some years and countries. The largest export numbers were registered by the Soviet Union, for which 'motor car' exports peaked in 1979 at about 380,000 units.<sup>7</sup> There was also some division of labour in the CMEA. For example, Hungary specialised in automotive components and bus production (e.g. the famous Ikarus buses were produced for the entire Eastern bloc). Available data (see Figure 8, right side) show that buses were mainly exported from Hungary, although there were also smaller numbers from Poland and only fewer than 1,000 units from the CSSR, where Karosa buses were produced.

**Figure 8 / Export of commodities, units, in thousands**

Note: Please take note of the different terminology of products/commodities in the dataset per country: Generally 'passenger cars', but 'town cars' and 'land rovers' in Romania. Generally 'buses', but 'motor buses' in the CSSR.

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

<sup>7</sup> However, Zastava cars were also exported to Poland and even the US. See [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zastava\\_Yugo](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zastava_Yugo). However, the wiiw COMECON Dataset does not include trade data for Yugoslavia in units.

## 5. Summary / Conclusions

The inherent characteristics of the command economies in CESEE during the communist era significantly shaped trade with both the East and West, influencing the size, trade partners and commodity patterns. Key factors include the system of central planning, the absence of market-based pricing, and the non-convertibility of currencies. The wiiw COMECON Dataset offers extensive data from 1945 to 1994, providing a valuable resource for analysing trade during this period.

However, when examining historical data from CESEE's command economies, it is important to consider the limitations and distinctive features of this economic system. While trade with the West was limited, the majority of trade took place among the CMEA member states, with the Soviet Union serving as the most important partner. The Soviet Union supplied energy and raw materials to its partners in exchange for manufactured products and other goods. Certain CMEA countries – such as Hungary, Poland, and Romania (partly also depending on the exchange rate) – had stronger export relations with Western industrial countries, with these trade shares increasing towards the end of the communist era.

In 1989, the collapse of traditional CMEA relations, combined with the gap in product quality, created a difficult starting position for the transition. A deep transformational recession followed. As illustrated by the automotive sector, historical relationships based on licences evolved into foreign direct investment flowing into these countries, indicating some degree of path dependency. However, while French and Italian ties dominated during the communist era, German investors seized the opportunity to invest heavily in the automotive sector thereafter, transforming the region into what is now referred to as the 'German-Central European manufacturing core'.

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# Annex

## ANNEX A WIIW COMECON DATASET: OVERVIEW OF TRADE DATA

**Main reporter countries:** The wiiw COMECON Dataset comprises economic time series for the 1945-1994 period of the command economies in Eastern Europe that were members or associated members of the COMECON (i.e. Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia) as well as a few series on the COMECON as a whole.

Country abbreviations:

BG – Bulgaria

CS – Czechoslovakia (CSSR)

DD – German Democratic Republic (GDR)

HU – Hungary

PL – Poland

RO – Romania

SU – Soviet Union (USSR)

YU – Yugoslavia

CMEA – Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)

### Main variables

Exports and imports by various breakdowns

Depending on the source, data are provided in millions of national currencies (national sources) and in millions of USD (international sources: OECD, UNCTAD). Due to the lack of conventional exchange rates, the conversion factors of the UN (separate for exports and imports) are provided.

**Table A.1 / Exports and imports in national currency units**

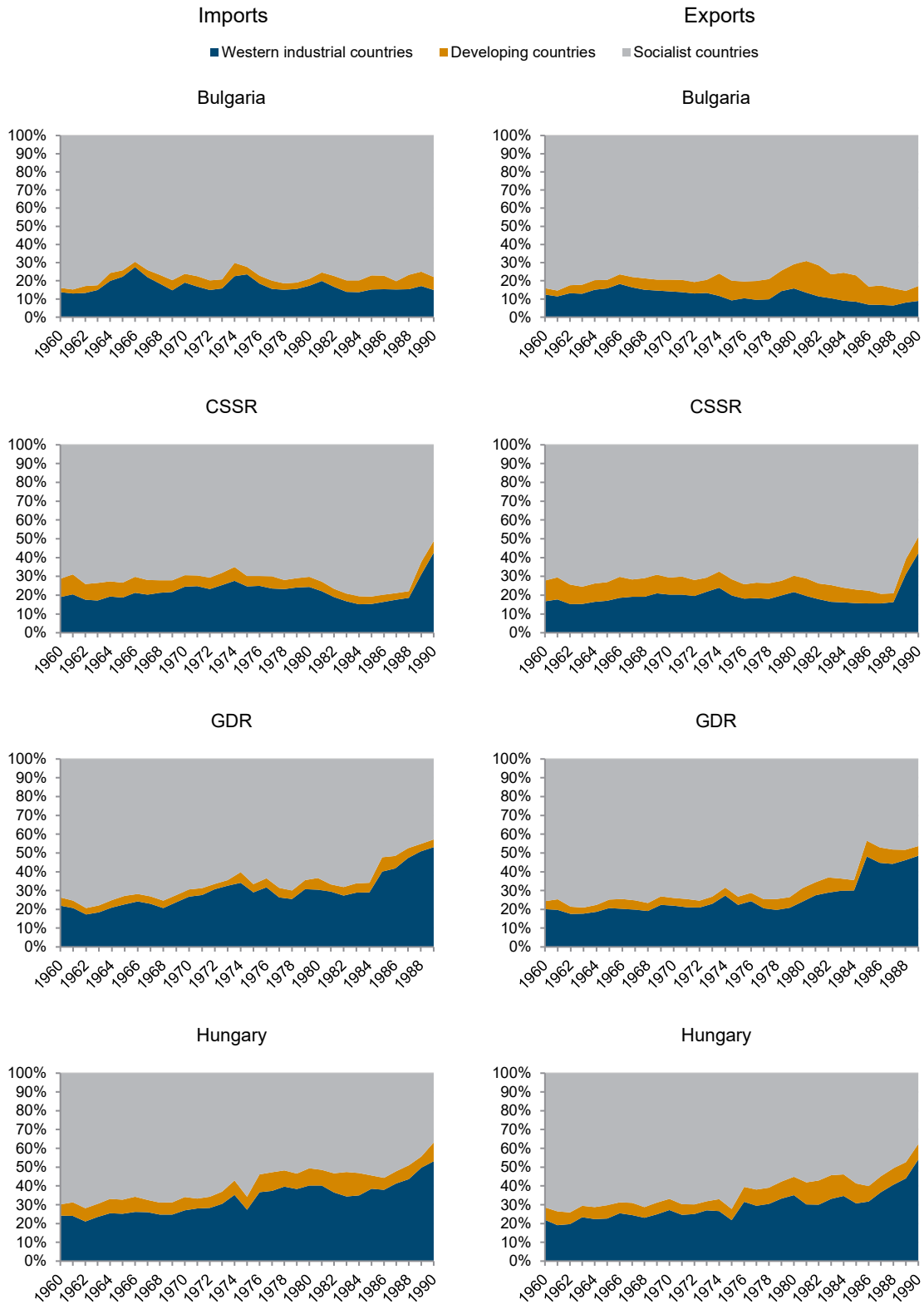
Foreign-exchange currency

Country	Source_final	Unit_final	Note_final
BULGARIA	National Statistical Institute of Bulgaria	NCU million	In foreign-exchange leva until 1990; in leva from 1991.
CSSR	Statistical Office of Czechoslovakia	NCU million	In foreign-exchange koruna (Kčs) until 1988; in koruna from 1989.
GDR	Statistical Office of the GDR	NCU million	In foreign-exchange mark until 1984; in mark from 1985.
HUNGARY	Central Statistical Office of Hungary	NCU million	In foreign-exchange forints until 1975; in forints from 1976 (without re-imports from 1989).
POLAND	Central Statistical Office of Poland	NCU million	In foreign-exchange zloty until 1981; in zloty from 1982. Interpolations in 1961-1964 and 1966-1969.
ROMANIA	Romanian National Institute of Statistics	NCU million	In foreign-exchange lei until 1980; in lei from 1981.
USSR	Central Statistical Office of the USSR	NCU million	
YUGOSLAVIA	Federal Statistical Office of Yugoslavia	NCU million	The statistical exchange rate until 1984; the current exchange rate was applied from 1985. From 1990, data are presented in the 'old dinar' (denomination by 10,000 not applied). From 1991, including re-imports.
YUGOSLAVIA	OECD	USD million	The statistical exchange rate until 1986; the current exchange rate was applied from 1987.
CMEA	UNCTAD	USD million	

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

ANNEX B1

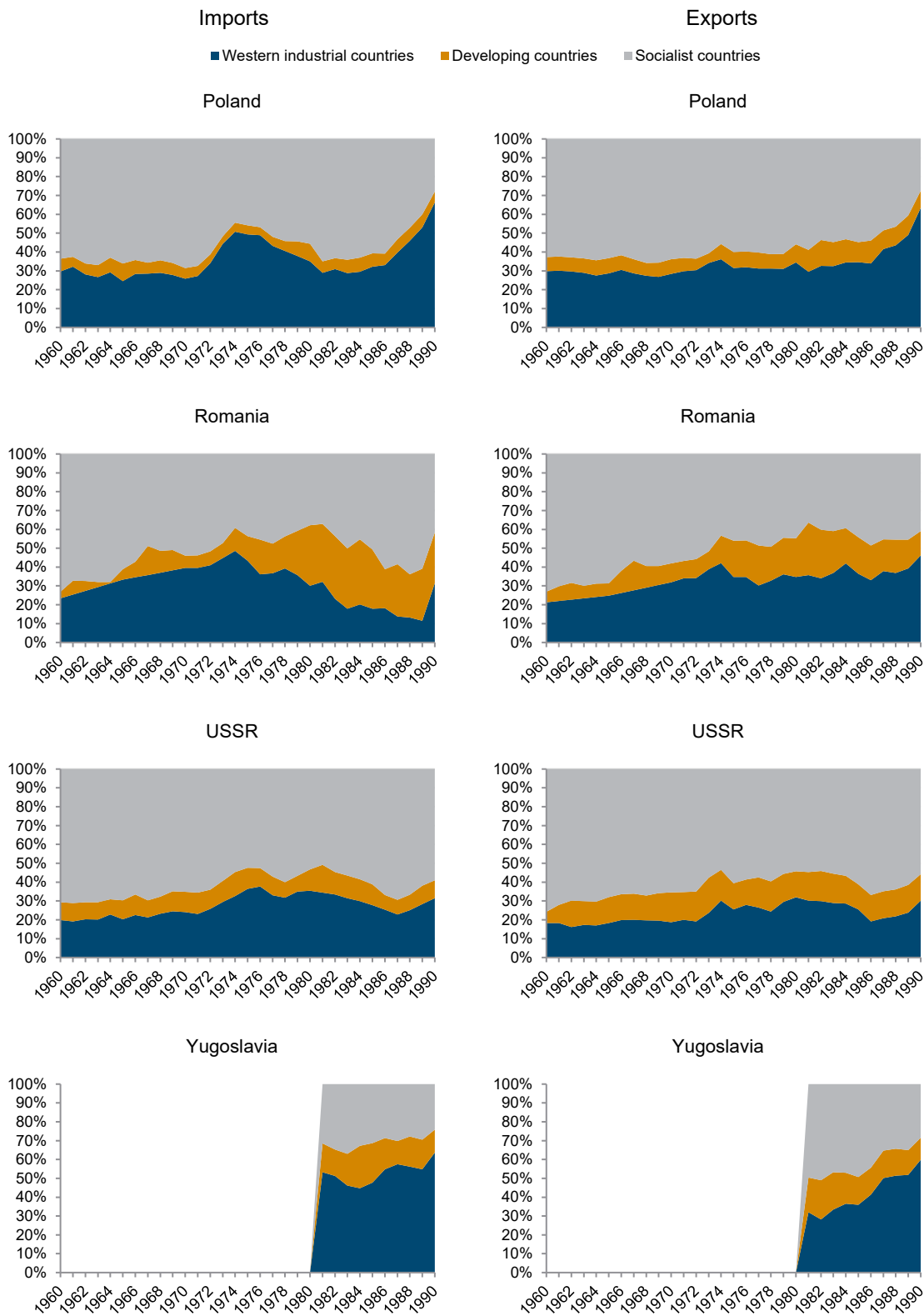
Figure B.1/ Trade by partners, 1960-1990, in % of total



Contd.



**Figure B.1/ Continued**



Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

## ANNEX B2

Table B.1 / Trade structure by SITC nomenclature, 1980, in % of total

## CSSR: Trade by SITC commodity structure, 1980

in % of total	Imports from			Exports to		
	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries
SITC 0 / Food and live animals	8.8	18.7	4.6	3.7	9.4	1.2
SITC 1 / Beverages and tobacco	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.8
SITC 2 / Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	10.9	16.9	8.3	5.2	9.7	3.3
SITC 3 / Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	18.8	2.2	25.8	6.0	12.1	3.4
SITC 4 / Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
SITC 5 / Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	8.3	16.3	4.9	6.3	9.3	4.9
SITC 6 / Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	10.8	11.8	10.5	17.1	23.9	14.1
SITC 7 / Machinery and transport equipment	35.9	26.0	40.1	49.9	24.7	60.9
SITC 8 / Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4.4	4.6	4.3	11.0	10.1	11.3
SITC 9 / Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	0.7	1.9	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

## Hungary: Trade by SITC commodity structure, 1980

in % of total	Imports from			Exports to		
	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries
SITC 0 / Food and live animals	7.4	12.5	2.5	18.9	19.3	18.6
SITC 1 / Beverages and tobacco	0.7	0.6	0.8	2.1	1.1	2.8
SITC 2 / Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	9.3	11.0	7.7	5.0	7.9	2.7
SITC 3 / Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	16.4	6.6	25.9	4.8	8.9	1.5
SITC 4 / Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.8	1.0	0.6
SITC 5 / Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	13.6	19.8	7.6	9.5	11.3	8.0
SITC 6 / Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	17.6	21.4	14.0	14.6	20.0	10.3
SITC 7 / Machinery and transport equipment	29.2	22.4	35.9	32.1	17.6	43.9
SITC 8 / Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4.9	5.0	4.8	11.1	11.4	10.8
SITC 9 / Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	0.6	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.5	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

## Poland: Trade by SITC commodity structure, 1980

in % of total	Imports from			Exports to		
	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries	World	Non-socialist countries	Socialist countries
SITC 0+1 / Food, beverage and tobacco	13.1	24.6	3.9	6.7	12.1	2.4
SITC 2+4 / Raw materials (excluding food raw materials)	10.6	13.1	8.5	5.1	8.5	2.4
SITC 3 / Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	18.2	11.9	23.1	14.2	21.8	8.2
SITC 5 / Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	7.9	11.8	4.8	5.5	4.5	6.3
SITC 7 / Machinery and transport equipment	32.4	20.0	42.3	43.2	22.5	59.6
SITC 6+8+9 / Other manufactured goods	17.8	18.5	17.3	25.3	30.6	21.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

## Yugoslavia: Trade by SITC commodity structure, 1980

in % of total	Imports from			Exports to		
	World	OECD	Socialist countries	World	OECD	Socialist countries
SITC 0 / Food and live animals	6.4	6.0	2.4	9.5	13.4	6.8
SITC 1 / Beverages and tobacco	0.2	0.3	0.1	1.9	2.1	2.2
SITC 2 / Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	10.5	7.2	11.4	7.4	10.6	4.3
SITC 3 / Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	23.6	1.9	42.0	2.6	5.8	1.0
SITC 4 / Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
SITC 5 / Chemicals and related products, n.e.s.	12.0	17.8	8.5	11.2	6.9	14.1
SITC 6 / Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	15.5	17.6	17.4	22.2	23.5	20.5
SITC 7 / Machinery and transport equipment	27.6	43.2	15.7	28.2	20.3	31.9
SITC 8 / Miscellaneous manufactured articles	3.4	5.3	2.0	16.3	16.1	18.9
SITC 9 / Commodities not classified elsewhere in the SITC	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	1.0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: wiiw COMECON Dataset

## IMPRESSUM

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