

# Contourner les sanctions : Quel coût pour la Russie?

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*Le Club du CEPII, Paris*

*06/03/2025*



**FINANCIAL TIMES**  
US Politics 2025  
Turkey's exports of military-linked goods to Russia soar

**Bloomberg**  
War in Ukraine: Trump Attacks Zelenskyy | Europe's \$3 Trillion Dilemma | Ukraine's Minerals | Nuclear Risk | Why Russia Inevitably Wins  
Technology Exclusive  
**Most of Russia's War Chips Are Made by US and European Companies**  
■ Customs data show Russia imported chips made in US, EU in 2023  
■ Re-exports from third countries weaken sanctions on Russia

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**  
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Tech made through the region is being used to equip Russian military efforts to defeat Ukrainian soldiers

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**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**  
Western Officials Plan to Warn U.A.E. Over Trade With Russia  
Requests to stop exporting items that can be used in war against Ukraine have been largely ignored, Western officials say

**CNBC**  
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**Sanctioned Western tech is still entering Russia and powering its military machine, new analysis shows**  
PUBLISHED THU, JAN 11 2024-9:08 AM EST | UPDATED THU, JAN 25 2024-8:56 AM EST  
Karen Gilchrist @KARENGILCHRIST

**DEEP DIVE**  
**Russia's War Machine Runs on Western Parts**  
Despite sanctions, Moscow is still importing critical weapon components from the U.S. and Europe.

**Bloomberg**  
War in Ukraine: Trump Attacks Zelenskyy | Europe's \$3 Trillion Dilemma | Ukraine's Minerals | Nuclear Risk | Why Russia Inevitably Wins  
Technology + Politics  
**Russia's Military Found a Surprisingly Simple Way to Buy US Chips**  
A cache of internal Russian documents reviewed by Bloomberg reveals how Putin's forces have been able to keep purchasing American semiconductors.

- En se fournissant depuis d'autres pays non sanctionnant (i.e. **contournement** de commerce)
  - Cas particulier : le **détournement** de commerce
- Contrats signés avant la mise en place des sanctions
- Commerce illégal

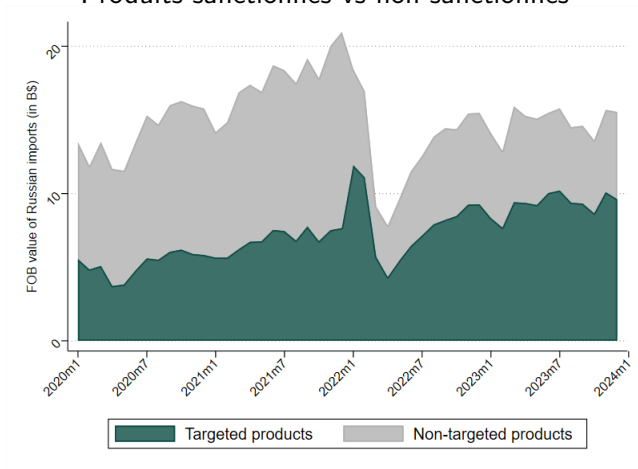
*"I think we have to be realistic. There's always going to be a degree of **circumvention**. There's money to be made [...]. But I think our main objective [...] is to make it harder, to make it slower and to make it **more expensive** for Russia to access these products." **David O'Sullivan**, EU Sanctions Envoy, 13/12/2023.*

⇒ **Objectif du Policy Brief :**

- 1 Analyser l'ampleur du contournement des importations russes
- 2 Évaluer le **coût** de ce contournement = l'effet des sanctions sur les **prix des importations russes**

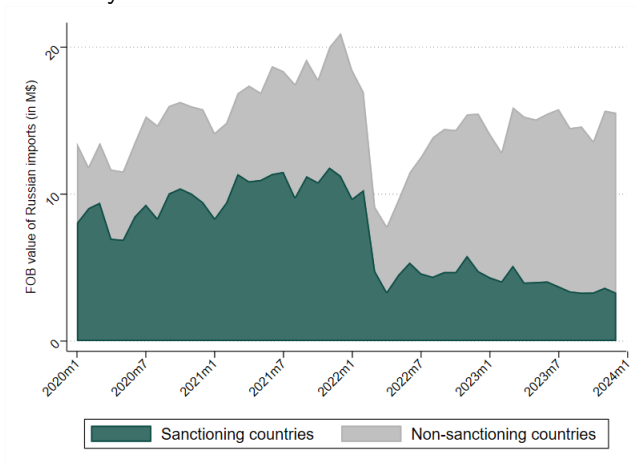
## 1. Le contournement des importations russes

## Produits sanctionnés vs non-sanctionnés



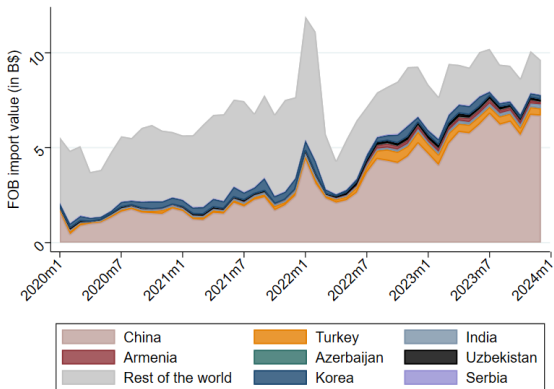
Source: Global Trade Tracker - la liste des produits sanctionnés est fixe et ne varie pas au cours du temps

## Pays sanctionnants vs non-sanctionnants



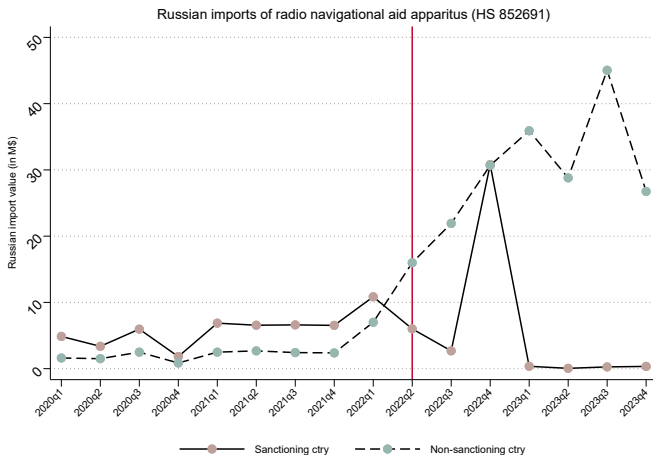
Source: Global Trade Tracker

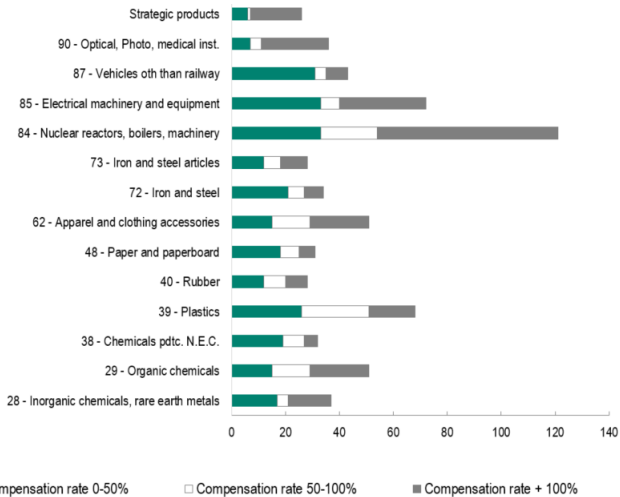
## Produits sanctionnés, par origine



Source: Global Trade Tracker - la liste des produits sanctionnés est fixe et ne varie pas au cours du temps

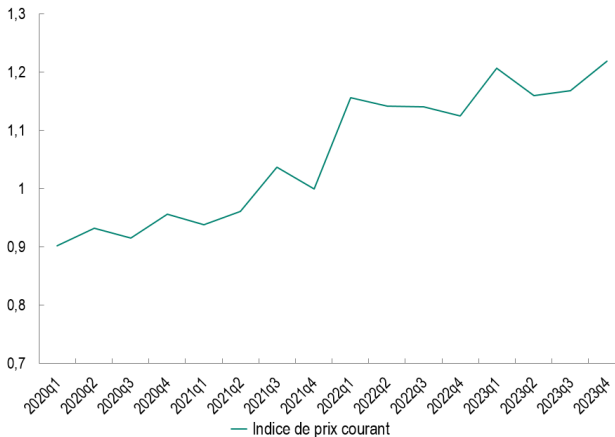




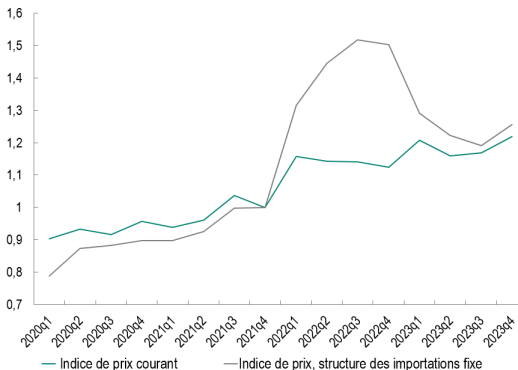


- Malgré les sanctions, la Russie importe davantage de produits sanctionnés
  - ↑ **34 %** entre 2021 et 2023
- Le détournement du commerce des importations russes repose avant tout sur la Chine
  - UE : **76 %** des produits sanctionnés en **2021**
  - Chine : **63 %** des produits sanctionnés en **2023**
- Des produits clés ont été entièrement compensés :
  - 1/3 des produits sanctionnés
  - 2/3 des produits stratégiques

## 2. Prix des importations russes

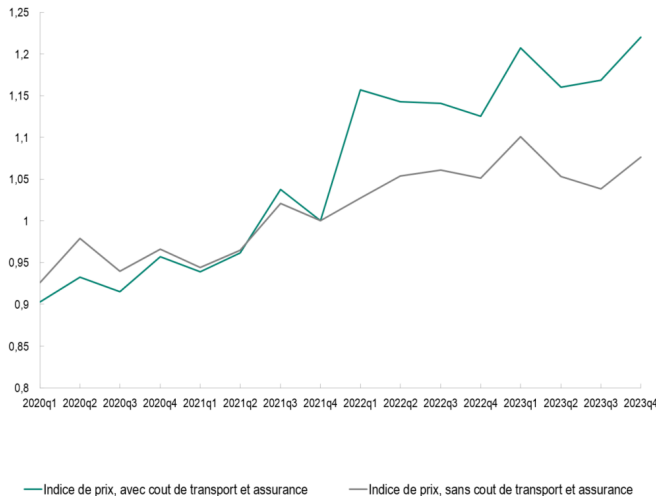


- La Russie paie davantage ses importations à partir de 2022

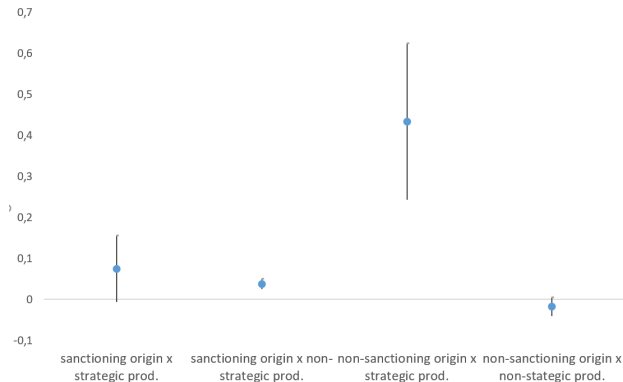


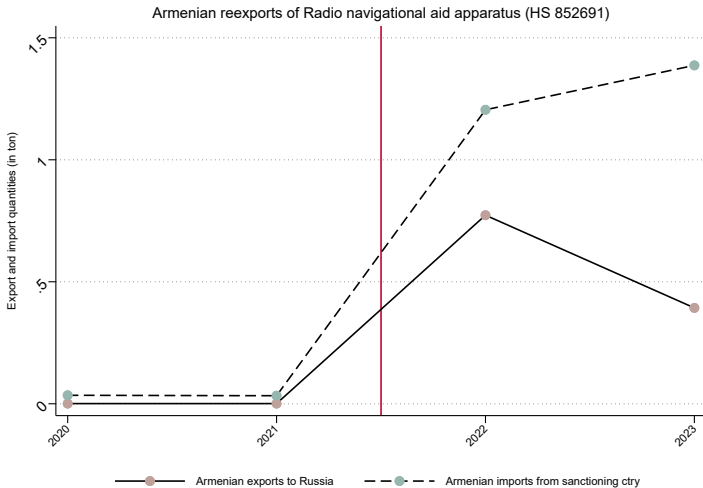
- ↑ prix non-liée à une modification de la structure des importations
- La Russie importe depuis des origines moins chères

- Le prix des importations russes a augmenté de **13%** [▶ Table](#)
  - **Pays non-sanctionnants** : +22%
  - Effets similaires sur les produits sanctionnés et les autres
  - **Produits stratégiques** : +122%

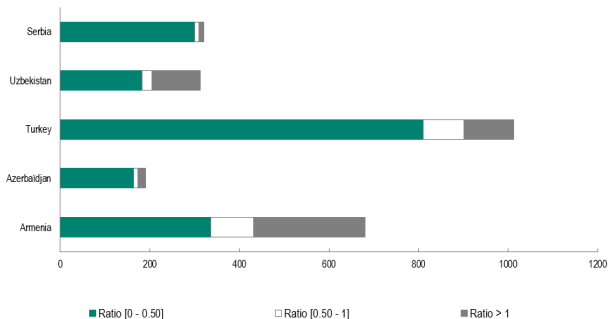




Estimation du ratio des prix CIF/FOB ratio [▶ Table](#)

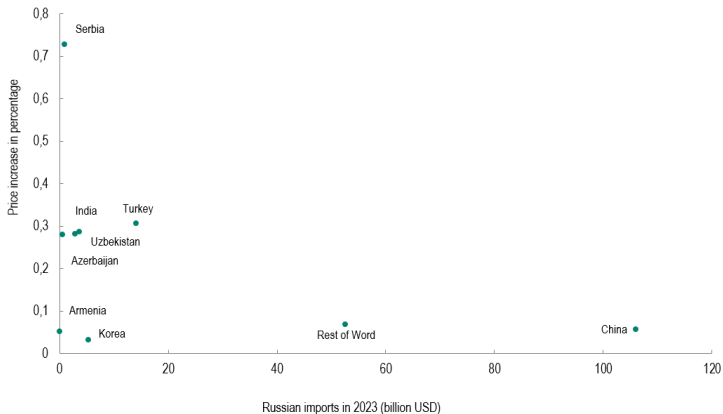


## Nombre de produits réexportés vers la Russie



Source: Global Trade Tracker

- Nos estimations montrent néanmoins que les réexportations ne jouent pas un rôle important dans l'augmentation des prix [▶▶ Table](#)



- Hausse de 9% du prix FOB vers la Russie [▶ Table](#)

- Hausse du coût des produits importés par la Russie : 13%
  - Coût de transport et assurance : 1/4 de la hausse des prix
  - Cette hausse ne semble pas lié aux réexportations
  - Cela suggère une hausse des marges des exportateurs
- Des fournisseurs de produits moins chers : pour quelle qualité?
- Quelles conséquences d'un rapprochement Russie - USA?

Pour aller plus loin :

No 50 - February 2025

# Policy Brief

## CEPII

Working Around Sanctions.  
What Cost to Russia?

Charlotte Emlinger & Kevin Lefebvre

..

# Appendix

$$\text{compensation}_p = \frac{\sum_{o \in ns}^O M_{Rus,o,p,23}^{quantity} - \sum_{o \in ns}^O M_{Rus,o,p,21}^{quantity}}{\sum_{o \in s}^O M_{Rus,o,p,21}^{quantity} - \sum_{o \in s}^O M_{Rus,o,p,23}^{quantity}}$$

We consider there is compensation when :

- Increase in imports from non-sanctioning country (numerator > 0)
- Decrease in imports from sanctioning country (denominator > 0)
- Increase in imports from non-sanctioning country > decrease in imports from sanctioning country



	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )
sanct. cty.	0.57*** (0.01)		
sanct. cty. × sanct. pdt.		0.58*** (0.02)	
sanct. cty. × non-sanct. pdt.		0.57*** (0.02)	
sanct. cty. × strat. pdt.			0.17* (0.09)
sanct. cty. × non-strat. pdt.			0.58*** (0.01)
fixed-effects	p	p	p
# obs.	45257	45257	45257
r2	0.67	0.67	0.67

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

$$\begin{aligned}\ln(Y_{odpt}^{CIF}) = & \alpha_{odp} + \alpha_{opt} + \beta_1 \times war_{dt} \times sanct\_cty_o \times sanct\_pdt_{pt} \\ & + \beta_2 \times war_{dt} \times sanct\_cty_o \times non\_sanct\_pdt_{pt} \\ & + \beta_3 \times war_t \times non\_sanct\_cty_o \times sanct\_pdt_{pt} \\ & + \beta_4 \times war_t \times non\_sanct\_cty_o \times non\_sanct\_pdt_{pt} + \epsilon_{opt}\end{aligned}$$

$o$  = origin;  $d$  = destination;  $p$  = HS6 product;  $t$  = 3 periods Feb-Mar (2021-2023)

$Y_{odpt}$ : CIF unit value

**Sample: All imports in 2020-2024**

» Back

	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )	(CIF) ln( <i>unitvalue</i> )
War	0.12*** (0.00)			
sanct. cty. × War		0.09*** (0.00)		
non-sanct. cty. × War		0.20*** (0.01)		
sanct. cty. × War × sanct. pdt.			0.07*** (0.01)	
sanct. cty. × War × non-sanct. pdt.			0.12*** (0.01)	
non-sanct. cty. × War × sanct. pdt.			0.21*** (0.01)	
non-sanct. cty. × War × non-sanct. pdt.			0.19*** (0.01)	
sanct. cty. × War × strat. pdt.				0.11*** (0.03)
sanct. cty. × War × non-strat. pdt.				0.09*** (0.01)
non-sanct. cty. × War × strat. pdt.				0.80*** (0.08)
non-sanct. cty. × War × non-strat. pdt.				0.19*** (0.01)
fixed-effects	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt
# obs.	11298671	11298671	11298671	11298671
r2	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.90

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p&lt;0.1, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

	(CIF/FOB) (1)	(CIF/FOB) (2)	(CIF/FOB) (3)	(CIF/FOB) (4)
War	0.03*** (0.01)			
<i>sanct_o</i> × War		0.04*** (0.01)		
<i>no_sanct_o</i> × War		-0.01 (0.01)		
<i>sanct_o</i> × War × <i>sanct_p</i>			0.03*** (0.01)	
<i>sanct_o</i> × War × <i>no_sanct_p</i>			0.05*** (0.01)	
<i>no_sanct_o</i> × War × <i>sanct_p</i>			-0.02 (0.02)	
<i>no_sanct_o</i> × War × <i>no_sanct_p</i>			-0.00 (0.02)	
<i>sanct_o</i> × War × ( <i>max</i> ) <i>strategichs6</i>				0.07* (0.04)
<i>sanct_o</i> × War × <i>no_strat_p</i>				0.04*** (0.01)
<i>no_sanct_o</i> × War × ( <i>max</i> ) <i>strategichs6</i>				0.43*** (0.10)
<i>no_sanct_o</i> × War × <i>no_strat_p</i>				-0.02 (0.01)
fixed-effects	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt
# obs.	11298671	11298671	11298671	11298671
r2	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p&lt;0.1, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

	(FOB) (1) Luvx	(FOB) (2) Luvx	(FOB) (3) Luvx	(FOB) (4) Luvx
War	0.09*** (0.00)			
sanct. cty. × War		0.05*** (0.00)		
non-sanct. cty. × War		0.21*** (0.01)		
sanct. cty. × War × sanct. pdt.			0.04*** (0.01)	
sanct. cty. × War × non-sanct. pdt.			0.07*** (0.01)	
non-sanct. cty. × War × sanct. pdt.			0.23*** (0.01)	
non-sanct. cty. × War × non-sanct. pdt.			0.19*** (0.01)	
sanct. cty. × War × strat. pdt.				0.04 (0.03)
sanct. cty. × War × non-strat. pdt.				0.06*** (0.00)
non-sanct. cty. × War × strat. pdt.				0.37*** (0.07)
non-sanct. cty. × War × non-strat. pdt.				0.21*** (0.01)
fixed-effects	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt
# obs.	11298672	11298672	11298672	11298672
r2	0.92	0.92	0.92	0.92

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p&lt;0.1, \*\* p&lt;0.05, \*\*\* p&lt;0.01

	(FOB) ln(unitvalue)	(FOB) ln(unitvalue)	(FOB) ln(unitvalue)
War × reexp. pdt.	0.05** (0.02)		
War × non-reexp. pdt.	0.24*** (0.01)		
War × sanct. pdt. × reexp. pdt.		0.05 (0.03)	
War × sanct. pdt. × non-reexp. pdt.		0.26*** (0.01)	
War × non-sanct. pdt. × reexp. pdt.		0.06* (0.03)	
War × non-sanct. pdt. × non-reexp. pdt.		0.21*** (0.01)	
War × strat. pdt. × reexp. pdt.			0.46* (0.27)
War × strat. pdt. × non-reexp. pdt.			0.36*** (0.08)
War × non-strat. pdt. × reexp. pdt.			0.05** (0.02)
War × non-strat. pdt. × non-reexp. pdt.			0.24*** (0.01)
fixed-effects	odp opt	odp opt	odp opt
# obs.	2220840	2220840	2220840
r2	0.90	0.90	0.90

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

► Back A product from a connecting country is considered re-exported when 1) exports to Russia have increased by 50% after the war and 2) value of exports to Russia is above than 25% of the country's imports from sanctioning origin