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The Soviet Economy in a
Global Perspective

A Research Paper

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The Soviet Economy in a Global Perspective

Summary

*Information available
as of 31 December 1988
was used in this report.*

When Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, he assumed command of an economy that was impressive in terms of size and historical performance:

- The estimated value of the USSR's gross domestic product (GDP) was second only to that of the United States.
- The Soviet Union ranked first in the world in the annual production of oil, iron ore, and steel and was the second largest producer of machinery.
- Between 1950 and 1975 Soviet economic growth had outstripped that of the United States, and the Soviet economy had increased from about one-third to almost 60 percent of the size of the US economy.

Since the mid-1970s, however, the economy had been faltering. Soviet growth had decreased sharply, and by the late 1970s the ratio of Soviet to US GDP had slipped. The USSR now lags the West even further in many important respects:

- Soviet labor productivity as measured by GDP per worker is less than half that of the United States, below that of most developed countries, and even below that of some East European countries.
- The West's technological lead over the USSR is large and increasing in fields such as computer-operated machine tools and computer software, in which the West is as much as 12 years ahead.
- Valuable energy resources are being used far less efficiently than in most other developed countries

Indeed, although clearly a military superpower, the Soviet Union has an economy that in many ways is like that of a developing country. The level of per capita consumption in the USSR, for instance, is far below that of the developed Western countries and Japan. It is about one-third that of the United States and is more comparable to that of countries such as Mexico and Brazil. Moreover, the Soviet pattern of consumption and output more closely resembles that of less developed nations than that of the West:

- The per capita consumption of consumer durables is below that of many Latin American countries, and stocks of high-quality consumer durables such as passenger cars and modern appliances are extremely low.
- Per capita expenditures on consumer services are markedly lower than in the developed West and only slightly higher than in such countries as Uruguay and Portugal.

- Compared to other nations at a similar level of development, the Soviet Union has a much larger agricultural sector. Indeed, the share of agricultural output in GDP in the USSR is similar to the share in Turkey and the Philippines.
- In addition, the USSR—a large net importer of manufactured goods and an exporter primarily of raw materials and fuels—has a trade pattern more like that of Egypt and Mexico than that of the major industrial states

The Soviets have set economic targets that, if realized, would narrow the gap between themselves and the West. We believe, however, that these targets are out of reach. We expect that the Soviet Union will have difficulty maintaining its position relative to the West, much less closing the gaps in technological development, productivity, or living standards.

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Scope Note

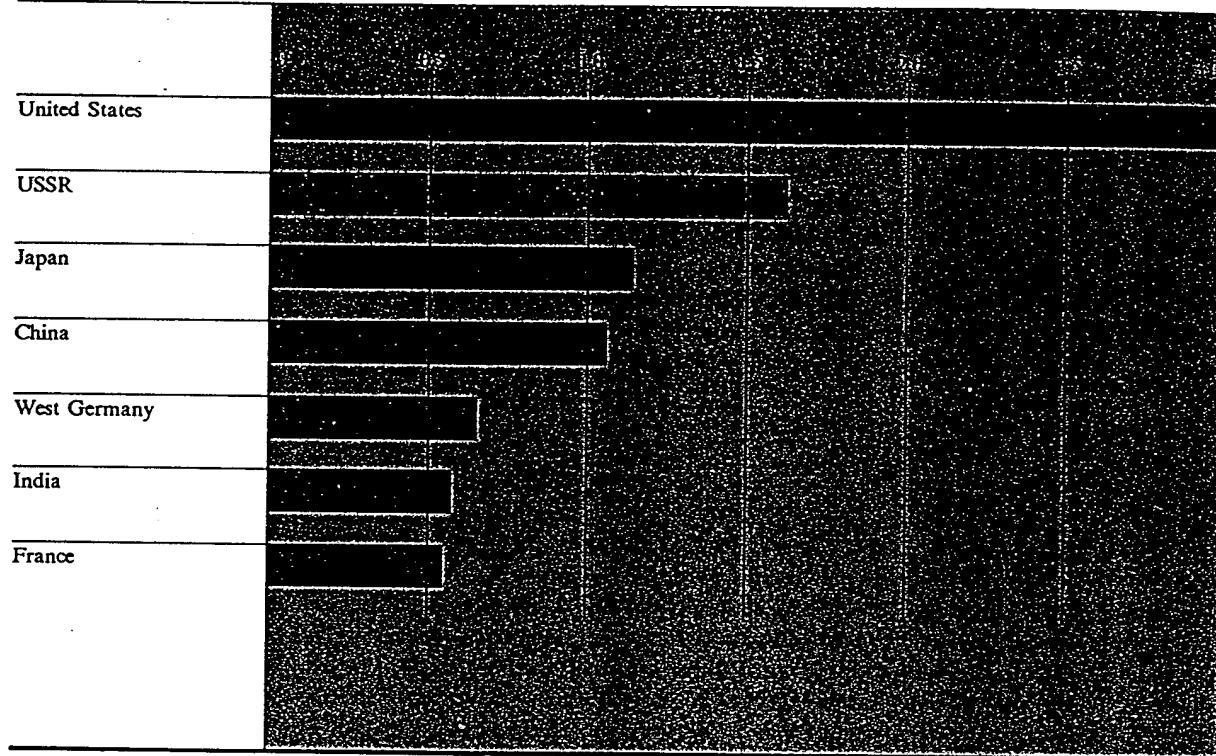
General Secretary Gorbachev's commitment to revitalizing the Soviet economy stems, in large part, from a realization that the USSR is falling further behind the industrialized West in its pace of technological advance and its citizens' quality of life. This paper seeks to put Gorbachev's concerns in context by comparing the USSR's economic performance with that of other countries—ranging from the least developed nations in Africa to the highly developed, modern ones of the West. The paper does not attempt to provide a definitive analysis of Moscow's economic difficulties or to estimate the future course of economic development in the USSR.

To compare the economic performance of various countries, estimates of the value of their output of goods and services have been converted from indigenous currencies into dollars using purchasing power parities, as described in an appendix. Most comparisons are made for 1985—the last year for which data are available and the year Gorbachev became General Secretary—but we believe they reflect reasonably well the economic conditions in the USSR today. Such estimates should not be regarded as precise measures. They provide, at best, an approximation of the relative levels of economic development and performance among countries of the world with very diverse systems.

Readers should also be aware that, in contrast to this paper, some CIA publications use market exchange rates to convert estimates of economic output in other currencies into dollars. As a result, some of the estimates presented here differ from those of other CIA publications.

Figure 1
Gross Domestic Product of the Seven Largest Economies, 1985

Trillion 1980 international dollars



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The Soviet Economy in a Global Perspective (

Methods and Sources

To compare the Soviet Union's economic performance with that of other countries—and, indeed, to make any valid international comparison—it is necessary to express the activities of the countries being compared in common terms. The terms used in this report include physical quantities, such as numbers of automobiles and televisions, and monetary measures. For the most part, the monetary measures are taken from the United Nations' International Comparison Project (ICP), which uses "purchasing power parities" (PPPs)—currency conversion factors for specific types of goods and services—to convert the reported value of various nations' goods and services from indigenous currencies into a common set of prices.

The use of PPPs is a more appropriate method for making international comparisons of the volume of production and consumption of final goods and services than is the use of market exchange rates. Because PPPs are synthetic indicators based on a comparison of prices for a specific sample of goods, they do not display the volatility of exchange rates, which can vary sharply from day to day. In addition, because PPPs vary from one category of goods and services to another, they "correct" for the distortions in a given country's price structure resulting from price subsidies and highly differentiated excise taxes. In contrast, the use of market exchange rates, which must be applied indiscriminately to all the goods and services produced in a given country, would completely mirror that country's price structure, distortions and all. The PPPs used in the ICP, moreover, are designed to mitigate the different types of distortions that inevitably result when one country's output and, thereby, its resource allocation choices are expressed in another currency. It does so by the use of so-called international dollar measures, which reflect world average prices rather than those of any one nation.

The Soviet Union, unfortunately, has never participated in the ICP. As a result, we lack the type of detailed dollar measures of Soviet economic performance that we have for the participating countries. We have, however, been able to link the CIA's dollar estimates of Soviet production and resource allocation—generated with PPPs developed for US-Soviet comparisons—to the ICP estimates. A description of the procedures used to accomplish this linking and additional information on purchasing power parities and "international dollars" are presented in appendix A.

Gorbachev's Inheritance: A Large but Faltering Economy

The Soviet economy is the second largest in the world (see figure 1) and, until recently, it had grown at an impressive rate. Whereas in 1950 the Soviet economy was about one-third the size of the US economy, by 1985 it was more than one-half the US economy's size and approximately 50 percent greater than the size of the Japanese or Chinese economies.¹ The gross domestic products (GDPs) of West Germany, India, and France are about one-third the size of the Soviet GDP.² (The inset provides a broader comparison of the economies of Western and Eastern Bloc nations.)

¹ Estimates of the size of the Chinese economy vary widely. To avoid using official Chinese data—which probably understate the value of services and may not be calculated according to Western practices—converted to US dollars using administratively set exchange rates, we have elected, for the purposes of this paper, to estimate Chinese gross domestic product in dollars using the physical indicator method (see appendix B). (u)

² Throughout this paper, GDP will be used for comparisons of total economic output rather than the more familiar gross national product (GNP). The difference between the concepts is slight. GDP equals GNP less payments for labor and capital services exchanged with other countries.

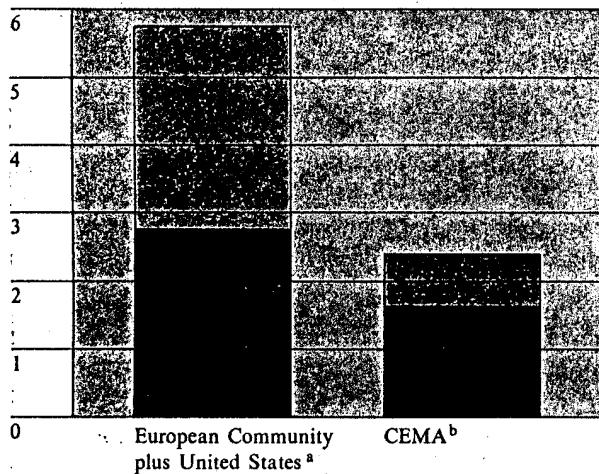
A Comparison of Economic Strength, East Versus West

A comparison that juxtaposes the economies of the CEMA nations as a group with those of the United States and nations of the European Community provides an interesting perspective on how well the Communist Bloc has fared relative to the capitalist West. The European Community alone has a combined GDP roughly one and a half times larger than that of the Soviet Union and about 10 percent larger than that of all of CEMA. When the United States is added, Western GDP is more than twice as large as that of the Soviet Bloc. (u)

Gross Domestic Product, East Versus West, 1985

Trillion 1980 international dollars

- United States
- European Community
- CEMA except USSR
- USSR



^aEuropean Community member nations are Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

^bCEMA member nations are Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Vietnam.

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Table 1
Soviet Rank in Production of Selected Industrial Goods

	1913		1987	
	World	Europe	World	Europe
Electric power	8	6	2	1
Petroleum	2	1	1	1
Coal	6	5	3	1
Steel	5	4	1	1
Cotton fiber	5	1	3	1
Iron ore	5	4	1	1
Coke	4	3	1	1
Cement	5	4	2	1
Granulated sugar	4	2	1	1

Source: *Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1987*, p. 625.

This table is Unclassified.

The Soviet Union outproduces most or all Western nations in many major industrial commodities. In fact, the USSR ranks first in the world in the production of such important commodities as oil, crude steel, and iron ore (see table 1). (u)

Relative Level of Economic Development

Although the Soviet Union's rank in terms of overall GDP or the production of specific types of goods is impressive at first glance, a comparison of per capita GDP among a large sample of countries gives a different picture (see figure 2). The Soviet Union ranked well below Western developed nations but above the newly industrialized and less developed Western countries in 1985. Soviet per capita GDP that year was less than half that of the United States, for instance, but 30 to 50 percent larger than that of Mexico or Greece. (u)

Figure 2
Per Capita GDP, 1985

Thousand 1980 international dollars

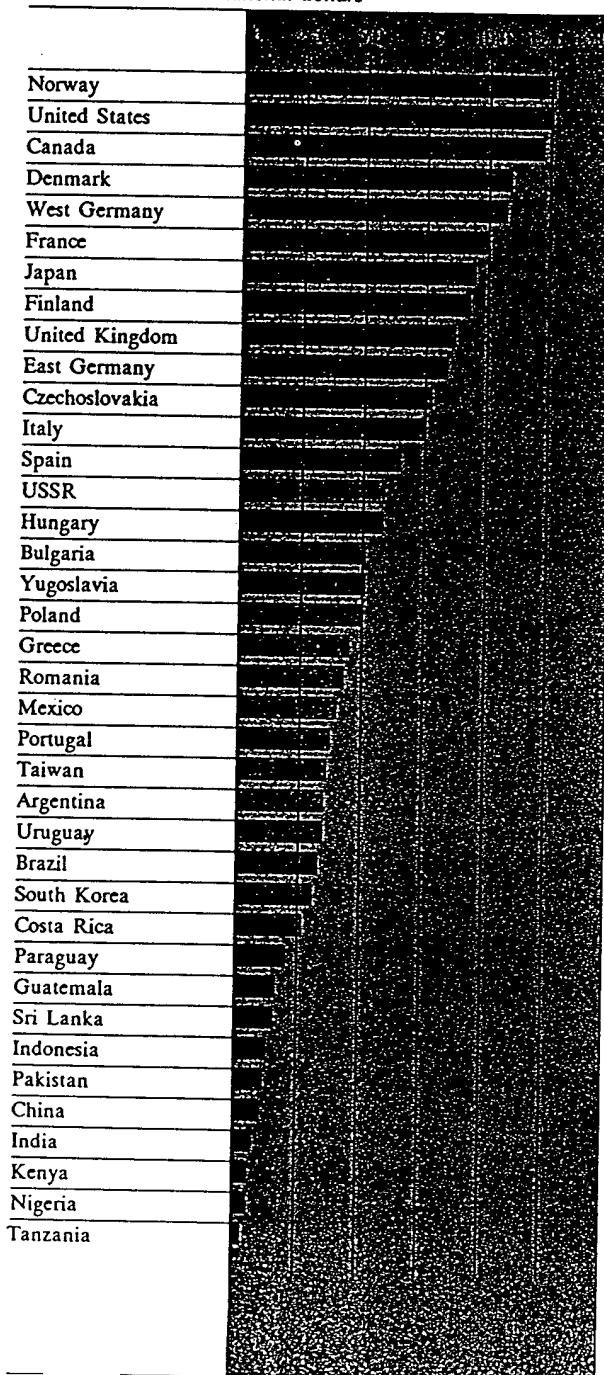
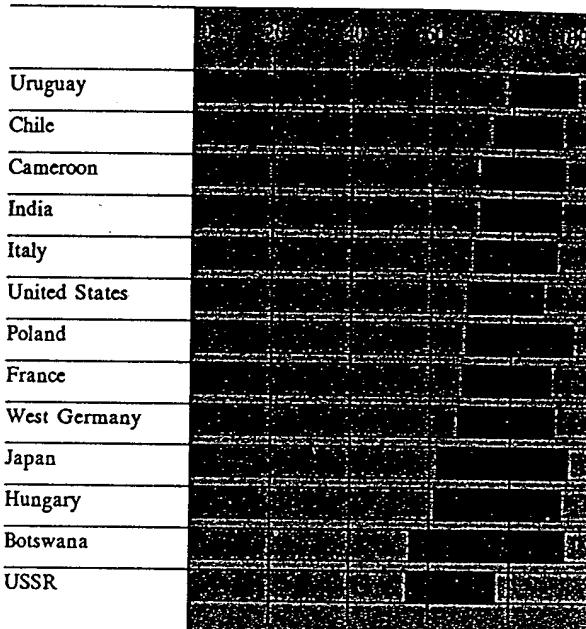


Figure 3
Composition of GDP, 1980

Percent

Consumption
 Investment
 Defense and other



Note: Most shares are calculated using expenditure data in each nation's indigenous currency from Phase IV of the UN International Comparisons Project. Soviet shares are at 1982 factor cost.

Dividing the Pie

Comparisons of per capita GDP do not necessarily provide an accurate indication of relative standards of living, in part because the share of GDP allocated to consumers varies considerably among countries. Indeed, the share of consumption in Soviet GDP is small. (Figure 3 illustrates the share in 1980, the latest year for which data are available.)³ In the United States, about 69 percent of GDP went to consumption in 1980, compared with only 55 percent

³ The Soviet share is calculated from ruble estimates of consumption and total GDP at adjusted factor cost—that is, in prices “corrected” for the distortions resulting from the inclusion of large and highly differentiated excise taxes, subsidies, and profit rates in the state-administered, “established” prices of Soviet goods and services. ^{4,5}

in the USSR. In addition, the quality of goods produced in the USSR—which is notoriously poor in general—is particularly poor with respect to consumer items. Quantitative comparisons of this type do not fully account for such differences in quality and therefore probably overstate the Soviet position (see inset on page 5).

As a result of the low priority accorded to consumer needs, Soviet per capita consumption, valued in international dollars, is far below that of the major developed nations—about one-third that of the United States and about 55 percent that of Japan and most of the major West European nations (see figure 4). The Soviet Union, in fact, was more comparable to countries such as Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil in terms of the level of per capita consumption in 1985. Moreover, the Soviet position relative to the rest of the world has not improved over the past two decades. Although the Soviet Union was able to narrow somewhat the difference in per capita consumption between itself and the United States before 1970, since then the gap has remained steady. Moreover, the gap between the Soviet Union and most developed nations has steadily widened, and, in recent years, several newly industrializing nations such as Brazil and Korea have made significant gains relative to the Soviet Union (see figure 5).⁴

⁴ Although the Soviet population is becoming increasingly aware of the way in which people of other nations live, the average citizen is probably more apt to compare his quality of life with that of his parents or grandparents than with Westerners. Therefore, these conclusions about relative living standards may not reflect the perceptions of Soviet consumers.

Figure 4
Per Capita Consumption, 1985

Thousand 1980 international dollars

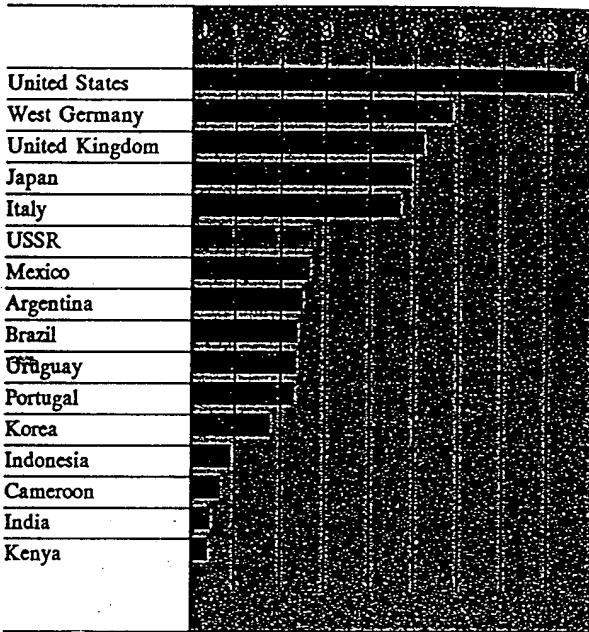
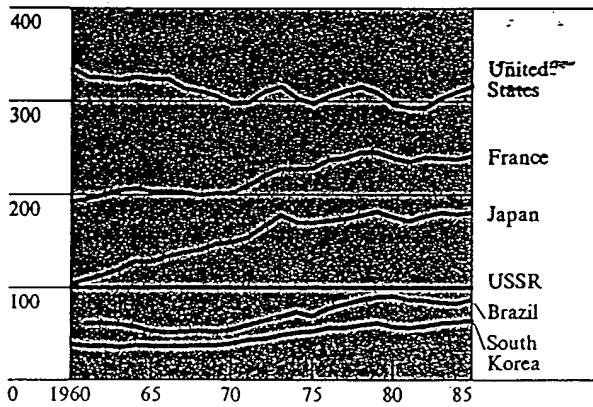


Figure 5
Per Capita Consumption, 1960-85

Index: USSR = 100



Examining Quality Differences

The state of affairs in the entire national economy will depend on how things will proceed with raising the quality of output.

Mikhail Gorbachev

November 1986

Although measures expressed in value terms—for example, in dollars—have the potential of being able to reflect differences in quality as well as quantity, the comparisons of the economies of the USSR and developed Western nations made in this paper do not fully take into account the generally poor quality and narrow assortment of goods and services available in the USSR. Soviet machinery, for example, tends to be technically inferior—that is, it does not have the capabilities of Western counterparts—and of lower quality—for instance, it is usually less durable. A recent article in the Soviet press reported that factory-fresh Soviet tractors had to be completely overhauled by the Western distributor before they could be sold to Western buyers. According to the author, "Such qualities which would make any Soviet person who cares for the honor of his country blush, are unfortunately not isolated. Because value-based indicators used in this paper to compare the USSR with the developed countries do not fully account for some aspects of quality, such as durability and convenience, they probably overstate the Soviet position."

This bias is particularly strong in comparisons of living standards. Deficiencies in style, design, and attractiveness of Soviet consumer items are not

taken into account in our calculations, nor is the limited choice available to Soviet consumers. Numerous products that are common in Western households—for example, dishwashers and air conditioners—are either not produced at all or produced in minuscule quantities in the USSR. Nor do the comparisons take into account the inordinate amount of time Soviet consumers spend in line or trudging from store to store in search of desired items, and the notoriously poor quality of consumer services."

The current regime is clearly concerned about the low quality of its Soviet products. Gorbachev in fact has made improving product quality one of the principal goals of his program to revitalize the Soviet economy. Speaking before a special session of the Council of Ministers in June 1988, Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhikov bitterly complained about the quality of our entire life." In a newspaper interview, Abel Aganbegyan identified the "dictator of the producer as the source of the problems. The Soviet economist summarizes the problem as follows: "Since the producer is not interested in the taste and demands of the consumer, he actually forces the consumer to accept goods which are of no use to anyone." As absurd as it may sound, this is in conformity with the logic of the Marxist economy, which involves the total separation of production from the needs of society.

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Patterns of Consumption Expenditures in Indigenous Currencies

In comparisons of similar nations' economies, patterns of consumption are often examined in terms of indigenous currency expenditures. This method has the advantage of reflecting the way in which consumers allocate their budgets, based on the prices they actually face in the marketplace. If nations' price structures are very different, however, identical expenditure distributions in two or more countries could result in quite different patterns of actual consumption. That is, if food is cheap relative to consumer durables in one country while in another country the reverse is true, it would require quite different expenditure patterns by the nations' respective consumers to arrive at the same ratio of foods to durables in both nations.

The table below shows the pattern of consumption expenditures for the 12 nations in table 2, calculated in indigenous currencies. Comparing the two tables, the significant differences in consumption structures in the various economies are evident. For example, in international dollar terms, more than one-fifth of Soviet consumption consists of household services, but because of the very low prices of these services in the Soviet Union, they make up only 11 percent of expenditures.

Consumption Expenditure Patterns in Selected Countries, 1985

	Percentage of total consumption expenditures					
	Food	Nonfood Goods	Consumer Durables	Health	Education	Household Services
Sweden	40.1	40.5	10.2	1.5	3.3	35.1
United States	37.7	42.6	13.9	1.2	3.4	33.6
Japan	35.4	40.4	12.2	1.6	3.7	30.9
West Germany	39.3	39.6	13.7	1.0	3.3	31.0
United Kingdom	29.0	40.2	13.0	1.4	3.2	34.2
France	33.9	41.6	11.3	1.0	3.6	31.1
Italy	38.6	36.0	11.3	1.1	3.0	33.5
USSR	45.2	21.7	11.5	1.3	6.2	11.6
Portugal	42.4	36.5	9.6	1.3	4.3	21.3
Iceland	38.9	40.7	8.4	1.5	4.5	23.0
Greece	41.5	35.4	7.5	1.6	4.6	20.9
Turkey	43.6	32.1	9.2	1.3	3.8	21.8

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Table 2
Consumption Patterns, 1985

1980 international dollars per capita

	Food	Soft Goods	Consumer Durables	Health	Education	Household Services	Total
Sweden	788 (16.7)*	471 (10.0)	612 (13.0)	678 (14.4)	368 (7.8)	1,785 (38.0)	4,703 (100)
United States	1,612 (18.9)	983 (11.5)	1,440 (16.9)	630 (7.4)	572 (6.7)	3,304 (38.7)	8,542 (100)
Japan	968 (19.7)	549 (11.2)	477 (9.7)	632 (12.9)	288 (5.9)	1,994 (40.6)	4,909 (100)
West Germany	1,233 (21.2)	1,080 (18.6)	1,026 (17.6)	497 (8.5)	313 (5.4)	1,670 (28.7)	5,819 (100)
United Kingdom	1,342 (25.9)	661 (12.8)	679 (13.1)	435 (8.4)	295 (5.7)	1,762 (34.1)	5,174 (100)
France	1,705 (26.2)	1,140 (17.5)	816 (12.5)	624 (9.6)	374 (5.7)	1,849 (28.4)	6,509 (100)
Italy	1,317 (28.3)	756 (16.3)	617 (13.3)	268 (5.8)	366 (7.9)	1,327 (28.5)	4,651 (100)
USSR	844 (31.1)	386 (14.2)	194 (7.2)	200 (7.4)	501 (18.5)	585 (21.6)	2,711 (100)
Portugal	719 (31.6)	318 (14.0)	123 (5.4)	114 (5.0)	248 (10.9)	751 (33.0)	2,274 (100)
Ireland	955 (34.1)	330 (11.8)	238 (8.5)	240 (8.6)	229 (8.2)	810 (28.9)	2,801 (100)
Greece	1,262 (39.8)	449 (14.2)	145 (4.6)	136 (4.3)	157 (5.0)	1,017 (32.1)	3,167 (100)
Turkey	722 (45.1)	341 (21.3)	130 (8.1)	31 (1.9)	76 (4.8)	299 (18.7)	1,599 (100)

* Percent of total consumption in parentheses.

Living Standards

Consumption Patterns. This section compares the flow of consumer goods and services in the USSR with that in a cross section of other countries. Here, as throughout most of this paper, "international dollars" are used to compare patterns of actual consumption to remove the effects of differences in relative prices among countries (see table 2). These data do not show how Soviet consumers—or consumers in any other country—actually disperse their money income; rather, they illustrate the mix of goods and services actually acquired by consumers. (The inset discusses patterns of consumption expenditures calculated in indigenous currencies.)

According to these data, consumption patterns in the USSR differ markedly from those in the developed Western countries. Food, for example, accounts for about one-third of total consumption in the USSR, valued in international dollars, while the corresponding share in most developed Western countries is closer to one-fifth or one-fourth. The share of consumer services in total consumption in the USSR is small compared with that of Western nations—about 22 percent in the Soviet Union versus 39 percent in the United States and 41 percent in Japan. Consumer durables also make up a relatively small share of

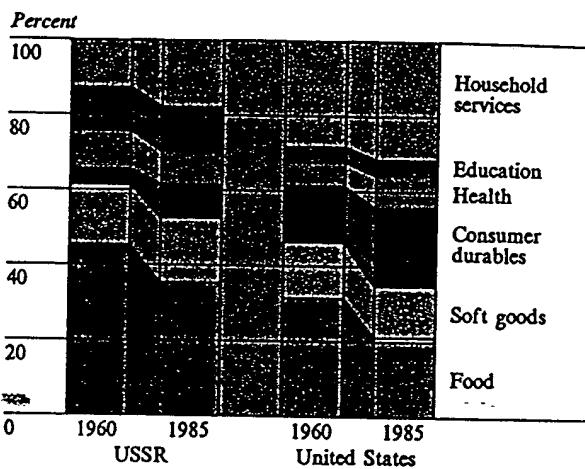
Soviet consumption. On the other hand, the very large share of consumption that is directed to education reflects the fact that the Soviet Union provides universal elementary and secondary education to its citizens and offers a university education to a higher percentage of its people than any Western nation except the United States and Canada.

Consumption patterns in the USSR have changed substantially during the past several decades, but the Soviet pattern in 1985 is far more similar to that of the United States in 1960 than in 1985 (see figure 6). The share of food in overall consumption, for instance, dropped in the United States and the Soviet Union, although the Soviet share in 1985 was still larger than the US share in 1960. The percentage of consumer durables in Soviet consumption was almost twice as high in 1985 as in 1960, yet this 1985 share was about 60 percent of that found in the United States in 1960. Similarly, despite substantial growth in Soviet household services, the share in 1985 was still only about 55 percent of the US share.

Food. The level of per capita food consumption in the Soviet Union in 1980—valued in international dollars—was well below the level in the United States and the developed West European nations and was even below that of many Latin American and East European countries (see figure 7). However, according to data collected by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the nutrient content of the Soviet food supply closely resembles that of Western nations.⁵ The number of calories available per capita in the USSR nearly matches that in the United States and exceeds that of several developed OECD nations. Similarly, the Soviet protein level falls well within the range of that typical of developed Western nations, although the source of the nutrients differs sharply (see figure 8). Nearly half of the calories in the Soviet food supply, for instance, are provided by grain products and potatoes—compared with one-fourth in the United States. The relative

⁵ See also Ann M. Lane, Ruth M. Marston, and Susan O. Welsh, "The Nutrient Content of the Soviet Food Supply and Comparisons with the US Food Supply," *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (Washington, DC: Joint Economic Committee, US Congress, 1987), Vol. 2, pp. 79-95.

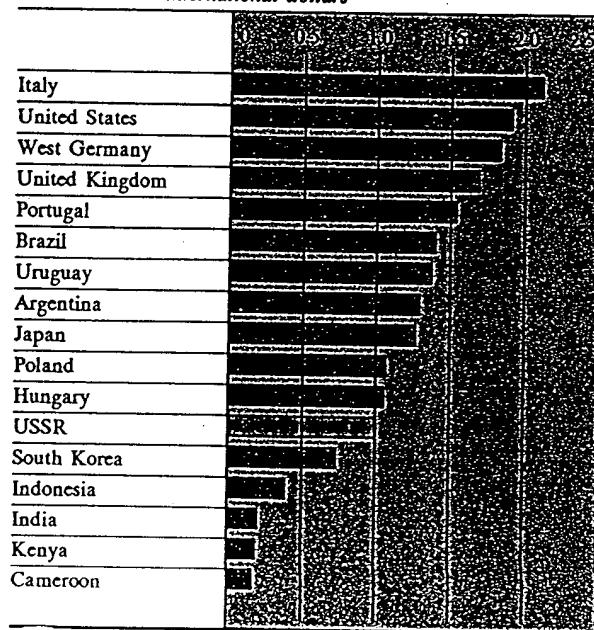
Figure 6
Consumption Patterns in the USSR and the United States, 1960 and 1985



Note: Because values in international dollars are not available for 1960, all data are based on the geometric mean of shares calculated for each country in both rubles and dollars.

Figure 7
Per Capita Food Consumption, 1980

Thousand 1980 international dollars



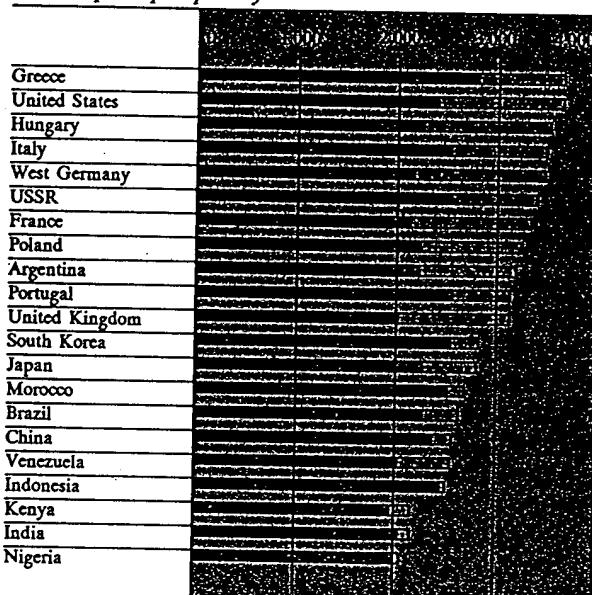
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Figure 8
Nutrient Content of Food Supplies,
1983-85

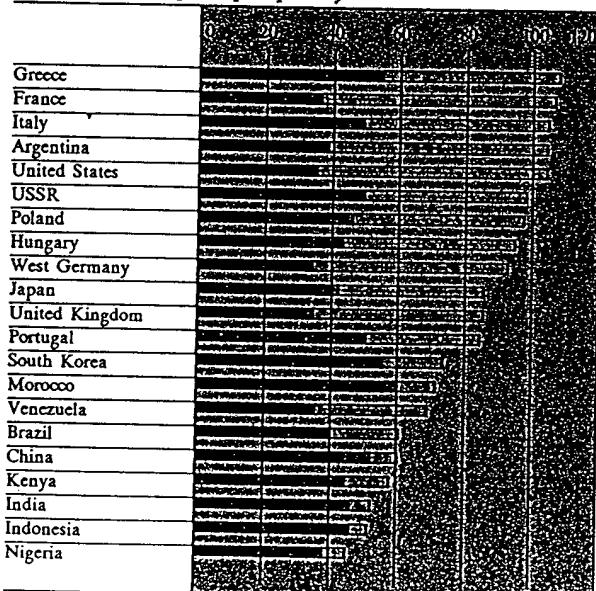
Note scale change

■ Vegetable products ■ Animal products

Calories per capita per day



Grams of protein per capita per day



Source: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United States,
FAO Production Yearbook, Vol. 40 (Rome: FAO, 1987), pp. 245-248.

preponderance of foods with a low dollar value in the Soviet diet partially explains the apparent discrepancy between the comparison of food consumption measured in dollars and the nutrition comparisons.⁶

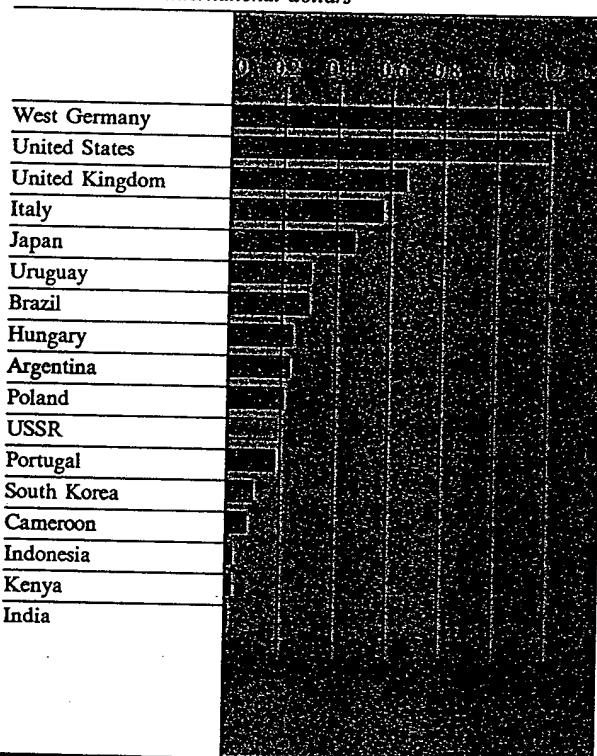
Over the last two decades, steady growth in worker income, low retail prices, and rising consumer expectations have markedly increased the demand for high-quality foods in the USSR. Although the composition of the food supply has changed somewhat, Moscow has not been able to match food supplies with consumer preferences. Chronic shortages of even basic foods are widely reported, queuing is pervasive throughout the country, and black marketing in food items has become an integral part of the Soviet economy

Consumer Durables. Valued in international dollars, per capita consumption of consumer durables in the USSR is less than one-fifth the US level and is below that of many Latin American nations (see figure 9). Moreover, Moscow's efforts to improve the availability and selection of durable items such as washing machines, refrigerators, and television sets during the past decade have had only mixed results. Ownership of many durables has increased dramatically, but the assortment continues to be unresponsive to consumer demand. For example, according to Soviet figures, about 75 percent of the consumers who wish to purchase refrigerators want models with a capacity of 7 to 8 cubic feet (most US models have capacities of 17 cubic feet or more). Yet only 12 percent of the units produced are of this size. Of the 4 million washing machines produced every year, only 5 percent are fully automatic. Indeed, most Soviet washing machines require the operator to wring clothes by hand at least once during the wash cycle. Stocks of higher quality items, such as passenger automobiles and modern consumer appliances, also remain extremely low (see figure 10).

⁶ Another reason is that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations bases its analysis of a nation's food supply on production levels and does not account for waste before or after the food reaches the consumer. The dollar-based consumption data, on the other hand, measure only the food that is actually purchased by consumers and thus omits predelivery waste, which in the Soviet case is substantial

Figure 9
Per Capita Consumption of Consumer Durables, 1980

Thousand 1980 international dollars

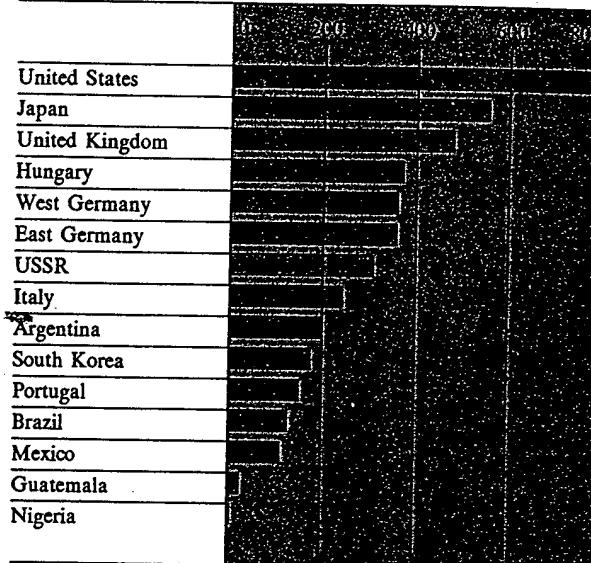


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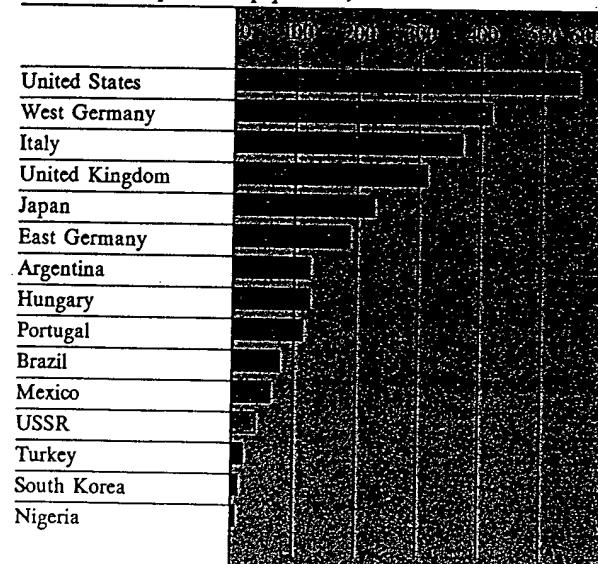
Figure 10
Stocks of Consumer Durables

Note scale change

Televisions per 1,000 population, 1983



Motor vehicles per 1,000 population, 1984



Source: US Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1986), p.827.

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Consumer Services. International comparisons also indicate that the USSR has a long way to go to become a service-oriented economy. The provision of services remains extremely low in the Soviet Union in comparison with the developed West as a result of decades of neglect by state planners.⁷ Per capita consumption of consumer services in the USSR (in international dollars) is significantly lower than in the developed West and only slightly larger than in such countries as Uruguay and Portugal. (Figure 11 shows a comparison for 1980, the last year for which data are available.) The unfulfilled consumer demand for many household and repair services has led to the development of a widespread and rapidly growing black market for services. Soviet insurance policies have even begun to offer coverage for automobile parts stolen by black marketeers who supply them to unofficial repair operations

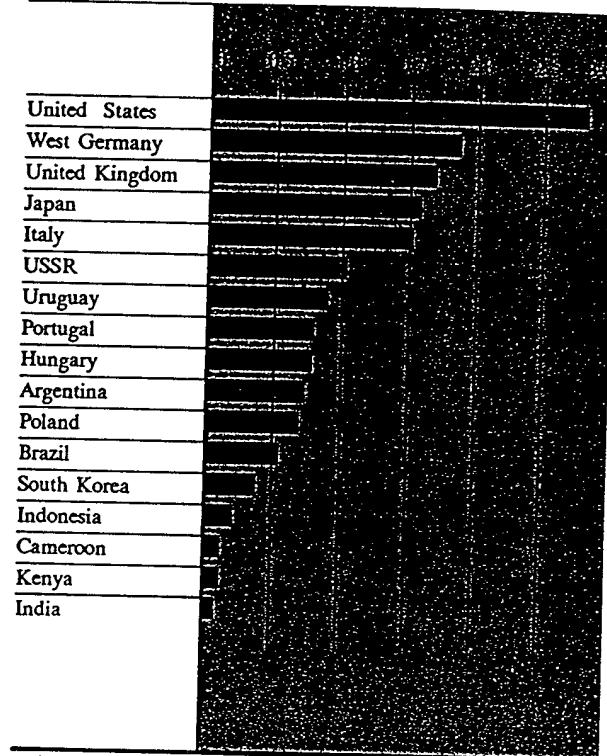
Providing more and better services is one of the goals of Gorbachev's program to improve the lot of the consumer. The regime apparently realizes that workers are more likely to respond to higher wages with greater work effort if there are sufficient supplies of higher quality goods and services to buy

Health Care. During the mid-1970s, infant mortality rates and life expectancy worsened in the USSR, an unprecedented event for an industrial nation in peacetime. According to official Soviet statistics, life expectancy has only recently started to climb, and it is still short of the levels reported in the mid-1960s. The Soviet Union ranks well below the developed West in both of these health care-related categories (see figure 12). Infant mortality rates are poor in large part because of the extremely high rate of infant deaths in the Central Asian republics. Officially published Soviet statistics indicate, for instance, that in 1986 infant mortality rates were 5.8 percent in Turkmenistan and more than 4.6 percent in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

⁷ For an extensive discussion of this issue, see Gertrude E. Schroeder, "USSR: Toward the Service Economy at a Snail's Pace," *Gorbachev's Economic Plans*, Vol. 2, pp. 240-260

Figure 11
Consumer Services Per Capita, 1980

Thousand 1980 international dollars



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The rates published for the European republics, however, are similar to those found in Western Europe.⁸

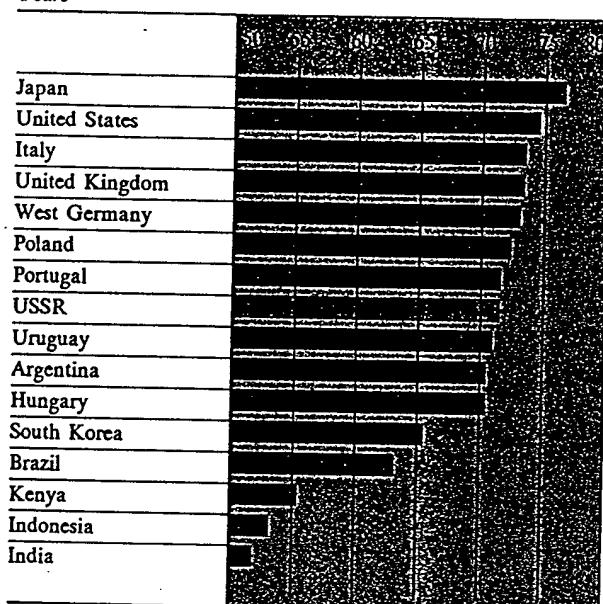
The Soviet health system is greatly overburdened. This situation has arisen, in part, because of an ill-advised strategy to concentrate resources on curing illnesses rather than preventing them. The low priority given to manufacturing health care equipment contributes to the problem and helps to explain why the USSR ranks so low (and has for several decades) relative to other countries in the provision of basic health care services to its citizens (see figure 13).

⁸ These figures are misleading, however, because of systematic underreporting of infant deaths and a Soviet definition of infant deaths that is far more lax than that used in other countries. Deaths of infants weighing less than 1,000 grams—World Health Organization guidelines are 500 grams—are labeled "miscarriages" instead of being entered into infant mortality statistic.

Figure 12
Health Care Indicators, 1985

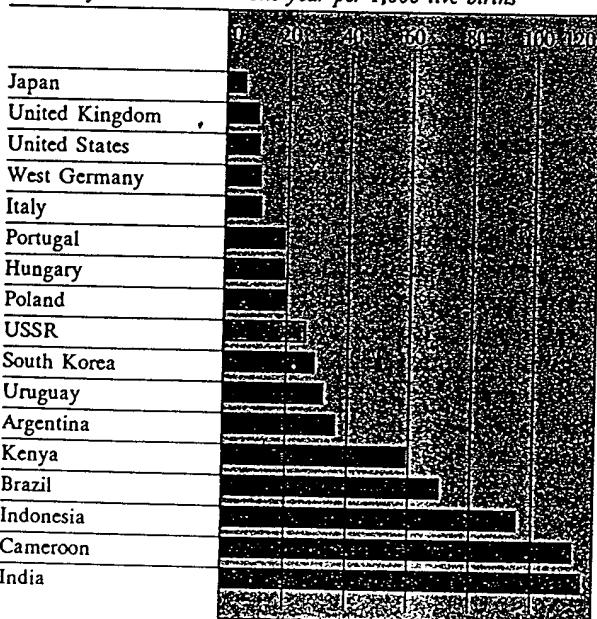
Note scale change

Life Expectancy at Birth
Years



Infant Mortality Rates

Deaths of children under one year per 1,000 live births



Note: Data are for 1985 or closest year for which data are available.

Figure 13
Health Expenditures Per Capita, 1980

1980 international dollars



Unclassified

Participation in the World Economy

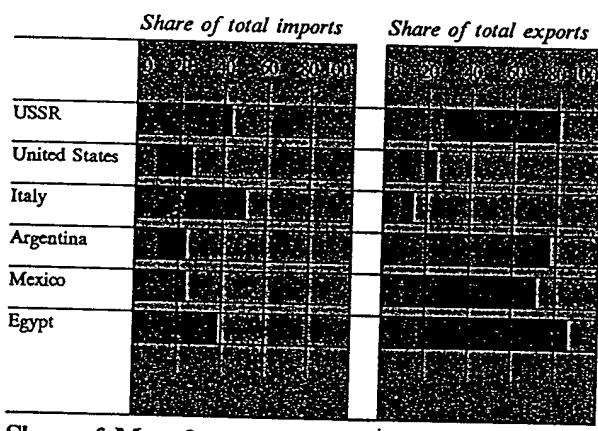
On the whole, the USSR's pattern of world trade resembles that of a less developed country such as Egypt or Mexico (see figure 14). Moscow is a large importer of manufactured goods and a large exporter of raw materials—notably oil, gas, and semiprocessed materials. After 60 years of industrialization, the USSR is still largely unable to sell its manufactured products abroad. Soviet exports—including intra-CEMA barter trade—relative to other nations are shown in figure 14. When only hard currency sales are considered, manufactured goods make up approximately 10 percent of Soviet exports, about the same share as in a country such as Ivory Coast. That statistic is particularly notable because the manufacturing sector has always had a high priority in the allocation of investment resources in the USSR.

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Figure 14
Trade Performance, 1985

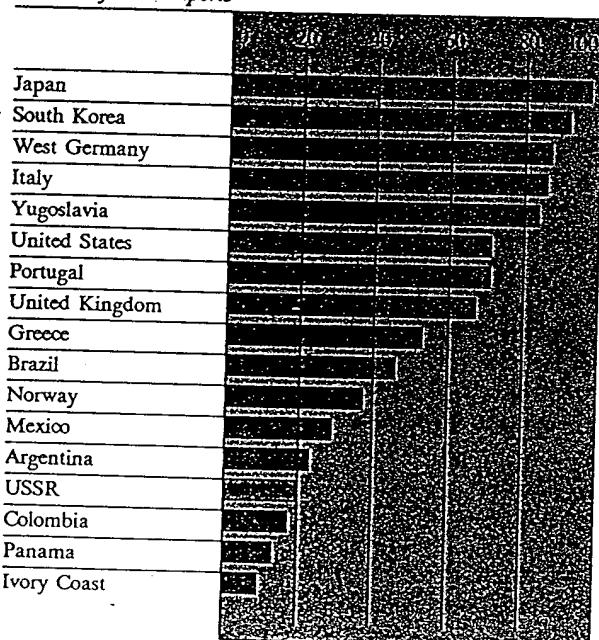
Note scale change

- Nonfuel primary products
- Fuels
- Manufactured goods ^a



Share of Manufactured Goods in Exports, 1985 ^a

Percent of total exports



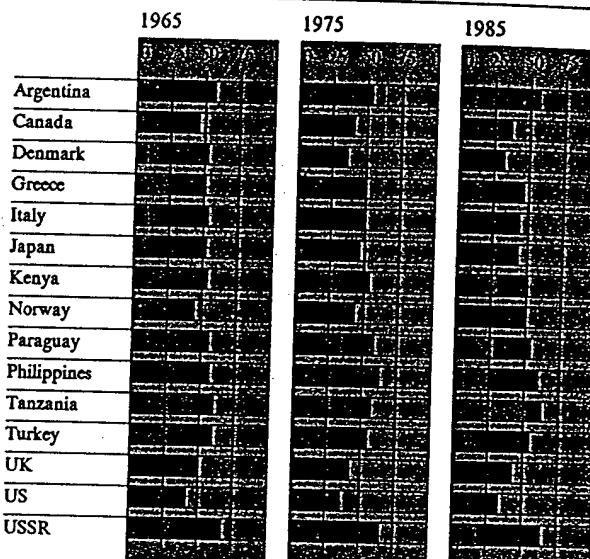
Note: Non-Soviet data are taken from International Monetary Fund trade statistics.
^a Excluding arms.

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Figure 15
Sectoral Shares of GDP

Index: GDP = 1

- Agriculture
- Industry
- Services



Note: Non-Soviet shares were calculated in indigenous currencies at current prices. Soviet data were calculated in rubles in 1982 factor cost prices.

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Economic Structure

The structure of the Soviet economy is markedly different from that of most developed nations and has changed little since 1975. In particular, compared with other nations at a similar level of development, the Soviet Union has a much larger agricultural sector. According to CIA figures, agriculture has accounted for about 20 percent of the USSR's total output—calculated at factor cost ^b—in the 1980s compared with less than 5 percent for most developed Western nations. The share of agricultural output in GDP in the Soviet Union is similar to that in Turkey and the Philippines (see figure 15). Such a large dependence on agriculture causes sometimes erratic annual fluctuation in overall national output—a problem typical of developing nations of the Third World.

^b See footnote 3.

Table 3
Average Annual Growth of GDP,
1966-85

	1966-70	1971-75	1976-80	1981-85
USSR	5.1	3.1	2.2	1.8
United States	2.8	2.3	3.3	3.0
France	5.4	4.0	3.3	1.5
West Germany	4.2	2.1	3.4	1.3
Japan	11.0	4.3	5.0	3.9
Italy	6.2	2.4	3.8	1.6
Greece	7.2	5.1	4.4	1.3
Portugal	6.3	4.4	5.4	1.0
East Germany	3.1	3.5	2.0	1.9
Hungary	3.0	3.3	2.0	0.6
Poland	4.0	6.5	0.7	0.6

Sources: CIA Reference Aid CPAS 88-10001 (Unclassified), September 1988, *Handbook of Economic Statistics*. Greece and Portugal data are from Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *National Accounts, Vol. I, Main Aggregates, 1960-86* (Paris: OECD, 1988).

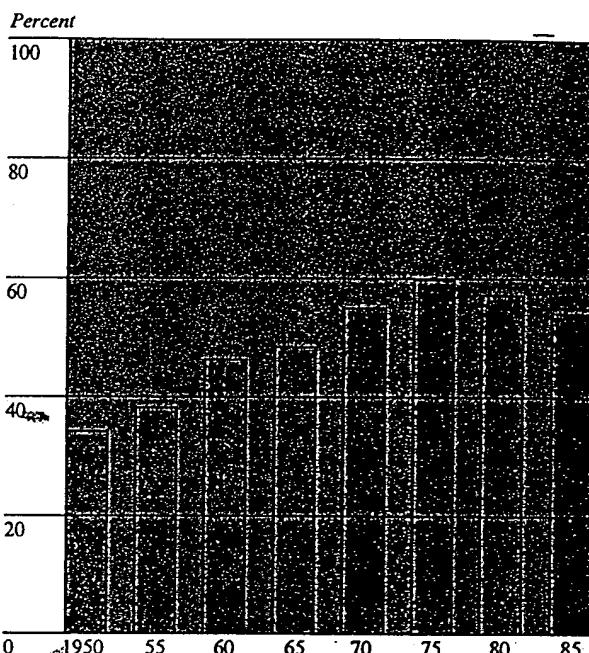
The Soviet Economic Malaise: Barriers to Intensive Growth

In the seventies and eighties we lost our previous dynamism to a certain extent. The economy did not succeed in switching over from extensive to intensive growth in time.

1986 Report of CPSU Central Committee

As recently as the late 1960s and early 1970s, rates of economic growth in the USSR were higher than those of the United States and some Western industrialized nations (see table 3). Since the latter half of the 1970s, however, gains have occurred less rapidly. During the past two five-year planning periods, the average annual rate of growth of Soviet GDP fell to around 2 percent or less—the same as or lower than rates of

Figure 16
Soviet GDP as Share of US GDP, 1950-85



Note: Shares are based on a geometric mean comparison of Soviet and US GDP in rubles and dollars.

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growth attained in most Western countries. As a result, by 1985 Soviet GDP—which had increased from less than one-third of US GDP in 1950 to almost 60 percent by 1975—had declined to about 55 percent of US GDP (see figure 16 and inset, "World Perceptions of the Soviet Economic Model").

World Perceptions of the Soviet Economic Model

The Soviet Union's primary influence on world events will be through its economic policy and its socioeconomic achievements.

V. I. Lenin

In the early 1960s the Soviet economy was growing rapidly and with the launch of Sputnik, the USSR demonstrated its scientific prowess to the world. In this context Khrushchev's boast of the superiority of the Soviet system did not seem entirely absurd. Indeed had the Soviet Union sustained his method's high rate of growth, its GDP would have nearly equalled that of the United States by the mid-1980s (see graph).

An article in *Problems of Communism* during the period captures the mood of the time:

The world image of the United States as the land of consumer plenty and the birthplace of the affluent society is well-established. That the Soviet Union may overtake the US in consumer goods within a relatively short time cannot fail therefore to make a deep impression on the underdeveloped countries, as well as on some of the more mature Western nations whose consumption standards remain far below those of the US.

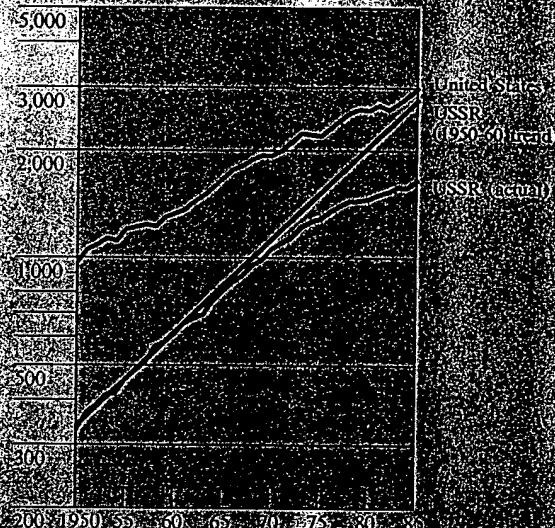
More than 20 years later, the image of the Soviet model of socialist development is becoming tarnished. General Secretary Gorbachev addressing a meeting during the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution noted that "the economic problems of the Soviet Union had repercussions abroad. 'We ourselves felt strongly how, in the period of stagnation, the international impetus of socialism had lessened so that restructuring in the USSR became vital from this point of view as well.'

*Imogene Erron, "Catching Up and Overtaking: An Appraisal," *Problems of Communism* (July-August 1961), pp. 52-53.*

Gorbachev Addresses 4 Nov Meeting," as translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service SOV-87-213 (Unclassified), 4 November 1987, p. 2.

The Failed Vision of the 1950s: Soviet Versus US GDP, 1950-85

Thousand 1980 International dollars



According to reports from a number of Third World nations, Gorbachev has identified only part of the problem. The Soviet economic model has become less attractive to Third World nations. The reason for this decline, however, has more to do with the experience of neighboring nations with Soviet-style economic policies than with events in the Soviet Union. In Central America, for example, the failure of Cuba's and Nicaragua's economies to provide a decent living standard for their people is largely responsible for the lack of public backing for Soviet-style economic policies in that region. Similarly, economic failures in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Ethiopia, and Mozambique have had a profound influence on neighboring countries.

Rating Moscow's Growth Performance

Since the early years of the Soviet state, the leadership has achieved high levels of economic growth by mobilizing tremendous reserves of manpower and resources. While there have been gains in productivity, the USSR's economic growth for the first half century of its existence was primarily achieved through extensive means—by increasing levels of inputs to create more output. This strategy worked quite well at first and, given the low level of development of the Soviet Union in the 1950s and before, it was a feasible approach toward industrialization.

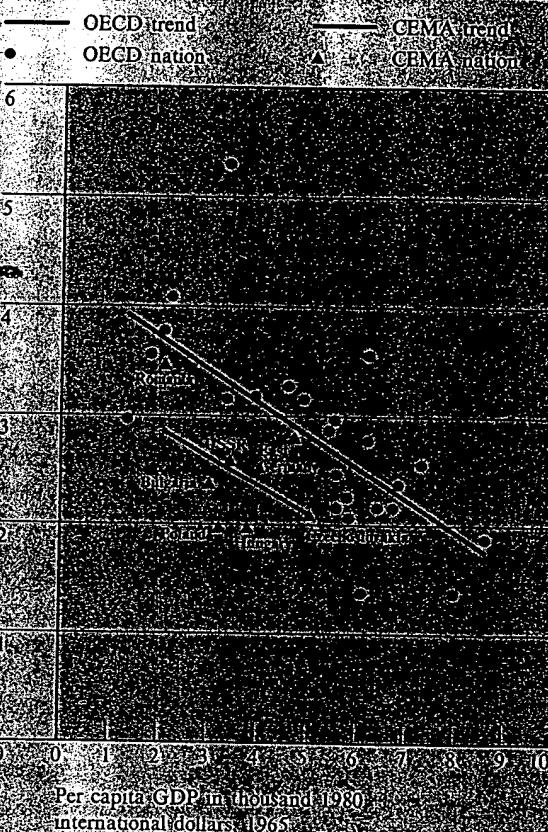
In recent years, however, as the untapped reserves of manpower and physical resources have declined, the Soviet economy has been slow to move to a more intensive mode of growth—that is, one that relies on improvements in productivity and efficiency to realize gains in output. Empirical data show that this shift to intensity growth is usually accompanied by slower rates of growth, particularly as a nation approaches the development level of the most advanced countries. According to theory, then, all else being equal, economic growth should be more rapid in more backward economies than in more developed nations.

In the case of OECD nations, this relationship has held reasonably well over the past 20 years. That the poorer nations have systematically grown more quickly than their wealthier counterparts. However, this advantage of backwardness apparently has not worked to the advantage of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to the same degree. Although the least developed centrally planned economies have in general grown more rapidly than the wealthier ones, the trend line for the CEMAC countries is well below that of the OECD nations.

*Alexander Gerschenkron was among the first to look at the growth characteristics of backward economies. For an in-depth discussion of this phenomenon, see Gerschenkron, "Economic Backwardness and Historical Perspective" (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), chapters 1 and 2. A more recent summary of this theory may be found in Gur Ofer, "Soviet Economic Growth, 1928-1985," *Journal of Economic Literature* (December 1987), Vol. 25, pp. 1760-1838.*

The Economic Performance of OECD and CEMA Countries, 1965-85

Average annual growth of per capita GDP in percent, 1965-85



Per capita GDP in thousand 1980
international dollars (1965)

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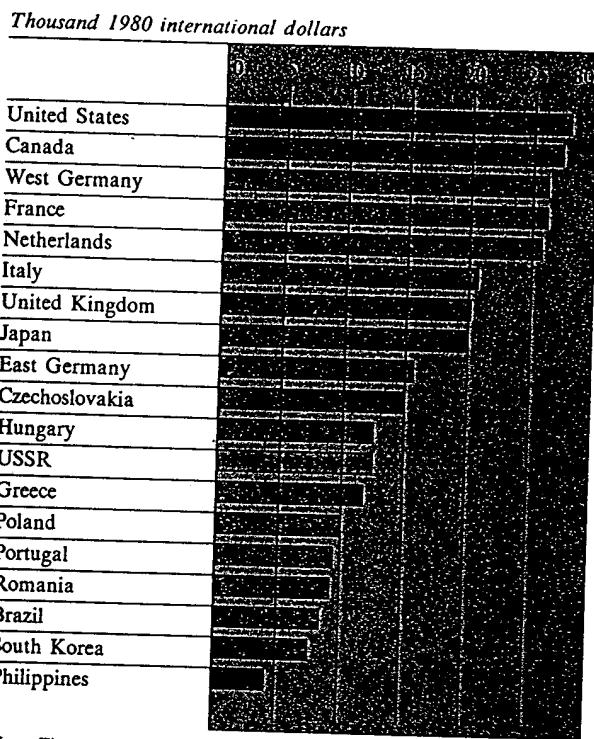
Simply put, the growth formula that propelled the Soviet Union to world power status—a massive infusion of labor and capital—no longer works. With labor reserves scarcer and the return on investment falling rapidly, continued growth will have to come from increased productivity of capital and labor. Efforts to increase the quality and quantity of output and make better use of available resources have been frustrated, however, by a relatively backward technological base, inflexible production processes, and, perhaps most important, a cumbersome and inefficient system of planning and management and a distorted structure of incentives (see inset, "Rating Moscow's Growth Performance").

William Baumol concluded in a recent study that these latter characteristics, shared to various degrees by the centrally planned economies in the world, are responsible for the unimpressive productivity record in the USSR that has contributed heavily to the poor performance of its economy. Taking a century-long view of labor productivity, Baumol argues that the lower the initial level of labor productivity is in an industrialized economy, the higher its long-run productivity growth is likely to be. As a result, international differences in productivity growth should converge toward the productivity levels of the leaders. Baumol attributes this convergence largely to spillovers of innovation—and, to a lesser extent, of investment—from the leading to the lagging countries. He found, however, that since 1950 labor productivity in centrally planned economies has converged more slowly, and to a generally lower level, than in market economies.¹⁰

¹⁰ See William J. Baumol, "Productivity Growth, Convergence, and Welfare: What the Long-Run Data Show," *American Economic Review* (December 1986): pp. 1,072-1,085.

The Soviet leadership has responded to the slide in economic performance by calling for higher rates of productivity growth, setting higher targets for conservation of materials, and placing more emphasis on stepping up the rate of technological change. Indeed, Gorbachev's original program for changing the Soviet economy called for the rapid renewal of the stock of plant and equipment by a combination of high rates of investment and increased rates of retirement of old plant and equipment, a more efficient and better coordinated research and development effort, better incentives for people to work harder and more effectively, and "radical" economic reform designed to streamline the economy and make it more efficient. Progress has been painfully slow, however, and in many areas nonexistent—productivity gains continue at a low level, the leadership has made little progress in getting enterprises to use resources more efficiently, and the Soviet Union continues to lag Western nations in technological development.

Figure 17
GDP Per Worker, 1985



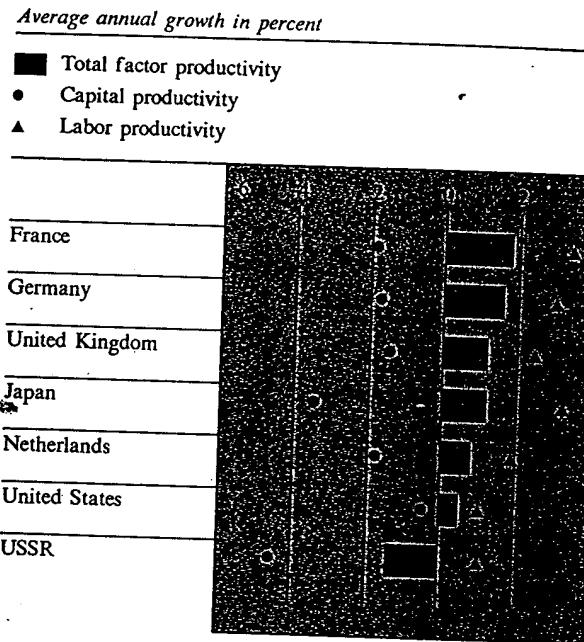
Labor Productivity
Labor productivity is the main thing, the most important thing for the victory of socialism.

V. I. Lenin

In a recently completed comparison of labor productivity, Abram Bergson concluded that socialist economies are systematically less efficient than their Western counterparts.¹¹ Comparisons of the level of GDP per worker support Bergson's conclusions. Output per worker in the Soviet Union ranks well below that in

¹¹ Bergson found the productivity margin between East and West to be between 25 and 34 percent in the 1970s, based on calculations of material output per worker after normalizing for size of capital stock and quality of labor. See Abram Bergson, "Comparative Productivity: The USSR, Eastern Europe, and the West," *American Economic Review* (June 1987): pp. 342-357.

Figure 18
Productivity Change, 1973-84



Source of non-Soviet data: Agnes Maddison, "Growth and Slowdown in Advanced Capitalist Economies," *Journal of Economic Literature*, (June 1987), pp. 649-698.

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most developed nations and is even lower than in many East European nations. Indeed, in 1985 GDP per worker in the USSR was less than half that in the United States (see figure 17).

Nor has there been much improvement in productivity trends in the USSR. Since the mid-1970s, Soviet labor productivity has improved slightly, but this gain has been more than offset by a large drop in capital productivity (see figure 18). Total factor productivity (that of labor and capital combined) declined by about 1.5 percent per year during 1973-84. Although the growth in Soviet labor productivity was about the same as in the United States during the period, the decline in Soviet capital productivity was the sharpest of any nation analyzed.

Energy Efficiency

To assess the energy intensity of the Soviet Union relative to other nations, energy consumption per capita was compared graphically with per capita GDP for a large number of countries (see figure 19). The results show a direct correlation between a nation's level of development and its energy consumption. In the case of the centrally planned economies, however, although this direct relationship still holds, the trend line is much higher, indicating that energy resources are used less efficiently than in the other countries examined. Moreover, Hungary—the CEMA nation having the most decentralized system¹²—is closest to the world trend line, while the other CEMA nations showed far higher levels of energy consumption than their level of development would seem to indicate. The effect of central planning on energy efficiency is not surprising, given internal (and intra-CEMA) prices that do not reflect actual costs of production and the economic environment in which plant managers operate.

Technological Development

The party views acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the main direction of its economic strategy, as the main lever for the intensification of the national economy.

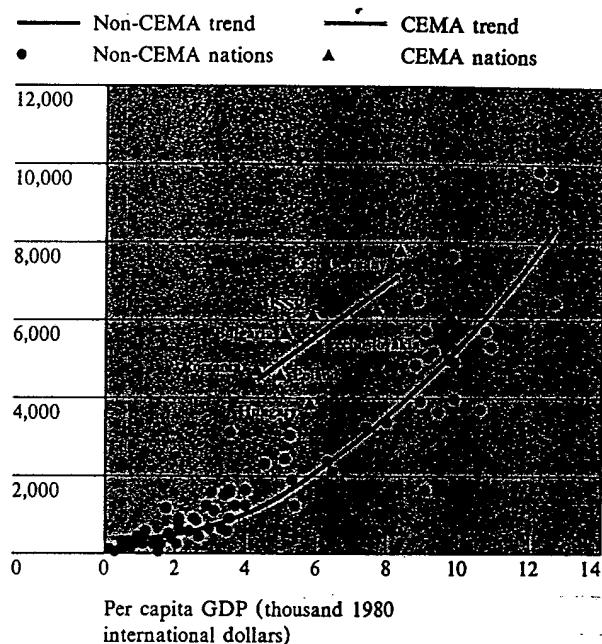
Mikhail Gorbachev
1985

As Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders acknowledge, many of the Soviet Union's economic problems stem from its inability to compete in high-technology fields and to efficiently integrate technological advances into the production process. Over the years, the Soviets have made extensive use of technology transfer—both legal and illegal—in an attempt to cope with this problem. At the same time, the regime is concerned about becoming technologically dependent on the West, as many Soviet officials argue that such dependence would make the USSR susceptible to Western political pressures and retard the development of product and process innovation at home. As a result, the Soviets have devoted substantial resources to encouraging homegrown technological innovation.

¹² Yugoslavia, a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), is considered a market socialist nation. In terms of energy efficiency, it falls near the world trend line.

Figure 19
Energy Consumption and Economic Development: CEMA Versus Non-CEMA Countries, 1985

Energy consumption per capita (kilogram coal equivalent)



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Despite Moscow's efforts to overcome its technological backwardness in the civil sector, the Soviet Union lags the West significantly in most fields:

- Although the USSR pioneered the process of continuous casting of steel, by 1983 only 12 percent of Soviet steel was continuously cast, compared with 31 percent in the United States, 65 percent in France, and 86 percent in Japan.
- The USSR has made impressive gains in developing a capability to produce computers, yet new Soviet models tend to be copies of obsolete US models. Moreover, computer inventories in the USSR are only a fraction of what they are in the United States: in 1987 there were only about 100,000

personal computers in use in the Soviet Union, compared with 40 million in the United States. US sales in 1988 were expected to reach 10 million.

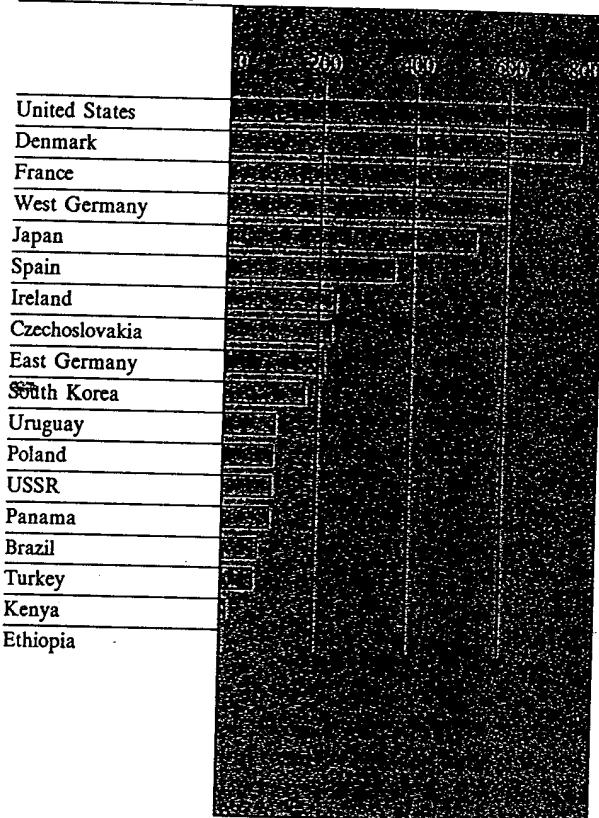
- The Soviet Union is by far the world's largest producer of machine tools, but their mix tends to be greatly skewed toward simpler, less modern tools. Even Soviet tools that employ the same technology as their Western counterparts lack durability, precision, and flexibility.

Nowhere is the technological lag more evident than at the grassroots of Soviet society. One of the most striking features of the high-tech revolution in the West has been the degree to which it has permeated society. Hand-held calculators, personal computers, and portable cassette players are largely taken for granted in the West but are available in the Soviet Union only in small numbers. For instance, in Soviet elementary and secondary schools there was only one personal computer per 575 students in 1987 versus one for every 25 students in the United States.

Even the telephone, often found in several rooms in American homes, has not yet become commonplace in many areas in the Soviet Union. According to *Pravda*, only 23 percent of urban families and 7 percent of families in rural areas had private telephones in 1985. The Soviet Union is similar to less developed countries in Latin America in the number of telephones in use (see figure 20).

Figure 20
Telephone Ownership, 1984

Units per 1,000 population



Note: US figure is for 1982.

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Outlook: The Soviet Economy Into the 21st Century

Whereas Soviet leaders once spoke confidently of overtaking the West, in recent years General Secretary Gorbachev and other officials have openly discussed the prospect of the USSR being relegated to the status of a third-rate economic power. In response, the regime has pushed through a set of "radical" economic and political reform measures aimed at reversing the Soviet Union's slide relative to the rest of the world. Specifically, Soviet plans call for growth rates to climb steadily from the approximately 2 percent per year achieved in the period 1981-85 to an annual rate of 5 percent by the year 2000.

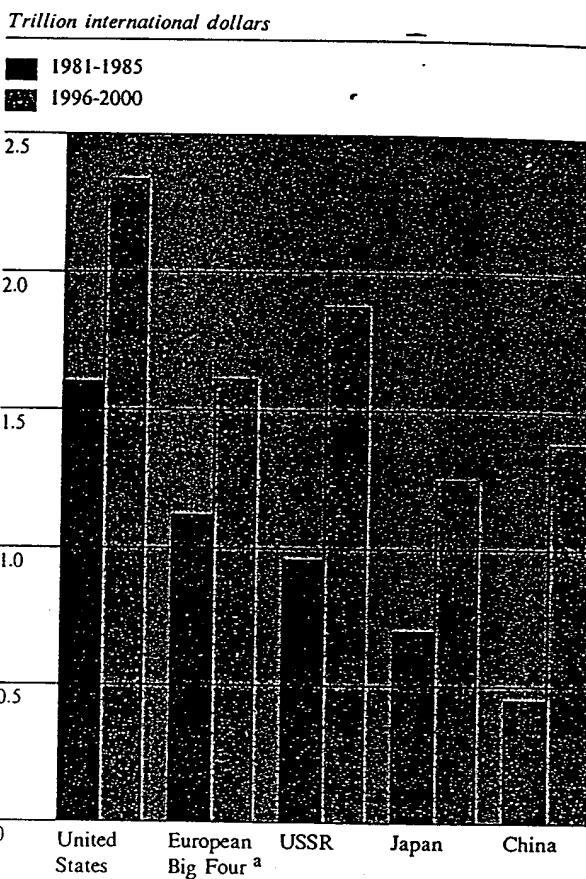
A Soviet View

A Soviet view of what the realization of such plans would mean for Moscow's international standing was provided last year in an article in the journal, *Sorevnovaniye Dvukh Sistem (Competition Between the Two Systems)*.¹³ In this study, the Soviet growth rates planned for 1986-2000 are juxtaposed with Soviet projections for growth of various other world economies to illustrate the effect of *perestroika* and acceleration on the international economic balance of power (see figure 21).¹⁴ According to this study, by the turn of the century, not only will the Soviet Union's economy remain the second largest in the world, but it will also exceed in size the combined economies of France, Italy, West Germany, and the United Kingdom. China and Japan would continue to trail the Soviet Union, although their relative positions would reverse over the period.

¹³ B. M. Bolotin, "Problems of Economic Competition Between Two Systems (A Comparative Analysis)," *Competition Between the Two Systems* (Moscow: The Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1988), pp. 112-142.

¹⁴ Despite the fact that the Soviet comparisons are based on the Marxist concept of national income produced rather than GDP, the Soviet forecasts of Western growth are remarkably similar to those published by commercial forecasting services in the West. Soviet estimates of US and European annual growth rates are 2.6 and 2.4 percent, respectively. Soviet estimates of Japanese and Chinese growth are somewhat more optimistic than some Western figures: 3.9 and 7.8 percent, respectively. The implied growth rate for the Soviet Union is 4.6 percent.

Figure 21
A Soviet View of the Future: National Income Produced



Note: According to the Soviet study, these figures are average levels for the five-year period indicated, recalculated in dollars according to purchasing power parity.

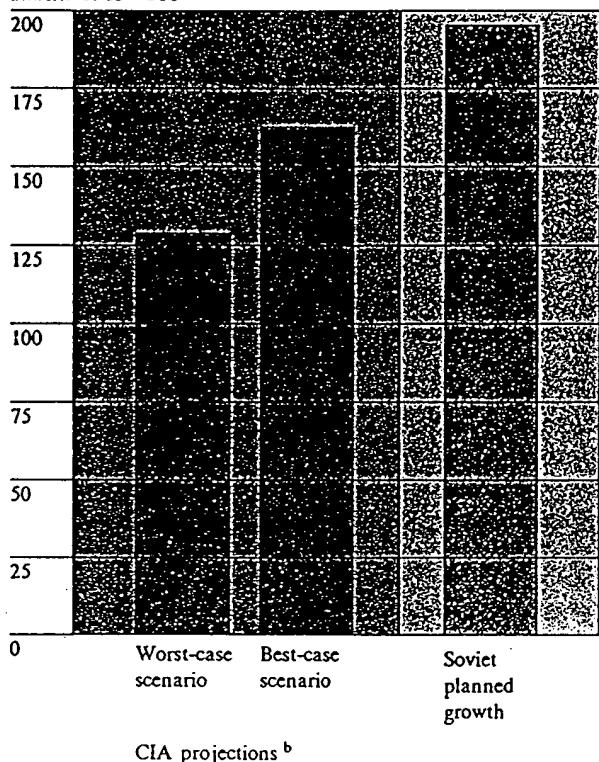
^aThe European Big Four are France, West Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom.

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Figure 22

CIA Versus Soviet Projections of Economic Growth in the USSR Between 1985 and 2000^a

Index: 1985 = 100



^aCIA measures the USSR's economic growth in terms of the Western concept of GNP. (The figures shown are calculated from data in 1982 factor cost prices.) The Soviets use the Marxist concept of national income produced, which excludes depreciation and the nonmaterial component of services. (The figures shown are calculated from data in so-called comparable prices—the Soviet version of constant prices.) If the Soviet data were adjusted to make them comparable to GNP, the difference between the Soviet and CIA projections would probably be even greater.

^bBased on simulations that account for possible increases in worker effort (human factor effects), capital modernization, and reform initiatives implemented so far. The model also assumes a period of disruption occurs in implementing Gorbachev's programs. In the worst-case scenario, it is assumed that there is no recovery from the slump that occurs and consequently no payoff in the form of higher productivity in the 1990s. In the best-case scenario, it is assumed that the economy recovers from the disruptions and that a payoff occurs in the form of higher returns on labor and capital in the 1990s.

CIA Assessment

We believe that the economic growth laid out by the Soviets—which requires a marked reversal of negative economic trends—is implausible.¹⁵ For comparison purposes we have laid out likely “bounding” scenarios for Soviet economic growth between now and the start of the 21st century (see figure 22). A juxtaposition of those scenarios with that which the Soviets project suggests that the USSR will have difficulty maintaining its current relative standing with respect to GDP. With regard to measures such as per capita consumption, the production of high-technology goods, or the provision of high-quality services to the populace, narrowing the gap between the Soviet Union and the West is likely to be an even more difficult task. Yet, as the Soviets themselves have come to acknowledge, it is on the basis of such specific measures of consumer welfare and technological dynamism, rather than on the basis of gross economic size, that the vitality of the USSR's economy—or the extent of its economic dilemma—should ultimately be assessed.

¹⁵ Our analysis is examined in several publications, including a joint CIA-DIA paper DDB-1900-140-87^f August 1987, *Gorbachev's Modernization Program: A Status Report on 15-16* and DI Technical Intelligence Report October 1987, *Modeling Soviet Modernization: Prospects for Economic Growth*

Appendix A

Methodology of International Comparisons

In many respects, the problems encountered in making international economic comparisons are analogous to those faced when making comparisons within one nation across time: price differences as well as variations in preferences and tastes must be accommodated. In a given country, prices for virtually all goods change between time periods, though at varying rates, and consumer tastes and preferences may shift significantly, as reflected in the mix of goods and services purchased. Similarly, in international comparisons, prices expressed in local currencies differ among nations, and the mixes of goods and services consumed are typically quite diverse. In either case, the goal is to value each good or service in each economy at a common price in a common unit of currency. This is accomplished by converting national account data in nominal terms to a common base either by using intertemporal price indexes—commonly called price deflators—or international price indexes—commonly called purchasing power parities (PPPs).

The calculation and use of PPPs were pioneered by the United Nations in its International Comparison Project (ICP), and most of the data used in this paper are derived from various UN benchmark studies.¹⁶ Since the Soviet Union has not participated in the ICP, the CIA's bilateral comparisons of the US and Soviet economies were linked to the ICP data base.¹⁷

¹⁶ The UN International Comparison Project began in 1968 with a pilot study comparing the purchasing powers of currency and real products for a handful of West European countries. In subsequent years, benchmark studies for 1970, 1973, 1975, and 1980 and partial results for a fifth benchmark (for the year 1985) have been completed, and the set of participating countries has grown to 60. Most major countries have actively participated in the ICP, with the exception of the USSR, China, and several East European countries.

¹⁷ China, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany have also never participated in the ICP; our estimates of GDP for these nations were also linked to the ICP data base. The method by which these four nations' GDP was estimated is discussed in detail in appendix B.

The ICP methodology assigns an average world price or "international price" to each good or service produced by any of the countries being compared. The size of a country's output is measured by calculating the value of its products using these "international prices." Comparisons among countries are made by comparing these values.¹⁸

The major advantage of "international price" comparisons is that they use "country neutral" prices. Index number theory and empirical studies show that, when a single nation's expenditure pattern is used to provide weights in a comparison, the results are almost invariably less favorable to that country than if some other country's weights are used.¹⁹ The use of an international average set of weights, therefore, places no single country at a comparative disadvantage.

Because this paper drew on various sources for comparative data, a reconciliation of the data was necessary. A comparison of the Soviet and US economies in the mid-1970s was carried out several years ago by the CIA²⁰ and has been updated to the present using data on US gross national product (GNP) from the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce and data on Soviet GNP from the set of GNP accounts compiled by the CIA.²¹

¹⁸ For a detailed description of the procedure, see Michael Ward, *Purchasing Power Parities and Real Expenditures in the OECD* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1985) and *Multilateral Measurements of Purchasing Power and Real GDP* (Luxembourg: Statistical Office of the European Communities, 1982).

¹⁹ In the case of a Soviet-US comparison, when US weights are used in the calculation, the Soviet economy is 69 percent as large as that of the United States, but when Soviet weights are used, it is only 41 percent as large.

²⁰ See Imogene Edwards, Margaret Hughes, and James Noren, "U.S. and U.S.S.R.: Comparisons of GNP," *Soviet Economy in a Time of Change* (Washington, DC: Joint Economic Committee, US Congress, 1979), pp. 369-401 and Joint Economic Committee, *Consumption in the USSR: An International Comparison* (Washington, DC: Joint Economic Committee, US Congress, 1981).

Ruble/dollar ratios for 18 categories of goods and services, derived in these CIA comparison studies, were used to compare the relative size of the US and Soviet economies in both rubles and dollars. The geometric mean of the two results was used as a point estimate of the relative size of the two economies.

After reconfiguring the GNP comparisons slightly to make them compatible with the narrower definition of gross domestic product (GDP), the geometric mean ratio of the Soviet and US economies was applied to the "international dollar" value of the size of the US economy to derive an "international dollar" value for Soviet GDP.²¹

²¹ This procedure for linking nonparticipating nations to a global comparison is very much like that used for East European nations in the ICP. For both practical and political reasons, the ICP was forced to use geometric mean comparisons to link the participating East European nations into the global comparison in the two most recent benchmark studies. Austria is the country used for binary comparisons with Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Although this is not the optimal approach, ICP researchers do not believe that the results are seriously distorted by this procedure.

The figures for the United States and the USSR were compared with estimates of GDP in 1985 for other nations—including four in Eastern Europe²²—compiled by the United Nations and published by Robert Summers and Alan Heston in a recent article in the *Review of Income and Wealth*.²³ Finally, the data set was expanded to include three additional East European countries and China, using the "physical indicator" technique described in appendix B.²⁴

²² Although Romania did not participate in the two most recent ICP benchmark studies, the results of its participation in an earlier benchmark were updated and used in this study, along with the more current data for Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.²⁵

²³ Alan Heston and Robert Summers, "A New Set of International Comparisons of Real Product and Prices for 130 Countries, 1950-85," *Review of Income and Wealth* (March 1988): pp. 1-25. The tables in the Heston and Summers article provide data for the years 1950-85 and are, for the most part, based on the results of three ICP benchmark studies. Regional fixity was removed from the 1980 study, and the various benchmark data were made as consistent as possible. Data for 121 market economies and four centrally planned economies—Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia—were used in this study. The data were included as a supplement to the article.²⁶

Appendix B

The Physical Indicator Method for Estimating Gross Domestic Product in Dollars

The UN's International Comparison Project (ICP) data, based on purchasing power parities (PPPs) rather than market exchange rates,²⁴ are available for more than 60 nations. They represent the best available estimates, by far, of the relative sizes of these countries' economies.²⁵ Although the Soviet Union has never participated in the ICP, comparable data derived with PPPs are available from a series of CIA studies, the most recent of which was presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in 1981.²⁶ Although the quality of these studies is good, they have become somewhat dated. Benchmark data are routinely indexed forward in time using price indexes, but this practice has its limits. Officials working on the ICP consider five years to be the useful life of a benchmark, and the European Community has begun partial updates on an annual basis to limit the effect of indexing errors. Since the newest study of the USSR is more than 10 years old and some components of Soviet GDP are estimated on the basis of pre-1970 benchmarks, there is considerable potential for error in these data.

²⁴ Exchange rates can be used to convert economic aggregates such as GDP from one currency to another, but such calculations are of little use in comparing the size of different economies. For details of the UN method and background on the project, see Alan Heston, Irving B. Kravis, and Robert Summers, *World Product and Income, International Comparisons of Real Gross Product* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982) and Peter Hill, *Multilateral Measurements of Purchasing Power and Real GDP* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1981).)

²⁵ The primary source of national income comparison data for this study is the Penn World Tables, Mark 4. These tables were included in a supplement to the article by Heston and Summers, "A New Set of International Comparisons of Real Product and Prices for 130 Countries, 1950-85."

²⁶ Joint Economic Committee, *Consumption in the USSR: An International Comparison*. See also Edwards, Hughes, and Noren, "U.S. and U.S.S.R.: Comparisons of GNP," pp. 369-401

Until a new benchmark study of the Soviet Union is made, an alternative method of calculating Soviet GDP in dollars is needed to assess the accuracy of the CIA's current estimates. We have created a model that uses physical indicators—such as energy consumption per capita and life expectancy—to estimate a nation's GDP. The physical indicator method has a number of advantages:

- **Economy of data.** Detailed economic data on a wide variety of sectors are not needed. For our model, in fact, only seven observations are required to generate an estimate of a nation's 1980 GDP in dollars.
- **Broad applicability.** The method is not unique to the Soviet Union. We used it to estimate the GDP of other non-ICP countries as well, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and China.
- **Wide acceptance.** The physical indicator method was pioneered in the 1960s, and the most recent application, a 1973 study by the UN Economic Commission for Europe, has been widely cited in academic and government publications.²⁷
- **Simplicity.** The method involves straightforward application of basic statistical theory to interpolate estimates of GDP that are consistent with other figures used in this paper.

²⁷ Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, "Comparative GDP Levels," *Economic Bulletin for Europe* (Geneva: United Nations ECE, 1980).

The Method

The basic premise of the physical indicator method is that a nation's per capita GDP can be expressed as a function of a set of physical indicators, as follows:

$$GDP = f(I_1, I_2, \dots, I_n). \quad (1)$$

The set of physical indicators ($I_1 \dots I_n$) would include, for example, measures of health, education, personal consumption, and the structure of the economy. Using data from a cross section of countries, a more general relationship between GDP and the indicator variables can be defined as follows:

$$GDP_i = g(I_{1i}, I_{2i}, \dots, I_{ni}) \quad (2)$$

where the i subscript denotes the i th country. This function can be estimated statistically and the results used to "predict" GDP for centrally planned economies not participating in the ICP.²¹

The Data. We obtained per capita GDPs for 57 countries participating in the ICP from the Phase IV ICP results; data are for 1980 and are denominated in 1980 international dollars. Data on 22 physical indicators were obtained from the World Bank data base and a variety of other sources (see table 6 in appendix C). The data encompassed the following categories:

Health Indicators	Basic Industrial Products
Infant mortality rate	Energy consumption*
Life expectancy at birth*	Steel consumption*
Population per physician	Cement production
Persons per hospital bed	Newsprint consumption
Education	Consumer Durables
Adult literacy rate	Radio receivers
Newspapers per person	Televisions*
Diet	Passenger cars*
Calories in food supply, animal and vegetable sources	Telephones*
Protein in food supply, animal and vegetable sources	Economic Structure
Consumption of meat	Percent of labor force in industry
Consumption of fish	Percent of labor force in agriculture*

Note: Asterisks denote variables selected for use by our model.

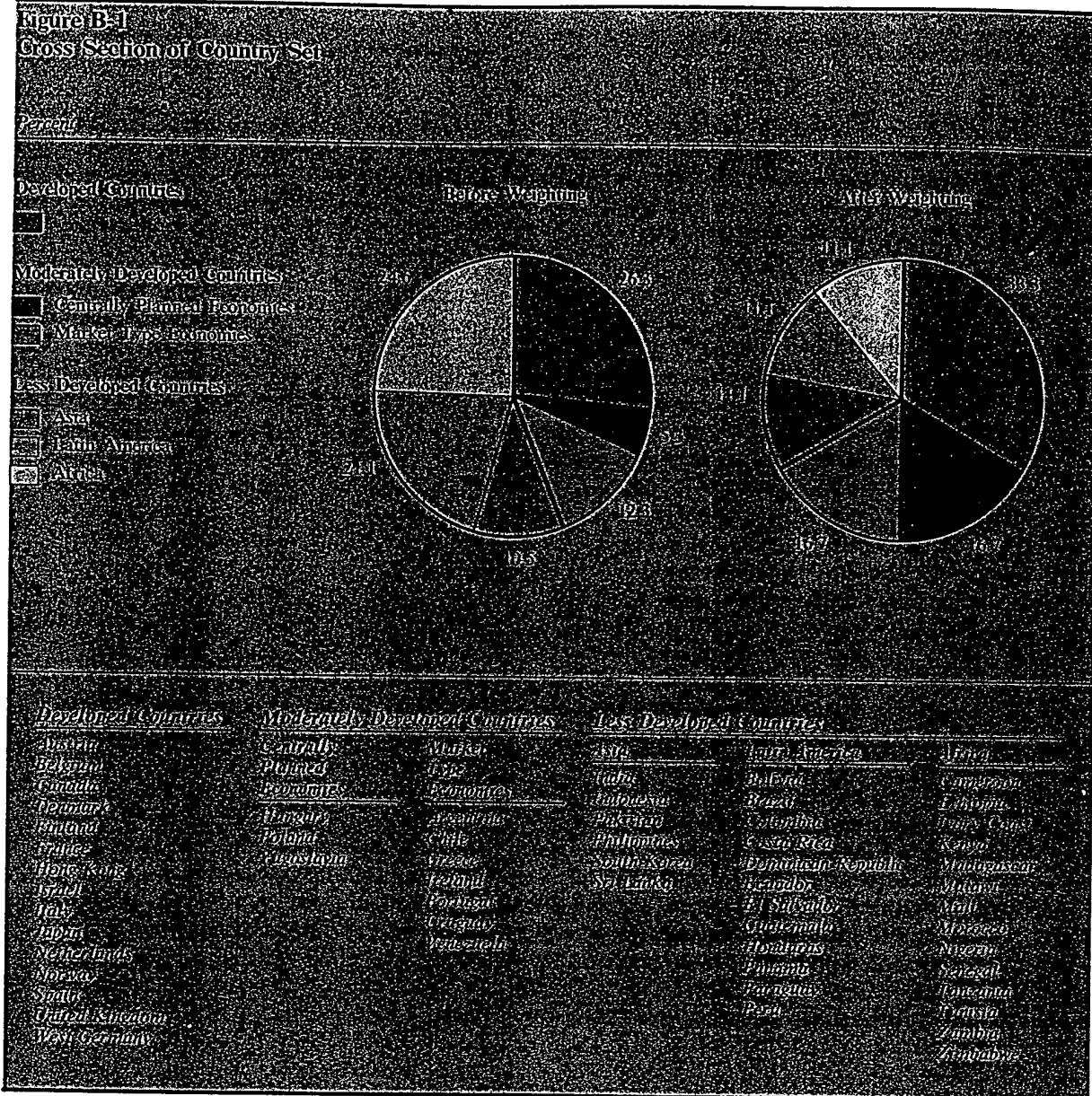
The Country Set. Figure B-1 shows the nations we included. Botswana and Luxembourg were dropped from the ICP country set because of the unavailability of physical indicator data. The United States was also deleted because of methodological inconsistencies in the ICP calculations.²²

One of the criticisms of earlier efforts to use the physical indicator method to predict the GDP of centrally planned economies is the absence of such economies in the predictor country set. The participation of Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia in Phase IV of the ICP enabled us to make use of data from these countries both to provide more theoretically sound results and to assess the results for centrally planned economies.²³

Regression Weights. Because the principal aim of our analysis was to estimate GDP for centrally planned economies, a weighted regression was used to overcome the bias in the country set toward less developed countries (LDCs) in Africa and Latin America and to emphasize the three important East European nations. Countries were grouped into three broad categories—wealthy developed nations, moderately developed nations (which include three East European nations), and LDCs—and weights were assigned to equalize the influence of each group on the least-squares regression calculation. Further subdivisions were created within the latter two groups, and subweights were assigned to balance the representation of each subgroup within its larger category. Figure B-1 shows the relative weights of the various country groups before and after the weighting scheme was introduced.

²¹ The US participation in the 1980 benchmark study was belated and, as a result, methodologically substandard. Various academics have observed that the value for US GDP appears to be too low in that ICP study, a conclusion supported by the results of our model.

Figure B-1
Cross Section of Country Set



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The Model. Two estimates of GDP were empirically derived using regression techniques and the data described above. One was based on a linear variant of the model:

$$GDP_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 I_{1t} + \alpha_2 I_{2t} + \dots + \alpha_n I_{nt} \quad (3)$$

and one was based on a nonlinear variant:

$$GDP_t = e^{\beta_0} I_{1t}^{\beta_1} I_{2t}^{\beta_2} \dots I_{nt}^{\beta_n} \quad (4)$$

The physical indicator variables were selected using stepwise regression techniques, the results of which are shown on pages 30 and 31. Five variables, significant at the 0.05 level, were selected by the procedure for each model. Three of the variables were used in both models—percent of labor force in agriculture, personal automobiles, and energy consumption per capita. Steel consumption and telephones were the additional variables selected for the linear model, while televisions and life expectancy were selected for the nonlinear model.

The Results

The model predictions of both variants were remarkably similar, in spite of the difference in functional form and in the set of predictor variables. The residuals (the difference between the model predictions and actual GDP) for most countries, for instance, were relatively small and similar in both cases, as shown in the table on page 32. Predictions of GDP for the centrally planned economies not included in the ICP study were also similar (see table B-1). Consequently, the linear and nonlinear formulations were judged to be generally equivalent, and the average of the two predictions was taken as the final estimate of GDP.

Soviet Union. Although the physical indicator method is markedly different from that used by the CIA to estimate Soviet GDP in dollars, the results of the two approaches are virtually identical—our model yields a figure of \$5,630 for the value of per capita GDP in the

* The nonlinear variant of the model was converted to linear form using logarithmic transformation before estimating the regression parameters

Table B-1 *1980 international dollars*
**Estimates of 1980 Per Capita
 GDP for Selected Centrally
 Planned Economies**

	Linear	Nonlinear	Average
Bulgaria	4,745.5	4,968.7	4,857
China	618.3	765.8	692
Czechoslovakia	7,566.8	7,011.0	7,289
East Germany	7,438.4	7,663.3	7,551
Romania *	4,579.7	3,869.5	4,225
USSR	5,896.0	5,364.5	5,630

* To test the model's performance, we estimated Romania's GDP using the model. In the rest of this paper, however, we used the estimate from the Penn World Tables, derived from the 1975 ICP estimate (Romania dropped out of the project before the 1980 results were published). The results: Penn World Tables, \$3,946; our model estimate, \$4,225.

Table B-2 *1980 international dollars*
**Per Capita GDP for Selected
 East European Countries, 1980**

	Physical Indicator Model	Penn World Tables Mark 4	CIA Handbook
Bulgaria	4,857	4,904	4,898
Czechoslovakia	7,289	7,002	6,559
East Germany	7,551	7,891	7,569

Note: Both the Penn World Tables and the CIA Handbook Estimates are derived from the Economic Commission for Europe's physical indicator study. The Penn World Tables extrapolate from the 1973 estimate, whereas the CIA extrapolates from the 1970 figure. Both use growth rates from L. W. International Financial Research, Inc. to index the benchmarks forward, and both adjust the estimates for consistency with ICP-participating East European nations.

Soviet Union in 1980, compared with the \$5,600 obtained using the purchasing power parity approach.

Eastern Europe. The estimates obtained for the three non-ICP European nations are extremely close to figures derived from the UN Economic Commission for Europe's physical indicator study for 1970 and 1973 (see table B-2). Although the Commission's study was not intended to provide estimates of GDP consistent with those of the ICP³⁰ and used exchange rates as the basis for its regression equations, its results have been widely used in the absence of any reasonable alternative. Since the method we used here is theoretically preferable to that of the Commission—and because it produces estimates for a later year—our results were used in the comparisons in this paper.

China. There have been few estimates made of the size of China's economy relative to those of other nations, in part because China has traditionally guarded its data and because the data that is available may be flawed by irrational prices and other shortcomings. In 1981 Irving Kravis conducted a cursory price study, which serves as the basis for the entries for China in the Penn Tables, but his estimate of per capita GDP—\$1,600 in 1980—is generally thought to be too high. On the other hand, exchange-rate-derived estimates are probably too low, showing China's total economy to be roughly the size of Poland's.³¹ Consequently, we lack methodologically sound estimates with which to compare our results. Still, our results appear reasonable. They place China in a position similar to that of India and well behind those of Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea (see table B-3).

³⁰ Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, "Comparative GDP Levels." The ECE researchers stated that their basic objective was to derive satisfactory approximations of GDP, but they acknowledged that their method "does represent a step away from the GDP concept.... [The estimates] represent an expression of economic attainment which goes in some ways beyond the conventional GDP measure." Hence, the result is, by design, more an index of level of development or well-being than a dollar GDP estimate.

³¹ See CI, Reference Aid CPAS 88-10001, September 1988, *Handbook of Economic Statistics*, p. 2.

Table B-3
Estimates of Per Capita GDP
for China and Selected Asian Countries

	Per Capita GDP
China	692
India	614
Indonesia	1,063
South Korea	2,369
Thailand	1,694

Statistical Results for Linear Variant of the Model

$$GDP = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1(LFA) + \alpha_2(SC) + \alpha_3(TEL) + \alpha_4(PC) + \alpha_5(EPC)$$

where:

GDP = 1980 per capita gross domestic product in international dollars,

LFA = percentage of labor force in agriculture,

SC = steel consumption per capita (kilograms),

TEL = telephones per 1,000 population,

PC = personal automobiles per 1,000 population,

EPC = energy consumption per capita (kilogram coal equivalent).

Analysis of Variance

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance of F	Adjusted R ²
Model	5	942,168,406	188,433,681	398.527	0.0001	0.9736
Error	49	23,168,464.2	472,825.8			
Corrected total	53	965,336,870				

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Parameter	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	T for HO: Parameter = 0	Probability > T
Intercept	α_0	3.598.33200	265.63723	13.546	0.0001
<i>LFA</i>	α_1	-4.358.32008	486.67167	-8.955	0.0001
<i>SC</i>	α_2	1.83537817	0.69891375	2.626	0.0115
<i>TEL</i>	α_3	4.73801046	0.80013174	5.922	0.0001
<i>PC</i>	α_4	4.02225251	1.42294679	2.827	0.0068
<i>EPC</i>	α_5	0.20453033	0.05434701	3.763	0.0004

Statistical Results for Nonlinear Variant of the Model

$$\log(GDP) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \log(PC) + \beta_2 \log(LFA) + \beta_3 \log(EPC) + \beta_4 \log(TVS) + \beta_5 \log(LE),$$

where:

GDP = 1980 per capita gross domestic product in international dollars,

PC = personal automobiles per 1,000 population,

LFA = percentage of labor force in agriculture,

EPC = energy consumption per capita (kilogram coal equivalent),

TVS = televisions per 1,000 population,

LE = life expectancy at birth.

Analysis of Variance

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance of F	Adjusted R ²
Model	5	79.09964993	15.819930	416.207	0.0001	0.9737
Error	51	1.93849608	0.038010			
Corrected total	56	81.03814601				

Parameter Estimates

Variable	Parameter	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	T for HO: Parameter=0	Probability > [T]
Intercept	β_0	0.54266347	1.16187237	0.467	0.6424
<i>PC</i>	β_1	0.12331045	0.03723083	3.312	0.0017
<i>LFA</i>	β_2	-0.18178865	0.03333398	-5.454	0.0001
<i>EPC</i>	β_3	0.14366535	0.04622281	3.108	0.0031
<i>TVS</i>	β_4	0.12798850	0.03732956	3.429	0.0012
<i>LE</i>	β_5	1.23828638	0.30693216	4.034	0.0002

Residuals for Linear and Nonlinear Variants of the Model

	Per Capita GDP	Linear Variant Residual	Nonlinear Variant Residual		Per Capita GDP	Linear Variant Residual	Nonlinear Variant Residual
Argentina	4,342	-275.9	-725.0	Kenya	662	302.5	-209.0
Austria	8,230	48.6	396.1	Madagascar	589	713.2	-17.1
Belgium	9,228	345.4	-1,134.1	Malawi	417	515.7	43.2
Bolivia	1,529	-157.8	382.2	Mali	356	NA	-17.2
Brazil	3,356	26.5	211.7	Morocco	1,199	-405.4	-352.2
Cameroon	875	NA	278.9	Netherlands	9,036	-478.91	-311.1
Canada	11,332	-650.1	115.6	Nigeria	824	-516.5	113.9
Chile	4,271	789.5	1,015.2	Norway	11,094	1,061.57	1,407.4
Colombia	2,552	-547.2	-52.9	Pakistan	989	-252.8	21.5
Costa Rica	3,031	-278.6	-45.1	Panama	2,810	-691.8	-857.2
Denmark	9,598	199.2	911.0	Paraguay	1,979	313.6	-424.2
Dominican Republic	1,868	44.6	-75.6	Peru	2,456	164.5	553.1
Ecuador	2,607	779.8	558.4	Philippines	1,551	-289.1	5.4
El Salvador	1,410	-238.0	-437.7	Poland	5,006	-251.6	-87.5
Ethiopia	325	188.2	-29.2	Portugal	3,733	-501.1	-591.1
Finland	8,393	-257.1	589.9	Senegal	744	329.3	92.7
France	9,688	820.2	1,245.8	South Korea	2,369	-1,021.1	-280.0
Greece	4,383	-305.3	-30.2	Spain	6,131	-204.67	-109.1
Guatemala	1,952	493.6	454.2	Sri Lanka	1,199	-164.1	50.7
Honduras	1,075	16.9	-195.7	Tanzania	353	311.6	-131.9
Hong Kong	7,268	1,045.79	919.3	Tunisia	1,845	-708.0	-160.2
Hungary	5,508	286.3	203.7	United Kingdom	7,975	-747.64	-2,456.2
India	614	-63.2	-45.4	Uruguay	4,502	261.7	-32.5
Indonesia	1,063	-243.4	92.9	Venezuela	4,424	-108.0	-24.9
Ireland	4,929	-686.5	-1,085.0	West Germany	9,795	279.88	74.3
Israel	6,145	-75.92	109.3	Yugoslavia	4,733	514	234.6
Italy	7,164	-372.89	80.7	Zambia	716	-239.0	-471.8
Ivory Coast	1,110	706.2	40.2	Zimbabwe	930	-596.7	-351.9
Japan	8,117	-25.37	177.7				

Appendix C

Selected Data

Selected data for 130 countries for the period 1965-85 are presented in tables C-1 through C-5. With the exception of the Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, data are from the Penn World Tables, Mark 4.²² Data for the East European nations and China were calculated using the physical indicator method described in appendix B. Table C-6 presents the data set used in the construction of the physical indicator model. The Soviet data are CIA estimates.

²² See Heston and Summers, "A New Set of International Comparisons of Real Product and Prices: Estimates for 130 Countries, 1950-1985."

Table C-1
Gross Domestic Product, 1965-85

Million 1980 international dollars

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Afghanistan	7435	7620	7823	8020	8146	8271	7961	7775	8565	9211	9658	1052	1062	11109	10262	9506	9998	10722	10488	11097	11047
Algeria	14832	15123	16223	18356	19559	23320	18999	23627	24059	24093	25196	27146	28930	31723	35601	37297	38517	39072	39558	44202	46389
Argentina	77322	77278	79510	83282	91111	93896	10290	102736	110320	119783	119230	117457	112104	119715	122603	12651	122020	13026	14397	14398	15277
Australia	66756	71444	73944	81925	87078	91851	96484	99895	10284	104926	107518	110791	111605	116616	122664	126133	122957	122221	13460	139105	106331
Austria	33953	35685	36873	38474	40789	43390	45869	48598	50922	53047	53076	53755	57878	60395	62169	64244	63535	64311	65572	67459	11197
Bahrain	NA																				
Bangladesh	28427	28429	30635	31112	33058	31198	27421	28522	33614	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917	33917
Barbados	512	529	520	620	685	752	776	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824	824
Bolivia	5144	52635	54911	57156	60783	65057	67769	71691	75372	78759	8039	869	913	952	1000	1073	1109	1051	1036	1153	1324
Benin	1476	1500	1493	1493	1473	1517	1517	1517	1517	17537	17547	18209	82485	85265	87103	90868	90530	91966	93573	94303	95780
Botswana	256	288	388	388	393	508	601	637	6428	6781	7268	7681	8118	8241	8416	8517	8603	7425	6993	6951	7192
Brazil	117250	122810	128905	143033	157406	170799	191528	212255	240772	26461	279695	310211	330988	351019	378159	407036	40397	404938	411661	41921	42909
Bulgaria	25594	275759	29561	31491	32768	34087	36103	41218	41875	42751	43033	43434	43704	44275	45303	46275	47275	48962	48962	48962	48962
Burkina Faso	1319	1322	1458	1531	1556	1547	1572	1588	1592	1705	1811	1963	2024	2194	2206	2384	23770	2515	2515	2515	2515
Burundi	823	870	914	923	1055	1084	1094	1094	1094	1206	1304	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334	1334
Cameroon	3229	3329	3485	4077	4477	4574	5072	5669	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624	5624
Canada	143571	153668	158619	167923	176845	181147	193686	203454	221272	228476	230366	245174	250511	260545	269176	274244	283396	271467	280378	286720	30552
Central African Republic	803	804	820	882	932	960	970	962	993	991	999	1027	1125	1184	1155	1113	1093	1079	1050	1100	1122
Chad	1659	1753	1787	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805	1805
Chile	2483	30221	30784	31867	32320	34540	36701	37179	37665	38466	38801	39313	405973	460011	474293	507433	501376	517443	577443	607152	728556
China	254913	288222	278927	282135	312414	345485	369175	405973	462152	45351	45351	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514	52514
Colombia	26604	28653	29131	32287	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227	33227
Congo	897	922	1016	1011	1071	1198	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213	1213
Costa Rica	2876	3111	3269	3476	3658	3972	4165	4279	4493	4779	5078	5279	5477	5673	5873	6070	6272	6472	6672	6872	7072
Cyprus	1325	1398	1420	1489	1609	1809	1852	2055	2185	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226	2226
Czechoslovakia	72353	75027	78457	81722	83011	85441	8655	91540	94477	98033	100621	104166	105673	106871	109476	11075	11372	115535	116622	12000	12000
Denmark	32154	33194	34183	35557	37768	38326	39366	41808	43049	42872	46231	46214	47074	49016	49171	49064	50704	52081	53686	55661	55661
Democratic Republic of Germany	8164	8384	8622	90371	92900	93528	97087	103925	109127	112877	113708	11693	123631	126811	128747	131208	133085	133085	133085	133085	133085
Ecuador	18927	19118	1956	1921	21129	22119	23035	24205	26596	28158	30300	32301	34360	36360	38360	40251	42053	42053	42053	42053	42053
Egypt	3876	4130	4394	4538	4755	4864	5001	5274	5621	5887	6140	6564	6764	7060	7169	7353	7553	7553	7553	7553	7553
El Salvador	8131	8449	8593	9445	10028	10222	10324	10531	10842	11022	11210	11329	11424	11530	11639	11746	11935	12032	12032	12032	12032
Fiji	851	946	941	993	1024	1145	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215	1215
Finland	22510	22910	23385	24167	26319	28398	29816	3056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056	31056
France	26924	284620	298765	313217	330160	359364	379360	402317	424315	439405	440219	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775	440775
Gabon	1698	2172	2255	2222	2222	1813	2073	2411	307	318	320	323	373	373	373	373	373	373	373	373	373
Gambia	214	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223	223
Greece	4110	4005	4105	4322	4533	4936	5025	4049	5189	5648	4935	4750	5274	5274	5274	5274	5274	5274	5274	5274	5274
Guatemala	18246	19004	20308	21551	23957	25957	28076	30317	34053	31107	34017	36402	37627	37627	37627	37627	37627	37627	37627	37627	37627
Haiti	2295	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319	2319
Honduras	1898	2014	2278	2446	2530	2652	2701	2765	2798	2999	3147	3218	33618	33618	33618	33618	33618	33618	33618	33618	33618
Hong Kong	9292	1065	11042	11226	13180	14074	15070	1606	1678	1957	1957	1957	2375	2510	25048	33647	41541	41542	41542	41542	41542
Hungary	33099	41229	43811	45870	45866	47882	4832	5037	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229	5229
Iceland	1123	1123	1124	1124	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153	1153
India	262180	264621	277584	27799	29906	313500	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349	326349
Indonesia	48293	49346	51072	52104	54225	55926	64356	70701	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069	77069
Iran	52337	54787	62342	72342	79760	93354	108660	122793	134384	13348	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275	13275
Iraq	23308	23358	23912	30022	33034	33448	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775	33775
Ireland	8362	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374	8374
Israel	9365	9356	10091	11714	13346	14457	16031	1803	1945	20102	21145	21406	2052	2029	2186	2478	2578	2578	26049	26511	26511
Ivory Coast	3697	3736	3893	4599	4699	5340	5382	6425	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	65015	
Jamaica	3160	3374	3493	4085	4625	54540	5892	6201	6201	7088	7481	7841	8387	8387	8387</						

Table C-1 (continued)
Gross Domestic Product, 1965-85

Million 1980 International Dollars

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Madagascar	3704	3798	3945	4188	4327	4566	4703	4779	4601	4649	4560	4518	4713	4808	5150	5133	4853	4958	5104	4953	5052
Maldives	1028	1115	1235	1241	1343	1359	1518	1659	1792	1791	2132	2212	2339	2476	2553	2476	2621	2665	2762	2762	2762
Malta	1476	1336	1309	1471	1544	1666	2061	2267	2525	2801	2755	3060	3359	3594	3782	4316	4550	4778	5068	5547	5547
Malta	1490	1528	1538	1522	1524	1526	1711	1783	1783	1783	1783	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790	1790
Mauritania	578	577	587	609	609	609	674	685	723	792	861	1016	1189	1326	1466	1601	1685	1775	1829	1849	2264
Mexico	853	830	882	650	650	650	699	699	677	714	824	847	847	847	847	851	881	892	936	917	917
Morocco	11203	11577	12735	13804	14638	15672	16311	17630	19185	20454	21509	22452	23080	23983	27500	30080	32618	33885	34163	34524	34524
Mozambique	6307	6463	7137	7622	8108	8303	8557	9056	9278	8662	7668	7229	7346	7704	7891	7924	24102	25531	2664	2664	2664
Nepal	5244	5417	5283	5615	5743	5701	5552	5776	6217	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499	6499
Netherlands	70426	71328	7295	84505	90165	94265	9981	10599	110757	110952	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375	116375
New Zealand	16778	16709	16652	16892	18184	1839	19270	20241	21339	22266	22448	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721	22721
Nicaragua	3576	3712	4045	3981	4138	4178	4368	4482	4872	5578	5424	5732	6431	6431	6431	6431	6431	6431	6431	6431	6431
Niger	1245	1524	1457	1574	1477	1663	1727	1501	1673	1999	1895	2116	2323	2440	2601	2673	2753	2753	2753	2753	2753
Nigeria	3328	3475	26363	27086	31703	22325	30021	3327	3394	3469	5104	54573	61308	63687	66266	67356	67356	67356	67356	67356	67356
North Yemen	NA																				
Norway	22101	24117	25437	26766	27542	27570	30760	31704	32223	33800	36677	37988	38180	38180	38180	38180	38180	38180	38180	38180	38180
Oman	NA																				
Pakistan	4064	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184	4184
Panama	41060	22333	2423	2606	3085	3161	3328	3704	4024	4099	4034	4040	4158	4158	4158	4158	4158	4158	4158	4158	4158
Palau New Guinea	2925	3085	3161	3282	3224	3261	2593	26362	27239	28323	30211	3193	3444	4429	4880	5322	5910	6453	6116	6273	6273
Paraguay	2164	3246	3195	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246	3246
Peru	32583	32236	26274	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315	26315
Philippines	30811	32007	34319	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394	36394
Poland	10364	10299	114267	121388	121473	121473	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461	121461
Portugal	16889	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357	17357
Romania	41060	41728	47808	48652	51066	51908	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834	59834
Rwanda	485	6063	812	801	897	990	1046	1081	11395	1525	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617	1617
Saudi Arabia	27083	30597	32217	34954	37491	45542	49795	53510	5761	61287	7046	7825	86303	90909	95387	102451	106531	105341	8116	7914	67687
Singapore	3308	3142	3663	4104	4644	5256	5950	6688	7579	847	980	1057	1485	1531	1519	1649	1618	1618	1618	1618	1618
South Africa	6171	6171	7479	7559	8017	845	944	1021	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052	1052
South Korea	22878	27577	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729	30729
Spain	11533	124753	131257	140962	147912	151928	159617	171912	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741	172741
Sri Lanka	10468	119056	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591	114591
Sudan	9010	8801	8578	10339	9305	9466	10081	9634	9634	9634	10460	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451	10451
Switzerland	250	252	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256	256
Togo	49791	50807	52779	54593	56291	59526	60686	62377	65470	67190	68420	68226	67510	70415	72573	73623	74181	75150	76035	76966	77656
Tunisia	46778	48013	49492	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311	51311
Turkey	8264	8394	8772	10603	10980	12493	12736	13061	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278	13278
Vietnam	14308	15514	17100	18520	20169	22191	24650	27520	31007	32813	36763	40284	45533	48011	5208	54216	56237	58728	61615	68963	24481
Thailand	2910	3142	3435	3684	3824	3897	4273	4671	4765	5070	5376	5893	6163	65714	7068	7865	8284	8481	7201	7896	12477
Togo	26024	29017	30764	33474	36445	39093	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864	39864
United Kingdom	30506	31167	319106	333053	35936	5396	7275	7897	10202	11684	12533	14190	16195	15858	19558	20551	22411	22729	22729	22729	22729
United States	167762	177785	181771	193957	193957	302037	369884	398412	416520	442610	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824	453824
Uruguay	8196	8171	8575	8667	9339	9565	9713	9473	9159	9761	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076	1076
USA	81165	85779	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877	95877
Venezuela	59881	63223	65267	66864	71317	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476	121476
West Germany	36365	37383	37758	42797	45125	46283	48283	50724	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204	51204
Zimbabwe	54056	56231	60707	64022	66532	67874	70874	74874	78874	81874	85874	88874	91874	94874	97874	100874	103874	106874	109874	112874	115874
Zimbabwe	5555	6537	6744	7144	7519	8034	8584	9084	9584	10084	10584	11084	11584	12084	12584	13084	13584	14084	14484	14884	15284
Zimbabwe	2201	2750	2936	3082	3261	3494	3794	4094	4394	4694	4994	5294	5594	5894	6194	6494	6794	7094	7394	7694	7994
Zimbabwe	2972	3489	4294	5004	5103	5395	5435	5775	6135	6435	6735	7035	7335	7635	7935	8235	8535	8835	9135	9435	9735

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Table C-2
Population, 1965-85

Thousand persons, midyear

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Afghanistan	1115	1171	11634	11902	12176	1257	1275	1267	13067	13383	13707	14038	14401	14774	15156	15548	15950	16363	16786	17222	17670
Angola	1192	1226	12621	12886	13160	1374	1495	15065	15334	16118	1622	17063	17624	18090	18667	19274	19911	20577	21252	21937	18140
Argentina	5347	5459	5575	5693	5813	5935	6076	6223	6375	6530	6687	7026	7208	7393	7581	7783	7990	8222	8400	8603	8803
Australia	1228	2269	2340	2276	2316	2366	2366	2477	23195	21937	12009	12623	12937	13723	13893	14031	14358	14514	14692	14922	1534
Austria	1238	1651	17799	17338	17362	17456	1745	17525	17533	17537	1754	1754	17551	17558	17571	1757	17571	17575	17575	17575	17575
Bahrain	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	64953	66516	68117	69714	72392	73368	77080	78777	80717	82599	84525	86663	8905	90376	9176	9403
Bangladesh	60182	61937	62427	6236	6237	6239	6243	6244	6245	6246	6246	6246	6248	6248	6249	6250	6251	6251	6252	6252	6252
Barbados	235	236	237	237	239	243	244	244	245	246	246	246	247	247	248	248	249	250	251	251	254
Belgium	9448	9508	9557	9590	9613	9638	9673	9709	9738	9768	9795	9811	9830	9837	9847	9852	9856	9856	9856	9856	9856
Benin	2322	2393	2457	2522	2589	2657	2728	2800	2874	2951	3029	3109	3192	3276	3363	3464	3573	3685	3700	3711	3721
Bolivia	3841	3933	4028	4124	4224	4325	4423	4494	4529	4620	4654	4775	4894	5020	5151	5286	5426	5570	5720	5874	6214
Bolivia	508	521	5349	563	5963	6045	6076	6169	6249	6327	6429	6520	6620	6720	6820	6920	7020	7120	7220	7320	7420
Brazil	6292	6486	6837	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416	69416
Bulgaria	8201	8258	8310	8370	8434	8490	8536	8576	8621	8679	8721	8804	8825	8862	8885	8905	8925	8945	8965	8985	9026
Burma	1595	1687	1780	1870	1970	2070	2170	2270	2370	2470	2570	2670	2770	2870	2970	3070	3170	3270	3370	3470	3570
Burundi	3131	3174	3217	3261	3303	3356	3407	3457	3507	3556	3607	3657	3707	3756	3807	3856	3905	3955	4005	4055	4105
Cameroun	5825	5955	6088	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224	6224
Canada	19678	20454	20742	21028	21324	21532	21822	22072	22364	22697	22993	23273	23517	23747	24042	24343	24634	24907	25150	25379	25579
Central African Republic	1735	1763	1820	1849	1879	1909	1939	1970	2002	2034	2070	2117	2200	2286	2346	2408	2524	2586	2656	2726	2796
Chad	3345	3404	3465	3526	3588	3652	3725	3799	3874	3951	4030	4114	4199	4288	4381	4477	4577	4681	4789	4900	5020
Chile	8510	8662	8853	8917	9056	9197	9368	9522	9699	9899	10026	10196	10372	10551	10733	10917	11104	11294	11487	11682	12074
China	73449	75227	77495	79238	81941	84267	86329	88337	910525	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558	923558
Colombia	1488	15027	15617	1617	1671	17267	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266	17266
Costa Rica	1490	1541	1634	1685	1727	1798	1843	1873	1922	1968	2009	2051	2091	2149	2217	2286	2346	2408	2524	2586	2656
Cyprus	582	588	595	608	615	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616	616
Czechoslovakia	1147	1147	11224	11477	11477	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478	11478
Democratic Republic of Congo	1066	1121	1149	1178	1208	1228	1257	1287	1317	1347	1377	1407	1437	1467	1497	1527	1557	1587	1617	1647	1677
Dominican Republic	3719	3826	3937	4053	4168	4289	4413	4538	4653	4778	4893	5013	5134	5252	5372	5492	5612	5732	5852	5972	6108
East Germany	1702	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058	17058
Ecuador	1314	1322	1341	1354	1365	1376	1387	1398	1410	1421	1432	1443	1454	1465	1476	1487	1498	1509	1520	1531	1542
Egypt	2939	3203	3392	3508	3602	3705	3807	3909	4002	4104	4206	4308	4410	4512	4614	4716	4818	4920	5022	5124	5226
El Salvador	3005	3112	3224	3339	3458	3576	3688	3797	3908	4019	4130	4241	4352	4463	4574	4685	4797	4909	5021	5123	5225
Ethiopia	2340	26078	26765	27470	28194	28937	29699	30481	31284	32108	32954	33856	34762	35754	36712	37717	38720	39710	40700	41732	42734
Fiji	464	475	4865	497	508	520	531	544	556	565	576	585	596	607	617	627	637	647	657	667	676
France	4564	4584	4606	4627	4642	4662	4682	4702	4722	4742	4762	4782	4802	4822	4842	4862	4882	4902	4922	4942	4962
Haiti	908	9164	9184	9214	9244	9274	9304	9334	9364	9394	9424	9454	9484	9514	9544	9574	9604	9634	9664	9694	9724
Honduras	2304	2343	2433	2500	2568	2639	2704	2763	2823	2883	2943	2993	3053	3112	3172	3232	3292	3352	3412	3472	3532
Hong Kong	3598	3630	3703	3764	3824	3885	3945	4015	4076	4143	4213	4280	4350	4420	4490	4560	4630	4700	4770	4840	4910
Hungary	10153	10185	10225	10264	10303	10337	10355	10378	10421	10471	10522	10567	10617	10673	10714	10754	10804	10854	10904	10954	11004
Iceland	194	197	201	205	209	212	215	218	221	224	226	228	231	234	237	240	243	246	249	252	255
India	47724	48831	50565	52255	53489	54719	56019	57303	58611	59665	613459	627569	642004	656771	671878	687332	701531	716895	731347	741556	764378
Indonesia	104756	106931	109122	111400	113816	116201	118241	120281	123169	125209	133344	134385	135441	136520	137634	138709	13990	14120	14230	14340	14450
Iraq	24076	24825	25711	26553	27475	28397	29324	30281	31269	32290	33290	34304	35341	36350	37364	38374	39384	40394	41404	42414	43424
Ireland	2563	2629	2745	2807	2974	3039	3118	3203	3278	3345	3415	3483	3550	3618	3686	3756	3824	3894	3964	4034	4104
Italy	5187	5232	52657	52987	53317	53661	54006	54400	54779	55110	55411	55701	56127	56522	56946	57346	57603	58063	58463	58863	59263
Ivory Coast	4159	4313	4475	4665	4813	5000	5209	5596	6357	7053	7352	8008	8358	8714	9015	9472	9745	10116	10484	10856	11224
Jamaica	1749	1774	1824	1851	1877	1901	1922	1947	1972	2008	2033	2072	2123	2172	2223	2273	2323	2373	2423	2473	2523
Japan	9883	9978	10075	10161	10231	10312	10403	10563	10718	10879	11016	11277	11386	11489	11580	11678	11768	11849	11929	12006	12086
Jordan	9462	9579	10153	10220	10291	10364	10435	10514	10694	10773	10844	10924	11024	11124	11224	11324	11424	11524	11624	11724	11824
Kuwait	446	523	622	748	842	894	948	984	1021	1071	1120	1172	1220	1264	1316	13707	14220	14813	15359	16009	16612
Lao P.D.R.	982	1022	1064	1078	1136	1161	1171	1224	1294	1329	1365	1416	1454	1491	1536	1580	1621	1679	1737	1793	1855
Liberia	1195	1228	1294	1345	1384	1436	1484	1535	1586	1636	1687	1737	1787	1837	1887	1937	1987	2037	2087		

Table C-2 (continued)
Population, 1965-85

Thousand persons, midyear

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Madagascar	602	6175	6322	6473	6627	6785	6957	7133	7314	7499	7689	7884	8084	8289	8499	8714	8933	9139	9452	9847	10164
Malawi	3939	4027	4144	4265	4389	4516	4648	4783	4922	5056	5213	5383	5559	5741	5929	6123	6316	6516	6721	6922	7137
Malaysia	9351	9784	10043	10309	10583	10863	11138	11419	11709	12004	12307	12609	12910	13230	13548	13870	14175	14528	14863	15288	15670
Mali	4588	4672	4790	4911	5025	5162	5297	5435	5577	5723	5873	6026	6181	6350	6522	6699	6865	7076	7272	7474	7545
Mauritania	319	317	319	319	323	325	325	325	324	328	332	340	347	354	364	370	376	380	389	395	398
Mauritius	740	757	774	792	800	819	841	853	878	891	904	917	930	943	957	972	983	993	1011	1020	1030
Mexico	43500	44937	46422	47955	49339	51176	52857	54594	56387	58240	60153	62990	64792	66568	68393	70211	72122	75011	77010	79011	81011
Mozambique	13323	13637	13959	14287	14624	14968	15321	15714	16117	16531	16955	17390	17836	18294	18764	19245	19700	20169	20669	21265	21797
Nepal	10344	10539	10735	10937	11111	11350	11563	11870	12186	12509	12841	13183	13531	13892	14261	14610	15029	1528	15738	1693	1704
Netherlands	12255	12456	12598	12710	12878	13039	13195	13329	13439	13545	13666	13774	13896	14038	14150	14274	14313	14420	14486	14520	14646
New Zealand	2628	2676	2724	2748	2804	2854	2902	2950	3024	3083	3111	3121	3133	3152	3173	3203	3233	3254	3282	3300	3317
Nicaragua	1613	1652	1694	1739	1766	1816	1856	1889	1963	2020	2120	2290	2310	2474	2571	2672	2777	2866	2959	3070	3177
Niger	3662	3754	3848	3945	4044	4146	4263	4384	4507	4635	4766	4909	5029	5198	5363	5532	5704	5878	6062	6231	6418
Nigeria	58490	59933	61453	62291	65112	67837	69334	71224	73057	74884	76758	78536	80563	82603	84732	8703	9053	9053	9162	95565	97523
North Yemen	NA																				
Norway	3723	3753	3819	3875	3919	3971	4027	4084	4141	4197	4255	4311	4369	4424	4480	45360	45972	46597	47177	47855	48535
Pakistan	5214	5386	5543	5703	5873	60449	62640	64911	66811	68829	70875	72984	75154	77384	79561	82051	84701	87229	90543	93443	96120
Panama	1693	1741	1785	1821	1866	1910	1952	1993	2034	2083	2131	2179	2220	2260	2300	2347	2382	2422	2462	2502	2542
Paraguay	2019	2071	2123	2177	2220	2290	2364	2441	2508	2568	2633	2701	2770	2839	2910	2982	3061	3128	3190	3203	3233
Peru	3200	3227	3272	3317	3372	3427	3483	3535	3583	3631	3684	3738	3784	3834	3884	3934	3984	4034	4084	4133	4183
Philippines	31771	32227	33785	34205	34721	35236	35757	36281	36802	37320	37840	38361	38881	39391	39891	40391	40891	41391	41891	42391	42891
Portugal	3162	3212	3327	3372	34205	34721	35236	35757	36281	36802	37320	37840	38361	38881	39391	39891	40391	40891	41391	41891	42391
Romania	1907	1941	19825	20070	20223	20470	20663	20821	21030	21245	21466	21685	21885	22084	22289	22476	22574	22674	22774	22874	22974
Rwanda	3189	3214	3343	3443	3585	3635	3788	3838	3947	4000	4216	4358	4504	4653	4811	4972	5132	5290	5459	56174	58193
Saudi Arabia	4723	4970	5133	5343	5541	5745	6019	6306	6606	6921	7251	7621	7921	8221	8521	8824	9124	9424	9724	10024	10324
Senegal	3520	4022	4117	4214	4313	4519	4625	4734	4846	4950	5059	5212	5389	5556	5863	6034	6211	6371	6536	6736	6936
Serra Leone	2639	2785	2827	2975	3027	3175	3217	3372	3420	3478	3535	3593	3657	3717	3777	3835	3895	3955	4015	4075	4135
Singapore	1887	1924	1978	2029	2074	2113	2159	2204	2250	2296	2343	2389	2435	2481	2527	2573	2619	2665	2711	2757	2803
Somalia	2912	3015	3220	3344	3462	3584	3704	3820	3935	4053	4171	4289	4407	4524	4641	4758	4875	4992	5109	5226	5343
South Africa	2038	2050	21312	21764	22667	23213	23819	24377	24927	25501	26085	2664	27219	27804	28379	28957	29537	30114	30694	31274	31853
South Korea	28705	29436	30313	3144	32211	33055	34103	34816	35421	36028	3664	3724	3784	3844	3904	3964	4024	4084	4144	4204	4264
Spain	32057	32294	33073	33079	33277	33719	34120	34426	34916	35421	35937	36537	37137	37734	38334	38934	39534	40134	40734	41334	41934
Sri Lanka	11133	11228	11329	11703	12152	12556	12861	13284	13496	13717	13924	14139	14354	14571	14788	15005	15222	15439	15656	15873	16081
Sudan	11240	11392	12156	12556	13116	13313	13867	14137	14527	15024	15521	16028	16525	17022	17529	18036	18543	19050	19557	20064	20571
Swaziland	3396	409	422	426	450	465	478	492	506	520	535	557	572	592	612	633	653	670	687	704	721
Switzerland	5756	5918	6088	6244	6398	6543	6643	6743	6843	6943	7043	7143	7243	7343	7443	7543	7643	7743	7843	7943	8043
Syria	5225	5300	5560	5657	6039	6258	6478	6705	6911	7125	7345	7555	7875	8195	8515	8835	9155	9475	9795	10115	10435
Taiwan	12228	12933	13327	13650	14176	14975	15219	15624	16150	16568	17084	17604	18124	18644	19164	19684	20204	20724	21244	21764	22284
Thailand	31441	32205	33020	34224	34621	36370	37322	38000	39033	40324	41388	42433	43493	44531	45535	46535	47488	48459	49459	50478	5154
Togo	1749	1800	1853	1907	1963	2020	2074	2121	2173	2236	2287	2347	2397	2447	2497	2547	2597	2647	2697	2747	2797
Trinidad and Tobago	974	995	1010	1021	1028	1027	1033	1035	1038	1067	1082	1080	1078	1072	1068	1064	1058	1054	1049	1044	1039
Tunisia	3151	3194	3256	3321	3445	3521	3621	3732	3803	3908	40078	41078	4198	4298	4398	4498	4598	4698	4798	4898	4998
USSR	23036	23533	23594	24054	24266	24510	24701	25231	25469	25902	26153	26345	26542	26813	27112	27412	27712	28012	28312	28612	28912
West Germany	5619	5930	6016	6077	6162	6161	6172	6204	6244	6384	6407	6437	6467	6507	6547	6587	6627	6667	6707	6747	6787
Yugoslavia	5819	5926	5930	6067	6051	6136	6162	6172	6204	6310	6331	6352	6373	6413	6453	6493	6533	6573	6613	6653	6693
Zaire	19244	19844	20209	20571	20771	20971	21271	21571	21871	22171	22471	22771	23071	23371	23671	23971	24271	24571	24871	25171	25471
Zambia	3609	3711	3816	4034	4288	4421	4559	4700	4846	4997	5132	5278	5424	5560	5696	5832	5968	6104	6240	6376	6502
Zimbabwe	14721	14906	1506	1524	1546	1564	1584	1604	1624	1644	1664	1684	1704	1724	1744	1764	1784	1804	1824	1844	1864

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Table C-3
Per Capita Gross Domestic Product: 1965-85

UNCLASSIFIED

Table C-3 (continued)
Per Capita Gross Domestic Product, 1965-85

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
1980 International dollars																					
Madagascar	614	615	624	647	653	673	676	670	629	620	593	573	583	580	606	589	542	539	540	503	497
Malawi	261	277	298	291	306	305	301	333	349	364	393	409	416	398	420	429	417	392	382	390	315
Malaysia	1,309	1,363	1,375	1,428	1,450	1,525	1,537	1,595	2,146	2,336	2,229	2,310	2,394	2,353	3,112	3,281	3,289	3,409	3,616	3,415	3,355
Mali	327	327	321	310	303	317	323	328	321	323	339	343	343	343	356	356	356	356	356	356	356
Malta	1,355	1,501	1,510	1,768	1,886	2,068	2,059	2,265	2,459	2,656	3,099	3,615	3,993	4,313	4,635	4,877	5,080	5,043	5,119	5,119	5,119
Mauritius	1,353	1,396	1,399	1,092	1,054	1,025	1,016	1,208	1,344	1,310	1,367	1,552	1,668	1,746	1,932	1,984	1,984	1,984	1,984	1,984	1,984
Mexico	2,775	2,661	2,743	2,878	2,954	3,063	3,086	3,239	3,403	3,509	3,586	3,624	3,768	3,822	4,080	4,333	4,576	4,606	4,796	4,895	4,895
Norocco	826	779	785	845	882	876	912	924	934	954	963	1,032	1,054	1,178	1,199	1,199	1,199	1,199	1,199	1,199	1,199
Northern Rhodesia	864	867	936	978	1,018	1,018	1,020	1,062	1,065	1,102	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177	1,177
Netherlands	5,581	5,654	5,900	6,229	6,562	6,915	7,194	7,441	7,489	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494	7,494
New Zealand	6,118	6,244	6,113	6,147	6,485	6,595	6,752	6,975	7,219	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449	7,449
Nicaragua	2,217	2,247	2,388	2,289	2,317	2,292	2,319	2,225	2,386	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631	2,631
Nigeria	340	406	402	399	364	401	396	333	333	361	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408	408
North Yemen	569	523	429	430	522	630	700	717	786	705	816	850	850	850	850	850	850	850	850	850	850
Oman	6,203	6,426	6,728	6,870	7,192	7,104	7,204	7,821	8,004	8,337	8,580	9,110	9,356	10,187	10,708	11,094	11,094	11,094	11,094	11,094	11,094
Pakistan	772	770	797	812	7,308	6,765	6,912	6,406	7,331	9,310	9,009	9,036	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964	8,964
Panama	1,604	1,710	1,803	1,884	1,972	2,093	2,277	2,372	2,430	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	2,423	
Papua New Guinea	1,366	1,412	1,413	1,452	1,574	1,664	1,646	1,646	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	1,569	
Paraguay	1,072	1,074	1,112	1,139	1,163	1,189	1,223	1,236	1,275	1,341	1,388	1,459	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599	1,599
Pearl Islands	2,100	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188
Philippines	972	978	1,018	1,048	1,081	1,094	1,114	1,147	1,209	1,271	1,321	1,380	1,416	1,468	1,496	1,535	1,570	1,570	1,570	1,570	1,570
Portugal	1,850	1,906	1,906	2,067	2,268	2,323	2,757	2,754	3,072	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327	3,327
Romania	2,158	2,389	2,479	2,552	2,553	2,563	2,923	2,923	3,145	3,395	3,699	3,989	4,011	4,035	4,035	4,035	4,035	4,035	4,035	4,035	4,035
Rwanda	152	208	240	230	250	268	274	315	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350
Saudi Arabia	5,651	6,116	6,252	6,542	6,739	7,405	8,273	9,437	10,863	11,745	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791	10,791
Senegal	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800	800
Sierra Leone	411	403	403	411	437	459	459	482	502	510	495	495	495	517	517	517	517	517	517	517	517
Singapore	1,753	1,894	2,075	2,309	2,574	2,869	3,165	3,522	3,838	4,009	4,130	4,380	4,653	4,986	5,362	5,817	6,308	6,615	7,056	7,453	7,853
Somalia	396	431	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439
South Africa	3,142	3,222	3,357	3,509	3,598	3,609	3,729	3,813	3,887	4,083	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109	4,109
South Korea	797	873	912	998	1,112	1,314	1,314	1,366	1,454	1,546	1,853	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973	1,973
Spain	3,446	3,674	3,811	3,963	4,217	4,379	4,546	4,853	5,179	5,466	5,478	5,568	5,660	5,682	5,682	5,682	5,682	5,682	5,682	5,682	5,682
Sri Lanka	971	962	980	980	1,024	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018	1,018
Sudan	729	696	783	783	687	683	703	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653	653
Swaziland	1,858	2,197	2,397	2,398	2,328	2,365	2,522	2,603	2,659	2,750	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852	2,852
Sweden	6,438	6,507	6,708	6,829	7,132	7,401	7,494	7,600	8,073	8,233	8,298	8,181	8,512	8,750	8,863	8,916	8,916	8,916	8,916	8,916	8,916
Switzerland	7,988	8,113	8,258	8,461	8,461	8,750	9,164	9,426	9,869	10,010	10,263	10,683	10,750	10,813	10,863	10,863	10,863	10,863	10,863	10,863	
Taiwan	1,552	1,476	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	1,475	
Tanania	1,133	1,286	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326
Thailand	256	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278	278
Trinidad and Tobago	5,791	6,077	6,178	7,218	6,667	6,957	6,913	7,171	7,472	7,651	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937	7,937
United Kingdom	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629	5,629
United States	3,153	3,243	3,122	3,199	3,303	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434	3,434
Uruguay	3,159	3,351	3,120	3,303	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433
Urganda	3,550	3,649	4,023	4,118	4,393	4,511	4,611	5,132	5,132	5,132	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502	5,502
Venezuela	6,341	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425	6,425
West Germany	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337	6,337
Yugoslavia	2,626	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494	2,494
Zaire	305	333	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326
Zambia	854	701	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727	727
Zimbabwe	680	717	727	72																	

Table C-4
Per Capita Consumption, 1965-85

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Afghanistan	580	585	600	600	585	578	540	512	553	580	572	560	592	591	523	464	484	NA	NA	NA	
Angola	541	512	493	538	568	563	574	614	719	737	783	826	834	868	918	959	933	913	945	1,047	
Argentina	2,333	2,306	2,334	2,388	2,505	2,568	2,630	2,650	2,728	2,713	2,512	2,551	2,358	2,676	2,804	2,671	2,293	1,939	2,385	2,453	
Australia	3,375	3,454	3,594	3,816	3,987	4,037	4,102	4,102	4,277	4,277	4,535	4,496	4,587	4,602	4,663	4,647	4,839	4,927	4,899	5,036	
Austria	2,960	3,062	3,157	3,269	3,354	3,474	3,714	3,714	3,938	4,127	4,232	4,370	4,573	4,822	4,714	4,913	4,983	4,953	5,086	5,313	
Bahrain	NA																				
Bangladesh	380	375	378	376	397	379	346	343	409	414	469	446	466	441	463	462	473	467	479	5,393	
Barbados	1,380	1,375	1,378	1,376	1,397	1,397	1,346	1,346	2,234	2,243	2,450	2,469	2,598	2,937	2,594	2,803	3,188	3,409	3,967	3,788	
Belgium	3,469	3,544	3,628	3,812	4,005	4,177	4,372	4,631	4,990	5,147	5,172	5,433	5,667	5,671	6,015	6,156	6,066	6,134	6,314	6,652	
Benin	508	471	433	447	442	476	497	497	495	494	494	495	495	495	495	495	495	495	495	495	
Bolivia	719	778	789	816	822	809	853	864	873	873	905	925	925	925	925	925	925	925	925	925	
Botswana	426	375	526	630	628	612	605	597	621	621	680	691	691	794	810	770	770	770	770	770	
Brazil	870	925	925	1,013	1,107	1,228	1,358	1,456	1,584	1,584	1,626	1,756	1,917	2,033	2,213	2,310	2,375	2,677	2,795	2,851	
Burkina	277	288	282	280	253	281	283	281	282	282	275	286	294	305	310	312	299	299	299	299	
Burundi	226	232	242	238	235	241	242	242	228	228	242	242	242	242	242	242	242	242	242	242	
Cameroon	328	356	378	392	441	465	495	493	481	512	530	543	542	572	572	572	572	572	572	572	
Canada	4,389	4,533	4,666	4,825	5,026	4,984	5,286	5,676	6,291	6,486	6,816	6,816	6,952	6,952	6,952	6,952	6,952	6,952	6,952	6,952	
Central African Republic	334	325	329	342	350	345	340	348	346	350	352	365	377	366	355	341	330	317	331	329	
Chad	337	361	353	360	369	375	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	361	
Colombia	1,648	1,787	1,813	1,835	1,851	1,890	2,041	2,123	1,941	1,725	1,649	1,820	1,924	2,014	2,114	2,205	2,272	2,395	2,457	2,664	
Congo	1,979	1,981	1,983	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	1,982	1,981	
Costa Rica	1,360	1,452	1,464	1,533	1,550	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	1,664	
Cyprus	1,250	1,406	1,603	1,730	1,860	1,954	2,047	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	2,172	
Denmark	4,050	4,186	4,294	4,333	4,578	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	4,667	
Dominican Republic	686	801	796	806	855	904	897	908	933	943	1,050	1,103	1,204	1,266	1,351	1,411	1,364	1,458	1,547	1,694	
Ecuador	787	826	855	887	904	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	939	
Egypt	456	439	450	450	471	472	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	479	
El Salvador	1,006	1,052	1,062	1,085	1,048	1,027	1,031	1,025	1,069	1,151	1,263	1,222	1,199	1,000	897	897	707	707	707	707	
Ethiopia	271	273	265	275	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	285	
Fiji	1,201	1,136	1,164	1,134	1,197	1,303	1,563	1,494	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	1,847	
Finland	2,637	2,702	2,757	2,811	3,002	3,206	3,263	3,523	3,764	3,764	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	3,954	
France	5,359	5,491	5,651	5,790	4,003	4,152	4,152	4,396	4,634	4,634	4,996	4,996	5,153	5,153	5,430	5,602	5,602	5,602	5,602	5,602	
Gabon	326	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	336	
Gambia	370	383	352	360	366	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	
Greece	1,411	1,494	1,571	1,692	1,787	1,900	2,004	2,162	2,319	2,221	2,477	2,549	2,655	2,723	2,723	2,723	2,723	2,723	2,723	2,723	
Guatemala	1,242	1,248	1,289	1,321	1,356	1,392	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	1,437	
Guinea	349	342	325	316	312	318	324	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	
Guyana	740	767	773	801	826	826	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	806	
Haiti	491	486	446	445	447	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	438	
Honduras	599	607	604	630	619	657	652	650	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	651	
Hong Kong	1,985	2,195	2,298	2,272	2,605	2,873	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	3,091	
Iceland	3,510	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	3,511	
Indonesia	323	321	313	316	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	
Iran	884	968	997	935	1,034	1,123	1,227	1,614	1,774	2,047	2,270	2,270	1,929	1,929	1,929	1,929	1,929	1,929	1,929	1,929	
Iraq	927	904	763	845	846	795	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	875	
Ireland	2,199	2,210	2,307	2,491	2,623	2,701	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	2,731	
Israel	2,189	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	2,188	
Italy	2,364	2,512	2,677	2,709	2,944	3,211	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	3,529	
Ivory Coast	557	568	567	600	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	
Jamaica	1,355	1,374	1,489	1,575	1,681	1,742	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	1,845	
Japan	2,228	2,510	2,226	2,226	2,226	3,000	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	3,024	
Jordan	1,145	1,225	1,322	1,322	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	1,073	
Kenya	340	357	364	364	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	365	
Kuwait	3,466	3,728	3,877	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	3,938	
Lao P.D.R.	12	62	365	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	376	
Liberia	345	371	392	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	406	
Luxembourg	3,977	4,003	4,325	4,325	4,568	4,579	4,579														

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Table C-4 (continued)
Per Capita Consumption, 1965-85

1980 International dollars

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Malawi	190	203	206	203	197	192	232	235	249	256	273	282	274	284	289	292	267	263	279	250	220
Malaysia	823	833	825	827	854	866	1,031	1,061	1,138	1,214	1,176	1,230	1,316	1,422	1,511	1,621	1,246	1,657	1,693	1,649	
Malta	230	217	219	214	214	204	215	215	242	242	245	247	256	263	263	263	245	314	316		
Mauritania	1,125	1,196	1,289	1,434	1,677	1,845	1,851	1,851	1,968	2,029	2,153	2,254	2,516	2,823	2,907	2,934	3,058	3,093	3,030	3,228	3,190
Mexico	326	315	312	310	320	330	312	312	323	323	357	354	359	362	373	374	387	352	352	346	346
Morocco	1,833	1,908	1,973	2,017	2,110	2,183	2,225	2,225	2,374	2,417	2,473	2,588	2,614	2,767	2,995	3,026	2,982	2,762	2,623	2,623	
Mozambique	731	710	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	704	
Nepal	445	456	423	419	444	450	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	429	
Netherlands	3,374	3,436	3,581	3,779	4,036	4,307	4,414	4,414	4,500	4,500	4,709	4,831	4,964	4,964	4,964	4,964	4,964	4,964	4,964	4,964	
New Zealand	1,420	1,428	3,704	3,733	3,896	4,104	4,130	4,130	4,004	4,004	4,756	5,523	4,022	4,445	4,028	4,500	4,500	4,500	4,500	4,500	
Nicaragua	1,654	1,671	1,818	1,754	1,754	1,754	1,754	1,754	1,681	1,681	1,697	1,697	1,722	1,722	1,722	1,722	1,722	1,722	1,722	1,722	
Niger	429	445	373	373	307	304	291	291	312	312	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	328	
Nigeria	NA																				
North Yemen	3,303	3,417	3,533	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	3,627	
Pakistan	NA	NA	436	260	182	539	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	532	
Panama	539	599	622	641	600	589	595	595	629	629	634	656	656	656	656	656	656	656	656	656	
Papua New Guinea	1,013	996	1,046	1,041	1,142	1,150	1,210	1,210	1,184	1,291	1,228	1,204	1,260	1,372	1,425	1,425	1,383	1,383	1,383	1,383	
Paraguay	782	793	809	917	905	934	943	943	937	987	1,024	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	1,114	
Peru	1,312	1,373	1,432	1,423	1,468	1,533	1,594	1,594	1,631	1,639	1,677	1,707	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	
Philippines	1,595	1,708	1,747	1,747	1,801	1,798	1,805	1,805	1,838	1,838	1,855	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	1,905	
Portugal	1,372	1,401	1,419	1,429	1,701	1,757	1,991	2,020	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	
Rwanda	1,321	187	218	213	232	249	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	
Saudi Arabia	765	771	785	802	871	894	922	922	928	928	957	1,030	1,079	1,079	1,079	1,079	1,079	1,079	1,079	1,079	
Senegal	573	583	578	578	499	528	504	499	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	528	
Sierra Leone	392	386	346	360	385	405	399	401	415	416	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	
Singapore	1,456	1,513	1,636	1,727	1,910	2,135	2,381	2,381	2,555	2,746	2,710	2,851	2,937	3,145	3,266	3,423	3,628	3,886	3,924	3,924	
South Korea	598	625	652	652	707	739	794	794	809	904	939	1,034	1,136	1,186	1,289	1,327	1,414	1,523	1,623	1,623	
Spain	2,590	2,754	2,899	2,909	3,164	3,254	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	3,621	
Sri Lanka	2,507	649	643	636	636	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	670	
Sudan	550	479	433	547	448	434	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	476	
Surinam	1,183	1,223	1,324	1,417	1,299	1,442	1,505	1,466	1,410	1,391	1,495	1,750	1,986	2,225	2,453	2,820	2,866	3,111	3,111	3,111	
Swaziland	391	454	428	471	569	511	633	760	715	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	840	
Sweden	3,391	3,635	3,707	3,845	3,976	4,017	3,993	4,117	4,216	4,345	4,449	4,614	4,553	4,553	4,553	4,553	4,553	4,553	4,553	4,553	
Switzerland	4,950	5,045	5,128	5,486	5,660	5,875	6,260	6,260	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218	6,218		
Syria	1,008	859	979	912	1,123	1,299	2,031	2,031	1,132	1,192	1,589	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	1,828	
South Africa	1,854	1,907	1,940	2,054	2,162	2,251	2,189	2,189	2,329	2,329	2,448	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	
Taiwan	713	736	782	825	887	939	1,011	1,011	1,108	1,135	1,191	1,245	1,307	1,393	1,505	1,555	1,581	1,625	1,694	1,812	
Thailand	643	679	712	759	766	766	847	847	906	918	944	1,000	1,067	1,131	1,167	1,188	1,188	1,188	1,188	1,188	
Togo	404	435	491	503	524	519	519	519	540	484	467	381	392	415	415	415	415	415	415	415	
Trinidad and Tobago	1,454	1,481	1,213	1,645	1,639	1,447	1,745	1,942	2,311	2,345	2,698	3,310	3,468	3,667	3,410	3,424	3,424	3,424	3,424	3,424	
Tunisia	686	670	641	610	668	733	791	791	1,047	1,046	1,197	1,231	1,324	1,381	1,381	1,422	1,422	1,422	1,422	1,422	
Turkey	1,062	1,135	1,141	1,194	1,226	1,220	1,358	1,412	1,392	1,466	1,550	1,668	1,732	1,679	1,591	1,479	1,457	1,457	1,457	1,457	
United Kingdom	3,334	3,381	3,437	3,532	3,546	3,652	3,772	4,007	4,217	4,160	4,149	4,102	4,451	4,690	4,679	4,701	4,768	4,768	4,768	4,768	
United States	2,418	2,561	2,448	2,532	2,676	6,144	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	6,287	
Uruguay	2,411	1,730	1,816	1,935	2,076	2,114	2,129	2,129	2,209	2,209	2,273	2,314	2,356	2,393	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	2,478	
USAID	NA																				
United Arab Emirates	NA																				
Venezuela	1,826	1,817	1,829	1,964	2,466	2,260	3,119	3,503	3,619	4,373	5,108	5,022	4,779	5,488	5,716	5,327	4,939	4,939	4,939	4,939	
West Germany	3,238	3,303	3,328	3,466	3,709	4,146	4,356	4,448	4,448	4,448	4,691	4,917	5,123	5,327	5,513	5,513	5,513	5,513	5,513	5,513	
Liberia	205	208	229	217	217	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	216	
Zimbabwe	541	545	497	541	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	497	

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Table C-5
Total Investment, 1965-85

Million 1980 international dollars

Table C-5 (continued)
Total Investment, 1965-85

Million 1980 International dollars

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Malawi	123	175	145	165	228	267	229	307	269	343	422	331	283	412	358	305	269	269	235	292	
Malaysia	2,213	2,347	2,512	2,619	2,469	3,419	4,417	4,819	6,183	8,247	6,492	7,277	8,924	9,648	10,948	12,556	15,036	14,502	15,494	19,522	
Malta	2,107	134	160	162	2,150	2,150	158	144	144	144	157	143	153	139	225	201	171	151	140	98	99
Mauritania	155	172	203	232	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	286	
Mauritius	126	109	116	106	104	124	140	140	150	159	159	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	
Mexico	21,966	22,636	24,729	25,974	28,243	32,103	30,532	33,757	38,895	45,675	47,974	46,862	46,724	52,305	61,577	75,050	86,764	91,864	45,224	50,688	
Morocco	543	518	475	425	410	430	510	603	711	1,063	1,055	818	952	2,532	2,531	2,467	2,467	2,468	2,448	2,217	
Montenegro	370	450	180	186	162	223	277	260	325	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	
Nepal	196	167	180	186	162	223	277	260	325	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	366	
Netherlands	20,098	21,212	22,692	25,033	26,171	28,699	28,600	27,433	30,416	30,259	25,312	26,662	29,976	23,350	24,458	22,080	23,08	22,961	25,495	26,763	
New Zealand	3,529	3,352	3,615	3,533	4,240	4,240	4,240	4,240	4,544	4,879	4,792	5,008	4,792	4,605	4,845	5,526	5,523	6,036	6,409	6,409	
Nicaragua	599	662	576	663	672	672	672	672	908	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	1,266	
Niger	89	96	107	107	101	101	101	101	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	
Nigeria	2,376	2,232	1,877	1,644	1,891	3,557	4,810	5,210	7,570	10,347	11,878	13,347	12,219	13,601	14,342	11,942	9,634	5,933	7,210	4,133	
North Yemen	NA																				
Norway	6,856	7,295	8,005	7,366	7,021	6,559	9,94	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	8,664	
Omaha	NA																				
Pakistan	4,629	5,383	5,828	4,225	5,777	5,671	5,324	5,324	5,606	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	6,029	
Panama	442	588	621	703	805	948	1,164	1,164	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312	1,312		
Papua New Guinea	442	478	496	522	965	1,417	1,552	1,552	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724	1,724		
Paraguay	177	205	227	220	231	214	271	271	374	417	445	547	537	581	537	537	537	537	537	537	
Peru	3,264	4,078	4,004	2,734	2,816	3,020	3,223	2,628	4,477	6,302	6,004	5,236	3,901	3,335	3,117	4,404	4,819	4,746	3,405	3,157	
Philippines	4,357	4,372	5,251	5,123	6,166	5,946	6,934	6,661	8,573	10,056	10,676	10,725	11,970	13,336	13,784	13,627	13,598	13,201	5,048	2,232	
Portugal	3,943	3,943	4,079	4,658	4,658	6,351	6,735	4,622	5,522	7,889	7,816	8,167	9,392	9,372	10,003	7,981	6,476	6,476	6,476	6,476	
Romania	40	39	35	34	34	34	34	34	65	83	102	129	139	169	198	187	197	197	197	197	
Saudi Arabia	761	988	1,089	1,359	1,200	1,470	2,260	3,463	4,411	5,798	12,458	16,915	21,020	27,288	37,999	57,951	90,98	10,443	11,188	11,543	
Senegal	261	230	251	299	363	400	445	429	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	416	
Saint Leone	154	127	144	144	128	128	128	128	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	
Singapore	777	841	998	1,238	1,645	2,165	2,899	3,144	3,215	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	3,594	
Somalia	118	128	141	147	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	151	
South Africa	14,978	13,537	17,178	15,497	18,451	20,609	22,261	20,108	22,386	25,902	26,959	23,687	22,228	21,767	21,767	21,767	21,767	21,767	21,767	21,767	
South Korea	2,372	4,165	4,684	6,101	8,910	9,012	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708	10,708		
Spain	2,303	2,303	2,306	2,626	2,519	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	2,816	
Sri Lanka	1,395	1,395	1,395	1,684	1,684	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	2,096	
Sweden	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	1,022	
Switzerland	14,225	14,048	14,166	14,387	15,660	17,364	15,918	15,763	15,852	17,543	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	18,822	
Taiwan	2,233	2,233	2,233	2,233	3,107	3,605	3,909	4,699	5,500	6,112	7,283	9,631	8,405	9,621	11,666	13,713	14,930	15,520	21,377	21,377	
Taninian	474	530	624	686	901	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	1,001	
Thailand	4,411	5,737	6,130	6,795	8,204	7,788	7,331	9,266	10,775	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575	10,575		
Trinidad and Tobago	949	832	791	721	601	977	1,046	944	1,012	1,293	1,821	2,058	2,526	2,768	2,768	2,768	2,768	2,768	2,768	2,768	
Tunisia	623	611	616	628	646	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	618	
Turkey	7,932	9,547	9,595	10,684	10,993	13,150	12,395	14,048	14,477	19,240	22,669	26,819	26,819	19,449	19,449	19,449	19,449	19,449	19,449	19,449	
United Arab	138	136	160	168	166	166	166	166	118	118	118	96	96	82	82	82	82	82	82	82	
United Kingdom	62,618	62,512	67,044	71,682	72,151	74,344	73,700	71,755	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	75,885	
United States	372,765	366,438	403,946	418,647	418,647	427,529	427,417	470,123	521,375	484,233	407,421	462,840	531,234	584,338	576,267	512,076	563,075	484,935	542,603	659,214	
Uruguay	2,066	2,810	2,233	2,290	2,408	2,491	2,631	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	2,781	
Venezuela	4,176	5,097	4,176	5,097	4,176	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	5,578	
West Germany	121,273	118,070	105,473	120,003	135,159	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	146,488	
Zaire	222	180	202	224	319	395	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643	1,643		
Zambia	978	1,202	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	1,361	
Zimbabwe	602	1,627	1,755	1,989	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	1,990	

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Table C-6
Physical Indicators, 1980

Country	Infant Mortality ^a	Life Expectancy ^b	Persons per Physician	Persons per Hospital Bed	Literacy Rate ^c	Newspapers ^d	Calories ^e : Veg. Sources	Calories ^e : Animal Sources	Calories ^e : Protein ^f Veg. Sources	Calories ^e : Protein ^f Animal Sources
Argentina	4.5	70.4	530	153	93	98	3195	2219	976	104.4
Austria	1.4	73.0	400	88	100	351	3453	2120	91.7	38.5
Belgium	3.2	73.0	402	108	99	228	3582	2112	102.0	33.3
Bolivia	13.1	50.2	1,970	480	48	39	2084	1743	147.0	97.3
Brazil	7.7	63.1	1,647	245	76	44	2630	341	54.9	64.5
Cameroon	10.9	49.6	1,681	372	40	3	2074	1981	56.3	36.8
Canada	2.0	74.6	548	112	99	241	3443	2217	47.9	20.9
Chile	4.3	67.1	1,925	280	89	87	2142	2200	94.3	7.1
Colombia	5.6	62.9	1,969	594	81	48	2378	2204	44.2	58.1
Costa Rica	2.8	72.2	1,456	292	90	70	2140	374	72.5	27.6
Denmark	0.8	74.9	1,452	119	99	367	2621	1631	63.9	33.1
Dominican Republic	6.8	61.4	1,867	356	99	367	3585	1934	163.1	31.0
Ecuador	8.2	61.2	1,622	486	67	42	2316	2008	50.3	31.5
El Salvador	7.8	63.0	486	81	49	2063	1698	365	46.8	20.6
Ethiopia	14.6	45.9	5,689	567	62	75	2163	1729	21.3	22.5
Finland	0.8	74.2	530	15	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	15.4
France	1.0	75.1	580	64	100	40	3074	1750	1324	63.3
Greece	1.8	73.1	423	82	99	205	3118	2124	106.6	60.6
Greece	6.6	58.3	4,427	158	84	107	3,660	2,781	54.5	53.2
Israel	1.4	72.9	384	95	457	46	2220	2,009	211	107.8
Honduras	8.3	58.2	3,120	742	57	63	2,993	2,711	59.5	44.7
Hong Kong	1.3	74.5	1,278	233	77	37	2,197	1,926	271	54.3
Hungary	2.3	70.4	400	113	99	2163	2,728	779	49.8	19.7
India	12.3	51.8	3,586	1254	36	20	3,522	2,250	1722	32.3
Indonesia	10.5	53.1	1,750	1,751	57	17	2,504	2,505	125	52.4
Ireland	1.1	73.0	807	95	98	229	3,713	2,253	160	66.1
Italy	1.4	72.9	384	180	88	227	2,993	2,711	105.2	40.4
Ivory Coast	12.1	73.4	3,120	96	98	93	3,586	663	101.3	48.0
Japan	0.7	76.3	20,900	804	35	7	2,226	2,226	53.3	36.6
Kazakhstan	8.7	76.3	783	94	99	270	2,833	187	56.4	15.7
Kenya	55.3	9,900	601	47	10	2,04	559	541	85.6	32.5
Madagascar	7.1	47.1	10,221	405	34	2263	2,262	1,951	42.1	51.5
Malawi	17.2	43.9	4,760	584	22	8	2,161	1,951	125	52.4
Mali	15.4	47.3	2,915	184	5	210	2,215	195	57.6	46.0
Morocco	10.7	56.5	11,100	771	1	1	1,551	1,818	69.9	43.8
Netherlands	0.9	75.7	4,860	83	28	14	2,688	2,611	163	50.4
Nigeria	13.5	46.2	20,900	804	35	7	2,226	2,226	104.7	49.3
Norway	7.5	75.9	9,900	99	99	564	2,833	187	56.4	15.5
Pakistan	12.6	49.8	3,333	1613	21	14	2,215	1,951	211	85.6
Panama	2.2	70.4	1,229	251	85	79	2,221	1,986	58.0	41.9
Paraguay	4.7	64.6	1,917	694	80	30	2,219	1,903	125	44.5
Peru	8.8	57.5	1,880	547	80	30	2,219	1,918	57.6	43.5
Philippines	5.5	62.8	2,155	597	83	14	2,688	2,611	2219	101.8
Poland	2.1	72.3	542	99	99	325	3,532	2,012	92.7	13.9
Portugal	2.6	71.5	71,500	1,059	34	11	3,562	1,987	1340	39.7
Senegal	14.7	49.4	1,867	71	98	456	3,715	2,065	173	40.9
South Korea	3.4	63.4	1,959	1,953	21	14	2,219	1,986	1,910	103.3
Spain	1.1	73.6	4,355	186	85	8	2,221	1,929	233	33.9
Sri Lanka	4.4	60.4	4,007	345	86	42	2,219	1,903	418	59.0
Tanzania	10.3	51.1	16,000	490	79	21	2,228	2,194	561	77.7
Tunisia	9.0	60.2	3,686	327	233	233	2,227	1,894	45.5	45.5
United Kingdom	1.2	73.3	436	99	99	325	3,532	2,122	92.5	12.3
United States	1.3	74.5	524	116	99	50	3,135	2,227	1025	46.0
Uruguay	4.0	70.9	237	94	13	5	2,219	2,118	57.9	84.5
Venezuela	4.2	67.4	1,267	76	92	282	2,222	2,118	67.2	34.2
West Germany	1.3	73.0	452	317	76	282	2,223	1,986	59.0	16.7
Yugoslavia	3.3	70.4	732	169	99	423	3,476	2,161	904	55.3
Zambia	10.6	50.2	7,913	44	87	103	3,587	2,773	242	53.4
Zimbabwe	12.2	54.5	6,576	69	19	2203	2,076	1,970	59.2	8.5

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Table C-6(continued)
Physical Indicators, 1980

Country	Heat Consumption ^a	Rain Consumption ^a	Energy Consumption ^b	Steel Consumption ^c	Newspaper Consumption ^d	Radios	Televisions	Personal Automobiles ^e	Telephones	Labor Force: Agriculture	Labor Force: Industry	Cement ^f Production
Argentina	269	13	2161.0	121	7517	387	185	103	103	13.1	28.0	244.8
Austria	205	10	5101.9	362	17119	440.23	295	311	421	8.3	36.7	704.1
Belgium	242	31	6111.1	402	18014	456.43	355	328	387	2.9	41.1	679.1
Bolivia	70	2	422.3	9	1575	89.77	18	9	24	24.4	24.4	205.0
Brazil	85	13	1021.5	112	2287	169.25	123	77	62	49.8	28.9	322.7
Cameroon	38	24	133.6	NA	73	0.0	0.0	4	4	7.0	7.0	108.0
Canada	272	25	13133.0	575	40132	1109.02	471	417	670	41.9	28.9	316.2
Chile	84	34	1137.0	66	5106	222.7	110	31	51	19.2	19.4	102.8
Colombia	61	9	970.4	35	1707	16.25	87	23	57	25.8	21.2	102.5
Costa Rica	61	9	828.9	575	5271	78.94	71	39	104	29.0	23.0	116.9
Dominican Republic	167	56	5746.2	369	33177	380.63	368	265	659	6.6	3.4	312.9
Ecuador	49	8	517.1	22	460	40.51	71	18	30	49.0	181.4	10.0
El Salvador	32	6	692.3	41	1385	317.0	60	26	33	51.6	17.1	124.7
Ethiopia	49	3	356.9	23	3144	341.41	65	16	15	50.3	22.4	108.4
Fiji	151	42	24.5	31	36	836.99	1.1	1	1	80.0	7.0	4.0
France	241	47	6350.8	279	29343	312	279	552	11.4	34.5	373.8	10.0
Greece	148	32	567.7	360	11478	89.57	297	374	498	8.1	38.9	525.6
Guatemala	35	2	2604.8	167	4544	34.03	156	102	303	36.6	28.0	239.0
Honduras	35	2	292.0	27	1347	39.79	24	23	11	35.0	20.5	20.9
Hong Kong	172	119	1881.1	19	662	47.68	13	15	7	62.6	14.6	70.4
Hungary	169	9	4093.6	247	19727	503.16	220	43	3.0	57.0	30.0	435.1
India	49	2	209.6	377	5918	22.08	258	103	121	20.5	12.6	30.3
Indonesia	9	20	265.7	16	328	44.44	2	2	4	60.3	13.2	29.5
Ireland	239	21	37070.2	9	613	42.36	10	5	5	15.0	15.0	29.5
Israel	174	29	28133.0	134	15470	453.58	237	203	208	18.4	37.0	570.0
Italy	166	25	3724.7	170	13405	207.58	203	175	303	37.3	36.0	593.3
Ivory Coast	63	49	292.0	332	4445	245.39	238	229	11	35.0	20.5	20.9
Japan	89	14	4648.8	29	110	121.73	220	23	11	79.0	4.0	106.1
Kenya	43	5	208.2	525	21220	68.19	539	235	23	12.0	10.0	72.4
Madagascar	68	16	74.1	18	327	32.35	327	34	4	87.0	7.0	17.0
Mali	16	6	58.7	6	359	195.99	5	6	7	4.0	6.9	6.9
Morocco	34	13	30.6	4	19	45.35	0.0	2	5	86.0	5.0	18.2
Netherlands	185	12	367.8	16	1343	13.43	16	3	2	52.0	21.0	11.7
Norway	20	25	806.2	33	392	148.65	37	21	11	52.0	17.5	4.9
Pakistan	120	127	168.9	19	345	309.39	296	324	54	6.1	44.8	264.8
Panama	14	3	223.8	196	2755	66.09	5	323	3	34.0	19.0	19.1
Paraguay	99	26	1622.6	8	275	326.72	292	325	485	6.9	36.6	435.7
Peru	170	23	300.3	63	201	155.31	120	51	93	57.0	40.0	43.5
Sri Lanka	69	35	806.9	4	2551	63.71	20	12	19	49.1	18.1	135.5
Tunisia	43	81	379.8	34	283	165.56	51	18	27	39.8	18.5	51.4
Poland	136	33	579.5	561	385	43.56	21	10	14	46.0	17.0	81.3
Portugal	120	110	1821.5	153	379	243.55	224	79	97	30.6	39.2	39.8
Senegal	36	73	363.5	11	932	161.61	142	128	147	28.2	35.1	60.7
South Korea	19	88	1563.0	226	4933	392.69	154	10	10	6.9	8.3	8.3
Spain	150	87	294.2	179	4340	256.48	252	220	307	34.0	29.0	105.5
Sri Lanka	8	21	201.3	9	203	98.66	252	220	327	14.4	40.3	765.9
Tunisia	33	19	61.7	8	113	26.98	6	6	54.0	14.0	39.6	15.9
United Kingdom	45	65	652.4	65	805	0.4	2	5	83.0	6.0	46.7	10.0
United States	197	36	5362.6	561	157.01	157.01	347	20	31	35.0	32.0	371.4
Uruguay	285	24	1162.5	348	2373	947.38	331	280	495	42.1	24.7	24.5
Venezuela	115	24	1155.9	670	45330	2098.76	624	534	788	2.0	32.0	255.1
West Germany	220	18	3039.3	11	4201	560.52	125	96	10.8	32.0	23.8	21.8
Yugoslavia	102	7	6052.9	525	18039	358.34	115	103	58	18.0	26.4	26.4
Zambia	44	25	2401.7	246	3588	369.55	337	390	488	46.4	51.1	51.1
Zimbabwe	73.4	1.9	778.0	110	207.44	207.44	192	114	102	35.0	43.1	24.7

^aPercent
^bYears
^cPer 1,000 population
^dKilograms per capita
^eKilograms per 1,000 Population
^fPer capita per day
Grams per capita per day

^aKilogram coal equivalent
^bKilograms per capita
^cKilograms per 1,000 Population
^dHetric tons per 1,000 population