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Demographic Trends Among the Jews in the Three Slavic Republics of the Former USSR: A Comparative Analysis

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Since World War II the Jews of the three Slavic republics (Russia/Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia) steadily constituted the great majority — about 80% up to the start of the great exodus in 1989 — of the Jewish population in the whole of the former USSR (FSU). However, the number of Jews in each of these republics fell significantly during these years, and even more dramatically after the start of the great exodus. These three Jewish populations of the FSU were chosen specifically for comparative study because they for a long time have represented closely related origin groups at different stages of demographic transition, and analysis of their demographic transformations and erosion over this period promised to be rewarding.

In a comparative analysis of the Jewish population of these republics in recent decades, the main question is how the demographic course of one differed from that of the others. The time and rhythm of the different population processes among the Jews in each republic should be noted. The question is not only whether the level and frequency of mixed marriage, fertility and mortality and the characteristics of population structure differed among the Jews in the given republics, but rather how these indicators showed the successive stages of demographic erosion.

Prior to the period of *glasnost* the relevant statistical data on Jewish demography in the USSR were mostly kept secret. Nevertheless, voluminous demographic information on the Jews in the three Slavic republics was collected by population censuses and vital statistics. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the collection of demographic data on the Jews has continued. These statistics provide a good basis for comparative demographic analysis.[1]

1. Throughout this article only official data of the former Soviet Central Statistical Administration and statistical administrations of Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia have been used. For a comprehensive series of the census and vital statistics of the three Slavic republics of the FSU, see the Appendix.

The "Core" Jewish Population

According to official censuses, between 1959 and 1989 the number of Jews in the Slavic republics fell considerably: in the Ukraine by 42%, in Russia by 35% and in Belorussia by 25% (Table 1). However, of these, Russia maintained the largest

TABLE 1. THE JEWISH POPULATION IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA,[a] 1959–1996

Year	Russia		Ukraine	Belorussia
	Excluding "Tats"	Including "Tats"		
		Thousands		
1959	875.3	880.4	840.3	150.1
1970	807.9	816.7	777.1	148.0
1979	700.7	713.4	634.2	135.5
1989	551.0	570.5	487.3	112.0
1994	401.0[b]	409.2[b]	245.0	40.7
1996	...	360.0[c]	180.0	28.0
		Index Numbers (1959=100)		
1959	100	100	100	100
1970	92	93	92	99
1979	80	81	75	90
1989	63	65	58	75
1994	46	46	29	27
1996	...	41	21	19
		Index Numbers (1989=100)		
1989	100	100	100	100
1994	73	72	50	36
1996	...	63	37	25

a. According to census figures for 1959–1989; thereafter, estimates based on the 1989 census data, and the subsequent vital and migration statistics for the Ukraine and Belorussia.

b. Estimate based on the Russian microcensus sample of February 14, 1994.

c. Estimate based on the 1994 Russian microcensus sample, and subsequent vital and migration statistics.

Sources: Altshuler, 1987, pp. 62, 74; DellaPergola, 1997, Table 3; Russia. Goskomstat, 1990, p. 9; Russia. Goskomstat, 1996, p. 27; Schmelz and DellaPergola, 1995, p. 478; *Soiuz*, 1990, No. 32, pp. 12–13; Tolts, 1997, p. 151.

Jewish population (880,400 in 1959 and 570,500 in 1989)[2]; the next largest was always the Ukraine (840,300 and 487,300 Jews respectively), and the Jewish population of Belorussia was always much smaller (150,100 and 112,000 respectively).

These numbers are based on census data which depend entirely on self-declaration of the census respondents. Conceptually, this corresponds to what has been defined as the "core" Jewish population (DellaPergola, 1993, p. 277). The "core" Jewish population is the aggregate of all those who, when asked, identified themselves as Jews, or in the case of children, were identified as such by their parents; it does not include persons of Jewish origin who reported another ethnic nationality in the census. The alternative definition of the "enlarged" Jewish population includes Jews and their non-Jewish household members, and this group may be significantly larger than the "core" Jewish population (see below).

Prior to the 1970s, almost the entire decrease in the Jewish population of the Slavic republics was caused by internal processes (the balance of births and deaths, and assimilation), as well as redistribution of the Jews among the republics. Between 1970 and 1989 approximately 51,000 Jews and their non-Jewish family members from Russia, 108,400 from the Ukraine, and 13,900 from Belorussia left the USSR (Florsheim, 1990, p. 320).

At the same time, the Jewish migratory balance between the Ukraine and other Union republics, especially Russia, was negative until the late 1980s (Khomra, 1992; Kupovetsky, 1992). A situation similar to the Ukraine's existed in Belorussia. This compensated to some extent for the losses caused by emigration from Russia to outside the Soviet Union.

A comparison of Jewish birth cohort dynamics in the three republics reveals this aspect of Jewish population change. These dynamics were very different in Russia than in the other two Slavic republics which sent their Jewish youths away, mostly for higher education.[3] According to my estimate, between the 1959 and 1970 censuses the size of the 1944–1953 birth cohort (which in 1959 was mostly of school age) rose by 12% in Russia, and fell by 10%–11% in the Ukraine and Belorussia (Table 2). Even in 1979, the size of this birth cohort in Russia was still higher than in 1959 despite some return migration to the republics of birth, and emigration from the Soviet Union[4].

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2. In Soviet/Russian censuses, not all Mountain Jews were recorded as Jews; others were listed separately as "Tats." The estimates here include the latter as well. (On the Mountain Jews and Soviet authorities' attempts to separate these Jews from the rest of the Jewish people, see Altshuler, 1990; Zand, 1991, pp. 424-426.) Throughout this paper the term "Russian Jewry/Jews" applies only to those Jews in the Russian Federation.
3. On the position of Jews, and the difference between the Jewish situation in the Soviet education system of the three Slavic republics see: Altshuler, 1987, Chapter 5.
4. Similarly, according to my estimate, between the 1970 and 1979 censuses the size of the 1954-1963 cohort (which in 1970 was mostly of school age) rose by 1.5% in Russia (this figure is not presented in Table 2).

TABLE 2. INDEX NUMBERS (1959=100) FOR SOME JEWISH BIRTH COHORTS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1959–1989

Birth Cohorts	Age in 1959	1959	1970	1979	1989
		Russia[a]			
1944–53	5–14	100	112	102	93
1934–43	15–24	100	100	94	85
1924–33	25–34	100	93	89	77
1914–23	35–44	100	92	84	63
1904–13	45–54	100	88	67	34
		Ukraine			
1944–53	5–14	100	89	74	64
1934–43	15–24	100	95	84	75
1924–33	25–34	100	95	85	73
1914–23	35–44	100	93	80	56
1904–13	45–54	100	91	65	30
		Belorussia			
1944–53	5–14	100	90	80	69
1934–43	15–24	100	96	93	82
1924–33	25–34	100	96	92	80
1914–23	35–44	100	95	87	65
1904–13	45–54	100	93	71	34

a. The data were adjusted to include Oriental Jewish groups.

Sources: Estimated from 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 census data (Appendix, Tables 1A–3A).

The overall results of the differences in migration movements were so large that in 1989 the size of the 1944–1953 birth cohort in Russia was only 7% less than in 1959. Over the same period the size of this birth cohort had fallen by 36% in the Ukraine and 31% in Belorussia. Even in 1994 in Russia the decrease from the 1959 size of this birth cohort (29%) was less that than just cited for the other two Slavic countries in 1989.

A similar situation, although not so pronounced, existed for the previous 1934–1943 birth cohort according to the census data. On the other hand, the dynamics of the much older 1904–1913 birth cohort were very similar in the three republics. This emphasizes the importance of education-related internal migration in Jewish population dynamics in the three Slavic republics between 1959 and 1989 as opposed to all other migratory movements including emigration from the Soviet Union.

Since 1989, the situation has changed due to the great exodus of Jews from the former USSR, and a new stage has been started. From 1989 to 1995 alone more than 196,000 people from Russia, about 175,000 from the Ukraine and approximately 54,000 people from Belorussia left the FSU for Israel.[5] Another big stream was directed to the West. In 1990–1995 from the three Slavic countries of the FSU, respectively 48,100, 87,700 and 23,200 Jews and their non-Jewish family members immigrated to the United States (DellaPergola, forthcoming). In the same period tens of thousands of people from these countries emigrated to Germany, Canada, Australia and other places. The rate of this recent emigration has been even higher than the mass Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire around the turn of this century (Gitelman, 1997). The level of emigration, and hence the rate of general decrease during this stage has been highest among Belorussian Jewry and lowest among Russian Jews.[6]

In all three countries the recent decrease has been much greater than in the entire three decades between 1959 and 1989. By the start of 1996, the number of "core" Jews had decreased to approximately 360,000 in Russia, 180,000 in the Ukraine and 28,000 in Belorussia (Table 1).

During the first seven years of the great exodus, from 1989 to 1996 the "core" Jewish population fell by approximately 210,000 (37%) in Russia. The decrease of the Jewish population was even more rapid in the other two Slavic countries. During the same period, the Jewish population declined dramatically by more than 300,000 (63%) in the Ukraine and by 84,000 (75%) in Belorussia. As a result, by the beginning of 1994 Russia's Jews accounted for half the total number of Jews in the FSU; today this share is even greater — about 55%, and the absolute number of these Jews is twice that of the Ukrainian Jews.

Marriage Market and Mixed Marriage

Since World War II one of the outstanding features of Slavic Jewry in the FSU has been the great increase in mixed marriage. This process had actually begun already between the two world wars, but Soviet statistics provided no relevant data for the postwar period. In 1988, the frequency of mixed marriages among all marriages involving Jews was (Table 3): in Russia — 73.2% for men and 62.8% for women (a relative increase of 23% and 46% respectively, as compared to 1978), in the Ukraine — 54.1% for men and 44.7% for women (an increase of 21% and 31%) and in Belorussia 48.3% for men and 39.9% for women (the increase being 26% and 53%).

5. These figures include non-Jewish family members.
6. On the difference in the recent position and the factors of migration for these three Jewish groups in the FSU see: Brym, 1994. Especially on the recent Jewish emigration from Russia and the relevant population dynamics, see: Tolts, 1996 and 1997.

TABLE 3. INDICATORS OF MIXED MARRIAGE AMONG THE JEWS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1978–1994

Year	Russia		Ukraine		Belorussia	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Percentage of mixed marriages among all registered marriages in given year[a]						
1978	59.3	43.0	44.7	34.2	38.3	26.1
1988	73.2	62.8	54.1	44.7	48.3	39.9
1994	...	...	74.3	66.1	...	...
Percentage mixed-married among all currently married[b]						
1979	51	33	31	23	27	19
1989	58	40	36	25	34	24
1994	63	44	...	...	...	...

a. According to the vital statistics data.

b. Author's estimates, based on Census/microcensus data (for the method used see: Tolts, 1996, p. 19).

Sources: Census/microcensus and vital statistics data.

Mixed marriage is not merely an outcome of assimilation, but rather the result of demographic realities as well: the shortage of Jewish marriage partners for Jewish males has, in large part, brought about the spread of mixed marriage in the Slavic republics (Table 4). The greatest shortage of potential Jewish brides was encountered by Jewish males in Russia, where, according to the 1979 census, among Jews men outnumbered women in all age groups under 50 and according to the 1989 census even up to 60. This is naturally coincident with the character of Jewish migration.

In the Ukraine and Belorussia, the sex imbalance was much more moderate; according to the 1979 census, in both republics only in the age groups under 35 were there more males than females, and according to the 1989 census this shortage had advanced to age 40 in the Ukraine and to 45 in Belorussia. Correspondingly, the percentage of mixed marriages as cited was highest in Russia, and lower in these republics.

A distinctive feature of the age structure of the Jewish population of all three republics in the post-war period is its "regressive" nature, that is, younger generations tend to be consistently less numerous. In view of sex ratios in adjacent age groups of the Jewish population, a male's chances of finding a candidate for marriage within his ethnic community are further reduced. For instance, in 1989 in Russia the number of Jewish females aged 25–29 was 13 less than needed to balance each 100 Jewish males of the same age group, while in the Ukraine and Belorussia the imbalance was only 3 and 7 per 100 Jewish males, respectively. For this same

age group of males, the imbalance was much higher when they were compared with the adjacent group of females aged 20–24: one-third or more in all Slavic republics.

TABLE 4. SEX RATIO OF JEWS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, BY AGE GROUP, 1979 AND 1989

Age group	Number of females per 100 males in the same age group			Number of females 5 years younger per 100 males in the given age group		
	Russia	Ukraine	Belorussia	Russia	Ukraine	Belorussia
			1979 population census			
15–19	91	98	96	–	–	–
20–24	89	99	101	70	83	84
25–29	88	97	94	82	88	90
30–34	88	98	96	75	86	99
35–39	90	104	104	107	139	148
40–44	88	103	106	56	58	59
45–49	91	105	105	106	125	113
50–54	107	127	126	82	88	94
55–59	131	152	150	131	162	176
60–64	140	163	158	157	181	199
65–69	140	170	166	106	132	144
70+	170	172	166	265	276	264
			1989 population census			
15–19	91	97	98	–	–	–
20–24	87	98	95	85	103	98
25–29	87	97	93	61	67	60
30–34	88	93	96	72	78	80
35–39	88	98	95	81	89	90
40–44	89	100	96	76	88	100
45–49	92	105	104	107	137	142
50–54	89	104	109	58	58	61
55–59	94	109	110	109	129	118
60–64	114	132	131	90	96	100
65–69	141	159	158	152	187	204
70+	172	191	185	240	271	278

Sources: Appendix, Tables 1A–3A.

The great majority of Jews in the Slavic republics contracted a first marriage. The only noticeable changes in this process were that the Jewish males fairly often compensated for their demographic difficulties by mixed marriages. Moreover, the singulate mean age at marriage for Jewish women fell in all the republics during the last decade: between 1979 and 1989 in Russia from 23.1 to 22.7, in the Ukraine from 22.6 to 22.2 and in Belorussia from 22.8 to 22.5 (Tolts, 1992b, p. 13).

The great exodus of the 1990s only hastened the erosion of the Jewish marriage market. By 1994, according to the data of annual official vital statistics, the frequency of mixed marriages among all marriages in the Ukraine involving Jews was 74.3% for males and 66.1% for females — an even higher level than that of the Russian Jews in 1988.

Our assumption that mixed marriage rose as a result of the great exodus of the 1990s is confirmed by the situation of mixed marriage among all currently married Jews. Indeed, according to the estimate I made on the basis of the 1994 microcensus data, among all currently married Jews in Russia, 63% of the males and 44% of females had spouses from another ethnic group, an increase of five and four percentage points since 1989, respectively (Tolts, 1996, p.15). This estimate coincides with the rise of the Jewish sex imbalance in Russia. Previously this shortage applied to all those up to age 60; according to the 1994 microcensus, it had now advanced to ages 60–64, but among all those who were under fifty at the time of the 1989 census, the ratio had become even less balanced during these five years (Tolts, 1997, p. 154).

These estimates of the level of mixed marriage among currently married Jews in Russia are rather conservative if compared with others: for 1989 A. Sinelnikov (1996, p. 60) estimated intermarriage to be as high as 69.8% for males and 45.4% for females, and for 1994, 67.5% for males and 49.7% for females. Interestingly, according to Sinelnikov between 1989 and 1994 there was a decrease in the percentage of currently mixed-married Jewish males and a simultaneous increase in the percentage of currently mixed-married Jewish females.

However, the level, and hence the total dynamics of mixed marriage for Jewish males presented in these estimates are questionable: for 1979 the same author estimated the proportion of mixed-married among all currently married Jewish males to be as high as 63.3%, that is at a level even higher than the total percentage of mixed marriages among Jewish males in previous 1978 (cf. Table 3).

There is no such contradiction in my estimates. Both Sinelnikov and I agree as to the rise in mixed marriage for Jewish females in Russia, and this is corroborated by the increase during the great exodus in the proportion of children born to Jewish females with non-Jewish fathers which is, of course, an indirect indicator of intermarriage dynamics (see below).

In the post-war period rising intermarriage was accompanied by a great increase in the proportion of children born to mixed couples. Corresponding to Russia's high percentage of mixed marriages, the proportion of these children among all children born to Jewish mothers was greater there than in the other Slavic republics: 58% in 1988, or 2.1 times more than three decades before (as noted above, we have no data

on the actual number of such marriages). At the same time, it was 42% in the Ukraine and 37% in Belorussia, an increase of 2.4 times and 2.7 times, respectively (Table 5).

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN TO MIXED–MARRIED COUPLES IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1958–1993

Year	Among all children born to Jewish mothers	Among all children born to at least one Jewish parent[a]	
		Equality hypothesis	Two–fold hypothesis
	Russia		
1958	27.4	43	53
1968	40.0	57	67
1978	42.5	60	69
1988	57.9	73	80
1993	67.8	81	86
	Ukraine		
1958	17.4	30	39
1968	29.6	46	56
1978	31.5	48	58
1988	42.0	59	68
1992	68.8	82	87
	Belorussia		
1958	13.8	24	32
1968	32.0	49	59
1978	29.7	46	56
1988	37.0	54	64
1993	70.8	83	88

a. According to the equality hypothesis the (unknown) number of children born to non–Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers was equal to the (known) number of children born to Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers. According to the two-fold hypothesis the (unknown) number of children born to non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers was twice the (known) number of children born to Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers.

Source: Vital statistics data (see Appendix, Table 4A).

Following the start of the recent great exodus, the proportion of children born to mixed couples among all children born to Jewish mothers in 1993 reached 68% in Russia. However, in the two other countries the increase was even faster, and the indicator for the Ukraine and Belorussia reached even higher levels: 69% and 71%,

respectively. These dynamics again coincide with the much higher level of recent Jewish emigration from the latter two countries.

Soviet/CIS vital statistics give no data on the number of children born to those couples with Jewish husbands and non-Jewish wives. However, this information is very important to any analysis of the dynamics of the "enlarged" Jewish population. As the number of these births cannot be lower than the vital statistics figure for children born to Jewish mothers in mixed couples, in order to obtain a minimal estimate, one may assume these figures to be equal.

Approximately twice as many Jewish men were currently married to non-Jewish women as were Jewish women to non-Jewish men (Volkov, 1989). Hence, among the proportions of children born to mixed couples as a whole of all newborn children with at least one Jewish parent in the Slavic republics, the greatest proportion was in Russia: about one half in the late 1950s, perhaps 80% in the late 1980s, and even 86% in 1993.

The same proportion in the late 1980s was less than 70% in the Ukraine and only about 60% in Belorussia. However, in 1992–1993 in both countries may have reached the level of Russian Jewry. Moreover, by this time in all three Slavic countries more than half of all children born to at least one Jewish parent were offspring of couples consisting of a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother.

Birth Decline

Based only on the different categories of births (to endogamous Jewish couples, to Jewish mothers, and to at least one Jewish parent), one can reconstruct the dynamics of fertility decline among Jews in the Slavic republics. However, the figures for each category relate to quantitatively different aspects of internal processes among the Jews.

Births to endogamous Jewish couples form the basis (in Soviet conditions in the Slavic republics, even about the only source) of reproduction of the "core" Jewish population. Births to at least one Jewish parent by definition of course include endogamous births, as well as births to Jewish mothers with non-Jewish fathers and births to non-Jewish mothers with Jewish fathers. They also supply the figures for Jewish fertility as a whole, and in doing so, allow analysis of the dynamics of the "enlarged" Jewish population. Only births to Jewish mothers are considered Jewish according to Jewish religious law ("Halakha"). However, this category of births had very little specific relevance to secular Soviet society.

All the birth categories showed dramatic decline, but this was greatest among the numbers of children born to endogamous Jewish couples, and smallest among those children born to at least one Jewish parent. During the three decades from 1958 to 1988 the decrease in each category of births was different in each republic (Table 6).

TABLE 6. INDEX NUMBERS (1958=100 AND 1988=100) OF BIRTHS AMONG JEWISH POPULATION IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1958–1993

Year	Births to endogamous Jewish couples		Births to Jewish mothers		Births to at least one Jewish parent[a]	
	Index numbers					
	1958=100	1988=100	1958=100	1988=100	1958=100	1988=100
			Russia			
1958	100		100		100	
1968	59		71		83	
1978	49		61		73	
1988	24	100	42	100	58	100
1990	14	57	27	66	40	69
1993	6	23	13	30	19	33
			Ukraine			
1958	100		100		100	
1968	56		65		77	
1978	45		54		65	
1988	26	100	37	100	50	100
1990	12	47	22	59	33	66
1993	5[b]	21[b]	12	32	25[b]	49[b]
			Belorussia			
1958	100		100		100	
1968	49		62		80	
1978	52		63		79	
1988	32	100	43	100	59	100
1990	14	43	23	52	35	59
1993	3	10	9	22	18	30

a. According to two-fold hypothesis (see note a to Table 5).
b. 1992.
Source: Vital statistics data (see Appendix, Table 4A).

Between 1958 and 1988 the reduction in the number of births to endogamous Jewish couples was greatest among Russian and Ukrainian Jewry (by 76% and by 74%, respectively) and smallest among the Belorussian Jews (by 68%). In the same period the decline in the number of births to Jewish mothers was more pronounced in the Ukraine (by 63%) and less in Russia and Belorussia (by 57%–58%). The same order applies as well to the decrease in the number of births to at least one

Jewish parent (by 50%, and by 41%–42%, respectively).[7] These differences are due to the dynamics of mixed marriage whose input into Jewish fertility varies in each republic.

Following the onset of the great exodus, the decline in all categories of births in the three republics was more intense than during the entire previous three decades. This decrease was greatest among Belorussian Jewry where, in the short period between 1988 and 1993, the number of births to endogamous Jewish couples was reduced by a factor of 10, and the number of children born to Jewish mothers, by a factor of 4.5. During this same five-year period, the number of births to at least one Jewish parent was reduced by a factor of about 3.3.

TABLE 7. FERTILITY INDICATORS FOR BIRTH COHORTS OF JEWISH WOMEN[a] IN RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE, ACCORDING TO THE DATA OF THE 1979 AND 1989 CENSUSES

Birth years of women	Age at census date	Average number of children ever born		Percentage of childless women[b]	
		Russia	Ukraine	Russia	Ukraine
		1979 population census			
Before 1909	70+	1.59	1.71	19.0	16.7
1909–13	65–69	1.59	1.58	17.5	16.1
1914–18	60–64	1.56	1.54	17.4	15.3
1919–23	55–59	1.43	1.46	17.7	15.3
1924–28	50–54	1.41	1.47	17.3	12.7
1929–33	45–49	1.34	1.41	17.2	11.9
		1989 population census			
1934–38	50–54	1.34	1.38	15.1	11.8
1939–43	45–49	1.33	1.38	14.7	11.1
1944–48	40–44	1.33	1.37	14.2	10.3
1949–53	35–39	1.40	1.39	13.7	11.0
1954–58	30–34	1.30	1.26	17.5	14.4
1959–63	25–29	1.02	0.98	28.0	24.0

a. All marital statuses.

b. Among women for whom the number of children ever born is known.

Sources: Adapted from USSR. Goskomstat, 1989, Vol. 6, Part 3, p. 132, 139; CIS. Statkomitet, 1993, Vol. 4, pp. 174–175, 206–207.

7. If we assume the number of children born to non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers to be twice that born to Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers.

Despite much higher emigration from the Ukraine than from Russia, between 1988 and 1993 the decrease in the number of births to Jewish mothers was more pronounced in Russia (70%) than in the Ukraine (68%). In the period preceding the great exodus, according to the data of the 1979 and 1989 censuses, various birth cohorts of Russian and Ukrainian Jewish females had very similar levels of fertility. In fact, as of 1919–1923 the birth cohorts of Jewish females in both republics had very stable and low levels of completed fertility — about 1.4–1.5 or lower (Table 7).

By the mid-1990s the situation in Russia had changed dramatically. According to my estimate, between 1988–1989 and 1993–1994 the total fertility rate of Russia's Jewish population fell by 46 % from 1.5 to 0.8 (Tolts, 1996, p. 12). Although this coincided with the overall negative fertility dynamics in Russia (Darsky and Bondarskaya, 1995; Zakharov and Ivanova, 1996), between 1988 and 1994, the fertility indicator for the total urban population fell by only 34%, from 1.9 to 1.25. And in 1994, even in the two major cities of Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg, the total fertility rate was higher than that of the Jewish population: 1.1 and 1.0, respectively.

In Russia most of the recent decline in the number of births to Jewish mothers has been attributed to this dramatic drop in the level of Jewish fertility, rather than to mass emigration (Tolts, 1996, p. 11). We have no data on the contemporary level of Jewish fertility in the Ukraine and Belorussia. However, it is clear that the decline of Jewish births in these countries has mostly been a consequence of mass emigration.

Vital Balances and Aging

The data indicate that an unfavorable balance of births to endogamous Jewish couples vis-à-vis Jewish deaths, as well as the negative balance of births to Jewish mothers vis-à-vis Jewish deaths first occurred in Russia in the 1950s. By the 1960s these two balances were unfavorable in all the Slavic republics (Tolts, 1992a, p. 21). At the same time, also still before the large-scale emigration of the 1970s, the balance of births to at least one Jewish parent vis-à-vis Jewish deaths became negative in Russia and the Ukraine. However, only in the mid-1980s did this balance become negative in Belorussia. By the end of the 1980s, all these balances were decidedly unfavorable in the Slavic republics (Table 8).

The situation was very unfavorable in Russia, where in 1988–1989 the number of Jewish deaths exceeded that of births to Jewish mothers by 18.1 per 1000 Jews. In Belorussia this same negative vital balance was about twice as low. In the Ukraine in 1988–1989 the negative balance (16.8) was not much lower than in Russia.

The rise in mixed marriage led to a further decline in endogamous birth rates as compared with crude birth rates of Jewish mothers. In Russia over the 30 years between 1958–1959 and 1988–1989, the endogamous birth rate declined by 65%, while the latter figure declined by only 38%. In the Ukraine and Belorussia due to the lower level of intermarriage, the discrepancy was less pronounced: 60% and 42% for the former, and 61% and 47% for the latter.

TABLE 8. BALANCES OF CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1958–1959 TO 1993–1994, PER 1,000 JEWS

Year	Birth rate			Death rate	Balance[b]		
	Endogamous Jewish couples	To Jewish mothers	To at least one Jewish parent[a]		A	B	C
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)=(1)–(4)	(6)=(2)–(4)	(7)=(3)–(4)
				Russia			
1958–59	7.4	10.2	15.6	10.2	-2.8	0.0	5.4
1968	4.7	7.8	14.0	14.0	-9.3	-6.2	0.0
1978–79	4.3	7.5	14.0	19.9	-15.6	-12.4	-5.9
1988–89	2.6	6.3	13.6	24.4	-21.8	-18.1	-10.8
1993–94	0.9	2.8	6.5	30.0	-29.1	-27.2	-23.5
				Ukraine			
1958–59	9.3	11.3	15.2	9.4	-0.1	1.9	5.8
1969–70	6.4	8.9	14.0	14.3	-7.9	-5.4	-0.3
1978–79	5.1	7.8	13.1	19.5	-14.4	-11.7	-6.4
1988–89	3.7	6.6	12.4	23.4	-19.7	-16.8	-11.0
1993	1.4[c]	4.4	10.3[c]	35.0	-33.6	-30.6	-24.7
				Belorussia			
1958–59	13.3	15.5	19.8	7.4	5.9	8.1	12.4
1968	6.8	10.0	16.4	10.9	-4.1	-0.9	5.5
1978–79	7.6	11.1	18.0	14.5	-6.9	-3.4	3.5
1988–89	5.2	8.2	14.4	17.9	-12.7	-9.7	-3.5
1993	1.5	5.2	12.6	32.6	-31.1	-27.4	-20.0

a. According to two–fold hypothesis (see note a to Table 5).

b. Balance of birth rate of designated category and death rate:
   A – birth rate to endogamous Jewish couples minus the death rate;
   B – birth rate to Jewish mothers minus the death rate;
   C – birth rate to at least one Jewish parent minus the death rate.

c. Based on 1992 percentage born with Jewish fathers among all children born to Jewish mothers.

Sources: Tolts, 1992a, pp. 18, 20; Tolts, 1993, p. 107; Tolts, 1995, p. 376; Tolts, 1996, p. 13; Table 1, and Appendix, Tables 4A–5A.

On the other hand, also due to the rise in mixed marriage, the decrease in crude birth rates to at least one Jewish parent was rather moderate. Over the same time span (1958–1959 and 1988–1989) this indicator[8] fell only from 15.6 to 13.6 per 1,000 Jews (13%) in Russia, from 15.2 to 12.4 (18%) in the Ukraine and from 19.8 to 14.4 (27%) in Belorussia.

Finally, the "effectively Jewish" birth rate, that is, the total number of newborns identified as Jewish per 1,000 Jews, must be considered in particular, for this directly determines the dynamics of the "core" Jewish population (Schmelz, 1981). This indicator includes some newborns of mixed origin who will grow up as Jews. A comparison of vital statistics and census data shows that in Russia roughly about 20% of children born to mixed couples in 1988 were reported as Jews in the 1989 census. The figures for the Ukraine and Belorussia were not lower than 13% and 12% respectively (Tolts, 1995, p. 374).

The "effectively Jewish" birth rate corresponding to these figures has been estimated as follows: 4.9 per 1,000 Jews in Russia, 5.4 in the Ukraine and 7 in Belorussia. On the eve of the recent great exodus the balance of these births and Jewish deaths was also decidedly negative: -19.5 per 1,000 Jews in Russia, -18 in the Ukraine and -10.9 in Belorussia (Tolts, 1992a, p. 23). The 1959 census data show that the "effectively Jewish" birth rate was as high as about 8 per 1,000 Jews in Russia (Askenazim only), 10 in the Ukraine and 14 in Belorussia. In this period the balance of these births and Jewish deaths was negative in Russia, about zero in the Ukraine, and positive Belorussia.

One of the main findings that emerges from our analysis of demographic balances presented above is the great increase of the Jewish death rate in the Slavic republics: from 10.2 to 24.4 per 1,000 Jews in Russia over the thirty year period between 1958–1959 and 1988–1989, and in the Ukraine and Belorussia, from 9.4 to 23.4, and 7.4 to 17.9 respectively.

Nevertheless, Jewish longevity was among the highest in the former USSR (Andreev et al, 1993, p. 102). Life expectancy at birth for Russia's Jews in 1988–1989 was 69.7 for males and 73.5 for females, and in the Ukraine and Belorussia the Jewish level of mortality was very similar (Table 9).

Apparently some factor other than the intrinsic level of mortality has effected the Jewish death rate. Indeed, over the three decades in question, the age structure of the Jewish population in the Slavic republics substantially worsened.

Since World War II the Jewish population of the three republics aged substantially, a fact which is linked to the fertility level discussed above. In fact, for Jews in 1959 the median age was 41.2 in Russia, 39.3 in the Ukraine, and 33.7 in Belorussia. But, according to the 1989 census, the median age of the Jewish population was 52.3 in Russia, 51.6 in the Ukraine and 47.0 in Belorussia (Table 10). Correspondingly, during the same period the proportion of the age group 65 and above of total Jewish population dramatically rose from 9% to 27% in Russia, from 9% to 25% in the Ukraine and from 7% to 20% in Belorussia.

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8. See note no. 7.

TABLE 9. MORTALITY INDICATORS OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1988–1989

Sex	Life expectancy at birth	Standardized mortality ratio[a]		
	Russia	Russia	Ukraine	Belorussia
Males	69.7	1.00	1.02	0.97
Females	73.5	1.00	1.04	0.97

a. According to indirect standardization; age-sex death rates of the Jews in Russia have been used as the standard.

Sources: CIS. Statkomitet, 1995, pp. 252-255; Tolts, 1996, p. 12; and Appendix, Tables 2A–3A, 5A.

The process of aging differed among the Jews of the three republics. The data on age composition show that by 1970 Russian Jewry had already reached what has been defined as the "terminal stage" of demographic evolution.[9] By 1979, Ukrainian Jewry had also reached this stage of demographic evolution.

Since 1989 emigration from Russia has been much slower than from other parts of the FSU. However, older people usually have a lower tendency to migrate, and according to data from the 1994 microcensus, 32.4 per cent of the Ashkenazic Jews in Russia were aged 65 and above. At the same time the median age of these Jews had reached 56.0, which was 3.4 years more than in 1989 (which does not appear in Table 10). In the entire previous decade between the 1979 and 1989 censuses this indicator for total Russian Jewry rose by only 3.2 years.

Based on this figure we have a good indicator of aging[10] for the Ukraine and Belorussia whose crude death rates in 1993 were higher than those for Russia (Table 8). One may accordingly assume that Belorussian Jewry has by now reached its "terminal stage" of demographic evolution.

By 1993, the birth rate of Jewish parents was falling rather moderately in the Ukraine and Belorussia. This was not true in Russia, and the differentiation was due to the dramatic increase in the percentage of children born to intermarried couples in these countries.

In the same period all Jewish vital balances in the three Slavic countries of the FSU were dramatically aggravated. In 1993–1994 the number of births to Jewish mothers in Russia was less than 3 per 1000 Jews and the number of Jewish deaths exceeded these births by 27 per 1000; the total number of births to at least one

9. The situation when the proportion aged under 15 falls to 10% (DellaPergola, 1992, p. 26).
10. Russia is the only state in the FSU for which there are recent data on age-sex composition of the Jewish population.

Jewish parent[11] was only about 6 per 1000. The main reason for this was the sharp decrease in Jewish fertility in Russia. For 1993–1994 the life expectancy of Russia's Jews was estimated at 69.6 for males and 73.2 for females (Tolts, 1996, p. 12), which is about the same level as at the end of the 1980s.

TABLE 10. JEWS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, BY AGE GROUP, PERCENT

Year	All ages	0–14	15–29	30–44	45–64	65+	Thereof 75+	Median age
				Russia				
1959[a]	100.0	13.7	18.8	22.8	35.8	8.9	2.3	41.2
1970	100.0	10.3	15.7	23.1	33.9	17.0	4.2	45.5
1979	100.0	8.3	14.7	20.8	31.4	24.8	8.0	49.1
1989	100.0	8.4	11.4	19.5	33.8	26.9	12.7	52.3
1994[a]	100.0	6.2	9.9	16.5	35.0	32.4	14.5	56.0
				Ukraine				
1959[a]	100.0	17.6	17.9	22.6	32.6	9.3	2.4	39.3
1970	100.0	12.6	15.7	22.3	33.0	16.4	4.6	44.7
1979	100.0	10.2	15.1	19.6	31.4	23.7	7.6	48.6
1989	100.0	9.7	12.0	19.8	33.2	25.3	11.5	51.6
				Belorussia				
1959[a]	100.0	23.2	20.0	23.0	26.7	7.1	1.6	33.7
1970	100.0	16.5	18.3	24.3	27.7	13.2	3.4	40.1
1979	100.0	12.5	19.6	19.8	30.3	17.8	6.0	43.9
1989	100.0	12.5	13.7	21.8	31.8	20.2	8.3	47.0

a. Ashkenazic Jews only.

Sources: 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses (Appendix, Tables 1A–3A); and 1994 microcensus (Tolts, 1997, p. 176).

We have no recent data on the level of Jewish life expectancy in the Ukraine and Belorussia,[12] where the mass exodus was much greater than in Russia. Unwell people usually have less tendency to migrate; however, the rise in the crude death rates in the Ukraine and Belorussia was clearly first of all coupled with severe aging caused in large part by the mass exodus from these countries.

11. See note no. 7.

12. We note that by the mid-1990s the decrease in life expectancy for the total population was more moderate in the Ukraine and Belorussia than in Russia (Haub, 1994, p. 23).

The "Enlarged" Jewish Population

Rising intermarriage has caused an increase in the percentage of Jews living in ethnically heterogeneous households which are part of the "enlarged" Jewish population.[13] According to our estimates, in Russia between 1979 and 1989, the total number of Jewish family households fell by 11%–13% (Tolts, 1993, p. 108). During the same period, the decline in the number of Jewish uninational family households reached 30%. In other Slavic republics the decline in the number of Jewish uninational family households was not quite as great: 28% in the Ukraine and 23% in Belorussia.

Correspondingly, between 1979 and 1989, the proportion of Jews living in ethnically heterogeneous households among all Russian Jews living in family households rose from 39% to 49%. During the same period, the corresponding proportions in the Ukraine and Belorussia rose from 23% to 31%, and from 16% to 25%, respectively (Tolts, 1995, p. 378). This comparison emphasizes Russian Jewry's more advanced stage of ethnic assimilation in this period.

Theoretically, stagnation or decline of a "core" Jewish population can occur concomitantly with the growth of the respective "enlarged" Jewish population, as has been shown by American Jewry (Goldstein, 1992, p. 92). According to our estimates based on the dynamics of family households, in Russia in the 1980s not only the "core" but also the "enlarged" Jewish population decreased (Tolts, 1993, pp. 108–109). A similar situation existed in the Ukraine. One may assume that the start of this stage of Jewish decline in Russia and the Ukraine began in the 1970s, when a significant negative balance of births to at least one Jewish parent and Jewish deaths appeared in both republics.

In the late 1980s the ratio of "core" to "enlarged" Jewish population in Russia was roughly 1 to 1.6, and in the Ukraine and Belorussia about 1 to 1.4 (Table 11). By this time Russia had a more numerous "enlarged" Jewish population (892,000, or even about 910,000 including "Tats") than did the Ukraine and Belorussia together (814,500, or 659,500 and 155,000 in each republic, respectively).

On the basis of the 1994 microcensus, the ratio of "core" to "enlarged" Jewish population in Russia was estimated at 1 to 1.8 (Tolts, 1996, p. 16). That is, the "enlarged" Jewish population declined less than the "core" population. In fact, the decline in the number of non-Jewish members of heterogeneous households was very moderate between 1989 and 1994.

Interestingly enough, the estimated share of the "core" within the "enlarged" Jewish population in 1994 — 55% — is very close to the percentage of Jews among all emigrants from Russia to Israel in the same year — 58%.[14] In 1995 the second indicator dropped as low as 53%. The similarity in figures, however, should not be

13. In detail on the "enlarged" Jewish population see: DellaPergola, 1993, p. 277.
14. According to the Russian official statistics based on nationality signed in internal passports of emigrants. According to the *halakhic* approach, of course, the proportion of Jews among the *olim* was much higher (see DellaPergola, forthcoming).

seen as a sign of equal propensities to aliyah for homogenous and mixed Jewish families.

TABLE 11. "ENLARGED" JEWISH POPULATION[a] OF RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, BY STRUCTURE, 1989, THOUSANDS

	Russia	Ukraine	Belorussia
1. Jews living outside family households	65.9	56.1	12.7
2. Jews living in uninational households[b]	249.6	299.5	74.0
3. Jews living in multinational households	235.5	131.7	25.3
4. "Core" Jewish population[b] [(4)=(1)+(2)+(3)]	551.0	487.3	112.0
5. Non–Jewish members of multinational households with Jewish presence[c]	341.0	172.2	43.0
6. "Enlarged" Jewish population [(6)=(4)+(5)]	892.0	659.5	155.0
7. Ratio of "enlarged" to "core" Jewish population [(7)=(6)/(4)]	1.6	1.4	1.4

a. Excluding "Tats".
b. Census figure.
c. Persons living in households with at least one "core" Jew.
Source: Estimated from the 1989 census data (for the method used see: Tolts, 1996, p. 19).

Migratory movements are more frequent at younger ages. Among Russian Jews, the younger the population, the higher the percentage of intermarriage and offspring of mixed couples. Aggregate aliyah data are heavily dependent on the age structure of the "enlarged" Jewish population, and such data can not show propensity to aliyah for homogenous and mixed Jewish families. These figures clearly reveal that processes involved with any explanation of the dynamics of the "enlarged" Jewish population are complicated, and for the Ukraine and Belorussia, we have no census-type data such as would be needed to estimate the dynamics of the "enlarged" Jewish population during the great exodus.

These processes depend not only on mixed marriage, but also on aging, levels of marriage dissolution, and differential divorce by type of marriage. In the 1990s, these dynamics in the different Slavic countries of the FSU were probably dependent as well on the different levels of Jewish emigration itself from these countries.

Concluding Remarks

The demographic decline of the Jewish population in the Slavic republics has undergone successive stages. For a long time up to the start of the recent great exodus of Jews in 1989 Russian Jewry were at a higher level of demographic erosion than the Jewish population of the Ukraine, and especially Belorussia.

Mixed marriage is now very widespread at about the same level among the Jews in all Slavic countries of the FSU, and the great majority of children born to Jewish mothers have non-Jewish fathers. However, even the number of children born to at least one Jewish parent (regardless of the Jewishness of the second parent) as a whole is steadily decreasing and is much lower than the number of Jewish deaths. This has caused the decrease both of the "core" and the "enlarged" Jewish population.

Since the Jewish population in all of the republics is very aged and has already reached the "terminal stage" of demographic evolution, the recent great Jewish exodus has accelerated all these negative processes dramatically. From our analysis we see that after 1989 many Jewish demographic indicators (including some of the most important ones) in these countries have weakened more significantly than in the entire previous thirty years. This is indicative of the demographic collapse of these Jewish populations which is at an even higher level in the Ukraine and Belorussia than in Russia today.

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Appendix

The Jews of the Three Slavic Republics of the FSU in Censuses and Vital Statistics

Soviet censuses and vital statistics have amassed a long and rich series of data on ethnicity (nationality).[1] However, most of these data, especially for the Jewish population, were never published. This appendix presents data on the Jews in the three Slavic republics almost all of which never appeared elsewhere.

Tables 1A–3A present detailed data on age and sex according to all four post-war population censuses.[2] These data from the 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses cover the total Jewish population (i.e., Ashkenazic Jews, Mountain Jews, Georgian Jews, Central Asian (Bukharan) Jews, and Krymchaks), except those counted as "Tats". The 1959 census data cover only the Ashkenazic Jews and for this census only the results themselves were discovered.[3]

Data from the Soviet censuses are based entirely on self-declaration of respondents to the censuses, and they are regarded as "a good example of a large and empirically measured core Jewish population in the Diaspora" (Schmelz and DellaPergola, 1995, p. 481). Not only did the censuses not require documentary evidence for answers to any question, but in regard to nationality the census takers were explicitly given instructions that nationality was to be determined solely by the person polled — without any corroboration (Kingkade, 1989). However, most scholars agree that the Soviet census figures on Jewish ethnic nationality (adults only) were very similar to "legal" ethnic nationality as recorded in internal passports.

For children nationality was determined by parents. In the first three post-war censuses (1959, 1970 and 1979), when there was difficulty in the determination of the nationality of a child whose parents belonged to different nationalities,

1. In general on these see: Arutiunian et al., 1984; Bondarskaya, 1993; Silver, 1986.
2. For respective data from the 1994 Russian microcensus see: Tolts, 1997, p. 176.
3. Similar to the 1989 census data although not as detailed: CIS. Statkomitet. 1993, Vol. 7, Part 3, p. 218.

preference was to be given to the mother's nationality. In the last Soviet census (in 1989) some of the recommendations in this regard were removed from the instructions to the census takers. The result was that the estimated proportion of children born to mixed couples out of all children less than one year old who were reported as Jews in the 1989 census was 42% in Russia, 22% in the Ukraine and 17% in Belorussia (Tolts, 1995, p. 374).

Tables 4A and 5A present the annual governmental vital statistics data from 1958 onwards[4] on births to Jewish mothers and Jewish deaths, respectively. Table 4A also gives collected numbers of children born to Jewish mothers and non-Jewish fathers and estimated numbers of births to endogamous Jewish couples.

Soviet vital statistics listed the nationality of the parents of a newborn child or that of a deceased adult on the basis of that recorded in their internal passports.[5] For deceased children up to the age of 16 (who did not have such passports), nationality was established on the basis of the parents' nationality. In the case of the death of a child whose parents belonged to different nationalities, the child was recorded as having the nationality stated by the person who reported the death. Only if the deceased child was less than one year old, was he/she recorded as being of the mother's nationality .[6]

4. We did not find any data for 1981 for all the republics, and for 1969-1975 for Russia and Belorussia; do not know whether they exist.
5. Some unwed Jewish mothers may have reported the nationality of the child's father as non-Jewish even if this was not the case. Such instances would obviously have been a rather marginal phenomenon.
6. See more precisely in: Tolts, 1992a, p. 15. On recent Russian practice see: Andreev et al., 1995, which covers the post-Soviet period.

TABLE 1A. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF RUSSIA, BY AGE AND SEX, 1959–1989

Age group	1959[a]		1970		1979		1989	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	394,456	461,042	378,902	429,013	330,884	369,767	265,238	285,809
0–4	17,663	17,068	11,147	10,299	9,807	9,359	7,777	7,083
5–9	19,194	18,227	14,467	13,622	10,263	9,679	7,953	7,329
10–14	23,128	21,841	17,154	16,357	10,061	9,445	8,144	7,830
15–19	19,459	18,841	20,205	18,461	14,591	13,340	9,143	8,362
20–24	34,318	31,641	28,797	25,747	19,094	17,026	9,836	8,593
25–29	29,453	27,400	17,599	15,863	20,682	18,269	14,077	12,259
30–34	33,844	36,284	35,897	31,949	24,512	21,591	17,040	14,960
35–39	28,452	36,125	28,459	25,370	20,157	18,238	18,569	16,397
40–44	26,282	34,155	32,557	31,982	32,345	28,597	21,686	19,198
45–49	39,680	48,317	28,723	36,301	27,033	24,676	17,979	16,563
50–54	37,967	48,736	22,965	29,036	29,975	32,159	28,427	25,312
55–59	27,772	46,083	34,567	45,024	24,490	32,001	23,280	21,981
60–64	25,064	32,698	32,509	44,517	20,419	28,636	24,451	27,870
65–69	15,306	18,295	22,343	38,842	27,091	38,039	18,382	25,945
70–74	9,445	12,891	16,244	25,421	20,374	32,378	13,152	20,947
75–79	4,762	7,441	8,680	11,292	11,062	22,494	13,912	23,002
80–84	1,905	3,488	5,396[b]	8,135[b]	6,083	9,861	7,623	14,352
85 +	750	1,506	...	...	2,758	3,853	3,584	7,604
Unknown	12	5	1,193[c]	795[c]	87	126	223	222

a. Ashkenazic Jews only.

b. 80 and above.

c. Including not–processed; for unexplained reasons, 967 males and 573 females were not included in the detailed data processing.

Sources: 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses.

TABLE 2A. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF THE UKRAINE, BY AGE AND SEX, 1959–1989

Age group	1959[a]		1970		1979		1989	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	372,098	467,098	345,048	432,078	283,808	350,346	223,218	264,089
0–4	22,177	20,329	12,625	11,964	10,799	10,057	7,487	6,737
5–9	24,833	23,427	16,920	15,680	11,662	11,053	8,328	7,642
10–14	28,996	27,525	20,746	19,386	10,693	10,081	8,894	8,172
15–19	18,283	18,569	20,416	20,542	13,842	13,511	8,901	8,626
20–24	30,294	31,354	26,481	26,979	16,359	16,210	8,383	8,223
25–29	25,623	26,206	13,062	13,885	18,483	17,916	12,233	11,882
30–34	29,923	38,699	30,654	31,482	20,867	20,358	15,280	14,208
35–39	26,297	36,381	23,339	24,088	14,601	15,169	15,940	15,542
40–44	23,116	34,946	28,942	34,851	26,191	26,964	17,638	17,663
45–49	31,383	48,786	25,695	37,227	21,578	22,692	12,872	13,539
50–54	30,671	46,918	19,885	29,652	25,851	32,830	23,211	24,041
55–59	22,628	40,836	28,163	45,929	20,312	30,887	18,668	20,349
60–64	23,049	29,445	26,683	43,383	17,106	27,802	21,150	27,816
65–69	16,313	18,244	19,118	34,885	21,045	35,817	14,876	23,707
70–74	10,443	12,995	15,135	22,201	16,283	28,948	10,600	18,831
75–79	5,251	7,296	9,991	10,756	9,121	18,446	10,212	20,083
80–84	1,936	3,493	6,466[b]	8,383[b]	5,780	7,937	5,608	11,568
85 +	866	1,633	...	...	3,155	3,566	2,924	5,447
Unknown	16	16	727[c]	805[c]	80	102	13	13

a. Ashkenazic Jews only.

b. 80 and above.

c. Including not–processed; for unexplained reasons, 534 males and 599 females were not included in the detailed data processing.

Sources: 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses.

TABLE 3A. THE JEWISH POPULATION OF BELORUSSIA, BY AGE AND SEX, 1959–1989

Age group	1959[a]		1970		1979		1989	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	67,890	82,188	67,483	80,528	62,433	73,017	52,553	59,424
0–4	5,647	5,356	3,056	2,675	3,115	2,821	2,347	2,116
5–9	6,109	5,755	4,270	4,045	2,889	2,784	2,463	2,224
10–14	6,107	5,811	5,255	5,019	2,797	2,535	2,525	2,259
15–19	3,514	3,603	5,282	5,146	3,940	3,767	2,211	2,172
20–24	5,666	6,055	5,815	5,784	4,490	4,524	2,211	2,092
25–29	5,411	5,834	2,501	2,544	5,040	4,716	3,503	3,255
30–34	5,959	7,883	5,849	6,303	4,784	4,585	4,055	3,875
35–39	4,774	6,505	4,987	5,295	3,097	3,214	4,328	4,105
40–44	3,705	5,622	6,136	7,305	5,402	5,724	4,086	3,937
45–49	4,486	6,923	4,887	6,968	5,049	5,304	2,768	2,880
50–54	4,074	6,923	3,343	4,914	5,666	7,132	4,723	5,139
55–59	3,545	6,166	4,233	6,780	4,063	6,081	4,342	4,764
60–64	3,755	4,270	3,594	6,357	3,054	4,820	4,772	6,235
65–69	2,460	2,470	3,143	5,591	3,351	5,564	3,051	4,824
70–74	1,645	1,608	2,499	3,267	2,374	4,630	1,980	3,465
75–79	650	826	1,549	1,436	1,623	3,008	1,731	3,165
80–84	265	396	1,042[b]	1,069[b]	1,080	1,247	874	1,928
85 +	116	177	...	...	611	549	583	989
Unknown	2	5	42[c]	30[c]	8	12	...	...

a. Ashkenazic Jews only.

b. 80 and above.

c. Including not–processed; for unexplained reasons, 16 males and 4 females were not included in the detailed data processing.

Sources: 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989 censuses.

TABLE 4A. BIRTHS TO JEWISH MOTHERS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1958–1995

Year	Russia			Ukraine			Belorussia		
	Total	Thereof, with		Total	Thereof, with		Total	Thereof, with	
		Jewish fathers[a]	Non–Jewish fathers		Jewish fathers[a]	Non–Jewish fathers		Jewish fathers[a]	Non–Jewish fathers
1958	8,937	6,485	2,452	9,585	7,919	1,666	2,383	2,054	329
1959	8,846	6,497	2,349	9,419	7,773	1,646	2,266	1,948	318
1960	8,382	5,944	2,438	9,501	7,769	1,732	2,232	1,891	341
1961	8,695	6,023	2,672	8,555	6,814	1,741	2,160	1,781	379
1962	8,208	5,622	2,586	8,406	6,615	1,791	1,958	1,592	366
1963	7,563	5,057	2,506	7,485	5,844	1,641	1,935	1,583	352
1964	7,108	4,684	2,424	6,805	5,189	1,616	1,631	1,304	327
1965	6,595	4,297	2,298	6,446	4,757	1,689	1,521	890	631
1966	6,333	3,856	2,477	6,218	4,664	1,554	1,456	1,125	331
1967	5,986	3,602	2,384	6,080	4,412	1,668	1,337	826	511
1968	6,359	3,817	2,542	6,249	4,399	1,850	1,483	1,008	475
1969	...	...	...	6,654	4,757	1,897	...	...	...
1970	...	...	...	7,197	5,166	2,031	...	...	...
1971	...	...	...	7,403	5,327	2,076	...	...	...
1972	...	...	...	7,017	5,053	1,964	...	...	...
1973	...	...	...	6,669	4,432	2,237	...	...	...
1974	...	...	...	6,355	4,444	1,911	...	...	...
1975	...	...	...	5,923	4,021	1,902	...	...	...
1976	4,346[b]	2,489	1,857	5,837	4,005	1,832	1,531	1,052	479
1977	4,078[b]	2,288	1,790	5,694	3,887	1,807	1,572	1,134	438
1978	5,491	3,158	2,333	5,181	3,549	1,632	1,506	1,059	447
1979	5,038	2,826	2,212	4,663	2,933	1,730	1,494	1,004	490
1980	5,091	2,849	2,242	4,592	2,698	1,894	1,345	926	419
1981	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1982	5,128	3,540	1,588	4,584	2,476	2,108	1,282	912	370
1983	5,004	3,405	1,599	4,701	3,295	1,406	1,425	1,028	397
1984	4,670	3,079	1,591	5,317	3,294	2,023	1,400	1,005	395
1985	4,516	2,336	2,180	5,056	3,244	1,812	1,303	917	386
1986	4,425	2,216	2,209	3,858	1,932	1,926	1,263	850	413
1987	4,276	2,086	2,190	3,650	2,405	1,245	964	664	300
1988	3,710	1,562	2,148	3,515	2,040	1,475	1,035	652	383
1989	3,185	1,301	1,884	2,919	1,552	1,367	810	504	306
1990	2,436	896	1,540	2,064	951	1,113	541	280	261
1991	1,786	587	1,199	1,618	...	...	330	131	199
1992	1,462	472	990	1,342	419	923	280	102	178
1993	1,121	361	760	1,134	...	...	226	66	160
1994	1,112	341	771	918	...	...	...	...	...
1995	1,086	336	750	...	...	...	...	...	...

a. Estimated residually, by subtracting the number of births to Jewish mothers with non–Jewish fathers from the total number of births to Jewish mothers.

b. Probably incomplete data.

Source: Vital statistics data.

TABLE 5A. JEWISH DEATHS IN RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE AND BELORUSSIA, 1958–1995

Year	Russia			Ukraine			Belorussia		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1958	8,917	4,352	4,565	7,564	3,534	4,030	1,062	516	546
1959	8,985	4,247	4,738	8,268	3,813	4,455	1,151	547	604
1960	8,912	4,307	4,605	8,003	3,709	4,294	1,082	511	571
1961	9,465	4,543	4,922	8,615	3,979	4,636	1,158	562	596
1962	10,097	4,911	5,186	8,944	4,121	4,823	1,260	588	672
1963	10,171	4,903	5,268	9,201	4,286	4,915	1,089	510	579
1964	10,236	4,714	5,522	9,136	4,164	4,972	1,318	656	662
1965	10,713	5,092	5,621	9,657	4,439	5,218	1,269	630	639
1966	10,702	5,164	5,538	9,972	4,667	5,305	1,401	673	728
1967	11,267	5,285	5,982	10,463	4,698	5,765	1,489	669	820
1968	11,431	5,385	6,046	10,549	4,837	5,712	1,624	790	834
1969	...	...	...	11,167	4,993	6,174	...	...	...
1970	...	...	...	11,114	4,893	6,221	...	...	...
1971	...	...	...	12,029	5,324	6,705	...	...	...
1972	...	...	...	12,096	5,366	6,730	...	...	...
1973	...	...	...	12,345	5,462	6,883	...	...	...
1974	...	...	...	11,878	5,273	6,605	...	...	...
1975	...	...	...	12,412	5,517	6,895	...	...	...
1976	8,936[a]	4,082	4,854	12,687	5,625	7,062	1,932	894	1,038
1977	9,503[a]	4,356	5,147	12,508	5,470	7,038	1,938	864	1,074
1978	13,776	6,388	7,388	12,787	5,681	7,106	1,949	855	1,094
1979	14,056	6,438	7,618	11,931	5,230	6,701	1,980	899	1,081
1980	14,459	6,608	7,851	12,274	5,421	6,853	2,002	890	1,112
1981	...	..	...	...	..	...	...	..	...
1982	13,762	6,336	7,426	12,173	5,309	6,864	1,859	834	1,025
1983	14,337	6,441	7,896	12,442	5,256	7,186	2,074	881	1,193
1984	14,372	6,400	7,972	12,166	5,287	6,879	2,124	962	1,162
1985	14,386	6,370	8,016	11,794	5,072	6,722	2,061	912	1,149
1986	13,868	6,289	7,579	11,431	4,579	6,852	2,085	919	1,166
1987	13,633	5,947	7,686	11,994	5,082	6,912	1,980	822	1,158
1988	13,826	6,051	7,775	11,767	4,964	6,803	1,975	864	1,111
1989	13,048	5,797	7,251	11,054	4,589	6,465	2,038	896	1,142
1990	13,035	...	...	10,578	...	...	1,968	...	...
1991	12,779	...	...	9,629	...	...	1,727	...	...
1992	12,158	...	...	9,479	...	...	1,472	...	...
1993	12,434	5,647	6,787	9,123	...	...	1,423	...	...
1994	11,605	5,212	6,393	8,449	...	...	...	...	...
1995	10,900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

a. Probably incomplete data.
Source: Vital statistics data.