

World Jewish Population, 1991

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS UPDATES, for the end of 1991, of the Jewish population estimates for the various countries of the world.¹ The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to study scientifically the demography of contemporary world Jewry.² Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.

Since the end of the 1980s, important geopolitical changes have affected the world scene, particularly in Eastern Europe. The major event was the political breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states. Similar problems now affect other countries, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The Jewish population has been sensitive to these changes, large-scale emigration from the former USSR being the most visible effect. Our presentation of the geographical distribution of world Jewry takes into account the current redrawing of the world's political map. Among the changes introduced for the present volume—in comparison with previous AJYB articles—is the listing of each republic of the former USSR as a separate country, located in Europe or Asia, as appropriate. The whole Jewish population of the USSR was previously assigned to Europe.

In spite of the increased fragmentation of the global system of nations, about 94 percent of world Jewry is concentrated in ten countries. The aggregate of these major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry, estimated at 12.85 million persons at the end of 1991. The country figures for 1991 were updated from those for 1990 in accordance with the known or estimated changes in the interval—migrations, vital events (births and

¹The previous estimates, as of 1990, were published in AJYB 1992, vol. 92, pp. 484–512.

²Many of these activities are carried out by, or in coordination with, the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The authors acknowledge with thanks the collaboration of the many institutions and individuals in the different countries who have supplied information for this update.

deaths), and identificational changes (accessions and secessions). In addition, corrections were introduced in the light of newly accrued information on Jewish populations. Corresponding corrections were also applied retrospectively to the 1990 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see table 1), so as to allow adequate comparison with the 1991 estimates.

During the year 1991 under review here, operations of data collection and analysis relevant to Jewish population estimates were in planning or already under way in several countries. National censuses were carried out in Canada and Australia; Jewish sociodemographic surveys were completed in South Africa and in Mexico. Some of this ongoing research is part of a coordinated effort to update the profile of world Jewry that began at the outset of the 1990s.³ Two important sources recently yielded results on major Jewish populations: the official population census of the Soviet Union held in 1989, and the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) in the United States completed in 1990. The respective results basically confirm the estimates we reported in previous AJYB volumes and, perhaps more importantly, our interpretation of the trends now prevailing in the demography of world Jewry.⁴ At the same time, these new data highlight the increasing complexity of the sociodemographic and identificational processes underlying the definition of Jewish populations—hence the estimates of their sizes. A full review of the major conceptual problems appeared in the 1992 volume of AJYB and will not be repeated here. Users of population estimates should be aware of these difficulties and of the consequent limitations of the estimates.

Presentation of Data

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent and country (tables 2–7 below) aim at the concept of “core” Jewish population. We define the core Jewish population as the aggregate of all those who, when asked, identify themselves as such; or, if the respondent is a different person in the same household, are identified by him/her as Jews. The core Jewish population includes all those who converted to Judaism or joined the Jewish group informally. It excludes those of Jewish descent who formally adopted another religion, as well as other Jewish individuals who did not convert out but currently disclaim being

³Following the 1987 international conference on Jewish population problems, sponsored by the major Jewish organizations worldwide, an International Scientific Advisory Committee (ISAC) was established. Cochaired by Dr. Roberto Bachi of the Hebrew University and Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University, ISAC coordinates and monitors Jewish population data collection internationally. See Sergio DellaPergola and Leah Cohen, eds., *World Jewish Population: Trends and Policies* (Jerusalem, 1992).

⁴See U.O. Schmeltz, “Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors,” AJYB 1981, vol. 81, pp. 61–117; U.O. Schmeltz, *Aging of World Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1984); Sergio DellaPergola, “Israel and World Jewish Population: A Core-Periphery Perspective,” in *Population and Social Change in Israel*, ed. C. Goldscheider (Boulder, 1992), pp. 39–63.

Jewish. The so-called extended or enlarged Jewish populations—including Jews, ex-Jews, non-Jews of Jewish parentage, and the respective non-Jewish household members—may result in significantly higher estimates (not reported below).

We provide separate figures for each country with at least 100 resident core Jews. Residual estimates of Jews living in other smaller communities supplement some of the continental totals. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the following tables provide the United Nations estimate of midyear 1992 total population,⁵ the estimated end-1991 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 of total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimate.

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. Yet, the figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora communities should be understood as being the central value of the plausible range of the respective core Jewish populations. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely to the accuracy of the estimate.

ACCURACY RATING

The three main elements that affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature and quality of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code combining these elements is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different quality levels of the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or relatively reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the respective country during the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from less accurate but recent countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or unsatisfactory or partial coverage of Jewish population in the particular country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the years in which the base figures or important partial updates were obtained are also stated. For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1991 was not only updated but also revised in the light of improved information, the sign "X" is appended to the accuracy rating.

⁵See United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Development, Population Division, *World Population 1992* (New York, 1992).

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture of Jewish population for the end of 1991 as compared to 1990. For 1990 the originally published estimates are presented along with somewhat revised figures that take into account, retrospectively, the corrections made in 1991 in certain country estimates, in the light of improved information. These corrections resulted in a net decrease in world Jewry's 1990 estimated size by 2,500, due to a downward correction for Great Britain, and upward corrections for Mexico and the 15 component republics of the former USSR. Some explanations are given below for the countries whose estimates were revised. The geographical breakdown in table 1 is slightly different from that in previous AJYB volumes, the main change being the split of the former USSR into its European and Asian components. The 1990 data, too, are presented here according to the new format.

The size of world Jewry at the end of 1991 is assessed at 12,849,500. According to the revised figures, between 1990 and 1991 there was an estimated gain of 45,600 people, or about +0.4 percent. Despite all the imperfections in the estimates, it is clear that world Jewry has reached "zero population growth," with the natural increase in Israel barely compensating for the demographic decline in the Diaspora.

The number of Jews in Israel rose from a figure of 3,946,700 in 1990 to 4,144,600 at the end of 1991, an increase of 197,900 people, or 5.0 percent. In contrast, the estimated Jewish population in the Diaspora declined from 8,857,200 (according to the revised figures) to 8,704,900—a decrease of 152,300 people, or 1.7 percent. These changes primarily reflect the continuing Jewish emigration from the former USSR. In 1991, the Israel-Diaspora estimated net migratory balance amounted to a gain of about 151,300 Jews for Israel. Internal demographic evolution produced further growth among the Jewish population in Israel and further decline in the Diaspora. Recently, instances of accession or "return" to Judaism can be observed in connection with the emigration process from Eastern Europe and the comprehensive provisions of the Israeli Law of Return (*Hok Hashvut*). The Law of Return grants immigrant rights to all current Jews and to their Jewish or non-Jewish spouses, children, and grandchildren, as well as to the spouses of such children and grandchildren. The existence of all such previously unincluded or unidentified individuals may have contributed to a moderate slowing down in the pace of decline of the relevant Diaspora Jewish populations, and some further gains to the Jewish population in Israel.

About half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with over 45 percent in North America. One-third live in Asia—including the Asian republics of the former USSR (but not the Asian parts of the Russian Republic and Turkey)—most of them in Israel. Europe, including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey, accounts for just over 15 percent of the total. Less than 2 percent of the world's Jews live in Africa and Oceania. Among the major geographical regions listed in table 1, the number of Jews in Israel—and, consequently, in total Asia—

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1990 AND 1991

Region	1990			1991		% Change 1990-1991
	Original Abs. N.	Revised		Abs. N.	Percent	
		Abs. N.	Percent			
World	12,806,400	12,803,900	100.0	12,849,500	100.0	+0.4
Diaspora	8,859,700	8,857,200	69.2	8,704,900	67.7	-1.7
Israel	3,946,700	3,946,700	30.8	4,144,600	32.3	+5.0
America, Total	6,278,400	6,281,400	49.0	6,319,000	49.2	+0.6
North ^a	5,845,000	5,845,000	45.6	5,885,000	45.8	+0.7
Central	46,700	49,700	0.4	49,700	0.4	—
South	386,700	386,700	3.0	384,300	3.0	-0.6
Europe, Total	2,157,800	2,150,500	16.8	2,009,800	15.6	-6.5
EC	999,600	986,600	7.7	986,900	7.6	+0.0
Other West	44,000	44,000	0.3	44,000	0.3	—
Former USSR ^b	1,000,500	1,006,200	7.9	868,100	6.8	-13.7
Other East and Balkans ^b	113,700	113,700	0.9	110,800	0.9	-2.6
Asia, Total	4,128,900	4,130,700	32.3	4,298,100	33.5	+4.0
Israel	3,946,700	3,946,700	30.8	4,144,600	32.3	+5.0
Former USSR ^b	149,500	151,300	1.2	121,900	1.0	-19.4
Other ^b	32,700	32,700	0.3	31,600	0.2	-3.4
Africa, Total	148,700	148,700	1.2	129,000	1.0	-13.2
North	10,600	10,600	0.1	10,400	0.1	-1.9
Central	23,100	23,100	0.2	3,600	0.0	-84.4
South ^c	115,000	115,000	0.9	115,000	0.9	—
Oceania	92,600	92,600	0.7	93,600	0.7	+1.1

^aU.S.A. and Canada.^bThe Asian regions of Russia and Turkey are included in Europe.^cSouth Africa and Zimbabwe.

increased in 1991. Moderate Jewish population gains were also estimated for North America, the European Community, and Oceania. South America, Eastern Europe, Asian countries out of Israel, and Africa sustained decreases in Jewish population size. World Jewry constitutes about 2.4 per 1,000 of the world's total population. One in about 400 people in the world is a Jew.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

In 1991 the total number of Jews in the American continents was estimated at 6,319,000. The overwhelming majority (93 percent) resided in the United States and Canada, less than 1 percent lived in Central America (including Mexico), and about 6 percent lived in South America—with Argentina and Brazil the largest Jewish communities (see table 2).

United States. The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), provided new benchmark information about the size and characteristics of U.S. Jewry and the basis for subsequent updates.⁶ According to the official report of the results of this important national sample study, the core Jewish population in the United States comprised 5,515,000 persons in the summer of 1990. Of these, 185,000 were converts to Judaism. An estimated 210,000 persons, not included in the previous figures, were born or raised as Jews but converted to another religion. A further 1,115,000 people—thereof 415,000 adults and 700,000 children below age 18—were of Jewish parentage but were not Jews themselves and declared a religion other than Judaism at the time of survey. All together, these various groups formed an extended Jewish population of 6,840,000. NJPS also covered 1,350,000 non-Jewish-born members of eligible (Jewish or mixed) households. The study's enlarged Jewish population thus consisted of about 8,200,000 persons. The 1990 Jewish population estimates are within the range of a sampling error of plus or minus 3.5 percent.⁷ This means a range between 5.3 and 5.7 million for the core Jewish population in 1990.

During fiscal years (October 1–September 30) 1990 and 1991, respectively 39,000

⁶The 1989–1990 National Jewish Population Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations with the supervision of a National Technical Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. Sidney Goldstein of Brown University. Dr. Barry Kosmin of the North American Jewish Data Bank and City University of New York Graduate Center directed the study. See Barry A. Kosmin, Sidney Goldstein, Joseph Waksberg, Nava Lerer, Ariella Keysar, and Jeffrey Scheckner, *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, 1991); Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," *AJYB* 1992, vol. 92, pp. 77–173.

⁷See Kosmin et al., p. 39.

and 26,761 refugees from the Soviet Union were admitted to the United States.⁸ The total of assisted refugees for calendar year 1991 was 34,715. The international migration balance of U.S. Jewry should have generated an actual increase of Jewish population size. However, based on NJPS findings, the expected influence of international migration between 1971 and 1990 did not show up in the size of U.S. core Jewish population in 1990. This indicates that the balance of other factors of core population change over that whole 20-year period must have been somewhat negative. First detailed analyses of the new NJPS data actually provide evidence of a variety of contributing factors: low levels of Jewish fertility and the "effectively Jewish" birthrate, increasing aging of the Jewish population, increasing outmarriage rate, declining rate of conversion to Judaism (or "choosing" Judaism), rather low proportions of children of mixed marriages being identified as Jewish, and a growing tendency to adopt non-Jewish rituals.⁹ A temporary increase in the Jewish birthrate occurred during the late 1980s, because the large cohorts born during the "baby boom" of the 1950s and early 1960s were in the main procreative ages; however, this echo effect is about to fade away, as the much smaller cohorts born since the late 1960s reach the stage of parenthood.

Taking into account this evidence, our estimate of U.S. Jewish population size at the end of 1991 starts from the NJPS benchmark core Jewish population of 5,515,000; assumes that the current balance of demographic and identificational changes in the core Jewish population is overall close to nil; and attempts to account for Jewish immigration which arrived in the later part of 1990, after completion of NJPS, and in 1991. Assuming a total net migration gain of about 50,000–60,000 from the USSR, Israel, and other origins for the whole of 1990, we apportioned 20,000 to the later months of 1990. A further 40,000 were added to account for net immigration in 1991. We thus suggest an estimate of 5,575,000 Jews in the United States at the end of 1991. This estimate is still conditional on further detailed scrutiny and interpretation of the NJPS findings.

The research team of the North American Jewish Data Bank (NAJDB), which was responsible for the primary handling of NJPS data files, has also continued its yearly compilation of local Jewish population estimates. These are reported elsewhere in this volume.¹⁰ NAJDB estimated the U.S. Jewish population in 1986 at 5,814,000, including "under 2 percent" non-Jewish household members. This was

⁸Barry R. Chiswick, "Soviet Jews in the United States: An Analysis of Their Linguistic and Economic Adjustment," *Economic Quarterly*, July 1991, no. 148, pp. 188–211 (Hebrew), and *International Migration Review*, forthcoming 1993 (English); HIAS, news release (New York, Oct. 10, 1991; Sept. 30, 1992).

⁹See Goldstein, AJYB 1992; see also U.O. Schmeltz and Sergio DellaPergola, *Basic Trends in U.S. Jewish Demography* (New York, American Jewish Committee, 1988).

¹⁰The first in a new series of yearly compilations of local U.S. Jewish population estimates appeared in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband, and Jeffrey Scheckner, "Jewish Population in the United States, 1986," AJYB 1987, vol. 87, pp. 164–91. The 1992 update appears elsewhere in the present volume.

very close to our own pre-NJPS estimate of 5,700,000. The NAJDB estimate was updated as follows: 1987—5,943,700; 1988—5,935,000; 1989—5,944,000; 1990—5,981,000; 1991—5,798,000. These changes do not reflect actual sudden growths or declines, but rather corrections and adaptations made in the figures for several local communities—some of them in the light of NJPS regional results. It should be realized that compilations of local estimates, even if as painstaking as in the case of the NAJDB, are subject to a great many local biases and tend to fall behind the actual pace of national trends. This is especially true in a context of vigorous internal migrations, as in the United States. In our view, the new NJPS figure, in spite of sample-survey biases, provides a more reliable national Jewish population baseline.

Canada. In Canada the 1981 census enumerated 296,425 Jews according to religion. By adding 9,950 persons who reported “Jewish” as their single reply to the census question on ethnic origin, while not reporting any non-Jewish religion (such as Catholic, Anglican, etc.), the figure rises to 306,375. There were additional persons who did not report a non-Jewish religion but mentioned Jewish as part of a multiple response to the question on ethnic origin. After due allowance for the latter group, a total core Jewish population of 310,000 was suggested for 1981. A further 5,140 Canadians, who reported being Jewish by ethnic origin but identified with another religion were not included in our estimate.

The population census held in Canada in 1986 provided data on ethnic origins but not on religious groups. A total of 245,855 persons reported being Jewish as a single reply to the question on ethnic origin, as against 264,020 in the same category in 1981. A further 97,655 mentioned a Jewish origin as part of a multiple response to the 1986 question on ethnic origin, as compared to 30,000–40,000 in 1981. Thus, a substantial increase in the number of Canadians reporting partially Jewish ancestry seemed to offset the decline in the number of those with a solely Jewish identification according to ethnicity. Besides actual demographic and identificational trends, changes in the wording of the relevant questions in the two censuses may have influenced these variations in the size of the ethnically (or, in our terminology, extended) Jewish population of Canada.¹¹

In the light of available evidence on international migration, and considering the increasingly aged Jewish population structure, it is suggested that a migratory surplus may have roughly offset the probably negative balance of internal evolution since the 1981 census. Consequently, the 1981 figure of 310,000 was kept unchanged throughout 1991. The 1991 census again included questions on both religion and ethnic origin, and its results (to be released in 1993) will provide a new baseline for the estimate of Canada’s Jewish population.

Central America. Official Mexican censuses have provided rather erratic and unreliable figures. A Jewish-sponsored population survey of the Jews in the Mexico

¹¹Statistics Canada, *1981 Census of Canada: Population: Ethnic Origin; Religion* (Ottawa, 1983, 1984); Statistics Canada, *Population by Ethnic Origin, 1986 Census: Canada, Provinces and Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas* (Ottawa, 1988).

City area was completed in 1991.¹² The results point to a Jewish community definitely less affected than others in the Diaspora by the common trends of low fertility, intermarriage, and aging. Some comparatively more traditional sectors in the community still contribute a slight surplus of births over deaths, and overall, thanks also to some immigration, the Jewish population has been quite stable or moderately increasing. The new population estimate was put at 35,000 in the Mexico City area, and at 38,000 nationally. This amounts to an upward revision of 3,000 in comparison with our previous estimate. Panama's Jewish population—the second largest in Central America—is estimated at about 5,000.

*South America.*¹³ The Jewish population of Argentina, the largest in that geographical region, is marked by a negative balance of internal evolution. A number of local surveys conducted at the initiative of the Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina—AMIA, the central Jewish community organization—consistently point to growing aging.¹⁴ Since the 1960s, while the pace of emigration and return migration was significantly affected by the nature of economic and political trends in the country, the balance of external migrations was generally negative. Accordingly, the estimate for Argentinian Jewry was reduced from 215,000 in 1990 to 213,000 in 1991.

In Brazil, the official population census of 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. Since it is possible that some otherwise identifying Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, a corrected estimate of 100,000 was adopted for 1980 and has been kept unchanged through 1991, assuming that the overall balance of Jewish vital events and external migrations was close to zero. The national figure of approximately 100,000 fits the admittedly rough estimates that are available for the size of local Jewish communities in Brazil.

On the strength of fragmentary information available, the estimates for Uruguay and Peru were slightly reduced, while those for Venezuela, Chile, and Colombia were not changed.

¹²The project, directed by Dr. Susan Lerner of the Center for Demographic and Urban Development Studies, Colegio de Mexico, and Dr. Sergio DellaPergola of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University, was sponsored by the Asociacion Mexicana de Amigos de la Universidad de Jerusalén.

¹³For a more detailed discussion of the region's Jewish population trends, see U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demography of Latin American Jewry," *AJYB* 1985, vol. 85, pp. 51–102; Sergio DellaPergola, "Demographic Trends of Latin American Jewry," in J. Laikin Elkin and G.W. Merks, eds., *The Jewish Presence in Latin America* (Boston, 1987), pp. 85–133.

¹⁴Rosa N. Geldstein, *Censo de la Poblacion Judia de la ciudad de Salta, 1986; Informe final* (Buenos Aires, 1988); Yacov Rubel, *Los Judios de Villa Crespo y Almagro: Perfil Socio-demografico* (Buenos Aires, 1989); Yacov Rubel, *Censo de la Poblacion Judia de Rosario, 1990* (Buenos Aires, 1992).

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, END 1991

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Canada	27,367,000	310,000	11.3	C 1981-86
United States	255,159,000	5,575,000	21.8	A 1990
Total North America	282,651,000 ^a	5,885,000	20.8	
Bahamas	264,000	300	1.1	C 1973
Costa Rica	3,192,000	2,000	0.6	C 1986
Cuba	10,811,000	700	0.1	C 1990
Dominican Republic	7,471,000	100	0.0	D
Guatemala	9,745,000	800	0.1	C 1983
Jamaica	2,469,000	300	0.1	B 1988
Mexico	88,153,000	38,000	0.4	A 1991 X
Netherlands Antilles	175,000	400	2.3	D
Panama	2,515,000	5,000	2.0	C 1990
Puerto Rico	3,594,000	1,500	0.4	C 1990
Virgin Islands	107,000	300	2.8	C 1986
Other	24,710,000	300	0.0	D
Total Central America	153,206,000	49,700	0.3	
Argentina	33,100,000	213,000	6.4	C 1990
Bolivia	7,524,000	700	0.1	B 1990
Brazil	154,113,000	100,000	0.6	C 1980
Chile	13,600,000	15,000	1.1	C 1988
Colombia	33,424,000	6,500	0.2	C 1986
Ecuador	11,055,000	900	0.1	C 1985
Paraguay	4,519,000	900	0.2	B 1990
Peru	22,451,000	3,100	0.1	B 1988
Suriname	438,000	200	0.5	B 1986
Uruguay	3,130,000	24,000	7.7	C 1990
Venezuela	20,186,000	20,000	1.0	C 1989
Total South America	304,454,000 ^a	384,300	1.3	
Total	740,311,000	6,319,000	8.5	

^aIncluding countries not listed separately.

EUROPE

Of the estimated over two million Jews in Europe at the end of 1991, 51 percent lived in Western Europe and 49 percent in Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries—including the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 3). In 1991 Europe lost 6.5 percent of its estimated Jewish population, mainly through the continuing emigration from the former USSR. As a consequence, for the first time, literally, in many centuries, there were more Jews in Western than in Eastern Europe.

European Community. The 12 countries forming the European Community (EC) together had an estimated Jewish population of about one million. Virtually no change was recorded as against the 1990 estimate, although different trends affected the Jewish populations in each member country. (See separate article on this subject, elsewhere in this volume.)

The estimated size of French Jewry has been assessed for several years at 530,000. Since the breakup of the USSR, France has had the third largest Jewish population in the world, after the United States and Israel. Monitoring the plausible trends of both the internal evolution and external migrations of Jews in France suggests little net change in Jewish population size since the major survey that was taken in the 1970s.¹⁵ A study conducted in 1988 at the initiative of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié (FSJU) confirmed the basic demographic stability of French Jewry.¹⁶

Periodic reestimations of the size of British Jewry are carried out by the Community Research Unit (CRU) of the Board of Deputies. Based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during 1975–1979, the population baseline for 1977 was set at 336,000 with a margin of error of plus or minus 34,000.¹⁷ The vital statistical records regularly compiled by the CRU show an excess of deaths over births in the range of about 1,500 a year. Allowing for emigration and some assimilatory losses, the update for 1984, as elaborated by the CRU, came to 330,000. Continuation of the same trends suggested an estimate of 315,000 for 1990. A study of Jewish synagogue membership indicated a decline of over 7 percent between 1983 and 1990.¹⁸ A new national estimate, mainly based on an evaluation of Jewish death records, was being completed by the CRU at the time of this writing.¹⁹ The preliminary results pointed to a further, substantial Jewish population decline. Pending final publication of the

¹⁵Doris Bensimon and Sergio DellaPergola, *La population juive de France: socio-démographie et identité* (Jerusalem and Paris, 1984).

¹⁶Erik H. Cohen, *L'Etude et l'éducation juive en France ou l'avenir d'une communauté* (Paris, 1991).

¹⁷Steven Haberman, Barry A. Kosmin, and Caren Levy, "Mortality Patterns of British Jews 1975–79: Insights and Applications for the Size and Structure of British Jewry," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, ser. A, 146, pt. 3, 1983, pp. 294–310.

¹⁸Marlena Schmool and Frances Cohen, *British Synagogue Membership in 1990* (London, 1991).

¹⁹Steven Haberman, Marlena Schmool, *Estimates of British Jewish Population 1984–88* (London, forthcoming).

study, we adopted a provisional revised estimate of 300,000 for 1991.

In 1990, Germany was politically reunited. In the former (West) German Federal Republic, the 1987 population census reported 32,319 Jews. Jewish community records reported about 28,500 affiliated Jews at the end of 1990—an increase over previous years. Immigration compensated for the surplus of deaths over births in this aging Jewish population. Estimates for the small Jewish population in the former (East) German Democratic Republic ranged between 500 and 2,000. Our 1989 estimate for unified Germany was 35,000. In 1990, an estimated 5,000 Jewish migrants from the USSR were admitted to settle in Germany, bringing the estimate to 40,000. In 1991 immigration from the east continued, bringing to 33,692 the total number of Jews affiliated with the Jewish community. Pending clarification of the permanent impact of current immigration, we increased the figure to a conservative estimate of 42,500 at the end of 1991. Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands each have Jewish populations ranging around 30,000. There is a tendency toward internal shrinkage of all these Jewries, but in some instances this is offset by immigration. In Belgium, the size of Jewish population is probably quite stable, owing to the comparatively strong Orthodox section in that community. In Italy, until 1984, Jews were legally bound to affiliate with the local Jewish communities, but then membership in these communities became voluntary. Although most Jews reaffiliated, the new looser legal framework may facilitate the ongoing attrition of the Jewish population.

Other EC member countries have smaller and, overall, slowly declining Jewish populations. An exception may be Spain, whose Jewish population is very tentatively estimated at 12,000.

Other Western Europe. Countries which are not EC members together account for a Jewish population of 44,000. Switzerland's Jews are estimated at below 20,000. Austria's permanent Jewish population is estimated at 7,000. While there is evidence of a negative balance of births and deaths, connected with great aging and frequent outmarriage, immigration may have offset the internal losses. The Jewish populations in Scandinavian countries are, on the whole, numerically rather stable.

Former USSR (European parts). The demographic situation of East European Jewry is rapidly changing as a consequence of the deep geopolitical changes in the region. The major event was the economic and political crisis that culminated in the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a state in 1991. Closely related to the same fateful complex of factors was the upsurge in Jewish emigration in 1990, which continued, slightly attenuated, in 1991. While mass emigration is an obvious factor of population decrease, the demography of East European Jewry has been characterized for years by very low levels of "effectively Jewish" fertility, frequent outmarriage, and heavy aging. Therefore the shrinking of the Jewish populations there must be comparatively rapid.

Data on nationalities (ethnic groups) from the Soviet Union's last official popula-

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, END 1991

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Belgium	9,998,000	31,800	3.2	C 1987
Denmark	5,205,000	6,400	1.2	C 1990
France	57,182,000	530,000	9.3	C 1990
Germany	80,253,000	42,500	0.5	C 1990
Great Britain	57,908,000	300,000	5.2	B 1991 X
Greece	10,182,000	4,800	0.5	B 1990
Ireland	3,486,000	1,800	0.5	B 1990
Italy	57,782,000	31,100	0.5	B 1990
Luxembourg	378,000	600	1.6	B 1990
Netherlands	15,158,000	25,600	1.7	C 1990
Portugal	9,866,000	300	0.0	B 1986
Spain	39,092,000	12,000	0.3	D
Total European Community	346,490,000	986,900	2.8	
Austria	7,776,000	7,000	0.9	C 1990
Finland	5,008,000	1,300	0.3	A 1990
Gibraltar	31,000	600	19.4	C 1981
Norway	4,288,000	1,000	0.2	B 1987
Sweden	8,652,000	15,000	1.7	C 1990
Switzerland	6,813,000	19,000	2.8	C 1980
Other	746,000	100	0.1	D
Total other West Europe	33,314,000	44,000	1.3	
Belarus	10,295,000	58,000	5.6	B 1991 X
Estonia	1,582,000	3,500	2.2	A 1991 X
Latvia	2,679,000	15,800	5.9	B 1991 X
Lithuania	3,755,000	7,300	1.9	B 1991 X
Moldova	4,362,000	28,500	6.5	B 1991 X
Russia ^a	149,003,000	430,000	2.9	B 1991 X
Ukraine	52,158,000	325,000	6.2	B 1991 X
Total former USSR in Europe	223,834,000	868,100	3.9	

TABLE 3.—(Continued)

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Bulgaria	8,952,000	2,200	0.2	C 1990
Czechoslovakia	15,731,000	7,700	0.5	D
Hungary	10,512,000	56,500	5.4	D
Poland	38,417,000	3,700	0.1	C 1990
Romania	23,327,000	16,800	0.7	B 1988
Turkey ^a	58,362,000	19,600	0.3	C 1990
Yugoslavia ^b	23,949,000	4,300	0.2	C 1988
Total other East Europe and Balkans	182,565,000 ^c	110,800	0.6	
Total	786,203,000	2,009,800	2.6	

^aIncluding Asian regions.^bIncluding Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia.^cIncluding countries not listed separately.

tion census, carried out in January 1989, revealed a total of 1,450,500 Jews.²⁰ The figure confirmed the declining trend already apparent since the previous three censuses: 2,267,800 Jews in 1959, 2,150,700 in 1970, and 1,810,900 in 1979.

Our reservation about USSR Jewish population figures in previous AJYB volumes bears repeating: some underreporting is not impossible, but it cannot be quantified and should not be exaggerated. One should cautiously keep in mind the possible conflicting effects on census declarations of the prolonged existence of a totalitarian regime: on the one hand, stimulating a preference for other than Jewish nationalities in the various parts of the Soviet Union, especially in connection with mixed marriages; on the other hand, preserving a formal Jewish identification by coercion, through the mandatory registration of nationality on official documents such as passports. Viewed conceptually, the census figures represent the core Jewish population in the USSR. They actually constitute a good example of a large and empirically measured core Jewish population in the Diaspora, consisting of the aggregate of self-identifying Jews. The figures of successive censuses appear to be remarkably consistent with one another and with the known patterns of emigration

²⁰Goskomstat SSSR, *Vestnik Statistiki* 10 (1990), pp. 69–71.

and internal demographic evolution of the Jewish population in recent decades.²¹

A substantial amount of unpublished data was known to exist about the demographic characteristics and trends of Jews in the former USSR, but it was inaccessible. Systematic analysis of such material has now become possible and is producing important new insights into recent and current trends.²² The new data confirm the prevalence of very low fertility and birthrates, high frequencies of outmarriage, a preference for non-Jewish nationalities among the children of outmarriages, aging, and a clear surplus of Jewish deaths over Jewish births. These trends are especially visible in the Slavic republics holding a large share of the total Jewish population.

The respective figures for the enlarged Jewish population—including all current Jews as well as any other persons of Jewish parentage and their non-Jewish household members—must be substantially higher in a societal context like that of the USSR, which has been characterized by high intermarriage rates for a considerable time. It is not yet possible to provide an actual estimate of this enlarged Jewish population for lack of appropriate data. Nor can any information about the ratio between Jews and non-Jews in an enlarged Jewish population in the USSR be derived from the statistics of immigrants to Israel. Due to the highly self-selective character of *aliyah*, non-Jews have constituted a relatively small minority of all new immigrants from the USSR.²³ It is obvious, though, that the wide provisions of Israel's Law of Return (see above) apply to virtually the maximum emigration pool of self-declared Jews and close non-Jewish relatives. Any of the large figures attributed in recent years to the size of Soviet Jewry, insofar as they are based on

²¹U.O. Schmelz, "New Evidence on Basic Issues in the Demography of Soviet Jews," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2, 1974, pp. 209–23; Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry Since the Second World War: Population and Social Structure* (Westport, 1987).

²²Viacheslav Konstantinov, "Jewish Population of the USSR on the Eve of the Great Exodus," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3 (16), 1991, pp. 5–23; Mordechai Altshuler, "Socio-demographic Profile of Moscow Jews," *ibid.*, pp. 24–40; Mark Tolts, "The Balance of Births and Deaths Among Soviet Jewry," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 2 (18), 1992, pp. 13–26; Leonid E. Darsky, "Fertility in the USSR; Basic Trends" (Paper presented at European Population Conference, Paris, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Jewish Marriages in the USSR: A Demographic Analysis" (Moscow, 1991); Mark Tolts, "Trends in Soviet Jewish Demography Since the Second World War" (Paper presented at conference, "From Revolution to Revolution: The Soviet Jews Under the Soviet Regime," Jerusalem, 1992); Mark Kupovetsky, "From Village Settlers to Urban Integration: Jews in the Soviet Union Between the Two World Wars," *ibid.*

²³Israel's Ministry of Interior records the religion-nationality of each person, including new immigrants. Such attribution is made on the basis of documentary evidence supplied by the immigrants themselves and checked by competent authorities in Israel. According to data available from the Interior Ministry's Central Population Register, 90.3 percent of all new immigrants from the USSR during the period October 1989–August 1992 were recorded as Jewish. The annual trends clearly point to a growing proportion of non-Jews among the immigrants. See Sergio DellaPergola, "The Demographic Context of the Soviet Aliya," *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 3 (16), 1991, pp. 41–56.

demographic reasoning, do not relate to the core but to various measures of an enlarged Jewish population. The evidence also suggests that in the USSR core Jews constitute a smaller share of the total enlarged Jewish population than in some Western countries, such as the United States.

Just as the number of declared Jews remained consistent between censuses, the number of persons of Jewish descent who preferred not to be identified as Jews was rather consistent too, at least until 1989. However, the recent political developments, and especially the emigration urge impressively illustrated by the exodus of 1990–1991, have probably led to greater readiness to declare a Jewish self-identification by persons who did not describe themselves as such in the 1989 census. In terms of demographic accounting, these “returnees” imply an actual net increment to the core Jewish population of the USSR, as well as to world Jewry.

With regard to updating the January 1989 census figure to the end of 1991 for each of the republics of the former USSR, Jewish emigration has played the major role among the intervening changes. An estimated 71,000, thereof about 60,000 declared Jews, left in 1989, as against 19,300 in 1988, 8,100 in 1987, and only 7,000 during the whole 1982–1986 period. In 1990, according to Soviet, Israeli, American, and other sources, an estimated 229,000 Jews originating in the USSR were involved in international migrations, including the resettling of those who had been in temporary accommodations in Western Europe.²⁴ In 1991, 148,000 immigrants from the former USSR arrived in Israel. Another minimum estimate of 42,000 migrants arrived in other countries. We estimate that of these total 190,000 migrants, about 150,000 were Jewish. At the same time, the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics continued and even intensified due to the great aging which is known to have prevailed for many decades. The aging of the remaining population was exacerbated by the significantly younger age composition of the emigrants.²⁵

On the strength of these considerations, our estimate of the core Jewish population in the USSR was reduced from the census figure of 1,450,500 at the end of 1988–beginning of 1989 to 1,370,000 at the end of 1989, and to 1,150,000 at the end of 1990. In the light of better estimates prepared in relation to the present article, the 1990 estimate was revised to 1,157,500, and updated to 990,000 at the end of

²⁴See Sidney Heitman, “Soviet Emigration in 1990,” *Berichte des Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien*, vol. 33, 1991.

²⁵Age structures of the Jewish population in the Russian Federal Republic in 1970 and 1979 were reported in *Goskomstat SSSR, Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 4, table 33 (Moscow, 1973); *Goskomstat SSSR, Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1979 goda*, vol. 4, part 2, table 2 (Moscow, 1989); *Goskomstat SSSR, Itogi vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda* (Moscow, 1991). Age structures of recent Jewish migrants from the USSR to the United States and to Israel appear, respectively, in: *HIAS, Statistical Abstract*, vol. 30, no. 4 (New York, 1990); Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration to Israel 1990*, Special Series, no. 900 (Jerusalem, 1991); Yoel Florsheim, “Immigration to Israel from the Soviet Union in 1990,” *Jews and Jewish Topics in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* 2 (15), 1991, pp. 5–14.

1991.²⁶ Of these, 868,100 lived in the European republics and 121,900 in the Asian parts of the former USSR (see below). The largest Jewish populations in the European parts are in the Russian Republic (430,000) and Ukraine (325,000). A further 58,000 Jews are estimated to live in Belarus, 28,500 in the Moldovan Republic, and a combined total of 26,600 in the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Other East Europe and Balkans. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Romania and the small remnants in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak republics, Poland, and the former Yugoslavia are all reputed to be very overaged and to experience frequent outmarriage. In each of these countries, the ongoing processes of political liberalization have permitted greater autonomy of the organized Jewish communities and their registered membership. Although some Jews or persons of Jewish origin have come out in the open after years of hiding their identity, the inevitable numerical decline of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe is reflected in reduced estimates for 1991.

In 1991, the entire Jewish community of Albania, amounting to some 300, emigrated to Israel. The size of Hungarian Jewry—the largest in Eastern Europe outside the former USSR—is quite insufficiently known. Our estimate of 56,500 only attempts to reflect the declining trend that prevails there, too, according to the available indicators. Jewish emigration continued to take place from Romania. The January 1992 census of Romania indicated a Jewish population of 9,100. However, based on the detailed Jewish community records available there, our estimate for the end of 1991 was 16,800. In Yugoslavia, torn apart by a devastating political, military, and economic crisis, the overall core Jewish population was estimated at 4,300 at the end of 1991. Of these, roughly 1,900 lived in Serbia, 1,200 in Croatia, 1,000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina (before the collapse of civil life there), and less than 100 each in Slovenia and Macedonia. In Czechoslovakia, another country on the verge of political breakup, the Jewish population was tentatively estimated at 4,700 in the Czech Republic and 3,000 in Slovakia.

The Jewish population of Turkey, where a surplus of deaths over births has been reported for several years, is estimated at about 20,000.

ASIA

Israel. Israel accounts for 96 percent of all the nearly 4.3 million Jews in Asia, including the Asian republics of the former USSR, but excluding the Asian territories of the Russian Republic and Turkey (see table 4). By the end of 1991, Israel Jews constituted over 32 percent of total world Jewry. Israel's Jewish population grew in 1991 by about 198,000, or 5 percent. This was slightly less than in 1990 (6.2 percent growth), and the second highest growth rate since the end of the initial wave of mass *aliyah* in 1951. About 77 percent of Jewish population growth in 1991 was

²⁶We appreciate the collaboration of Dr. Mark Tolts, of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University, in preparing these estimates.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, END 1991^a

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Israel	5,059,000 ^b	4,144,600	819.3	A 1991
Armenia	3,489,000	300	0.1	B 1991 X
Azerbaijan	7,283,000	16,000	2.2	B 1991 X
Georgia	5,471,000	20,700	3.8	B 1991 X
Kazakhstan	17,048,000	15,300	0.9	B 1991 X
Kirghizstan	4,518,000	3,900	0.9	B 1991 X
Tajikistan	5,587,000	8,200	1.5	B 1991 X
Turkmenistan	3,861,000	2,000	0.5	B 1991 X
Uzbekistan	21,453,000	55,500	2.6	B 1991 X
Total former USSR in Asia ^a	68,710,000	121,900	1.8	
Hong Kong	5,800,000	1,000	0.2	D
India	879,548,000	4,700	0.0	C 1981
Iran	61,565,000	18,000	0.3	D
Iraq	19,290,000	200	0.0	D
Japan	124,491,000	1,000	0.0	C 1988
Korea, South	44,163,000	100	0.0	D
Philippines	65,186,000	100	0.0	C 1988
Singapore	2,769,000	300	0.1	B 1990
Syria	13,276,000	4,000	0.3	C 1991
Thailand	56,129,000	200	0.0	D 1988
Yemen	12,535,000	1,700	0.1	B 1990
Other	1,884,723,000	300	0.0	D
Total other Asia	3,169,475,000	31,600	0.0	
Total	3,243,244,000	4,298,100	1.3	

^aNot including Asian regions of Russia and Turkey.^bEnd 1991.

due to the net migration balance. The total number of Jewish immigrants (176,100) was the third highest in Israel's history. More immigrants arrived in 1949 (239,950) and in 1990 (199,500). The remaining 23 percent of Jewish population growth reflected natural increase, including some cases of immigrants from the former

USSR who were previously listed as non-Jews being reregistered as Jews.²⁷

Former USSR (Asian parts). The total Jewish population in the Asian republics of the former USSR was estimated at about 122,000. The largest community was in Uzbekistan (55,500), followed by Georgia (20,700), Azerbaijan (16,000), and Kazakhstan (15,300). Growing Muslim fundamentalism and the various ethnic conflicts in these areas were causes of concern and stimulated high emigration rates. Internal identificational and demographic processes were less a factor of attrition among these Jewish populations than was the case in the European republics of the former USSR. At the end of the 1980s, minimal rates of natural increase still existed among the more traditional sections of these Jewish communities, but the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the 1990s were rapidly eroding this residual surplus.²⁸

Other countries. It is difficult to estimate the Jewish population of Iran for any given date, but it continues to dwindle. The estimate for 1991 was reduced to 18,000. In other Asian countries with small veteran communities—such as India, or several Muslim countries—the Jewish population tends to decline. Very small Jewish communities, partially of a transient character, exist in several countries of Southeast Asia.

AFRICA

Less than 130,000 Jews are estimated to remain now in Africa. The Republic of South Africa accounts for 88 percent of total Jews in that continent (see table 5). The last official population census, carried out in 1991, did not provide a reliable new national figure of Jewish population size. The question on religion was not mandatory, and only about 59,000 people declared themselves as Jewish. In 1980, according to the previous official census, there were about 118,000 Jews among South Africa's white population.²⁹ Substantial Jewish emigration since then was compensated in good part by Jewish immigration and return migration of former emigrants. Considering a moderately negative migration balance, and an incipient negative balance of internal changes, our Jewish population estimate for 1988 was reduced to 114,000. Since then, there appears to have been further decline in Jewish population. Pending publication in 1993 of the results of a Jewish-sponsored survey of South African Jewry completed in 1991, we repeat our previous estimate for 1991.³⁰

²⁷Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel 1992* (Jerusalem, 1992). For a comprehensive review of sociodemographic changes in Israel, see U.O. Schmelz, Sergio DellaPergola, and Uri Avner, "Ethnic Differences Among Israeli Jews: A New Look," *AJYB* 1990, vol. 90, pp. 3–204.

²⁸Tolts, "The Balance. . . ."

²⁹Sergio DellaPergola and Allie A. Dubb, "South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile," *AJYB* 1988, vol. 88, pp. 59–140.

³⁰The study was directed by Dr. Allie A. Dubb and supported by the Kaplan Centre for Judaic Studies, University of Cape Town.

In recent years, the Jewish community of Ethiopia has been at the center of an international rescue effort. In the course of 1991, the overwhelming majority of Ethiopian Jews—about 20,000 people—were brought to Israel, most of them in a dramatic one-day airlift operation. (A few of these migrants were non-Jewish members of mixed households.) In connection with these events, the size of Ethiopian Jewry can be evaluated on a more accurate basis than previously. It can be estimated that the core Jewish population was about 21,000 at the end of 1990, and 1,500 at the end of 1991. The question of the status of the Christian relatives of Ethiopian Jews and of their possible numbers is being investigated by Israeli authorities.

The remnants of Moroccan and Tunisian Jewry tend to shrink slowly through emigration. It should be pointed out, though, that some Jews have a foothold both in Morocco or Tunisia and in France and other Western countries, and their geographical attribution is uncertain.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, END 1991

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Egypt	54,842,000	200	0.0	C 1988
Ethiopia	52,981,000	1,500	0.0	B 1991
Kenya	25,230,000	400	0.0	B 1990
Morocco	26,318,000	8,000	0.3	D
South Africa	39,818,000	114,000	2.9	C 1980
Tunisia	8,401,000	2,200	0.3	D
Zaire	39,882,000	400	0.0	C 1990
Zambia	8,638,000	300	0.0	C 1990
Zimbabwe	10,583,000	1,000	0.1	B 1990
Other	414,992,000	1,000	0.0	D
Total	681,685,000	129,000	0.2	

OCEANIA

The major country of Jewish residence in Oceania (Australasia) is Australia, where 95 percent of the estimated total of nearly 94,000 Jews live (see table 6). The 1986 census of Australia, where the question on religion is optional, enumerated 69,065 declared Jews but also indicated that about 25 percent of the country's whole

population either did not specify their religion or stated explicitly that they had none.³¹ This large group must be assumed to contain persons who identify in other ways as Jews. In addition, Australian Jewry has received migratory reinforcements during the last decade, especially from South Africa and the former USSR. At the same time, there are demographic patterns with negative effects on Jewish population size, such as strong aging, low or negative natural increase, and some assimilation. We raised our estimate for 1991 to a provisional figure of 89,000. The new census of 1991, as well as a Jewish survey now being planned, will hopefully provide firmer data on Jewish population size and trends in Australia. The Jewish community in New Zealand is estimated at 4,500.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, END 1991

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	17,596,000	89,000	5.1	C 1986
New Zealand	3,455,000	4,500	1.3	C 1988
Other	6,479,000	100	0.0	D
Total	27,530,000	93,600	3.4	

Dispersion and Concentration

Table 7 demonstrates the magnitude of Jewish dispersion. The individual countries listed above as each having at least 100 Jews are scattered over all the continents. In 1991, more than half (46 out of 87 countries) had fewer than 5,000 Jews each. In relative terms, too, the Jews were thinly scattered nearly everywhere in the Diaspora. There is not a single Diaspora country where they amounted even to 25 per 1,000 of the total population. In most countries they constituted a far smaller fraction. Only three Diaspora countries had more than 10 Jews per 1,000 in their total population; and only thirteen countries had more than 5 Jews per 1,000 of population. The respective 13 countries were, in descending order of the proportion, but regardless of the absolute number of their Jews: United States (21.8 per 1,000), Gibraltar (19.4), Canada (11.3), France (9.3), Uruguay (7.7), Moldova (6.5), Argen-

³¹Walter M. Lippmann, *Australian Jewry 1986* (South Yarra, Victoria, 1987).

tina (6.4), Ukraine (6.2), Latvia (5.9), Belarus (5.6), Hungary (5.4), Great Britain (5.2), and Australia (5.1). The other major Diaspora Jewries, having lower proportions of Jews per 1,000 of total population, were Russia (2.9 per 1,000), South Africa (2.9), and Brazil (0.6).

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S JEWS, BY NUMBER AND PROPORTION (PER 1,000 POPULATION) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1991

Number of Jews in Country	Jews per 1,000 Population					
	Total	0.0–0.9	1.0–4.9	5.0–9.9	10.0–24.9	25.0+
		Number of Countries				
Total	87 ^a	52	21	10	3	1
100–900	24	19	4	—	1	—
1,000–4,900	22	20	2	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	8	4	4	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	19	8	8	3	—	—
50,000–99,900	4	—	1	3	—	—
100,000–999,900	8	1	2	4	1	—
1,000,000 or more	2	—	—	—	1	1
	Jewish Population Distribution (Absolute Numbers)					
Total	12,849,500 ^b	378,400	799,100	1,639,800	5,885,600	4,144,600
100–900	9,400	7,200	1,600	—	600	—
1,000–4,900	56,700	48,700	8,000	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	56,100	29,200	26,900	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	424,700	193,300	163,100	68,300	—	—
50,000–99,900	259,000	—	55,500	203,500	—	—
100,000–999,900	2,322,000	100,000	544,000	1,368,000	310,000	—
1,000,000 or more	9,719,600	—	—	—	5,575,000	4,144,600
	Jewish Population Distribution (Percent of World's Jews) ^c					
Total	100.0 ^b	2.9	6.2	12.8	45.8	32.3
100–900	0.1	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	—
1,000–4,900	0.4	0.4	0.1	—	—	—
5,000–9,900	0.4	0.2	0.2	—	—	—
10,000–49,900	3.3	1.5	1.3	0.5	—	—
50,000–99,900	2.0	—	0.4	1.6	—	—
100,000–999,900	18.1	0.8	4.2	10.7	2.4	—
1,000,000 or more	75.6	—	—	—	43.4	32.3

^aExcluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.

^bIncluding countries with fewer than 100 Jews.

^cMinor discrepancies due to rounding.

In the state of Israel, by contrast, the Jewish majority amounted to 819 per 1,000 in 1991, compared to 818 per 1,000 in 1990—not including the Arab population of the administered areas.

While Jews are widely dispersed, they are also concentrated to some extent (see table 8). In 1991 nearly 94 percent of world Jewry lived in the ten countries with the largest Jewish populations; and over 75 percent lived in the two largest communities—the United States and Israel. Similarly, ten leading Diaspora countries together comprised about 92 percent of the Diaspora Jewish population; three countries (United States, France, and Russia) accounted for 75 percent, and the United States alone for over 64 percent of total Diaspora Jewry.

TABLE 8. ELEVEN COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS, END 1991

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population			
			In the World		In the Diaspora	
			%	Cumulative %	%	Cumulative %
1	United States	5,575,000	43.4	43.4	64.0	64.0
2	Israel	4,144,600	32.3	75.7	—	—
3	France	530,000	4.1	79.8	6.1	70.1
4	Russia	430,000	3.3	83.1	4.9	75.0
5	Ukraine	325,000	2.5	85.6	3.7	78.7
6	Canada	310,000	2.4	88.0	3.6	82.3
7	Great Britain	300,000	2.3	90.3	3.4	85.7
8	Argentina	213,000	1.7	92.0	2.5	88.2
9	South Africa	114,000	0.9	92.9	1.3	89.5
10	Brazil	100,000	0.8	93.7	1.2	90.7
11	Australia	89,000	0.7	94.4	1.0	91.7

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