
U.S.S.R. Republics: Reported and estimated abortions, 1922-1991

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Abstract: This document summarizes adopted reported figures and derived estimates for abortions in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) for 1921-1991, at both the national and republic levels. It also includes a summary of the history of abortion policy and reporting in the U.S.S.R.

1. Short history of Soviet abortion policy and statistical reporting

The U.S.S.R. had in 1917 inherited the Russian empire's law banning all abortions. On 18 November 1920 abortion was first legalized (Mauldin, 1960), though only if performed by a doctor in a public hospital. This was in fact the first legalization anywhere of abortion on demand. In the following years some limitations on abortion were imposed. From 12 November 1926 abortions were limited to the first three months of pregnancy except in cases of risk to the mother's life (Stenvoll, 2006; Severyanov and Anisimova, 2013). In 1935 abortions of first pregnancies were banned except in cases of threat to the mother's life (Mauldin, 1960; Severyanov and Anisimova, 2013). Abortion was mostly banned under Stalin on 27 June 1936 with exceptions for medical reasons (life or health risk to mother or serious inheritable disorder) (Stenvoll, 2006). The objective was partly to stop the precipitous decline in Soviet birth rates. Abortion rates remained significant, however, and in addition illegal abortions were reportedly common. Stalin died in March 1953 and was succeeded by Khrushchev in September 1953. On 5 August 1954 the punishment for illegal abortions was abolished (Sakevich and Denisov, 2014). On 23 November 1955 abortion on demand was relegalized, reportedly partly in response to high levels of illegal abortions. Prior to this date, legal abortions were already increasing as doctors were becoming more permissive in the interpretation of medical indicators. Abortion on demand remained Soviet policy until the collapse of the U.S.S.R. in 1991.

Available Soviet abortion data for the period 1941-1955 are extremely limited. Registration of abortions was mandatory from July 1924 (Severyanov and Anisimova, 2013) and resulting data were reported officially until 1928. Data were still gathered but their publication was banned (this ban was only lifted in 1986). Data through the late 1930s have been subsequently published. Data for the U.S.S.R. as a whole have been reported for 1953 and later years. Data for 1941-1952, however, remain sparse, with one of the few references being one by an official

with access to Soviet medical records from this time period (Sadvokasova, 1969). Abortion statistics are available for the U.S.S.R. in total for 1954 to 1991, for all republics from 1971 to 1991. For earlier years incomplete data were reported for some regions for limited time periods. For much of this data, it is ambiguous whether miscarriages are included.

A further note on post-1953 Soviet abortion data: these data separate legal induced abortions from other abortions, the latter including both illegal induced abortions and spontaneous miscarriages. Illegal abortions and miscarriages are not otherwise distinguished, with the result that total reported abortions for many years includes miscarriages. On the other hand, Soviet abortion data typically do not include so-called “mini-abortions”. Soviet reported legal abortions are mostly surgical abortions. In the 1960s use of vacuum aspiration abortion in early gestational ages began in the U.S.S.R., with such abortions termed “mini-abortions”. Underreporting or separate reporting of mini-abortions also occurred in former Soviet republics after 1990, as well as in several eastern European countries. We have assumed that over reporting of induced abortions in figures that include miscarriages is somewhat compensated for in underreporting of mini-abortions; this likely does not apply to figures for the 1950s prior to widespread mini-abortions.

Note that some constituent Soviet republics were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. or separated from the Russian S.S.R. at different times between 1920 and 1940. The Russian S.S.R. included what is now Kazakhstan (as Kirghiz A.S.S.R.), Tajikistan, and the Caucasus states (as Transcaucasian S.F.S.R.) from the 1920s until 1936 when these regions became separate republics. The Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. was divided into the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijan S.S.R.s at this time. Thus, prior to 1936, some abortion statistics reported for Russia include these regions. The independent Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—were invaded by the U.S.S.R. in 1940 and declared annexed as S.S.R.s, though this was never recognized by the United States (they were also occupied by Germany from 1941-1944).

2. Data and estimates for 1954-1991

Abortion data for 1954-1991 are primarily from Williams (1996), Avdeev (2005), and Avdeev et al. (1995), supplemented by Bobylev (2003), CDWG (2006), Council of Europe (2004), Georgia CPR (2009), UN (1995, 1996), UNICEF (2012), World Bank (2002), and WHO (2012). Live birth data are those compiled by Johnston (2016) for each region.

Republic-level data were compiled from these sources and abortion percentages (abortions as a percentage of total live births plus abortions) computed for available years. Resulting trends are shown in Figure 1. Of the 15 republics, pre-1970 data are available for seven. These tend to show relatively stable abortion percentages for 1965-1970, but rising percentages prior to that period. Based on this, we model abortion percentage trends as linear for the separate periods 1960-1965 and 1965-1970. These are constrained by adopting values of abortion percentage for 1960 and 1965 for each republic where this is unreported. Values are adopted based on known values for republics of similar 1970 percentage, similar pre-World War II abortion levels (where known), and/or similar region of the U.S.S.R. (e.g. Asian, Baltic states, other European).

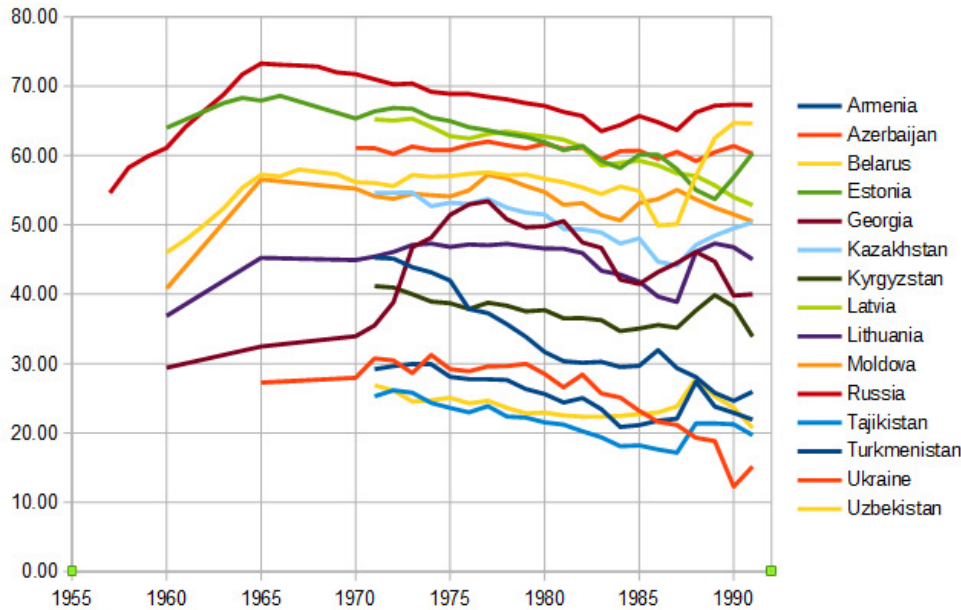


Figure 1. Abortion percentages by U.S.S.R. republic, 1955-1991.

Table 1 summarizes the values implementing this approach, providing known and adopted ratios of abortion percentages for pairs of years, with adopted values highlighted in yellow and unhighlighted values being reported values. For 1955 to 1960, reported abortion percentage trends are available for Russia for 1957-1960, and for the U.S.S.R. as a whole for 1955-1960. Adopted values are chosen as follows:

- 1954-1957, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine—use U.S.S.R. ratios;
- 1954-1957, other republics—linear from 1954 (zero) to 1957, 1957 being 50% of 1960;
- 1960, Armenia, Azerbaijan—use U.S.S.R. ratio;
- 1965, Armenia—use value based on Azerbaijan and Georgia ratios;
- 1960 and 1965, Kazakhstan—use value based on U.S.S.R. and Russia ratios;
- 1960 and 1965, Kyrgyzstan—use value based on Azerbaijan, Georgia & Moldova ratios;
- 1960 and 1965, Latvia—use values based on Estonia and Lithuania ratios;
- 1960 and 1965, Ukraine—use values based on Belarus and Russia ratios;
- 1960 and 1965, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan—use low values given the low 1971 percentages for these republics.

Having thus specified abortion ratios for 1954-1957, 1960, and 1965, percentages are linearly interpolated for remaining missing years (1958-1959, 1961-1964, 1966-1969) and used with reported live births to obtain estimated abortions by year.

Table 1. Abortion percentage ratios between specified year pairs for each republic.

Republic	1954 to 1957	1955 to 1957	1956 to 1957	1957 to 1960	1960 to 1965	1965 to 1970	1971 to percent
Armenia	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.85	0.97	45.27
Azerbaijan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.85	0.98	30.75
Belarus	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.89	0.80	1.02	56.05
Estonia	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.50	0.94	1.04	66.39
Georgia	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.91	0.96	35.50
Kazakhstan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.85	1.02	54.66
Kyrgyzstan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.80	0.97	41.18
Latvia	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.50	0.88	1.04	65.23
Lithuania	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.81	1.01	45.44
Moldova	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.72	1.02	54.15
Russia	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.89	0.83	1.02	71.02
Tajikistan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.72	0.95	25.29
Turkmenistan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.72	0.95	29.20
Ukraine	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.89	0.82	1.02	61.07
Uzbekistan	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.72	0.95	26.88
U.S.S.R.	0.10	0.20	0.85	0.89	0.85	1.04	63.51

Tables 2 to 6 provide live birth, reported abortions, estimated abortions, and abortion percentages (reported or modeled) for the 15 republics for years 1954-1991, with estimated/modeled values highlighted in yellow.

Table 7 compares reported time series of U.S.S.R. abortions to the totals of the republic-level estimates produced here, and Figure 2 compares these results.

Note that issues remain with U.S.S.R. total abortions for 1954-1957 which will be addressed in the final section.

**Table 2. Live birth, abortion, and abortion percentage (AB %) data:
Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Belorussia**

Year	Armenia			Azerbaijan			Belorussia		
	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %
1950	43,500			90,280			197,200		
1951	49,900			100,979			198,200		
1952	54,100			106,687			191,100		
1953	51,400			101,378			176,200	0	0.00
1954	58,300	0	0.00	117,428	0	0.00	193,100	8,000	4.10
1955	59,400	4,000	6.16	125,599	5,000	3.82	194,400	17,000	8.19
1956	62,300	9,000	12.51	134,594	11,000	7.76	199,500	107,000	34.82
1957	67,100	15,000	18.66	139,529	18,000	11.58	200,800	139,000	40.97
1958	71,500	24,000	24.89	147,534	27,000	15.45	207,700	155,000	42.66
1959	72,400	33,000	31.11	155,872	37,000	19.31	204,600	163,000	44.35
1960	74,825	45,000	37.33	165,849	50,000	23.17	200,218	170,787	46.03
1961	72,377	46,000	38.65	170,504	54,000	23.99	194,239	178,290	47.86
1962	69,505	46,000	39.96	168,341	56,000	24.80	185,302	185,554	50.03
1963	67,382	47,000	41.28	175,033	60,000	25.62	173,889	191,137	52.36
1964	64,454	48,000	42.60	176,546	63,000	26.44	161,794	200,534	55.35
1965	62,969	49,000	43.92	167,429	62,740	27.26	153,865	205,999	57.24
1966	61,594	49,000	44.14	166,545	62,800	27.40	153,414	203,430	57.01
1967	57,031	45,000	44.37	157,270	59,800	27.54	147,501	203,722	58.00
1968	57,503	46,000	44.59	158,962	60,800	27.67	146,095	198,955	57.66
1969	56,203	46,000	44.82	148,078	57,100	27.81	142,652	191,637	57.33
1970	55,694	46,000	45.05	150,976	58,574	27.95	146,676	187,935	56.17
1971	58,188	48,138	45.27	146,261	64,943	30.75	149,135	190,169	56.05
1972	59,313	48,813	45.14	137,752	60,307	30.45	147,813	185,101	55.60
1973	59,593	46,654	43.91	138,569	55,592	28.63	144,729	193,503	57.21
1974	60,419	45,869	43.16	139,084	63,213	31.25	146,876	194,247	56.94
1975	62,866	45,483	41.98	141,857	58,512	29.20	146,517	194,710	57.06
1976	65,065	39,647	37.86	147,199	59,798	28.89	147,912	199,121	57.38
1977	65,830	39,136	37.28	146,822	61,724	29.60	148,963	202,146	57.57
1978	66,698	37,022	35.69	148,812	62,660	29.63	151,053	201,619	57.17
1979	69,786	35,745	33.87	153,080	65,536	29.98	151,800	203,446	57.27
1980	70,324	32,604	31.68	154,974	61,831	28.52	154,432	201,852	56.65
1981	73,682	32,105	30.35	164,577	59,551	26.57	157,899	202,340	56.17
1982	74,225	32,004	30.13	160,425	63,680	28.42	159,364	198,043	55.41
1983	76,436	33,158	30.26	166,169	57,473	25.70	173,510	207,461	54.46
1984	79,767	33,385	29.50	171,913	57,619	25.10	168,749	210,844	55.54
1985	80,306	33,896	29.68	177,657	53,633	23.19	165,034	200,888	54.90
1986	81,192	38,116	31.95	186,609	51,431	21.61	171,611	171,114	49.93

1987	78,492	32,587	29.34	184,585	49,478	21.14	162,937	163,761	50.13
1988	74,707	29,149	28.07	184,350	44,074	19.29	163,193	217,329	57.11
1989	75,250	26,141	25.78	181,631	42,134	18.83	153,449	256,041	62.53
1990	79,882	26,094	24.62	182,989	25,536	12.25	142,167	260,839	64.72
1991	77,825	27,264	25.94	190,353	34,006	15.16	132,045	241,138	64.62

Table 3. Live birth, abortion, and abortion percentage (AB %) data: Estonia, Georgia, and Kazakhstan

Year	Estonia			Georgia			Kazakhstan		
	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %
1950	20,279			82,900			251,900		
1951	20,730			86,800			270,000		
1952	21,111			85,700			262,600		
1953	20,146	0	0.00	87,200			260,300		
1954	20,909	700	3.20	91,400	0	0.00	275,700	0	0.00
1955	20,786	1,400	6.40	92,500	5,000	4.85	299,300	25,000	7.82
1956	19,660	7,000	27.21	89,800	10,000	9.85	304,800	58,000	15.88
1957	19,509	9,000	32.01	89,700	15,000	14.70	326,100	101,000	23.70
1958	19,598	15,000	42.68	93,100	23,000	19.60	355,300	164,000	31.59
1959	19,938	23,000	53.35	98,300	32,000	24.50	349,100	228,000	39.49
1960	20,187	35,915	64.02	102,866	42,834	29.40	371,828	335,000	47.39
1961	20,230	37,900	65.20	104,429	44,800	30.01	377,002	363,000	49.06
1962	19,959	39,400	66.39	101,717	44,900	30.63	368,298	379,000	50.74
1963	19,275	40,166	67.57	100,326	45,600	31.24	352,400	388,000	52.41
1964	19,629	42,340	68.32	97,433	45,500	31.85	330,511	389,000	54.08
1965	18,909	40,059	67.93	94,987	45,668	32.47	320,585	404,000	55.76
1966	18,629	40,767	68.64	92,026	44,800	32.76	313,465	392,000	55.57
1967	18,671	39,300	67.82	89,302	44,100	33.06	307,197	381,000	55.39
1968	19,782	40,200	67.00	89,660	44,900	33.35	302,022	372,000	55.21
1969	20,781	40,700	66.18	87,069	44,200	33.65	302,179	370,000	55.03
1970	21,552	40,663	65.36	90,207	46,348	33.94	306,652	372,000	54.84
1971	22,118	43,682	66.39	90,396	49,759	35.50	317,423	382,702	54.66
1972	21,757	43,917	66.87	86,402	54,879	38.84	318,551	383,764	54.64
1973	21,239	42,665	66.76	88,577	77,857	46.78	321,075	387,626	54.70
1974	21,461	40,723	65.49	89,761	83,454	48.18	338,291	377,070	52.71
1975	21,360	39,641	64.98	89,712	95,094	51.46	343,668	390,809	53.21
1976	21,801	38,922	64.10	90,605	102,009	52.96	350,362	395,712	53.04
1977	21,977	38,499	63.66	89,028	102,148	53.43	349,379	406,247	53.76
1978	21,842	37,370	63.11	88,766	91,709	50.82	355,337	392,734	52.50
1979	21,879	36,779	62.70	89,803	88,519	49.64	354,320	380,692	51.79
1980	22,204	36,157	61.95	89,458	88,656	49.77	356,013	378,125	51.51

1981	22,937	35,569	60.80	92,501	94,635	50.57	367,950	359,824	49.44
1982	23,128	36,827	61.42	91,784	82,952	47.47	373,416	364,087	49.37
1983	24,155	35,139	59.26	92,660	81,172	46.70	378,577	362,371	48.91
1984	24,234	34,615	58.82	95,754	69,649	42.11	389,091	349,366	47.31
1985	23,630	35,652	60.14	97,739	69,310	41.49	396,929	367,334	48.06
1986	24,106	36,354	60.13	98,155	74,702	43.22	410,846	332,055	44.70
1987	25,086	34,713	58.05	94,595	75,903	44.52	417,139	329,819	44.15
1988	25,060	31,395	55.61	91,905	78,670	46.12	407,116	362,596	47.11
1989	24,292	28,428	53.92	91,138	73,770	44.73	380,849	358,124	48.46
1990	22,304	29,410	56.87	92,815	61,401	39.81	362,081	355,173	49.52
1991	19,320	29,406	60.35	89,091	59,384	40.00	353,174	358,484	50.37

**Table 4. Live birth, abortion, and abortion percentage (AB %) data:
Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, and Lithuania**

Year	Kyrgyzstan			Latvia			Lithuania		
	Live births	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live	Abortions	AB %
1950	56,500			33,137			60,719		
1951	59,800			32,764			58,504		
1952	57,600			32,278			56,944		
1953	60,800			30,986	0	0.00	52,610		
1954	63,800	0	0.00	33,202	1,000	3.01	54,229	0	0.00
1955	63,900	4,000	5.27	32,968	2,000	6.03	55,525	4,000	6.08
1956	65,700	8,000	10.71	32,590	11,000	25.62	53,741	8,000	12.35
1957	68,600	13,000	15.98	33,714	15,000	30.14	56,223	13,000	18.44
1958	70,500	19,000	21.30	35,068	24,000	40.18	61,190	20,000	24.58
1959	70,500	26,000	26.63	35,028	35,000	50.23	62,241	28,000	30.73
1960	80,209	38,000	31.96	35,468	54,000	60.28	62,485	36,500	36.87
1961	80,671	41,000	33.55	35,993	59,000	61.92	62,775	39,400	38.55
1962	79,010	43,000	35.15	35,061	61,000	63.56	59,728	40,200	40.23
1963	80,279	47,000	36.75	33,843	63,000	65.21	57,024	41,100	41.90
1964	79,342	49,000	38.35	33,053	67,000	66.85	55,856	43,100	43.58
1965	80,812	54,000	39.95	31,212	68,000	68.50	53,818	44,492	45.26
1966	81,771	55,000	40.15	31,974	68,000	67.95	54,275	44,800	45.19
1967	83,609	57,000	40.36	32,232	67,000	67.41	53,806	44,200	45.13
1968	86,741	59,000	40.56	32,693	66,000	66.87	54,258	44,500	45.06
1969	87,210	60,000	40.77	32,915	65,000	66.32	54,263	44,400	45.00
1970	90,442	63,000	40.98	34,333	66,000	65.78	55,519	45,298	44.93
1971	95,932	67,167	41.18	35,239	66,122	65.23	56,044	46,679	45.44
1972	94,923	65,901	40.98	35,007	65,223	65.07	54,616	46,723	46.11
1973	97,421	64,943	40.00	34,008	64,117	65.34	51,944	46,288	47.12

1974	99,433	63,442	38.95	34,920	62,451	64.14	51,941	46,658	47.32
1975	101,287	63,963	38.71	34,810	58,786	62.81	51,766	45,582	46.82
1976	106,606	65,025	37.89	34,644	57,692	62.48	52,296	46,718	47.18
1977	104,971	66,503	38.78	34,240	58,617	63.13	52,166	46,384	47.07
1978	106,176	66,052	38.35	34,258	59,565	63.49	51,821	46,485	47.29
1979	107,091	64,351	37.54	34,683	59,208	63.06	51,937	45,896	46.91
1980	107,278	64,957	37.71	35,534	59,909	62.77	51,765	45,189	46.61
1981	113,434	65,291	36.53	35,732	59,067	62.31	52,249	45,551	46.58
1982	117,235	67,555	36.56	37,477	59,190	61.23	53,141	45,183	45.95
1983	120,708	68,690	36.27	40,572	57,426	58.60	57,576	44,151	43.40
1984	124,718	66,227	34.68	40,847	58,708	58.97	56,683	42,481	42.84
1985	128,460	69,382	35.07	39,751	57,873	59.28	58,454	42,026	41.83
1986	133,728	73,802	35.56	41,960	59,388	58.60	59,705	39,245	39.66
1987	136,588	74,060	35.16	42,135	56,900	57.45	59,360	37,783	38.89
1988	133,710	80,809	37.67	41,275	54,866	57.07	56,727	48,556	46.12
1989	131,508	87,212	39.87	38,922	48,957	55.71	55,782	50,117	47.33
1990	128,810	79,720	38.23	37,918	44,559	54.03	56,868	50,000	46.79
1991	129,536	66,427	33.90	34,633	38,837	52.86	56,019	45,904	45.04

**Table 5. Live birth, abortion, and abortion percentage (AB %) data:
Moldova, Russia, and Tajikistan**

Year	Moldova			Russia			Tajikistan		
	Live	Abortions	AB %	Live births	Abortions	AB %	Live births	Abortions	AB %
1950	91,137			2,746,000			46,500		
1951	91,645			2,824,900			48,400		
1952	80,918			2,818,600			54,900		
1953	79,041			2,717,200	0	0.00	54,700		
1954	83,607	0	0.00	2,948,800	170,000	5.46	56,900	0	0.00
1955	79,772	6,000	6.74	2,866,000	351,000	10.92	60,300	2,000	2.82
1956	81,372	13,000	13.68	2,769,400	2,400,000	46.42	63,000	4,000	5.73
1957	85,743	22,000	20.42	2,831,600	3,407,398	54.61	63,000	6,000	8.56
1958	87,502	33,000	27.23	2,819,200	3,939,362	58.29	56,800	7,000	11.41
1959	92,176	48,000	34.03	2,796,228	4,174,111	59.88	61,000	10,000	14.26
1960	87,910	60,687	40.84	2,782,353	4,373,042	61.12	69,715	14,000	17.11
1961	86,683	68,100	43.99	2,662,135	4,759,040	64.13	73,653	17,000	18.44
1962	80,494	71,800	47.14	2,482,539	4,925,124	66.49	75,909	19,000	19.78
1963	78,422	79,300	50.28	2,331,505	5,134,100	68.77	80,733	22,000	21.11
1964	73,583	84,400	53.43	2,121,994	5,376,200	71.70	84,300	24,000	22.44
1965	67,996	88,604	56.58	1,990,520	5,463,300	73.30	92,448	29,000	23.77
1966	71,406	92,000	56.31	1,957,763	5,322,500	73.11	91,825	29,000	24.02

1967	71,380	91,000	56.04	1,851,041	5,005,000	73.00	93,988	30,000	24.27
1968	69,997	88,300	55.77	1,816,509	4,872,900	72.85	101,462	33,000	24.53
1969	67,575	84,300	55.50	1,847,592	4,751,100	72.00	98,831	33,000	24.78
1970	69,778	86,093	55.23	1,903,713	4,837,700	71.76	102,201	34,000	25.03
1971	73,643	86,959	54.15	1,974,637	4,838,749	71.02	111,839	37,849	25.29
1972	76,198	88,649	53.78	2,014,638	4,765,589	70.29	111,069	39,331	26.15
1973	76,339	91,450	54.50	1,994,621	4,747,037	70.41	115,157	40,039	25.80
1974	77,474	92,018	54.29	2,079,812	4,674,050	69.21	123,338	39,650	24.33
1975	79,169	93,394	54.12	2,106,147	4,670,700	68.92	127,464	39,396	23.61
1976	79,863	97,619	55.00	2,146,711	4,757,055	68.91	135,243	40,320	22.97
1977	79,022	105,808	57.25	2,156,724	4,686,063	68.48	132,875	41,653	23.87
1978	78,994	103,263	56.66	2,179,030	4,656,057	68.12	140,622	40,504	22.36
1979	80,152	100,484	55.63	2,178,542	4,540,440	67.58	145,431	41,542	22.22
1980	79,580	96,283	54.75	2,202,779	4,506,249	67.17	146,422	40,135	21.51
1981	82,279	92,432	52.91	2,236,608	4,400,676	66.30	155,508	41,832	21.20
1982	83,258	94,461	53.15	2,328,044	4,462,825	65.72	159,571	40,482	20.24
1983	89,637	94,840	51.41	2,478,322	4,317,129	63.53	164,710	39,556	19.36
1984	88,055	90,398	50.66	2,409,614	4,361,959	64.42	175,001	38,624	18.08
1985	90,453	102,703	53.17	2,375,147	4,552,443	65.71	182,716	40,656	18.20
1986	94,726	110,011	53.73	2,485,915	4,579,400	64.82	198,647	42,441	17.60
1987	91,762	112,426	55.06	2,499,974	4,385,627	63.69	204,450	42,321	17.15
1988	88,568	102,747	53.71	2,348,494	4,608,953	66.24	200,430	54,490	21.38
1989	82,221	90,860	52.50	2,160,559	4,427,713	67.21	200,430	54,494	21.38
1990	77,085	81,931	51.52	1,988,858	4,103,425	67.35	205,813	55,521	21.25
1991	72,020	73,454	50.49	1,752,745	3,608,421	67.31	212,598	52,072	19.67

**Table 6. Live birth, abortion, and abortion percentage (AB %) data:
Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan**

Year	Turkmenistan			Ukraine			Uzbekistan		
	Live births	Abortions	AB %	Live births	Abortions	AB %	Live births	Abortions	AB %
1950	46,300			844,600			197,000		
1951	46,400			858,000			213,000		
1952	49,300			846,400			230,000		
1953	48,500			795,600	0	0.00	226,000		
1954	51,200	0	0.00	845,100	40,000	4.55	245,000	0	0.00
1955	55,200	2,000	3.26	792,700	79,000	9.10	254,000	8,000	3.00
1956	53,500	4,000	6.62	822,600	519,000	38.67	273,000	18,000	6.09
1957	56,000	6,000	9.88	847,800	708,000	45.49	282,000	28,000	9.10
1958	59,300	9,000	13.17	873,500	786,000	47.36	307,000	42,000	12.13
1959	60,400	12,000	16.47	880,600	854,000	49.24	312,000	56,000	15.16

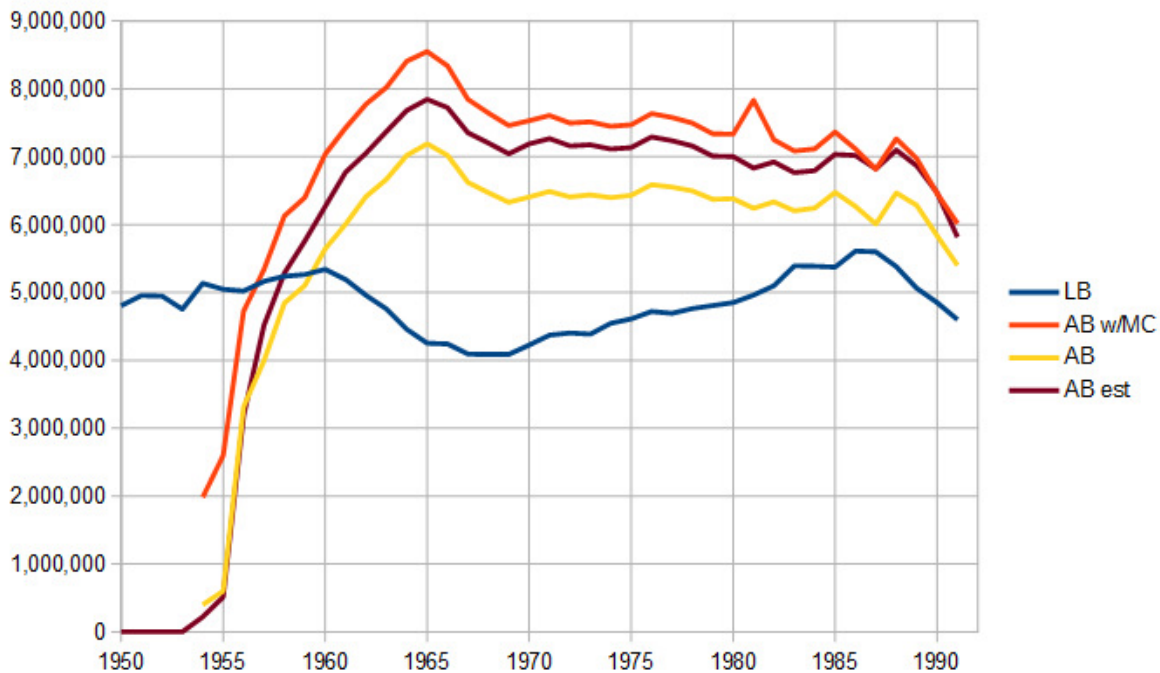
1960	67,676	17,000	19.76	878,768	919,000	51.11	340,618	76,000	18.19
1961	67,790	18,000	21.30	843,482	965,000	53.36	339,952	83,000	19.61
1962	68,725	20,000	22.83	823,151	1,031,000	55.60	341,352	91,000	21.02
1963	70,005	23,000	24.37	794,969	1,091,000	57.84	342,659	99,000	22.43
1964	69,777	24,000	25.91	741,668	1,117,000	60.09	346,847	109,000	23.85
1965	70,258	27,000	27.45	692,153	1,145,000	62.33	355,135	120,000	25.26
1966	73,109	28,000	27.74	713,492	1,168,000	62.09	360,336	124,000	25.53
1967	71,062	28,000	28.03	699,381	1,134,000	61.84	359,623	125,000	25.80
1968	73,470	29,000	28.32	693,064	1,112,000	61.60	385,687	136,000	26.07
1969	72,892	29,000	28.61	687,991	1,092,000	61.35	380,729	136,000	26.34
1970	77,080	31,000	28.91	719,213	1,130,115	61.11	401,613	146,000	26.61
1971	78,357	32,313	29.20	736,691	1,155,870	61.07	425,646	156,450	26.88
1972	78,841	33,202	29.63	745,696	1,129,500	60.23	421,458	148,988	26.12
1973	82,111	35,095	29.94	719,560	1,140,365	61.31	441,237	143,370	24.52
1974	84,607	36,105	29.91	736,616	1,143,285	60.82	462,062	151,683	24.71
1975	87,369	34,124	28.09	738,857	1,145,831	60.80	478,604	160,086	25.06
1976	90,765	34,893	27.77	747,069	1,196,600	61.56	503,514	161,331	24.27
1977	91,826	35,235	27.73	726,217	1,186,676	62.04	493,329	161,206	24.63
1978	93,798	35,819	27.63	732,187	1,170,184	61.51	514,030	158,971	23.62
1979	97,511	34,858	26.33	735,188	1,153,275	61.07	535,928	158,515	22.83
1980	98,069	33,762	25.61	742,489	1,196,696	61.71	540,047	160,700	22.93
1981	100,627	32,453	24.39	733,183	1,145,870	60.98	572,197	166,396	22.53
1982	104,340	34,817	25.02	745,591	1,172,375	61.13	589,283	169,608	22.35
1983	108,171	33,106	23.43	792,035	1,159,679	59.42	609,400	175,230	22.33
1984	111,083	29,266	20.85	757,047	1,166,762	60.65	641,398	185,710	22.45
1985	116,285	31,139	21.12	762,775	1,178,686	60.71	679,057	199,576	22.71
1986	122,337	34,031	21.76	792,574	1,166,039	59.53	708,658	211,022	22.95
1987	126,787	35,882	22.06	760,851	1,168,136	60.56	714,454	223,418	23.82
1988	125,887	47,444	27.37	744,056	1,080,029	59.21	668,807	258,283	27.86
1989	124,992	39,068	23.81	690,981	1,058,414	60.50	668,807	226,276	25.28
1990	125,343	37,222	22.90	657,202	1,045,289	61.40	691,636	214,137	23.64
1991	126,248	35,451	21.92	630,813	957,022	60.27	723,420	188,995	20.71

**Table 7. Live birth (LB) and abortion (AB) data, reported and estimated:
U.S.S.R. totals, 1950-1991**

Year	Live births	AB w/miscar.	AB reported	AB estimated	AB % w/MC	AB % reported	AB % est
1950	4,805,306						
1951	4,954,556						
1952	4,948,109						
1953	4,754,367			0			0.00

1954	5,135,117	1,985,302	399,046	220,000	27.88	7.21	4.11
1955	5,047,381	2,598,761	600,314	514,000	33.99	10.63	9.25
1956	5,022,708	4,724,547	3,316,632	3,186,000	48.47	39.77	38.81
1957	5,163,698	5,338,738	3,996,159	4,516,000	50.83	43.63	46.66
1958	5,239,614	6,128,871	4,844,567	5,285,000	53.91	48.04	50.22
1959	5,264,501	6,398,541	5,102,306	5,758,000	54.86	49.22	52.24
1960	5,340,975	7,038,395	5,642,210	6,267,000	56.86	51.37	53.99
1961	5,191,915	7,425,507	6,006,038	6,772,000	58.85	53.64	56.60
1962	4,959,092	7,774,506	6,414,217	7,053,000	61.06	56.40	58.72
1963	4,757,744	8,023,290	6,667,354	7,371,000	62.77	58.36	60.77
1964	4,456,787	8,408,408	7,021,021	7,683,000	65.36	61.17	63.29
1965	4,253,096	8,551,351	7,191,686	7,846,000	66.78	62.84	64.85
1966	4,241,624	8,337,567	7,020,232	7,724,000	66.28	62.34	64.55
1967	4,093,094	7,846,354	6,623,990	7,354,000	65.72	61.81	64.24
1968	4,087,905	7,645,441	6,471,055	7,204,000	65.16	61.28	63.80
1969	4,086,960	7,460,316	6,330,413	7,044,000	64.61	60.77	63.28
1970	4,225,649	7,531,270	6,406,594	7,191,000	64.06	60.26	62.99
1971	4,371,549	7,610,001	6,489,481	7,267,551	63.51	59.75	62.44
1972	4,404,034	7,497,264	6,408,802	7,159,887	63.00	59.27	61.92
1973	4,386,180	7,514,765	6,439,040	7,176,601	63.14	59.48	62.07
1974	4,546,095	7,449,129	6,397,731	7,113,918	62.10	58.46	61.01
1975	4,611,453	7,471,572	6,431,773	7,136,111	61.84	58.24	60.75
1976	4,719,655	7,636,191	6,588,364	7,292,462	61.80	58.26	60.71
1977	4,693,369	7,579,105	6,553,674	7,238,045	61.76	58.27	60.66
1978	4,763,424	7,497,397	6,497,226	7,160,014	61.15	57.70	60.05
1979	4,807,131	7,339,566	6,374,161	7,009,286	60.42	57.01	59.32
1980	4,851,368	7,333,073	6,382,028	7,003,105	60.18	56.81	59.08
1981	4,961,363	7,834,000	6,240,562	6,833,592	61.23	55.71	57.94
1982	5,100,282	7,250,355	6,336,188	6,924,089	58.70	55.40	57.58
1983	5,391,900	7,085,370	6,204,515	6,766,581	56.79	53.50	55.65
1984	5,386,900	7,115,825	6,243,572	6,795,613	56.91	53.68	55.78
1985	5,374,393	7,365,852	6,475,595	7,035,197	57.82	54.65	56.69
1986	5,610,769	7,116,000	6,267,984	7,019,151	55.91	52.77	55.58
1987	5,599,195	6,818,000	6,009,655	6,822,814	54.91	51.77	54.93
1988	5,381,056	7,265,826	6,469,096	7,099,390	57.45	54.59	56.88
1989	5,062,231	6,974,431	6,286,035	6,867,749	57.94	55.39	57.57
1990	4,851,771	6,459,000	5,836,823	6,470,257	57.10	54.61	57.15
1991	4,599,840	6,014,000	5,400,000	5,816,265	56.66	54.00	55.84

Figure 2. U.S.S.R. live births, reported abortions with and without miscarriages, and estimated abortions based on preceding republic-level estimates, 1950-1991.



3. Data and estimates for 1921-1953

Prior to 1954, data on abortions in the U.S.S.R. are very limited, with available data incomplete and inconsistent in both geographic and temporal coverage. In some cases, abortion numbers are available while in others only abortion ratio (to live births) data are to be found. Available data are summarized as follows:

- Moscow and Leningrad, abortions or abortion ratios for most years 1924-1940;
- some additional areas of Russia, abortions for 1922-1927;
- Russia as a whole, abortions for 1926, 1934, 1936-1940;
- Ukraine, abortions for 1925 and 1927, abortion ratios for 1924, 1933 and 1934;
- Kazakhstan, incomplete abortion data for 1925, 1927-1932, and 1942-1945;
- Belorussia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, abortions for 1926.

From available data (including live birth data), known or estimated abortions are compiled for regions as discussed below. Republic-level reported data are adopted, but no modeling to address gaps or incompleteness is applied given the lack of information, with limited exceptions described below. U.S.S.R. level data are available for some years but cannot be assigned to republics due to limited republic-level data and the probable disparate trends across republics in this time period.

Abortions are reported for Moscow for 1924-1927 (Sakevich, 2003) and 1930-1935 (Wheatcroft, 2000), and for Leningrad for 1924-1927 (Vishnevsky, 2006), 1930-1933 (Wheatcroft, 2000), and 1936-1940 (Davies, 1997). For remaining years, abortion ratios are reported (Andreev et al., 1998; Vishnevsky, 2006). These were used to obtain abortion numbers based on estimated live births (either interpolating birth numbers or assuming

relatively constant total pregnancies, depending on the magnitude of abortion ratio changes). Results for Moscow and Leningrad are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Live births (LB), abortions (AB), abortion ratios (AB per 100 LB) and abortion percentage (AB %), reported and estimated: Moscow and Leningrad, 1924-1940

year	Moscow				Leningrad			
	live births	abortions	AB/100LB	AB %	live births	abortions	AB/100LB	AB %
1924	51,700	13,961	27.0	21.3	31,600	6,692	21.2	17.5
1925	57,600	21,881	38.0	27.5	38,400	16,598	43.2	30.2
1926	58,800	35,879	61.0	37.9	42,700	21,646	50.7	33.6
1927	53,300	45,852	86.0	46.2	40,200	35,523	88.3	46.9
1928	53,000	50,000	94.0	48.5	37,000	51,000	138.8	58.1
1929	53,000	63,000	117.0	53.9	40,000	62,000	154.0	60.6
1930	53,904	86,576	160.6	61.6	43,399	65,941	151.9	60.3
1931	63,556	101,154	159.2	61.4	50,949	88,594	173.9	63.5
1932	73,645	132,549	180.0	64.3	55,852	89,844	160.9	61.7
1933	62,404	135,608	217.3	68.5	46,744	78,445	167.8	62.7
1934	57,000	154,584	271.2	73.1	44,300	87,300	264.2	72.5
1935	70,000	155,000	221.4	68.9	44,300	86,800	196.0	66.2
1936	70,000	96,500	141.0	58.5	53,100	62,072	117.0	53.9
1937	70,000	22,000	31.0	23.7	99,000	25,738	26.0	20.6
1938	60,000	23,000	38.0	27.5	85,500	31,630	37.0	27.0
1939	60,000	29,000	48.0	32.4	76,200	39,598	52.0	34.2
1940	60,000	31,000	52.0	34.2	70,100	37,880	54.0	35.1

Abortion numbers for some rural reporting areas in Russia are available for 1922-1924 (Avdeev et al., 1995). Abortion data are also available for 1924-1927 for 13 cities: Astrakhan, Vyatka, Ivano-Voznesensk, Kostroma, Penza, Ryazan, Samara, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tver, Yaroslavl, Simferopol, and Kazan (Sakevich, 2003).

For Russia as a whole, abortion figures are available for 1926 (Goldman, 1993), 1934 (Denisenko, 2008), and 1936-1940 (Sakevich, 2003). Estimates for 1924-1925 and 1935 are interpolated between available figures (including regional figures discussed previously). For 1927-1933, the abortions for Moscow and Leningrad are added to estimated abortions for the rest of Russia by interpolating the abortion percentage for the rest of Russia over these years. An estimate of 10,000 abortions in 1921, half of known abortions in 1922, is adopted. Results are summarized in Table 9. Available live birth data through 1952 are included (Andreev et al., 1998; Brackett, 1964; Denisenko, 2008; Wheatcroft, 2000), emphasizing the substantial drop in births during World War II.

For the Ukraine, abortion figures are available for 1925 and 1927 (Avdeev et al., 1995) and abortion ratios for 1933 (Denisenko, 2008) and 1934 (Wheatcroft, 2000). Abortion ratios were interpolated for 1926 and 1928-1932. Results were used with estimates of live births (Denisenko, 2008; Vallin et al., 2012) to produce abortion figures. Note that the resulting abortion figures remain quite high in the first years of the Ukrainian famine. These may indeed

be too high; whether abortions in pre-World War II U.S.S.R. reached the levels implied is disputed in the literature. Results are summarized in Table 9, including published live birth estimates showing the impact of both the 1931-1936 famine and World War II.

Table 9. Live births (LB), abortions (AB), abortion ratios (AB per 100 LB) and abortion percentage (AB %), reported and estimated: Russia and Ukraine, 1922-1952

year	Russia				Ukraine			
	live births	abortions	AB/100LB	AB %	live births	abortions	AB/100	AB %
1922		20,763						
1923	2,463,650	28,293	1.1	1.1				
1924	3,055,527	60,000	2.0	1.9	1,162,900	87,200	7.5	7.0
1925	3,565,516	90,000	2.5	2.5	1,196,800	149,700	12.5	11.1
1926	4,045,319	121,978	3.0	2.9	1,207,907	195,000	16.1	13.9
1927	4,193,300	130,000	3.1	3.0	1,184,400	242,000	20.4	17.0
1928	4,301,600	136,000	3.2	3.1	1,139,300	310,000	27.2	21.4
1929	4,164,700	194,000	4.7	4.5	1,081,000	380,000	35.2	26.0
1930	3,598,600	267,000	7.4	6.9	1,023,000	450,000	44.0	30.5
1931	3,591,700	370,000	10.3	9.3	975,300	520,000	53.3	34.8
1932	3,359,000	478,000	14.2	12.5	782,000	590,000	75.4	43.0
1933	2,723,200	550,000	20.2	16.8	564,000	659,000	116.8	53.9
1934	2,646,200	700,000	26.5	20.9	551,500	393,000	71.3	41.6
1935	3,365,500	750,000	22.3	18.2	759,100			
1936	3,676,300	803,058	21.8	17.9	893,100			
1937	4,243,200	355,025	8.4	7.7	1,214,000			
1938	4,179,700	429,695	10.3	9.3	1,113,500			
1939	4,154,700	464,246	11.2	10.1	1,073,500			
1940	3,660,200	500,516	13.7	12.0	1,135,000			
1941					975,000			
1942	1,271,000				705,000			
1943	824,000				550,000			
1944					575,000			
1945					435,000			
1946	2,376,700				750,000			
1947	2,585,400				715,000			
1948	2,407,400				765,000			
1949	2,960,100				905,000			
1950	2,746,000				844,600			
1951	2,824,900				858,000			
1952	2,818,600				846,400			

Little data are available for the other republics for these early years. Kazakhstan abortion figures are available for only a few regions and years (Michaels, 2001). It is not possible to develop estimates for all of Kazakhstan or for missing years. Avdeyev and Troitskaya (1991) report abortion figures for the Belorussian, Turkmen, and Uzbek SSRs in 1926: Belorussia,

8,124; Turkmenistan, 826; and Uzbekistan, 1,713. No estimates are possible for other years.

Abortion figures for U.S.S.R. (including regional data discussed above) cover 1922-1923 (Avdeev et al., 1995), 1936 (Sakevich, 2003), 1937 and 1940 (Sakevich, 2005), and 1938-1939 (Gradszkova, 2007). Figures for 1921 and 1924-1935 are totals for Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan abortions where available (reported or estimated figures). For 1941-1952 no data are available except for geographically incomplete reporting from Kazakhstan for 1942-1948, from Michaels (2001).

Estimates for 1941-1953 were developed as follows:

- Kazakhstan abortion ratios for 1942, and 1944-1947, are used to estimate abortion ratios for the U.S.S.R. as a whole with a scaling factor of 1.44 (the ratio of U.S.S.R. to Kazakhstan abortion ratios in the earliest available year, 1971);
- The ratio for 1944 (lowest of the specified years) is applied to 1943, and the ratio for 1947 is applied for following years through 1953 (note that Kazakhstan figures for 1943 and 1948 appear to be particularly incomplete);
- Live births are adopted from Johnston (2015) and Brackett (1964), with our estimates for 1945, 1946, and 1949 based on Brackett and De Pauw (1966);
- Abortion ratios and live birth figures are used to produce abortion estimates for 1942-1953;
- Abortions in 1941 are estimated at 400,000, half of 1940 abortions, given that this is roughly an exponential trend between 1940 and 1942 figures and given the disruptions from the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. at mid year and associated Soviet mobilizations.

Table 10. Live births (LB), abortions (AB), abortion ratios (AB per 100 LB) and abortion percentage (AB %), reported and estimated: U.S.S.R., 1922-1953

year	Live births	abortions	AB/100LB	AB %
1921	4,816,000	10,000	0.2	0.2
1922	5,185,000	20,763	0.4	0.4
1923	6,230,000	28,293	0.5	0.5
1924	5,907,000	147,000	2.5	2.4
1925	6,248,000	240,000	3.8	3.7
1926	6,398,000	317,000	5.0	4.7
1927	6,731,000	374,000	5.6	5.3
1928	6,620,000	452,000	6.8	6.4
1929	6,384,000	576,000	9.0	8.3
1930	6,140,000	720,000	11.7	10.5
1931	5,862,000	892,000	15.2	13.2
1932	5,567,000	1,069,000	19.2	16.1
1933	5,272,000	1,209,000	22.9	18.7
1934	4,779,000	1,093,000	22.9	18.6
1935	4,829,000	750,000	15.5	13.4
1936	5,447,000	803,058	14.7	12.8
1937	6,542,000	567,900	8.7	8.0
1938	6,457,000	681,300	10.6	9.5
1939	6,286,000	722,900	11.5	10.3
1940	6,095,609	807,000	13.2	11.7
1941	3,700,000	400,000	10.8	9.8
1942	2,436,000	160,000	6.6	6.2
1943	1,824,000	80,000	4.4	4.2
1944	2,064,000	90,000	4.4	4.2
1945	2,500,000	150,000	6.0	5.7
1946	3,200,000	290,000	9.1	8.3
1947	3,537,000	330,000	9.3	8.5
1948	4,043,000	380,000	9.4	8.6
1949	4,200,000	390,000	9.3	8.5
1950	4,805,306	450,000	9.4	8.6
1951	4,954,556	460,000	9.3	8.5
1952	4,948,109	460,000	9.3	8.5
1953	4,754,367	450,000	9.5	8.6

Table 11 compiles all adopted abortion figures, reported or estimated, for available Russian regions, for the republics of Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, and for the U.S.S.R. as a whole, for 1921-1953. Reported figures for the U.S.S.R. are the total of all reported figures (excluding estimates based on reported abortion ratios), while the last column gives adopted total estimates for the U.S.S.R.

Table 11. Summary of adopted abortion figures, reported and estimated: Moscow, Leningrad, other Russia areas, all Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and U.S.S.R., 1921-1953

year	Moscow	Leningrad	Other Russia areas	Russia	Ukraine	Kazakhstan	U.S.S.R., reported	U.S.S.R., est.
1921				10,000				10,000
1922			20,763	20,763			20,763	20,763
1923			28,293	28,293			28,293	28,293
1924	13,961	6,692	44,405	60,000	87,200		131,572	147,000
1925	21,881	16,598	16,811	90,000	149,700	582	205,572	240,000
1926	35,879	21,646	22,470	121,978	195,000		132,641	317,000
1927	45,852	35,523	31,725	130,000	242,000	2,360	357,460	374,000
1928	50,000	51,000		136,000	310,000	6,127	6,127	452,000
1929	63,000	62,000		194,000	380,000	1,950	1,950	576,000
1930	86,576	65,941		267,000	450,000	2,660	155,177	720,000
1931	101,154	88,594		370,000	520,000	2,190	191,938	892,000
1932	132,549	89,844		478,000	590,000	840	223,233	1,069,000
1933	135,608	78,445		550,000	659,000		873,053	1,209,000
1934	154,584	87,300		700,000	393,000		1,093,000	1,093,000
1935	155,000	86,800		750,000			241,800	750,000
1936	96,500	62,072		803,058			803,058	803,058
1937	22,000	25,738		355,025			567,900	567,900
1938	23,000	31,630		429,695			681,300	681,300
1939	29,000	39,598		464,246			722,900	722,900
1940	31,000	37,880		500,516			807,000	807,000
1941								400,000
1942						11,214	11,214	160,000
1943						1,600	1,600	80,000
1944						7,811	7,811	90,000
1945						10,303	10,303	150,000
1946						15,901	15,901	290,000
1947						16,263	16,263	330,000
1948						4,079	4,079	380,000
1949								390,000
1950								450,000
1951								460,000
1952								460,000
1953								450,000

Sources: Moscow, Sakevich (2003) [1924-1927], Wheatcroft (2000) [1930-1935]; Leningrad, Vishnevsky (2006) [1924-1927], Wheatcroft (2000) [1930-1935], Davies (1997) [1936-1940]; other Russia areas, Avdeev et al. (1995) [1922-1924], Sakevich (2003) [1924-1927]; Russia, Avdeev et al. (1995) [1922-1923], Goldman (1993) [1926], Denisenko (2008) [1934], Sakevich (2003) [1936-1940]; Ukraine, Avdeev et al. (1995) [1925, 1927], Denisenko (2008) [1933], Wheatcroft (2000) and Vallin et al. (2012) [1934]; Kazakstan, Michaels (2001) [all years]; U.S.S.R., Avdeev et al. (1995) [1922-1923]; Sakevich (2003) [1936], Sakevich (2005) [1937,

1940], Gradska (2007) [1938-1939].

Figures 3 and 4 show abortions and abortion percentages, respectively, for the U.S.S.R. and for regions where data are available.

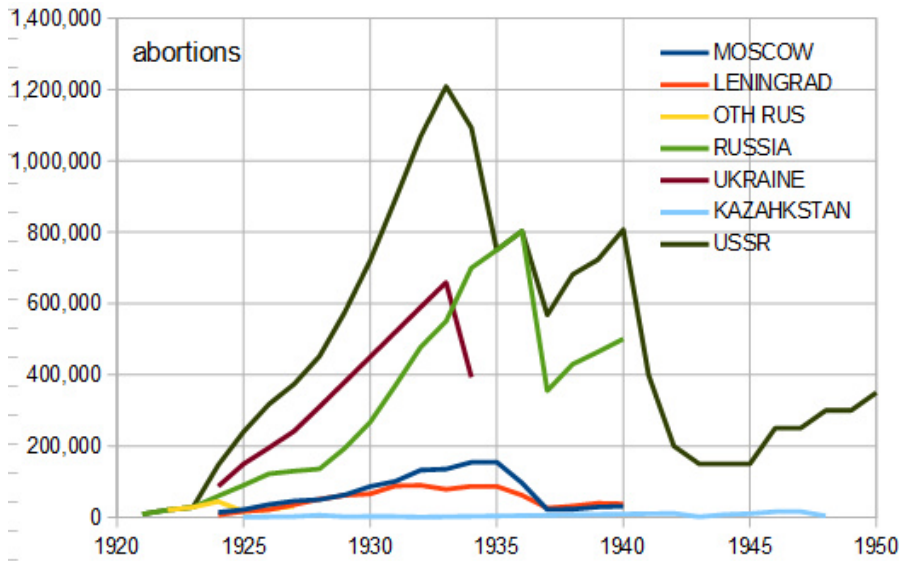


Figure 3. Abortions by U.S.S.R. regions with data, 1921-1950.

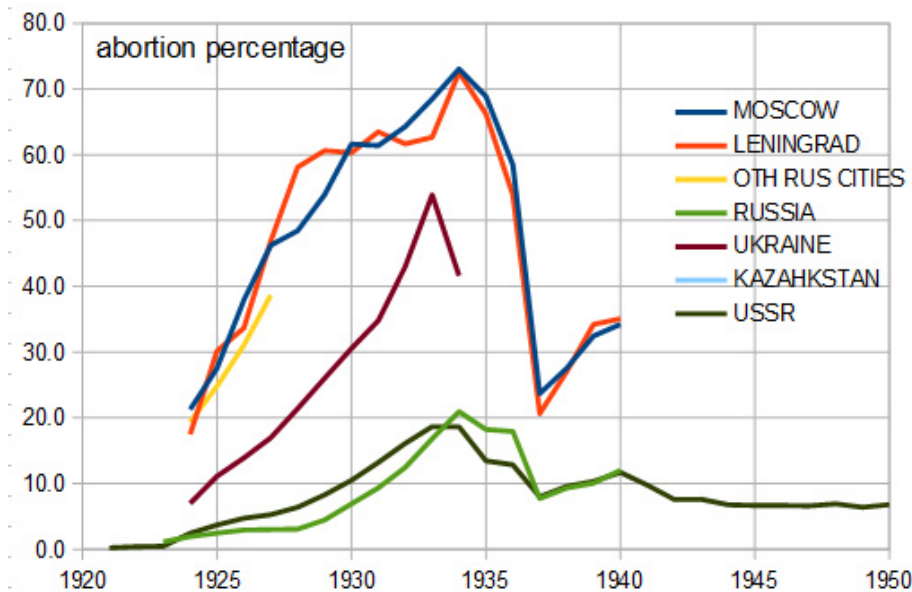


Figure 4. Abortion percentages by U.S.S.R. regions with data, 1921-1950.

4. U.S.S.R. data and estimates for 1954-1957

What remains is to resolve issues with total U.S.S.R. abortions for 1954-1957. In section 2 we developed estimates of republic-level abortions for 1954-1959, and in section 3 we developed estimates of total U.S.S.R. abortions up to 1953. As previously mentioned, figures for legal abortions alone and for all abortions (legal and illegal) plus miscarriages are available for the U.S.S.R. from 1954 forward. From 1958 onward the illegal abortions and miscarriages are no more than 20% of all abortions and miscarriages, and at some point in the 1960s the

undercounting of mini-abortions likely offsets overcounting from inclusion of spontaneous miscarriages.

Illegal abortions and miscarriages combined peaked in 1955 near 2,000,000 before dropping to about 1,300,000 per year in 1957-1959. This excess likely represents higher numbers of known illegal abortions. The ratio of other abortions (illegal abortions and miscarriages) to live births in 1958-1959 was 24.5-24.6 per 100. We assume the excess of other abortions over this ratio for 1954-1957 to be known illegal abortions. For the remainder of other abortions in 1954-1957, we assume the fraction that are induced abortions increased linearly from 20% in 1954 to 100% in 1958 (this assumes that by 1958 counted miscarriages are fully offset by underreporting of induced abortions). With these assumptions collectively, we obtain estimated abortions for the U.S.S.R. as follows:

- 980,000 in 1954,
- 1,860,000 in 1955,
- 4,230,000 in 1956, and
- 5,090,000 in 1957.

Table 12 summarizes U.S.S.R. live births and abortion figures or estimates for 1953-1959, including our final adopted abortion estimates in the last column.

Table 12. Live births and abortions, U.S.S.R., 1953-1959

year	Live births	Abortions, total of republic-level estimates	Legal abortions, reported	All abortions and miscarriages	Illegal abortions and miscarriages	Abortions, adopted U.S.S.R.
1953	4,754,367					450,000
1954	5,135,117	220,000	399,046	1,985,302	1,586,256	980,000
1955	5,047,381	514,000	600,314	2,598,761	1,998,447	1,860,000
1956	5,022,708	3,186,000	3,316,632	4,724,547	1,407,915	4,230,000
1957	5,163,698	4,516,000	3,996,159	5,338,738	1,342,579	5,090,000
1958	5,239,614	5,285,000	4,844,567	6,128,871	1,284,304	6,128,871
1959	5,264,501	5,758,000	5,102,306	6,398,541	1,296,235	6,398,541

Figure 5 shows live births and the various abortion figures/estimates from 1940 to 1960.

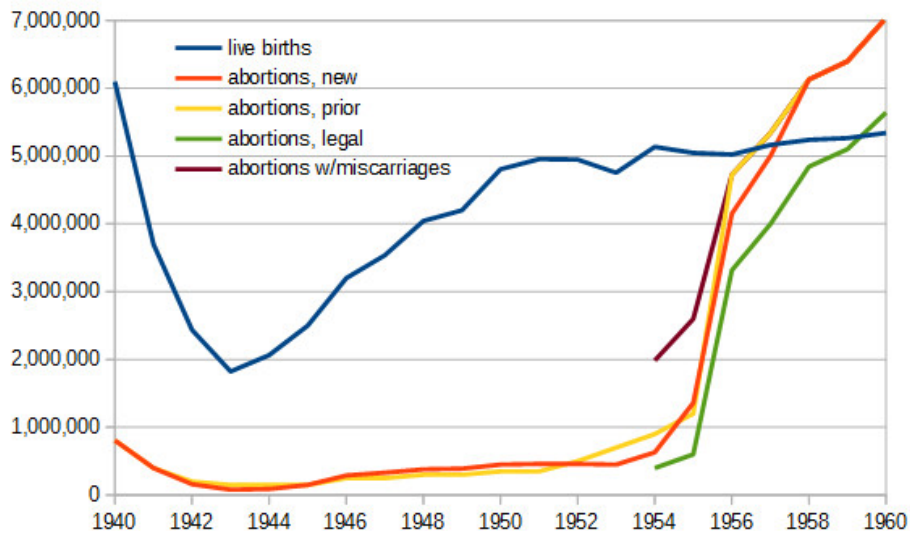


Figure 5. U.S.S.R. live births and abortions (reported and estimated), 1940-1960.

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