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**POPULATION DECLINE AND POPULATION AGEING
IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ***

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Population decline and population ageing in the Russian Federation

During the recent years, the demographic situation in Russia has become a topic of great concern both on the part of the government authorities of the Russian Federation and of mass media. The parliamentary hearings "On the demographic situation in Russia and the measures of the Government of the Russian Federation with respect to its optimisation" have been held in the State Duma this year. The President of Russia Vladimir Putin began his first message to the Federal Assembly with the evaluation of the demographic situation. The Internet Panel on the demographic problems of Russia was held in the Press Centre of the Russian Government in July 2000. The leading Russian demographers took part in the meeting. The individual questions sent by the Internet, demonstrated the growing public interest to the demographic problems of Russia.

The increasing crisis phenomena within the demographic development of Russia has forced the Russian Government to take into account the estimations and projections of experts and scientists and when developing the Main directions of the long-term socio-economic policy of the Government of the Russian Federation to take into consideration the fact that these are the demographic processes underlying many long-term tendencies within the socio-economic development of this country.

1. Demographic situation in the Russian Federation and its possible further development

By the early 2000, the resident population of the Russian Federation was 145.6 million people. During the past year the number of the Russians reduced by 768.4 thousand people or by 0.5 per cent. It is the most considerable figure of the annual decrease during the whole depopulation period which has started since 1992. During the past eight years the population of Russia decreased by 2.8 million or by 2 per cent.

The natural population loss is the main depopulation factor which is stable and long-term by nature. In 1999, the number of deaths exceeded the number of births by 929.6 thousand people or by 1.8 times. The total natural loss for the past eight years reached 5.9 million people.

The most dramatic problem of the contemporary demographic development of Russia is the high level of mortality. Some easing of the negative aspects within the mortality situation development in 1995-1998 was the short-term one. In many respects, it was caused by the age changes in the population structure, decrease of the number of the deaths due to the accidents, poisonings and injuries, and also diseases of the circulatory system, i.e. the causes of the excessive rise of mortality observed in the early 1990s.

In 1999 the number of deaths increased by 8 per cent as compared with 1998. Thus the crude death rate for the population of Russia (the number of deaths per 1000 persons) increased from 13.6 to 14.7 (it was higher only in 1994-1995, 15.7 and 15.0 respectively).

The rise of mortality is fixed practically within the all main classes of the death causes and their localisations.

The largest increase of mortality in 1999 was caused by the infectious and parasitic diseases - by 29 per cent, diseases of the respiratory system - by 13.5 per cent, accidents, poisonings and injuries - by 10 per cent, transport injuries and homicides - by 14 per cent, suicides - by 11 per cent, diseases of the circulatory system - by 9 per cent.

The life expectancy at birth in 1999 for the population of Russia reduced more than by one year and became lower than 66 years (for males - by 1.5 years and again lower than 60 years).

Since 1992 the net migration of the population from foreign countries (mainly from the CIS countries and the Baltic countries) has constrained the decrease of the population of Russia. As a whole for 1992-1999 it compensated for the natural population loss by half. However in the past year the net migration decreased almost by 2 times as compared to 1998 (from 284.7 thousand people to 154.6 thousand people) due to the sharp decline of the number of persons arriving to Russia and the net migration compensated only for 16.7 per cent of the natural loss of the population (in 1998 - 41 per cent, 1994 - 93 per cent).

In this connection it is necessary to note the sensitive and fast reaction of the migration processes to the changes in the socio-economic conditions both in Russia and in the neighbouring countries. Following the August 1998 crisis, since September of the same year, the number of the persons leaving for the traditional emigration countries began to increase to a marked degree (alongside with the continued reduction of the number of persons arriving to Russia) and since November - leaving for the CIS countries and the Baltic countries. This tendency continued till June 1999.

In the past year, 85 thousand inhabitants of Russia left for the Far Abroad (foreign countries excluding the CIS and Baltic countries) (in 1998 - 80 thousand people). As previously, about 90 per cent of the emigrants departed to Germany, Israel and USA. The most considerable was the increase of the number of the Russian citizens leaving for Israel (from 12.8 thousand people to 20.0 thousand people). At the same time, the number of the immigrants to Russia from the Far Abroad reduced (from 18.7 thousand people to 13.1 thousand people). More than 50 per cent of the immigrants are former inhabitants of China (3.9 thousand people or 39.8 per cent), Germany (1.9 thousand, or 14.5 per cent), Israel (1.4 thousand, or 10.7 per cent).

The largest migration exchange is still observed between Russia and the states - former republics of the USSR. Annually, about 95 per cent of the arriving persons and 60 per cent of the leaving persons relate to these countries.

The demographic indicators for the first half of 2000 fix the continuation of the negative tendencies. During the first five months of this year the number of the inhabitants of Russia has decreased by 372.0 thousand people or by 0.3 per cent (for the same period of the past year - by 0.2 per cent).

According to the projection of the State Committee of the Russian Federation on Statistics (Goskomstat of Russia) produced for the period till 2016, the population of the Russian Federation will continue to decrease during all the forecasted period. The positive net migration will not compensate for the natural decline of the population. By 2016, the size of the resident population of Russia will be 134 million people, having decreased by 11.6 million people or by 8 per cent as compared with the beginning of 2000.

The share of the working-age population (males - 16-59 years, females 16-54 years) will increase slightly from 59.3 per cent in 2000 to 63.6 per cent in 2007, and then decline to 59.7 per cent by 2016. At the same time, the structure of the working-age population will undergo significant changes. The share of the population aged 45 and more within the total working-age population will increase from 25.7 per cent at the beginning of the 2000 to 30 per cent in 2016.

The process of the population ageing will influence not only on the structure of the working-age population. The share of the population of older age groups within the total population will increase. By 2016, each fifth inhabitant of Russia will be in the age of 60 years and more.

The potential support ratio (the number of the persons of the working age per person of past working-age) will decline from 3 at the beginning of the 2000 to 2.3 by 2016. However, the cumulative potential support ratio (children and the persons of the past working-age) by 2016 would

not exceed the level of 2000 – 1.5 persons, due to the decline of the share of children within the total population.

Thus, the expected tendencies of the demographic development of Russia forecasted by the Goskomstat of Russia, correspond as a whole to the projection of the Population Division of the United Nations Secretariat: the decline of the population, decrease of the net migration, some increase of the number of births and of the crude birth rate during the first 10 years of the forecasted period (due to the increase of the number of the women aged 20-29 with the highest level of the childbearing till 2008), decline of the infant mortality rate and increase of the life expectancy at birth. However, due to the recent tendencies within the demographic development of Russia the projection of the Population Division of the UN Secretariat is likely too optimistic.

The assumptions concerning the probable future trends in fertility, mortality and migration were developed by the Goskomstat of Russia based on the present demographic tendencies, prospects of the socio-economic development of Russia and the health status of the population.

During some years in the future, the consequences of the socio-economic crisis alongside with the changes in the reproductive behaviour of the population will have an effect on the level of the fertility in Russia. According to sociological surveys, the uncertain future is one of the reasons for the childbirth delay.

Also, during the recent years, observed is the deterioration of the reproductive health of the women. During the last 10 years the sick rate for the anemia among the pregnant women has grown up more than 6 times, the number of the late toxicoses was increased by 40 per cent, the number of the normal childbirth was sharply reduced to 32 per cent (in some territories of Russia - to 25 per cent). Approximately, 15 per cents of the married couples in Russia are sterile, 50-60 per cents of these cases are caused by the female sterility.

The health status of the girls reaching the childbearing age, is also unfavourable. The frequency of the gynecological diseases among the female teenagers negatively influencing on the reproductive functions has increased sharply during the last 5 years.

The Russian fertility model will more and more resemble the West-European one. Currently, the relative proximity of the values of the total fertility rate in Russia and in the Western countries is combined with considerable differences in the age-specific birth rates, mean age of women at childbearing, and the other special performances of the fertility.

The future dynamics of mortality depends on the quality of life, health status of the population and health services. The assumptions of mortality up to 2016 were based on the considerable aggravation of health of the population of Russia, first of all of the children's one. The general sick rate among the children under 14 has increased almost by 10 per cent during the last 5 years. Approximately, 50 per cent of the teenagers aged 15-17 suffer from the chronic diseases.

According to sociological researches, more than 2.5 million Russian citizens use the drugs on the regular basis, 76 per cent of them are young people under 30.

Based on the above-said, the Goskomstat of Russia forecasts slower increase of the life expectancy at birth than the UN Population Division. Increase of the crude death rate during the forecasted period will be caused by the process of ageing of the population of Russia.

The projection of the migration to Russia from the CIS countries and the Baltic countries developed by the Goskomstat of Russia, is based on the combined assumption of "the stable Russian speaking diaspora" for Belarus, Ukraine, Baltic countries and Moldova and of "the slow repatriation" for the remaining CIS countries.

It is supposed that the migration to the Far Abroad will continue to be the ethnic one. Its dynamics is connected with the decline of the number of the ethnic Germans and the Jews living in

the Russian Federation. The volumes of the illegal migration weren't taken into consideration due to the fact that for most such immigrants Russia is attractive only as a country, where one can legalise himself and get ready for the departure to the economically developed Western countries (the estimated number of them is 700 thousand - 1.5 million persons).

The decrease of the net migration during the projection period is explained by several causes. There are both the decline of the migration potential in the CIS countries and the Baltic countries, due to decline and ageing of the Russian speaking diaspora and "the migration unattractiveness " of Russia for the potential migrants due to the material difficulties dealing with their settling in this country.

In long term, the role of the migration will increase. Despite of some forecasted increase of the level of the fertility in Russia (TFR in 2050 - 1.7) and the decrease of the mortality of the population, especially in working age (the life expectancy at birth in 2050 would be: for males - 68 years, for females - 77 years), the international migration will continue to be the main factor of constraining the depopulation process. By the middle of the next century the population of the Russian Federation, according to the projection by the Goskomstat of Russia, will be 114 million people. The forecasted total number of the net immigrants will be 12 million people between 2000 and 2050.

B. Socio-economic consequences of the population decline and population ageing in the Russian Federation

One of the main problems of the depopulation for Russia with its huge territory and the low density of population is the aggravation of its geopolitical position in the world. During the nearest decades the population decline in Russia will take place in parallel with the growth of the population of most neighbouring countries. It can cause very strong migration pressure on Russia and, probably, the attempts of the territorial expansion.

The most urgent problem for the economy of Russia caused by the population ageing will be the rising pressure on the government budget and more strong necessity of financing the pension and social security systems.

In Russia, the government pension system fails to provide somewhat normal standard of living for the elderly people. Despite of the measures intended to increase pensions, the mean size of the appointed pensions is still below the pensionary cost of living. Even the improvement of the economic situation will not necessary increase the pension fund contributions to a marked degree because according to the Goskomstat projection the number of the working-age persons who are the main tax bearers will start to decrease since 2006. The absence of the integrated reforms will cause in the long-term perspective a dangerous aggravation of the financial status of the pension system which will take place under the influence of the gradual ageing of the population of Russia.

The increase of the number of old persons will demand for the development of the social support services for the lonely elderly people, expansion of the network of the old people's homes and boarding houses. Currently, these institutions in Russia experience serious problems with the material and personnel maintenance.

The changes in the age structure of the population will also create problems for the public health system. The increase of the share of the elderly persons with higher needs in medical treatment will cause more strong load as regards the medical establishments. The latter will require the reorganization of the public health system with the purpose of improving the geriatric help. For the all age groups, it is necessary to improve the information on health, including reproductive health

and feed because the health of the old persons depends both on the quality of the rendered medical services and living conditions and on the status of health during the young years.

The process of the ageing of the population will influence on the economy through the pressure on the government budget but it can also entail the changes in the economic behaviour of the labour force. The increase of the share of the older age groups within the working-age population can influence on the capability of the labour force to perceive innovations in the world of the high technologies.

C. Measures which the Government can undertake in order to improve the existing situation

The topic of conducting the demographic policy with specific targets causes serious disputes when discussing the demographic situation.

1. *Fertility*

Most Russian demographers think that the fertility in Russia can't be increased by any government measures and that the model of a family with one or two children is the final choice of the population of Russia. They usually argue it by the fact that the total fertility rate in the developed European countries is below the replacement level despite of the high standard of living of the population and the attempts of the Governments of these countries.

In fact, the demographic development of Russia is similar with the one of the West-European countries. It is so. However, while the decrease of the fertility in the developed countries is the objective result of the demographic transition, the changes in the reproductive behaviour of the population of Russia was considerably speeded up and stimulated by the interference of the State. The Soviet rapid industrialisation with its total involvement of all the working-age women in the public production and the liquidation of the social class of the housewives and the prevalence of the two-earnings family naturally contributed to the decline of fertility and to the unstable family. In the late 1990s, the decline of the family lifestyle under the conditions of the long-term economic crisis resulted in the opinion that the birth of children is an obstacle for achieving the acceptable standard of well-being. According to a number of socio-demographic surveys, the typical orientation of the one-child majority of the population on the material side of the well-being make them to consider all the living conditions insufficient even for appearing the second child in the family. The mass psychology of following to the normative model of a family with one or two children makes people to blame any other behaviour as if infringing generally accepted mainly material requirements to the quality of supporting and upbringing children in a family.

Besides the conscious refusal of the birth of children, approximately 20 per cent of the Russian families are really compelled to put aside the birth of a child due to the difficult living conditions.

As a result of all these processes, Russia is characterized by the extremely low level of the fertility even by the standards of the developed countries.

The draft Concept of the demographic policy developed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation points out that each family should have the right to define itself the desirable number of children alongside with the right of the State to stimulate those types of the family which correspond to the targets of the demographic policy of the Russian Federation.

In accordance with the above-said the draft Concept marks that in order to increase the level of fertility, it is necessary to provide for the families the standard of living enabling them to

bring up several children. In the new economic situation the systems of privileges and compensations in the field of the taxation, crediting etc. should create the most favourable conditions for the normal life of a family with several children. It is necessary also to assist the family in the realization of its own potential. Besides it is necessary to create an information system for the propaganda of the family values.

Thus, a special family policy aimed at the revival and strengthening of the family as a social institute will promote to increase fertility even if not up to the replacement level, at all events, up to the level of the developed countries with the highest birth rate. This scenario for the fertility was incorporated in the high-variant projection by the Goskomstat of Russia and it corresponds to the grounds for fertility, designed for the medium-variant projection for Russia by the Population Division of the UN Secretariat.

2. *Mortality*

Another source of the decrease of the depopulation rate in Russia is the preservation of the life of already living generations.

In Russia, the most vital problem is the high level of the premature mortality of the population. In 1999, 580 thousands Russians in the working age died. It was 27 per cent of all death. The main causes of the mortality of the working-age population are the accidents, poisonings and injuries.

There is still the high level of the maternal mortality which in Russia is several times as high as in the economically developed European countries.

The low level of the reproductive health of the women constrains to some extent the decrease of the infant mortality because the main reasons within the structure of the infant mortality are the causes closely connected with the health of the mother, and each third child is born with a pathology.

In Russia, as well as in the other republics of the former USSR, after the progress achieved in resisting the infectious diseases, the centralized state system of the public health services since the mid-1960s has failed to counter effectively the predominance of the diseases of the endogenic character more typical for the people of older age i.e. the diseases of the blood circulation system, endocrine system, neoplasms etc. Only the improvement of the coverage of the population with the medical care itself, without the radical improvement of its quality and without the broad introduction into practice of the new medical technologies could not provide the further progress in resisting the mortality.

The transition to a market economy has demonstrated the existing problems still more. The accumulation of the unfavourable changes in the public health during the previous decades combined with the decline of the standard of living of the population under the conditions of the unsatisfactory status of the social sphere and the base medicine, inaccessibility of the highly effective means of the medical treatment for the majority of the population, ecological troubles and the rise in crime have aggravated the mortality situation in Russia.

The problems listed in the Concept of the development of the public health services and the medical science in the Russian Federation should be among the priority ones when implementing the Government measures aimed at improving the health of the nation.

The main target can be achieved by solving a number of problems. They include the changes in the approaches to the formation of the public health policy, to the evaluation of the public health services contribution to the national economy; the improvement of the public health services management system; the creation of the effective economic basis for the public health services and for the stimulation of maintaining the personal health; the improvement of the organization, of the

system of the differentiated provision with the medical and pharmaceutical services; the state support of the domestic medical industry; the development of the science in every possible way as a guarantor of the success of the intended transformations; the solution of the personnel problems taking into account the contemporary needs of the industry; the maximum extension of the social basis of the public health services.

Now it is clear that the State can't immediately invest the considerable financial resources in the health of the nation even in the event of the economic growth. Provided that the financing of the public health system isn't adequate, the effective ones can be the measures aimed at the changes in the behaviour of the people concerning their health: training, informing through the mass media about the risk factors, the differentiated fiscal policy within the alcoholic and tobacco market alongside with the simultaneous more strict control of the production quality.

One can expect the decrease of the mortality of the population in the event of the improvement of the living conditions, the active formation of the healthy lifestyle of the general public and the maintenance of the psycho-emotional and material well-being for a long time.

According to the high-level version of the population projection by the Goskomstat of Russia such policy could allow to save the life of 200-250 thousand people annually.

3. External migration

Currently, the migration is the only real source of the population increase in this country. By the estimate of the Population Division of the UN Secretariat, Russia needs about 500 thousand immigrants annually in order to preserve the invariable population size during the next 50 years. The total volume of the net migration between 2000 and 2050 will be approximately 25 million people (by the estimate of the Goskomstat of Russia - 45 million people). The paper on the replacement migration by the Population Division of the UN Secretariat is highly interesting as it was noted by the Russian delegation at the thirty third session of the UN Population and Development Commission. Such calculations would help in the development of the national projections of the population movement, simulation of the possible ways of the demographic development of a country. In the migration policy decision making, one should consider the problem of substituting the natural population loss by migration in connection with the geopolitical situation, tendencies and prospects of the economic development, capacity of the labour market, availability and development of the social infrastructure etc.

The experts from the Ministry of Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation think that the national labour market can't manage the large-scale inflow of the labour force in Russia provided that the number of the unemployed exceeds 8 million people and the latent unemployment is rather high. The forecasted growth of the production following by the creation of new jobs will hardly reduce the tension at the labour market as the working-age population will grow too. Also, the immigrants inflow contributes to the rejuvenation of the labour force but under the conditions of the unemployment it will contribute also to forcing out the older people from the employment. So, engaging the immigrants can contribute to the growth of the social tension, to the development of the inter-ethnic conflicts and to the creation of the intolerant atmosphere towards the immigrants in the society.

Also, there can be problems dealing with settling the immigrants. When addressing this topic, one should take into account the possible threat to the territorial integrity of Russia, the guarantee of the rights of the indigenous small peoples of the Extreme North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation to the defence of their native land, and the right of the immigrants themselves to the freedom of movement.

Even the proposals of some scientists to direct the immigrants flow to the agriculture of the European part of Russia can't solve the problem.

Many rural areas of the Central Russia have been really deprived of their population but the urbanisation process isn't the only reason. The collectivisation, dispossession of big farmers, liquidation of the villages without the prosperous future, and also too low procurement prices for the agricultural production have resulted in the very large-scale migration outflow of the rural population. However one could observe the reverse process in the early 1990s during the development of the private farms movement. The problems of the Russian agriculture are much deeper than the lack of the young working-age population.

Today, Russia especially needs the reasonable migration policy corresponding to the interests of its socio-economic development. Now it is clear that Russia needs the migration increase however the experts from the Ministry of the Economics of Russia think that one should evaluate both from the demographic and from the economic point of view the extent to which to the Russian Federation benefits from engaging the immigrants, including the number of them, countries of origin, sex and age structure, educational level etc.

The Report on the replacement migration of the Population Division of the UN Secretariat marks that the main share of the contemporary immigration to Russia is the result of the return migration of the ethnic Russians from the other republics of the former USSR. According to the expert estimates, the present real potential of the Russian repatriation to Russia is approximately 3-3.5 million people. Together with the potential migrants belonging to other indigenous ethnic groups of Russia and also the mixed families this figure can be about 10 million people. For the most part these are the highly skilled specialists. Also, if not to take into consideration the refugees and enforced settlers, these are the persons with some initial capital, the latter factor being especially important under the existing conditions when as a rule there are no budgetary funds even for the solution of the problems of the enforced migration to Russia. Therefore, the migration policy should be focused on engaging this group of the potential immigrants to Russia. The necessity of stimulating the migration from the CIS and Baltic countries is pointed out in the draft Concept of the demographic policy of the Russian Federation, draft Concept of the migration policy of the Russian Federation and also in the draft Main directions of the long-term socio-economic policy of the Government of the Russian Federation.

In the Russian Federation, due to its diverse ethnic structure are diverse too the cultural and ethnical traditions, religious beliefs. In this connection, the experts from the Ministry of the Federation, the National and Migration Policy of the Russian Federation think that one should take into account the ethnic component of the migration and to create the immigration programmes aimed at the immigrants from specific countries, the number of which should be regulated by means of quotas for the admitted immigrants.

Also, one should develop the temporary labour migration. Almost 70 per cents of the territory of Russia are the Extreme-North and related areas with the severe climatic conditions. The considerable share of the natural resources of Russia is concentrated within these areas and the decrease of the number of the able-bodied population will be negatively reflected on the mining industries position. However, this problem can be solved by the use of the temporary labour migration (long-term shifts method of the labour organization).

4. Government measures concerning the consequences of the demographic changes

It is clear that the measures which can be undertaken by the Government of Russia in order to increase the fertility or to decline the mortality will not be resulted in the instantaneous outcome. For

inducing the migration, one needs also a number of the socio-economic conditions. Therefore, due to the unfavourable age structure of the population the Government of the Russian Federation is going to update to some extent the social policy. First of all it concerns reforming the pension system. The pension reforms should be aimed at the solution of the two interconnected problems. They should provide the current financial stability of the pension system and the increase of the real level of pensions in order to overcome the negative consequences of the 1998 financial crisis. In the long-term aspect they should prevent the crisis of the pension system due to the ageing of the population of Russia. For the solution of the latter problem, the Government of the Russian Federation is going to introduce the accumulative financing of pensions for the working population. For the accumulation purpose will be used a part of the social tax directed to the pension fund. During the next years these contributions will be increased up to 9-10 per cent points. The contributions of the social tax to the distributive pension system will be followed by the reduced value of the contributions to the accumulation system.

The personal accumulative pension accounts are very likely to be opened in the early 2002.

Also, it is planned to develop the system of voluntary pensions.

Whether such reorganization of the pension system will help us to solve the problem, will be clear some time later. The creation of the accumulative pensions requires some specific conditions: at first, constant income during all the economically active life of a birth cohort and, secondly, long-term period of the economic stability permitting to accumulate the stand-by capital. A separate problem will be the necessity of the control over the non-state pension funds.

As far as necessity of increasing the retirement age is concerned, this subject is being discussed for a long time. However the Minister of Labour and Social Development of the Russian Federation says that they have ceased to debate it in the Government. The health status of the Russians which is adequately reflected by the indicator of the life expectancy at birth is so depressing that any increase of the official pension age can result in the considerable increase of the population mortality and in the growth of the number of the persons retiring ahead of time due to disability.

One can expect that the future increase of the population standard of living and the reforming of the public health system in accordance with the Main directions of the long-term socio-economic policy of the Government of the Russian Federation will allow to increase the active population life and to begin the revision of the generally adopted retirement age.

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Table 1. Medium variant projections by the Goskomstat of Russia as compared with the projection by the United Nations Population Division

	<i>United Nations Population Division Projections</i>			<i>Goskomstat of Russia Projections</i>		
	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015
Births per year (thousands)	1522	1610	1533	1280	1309	1202
Deaths per year (thousands)	2098	2041	1982	2079	2066	2039
Net migration per year (thousands)	299	204	154	105	73	65
Crude birth rate (per 1,000 population)	10.4	11.1	10.7	9.0	9.3	8.8
Crude death rate (per 1,000 population)	14.3	14.1	13.8	14.5	14.8	15.0
Total fertility rate (per woman)	1.38	1.45	1.52	1.19	1.17	1.16
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 birth)	18	16	15	18.3	16.8	15.4
Life expectancy at birth (years)						
Males	61.3	63.3	65.3	61.3	62.3	63.4
Females	73.2	74.2	75.2	73.2	74.2	75.1
Both sexes combined	67.1	68.7	70.3	67.1	68.1	69.1

Source: United Nations Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision*
Goskomstat of Russia (1999), *Population of the Russian Federation till 2016*

Figure 2. Population of Russia (Goskomstat of Russia Projections)

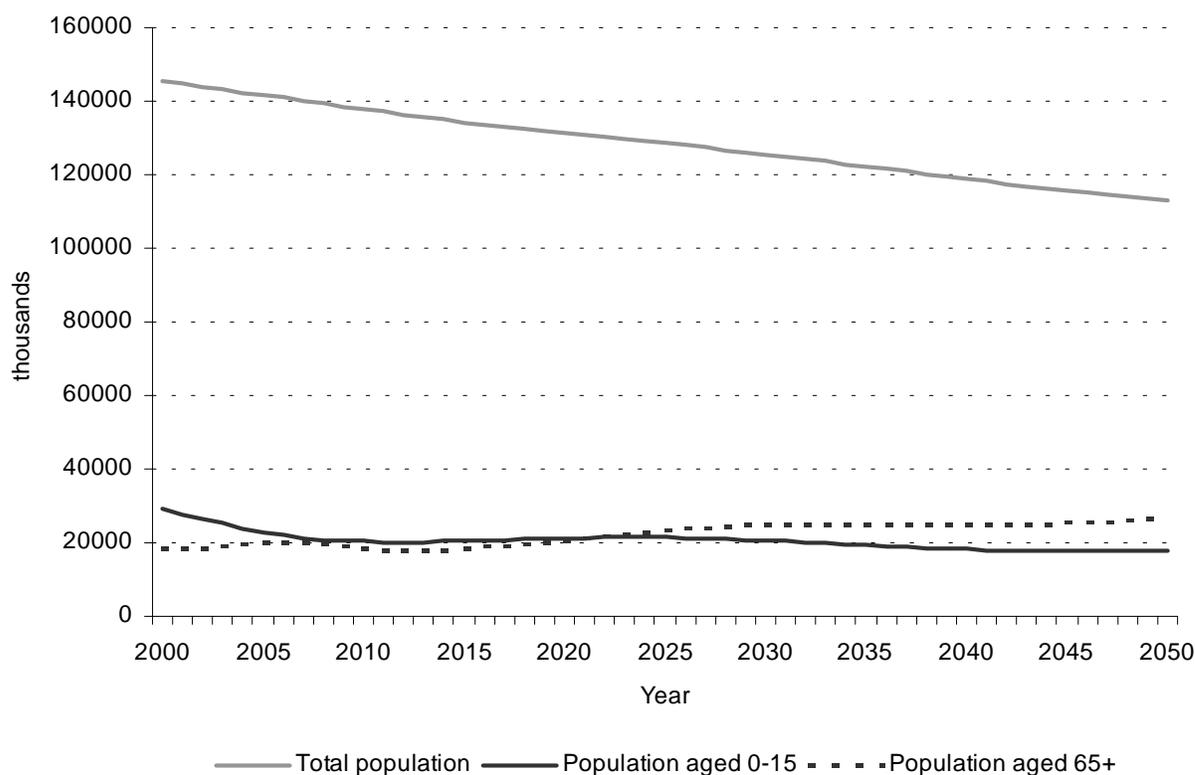


Figure 3: Replacement migration (Goskomstate of Russia Projections)

