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TERRITORIAL CONCENTRATION OF INDUSTRY IN THE ESTONIAN S.S.R.*

Along with the rapid development of industry, its rational territorial organization becomes more and more complicated on account of a formation of various intricate production complexes. Therefore it is of prime importance to study and know thoroughly the peculiarities of the territorial distribution of productive forces and circumstances affecting them at the present time as well as in a more distant future.

One of the factors on which the efficiency of capital investments and the economic indices of production, transport and urban construction depend, is the territorial concentration of production. It is one of the processes pertaining to the sphere of the distribution of productive forces, which progresses rapidly in connection with technical development. The systematic growth of the optimal size of producing enterprises is accompanied by a formation of considerable industrial centres, where the major part of the industrial production of one or another territory is often concentrated. Thus, for instance, in the Baltic republics, Riga yields two-thirds and Tallinn — 40% of the respective total industrial output of the Latvian and Estonian S.S.R.

The territorial concentration of the production, if efficiently organized, may yield considerable economic results. But, on the other hand, an over-concentration of production is a factor impeding production and annihilating the expected economic effect. Thus, for instance, the establishing, in a major town, of new industrial enterprises which are not needed in that particular place, or their expansion, in spite of the seeming cheapness, prove to be irrational in the end, owing to the expenses connected with the building and organization of roads, communications, water supply, etc. It may also happen that the economic effect obtained by the concentration of the production in a certain region or centre does by far not compensate the economic losses resulting from the backwardness of other regions or centres. This, in fact, equals to a development of certain regions or centres at the expense of others.

The technical advances of all kinds of transport and electrification of rural districts in many cases justify economically a decentralization of the production and the distribution of a number of enterprises in small towns and in regions where the particular products are consumed. Besides, a non-centralized distribution of production offers a possibility of fully utilizing the labour resources of small towns and rural districts.

Thence it may be concluded that the problems of the territorial concentration of production are to be solved not from the standpoint of the economic effect, but on a much wider scale. It is also necessary to state and consider those changes that will be effected by a territorial concentration of production in the distribution of labour resources, population and settlements as well as in the living, working and leisure conditions, in the material and cultural catering for the working people and in safeguarding of their physical welfare. In my mind in this question we have to agree with the opinion expressed by Sir Osborne, Chairman of the Association of Urban and Rural Planning of Great Britain, that economic achievements are a failure if they cannot

* The report at the 20th International Geographical Congress held in London in July, 1964.

guarantee a gradual improvement of the housing and social conditions of wide masses of the population.¹

In connection with the above, it is necessary to point out as a positive factor that the welfare of the people (a sphere in which great achievements have been made in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries) is being paid more and more attention to by progressive circles in capitalist countries.

Below we shall deal with some problems of the territorial concentration of production, of industrial production, in the first line, of the Estonian S.S.R., in connection with the questions of the distribution of the population and settlements.

In 1940, Soviet Estonia inherited from the bourgeois system an extremely scattered production. According to the economic census of 1937, the industrial production consisted of 3,837 industrial and more than 18,000 artisan enterprises. This dispersement resulted from the fact that the majority of the large-scale industrial enterprises existing in Estonia prior to 1918 were liquidated by the bourgeois government, and in their stead numerous small enterprises were established. Thus, for instance, in 1913 there were 240 workers on the average per one large-scale industrial enterprise in Tallinn,² but this figure was only 122 in 1927 — i. e. nearly one half of the former. Of large plants with more than 1,000 workers (in 1913 there were 6 of them in Tallinn), there remained only 2 in 1939.

Extreme dispersedness was also to be observed in the agricultural production of bourgeois Estonia. In 1939, the number of farming estates was 140 thousand, the average acreage of farms being 20 hectares.

During the Soviet period, a considerable territorial concentration of production was effected in Estonia. In connection with the constant growth of the optimal size of both industrial and agricultural enterprises, their number greatly decreased. Instead of the former 22,000 territorially dispersed industrial producing points in the republic there are now less than 4,000. The size of industrial enterprises in Soviet Estonia is considerably larger than that of the bourgeois period. The number of agricultural enterprises in the republic (including the fishing collective farms) in 1963 amounted to 778, 633 of them being collective farms and 145 — state farms. The average acreage of kolkhozes in 1963 was more than 2,700 hectares, and that of state farms — more than 5,500 hectares.

What changes, then, occurred during the Soviet period in the distribution of settlements, which are in close connection with the territorial dislocation of production?

It appears that the nature of settlements has not been changed to a considerable extent up to the present time. The matter is that in dependence on the historic development, the number of rural settlements in Soviet Estonia is extremely large, as yet. This is due to the fact that more than 90% of the rural settled points are former small farming estates (farms).

In the Estonian republic (whose territory is 45,100 sq km and population — 1.2 million) there are more than 117,000 rural settled points (farms included), whereas in the Russian S. F. S. R. with 122 million population their number is only 294,000, thus but 2.5 times more than in Soviet Estonia. In the Estonian S.S.R. there are 260 rural settled points per 100 sq km, in the Latvian S.S.R. — 186, and in the Russian S.F.S.R. — 1.3. Thence it may be stated that the settlements of the Estonian S.S.R. are extremely dispersed.

It is typical of Soviet Estonia that out of the total of its rural settled points, (farms included) about 85% are those with up to 5 inhabitants. In these settlements there live more than 53% of the total rural population of the republic. Each collective farm numbers 100—150 settled points on the average. For the sake of comparison we have to point out that the average number of inhabitants in rural settled points is 4.4

¹ Пятер Сельф, Города выходят из своих границ. Л., 1960.

² Enterprises of more than 16 workers. In bourgeois Estonian statistics, the enterprises employing 20 and more workers were considered as large-scale ones. In order to coordinate the data, re-calculations had to be effected.

in Soviet Estonia, 7.7 in Soviet Latvia, the average of the U.S.S.R. as a total being 150. Thus it appears that there prevails an extreme territorial dispersedness both of rural population and rural labour in the Estonian S.S.R.

The urban settlements of the republic are also characterized by a considerable territorial dispersedness. The number of towns with a population exceeding 10,000 makes up but 33% of the total of towns of Soviet Estonia. The number of towns and townships with a population of less than 10,000 constitutes 82% of the urban settlements of the republic. In the U.S.S.R., the number of towns and townships with a population of less than 10,000 makes 66% of the total of urban settlements. Thus, small towns and townships are in an overwhelming majority in Soviet Estonia. The abundance of small towns is to a certain extent a heritage of the bourgeois system, where the economic factor was not taken into consideration at the establishment of this category of urban settlements. The maintenance of a great number of small urban settlements and rural settled points, in its turn, calls forth a rather considerable territorial dispersedness of industry even at the present time. In spite of great achievements in the territorial concentration of production attained in Estonia during the post-war period, there is still a great number of small industrial producing points inherited from the capitalist society. As said before, there are even at the present time about 4,000 industrial producing points on Estonian territory, the majority of which, in the way of separate departments or workshops of large plants, or small producing units, are distributed in minor towns, settlements and in the countryside. There are particularly numerous small producing units in the countryside in those branches of industry that deal with the working up of agricultural production (dairy) or local timber resources, as well as in some branches of light industry (production of knitted and tailored articles). The economic indices of production in those minor, separately distributed producing points are rather low. In the future, such disjointed distribution of production will have to be reorganized, in respect of both technical standards and productivity of labour.

As the territorial distribution of minor producing points is closely connected with that of the rural settled points and local labour forces, a further territorial concentration of industry will be possible only in case of a radical reorganization of settling, i.e. a liquidation of separate populated farms and a concentration of the rural population in larger settlements of urban type, equipped with all kind of up-to-day amenities.

It follows from the above that the contemporary standards of development and territorial distribution of socialist, mainly large-scale production are in a certain contradiction with the old form of settlements, which was adapted to the requirements of small-scale industry of the capitalist period and has become a certain obstacle to a rational location of productive forces in the Estonian S.S.R. and in all of the Baltic republics.

Apart from the task of a territorial concentration of the industry of Estonia, there is another problem to be solved — that of the decentralization of production. It is a fact that a considerable part of the industrial production of Soviet Estonia is concentrated in one single point — the capital of the republic, which accounts for 40% of the gross industrial output of the Estonian S.S.R. In comparison with the pre-war period, the share of Tallinn in industrial production has considerably diminished at the present time, owing, above all, to the rapid development of the oil-shale gas and oil-shale chemical industry as well as electric power production in the north-east of the republic. But the concentration of industry in the capital of Estonia is still too great and does not enable a development of industries in other districts of the republic, which are rich in labour resources. Thus, in the capitalist period the industrial growth of Tallinn was effected mainly at the expense of other Estonian towns and districts, some of which, in spite of considerable progress, have not been able to attain the necessary standard of industrial development up to the present time.

It follows thence that at the further solving of the problems of the distribution of

industry in the Estonian S.S.R. we shall have to deal with two controversial phenomena: on the one hand, a typical feature is too great a concentration of industry in one single point (the town of Tallinn), and on the other, there is a considerable dispersement of industries in minor towns and numerous rural settled points.

A prerequisite for a rational distribution of industry of Soviet Estonia is, thus, a radical reorganization of the entire network of settled points of both urban and rural type, which ought to be carried out as simultaneously and in as complex a way as possible. Here one should proceed, at the same time, from the perspectives of distribution and development of both industry and agriculture as well as from regional labour resources.

For a concentration of the production in Soviet Estonia, it will be necessary to establish 700—800 main and auxiliary centres of agricultural enterprises (with a population of 1,000—2,000 in each, suiting the conditions prevailing in the Baltic republics). This will require much greater capital investments in the agriculture of Soviet Estonian (in particular, in connection with the erection of dwellings and communal buildings) than in the other Union republics.

In accordance with these measures, the number of settled points in Estonia will considerably decrease. For a territorial concentration of industrial and agricultural production it will be of prime importance to reduce the number of rural settled points from 117,000 at the present time to 2,000, which will contribute to a radical change in the nature of settlements of the entire republic, introduce considerable changes in the network of local transport communications and in the system of inter-republican economic and cultural relations, etc.

Alongside with a notable perspective territorial concentration of Soviet-Estonian industry, it will be necessary to reduce to a certain extent the concentration of industries in the capital of the republic. This, on the one hand, will prevent Tallinn from becoming an over-industrialized town, and, on the other, it will give the medium and small-sized towns of the republic greater possibilities of industrial development.

A great part of small towns and townships of both Estonia and other Baltic republics have no perspectives of industrial development. Some of these urban settlements ought to be effectively transformed into centres or auxiliary centres of future large-scale agricultural enterprises, which would considerably contribute to an increase of their population and open up new perspectives of their development. In such a way, the functions of a number of small urban settlements will be changed in the future.

From the above follows the conclusion that the geographers, economists and architects of Soviet Estonia and other Baltic republics are facing peculiar and much more complicated tasks in the fields of territorial concentration of production and regional planning than those of many other republics of the Soviet Union, where there are considerably fewer minor towns and where the rural population is concentrated in mainly large and compact rural settlements and villages.

The great changes in the territorial concentration of production and the concentration of the rural population, dispersed at present in chiefly old and uncomfortable farm buildings, into comfortable settlements of urban type will radically improve the living and working conditions and the standards of material and cultural catering and health services of the population. Thus, economic progress in urban and rural planning is inseparably connected with the guaranteeing of a radical improvement of the housing, living and social standards of the population, in other words — with the welfare of the people.

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TÖÖTUSE TERRITORIAALSEST KONTSENTREERIMISEST EESTI NSV-s*

Resüme

Üheks faktoriks, millest sõltuvad kapitaal mahutuste efektiivsus ja tootmise, transpordi ning linnaehituse majanduslikud näitajad, on tootmise territoriaalne kontsentreerimine. Sellega seoses olevaid küsimusi ei tule lahendada aga ühekülgselt, ainult majandusliku efekti seisukohalt, arvestamata neid muutusi, mida tootmise territoriaalne kontsentreerimine põhjustab asulate arenemises ja paiknemises, samuti rahvastiku paiknemises, tema elutingimustes ja elukondlikus teenindamises.

Nõukogude Eesti päris kodanlikult korrald territoriaalselt äärmiselt killustatud tootmise. Sõjajärgsetel aastatel on meie vabariigis toimunud silmapaistev tootmise territoriaalne kontsentreerimine. Enne sõda tegutsenud 22 000 territoriaalselt laialipillatud, peamiselt väike- ja käsitööstusliku ettevõtte asemel on tänapäeval Nõukogude Eestis vähem kui 4000 tööstuslikku tootmispunkti, mis kujutavad endast peamiselt suuri tehaseid ning kombinataate. Kodanlikus Eestis olnud 140 000, peamiselt väikemajandi asemel on Eesti NSV põllumajanduses tänapäeval ligi 800 suurt riiklikku ja kooperatiivset põllumajanduslikku ettevõtet. Kuid hoolimata sellest on territoriaalselt laialipillatud tootmispunktide arv nii tööstuses kui ka põllumajanduses, eriti loomakasvatuses, ikka veel liiga suur.

Veel praegu esinev tootmise territoriaalne hajutus on tunduval määral tingitud suurest hulgast (üle 117 000) maarahvastiku elupaigast (peamiselt endised taluelamud), milledest 85%-s on elanikke vaid kuni viis. Suhteliselt suur on vabariigis ka väikeste linnaliste asulate arv. Kuna väikesi tööstuslikke tootmispunkte paikneb praegu suhteliselt palju maal, siis tuleb tootmise territoriaalse kontsentreerimise ja linnade ning maa-asulate võrgu reorganiseerimise küsimusi lahendada võimalikult üheaegselt, komplekselt.

Eeltoodust järeldub, et Eesti NSV geograafidel, majandusteadlastel ja arhitektidel on tootmise territoriaalse kontsentreerimise ning rajooniplaneerimise alal lahendada vägagi iselaadseid ja kaugelt keerukamaid probleeme kui NSV Liidu paljudes teistes vabariikides.

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B. ТАРМИСТО

О ПРОБЛЕМАХ ТЕРРИТОРИАЛЬНОЙ КОНЦЕНТРАЦИИ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ
В ЭСТОНСКОЙ ССР***Резюме*

Одним из факторов, от которых зависит эффективность капитальных вложений и экономические показатели производства, транспорта и градостроительства, является территориальная концентрация производства. Вопросы территориальной концентрации следует решать не только с точки зрения экономического эффекта. Необходимо учитывать также и те изменения, которые территориальная концентрация производства обусловит в развитии и размещении населенных пунктов, а также в размещении населения, в условиях его жизни и быта.

Советская Эстония унаследовала от буржуазного строя крайне раздробленное территориально производство. В послевоенные годы в Эстонской ССР уже произошла значительная его территориальная концентрация. Вместо 22 тысяч территориально разбросанных, главным образом мелких промышленных и кустарных предприятий,

* Kirjutis kujutab endast kokkuvõtet XX rahvusvahelisel geograafia kongressil Londonis 1964. a. juulis peetud ingliskeelsest ettekandest.

** Статья представляет собой резюме доклада на английском языке, зачитанного на XX Международном географическом конгрессе в Лондоне в июле 1964 г.

существовавших до войны, в настоящее время в Советской Эстонии насчитывается менее четырех тысяч промышленных производственных пунктов, причем это главным образом крупные заводы и комбинаты. Вместо 140 тысяч в основном мелких хозяйств буржуазной Эстонии в Эстонской ССР имеется около 800 крупных государственных и кооперативных сельскохозяйственных предприятий. Однако несмотря на это, количество производственных пунктов в промышленности, а также в сельском хозяйстве (особенно в животноводстве) еще слишком велико.

Территориальную раздробленность в производстве обуславливает наличие огромного количества (свыше 117 тысяч) сельских населенных мест (в основном бывшие хутора), в 85% которых проживает только до пяти жителей в каждом. Относительно велико и число мелких городских населенных пунктов. Так как сравнительно много мелких промышленных производственных пунктов размещено в настоящее время в сельской местности, то вопрос территориальной концентрации производства и реорганизации сети городских и сельских населенных пунктов следует решать по возможности одновременно, комплексно.

Из приведенного следует, что в Эстонской ССР географам, экономистам и архитекторам предстоит решать в области территориальной концентрации производства и районной планировки весьма своеобразные и гораздо более сложные задачи, чем во многих других союзных республиках Советского Союза.

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