СОЦИУМ

ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКАЯ СТАТЬЯ

Взгляд на проект «Электроград» в Минусинской долине через призму опыта социального проектирования атомных ЗАТО

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Аннотация: В статье рассматриваются социолого-управленческие особенности развития «Минусинского» проекта (г. Электрограда в Минусинской долине) как одного из масштабных государственных проектов, включающих создание и развитие городских проектных площадок присутствия. Данный вопрос анализируется в контексте успешного опыта проектирования закрытых административно-территориальных образований (ЗАТО) как площадок присутствия атомного проекта СССР. Главной целью этого проекта было обеспечение паритета в холодной войне, «гонке вооружений», создание национального «ядерного щита». Интерес авторов вызывает применение к анализу «Минусинского проекта» методологии проектного подхода и авторской концепции формирования в ЗАТО ценностного ядра корпоративности как основы мотивации, вовлечения и сплочения жителей города вокруг проекта.

Отмечается, что на сегодняшний день «Минусинский» проект практически не учитывает необходимость обеспечения городов присутствия корпоративностью, особым духом, который мотивирует, сплачивает, вовлекает горожан в реализацию проекта изнутри. Как показала успешная практика создания и развития атомного проекта и атомных ЗАТО, создание и дальнейшее социальное воспроизводство ценностного ядра корпоративности позволяет не просто повысить результативность, но является основополагающим условием для реализации.

Автор приходит к выводу о том, что применение логики создания корпоративности в рамках «Минусинского» проекта предполагает ключевую цель, которая поставлена перед городом самим государством и закреплена структурно, организационно, программно-конкретным проектом.

Ключевые слова: «Минусинский» проект, г. Электроград, ценностное ядро, корпоративность ЗАТО, проектный подход, субъект и актор управления, управление ЗАТО, проектирование социальной среды города

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An opinion on the "Electrograd" project in the Minusinsk valley through the prism of social design experience of atomic CATFs

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Abstract: The article considers significant social and managerial features of developing the "Minusinsk" project/ Electrograd city in the Minusinsk Valley as one of the large-scale state projects, including creating and developing urban sites of presence. The analysis is conducted using the successful experience of designing closed administrative-territorial formations (CATFs) as sites of presence of the USSR Atomic Project. The purpose of this atomic project was to ensure parity in the Cold War, an "arms race", and the creation of national "Nuclear shield". The authors are interested in applying the project approach methodology to analyzing the "Minusinsk" project as well as using the concept of forming a value core of corporatism in CATF to increase motivation, involvement, and cohesion of city residents around the project.

Currently, the "Minusinsk" project barely considers the need to provide cities of presence with corporate identity, a particular spirit that would motivate, unite, and involve citizens in the project's implementation from within. Given the successful practice of creating and developing the Atomic project and nuclear CATFs, the development and further social reproduction of the value core of corporatism can improve performance and become a fundamental condition for their implementation.

The authors conclude that within the "Minusinsk" project, the use of corporatism involves setting a goal of state importance, which is fixed structurally, organizationally, programmatically, and has a detailed project.

Keywords: Minusinsk project, Electrograd, value core, corporatism of CATF, project approach, subject and actor of management, management of CATF, designing the city's social environment

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Introduction

In 2021, the media widely discussed the launch of a large-scale government project to create and develop 3–5 large modern industrial cities in the next 10 years. The program is aimed both at meeting the current socio-economic and production needs of the country (including the elimination of regional problems and imbalances), as well as providing a technological and economic "breakthrough" at global geopolitical scale. The initiator of the state program was the current Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation, S.K. Shoigu.

A key point of research interest is the similarity between the idea of such large-scale "national startup" and the already implemented Soviet project of closed nuclear cities.

Considering the thoughts, ideas, and statements of journalists and officials, as well as the accumulated experience of creating and developing nuclear CATFs, we can:

- analyze "input data";
- evaluate the possibility of implementing the project;
- suggest recommendations.

Moreover, the authors' sociological concept of *corporatism* and the *corporate model of social management* in CATFs allows us to see several hidden but also important features for organizing such projects, given the practice of their implementation.

Thus, in this article the authors consider the "Minusinsk" project as a project of the electrical engineering innovation-industrial urban cluster of Siberia, taking into account the experience of creating cities of the Atomic project and will:

- *find parallels;*
- *apply the experience and the authors' concept of social design;*
- *share our opinions and recommendations.*

Methodology

As the main method of research, the authors used *social design* based on the principles, elements, and concepts of the *theory of social management*.

The authors' conceptual position is based on the following interrelated concepts [Kostin, Kostina, 2007; Kostina, Duran, Kalugina, 2017; Kostin, 2001]. The "Project" is a complex target image of systemic changes, novelties, and innovations in different spheres developed by the "managing subject" and embodied by the "managed object". Thus, at the management level, the project *organizes human activity* (programming, planning), *directs it, determines the points of application for efforts, energy, resources* (motivation, involvement), *forms the social reality* (social construction), etc.

Further "formalization", "functionalization", "structurization", "operationalization", and "concretization" of the complex target image are the products of management analysis; when interacting with each other, they form a specific "programming" activity aimed at the target implementation of the project. Based on the program, as well as deadlines and resources required to implement the project (organizational, human, managerial, economic, material, time, etc.), a "project plan" is drawn up. After applying all the steps above, the implementation of the project begins on the material plane.

In addition, a fundamental element of the methodology is the authors' concept of "corporatism" as a value core that forms the basis of social management in the nuclear CATFs [Zverev, Karachkov, 2012; Zverev, Karachkov, 2021; Karachkov, 2013]. For project cities, the normative-value base of the processes for organizing activities is a set of attitudes orienting the CATF residents to participate in implementing a large-scale national project related to:

- ensuring state security in difficult working conditions;
- a regime of secrecy, tight deadlines, no opportunity to make a mistake and fail to perform a state task, awareness of the high level of responsibility entrusted;
- the need to fulfill knowledge-intensive, resource-intensive, non-trivial tasks, intensification of scientific discoveries, etc.

"Corporativity" is operationalized in a series of sociological indicators and can be manifested both quantitatively and qualitatively.

And now, let's examine the results of the research.

Results of the research

Today, the sources provide us with the following information about the "Minusinsk" project and Electrograd.

"During a business trip to Novosibirsk, the head of the Russian Ministry of Defense spoke about the need to create several large cities in Siberia, which will become economic and scientific-industrial centers of the country. He also stressed that the population of each of these cities should amount to one million inhabitants"[1].

As for the terms of implementing the main stage of the project, the media quotes the Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation: "We can create new cities and workplaces in Siberia by 2030. With an acceptable amount of investments"[2].

The "URA.RU" publication, citing a high-ranking source from Khakassia, writes that the first of these cities may be created based on the ideas of the "Electrograd" project. According to "URA.RU", in the 1970s, an all-union construction project was announced, and

1 *Lazareva E.* Shoigu's first city in Siberia will be Electrograd // Novosti URA.RU. 28.08.2021. https://ura.news/articles/1036282905

2 *Konnov D.* Shoigu announced the time in which new cities can be built in the Russian Federation // Novosti URA.RU. 22.08.2021. https://ura.news/news/1052500691

the Soviet government tried to create a giant industrial cluster in the region. However, the project was never fully implemented.

According to the source, "it is planned to build a city, and in terms of infrastructure, the most suitable territory is on the border between the Krasnoyarsk region and Khakassia. There is a railroad route from Abakan to the Trans-Siberian railroad, as well as a highway along the route Krasnoyarsk – Abakan – Minusinsk – Kyzyl (the capital of the Tuva Republic). That is why, in Soviet times, the government started building the Electrograd there – 12 factories were supposed to stand along this route. But Perestroika changed plans, and the project was stopped, leaving half-destroyed factories and construction sites of production buildings. Now there is an idea to restart the project"[3], the publication's source explains. The source also believes that the Minister of Defense, who proposed constructing several modern cities in Siberia, intends to revive the described project in one form or another.

The "Minusinsk" project to "overhaul" the valley of the same name and organize the first of 5 cities on the border of two Siberian regions (the Republic of Khakassia and Krasnoyarsk region) was proposed in 2019. V.V. Putin voiced this idea at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum 2019. "Siberia's regions should become a connecting link between the European part of the Russian Federation and the Far East", between China, Asia-Pacific, and Europe's markets. The volume of project investments estimates at 3 billion rubles.

If we consider the "Minusinsk" project through the prism of experience in the creating and developing the Atomic project, then the planned cities, in particular, the first of them – Electrograd, should be perceived as sites to locate production and workers with the appropriate infrastructure. In the United States, at the beginning and middle of the twentieth century, M. Pullman and H. Ford created similar industrial cities for to produce railway cars and automobiles. These initiatives are an evolution of the idea of the city-plant when the city was built around a large factory on the river and was a place of residence for workers, a logistics and infrastructure hub for the factory, a place of the presence for officials (warehouses, market, port, offices, bank, residential districts, urban infrastructure, etc.).

In the first stages, the design concept of nuclear cities involves the creating a site of design presence on paper and, according to a specific algorithm:

- describing functional requirements for the city based on the project goal, primary objectives, etc.;
- choosing the location based on the analysis of the remoteness from the necessary transport hubs, cities, other sites, etc.;
- assessing the safety of location, planning measures to ensure the necessary industrial, public safety;
- planning the sources and necessary resources (science and technology, equipment, finance, logistics, personnel, urban infrastructure of life support and comfortable accommodation of personnel with their families);
- urban design (development plan, analysis, and necessary measures to develop individual areas).

After a detailed analysis, planning, using the project documentation, the supervision of the relevant ministries, departments, research institutes, and a specially created project team, the project enters the phase of direct implementation. CATFs have never been built and developed by intuitive instinct; it is a complex process with many resource-intensive studies.

Now let's analyze the "Minusinsk" project using this algorithm.

The Minusinsk Valley is part of the Angaro-Yenisei macro-region consisting of Khakassia, Krasnoyarsky Krai, Irkutsk Oblast, and the Tuva Republic. For the development of this project, it also seems appropriate to ensure the growth of the "mountain" cluster cities: Bratsk, Ust-Ilimsk, Angarsk. Moreover, there are opportunities for developing two more cities: Ust-Kut and Sayansk. Major investment development projects are already being implemented there:

- Usolskiy Potash Plant, 180 billion rubles[4];
- Ust-Kut gas processing plant,170 billion rubles[5];
- Ust-Kut Polymer Plant, 168 billion rubles[6];
- Boguchansky Aluminum Plant, 160 billion rubles[7].

In addition, the project is planned to be long-term and export-oriented.

Urban areas of the presence of the "Minusinsk" project will be new cities of up to 1 million inhabitants and subject to the necessary (acceptable) investment to become:

- large scientific-economic industrial centers, the pillar of qualitative growth of urban planning, economy, and technology in Russia;
- the instrument to transform the country into a highly developed technological "space of

3 *Lazareva E.* Shoigu's first city in Siberia will be Electrograd // Novosti URA.RU. 28.08.2021. https://ura.news/articles/1036282905

4 Usolskiy potash plant is to build a hydraulic stowing complex // Rambler/finansy. https://finance.rambler.ru/economics/47733020-na-usolskom-kaliynom-kombinate-postroyat-gidrozakladochnyy-kompleks/

5 Development of a powerful gas chemical complex continues in Ust-Kut: details of the project. IA "*Integral*". 29.09.2021. https://integral-russia.ru/2021/09/29/v-ust-kute-prodolzhaetsya-razvitie-moshhnogo-gazohimicheskogo-kompleksa-podrobnosti-proekta/

6 The Irkutsk Oil Company will build a polymer plant for 168 billion rubles. *Vedomosti*. 01.10.2019. https://www.vedomosti.ru/business/articles/2019/09/30/812482-irkutskaya-postroit-polimerov

7 Alexander Uss: "There is a great factory, and there will be a modern city". *Komsomolskaya Pravda Krasnoyarsk*. 30.07.2019. https://www.krsk.kp.ru/daily/27008/4070925/

sustainable development", where all Russians should have the opportunity for self-realization and development, regardless of region or locality in which they reside.

The idea of creating and ensuring the "explosive" development of the Siberian cluster is not new. In 1932, Stalin I.V. initiated the state program "Siberia" and a special bureau for its implementation. The Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR supervised the activities of the Bureau[8] [Tsykunov, 2014]. The transport and logistics infrastructure of the "innovation site" has already been provided with the necessary development potential:

- the Baikal-Amur Mainline ("BAM") and the Trans-Siberian railway ("Transsib") from the West to the East;
- the existence of approved plans to create a number of railway lines from the North to the South of the country[9] [Alklychev, Zoidov, 2011].

This shows an attempt to organize a logistics network in Siberia, where the intersections (nodes) of this network were to serve as sites for constructing new highly developed industrial cities.

We can assume that for the USSR, the project to develop the Siberian cluster turned out to be too resource-intensive and, for one reason or another, was not completed. Currently, the government is actively preparing to "reboot" this project. The authorities are taking measures to reconstruct "BAM" and reorganize "Transsib"[10,11].

However, in today's reality, there are also some difficulties:

- climatic conditions significantly reduce the attractiveness of the project site for the comfortable accommodation of highly qualified specialists, thereby reducing the possibility of attracting staff;
- Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, and Tomsk are the largest cities in Siberia and are experiencing a steady and severe outflow of population[12] related to the inability to meet the social, status, or other needs of skilled professionals.

Discussion and conclusions

The first stage of the "Minusinsk" project is creating the Electrograd city. Firstly, Electrograd is planned as an urbanistic space and is necessary for:

- permanent residence of employees;
- location of administrative bodies;
- deployment of the main and supporting enterprises of the production cycle, etc.

Secondly, the processes of staffing, management, and other resource provision should be reproducible and autonomous (training new personnel in the city or nearby, as well as the absence of migration to the regional center/nearest large city; regular maintenance of industrial, social, and housing and utility complex, etc.).

Thirdly, for the stable functioning of Electrograd as a space to implement the project goal, it is required to ensure the availability of the necessary infrastructure and the corresponding resources (independently, from within, or from external sources). We should calculate these parameters at the programming stage of the electric cluster project. Otherwise, the possibility of an unsuccessful start of the project increases.

If we assess the availability of infrastructure, we see that Electrograd is provided with it. Thus, in addition to the "Transsib", there is the "Krasnoyarsk-Kyzyl" highway. Also, the Soviet government laid out 12 large factories, which are now in a state of separate incomplete facilities. An important feature that formed the basis of the "Minusinsk" project concept is the electrical engineering profile of the plants (for electrical products) and research/training centers. These electrical products were intended for the needs of active development of regional energy, especially hydropower ("reversing rivers", "energy-intensive" Baikonur Cosmodrome). It becomes clear that Electrograd's specialization lies in the uninterrupted supply of high voltage power in the required volume to nearby large innovative industrial facilities.

Many essential resources, including minerals, are directly accessible to this project site. These are:

- deposits of graphite, gold, copper, and iron ore;
- availability of large cities nearby – Minusinsk, Abakan, Krasnoyarsk. There is a possibility of attracting qualified personnel;
- the close location of the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydroelectric Power Station. It is possible to provide energy to power-intensive industries in large industrial centers, given the fact that, at the moment, the main cascade of Hydroelectric Power Station is not operating at full capacity.

However, there are some disadvantages for this site:

- failed business start-ups. For example, the development of the Elegest coal deposit was never launched. M. Prokhorov also promised to build two

8 According to Stalin's project: The first Shoigu's city in Siberia will begin construction in 2022. Federal'noye internet-izdaniye "*Kapital strany*". 14.08.21. https://kapital-rus.ru/articles/article/po_proektu_stalina_pervyi_gorod_ot_shoigu_v_sibiri_nachnut_stroit_v_2022_go/

9 Railroads are pulled across Siberia. *Kommersant*. April 14, 2020. https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4321419

10 Modernization of BAM and Trans-Siberian Railway // The Official website of Trans-Siberian Railway. https://vszd.rzd.ru/ru/1891/page/103290?id=18661

11 Reconstruction of the Baikal Railways: significance for the Russian economy // Interfax and Russian Railways joint information project. https://baikalrail.interfax.ru/reconstruction.php

12 Population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2021 // Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation. https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13282

mining and processing plants, but this was never realized[13];

- Krasnoyarsky Krai, the Republic of Tuva, and Khakassia are not included in Gazprom's plans for regional gasification because this territory is considered to be mainly focused on the coal industry;
- lack of conditions for attracting qualified personnel with high socio-status expectations from the capital and regional centers. If we do not consider the system of postgraduate distribution of personnel, the creation of attractive conditions will require not only substantial investments but also the state's will. Legislative and administrative support for the project, political and economic guarantees, as well as warranties to principal investors, etc., are also necessary.

Having considered the scale and specifics of the "Minusinsk" project and Electrograd, as well as using the experience of national design, we can establish a separate state corporation in overseeing these projects. As its head, we can appoint the "profile-oriented" vice-premier of the Government of the Russian Federation V.V. Abramchenko (Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture, Environment and Real Estate, from 21.01.20; *Supervisor in the Siberian Federal District*, from 19.07.21), and the Board of Directors could include A.A. Seryshev, Presidential Envoy to the Siberian Federal District. In this case, the level of authority and competence of the managing subjects would allow setting goals and developing objectives with further programming and planning of management actions, as well as the stages for implementing the plans.

However, currently, the "Minusinsk" project pays almost no attention to the need to provide the cities of presence with a *corporate identity*, a specific spirit that would motivate, unite, and involve the citizens in the project's implementation from within. As the practice of creating and developing the Atomic project and nuclear CATFs has shown, the development and further social reproduction of the value core of corporatism allows for increasing the effectiveness and is a fundamental condition for its implementation. And that is what we mentioned earlier [Zverev, Karachkov, 2012; Zverev, Karachkov, 2021; Karachkov, 2013].

Corporatism is always started on a national idea that aggregates everything, unites people, and singles out their leaders, motivating them to develop and implement ambitious ideas. At the moment, there is no work being done on creating the value core of corporatism in the "Minusinsk" project. We can find some Soviet groundwork, but there is no formalized concept, the elaborated power mechanisms for its implementation are absent. According to the Atomic project's experience, the Minusinsk cluster should be headed by a powerful and charismatic leader, a political "heavyweight" (previously, the Atomic project's "heavyweight", the "driver", the controlling entity was L.P. Beria). We should assess whether the relevant deputy prime minister, V.V. Abramchenko, who supervises this direction, is suitable. Does she have the necessary political and managerial qualities and competence? Creating the value core of corporatism is closely connected to the need for its further social reproduction. And this requires a constant inflow of young professionals into the project.

As part of the Atomic project, each CATF had a powerful motivator – the opportunity to receive status, high-quality education "locally" (MEPhI – Moscow Engineering Physics Institute, created its branches in CATFs, so young people could receive higher education within their city). The reproduction of corporatism was ensured through implementing the "state order" for highly qualified personnel (distribution) and creating attractive conditions for the inflow of involved, interested young people into the project sites. For example, authorities created additional financial benefits in the nuclear CATFs – a 20 % increase in wages, which is 5 % more than the "northern" compensation. Thus, the site received a progressive status of "elite territory" attractive for residents, meeting the social and status requirements. And lastly, the core of corporatism was formed within the specialized social sphere: recreation, education, sports, rehabilitation – a zone of specifically increased social and living comfort on the territory of CATF, which can be compared to that of the capital. We are talking about the level of comfort at which the residents of CATF would lack nothing and would not be distracted from fulfilling an essential state task.

Within the framework of the "Minusinsk" project, the goal set by the state and fixed structurally, organizationally, and programmatically – by a specific project – should be of fundamental importance while creating corporatism. The primary goal of Electrograd and the "Minusinsk" project could be developing the domestic digital, neural-network, auto industry, creating silicon production due to the steady growth of demand, and actualizing investment projects in these areas in Russia. However, it seems to us that such a large-scale program requires the involvement of a supervisor of a higher rank than the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the Russian Federation.

The "Minusinsk" project could become a project of national importance along with the Soviet projects "Developing Virgin Lands", "Constructing the Baikal-Amur Mainline", "Space Exploration", and "Creating Nuclear Parity in the Cold War". The "Minusinsk"

13 In 2020, M. Prokhorov starts building a mining and processing complex in Tuva / Ak-Sugskoye copper-gold deposit. http://www.eruda.ru/news/9144_ak_sugskoe_mednoporfirovoe_med_zoloto_prokhorov_tuva.htm

project could be Russia's answer to a global threat, or it could realize its global national ambitions.

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