Post-Soviet Transitions of the Planned Socialist Towns: Visaginas, Lithuania
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Abstract

Visaginas, formerly Sniečkus, (Lithuania) was built as a planned socialist town and a satellite settlement to the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant. Both the plant and the town were established in order to integrate Lithuania into the All-Union economic structures via the energy supply system,. The specific characteristics of the town were a particular mono industry, high living standards, ethnic composition (mostly Russian speaking migrants, Lithuanians as minority), absence of any history prior to 1973 and strong pro-Soviet attitudes. For years, it was a success story and the vanguard site of the socialism. After the declaration of Lithuanian Independency in 1990, the town became the site of tensions and uncertainties. The aim of this research study is to illuminate how post-Soviet transition has been experienced by this particular type of community shaped by socialism. Community experiences are retrospectively reconstructed via content analysis of the local media. The particular characteristics of the town (ethnic composition, employment structure, etc.) made the process of transition extremely complicated. While other planned socialist towns established new identities and new trajectories of development, in the case of Visaginas, not the future, but the past played a crucial role in shaping the town's identity. [1]

Key words: Visaginas, Sniečkus, planned socialist towns, mono industry towns, new socialist towns, post-Soviet, transition.

Soviet industrialisation and urbanisation: planned socialist towns

As Jack Underhill agues in his study *Soviet New Towns…* (1990), new Soviet towns were defined as developments "which were created since 1917 to the present (a) on empty or sparsely developed land, as well as (b) communities which were transformed from rural or urban settlements into towns, and (c) finally, existing small and middle size towns which have had high rates of growth and development and which have experienced rapid population increase" (Underhill, 1990, p.263).

In the Soviet Union, urban planning and architecture played a crucial role in shaping the socialist way of life. The Soviet Union fostered the industrialisation and urbanisation of its territories, and the concept of socialism and communism was inseparable from the one of a modern industrial society. B.Domanski argues "(…) the wider ideological environment meant that urban industrial areas were seen as the site for the construction of socialism, the spaces of socialism. Industrialization, urbanization and socialism were seen as parts of an inseparable whole such that symbols of industrialization such as Nowa Huta, Plock, Pulawy and other towns endowed with new factories were principal symbols of socialism as well" (Domanski, 1997, p.175). Yet, beyond serving the country's economic needs, rapid Soviet industrialisation also served for achieving political and social aims.

The industrialisation projects were also designed to integrate the national republics into the larger

economic structures of the Soviet Union and to create bonds of economic interdependency: "(…) construction of large-scale industrial structures and special industrial towns served as an important tool for integrating the Baltic States into the united network of Soviet space" (Cinis, Dremaite, Kalm, 2008, p.227). The power supply system played an important role in achieving integration: "The expansion of the Baltic electricity systems in the Soviet period was thus designed to meet the needs of the whole north-western territory of the union" (Hogselius, 2006, p.252).

Both after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and in the new Central European territories after WWII, one of the challenges for the Soviet authorities was to create, materially and discursively, a working class. The working class communities were created by fostering industrialisation and urbanisation, new towns and settlements were built around new factories, plants and steelworks. The Soviet urban settlements were the workers' sites in the workers' state, they represented the regime's attempts to reshape the societies, remake the tradition and kinship-based communities, to emancipate people from the 'idiocy of rural life' (Marx and Engels, 1967[1888], 84) and to construct new socialist subjectivities, i.e. 'to make a Soviet working class' (Hamilton 1979; Koenker 1985; Crowley and Siegelbaum 1995; Brunnbauer 2008).

Soviet authorities promoted industrialisation and urbanisation on the margins of the Soviet empire where political support for the Soviet system was relatively weak due to the national sentiments and collective memories of lost political independence. "Many people claim, that the construction of Nowa Huta was punishment for the regions weak vote in the 1946 referendum (….) It is popularly suggested that one of the express purposes of locating the steelworks and the great new industrial town so close to Krakow, yet in a predominantly rural area to the east, was to transform the region into a course of support for socialism, to 'remake Krakow into proletarian city' (Ryder, 1990, p.223) and to 'facilitate the diffusion of the working class into Krakow' (Regulska ,1987, p.328)" (Stenning, 2000, p.100).

The main principles of Soviet urbanism have been defined by Nikolai Miliutin in his famous *Sotsgorod: The problem of building socialist cities* (1930) and later on in *The Ideal Communist City* (Gutnov at al, 1968). The most well-known'planned socialist towns' were Nowa Huta and Tychy in Poland, Prypiat and Slavutich in Ukraine, Novoplotsk and Soligorsk in Belarus, Eisenhuttenstadt and Schwedt in Germany, Dimitrovgrad in Bulgaria, Angarsk, Komsomolsk, Magnitogorsk in Russia, Šturovo in Slovakia, and many others. As the cities differ strongly in the industrial, demographic, urban composition, varying working labels were applied to specify them – they were called 'mono industrial towns' (Cinis, Dremaite, Kalm, 2008), 'new socialist towns' (Bernhardt, 2005), 'new Soviet towns' (Underhill, 1990), 'spaces of socialism' (Stenning, 2005), or, to contrary, 'soviet urban anomalies' (Vseviov, 1995).

There is a substantial amount of academic literature on planned socialist towns. Jack Fisher (1962) in his famous essay Planning the City of Socialist Man examined the objectives of socialist urban planners to create, via unique urban patterns, a new kind of socialist subjectivity. Joanna Regulska (1987) and Andrew Ryder (1990) researched the growth of Polish towns under socialism. More recently, Boleslaw Domanski (1997) argues that forced industrialisation was the primary means of social engineering and control over the Soviet towns. Katherine A. Lebow (2001) examines the construction of Nowa Huta in a historical perspective, Ruth May (2003) and Jorn Janssen (2000) provides a historical retrospective on Stalinstadt (Eisenhuttenstadt now), Christoph Bernhardt (2005) analyses the cases in three German planned towns, Einsehuttenstadt, Schwedt and the Berlin Marzahn area. Andis Cinis, Marija Dremaite, and Mart Kalm (2008) examine the three purpose-built industrial settlements in the Baltics, i.e. Sillamäe (Estonia), Stučka (Aizkraukle now, in Latvia) and Visaginas (Sniečkus) in Lithuania.

Being vanguard areas of socialism for decades, the planned socialist towns experienced dramatic transformations during the post-Soviet period. Besides the general difficulties of transition (inflation, privatisation, unemployment, changing legal basis, etc.), the communities of the planned socialist towns experienced troubles of their own: economic troubles related to the decline of the main industrial

site in the mono industrial town, strong socialist values and working class identities clashing with the entrepreneurial spirit of capitalism, a particular ethnic composition bringing the community into conflict with the rest of the society, difficult coping with the (unwanted) socialist past and absence of new viable identities.

The research on the post-Soviet developments of the planned socialist towns is rather episodic. Jack Underhill (1990) argues that perestroika and the 'nationalist ferment' of the 1990s threaten the centrally planned Soviet urban projects and make the communities resistive to the post Soviet changes. Alison Stenning (2000, 2003, 2004) analyses the social processes in socialist and post-socialist Nowa Huta (Poland), Jack Wawrzynski (1986) and Marek S. Szczepa ski (1993) illuminate the social change in post-socialist Tychy (Poland). Scribner Charity (2000) explores how a former outpost of socialism, Eisenhuttenstadt, is becoming an open air museum of socialism. In a more indirect way, Craig Young and Sylvia Kaczmarek (2008) provide a brilliant analysis of the transformations of post socialist urban identities and strategies of coping with the Soviet urban heritage by examining the case of Lodz (Poland).

The processes of post-Soviet transitions have been analysed by many authors (Yurchak 2002, 2005; Verdery 1996; Burawoy 1999; Sampson 2002; Ries 1997, 1999, 2002, 2009; Gal and Kligman 2000a, 2000b; Wedel 1995, 1999, etc.) under the newly appearing category of *transitology*. Yet, transitology commonly seeks to explain the generalities of transition. Research on the post-Soviet transformations in the planned Soviet towns focuses, on the contrary, on the particularities of transition, i.e. on specific communities that are resistant and reluctant to transition. Notable exceptions are the works of David Kideckel (2001, 2004) and Daniel Walkowitz (1993). The central focus of their research is mining settlements in Romania and Ukraine, usually overdeveloped mono industrial outposts of socialism. Although the historical origins of the settlement reach mid-nineteenth century, they resemble the planned socialist towns, both in the employment and ethnic structure, and provide valuable insight for understanding their post-Soviet transformations.

During the post-Soviet years, all the planned socialist towns experienced radical transformations. Some of them have successfully adjusted to the new market conditions, others have started shrinking or have been re-divided and others became like open air museums of socialism. This article investigates the case of Visaginas, a socialist planned town and satellite settlement to the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant.

Visaginas: urban utopia or urban anomaly

Visaginas (Sniečkus) is the satellite urban settlement to the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant (INPP). The INPP, founded by a decision of the Soviet leadership in 1973, was supposed to become the largest nuclear power plant in the world. The workers' settlement was built following the guidelines traced by the Soviet architects V.Akulin and M.A.Belyi, i.e. people who had already planned other Soviet 'atomic' cities – Shevchenko (today Aktau, in Kazakhstan), Navoi (in Uzbekistan) and Sosnovyi Bor (near Leningrad). V.Akutin, b. 1930, had already been awarded a Russian National Award for designing industrial towns, M.A. Belyi also was a member of a planners' group for Akademgorodok of Novosibirsk (Cinis, Dremaite, Kalm, 2008, 243). The structure of the town was a standard 'butterfly' pattern (also used in Sosnovy Bor), consisting of the main 'body' and rounded 'wings'.

In 1975, the first founding stone of the town was laid during the huge official meeting. The town was inhabited mostly by immigrant workers from different corners of the Soviet Union, so the local community consisted of individuals free of 'irrational remnants' such as historic roots or national sentiments. The town was named after the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian communist party, Antanas Sniečkus (just like the Latvian Soviet settlement named after the Latvian Bolshevik party leader Peteris Stučka). The moving in of the first settlers was celebrated in 1977, on

Lenin's birthday on April 22.

For a few decades, Visaginas was the most rapidly growing city. During 1979–1989, more than 25,000 immigrants arrived in the city (Kavaliauskas, 1999, p.30).
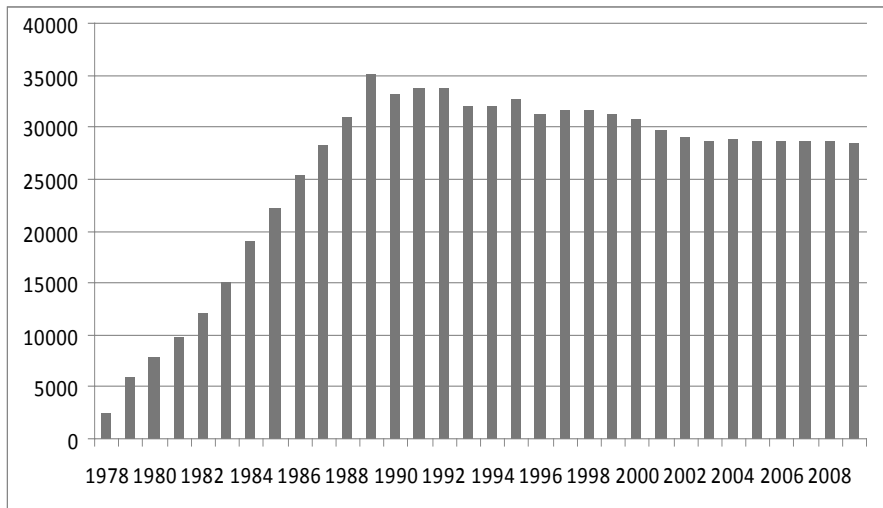

Figure 1. Population of Visaginas, beginning of year
Source: Kavaliauskas, 2003.

Work started at the plant in 1983. The second reactor was scheduled for launch in 1986. However, in 1986 the Chernobyl catastrophe shed strong doubts about the legacy of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant. The launch of the second reactor was postponed for a year as a consequence of the Chernobyl accident. Due to requests by the Lithuanian Green movement, construction of the third reactor was suspended and its demolition began in 1989. The national rebirth movement and the declaration of Lithuanian independency caused strong antagonism between the community of the town and the rest of Lithuania. In 1992, Sniečkus was renamed Visaginas, however, the tensions lasted. The Ignalina power plant is considered to be of a similar type to the Chernobyl power plant. Following the requirements of the EU, the first reactor of INPP was stopped in 2004, the second reactor in 2009. The mono industrial structure of the town, long with other factors, made the post-Soviet transition complicated.

- **Visaginas as a town without any history prior to 1973.** Most of the planned socialist sites have been built as annexes to existing cities (Nowa Huta to Krakow), or on the basis of one or more local settlements (Tychy in Poland, Petőfibánya, Bátonyterenye and Ajka in Hungary, Dimitrovgrad in Bulgaria, Štúrovo in Slovakia), etc. Consequently, it led to confronting narratives and cultural clashes between newcomers and old inhabitants (Krakow and Nowa Huta), as well as the appearance of the problem of one 'centre' or multiple 'centralities' (Tychy). Nevertheless, the pre-Soviet history gives a feeling of identity and continuation, especially when decommunisation started during the post-Soviet period. Visaginas, together with Aizkraukle (Latvia) and a few other cases, are unique settlements, since there is nothing in the area dating earlier than the construction of the town. Here, the Soviet authorities started with the *tabula rasa* without any previous inscriptions. During the post-Soviet period, when communities had to cope with the largely denounced Soviet past and seek alternative identities, the absence of pre-Soviet history made it problematic.
- **Visaginas as a site of privilege.** Visaginas was the settlement for the workers of the nuclear power plant. Due to the importance of nuclear energy, both the town and the power plant were under the

jurisdiction of the All-Union institutions, which assured above average life standards, compared to the rest of the country. The first buildings of the settlement were assembled from pre-fabricated concrete panels, but later on „40% of the dwellings were built of red brick – meaning an exceptional attitude to the welfare of the atomic workers – red brick represented the 'improved' quality of housing" (Cinis, Dremaite, Kalm, 2008, p.238). Food products and commodities were supplied to Visaginas directly from the special All-Union foundations. A special shopping centre 'Renetas' was opened exclusively for the community of Visaginas: sales were made after the documents were provided, so visitors of the town and guests from neighbouring areas were deprived of the service. Medical care, childcare and schooling issues were also controlled directly by All-Union institutions in Moscow, in order to assure the welfare and comfort of the workers of the power plant. Living standards in the town were much higher than in the rest of Lithuania, the same trends are prevalent both during the Soviet and the post-Soviet period:
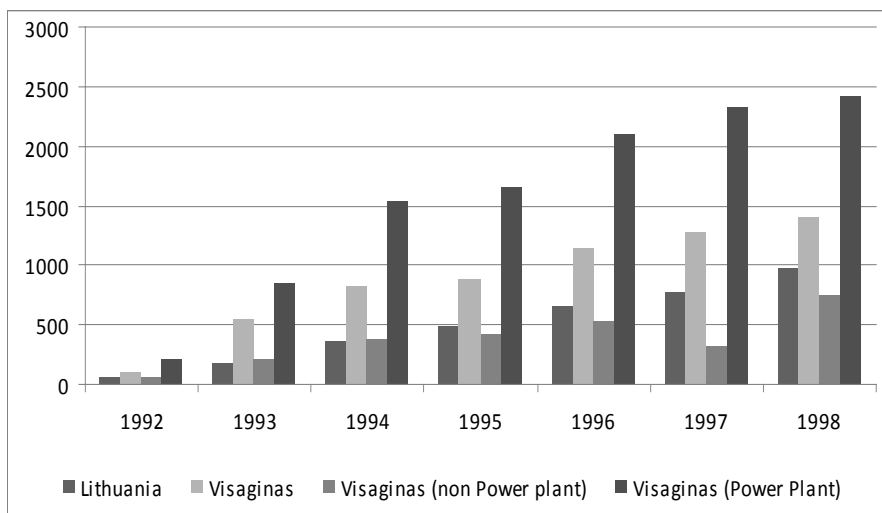
Figure 2. Average monthly salary
Source: Kavaliauskas, 1999, p. 258

- **Visaginas as a mono industrial town.** Visaginas, as is engraved on the corner stone of the town, was supposed to be 'the town of nuclear energy'. The main site of employment is the Nuclear Power Plant. In 1999, there were 5108 jobs at the INPP, making up 38% of all the employment of the town (Kavaliauskas 1999: 248). The power plant played a central role both in terms of employment and identity. Some authors refer to the workers of the nuclear power plant as 'atomsciki', i.e. some kind of 'clan', 'closed group' characterised as 'the last bastion of Soviet times', as the ones, who still work in the style of Soviet times (Sliavaite, 2003). Similar phenomena are described by David Kideckel (2001, 2004) and Daniel Walkowitz (1993) in their analysis of Romanian and Ukrainian mining settlements – the mono industrial structure of the town, strong personal identification with the socialist working class values and resistance towards the entrepreneurial spirit of capitalism, combined with the particular ethnic structure of the town's community, made the transition process rather complicated.
- **Visaginas as an isolated town.** In contrast to the closed Soviet cities (like Sillamäe etc.), Visaginas was an open site. Yet, it was situated in the sparsely populated agricultural region and was quite remote from other urban sites. Due to geographical isolation (among other reasons), the local Russian speaking community was poorly integrated into the Lithuanian society. During the post-Soviet years,

the geographical situation also played an important role: the urban problems (like unemployment) could not be 'absorbed' or alleviated by neighbouring towns, which happened, to an extent, in Nowa Huta, where the local population started commuting to Krakow for work. Geographical isolation made an impact on the post-Soviet development of mining settlements in Romania as well – in Fagaras, unemployment and poverty were significantly absorbed by the surrounding agricultural areas, while in the Jiu Valley, which is socially isolated and geographically remote, transition was a much harsher experience (Kideckel, 2001).

- **Visaginas as a migrant community.** What makes Visaginas a particular case is the ethnic structure of the town. There are a few cases, where planned socialist towns were inhabited by migrants and became an 'ethnic island' – the most well-known are Sillamäe (Estonia) and Visaginas (Lithuania). Sillamäe was populated by the Russian migrants from Leningrad and, thus, "became the crown jewel of Russification in Northeast Estonia" (Cinis, Dremaite, Kalm, 229). Russians still constitute 85 percent of the local population of Sillamäe in 2008 and the same is valid for Visaginas. The power plant and the settlement were built in a sparsely populated agricultural area; therefore, in order to prevent the agricultural sector from meeting with decline and destruction, both local and national authorities issued directives that prohibited and discouraged the employment of the local population at the construction site or later at the plant.2 In Visaginas, the number of Lithuanians grew slowly from 5.8 percent in 1979 to 14.96 percent in 2001 (Kavaliauskas, 1999, p.59). At the power plant, the percentage of Lithuanians was even lower.

Table 1. Nationalities in Visaginas, 2001

Nationality	1979	1989	1995	1999	2001
Lithuanians	5,8	7,7	14	15	14,96
Russians	66,2	64,2	59,4	55	52,43
Other	28	28,1	26,6	30	32,61

Source: for 1979-1999: Kavaliauskas, 1999, p.59; for 2001:Kavaliauskas A., 2003

Table 2. Ethnic Structure of the workers at the Nuclear Power Plant

Nationality	1999	2000	2002
Lithuanians	8,76	9	9,15
Russians	62,92	62,42	62,07
Others	28,32	28,58	28,78

Source: Kavaliauskas A., 2003

2 As the nuclear power plant was built in a poorly populated area, there were certain directives both from local and from national authorities regarding the labour force: local population should not have been employed at construction works or later at the nuclear power plant (Viktor Kolomijec, 20001-12-20, p.2, cit in Kavaliauskas, 2003, p.47)
There were continuous questions as to why local people do not work there. I know a few local people who have been working there, but it is a well-known fact that not everybody was accepted. Some people were not allowed to leave the collective farms or for other reasons, many local people were simply not accepted (Kazimir Jodčik, 2001-11-16, 4 psl. p.3, cit in Kavaliauskas, 2003, psl. 47).
There were directives that discouraged the employment of any single person from the surrounding areas. Lithuania did not want the agricultural sector to decline; it was of great importance there; the construction would have left the region without any truck or tractor drivers, without harvesters (...) Even drivers were invited from Russia, from Belarus („Popu-liari tema – V Každyj Dom – 1999 07 01, Kavaliauskas, 2003, p.47)

Visaginas town, along with the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant, was established by the Soviet authorities with the aim of fostering industrialisation, strengthening working class identities and supporting socialism, as well as integrating Lithuania, via the energy supply system, into the larger economic structures of the Soviet Union. It resulted in the mono industrial town of a very specific and narrow industry, an urban site without any history prior to 1973, and strong pro-Soviet identification, an economically privileged Russian enclave, distanced from the country both geographically and culturally. During post-Soviet years, this vanguard site of socialism was difficult to position in the new post-socialist context and it turned into a site of discontent.

Some methodological remarks

The main research method was a qualitative content analysis of the local media. The content of the local weekly newspapers *Dobryi Denj* (1989 – 1994) and *Sugardas* (1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008) has been analysed, approximately 16 issues per year (March/April and October/November). The year 1989-1994 was chosen because it was a period of intense post-Soviet transformations. Later on, the chosen periods are related to some significant events, such as the economic crisis, Lithuania's accession to the EU, and the gradual decommissioning of the nuclear power plant.

The key criteria for selecting the texts was the communities' perceptions of, responses to, and interpretations of the transition form the socialist past to the new political and economic order. Initially, the texts were supposed to be classified under 4 main categories, i.e. political issues, economic issues, cultural issues, social issues and the transformations of urban spaces (i.e. former kindergarten remade into shopping area, etc.). Any publications regarding the post-Soviet transformation of urban spaces have been absent in the local media and all the other (political, social, cultural, economic) issues have been organised under the following labels: relations to the Soviet Union and the homeland countries in the east, relation to independent Lithuania, community's collective identities (which include recalling the past and visioning the future of the town). The categories corresponded to certain time periods, i.e. the early period of resistance, following a period of reconciliation and the period of nostalgia that starts with the decommissioning of the Nuclear Power Plant.

The role of the media is widely debated in contemporary theories, the interpretations range from functionalist explanations to conflict theories. While the national media (or other large scale media) might be oppressive and intrusive, enforcing attitudes and decisions generated by governmental agencies and business corporations, the local media channels the voices of the local community, articulating their experiences and concerns, and this remains the space where people speak amongst themselves and defend their own living environment. Both *Dobryi Denj* and *Sugardas* publish multiple public opinion surveys of the local community, open letters, and step into an open confrontation with the national media[3]. In contrast to interview-based research that focuses on individual biographies and personal reactions to social change, the media analysis unveils the communities' responses, collective identities and commonly shared concerns.

Under the siege of the natives: "Mr. Gorbachev, take us back to the USSR"

Visaginas was built as a town of nuclear energy and the power plant played an important role both in terms of employment and personal identification. The accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant (Ukraine) in 1986 became a catastrophe for Visaginas as well, both literally and figuratively. Many

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3 Take into account open disappoval of Lithuanian independency in 1990 or the case in 2005, when Sugardas published multiple resentful readers' letters as a response to the *Visaginas, a Former Island of Welfare, is Turning into a Painful Sore*, published by national daily Lietuvos Rytas.

specialists from the nuclear energy plant were sent to Chernobyl for eliminating the consequences of the catastrophe, which resulted in long-term health damage or even premature deaths. The Chernobyl catastrophe has also challenged the legacy of the nuclear energy and the legacy of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant.

Fears and uncertainties related to the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant in Lithuania played an important role in articulating public unrest and mobilising society against the Soviet regime during the post-Chernobyl period. Discontent with the Soviet regime was first articulated by the Green Movement in Lithuania, which preceded the National Rebirth Movement in many cases (Baločkaitė, Rinkevičius, 2008). Both the Green Movement and the National Rebirth Movement focused strongly on the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant, accentuating its resemblance to Chernobyl and accusing Soviet occupiers of turning the republic into "a colonial industrial dump site that produces goods and services far beyond the needs of its own inhabitants"[4].

As D.J. Peterson argues, "Ironically, nuclear power stations, noxious chemical plants, and hazardous waste disposal sites provided the first safe political space in which individual could organize and work against Communism regime" (Peterson, 1993, p.224). The Green Movement and the National Rebirth Movement initiated a protest action called the 'Circle of Life', requesting to stop the construction of the 3rd block and arrange an independent environmental impact assessment. Over 15 000 people gathered around the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and the workers settlement on September 16-18, 1988. The inhabitants of Visaginas and the workers of the power plant perceived it as a traumatic event, a direct threat to their employment and life perspectives. A year and a half later, the protest action was reported by the workers of the plant in their open letter to the President of the USSR M.Gorbachev:

During the last two years the team of the nuclear power plant has been working under difficult conditions of psychological pressure (…) It began with the thousands strong protest action called the 'Circle of life' on September 16-18, 1988, arranged by Sąjūdis (National Rebirth Movement, RB) right around the power plant and the workers' settlement. Derogative and threatening statements have been claimed during the meeting. Workers of the power plant could not properly focus on their professional duties, as they were constantly concerned about the security of their homes and families. Local media organised a broad campaign of discrediting the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and its workers, therefore, creating an atmosphere of distrust and intolerance. (*Dobryj Den*, 4/13/1990, p.1)

One the eve of the great political transformations of 1990, Visaginas was predominantly a Russian town. In 1989, there were 7.7% of Lithuanians and 64.2% Russians in Visaginas, 28.1% people referred to other nationalities (Kavaliauskas, 1999, p.59). There were no Lithuanians among the members of the newly elected town council in 1990: "The composition of the Council... by ethnicity: Russians - 22, Ukrainians - 5, Belarussians - 3, Bashkirs - 1, Moldovans - 1, Polish – 1". (*Dobryj Den*, 4/17/1990, p.1).

The local community was isolated from the rest of Lithuania both geographically and culturally. The local media did not even include any Lithuanian TV programs. For them, the shared space of the coexistence was the Soviet Union. Within the multinational community, the Russian language and pro-Soviet identities were dominant: "As for myself, my grandmother was Estonian, grandfather was polish, my mother is Ukrainian. So who I am, what is my nationality? I am a Soviet person and a Soviet citizen. (Rozar R. Do not allow the self destruction, Dobryj Den, 3/13/1991, p. 2).

The declaration of Lithuanian independence on March 11, 1990, became a shocking experience for the Russian speaking community in Visaginas:

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4 Briefing issued to participants at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (October 1989); the meeting on the environment held in Sofia, Bulgaria, cit in Peterson, 1993, p.215.

Political development in Lithuania was clear: the country is moving towards full independence. One could not say that people of Sniečkus were against it; many supported Lithuanians in their aims. Yet still many have been shocked by the decisions of March 11. (Skatikaitė R., Suggestions for the national referendum, *Dobryj Den*, 1990 06 06, p. 1).

Hörschelmann and van Hoven (2003) call this kind of process 'removing the place', or "displacement without physical relocation, a kind of 'internal migration', where identity is challenged by the transformation of (and partial alienation from) one's 'locale'" (Hörschelmann, van Hoven, 2003, p. 742). Meaning that people remain stationary, but political borders are moved, making them 'immigrants' (see Flyn, 2007). The altered political ownership of the territory leads to the breakdown of 'the once simultaneous coexistence' (Flyn, 2007, p.471). The declaration of Lithuanian independence, together with the anti-nuclear narratives of the local environmentalists, constitutes a traumatic event, related to homelessness, detachment and displacement – "previous secure roles are lost (in this case the particular role that Russians played in 'building socialism' in the former republics), trusted socio-economic frameworks and institutions disintegrate, and people are left with an overwhelming sense of redundancy and insecurity" (Flyn, 2007, p.471).

The next day after the declaration of Lithuanian independence, the local meeting in Visaginas requested the national referendum on Lithuanian independence to be held on March 24 and issued an open letter to the Lithuanian nation and the III Congress of the Peoples' Deputies of the USSR, published on March 16, 1990. The letter said the following:

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania declared the Lithuanian independence on March 11, 1990. We, the inhabitants of the settlement of Snieėus, acknowledge and respect the right of every nation to political self-determination. Yet, we believe it should be achieved while acting within the Constitutional framework of the USSR, and not through historical manipulations. (….) A measured will of the nation might be only expressed via a national referendum. This would be the legal way, in contrast to the current political adventures. (…) We are addressing this letter to the Lithuanian nation and the III Congress of the Peoples' Deputies of the USSR and expect their official confirmation that the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and related enterprises remain the objects owned and protected by the USSR with all the consequent guarantees.

In order to calm down the public unrest in Visaginas, the deputies of the Supreme Council of Lithuania arranged a meeting with the people of the town (see Bereza A., It is absolutely necessary to compromise, *Dobryi Den*, 3/23/1990, p.1). Soon after, the special commission for solving the 'issues of Sniečkus' was formed based on the Directive of the Supreme Council of Lithuania. Among other points, it included exceptions of applying *the Directive on the State Language* in Visaginas.

In spite of that, the silent warfare between Lithuania and Visaginas went on. The community of Visaginas attempted to resist the inconvenient political transformations and did everything in order to ensure the continuity of a 'once harmonious coexistence'. A month after the Declaration of Lithuanian Independency, the workers of the power plant issued an open letter to the President of the USSR M.Gorbachev. The workers complained about the difficulties of implementing state language regulations, the violation of constitutional rights, discrimination on the basis of citizenship and 'purposefully applied moral psychological pressure'. Consequently, they said:

Taking into account that Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and the satellite settlement have been built from the funds of the state budget of the USSR and are owned by the USSR, also keeping in mind the importance of the nuclear power plant for Lithuania, Russia and Belarus, (…) we are asking you to find a way of taking the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant and Sniečkus from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania and reuniting it with the USSR. (*Dobryj Den*, 4/13/1990, p.1-4)

The alteration of a political order meant a threat of 'nationalist ferment' (Underhill, 1990), uncertainties about the future of the nuclear power plant and the perspectives of professional employment, as well as detachment and displacement from their homelands. In contrast to the national media discourse that favoured independence, local media channelled voices of the discontent and articulated the concerns of the community, resistive to the change. Analysis of the local media unveils "how ordinary citizens were and are continuing to experience and re-negotiate a changing world where previously 'secure' domains are no longer integrated coherently" (Stark. 1992, p.301).

Multiple public opinion surveys on the Lithuanian independence have been conducted in Visaginas. The first one, conducted in April 1990, revealed attitudes that were noticeably pro-Soviet (For the unity in the USSR, *Dobryi Den*, 4/27/1990, p. 1) – 85 percent of legitimate voters in the town disapproved the decision of March 11. 1990.

Another public opinion survey was conducted among the workers of the power plant, representing the attitudes of 485 workers (Changes in Lithuania: in the Mirror of Public Opinion, *Dobryi Den*, 4/27/1990, p. 1). 74% of the people disapproved the declaration of Lithuanian independency, 68% approved the status of the town within the USSR, and 69% believed that the power plant should be owed, controlled and governed by the USSR. Besides the question of national independency and the threatening 'ferment of nationalism' (Underhill, 1990), the fate of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant is also the subject of public opinion surveys. In answer to the question "What should be the status of the INPP", 69% were in favour of the ownership by the USSR; 23% were in favour of a joined ownership between the USSR and Lithuania, 8% were in favour of Lithuanian ownership.

A repeatedly conducted public opinion survey, labelled as a 'referendum', was arranged on March 17, 1991, in Visaginas. 96.2% of the total of 2945 respondents said 'Yes' to the continuation of the Soviet Union and only 3.3% had a different opinion (The Referendum Happened, *Dobryj Den*, 3/21/1991, p.1).

The displacement without relocation or removal from the site happens every time after empires break up. The phenomenon was observable in the former GDR, where social, cultural, economic and political positions have been radically altered as a consequence of unification (Braun, Jasper, and Schröter 1994; Behrend 1995; Hoven-Iganski 2000; Kolinsky 1995, 1996; Meyer and Schulze 1998),[5] as well as in the former Yugoslavia, where the (re)drawing of nation-state borders fails to sever the close connections between territories, ancestors, memories and kinship (Flyn 2007, p.469), etc. In some cases, populations were supportive of ongoing transformations, in others resistant and opposing.

The case of Visaginas was a successful project of Soviet social engineering. Besides the primary aim, i.e. the inclusion of Lithuania into the larger economic structures of the Soviet Union, it also shaped the working class community, who were supportive of the Soviet ideology. Political loyalties, shaped via the particular ethnic composition of the town, strong socialist values and economic privileges, were persistent. The vanguard socialist urban site, mono industrial, economically privileged Russian enclave, distanced from the rest of country both culturally and geographically, remained the last Soviet bastion in Lithuania.

The period of one and a half years after the declaration of Lithuanian independence was marked by a strong nostalgia for the USSR in Visaginas. For 18 months, Visaginas (Sniečkus) had lived in an ambiguous status of statelessness. A year and a half after the Declaration of Lithuanian Independence

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5 Braun A, Jasper G and Schröter U (1994) Rolling back the gender status of East German women. In H Behrend (ed) *German Unification: The Destruction of an Economy* (pp 139–166). London: Pluto Press
Hoven-Iganski B van (2000) *Made in the GDR: The Changing Geographies of Women in the Post-Socialist Rural Society in Mecklenburg-Westpommerania*. Utrecht: Koninklijk Nederlands Aardijkskundig Genootschap; Groningen: Faculteit der Ruimtelijke Wetenschappen
Kolinsky E (1995) *Between Hope and Fear.* Keele: University Press
Kolinsky E (1996) *Women in the new Germany.* In G Smith, W E Paterson, and S Padgett (eds) *Developments in German Politics* (pp 264–280). Basingstoke: Macmillan Press
Meyer S and Schulze E (1998) After the fall of the wall: The impact of the transition on East German women. Political Psychology 19:95–116.

on September 18, 1991, the Ministry of Nuclear Energy and Industry of the USSR and the Ministry of Energy of the Republic of Lithuania signed an agreement and acknowledged the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant as an object under Lithuanian jurisdiction. The Visaginas settlement, anchored to the plant, finally gives up resisting and moves altogether.

Becoming a migrant: estranged from Russia, inventing Lithuania

After the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant was passed to Lithuanian jurisdiction in September 1991, the silent warfare was over. The general discourse of the local media could be properly characterised as the process of *inventing and appropriating Lithuania* or, as David Ralph (2009) calls it*, 'homing'*. People start slowly inventing and accepting the country beyond the borders of their town. The local media is publishing lessons of Lithuanian language, short introduction stories to Lithuanian language and culture, explaining the meanings of national holidays etc. This process, as Hörschelmann and van Hoven say, "has parallels to a journey, but one without clear points of arrival. It follows a complicated, unpredictable itinerary through places that one would have/should have known, but which have become unfamiliar through alterations in the configuration of political, economic, social, cultural and personal relations" (Hörschelmann, van Hoven, 2003, p. 743).

An ironic compromise is that March 11th, the day of the restoration of Lithuanian independence, still constitutes a traumatic event for the community of Visaginas. The local media reminds of the Independence Day in a reserved way, with a single line and a formalised reminder to display the Lithuanian national flag:

March 11th is Independence Day in Lithuania. In compliance with governmental regulations, Lithuanian national flags should be displayed (Dobryj Den, 1994 03 10, p.1)

After the introduction of the Lithuanian state currency Litas, the local weekly started a regular section entitled *Who is Who. Lessons of Lithuanian* in order to introduce the great figures of Lithuanian culture and history via local currency and banknotes:

On the banknote of 20 Litas, there is the image of Maironis (…) Maironis was a great poet, called the Lithuanian Taras Shevchenko [6]. His poems are of the same spirit as the writings of the great Russian poets such as A.Pushkin, M.Lermontov, and F.Tiutcev. (Dobryj Den, 11/14/1994, p.2)

A special section in the Lithuanian language was introduced in autumn 1994 (Dobryj Den, 10/06/1994). Here, the loyalties to the Lithuanian state and nation are openly manifested. The subtitle of the cover page contains a famous quote by Georg Sauervein[7]: "As Lithuanian we are born, Lithuanians we have to be". The section covers certain episodes of Lithuanian history and reports about the situation of Lithuanians in Visaginas.

Along with constructing the loyalties to the new state, the community of Visaginas was also concerned about maintaining relations with their homelands of Russia and other Soviet republics. As many inhabitants of Visaginas were first generation migrants, who had their parents, siblings, relatives and professional networks in the Soviet Union, the declaration of Lithuanian independence meant – metaphorically – the building of a Berlin wall for them. M. Biaspamiatnych (2008) calls it 'the paradox of distance' – the objective distances between cities and places are subjected to change due

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6 *Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) - Ukrainian poet, artist and humanist.*
7 *Georg Sauervein (1831-1904) – German polyglot, acknowledged pacifist, supporter of minority languages within the German Empire: Sorbian and Lithuanian. His poem Lietuvninkais mes esam' gime ("As Lithuanians we are born", 1879) is still popular in Lithuania and considered as a second national anthem.*

to the state border status, some places become distant and even inaccessible, although geographically close.

The following quote is taken from the open letter to P.Popov (the deputy of Lithuanian Parliament) published in *Dobryj Den* on April 8, 1993:

Being aware of the difficulties of state building in Lithuania (…) we understand it is a complicated process (…) Russian speaking inhabitants of the settlement, having their roots and relatives in Russia (…), are the hostages of the premature and hasty decisions (….) changing rules and directives create new troubles and obstacles for travel each day (…) Migration services are provided in one room only, for 4 hours, 2 days per week (…) to get there is nearly impossible. People are standing there in a queue from late night, waiting for hours at the door (…) L.Popova, O.Tuzova H.Petcenko and 12 others.

As James Clifford argues, "borderlands are distinct in that they presuppose a territory defined by a geo-political line: two sides arbitrarily separated and policed, but also joined by legal and illegal practices of crossing and communication" (Clifford, 1994, p.304). Migration to Russia, visa and citizenship issues were constantly focus of attention. Information for people awaiting Russian citizenship is published regularly in 1991 and 1992[8]: visa related issues are discussed[9]; private companies advertise consular services for people travelling to/from Russia, Belarus and Lithuania[10]; a growing number of Lithuanian citizens in Visaginas is reported[11]. The border issues appear repeatedly in the headlines: "To Lithuania – with invitations only" (*Dobryj Den*, 11/04/1993, p.4), "Russia Responds with a Visa Regime" (*Dobryj Den*, 4/14/1994, p.4), "Getting Lithuanian citizenship will be more complicated" (*Sugardas*, 11/18/2004, p.10), etc.

Since March 1994, the flow of migration-related messages had been fixed under the regular rubric *News from Migration Services*. While Lithuania was strengthening its political independence, toughening up the border regime with the East and opening it to the West, the people of Visaginas remained tied to their homelands both culturally and emotionally, as well as via family, kinship or professional ties:

People of Visaginas are more interested in travelling to Belarus, than to the EU. (*Sugardas*, 2002 11 07, p.13).

Milica Bakić-Hayden (1995) suggests the concept of 'nesting Orientalism'. The different variations of Orientalism are produced for the countries outside the imagined 'Europe', with the degree of otherness corresponding to the geographical distance. Similarly, the case of 'nesting Occidentalism" is observable in the case of Visaginas. The Baltic countries, in relation to Russia, are becoming '*blizhnee zarubezhje*' (near foreign countries, or semi foreign countries), i.e. far from the real 'West', 'Europe' or unfamiliar foreign territories, but they are not part of the Soviet Union anymore.

The *blizhnee zarubezhje* is the peripheral zone. The Russian state and political authorities were taking care of 'their' people in *blizhnee zarubezhje*. The identity constitution of those who are entitled for support is constructed independently of ethnicity. Under the 1992 Citizenship Act, which remained in force until 2002, all former residents of the Soviet Union, regardless of their ethnicity, were entitled to Russian citizenship. "By the end of 1995, a governmental consensus had been reached which encouraged the protection and continued residence of the Russian communities in the near abroad. (…)In fact, it was not only ethnic Russians who were declared to be the responsibility of the Russian

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8 *For those, who are waiting for Russian citizenship. Dobryj Den, 1991 11 27, p.5, 1992 04 29, p.5.*
9 *Once again about the children passport, Dobryj Den, 1993 04 01, p. 3., If you want to bring your parents (from Russian Federation, RB) to Lithuania, Sugardas, 2004 04 22, p.9, etc.*
10 *Private company Anastasia provides consular services, Dobryj Den, 1994 04 07, p.4.*
11 *More citizens, Dobryj Den, 1993 10 28, p. 1.*

government; all ethnic groups with a cultural and historical link to Russia were 'diasporised' through a growing reference to the Russian-speaking minorities in the former republics as 'compatriots' (*sootechestvenniki*)" (Flyn, 2007, p.465).

People are 'diasporised' not as ethnic Russians, but as successors of the Soviet Union. For Russia, beyond typical issues of cultural cooperation[12], there were particular concerns on issues like the fate of the veterans of WWII or those who helped clean up the Chernobyl catastrophe. There are strong diasporic relations among Visaginas and other Soviet Nuclear towns such as Prypiat, Slavutich, Sosnovyj Bor, etc.: "Memories from Prypiat – roses…" (*Dobryj Den*, 4/24/1991). "We are in the Same Cradle (with Slavutich)" (*Dobryj Den*, 10/06/1994); "Visaginas and Slavutich has the Same Problems to be Solved" (*Sugardas*, 11/24/2000); "In Contrast to Pessimistic Forecasts, Slavutich is Still Alive and Lives in New Ways" (*Sugardas*, 11/7/2002).

There is a strong dichotomy between socially constructed categories of 'us' and 'them' observable in the local media. Here, the category of 'us/our people' is constructed on the basis of the grand Soviet narrative and imagined as belonging to the vanished empire. "Our people will not be abandoned," the local media says with reference to the veterans of WWII and the eliminators of the Chernobyl catastrophe.[13] People of Visaginas were trying to balance their loyalties. The local weekly asks, "Whom are the Russians of Visaginas to be with?":

Russia is turning to its people abroad (…) Main directions of the politics of the Russian Federation regarding its people living abroad (sootechestvenniki) (…) Russia is ready to support its people in the new foreign countries (blizhnee zarubezhje), to integrate them into the life of the new states, in which territories they found themselves due to the whims of fate, and help to maintain their own culture (…) The main directions (…) offer financial support for Russian language libraries, effective local language teaching programs, they also support business networks with Russia, etc. (Dobryj Den, 11/14/1994, p.2)

After the Ignalina Power Plant was passed to the jurisdiction of Lithuania in September 1991, the silent warfare between Visaginas and the rest of Lithuania was over. People started building loyalties to their new country and establishing diasporic relations with their homelands. They struggled with the travel-related bureaucracy, sought for Russia's support while facing the consequences of WWII, Chernobyl and other Soviet consequences, questioned their own status, defined in special vocabulary of *blizhnee zarubezhje* and *sootechestvenniki*, and tried to balance their loyalties between the two states.

Lost in transition: what are the alternatives?

A significant change of the dominant discourse starts in the Visaginas media starting in 2002, when Lithuania begins negotiating the EU membership and discussing the decommissioning of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant. After decommissioning the power plant, the future of the nuclear energy town seems uncertain, both in terms of employment and identity. In *About Visaginas – With Hope and Sadness*, I. Peters says:

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12 *Moscow culture days in Visaginas: Festive concert of the artists from Moscow (Sugardas, 2004 11 25); Advisor to the Russian consul is interested in issues of Russian schools (Sugardas, 2005 04 07, p.1); Quotas for free studies in Russian universities (Sugardas, 2005 04 07, p.1), Days of the Russian Culture in Visaginas (Sugardas, 2005 11 10. p.4); Russian delegation visiting in Visaginas (Sugardas, 2006 04 06, p.2), etc.*

13 *Our people won't be abandoned: agreement between Russian Federation and the Republic of Lithuania regarding social guarantees to the retired Soviet militaries living in Lithuania (Sugardas, 2002 11 07, p.4); Russian diplomats meeting the former military (voennymi pensionierami) (Sugardas, 2001 11 14, p.1); Russian embassy supporting Chernobyl liquidators (Sugardas, 2002 04 04, p.3).*

This well built, well-planned contemporary town in Lithuanian media has been called different names: 'the dying city', 'the Soviet city', 'the ghost town'. (...) imagine a situation with a crowd of happy, well dressed doctors stand around the bed of the patient, talking, discussing, checking the patients pulse: oh, the dying one. They do not give any medicine; they wait for him to slowly pass away. (Peters I., *Sugardas*, 11/14/2002, p.13).

Visaginas represents a heavy and complicated case of socialist heritage. It is rather difficult to position it into the new post-socialist context, both in terms of economics and identity. The reinvention of the pre-socialist 'Age of Gold' (which was a strategy for Tychy, Poland) does not work, as there is no history prior to 1973. The 'Communist Heritage Tourism' that works for Nowa Huta (neighbouring Krakow), Eisenhuttenstadt (neighbouring Berlin), Sillamäe (ferry connection to Kotka) is hardly possible due to the geographical isolation. Due to the physical distances, the urban problems (like unemployment) could not be 'absorbed' or alleviated by neighbouring towns, which happened, to an extent, in Nowa Huta, where the local population started commuting to work in Krakow (Stenning, 2000). Also in Romanian mining settlements, workers in Făgăraș and Victoria benefited strongly from their economic and social networks in the surrounding rural areas, in contrast to the geographically and socially isolated Jiu Valley (Kideckel, 2001). New investments, restructuring the local industry and retraining the local work force was a success story in Tychy. However, this has some limitations in Visaginas due to the specific educational background and high professional status of the workers of the power plant. Alternative employment opportunities – the sewing factory *Visatex* and the furniture factory *Visagino Linija* – are considered as less valuable opportunities by the nuclear energy specialists.

In absence of any viable alternatives, it is not the present and not the future, but the past that is playing a crucial role in shaping the town's identity. "When 'home' has been challenged, this prevents over-sentimentalism about 'what is home'" (Flyn, 2007, p.474). People are longing for a familiar semiotic space in which their lives where significant. The local media presents multiple loyalty manifestations to the town: "The Future of Visaginas Through Children's Eyes" (*Sugardas*, 4/18/2002), "We are Singing for our Town" (*Sugardas*, 4/21/2005), "Schoolchildren are Painting Visaginas, Their Beloved Town" (*Sugardas*, 4/28/2005), etc.

Varying forms of Soviet nostalgia have been analysed by Petrovic 2006, Klumbytė 2009, 2010, Knudsen 2006, Volčič 2007, Velikonja 2008, Castillo 2008, Scribner 2000, etc. Neringa Klumbytė (2009) argues that the Soviet nostalgia prevails in underprivileged rural and urban areas in Lithuania, since nostalgia is "a restorative discourse, through which an individual reclaims one's own dignity and respect by transposing himself or herself onto an idealised chronotope of the Soviet past" (Klumbytė, 2009, p.93).

After experiencing double displacement (first as citizens of the Soviet Union and then, eventually, as workers of the power plant and specialists of nuclear energy), facing the eventual decline of their social and economic status, people turn back to the heroic past as a symbolic escape from uncertainties. As the 'homeland' could never be returned to either temporally or spatially, it is reproduced, narrated, visualised via memoirs, social documentary, and autobiography. Due to the 'purifying effects of nostalgia' (Zaitsev, 1972, p.4), the lost and re-imagined homeland appears to be heroic and ideal.

Memories of the Hearth, the documentary novel, written by the first construction workers of the settlement and the plant, has been published in 2004. The local weekly *Sugardas* devoted a series of articles to the occasion. The book celebrates the triumphant narratives of the past, the victorious construction of the new town and the value of labour. "Let it be a monument for all of us..." – the title of the leading article says (Let it be a monument for all us, *Sugardas*, 4/11/2004, p.6).

Chase and Shaw (1989) argue that there are three preconditions for nostalgia. First, the past is irrevocable, second, the present is deficient, and the third condition is the presence of material objects from the past. These objects or buildings facilitate the construction of nostalgia. In Visaginas, these

kinds of objects are abundant.

The founding corner stone is still there, in the central place of Visaginas, with an inscription proclaiming the unfulfilled prophecy: "The town of nuclear energy will be built here, August 1975." One of the central streets is still named Tarybų Street (the Soviet street), being definitely the last 'Soviet' street in the territory of Lithuania.

The paradox of nostalgia is that new past-related and past-revoking objects are constructed. The most popular restaurant and coffee bar in the town was called 'The Third Block' in memory of the third block of the nuclear power plant that was never launched, in memory of the scenario that never happened. The restaurant and coffee bar were opened in 2008, after the final decision of the plant's closure had been made. Maghbouleh (2010) calls it 'inherited nostalgia', i.e. nostalgia actively employed by the second generation immigrants for making sense of their identities.

Visaginas represents a complex and complicated socialist heritage – a Russian enclave, a migrant island, isolated from the rest of the country both culturally and geographically, a mono industrial urban site with a very specific industry, which is very difficult to position in the post-Soviet cultural, political and economic context. Due to these mentioned categories, "a further remaking of place identity at a range of scales to legitimize new political and economic trajectories and to create places as suitable for integration into regional and global networks and flows" (Young, Kazcmarek, 2008, p.53) is difficult to achieve.

Conclusions

The Soviet industrial and urban expansion, besides serving economic purposes, also played a role in social engineering, i.e. incorporating the national republics via bonds of economic dependency, into the larger All- Union structures and creating and strengthening the socialist working class. It was effectively achieved by constructing the planned socialist towns. Visaginas, the planned socialist town and satellite settlement to Ignalina, is a distinctive case, marked by specific characteristics: a mono industrial town of a very specific industry, an economically privileged Russian enclave, a migrant town, distanced from the rest of the country both culturally and geographically, and a socialist town with no history prior to 1973. These particular characteristics predetermined the complex and complicated post-Soviet transitions in Visaginas.

Due to the ethnic composition of the town, the relative isolation from the rest of Lithuania, the absence of any history prior to 1973 and a strong pro-Soviet identification, the declaration of Lithuanian independency has been met with antagonism in Visaginas. The early post-independence period (1990-1991) was a period of silent warfare and political antagonism towards Lithuania, strong identification with the USSR, and searching for the possible ways of reunification with the former homelands – either politically (reunification with the USSR) or economically (via the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant being under Russian jurisdiction).

When the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant was passed to the jurisdiction of Lithuania in September 18, 1991, the process of reconciliation started. The local community started *inventing Lithuania:* learning the Lithuanian language, history and culture, the meaning of national holidays, getting acquainted with the unfamiliar personalities on the Lithuanian banknotes. After being detached from their homelands, they are seeking to establish diasporic relations with their homelands, struggling with the travel-related issues, questioning their own status, defined in special terms of *blizhnee zarubezhe* and *sootechestvenniki,* and trying to balance their loyalties to two states.

When Lithuania started negotiating EU membership and the closure of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant, this following period was marked by nostalgia and fatalism in Visaginas. Some other planned socialist towns in CEE are developing new identities and legitimising new trajectories of development (turning to pre-Soviet history and inventing the pre-Soviet 'Age of Gold', developing

'Communism heritage tourism', attracting new investments and intensively retraining the labour forces, undertaking the decommunisation and Westernisation of the town, etc.). Visaginas, due to particular characteristics of the town (absence of any history prior to 1973, specific mono industry, ethnic composition, cultural and geographical distance, etc.), remains a difficult spot in terms of new identities and new trajectories of development. In the absence of any viable alternatives, it is neither the present, nor the future, but the past that is playing a crucial role in shaping the town's identity. More than questioning and envisioning the future, people turn back to the heroic past as a symbolic escape from uncertainties. It remains a difficult case of socialist heritage.

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