

The Economic Miracle of Kostolac: The Strategic Transformation of a Coal-Mining City into a Global Model of Nuclear Renaissance

1. Introduction: Shifting Energy Paradigms and a Window of Historic Opportunity for the Republic of Serbia

The global energy transition and the imperative of decarbonization are creating new challenges for economies historically dependent on fossil fuels. In 2024, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia made a historic, strategic decision by voting on amendments to the Energy Law, ending the 35-year moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants that had been in place in the country since 1989. ¹ This legislative shift was a direct response to the urgent need to diversify energy sources and ensure long-term energy security, given that up to 70% of Serbia's electricity is currently generated by burning low-quality brown coal (lignite), which entails colossal environmental and social costs. ⁴

The National Strategy for the Development of the Energy Sector of Serbia until 2040, with a detailed forecast to 2050, established nuclear energy as a fundamental element of future baseload generation. ¹ A comprehensive preliminary technical study, completed in June 2025 by the French state-owned energy company EDF in collaboration with the engineering firm Egis, outlined a clear and ambitious roadmap: completion of all institutional and regulatory preparatory stages by mid-2027, selection of a specific technology and commencement of construction contracting by 2032, and commissioning of the first nuclear power plant by 2040. ⁷ The study, presented by Minister of Mining and Energy Dubravka Djedović-Handanović and EDF CEO Bernard Fontana, examines both conventional large-scale reactors (including models such as the EPR1200, AP1000, VVER-1200 and APR1400) and advanced small modular reactors (BWRX-300, Nuward, Rolls-Royce SMR). ⁸

In the context of this massive national infrastructure megaproject, requiring investments of at least €3 billion in the initial phase alone, ² a critical conceptual question arises: where exactly should this facility be located, and how can the unconditional, proactive support of the local population be ensured? Finland's historical experience, particularly the phenomenon of the Eurajoki municipality on the country's west coast, demonstrates that the placement of a nuclear power plant can transform a depressed provincial region into a thriving economic oasis with an unprecedentedly high standard of living. ¹¹

This research report presents a comprehensive futurological and socioeconomic projection, adapting the successful Finnish model of "atomic rent" to the specific Serbian context. A multi-factor analysis of historical background, logistics, demographics, fiscal legislation, and existing industrial infrastructure clearly indicates that the town of Kostolac, located in the Braničevo District, is an ideal candidate for the role of "Serbian Eurajoki." The report carefully reconstructs the mechanisms by which Kostolac can not only survive the painful transition from coal mining but also become the wealthiest and most

technologically advanced municipality in the Balkan Peninsula.

2. Historical and Infrastructure Context: From the Legacy of Yugoslavia to 21st Century Technologies

Understanding why implementing a nuclear program requires unique approaches to working with local communities in Serbia is impossible without analyzing the complex historical context. The region's nuclear history is burdened by traumatic experiences and disrupted initiatives.

2.1. The Vinča Incident and the Legacy of the 1989 Moratorium

Yugoslavia had an ambitious nuclear program, the core of which was the Boris Kidrić Institute of Nuclear Sciences in Vinča (near Belgrade), founded in 1948.¹² It was there in October 1958 that a severe criticality accident occurred at the RB research reactor, which used natural uranium and heavy water as a neutron moderator (releasing approximately 80 MJ of power).¹² Six young researchers were exposed to massive radiation; one died, and the others underwent the first bone marrow transplants in European history.¹³ Information about the incident was strictly censored, laying the foundation for deep public mistrust of nuclear technology.¹³

Yugoslavia subsequently successfully commissioned the Krško Nuclear Power Plant (a joint project in what is now Slovenia), but the 1986 Chernobyl disaster triggered a powerful wave of radiophobia, culminating in the adoption in 1989 of a strict legislative moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants and nuclear fuel reprocessing facilities throughout the country.³ This ban led to the degradation of the academic base: over the course of decades, Serbia lost competence, and university nuclear physics programs became practically meaningless.¹⁵ Only in 2002 did the active phase of decommissioning the RA reactor in Vinča and the repatriation of 48 kilograms of highly enriched uranium to the Russian Federation begin, with the support of the IAEA.¹⁶

2.2. Overcoming barriers: EDF roadmap and site criteria

The lifting of the moratorium in 2024 paved the way for industry revitalization.¹⁴ According to EDF research, Serbia must overcome 19 infrastructure barriers identified by the IAEA's Milestones Approach methodology, including the creation of a robust regulatory framework, financing mechanisms, safety systems, and capacity building.⁶ The formation of the national regulatory authority (NEPIO) is already in the active phase.¹⁰

A key aspect of the first phase is the selection of an optimal site.⁹ The search for a suitable location is dictated by strict physical and logistical criteria: unlimited access to water resources for cooling the reactors, geological stability, proximity to high-voltage power transmission lines, and, most critically, the socio-political readiness of the local population to accept the facility.⁹ It is the intersection of these vectors that makes Kostolac the undisputed choice.

3. Location Selection: Demographic, Geospatial and Industrial

Profile of Kostolac

The initial request sought to identify a settlement with a population of 10,000 to 15,000 residents near potential nuclear power plant sites. An analysis of Serbia's demographic data for 2022 identified two nearby municipalities on the banks of the Danube: Kostolac and Kovin .

3.1. Comparative analysis: Kostolac and Kovin

Kovin, located in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (South Banat District), has a rich history. The city itself has a population of 11,623, while the entire municipality has a population of 28,141. ²¹ The city is known for the ruins of the medieval fortress *Contra Margum* , built on a loess hill to protect the southern borders of the Kingdom of Hungary, and for its developed agriculture, thanks to 42,500 hectares of high-quality arable land. ²¹ Although Kovin is geographically close to the Danube's water resources, its economic profile is predominantly agricultural. ²³

Kostolac, by contrast, is the industrial heart of the Braničevo District. According to the 2011 and 2022 censuses, the population of Kostolac's city limits ranges from 8,741 to 9,569, while the entire municipality's population reaches 13,637. ²² These demographic parameters correspond with remarkable accuracy to the profile of the Finnish municipality of Eurajoki, which has a population of approximately 9,500. ¹¹

Kostolac has historically been one of Serbia's main energy centers. ²⁸ It is home to the powerful Kostolac A and Kostolac B thermal power plants (where a new 350 MW B3 unit was recently built with the participation of the Chinese corporation CMEC), as well as the colossal Drmno open-pit coal mine, with a capacity of up to 12 million tons of lignite per year. ⁴

Comparative parameters	Eurajoki (Finland)	Kostolac (Serbia)	Kovin (Serbia, alternative)
Population (city/municipality)	~9 500 ¹¹	9,569 / ^{13,637,22}	11 623 / 28 141 ²¹
Basic Historical Profile	Traditional rural community ¹¹	Intensive Coal Energy Cluster ²⁸	Agrarian Center, historical location ²³
Attitude to energy	Status as a global benchmark for NPP integration ¹¹	High industrial culture, dependence on thermal power plants ²⁸	Lack of large-scale generating infrastructure

Access to cooling resources	Gulf of Bothnia of the Baltic Sea ¹¹	The Danube River bed, transport corridor ³¹	The Danube River bed, sandy plains ²³
------------------------------------	---	--	--

3.2. Why Kostolac is an ideal candidate for "atomic rent"

Kostolac's choice is based on three fundamental macroeconomic and social factors:

First, there's infrastructural redundancy. The deployment of a nuclear power plant requires extremely powerful transmission lines to deliver gigawatts of baseload power. Kostolac already has an extensive network of transmission lines, distribution substations, and water intake structures that historically served the thermal power plant. Integrating nuclear reactors here will require minimal capital expenditures to modernize the grid infrastructure compared to building a greenfield facility.

Secondly, an industrial mentality. Unlike agricultural or tourist regions, where residents often engage in NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) protests, the residents of Kostolac have been working in the heavy energy industry for generations. For them, the power plant (currently owned by the state-owned EPS) is not an alien object, but a city-forming enterprise, the foundation of social stability and local identity. The replacement of coal with nuclear power will be perceived not as an invasion, but as an evolutionary modernization of the familiar way of life.

Third, the environmental crisis and the imperative of decarbonization. Today, Kostolac is literally suffocating from the effects of lignite combustion. Massive air pollution (sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, fine dust), water, and soil impact everyday life: coal ash covers homes and public spaces, causing respiratory illnesses. ²⁸ Nearby villages, such as Drmno, are facing disruption to their groundwater systems. ²⁸ Transitioning to nuclear power, which has specific emissions of just 2.4 g CO₂/kWh (the lowest among all energy sources, significantly lower than even solar and wind power over their entire life cycle), would be not just an economic victory for Kostolac, but a matter of physical survival and radically improving the ecosystem. ³⁴

4. Financial Architecture: Transforming a Coal-Mining City into a Million-Popular Municipality

The Eurajoki municipality is wealthy not because its residents initially possessed significant capital, but because of its unique fiscal mechanics: the municipality is a direct beneficiary of the presence of a super-large industrial facility. ¹¹ Adapting this model to Kostolac will require the competent application of current Serbian legislation, which will allow for the creation of an unprecedented local budget.

4.1. The Principle of "Atomic Rent": Municipal Property Tax

The foundation of Eurajoki's wealth is the real estate tax, which the nuclear power plant pays directly into the local treasury. ¹¹ After the commissioning of the newest Olkiluoto 3 (EPR) unit, estimated to cost

approximately 11 billion euros, the municipality's tax base has expanded dramatically, generating up to 20 million euros per year.¹¹ For a Finnish community of 9,000 residents, this is an astronomical sum, generating a budget surplus.

In Serbia, the legal framework for implementing a similar scenario already exists. The key act is the 2007 Law on Local Government Finance, which fundamentally reformed the country's fiscal system.³⁵ Prior to its adoption, municipalities relied on annual transfers and grants from Belgrade, making them vulnerable to political bargaining.³⁵ The 2007 law transferred the property tax from the category of shared taxes to the category of local governments' own revenues.³⁵ Moreover, municipalities such as Požarevac/Kostolac were given the right to independently administer this tax and set the rate within the maximum level determined by republican legislation.³⁵ Additional amendments to the Law on Tax Procedures regulate the process of collecting public revenues in favor of local government budgets.³⁸

The cost of constructing a modern two-unit nuclear power plant, as envisaged by EDF's plans for Serbia (e.g., 2 x 1200 MW)⁸, is estimated at between 10 and 15 billion euros. A nuclear power plant is a gigantic complex of structures with a colossal cadastral value. Even with the minimum legally permissible property tax rate, the annual revenues to the local budget of Kostolac will amount to tens of millions of euros. This fiscal injection will create an absolute "nuclear rent" effect: the municipality will be able to accumulate capital and finance global infrastructure projects, completely eliminating its dependence on subsidies from the republic's capital.

4.2. Tax haven for residents and businesses: Avoiding the "Race to the Bottom"

Traditionally, in the academic literature on public finance, granting municipalities the right to freely reduce taxes is viewed as a potential threat—a so-called "race to the bottom," in which jurisdictions compete for business, depleting their social budgets.³⁵ However, for Kostolac, who enjoys an inflated income from a single anchor taxpayer (the NPP), this mechanism will not be a threat, but rather a tool for creating a tax haven.

Like Eurajoki, which traditionally maintains one of the lowest income tax rates in Finland (around 17-18% versus the national average of 21%) , the municipality of Kostolac will be able to drastically reduce all other local fees, utility charges, and tariffs for its residents. Surplus revenue from the nuclear power plant will offset any lost revenue.

· this will mean unprecedented benefits. While the corporate income tax (CIT) in Serbia is 15% and the basic VAT rate is 20% (regulated at the national level) , Kostolac will be able to fully subsidize local rents, abolish municipal environmental fees (currently levied due to coal dust), and provide direct grants to startups. This will inevitably attract IT companies, engineering firms, service industries, and highly qualified specialists from Belgrade and the EU to the city, shaping a new, post-industrial demographic.

4.3. Construction Boom Effect and Supply Chain Integration

The construction of a nuclear power plant is a macroeconomic process, taking between 5 and 15 years under strict regulatory control (as demonstrated by the 18-year-long Olkiluoto-3 project).¹¹ But even

during the construction phase, this process generates extraordinary profits for the local economy.

During the project's implementation, thousands of highly paid engineers, welders, non-destructive testing specialists, and managers—both EDF expatriates and Serbian professionals—will live, work, and spend their income in Kostolac. This will ensure ¹⁰⁻¹⁵ years of guaranteed, 100% occupancy for all hotels, rental housing sectors, restaurants, logistics, and transport companies within a 50-kilometer radius of the construction site. Local businesses that previously serviced mines and coal blocks will be repurposed and certified to strict nuclear standards (Nuclear Quality Assurance), becoming part of EDF's global supply chains.

5. Social Paradise: Reinvesting Superprofits into the Architecture of Future Prosperity

Kostolac's transformation will not be limited to macroeconomic indicators and municipal budget figures. The underlying idea of the Eurajoki model is the direct reinvestment of "atomic money" into social infrastructure that is fundamentally inaccessible to other rural or industrial areas of the country.

5.1. Revolution in Education: From Coal Technicians to Nuclear Engineering Elite

Currently, the city's main educational institution is the Nikola Tesla Technical School with Dormitory (Tehnička škola sa domom učenika "Nikola Tesla"). ⁴² Historically, its curriculum has been tightly tailored to the needs of coal mines and thermal power plants: the school trains mine technicians, auto mechanics, welders, power engineering electrical engineers, and CNC machine operators. ⁴² The minimum passing score for admission ranges from 37 to 60 points, reflecting the standard level of specialized vocational schools. ⁴²

Amidst a nuclear renaissance and a surplus municipal budget, this school will undergo radical modernization. With financial support from Kostolac and the technological supervision of EDF specialists, the Nikola Tesla School will be transformed into the elite Balkan Polytechnic Lyceum of Nuclear and Computer Technologies.

Parameters of the educational environment	Current state (Coal paradigm)	Future State (Nuclear Renaissance)
Key learning profiles	Mine technician, welder, fitter ⁴²	Reactor control technician, roboticist, nuclear power plant cybersecurity specialist
Educational infrastructure	Standard Workshops and Classes ⁴³	Radiation monitoring laboratories, full-scale reactor

		control room simulators (EPR/SMR)
Internationalization	Education in Serbian ⁴³	Bilingual programs (Serbian/English/French), internships in France (EDF)
Prospects for graduates	Working in quarries with high health risks	Guaranteed employment at nuclear power plants, elite status, high salaries

The municipality will be able to finance the recruitment of top professors from the University of Belgrade and foreign institutes, completely eliminating the personnel shortage that the Serbian Ministry of Energy has cited as the main barrier to the nuclear program. ^{Kostolac} will become an intellectual magnet for talented young people from across the Balkan Peninsula.

5.2. Premium Healthcare: Investing in Longevity

Currently, local healthcare in Kostolac is provided by a branch of the Požarevac Health Center (Dom zdravlja Požarevac - ogranak Kostolac), located on Pervomajska Street. ^{The} branch faces typical problems of provincial healthcare: a shortage of qualified specialists and a high workload. Due to a lack of resources, the administration, headed by Director Dejan Milenković, is forced to organize enhanced shifts on Friday and Saturday nights (from 8:00 PM to midnight) only to perform basic triage (sorting) of patients: third-level cases (cough, fever) are handled by a general practitioner, while critical situations (heart attacks, asthma attacks caused by coal dust) are transferred to emergency services for evacuation to hospitals in Požarevac or Belgrade. The branch ^{also} operates a basic laboratory with limited reception hours. ⁴⁶

The experience of the Finnish municipality of Eurajoki, which used nuclear revenues to build one of the best nursing homes and clinics in the region shows a path forward for Kostolac. The municipal surplus will allow the modest Health Center to be transformed into a state-of-the-art multidisciplinary medical and diagnostic center. The city will be able to:

- Purchase the latest generation of heavy-duty diagnostic equipment (MRI with a magnetic field strength of 3 Tesla, PET-CT machines, robotic surgical systems), which is not available in most public clinics.
- Offer top-level doctors from Belgrade, Novi Sad, and EU countries exclusive contracts, including substantial municipal salary supplements and free, high-end company housing.
- Create specialized pulmonology and rehabilitation centers to compensate for the historical damage to miners' health.

5.3. Sports and recreational ecosystem

Similar to Eurajoki, where modern ice rinks and swimming pools were built, Kostolac's leisure infrastructure will reach a new level. The existing municipal outdoor swimming pool, located within the sports center near the local markets, will be completely renovated. In its place, the municipality will build an indoor, all-season, Olympic-class multisport complex with a water park, spa areas, and an ice arena. Residents of Kostolac will have access to this infrastructure free of charge, which will be another powerful incentive for young families to move here.

6. Energy Symbiosis: Innovative District Heating and Agro-Industrial Breakthrough

The construction of the nuclear power plant in Kostolac offers a unique opportunity for synergy with the existing district heating infrastructure, which extends the economic and environmental benefits of the project far beyond simply generating electricity for the grid.

6.1. Ecologically clean district heating (District Heating)

District heating systems have a long history of deployment, dating back to 1877, and today provide approximately 10% of the world's building heating needs (especially in Eastern Europe and Russia).⁴⁸ Serbia also makes extensive use of district heating³², but in Kostolac and neighboring Požarevac, this system is critically dependent on coal combustion, making the winter months a period of extreme smog formation and greenhouse gas emissions.³² About 90% of the world's district heating systems still run on fossil fuels, and decarbonizing them is a daunting task, requiring a transition to large-scale heat pumps, biomass, or nuclear energy.⁴⁸

Modern nuclear power plants inevitably produce colossal amounts of excess low- and medium-grade heat during electricity generation, which is typically wasted into bodies of water (in this case, the Danube) or dissipated through cooling towers. The implementation of cogeneration (CHP – Combined Heat and Power) technologies at the new Kostolac Nuclear Power Plant will enable the integration of heat exchangers and direct this environmentally friendly heat directly into the existing district heating network.

A detailed study by the Finnish Technical Research Centre (VTT) on the use of the LDR-50 small modular reactor for district heating shows that nuclear energy is the cleanest heating option.³⁴ Nuclear heat emissions are estimated at just 2.4 grams of CO₂ per kilowatt-hour.³⁴

Heat source (according to VTT)	Specific CO ₂ emissions (g/kWh)	Status for Kostolac
Coal / Lignite	515+	The current catastrophic situation ³³

Natural gas	282	Import dependence ⁵
Nuclear generation (LDR-50/EPR)	2.4	Future climate neutrality

The success of this concept is demonstrated by the experience of the Chinese city of Haiyang. There, excess heat from the local nuclear power plant (PWR reactors) was sent to the city's heating grid, allowing the complete shutdown of old coal-fired boilers. ⁵⁰ Today, this system provides carbon-free heating to 200,000 residents, and there are plans to expand it to cover 200 million square meters in neighboring cities. ⁵⁰

For Kostolac, this means the complete disappearance of winter smog and a radical (30–40% reduction due to the high fuel efficiency of cogeneration ¹⁹) reduction in heating bills for the population.

6.2. Agro-Industrial Miracle: Vertical Farms and Year-Round Greenhouses

A third, innovative level of economic benefit lies in the use of the same excess nuclear heat to develop large-scale, high-tech greenhouse farming. The lands around Kostolac and the adjacent Banat region traditionally possess significant agricultural potential. ²³

Research from leading scientific institutions confirms the potential of this model. In the UK, an interdisciplinary team at NERC, led by Dr. Anita Crompton, is developing projects to use waste heat from nuclear power plants to revitalize the commercial greenhouse sector, which would dramatically reduce the import of fruit and vegetables during the winter. ⁵¹ Similar successful experiments were conducted at Oak Ridge National Laboratory (ORNL) in the US near the Browns Ferry Nuclear Power Plant: waste water at a temperature of approximately 21°C was sent to heat exchangers (such as the CELdek system), maintaining an optimal temperature of 18°C in greenhouses even in freezing temperatures. ⁵² As retiree Jiang Fuxue from Haiyang, China, notes, thanks to nuclear heat, he can grow plants in his greenhouse at a comfortable 23°C even during severe snowstorms. ⁵⁰

Directing hot water pipelines from the Serbian nuclear power plant to the giant agro-industrial complexes around Kostolac will allow for the cultivation of vegetables (tomatoes, cucumbers), strawberries, flowers, and even tropical crops 365 days a year. ⁵⁵ This will create hundreds and thousands of new high-tech jobs in green, environmentally friendly agribusiness, providing an ideal and highly paid alternative to the hard, dangerous labor at the Drmno open-pit coal mine.

7. Cultural and Tourist Renaissance: Synergy of Antiquity and Futurology

One of Kostolac's most striking paradoxes is that it's not simply an industrial hub, scarred by industrial

exploitation. Just a few hundred meters from the rumbling excavators of the open-pit coal mine lie the ruins of Viminacium—the once-glorious capital of the ancient Roman province of Upper Moesia and a strategic military camp where the VII and IV Claudian legions were based. ⁵⁶

7.1 Tragedy and Hope of the Archaeological Park of Viminacium

The city, founded in the 1st century AD and destroyed first by the Huns in the 5th century and then finally by Slavic tribes in the 6th century, at its peak had a population of over 40,000, making it one of the largest metropolises in the Balkans at the time. ⁵⁶ The first excavations here began in 1882 by the architect Mihailo Valtrović and were continued by Miloš Vasić in the early 20th century. ⁶⁰

Today, the Viminacium Archaeological Park, covering an area of approximately 450 hectares, boasts unique artifacts: an unprecedented number of ancient burials (more than 16,000 tombs), superbly preserved Roman baths, an amphitheater, the mausoleum of Emperor Hostilian, and unique frescoes such as the famous "Divina"—the ancient equivalent of the Mona Lisa. ⁵⁶ Most recently, during excavations of the main street, archaeologists led by Miomir Korac discovered a triumphal arch erected in honor of Emperor Caracalla (early 3rd century AD). ⁵⁹ The skeleton of a prehistoric mammoth from the Miocene era, affectionately named Vika, was also found on the park's territory. ⁵⁶

However, over the past decades, Viminacium's priceless heritage has been threatened with destruction. The inexorable expansion of the Drmno coal mine has led to the physical absorption of ancient buildings, the destruction of aqueducts, and the need for their urgent relocation. ⁵⁷ Toxic coal ash constantly settles on the excavated ruins, threatening the preservation of delicate frescoes and ancient mortars. ²⁸

7.2. Revitalization: Municipal Investments in World Heritage

The closure of the coal mine and the steady flow of multi-million dollar "atomic rent" will radically change the landscape. The municipality of Kostolac, with financial resources comparable to the national budget of the Serbian Ministry of Culture, will be able to initiate a global heritage rescue and integration project.

the Domus Scientiarum Viminacium research centre, designed as a reconstruction of a Roman villa (architects Emilija Nikolic, Branka Stojkovic-Pavelka and others), which includes museums, libraries and conference halls. ⁵⁸ The excess revenue from the nuclear power plant will allow for further development:

- **World-class architectural protection:** Grandiose designs for protective structures over excavations will be implemented (for example, innovative canopy concepts proposed by architect Milica Petrovic, which fit harmoniously into the landscape). ⁶⁰
- **Digital and Immersive Reality:** Funding full-scale 3D reconstructions and VR tours (building on initiatives from the ARCHEST project) that allow tourists to physically navigate the streets of the ancient metropolis. ⁶⁸
- **Global Hub:** *Domus Scientiarum* will host not only archaeological symposia, but also international nuclear forums (in collaboration with the NEPIO regulator and EDF experts), creating a unique intersection of history and cutting-edge technology.

Just as the Finnish municipality of Eurajoki spent millions of euros restoring the ancient Vuojoki Mansion,

turning it into the cultural heart of the region¹¹, for Kostolac such a diamond will be the Roman city saved from coal dust and recreated in all its glory.

7.3. The boom of river cruise tourism on the Danube

In April 2022, an international passenger terminal for river liners opened in Kostolac.⁵⁸ As part of the state-run "Awake the Danube" project, the terminal has already begun welcoming hundreds of European tourists.⁷¹ Recently, the ship "Viva Two," carrying 170 passengers from Norway, Sweden, and Germany, made a historic stop in Kostolac, after which the tourists went on an excursion to Viminacium with a traditional Roman feast.⁷² According to the Port Management Agency (Ksenija Hajduković), the development of the cruise sector in Serbia is showing strong growth.⁷²

Clean air, a complete absence of noise and dust pollution from the abandoned coal mining industry, and premium port infrastructure developed with nuclear funding will make Kostolac the most sought-after tourist stop on the Danube between Budapest and Belgrade. The synergy of observing Europe's newest nuclear facility, guaranteeing climate neutrality, and immersing oneself in the carefully reconstructed ancient heritage will create a truly unique global tourism experience.

8. The Serbian Onkalo Phenomenon: Transformation of an Environmental Threat into a Geological Repository

One of the most incredible facts about the Finnish municipality of Eurajoki, from an outside observer's perspective, is that its residents, at a local council meeting, voluntarily (by 20 votes to 7) agreed to host *Onkalo*, the world's first deep geological repository for the final disposal of spent nuclear fuel (SNF), on their territory.¹¹

For Serbia, the issue of radioactive waste is extremely sensitive due to historical memory (the 1958 Vinča accident)¹² and the general fears of the population, which often protests against any such initiatives.¹⁶ However, Kostolac possesses a unique pragmatism that allows him to replicate the Eurajoki experience without coercion.

8.1. The logic of the "Master" and the reclamation of coal quarries

In Eurajoki, local residents took a purely pragmatic approach: "The deadly waste is already lying on our property in temporary above-ground storage facilities at the station. We'd rather hide it deep underground, seal it securely forever, and earn extra money for it, than have it sit on the surface for free and pose a threat."¹¹

In Kostolac, this logic is even more compelling. For decades, the gigantic Drmno open-pit coal mine has mercilessly torn into the earth, destroying the subsoil, cutting off aquifers, and disfiguring the natural landscape.²⁸ After the inevitable demise of coal generation, colossal, terrifying voids of mined-out areas will remain.

Using deep, geologically stable rock structures (such as basalt, which Serbian scientists have already

considered promising for such purposes¹⁶) located beneath a depleted quarry or in other regional massifs to create a modern spent nuclear fuel storage facility that meets the strictest IAEA standards will be an ideal and safe method for reclaiming the area. By accepting this facility, the municipality of Kostolac will receive a separate, powerful stream of "atomic rent," effectively doubling its already colossal budget revenues.

8.2. Institutional transparency and absolute veto power

For this unprecedented social deal to take place, the Serbian government must fully emulate the Finnish legal model.¹¹ The Kostolac Municipal Council must be legally granted absolute veto power over any federal decisions regarding waste disposal. Residents cannot be coerced; they must become equal partners of the state. A sense of complete control over the situation is the main cure for radiophobia.

Trust in regulatory authorities, which in Finland is associated with the authority of the STUK inspectorate, will be built from the ground up in Serbia through the newly established NEPIO. To strengthen trust, Kostolac will regularly hold "Open Days" at the nuclear power plant and storage facility. Information boards will be installed throughout the city and at the Viminacium tourist center, displaying real-time radiation and air quality readings. The establishment of an independent citizens' committee at the nuclear power plant, with the unconditional right to conduct unimpeded inspections at any time, will finally shift the local population's psychological paradigm from historical fear to a sense of self-interest and full institutional control.

9. Macroeconomic and Geopolitical Consequences: Strategic Integration of Serbia

The shift of energy focus to Kostolac and the construction of a nuclear complex there have strategic implications that extend far beyond the Braničevo District. It is a project of national salvation and geopolitical positioning.

According to network modeling conducted by EDF specialists, the successful integration of 2,400 MW of nuclear baseload capacity (in the form of two 1,200 MW units) by 2045 would radically transform the energy balance of the Republic of Serbia: the country would transform from a dependent net importer into a stable and powerful net exporter of electricity in the Balkan region.⁸ The share of lignite-based generation would fall by 66%, and gas-fired generation by 8%, making nuclear energy the undisputed dominant power source and guarantor of stability.⁸

In a context of geopolitical turbulence and unpredictable fluctuations in energy prices on the European market, the nuclear program will ensure Serbia's long-term independence.¹⁴ As analysts at the Pupin Institute note, in the modern world, nuclear energy is more than just kilowatts; it is a tool of international diplomacy and strategic connectivity.¹⁴ The implementation of this megaproject, jointly with France's EDF and other Western contractors, will allow Serbia to integrate more deeply into transatlantic and pan-European technological networks, increasing its standing on the international stage.¹⁴

Moreover, the accelerated decommissioning of the outdated Kostolac coal units (A and B) will enable

Serbia to meet the strictest environmental requirements of the European Union (including the Industrial Emissions Directive). This will relieve the national economy of the multi-billion dollar cross-border carbon taxes (CBAM) and remove one of the main barriers to the country's full EU membership ·

10. Conclusion: Strategic Roadmap and Lessons for Public Communication

The transformation of Kostolac from a depressing zone of permanent environmental disaster, choked by coal smog, into a global, thriving model of nuclear renaissance won't happen spontaneously or by decree. As the historical experience of Eurajoki, Finland, convincingly demonstrates, a fair and transparent social contract—a fair and transparent deal between the state, the energy corporation, and the local community—is critical for the successful implementation of a nuclear program.

To overcome mental inertia, the traumatic memory of the Vinča accident, and the natural fear of radiation, the Serbian government and the Ministry of Energy's PR strategy for reaching the population of Kostolac must be based on three fundamental arguments:

1. **The principle of unconditional "Atomic Rent."** It is necessary to guarantee, through republican legislation, that all fiscal deductions from the colossal cadastral value of the new nuclear power plant remain permanently in the budget of Kostolac. The main narrative should be: *"By adopting this project, your city will instantly become the richest in Serbia. You will receive the best innovative schools, high-paying jobs, free European healthcare, zero local taxes, and advanced agriculture, forever ending your dependence on handouts from the capital . "*
2. **A guarantee of total transparency and civic oversight.** The state is obligated to voluntarily transfer absolute veto power over the construction of any associated waste management infrastructure to local councils. True trust in society is built exclusively through the delegation of authority to the grassroots level.
3. **The impact of mega-investments and a heritage renaissance.** The construction of the nuclear power plant will not only bring clean energy to the country, but also 15 years of non-stop construction and guaranteed prosperity for every local hotel, restaurant, contractor, and transport company. And the ancient Roman city of Viminacium, saved from the destructive effects of coal dust, will become a world-class tourist mecca, welcoming luxury cruise ships from all over Europe.

For future generations of Kostolac residents, the sight of the nuclear power plant's colossal, futuristic cooling towers will no longer be associated with danger or fear. Gazing upon them from the deck of the snow-white river liner "Viva Two," from the windows of the high-tech archaeological hub *Domus Scientiarum* , or through the glass of a year-round strawberry greenhouse, they will see in this grandiose structure an unshakable guarantee of their absolute economic superiority, the robust health of their children, and the prosperity of their hometown. It is precisely this controlled psychological shift—from the grim industrial resignation of miners to the conscious, exclusive profit of an intellectual hub—that will be the key to the successful implementation of the Republic of Serbia's ambitious nuclear program.

Sources

1. Serbia - World Nuclear Outlook Report, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://world-nuclear.org/our-association/publications/world-nuclear-outlook-report/serbia---world-nuclear-outlook-report>

2. Serbia aims to begin construction of first nuclear power plant before 2035 - bne IntelliNews, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.intellinews.com/serbia-aims-to-begin-construction-of-first-nuclear-power-plant-before-2035-430371/>
3. Serbia Extends Deadline: Invites Consultancies for Proposals to Conduct Preliminary Nuclear Study, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.niauk.org/serbia-extends-deadline-invites-consultancies-for-proposals-to-conduct-preliminary-nuclear-study/>
4. The energy sector in Serbia - CEE Bankwatch, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://bankwatch.org/beyond-fossil-fuels/the-energy-sector-in-serbia>
5. serbia | - | Danube SusTainable Energy, last accessed: April 15, 2026, https://destine-life.eu/?page_id=346
6. PREPARATION OF PRELIMINARY TECHNICAL STUDY FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PEACETIME APPLICATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY IN THE REPUBLIC, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.mre.gov.rs/extfile/sector/sr/150/77/PreliminaryTechnicalStudyRS-ENG.pdf>
7. Emerging Nuclear Energy Countries, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/others/emerging-nuclear-energy-countries>
8. Serbia Study Lays Out Roadmap To First Nuclear Plant By 2040 - NucNet, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.nucnet.org/news/serbia-study-lays-out-roadmap-to-first-nuclear-plant-by-2040-3-5-2026>
9. Serbia and EDF discuss roadmap to nuclear energy, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.world-nuclear-news.org/articles/serbia-and-edf-discuss-roadmap-to-nuclear-energy>
10. Serbia, EDF continue cooperation on development of peacetime nuclear program, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.srbija.gov.rs/vest/en/272618/serbia-edf-continue-cooperation-on-development-of-peacetime-nuclear-programme.php>
11. The Economic Miracle of Eurajoki.docx
12. The 1958 Reactor Accident in Vinca, Yugoslavia - Nevada Technical Associates, Inc., accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.ntanet.net/the-1958-reactor-accident-in-vinca-yugoslavia/>
13. Vinča Nuclear Institute - Wikipedia, last accessed April 15, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vin%C4%8Da_Nuclear_Institute
14. Nuclear Energy in Serbia: Between Legislative Reforms and Regional Integration | Pupin Initiative · Пупин Иницијатива, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.pupin.org/analysis/nuclear-energy-in-serbia-between-legislative-reforms-and-regional-integration>
15. Nuclear Energy in Serbia? : r/NuclearPower - Reddit, last accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.reddit.com/r/NuclearPower/comments/1ri9g7l/nuclear_energy_in_serbia/
16. Yugoslavia Nuclear Chronology, accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.nti.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/yugoslavia_nuclear.pdf
17. Clearing Yugoslavia's nuclear past, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.neimagazine.com/advanced-reactorsfusion/clearing-yugoslavia-s-nuclear-past/>
18. Serbia lifts nuclear moratorium after 35 years, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.ans.org/news/article-6617/serbia-lifts-nuclear-moratorium-after-35-years/>

19. District Heating Advantages: Efficient, Secure, Clean | DBDH, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://dbdh.org/the-advantages-of-district-heating/>
20. List of cities and towns in Serbia - Wikipedia, accessed April 15, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_and_towns_in_Serbia
21. Kovin - Wikipedia, last accessed April 15, 2026, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kovin>
22. Kostolac - Wikipedia, last accessed April 15, 2026, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kostolac>
23. The municipality of Kovin - ELDW Initiatives, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://sedl.alnetis.fr/en/print/790-the-municipality-of-kovin/>
24. Kovin Fortress - Wikipedia, accessed April 15, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kovin_Fortress
25. Kovin - Fortresses of Serbia - Тврђаве Србије, дата на нас визор: априла 15, 2026, <https://tvrđave.rs/en/kovin-2/>
26. Social Security and Local State in a Village in Southern Banat, Vojvodina, Serbia - Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.eth.mpg.de/3645911/project>
27. Kostolac (Kostolac, Braničevo District, Serbia) - Population Statistics, Charts, Map, Location, Weather and Web Information, last accessed: April 15, 2026, https://citypopulation.de/en/serbia/brancevo/kostolac/21673_kostolac/
28. "Kostolac lives from coal, but breathes ash" - Association for International Affairs - AMO.cz, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.amo.cz/en/enhancing-the-capacities-of-serbian-independent-media-in-informing-about-the-green-transition-challenges/kostolac-lives-from-coal-but-breathes-ash/>
29. Serbia's largest energy project passes 168-hour trial operation - POWERCHINA, last accessed: April 15, 2026, https://en.powerchina.cn/2024-10/09/c_828796.htm
30. Kostolac B3 power plant, Serbia - CEE Bankwatch, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://bankwatch.org/project/kostolac-lignite-power-plant-serbia>
31. Danube River Cruises as a Strategy for Representing Historical Heritage and Developing Cultural Tourism in Serbia - Semantic Scholar, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ab31/0e67386fb73c32be237b39297c205712eb59.pdf>
32. Social, Economic, and Environmental Effects of Electricity and Heat Generation in Yenisei Siberia: Is there an Alternative to Coal? - MDPI, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.mdpi.com/1996-1073/16/1/212>
33. Anticipated sulfur dioxide emissions from coal-fired power plants - Thermal Science, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://thermalscience.rs/pdfs/papers-2024/TSCI240308167M.pdf>
34. Study highlights benefits of nuclear district heating, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.world-nuclear-news.org/articles/study-highlights-benefits-of-nuclear-district-heat>
35. Local Government Revenue, Land Use, and Economic Development Policies in Serbia: The Case of Nis - Urban Institute, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/30336/411885-Local-Government-Revenue-Land-Use-and-Economic-Development-Policies-in-Serbia-The-Case-of-Nis.PDF>
36. Serbia Fiscal Powers - CoR, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://portal.cor.europa.eu/divisionpowers/Pages/Serbia-Fiscal-Powers.aspx>

37. LATEST AMENDMENTS TO THE PROPERTY TAXES LAW | RSM Serbia doo Beograd, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.rsm.global/serbia/en/news/latest-amendments-property-taxes-law>
38. LAW ON TAX PROCEDURE AND TAX ADMINISTRATION (Official Gazette of RS, Nos. 80/02, 84/02, accessed April 15, 2026, https://purs.gov.rs/upload/media/2025/10/8/760388/LAW_ON_TAX_PROCEDURE_AND_TAX_ADMINISTRATION.pdf
39. Serbia - Corporate - Other taxes - Worldwide Tax Summaries, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://taxsummaries.pwc.com/serbia/corporate/other-taxes>
40. Guide to Taxes on Real Estate in Serbia - KPMG agentic corporate services, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://assets.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/rs/pdf/2021/09/guide-to-taxes-on-real-estate-in-serbia.pdf>
41. Law on Value-Added Tax Republic of Serbia - Paragraf Lex, last accessed: April 15, 2026, <https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/law-on-value-added-tax.html>
42. Tehnička škola sa domom učenika "Nikola Tesla" - Kostolac - Srednje škole, accessed on April 15, 2026, <https://srednjeskole.edukacija.rs/drzavne-srednje-skole/svi-gradovi/kostolac/tehnicka-skola-sa-domom-ucenika-nikola-tesla>
43. TEHNIČKA ŠKOLA SA DOMOM UČENIKA „NIKOLA TESLA” - OBRAZOVANJE.rs, accessed on April 15, 2026, <https://www.obrazovanje.rs/sr-lat/in/tehnicka-skola-sa-domom-ucenika-nikola-tesla-kostolac>
44. Ogranak Kostolac - Dom zdravlja Požarevac, accessed on April 15, 2026, <https://dzpozarevac.rs/ogranak-kostolac.html>
45. Pojačana dežurstva petkom i subotom u Domu zdravlja - Kostolac.NET, last accessed: April 15, 2026, <https://kostolac.net/pojacana-dezurstva-petkom-i-subotom-u-domu-zdravlja>
46. Laboratorija - Dom zdravlja Požarevac, accessed on April 15, 2026, <https://www.dzpozarevac.rs/laboratorija.html>
47. Kostolac, Serbia Vacation Rentals (5 out of 5) - Airbnb, last accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.airbnb.com/kostolac-serbia/stays>
48. Opportunities for district heating in the changing energy landscape – Analysis - IEA, last accessed: April 15, 2026, <https://www.iea.org/commentaries/opportunities-for-district-heating-in-the-changing-energy-landscape>
49. District Heating - Energy System - IEA, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.iea.org/energy-system/buildings/district-heating>
50. China: Carbon-free Heating Keeping Residents Warm and the Air Clean, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.caea.gov.cn/english/n6759361/n6759362/c10694120/content.html>
51. Waste nuclear heat could help revive UK commercial greenhouse usage – report, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://nubu.nu/using-waste-heat-from-nuclear-power-to-heat-greenhouses/>
52. Nuclear Power Plant Waste Heat Horticulture - epa nepis, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://nepis.epa.gov/Exe/ZyPURL.cgi?Dockkey=9101MRA3.TXT>
53. USE OF WASTE HEAT FROM NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS* Mitchell Olszewski Oak Ridge National Laboratory Presented at DOE Environmental Con - OSTI, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.osti.gov/servlets/purl/6495905>
54. Waste heat heated greenhouses Energy system - Diva-portal.org, last accessed: April 15,

- 2026, <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:679407/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
55. NPRE, Crop Sciences join Exelon to study reusing lost nuclear power plant heat for greenhouse biofuel needs - University of Illinois, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://npre.illinois.edu/news/stories/npre-crop-sciences-join-exelon-study-re-using-lost-nuclear-power-plant-heat-greenhouse-biofuel>
 56. Viminacium in Kostolac | Atlas Obscura, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/viminacium>
 57. View of Evaluation of the Protection and Presentation of Historic Buildings in the Viminacium Archaeological Park in Relation to Their Spatial Context - Spatium, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://spatium.rs/index.php/home/article/view/4/4>
 58. Viminacium - Wikipedia, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viminacium>
 59. Archaeologists unearth Roman triumphal arch in Serbia - Archaeology News, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://archaeologymag.com/2024/01/archaeologists-unearth-roman-triumphal-arch-in-serbia/>
 60. Evaluation of the Protection and Presentation of Historical Buildings in the Viminacium Archaeological Park in Relation to Their Heritage - Semantic Scholar, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/850f/2718d1f526da702173d40f9dd2c43cf6bb15.pdf>
 61. (PDF) ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK OF VIMINACIUM. BEAUTIFYING A COMMUNITY WITH CULTURAL HERITAGE - Academia.edu, accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.academia.edu/31138541/ARCHAEOLOGICAL_PARK_OF_VIMINACIUM_BEAUTIFYING_A_COMMUNITY_WITH_CULTURAL_HERITAGE
 62. VIMINACIUM - Dancing History, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://dancinghistoryies.org/viminacium/>
 63. Vibe of Wildness and Death: A Multidisciplinary Study of the Arena Wall Decoration of the Amphitheater in Viminacium (Kostolac, Serbia) - MDPI, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.mdpi.com/2571-9408/8/8/331>
 64. Recycling and Reuse of Building Materials in a Historical Landscape—Viminacium Natural Brick (Serbia) - MDPI, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/15/3/2824>
 65. (PDF) Evaluation of the protection and presentation of historic buildings in the Viminacium Archaeological Park in relation to their spatial context - ResearchGate, accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327108718_Evaluation_of_the_protection_and_presentation_of_historic_buildings_in_the_Viminacium_Archaeological_Park_in_rela tion_to_their_spatial_context
 66. Domus Scientiarum Viminacium (Source: photo-documentation of the... | Download Scientific Diagram - ResearchGate, accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Domus-Scientiarum-Viminacium-Source-photo-documentation-of-the-Institute-of-Archaeology_fig1_327108718
 67. Protect the Past / Create the Future, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://futurearchitectureplatform.org/projects/3e5251a6-7d3a-4a32-86d0-bba9de5034ea/>

68. Projekat ARCHEST - Viminacium, accessed April 15, 2026, <http://viminacium.org.rs/projekti/projekat-archest/>
69. Special Session #03 | MetroArcheo 2026, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.metroarcho.com/special-session-03>
70. (PDF) Rebirth of the Past – Recreating Viminacium in 3D and Presenting Roman Cultural Heritage - ResearchGate, accessed April 15, 2026, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348924151_Rebirth_of_the_Past_-_Recreating_Viminacium_in_3D_and_Presenting_Roman_Cultural_Heritage
71. Kostolac International Passenger Terminal got an operator, last accessed: April 15, 2026, <http://www.aul.gov.rs/en/kostolac-international-passenger-terminal-got-an-operator>
72. First Cruiser in Kostolac, last accessed: April 15, 2026, <https://www.aul.gov.rs/en/first-cruiser-in-kostolac>
73. First cruise ship docks in Kostolac - eKapija, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://www.ekapija.com/en/news/4868510/investment/index>
74. Detailed urban plans for passenger ports in Kostolac (left, data from... - ResearchGate, last accessed: April 15, 2026, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Detailed-urban-plans-for-passenger-ports-in-Kostolac-left-data-from-the-Detailed-Urban_fig3_346925904
75. Nuclear Power Plants In Yugoslavia: A History - Sa - Daily Updates & Analysis, accessed April 15, 2026, <https://sa.damasjewellery.com/now-brains/nuclear-power-plants-in-yugoslavia-a-history-1767647622>