IS SOCIALIST REALISM AN ARCHIVE?

Some theoretical notes on aesthetics and accumulation

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Abstract

A number of scholarly efforts have attempted to delineate the modernist (and postmodernist) attraction to the archive, as both content and as an (an)aesthetic form. However, there has thus far been little effort to understand the precise relationship of socialist realism to the archive, either as a theme or as a mode of historical understanding. There are good reasons for this: socialist realism's avowedly synthetic ideology, which generally aimed to distil and purify a coherent image of societal development towards the projected communist future, is most frequently regarded as an illusion, a distortion of history that is revealed (ironically) by the kinds of documentary evidence present in archives. Socialist realism's difficult relationship to photography (its simultaneous reliance on the documentary image and its need to remove

‘problematic’ historical details, to rewrite the past) also seems to place it at odds with the archive’s ambition towards completeness and objectivity. But there are also important reasons to assume that socialist realism (considered as a particular kind of modernism) indeed functioned archivally. Like the archive, socialist realism’s history is closely intertwined with bureaucracy, and like the 19th-century archive, its ideological apparatus was crucially tied to the investigation of temporality. And furthermore, socialist realism often developed alongside archival projects (such as nationalist efforts to document ‘folk’ culture in the periphery, or to produce exhaustive narratives of antifascist activities). Finally, for post-socialist artists and historians, socialist realist cultural objects have undeniably *become* an archive, a body of evidence to be mined, reconfigured, and questioned. The present essay poses a cluster of questions about socialist realism and the archive, specifically in the context of socialist-era art in Albania: To what degree was socialist realism an archival art form? If socialist realism functioned as an archive in its own time, what kind of archive was it? How are contemporary interventions that engage socialist realist art to be understood as similar to (or different from) other post-socialist artistic interventions in (other kinds of bureaucratic) archives? Was socialist realism’s view of the archive modernist, postmodernist, or something else entirely?

Key words: archive, Socialist Realism, modernism, communism, post-communism

I. Introduction

A number of scholarly efforts have attempted to delineate the modernist (and postmodernist) attraction to the archive, as both

content and as an aesthetic form.[1] However, there has thus far been little explicit effort to understand the precise relationship of Socialist Realism to the archive, either as a theme or as a mode of historical understanding. There are good reasons for this: Socialist Realism's avowedly synthetic ideology—which generally aimed to distill and purify a coherent image of societal development towards the projected communist future—is most frequently regarded as an illusion, a distortion of history that is revealed (ironically) by the kinds of documentary evidence found in archives. Furthermore, the style often presented itself in terms of experience—reflecting artists' affective response[2] to the dynamisms of socialist society in the midst of its development—whereas the archive often seeks precisely to gather that which exceeds subjective experience. Finally, Socialist Realism's difficult relationship to photography (its simultaneous reliance on the documentary image and its need to eliminate 'problematic' historical details, to rewrite the past) would seem to place it at odds with the archive's ambition towards completeness and objective indexicality.

But there are also important reasons to assume that Socialist Realism (considered as a particular kind of modernism) indeed functioned archivally. Like the archive, Socialist Realism's

[1] The literature on archives and modernism is too expansive to review here. A useful overview is provided in Charles Merewether, ed., *The Archive*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006. Sven Spieker's *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008, offers a sustained look at changes in art's engagement with the archive during the rise of modernist culture and the transition to postmodernism. See also Okwui Enwezor, ed., *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*, New York: International Center of Photography, 2008.

[2] On the affective valences of Socialist Realist painting, see Christina Kiaer, "Lyrical Socialist Realism", *October*, nr.147, Winter 2014, pp. 56–77.

history is closely intertwined with bureaucracy, and like the 19th-century archive in particular, its ideological apparatus was crucially tied to the investigation of temporality. And moreover, Socialist Realism often developed alongside archival projects (such as nationalist efforts to document "folk" culture in the periphery, or to produce exhaustive narratives of antifascist activities[3]). Finally, for post-socialist artists and historians, Socialist Realist cultural objects have undeniably *become* an archive, a body of evidence to be mined, reconfigured, and questioned. The present essay poses a cluster of questions about Socialist Realism and the archive, specifically in the context of socialist-era art in Albania: To what degree was Socialist Realism an archival art form? If Socialist Realism functioned as an archive in its own time, what kind of archive was it? What tensions might have emerged out of the archival tendencies of Socialist Realist cultural production, and how do these tensions enrich our understanding of the movement broadly construed? Was Socialist Realism's view of the archive modernist, postmodernist, or something else entirely?

Focusing on the archival impulses[4] (or lack thereof) of Socialist Realism in the case of the People's Republic of Albania

[3] For example, in the Albanian context, one example that evidences the centrality of the (primary) document—and thus the archive—to socialist culture's self-understanding is the trope of the *ditar partizan* [the Partisan journal], the supposedly immediate and authentic record of Partisan experience during the National Liberation War.

[4] I borrow this phrase from Hal Foster's essay "An Archival Impulse" (in *October*, nr. 110, Fall 2004, pp. 3–22), which considers the work of contemporary artists such as Thomas Hirschhorn, Tacita Dean, and Sam Durant, in whose work Foster sees a tendency towards the archival as a mode of practice. The "archival impulse" that I believe is present in Socialist Realism—not only in Albania—is of course different from the one Foster

of course presents a kind of unique case.[5] This is first of all because of the specific conditions of archival practices vis-à-vis the socialist regime in Albania,[6] and also because of Albania's modern history of visual art, which differs in some important ways from that of other countries and subregions in the former East.[7] I

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elaborates. However, elaborating the former will, I think, help us better understand post-socialist contemporary art that adopts the archival as a constitutive mode.

[5] The difficulty of posing questions about the relation of Socialist Realism and the archive in the Albanian case is compounded by the fact that Socialist Realism in Albania is itself only incompletely understood; the literature on the movement, while slowly growing, still remains scant, and is often aimed at providing general overviews rather than critically specific analyses. For three surveys of the phenomenon, see Fjoralba Satka Mata, "Albanian Alternative Artists vs. Official Art Under Communism", in Cristian Vasile, ed., *History of Communism in Europe, Volume 2*, Bucharest: Zeta, 2011, pp. 79–89; Gëzim Qëndro, *Le surréalisme socialiste: l'autopsie de l'utopie*, Paris: Harmattan, 2014; and Ermir Hoxha, *Realizmi socialist shqiptar*, Tirana: Galeria Kombëtare e Arteve, 2017.

[6] On the question of historical archives of the period of socialist dictatorship in Albania, and the issues raised by attempts to write 20th-century history using these archives, see Elidor Mëhilli, "Documents as Weapons: The Uses of a Dictatorship's Archives", *Contemporary European History*, nr. 28:1, 2019,pp. 82–95.

[7] For instance, the lack of a robust historical avant-garde with an abstractionist teleology and a desire to fundamentally transform social conditions means that narratives such as the one famously developed by Boris Groys—in which Socialist Realism emerges out of the political-aesthetic project of the avant-garde—cannot really be applied to Albanian art. See Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond*, trans. Charles Rougle, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. In Albania, it would be more accurate to say that Socialist Realism grew out of the project of a global art initiated by numerous socialist nations (including the USSR and China, both of which were relevant for Albania's cultural development) in the postwar period. On this topic, see Jérôme Bazin, Pascal Glatigny, and Piotr Piotrowski, eds., *Art*

am not here concerned with the specific question of the contents and accessibility of the *dosjet* [dossiers], the files kept on citizens (including, of course, artists) as part of state surveillance during Albania's socialist period.[8] Nor am I necessarily concerned with the robustness (or lack thereof) of the archives generated by the socialist state in relation to the arts and culture, or any other specific field of documentation.[9] These are important avenues of investigation, but here I want to foreground the question of Socialist Realist cultural production itself *as an archival practice*. By this, I mean a practice deeply concerned with accumulating an overabundance of traces, information, and documentation, indeed with recording more information than was meant to be "meaningful" in its own time. Obviously there are different types of phenomena that might constitute evidence of such a drive to accumulation, and this essay does not permit an exhaustive investigation into the topic. What I propose to do here is to focus on some very specific examples—which might not even be

beyond Borders: Artistic Exchange in Communist Europe, New York: CEU Press, 2016.

[8] As Cātlin Dan and Josif Kiraly have noted in the Romanian context, the issue of the state police's surveillance archive is a vital one, because access to this archive allows an understanding to emerge of whether the state police was efficient and efficacious, or essentially amateurish. The former suggests that citizens were generally speaking controlled by a functioning oppressive regime; the latter that they were essentially complicit in any control that took place. (See subREAL (Cātlin Dan and JosifKiraly), "Politics of Cultural Heritage", in Merewether, ed., *The Archive*, p. 114.) A similar dichotomy hinges on the revelation of the Albanian state police archives, which have yet to be fully investigated.

[9] The fact that whatever archive the Union of Writers and Artists generated seems to be no longer extant (or else to have been dispersed) poses serious challenges to understanding Socialist Realist art in Albania, and of course to analyzing cultural bureaucracy in the country.

considered Socialist Realism by some historians, although I shall try to suggest that they ought to be read as such—and extrapolate from them a map that might lead us not only to deeper insights about Socialist Realism in Albania, but about the movement's global existence.

II. Socialist Realism and the Archival: Some Definitions

Before I proceed, some clarifications about "Socialist Realism" must be offered. When I use the term, I am not primarily referring (as will become obvious) merely to painting and sculpture, but to an entire range of forms of cultural production, including (most significantly) photography. And while I do not think that a single, unifying definition of this body of production is either necessary or possible, there are some definitions that are helpful to bear in mind. The first is the one offered by Dimitry Markov in the 1970s, in the Soviet context, who called Socialist Realism a "historically open aesthetic system of the truthful representation of life."[10] The key element here is the *openness* of the system, which—given the dynamic character of the emergence of socialist reality—can never definitively concretize in a specific variation: Socialist Realism is not a style for which time has stopped—it is one that is ever-expanding, because that is the character of socialist reality.[11]

[10] Dimitry Markov, qtd. in Thomas Lahusen, "Socialist Realism in Search of Its Shores: Some Remarks on the 'Historically Open Aesthetic System of the Truthful Representation of Life'", in Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko, eds., *Socialist Realism without Shores*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1997, p. 5.

[11] Lahusen, "Socialist Realism in Search of Its Shores", p. 13. There are some who will find this definition difficult to countenance in the case of

Another key definition might be that put forward by Albanian dictator and Communist Party leader Enver Hoxha, speaking in 1969, during the country's Cultural and Ideological Revolution. Hoxha proclaimed that Socialist Realism was "the faithful reflection of all aspects of the socialist life that we are building together, of the colossal material transformations occurring at revolutionary speed in our country, in our society, and among our people, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the masses, and on the decisions of our Party. This socialist realism does not present itself in static and stony forms; it boils over, constantly and continually developing through the clash of opposites, through class conflict, through the struggle of the new against the old".[12] Like Markov's definition, Hoxha's emphasizes that Socialist Realism must adapt to fit its circumstances (socialist reality), which are—by definition—always changing. This endless adaptation is significant, if we want to think of the movement as an archive, because the prescription to "faithfully reflect" the

Albanian Socialist Realism (which is far too often dismissed as static, stagnant, and impervious to innovation). Nonetheless I maintain that in Albania as well as elsewhere, Socialist Realism was frequently defined precisely by the 'open' character of its aesthetic system—which rejected other styles like abstract modernism *not* because they fell outside of it, but because they were inferior and narrow representational systems that captured only a fraction of Socialist Realism's much wider purview.

[12] Enver Hoxha, "Të zbatojmë me këmbëngulje e në mënyrë krijuese detyrat për revolucionarizmin e partisë e të jetës së vendit", in *Mbi letërsinë dhe artin*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1977, pp. 292–293. I thank Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei for bringing my attention to this particular passage, in his essay "The Production of Hrönir: Albanian Socialist Realism and After", in Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei and Mihnea Mircan, eds., *Workers Leaving the Studio. Looking Away from Socialist Realism*, New York: Punctum, 2015, pp. 191–207.

development of socialist society is practically speaking a stimulus to perpetual documentation.[13]

Such perpetual documentation is one factor that accounts for what some might consider the apparent unevenness of Socialist Realist cultural production, especially in terms of aesthetic quality. If it is often hard to determine what aesthetic factors dominate in any given period of Socialist Realist production (particularly in a country like Albania, where established trajectories of modernism, realism, and the historical avant-garde are only partially helpful in writing modern art history), this might partially be explained by the impetus to document, rather than to produce iconic works that expressively reflected the worldview of individual artists.

As Christina Kiaer has noted, to really understand Socialist Realism as something more than kitsch, we must adopt new criteria for viewing (and for historical investigation), including

[13] I wish to point out certain limitations to referring to Socialist Realist works (at least paintings and sculptures) as "documents", since doing so implies a strong continuity with art forms that have come after—namely, the de-hierarchized and materially diverse phenomenon called "contemporary art". Octavian Esanu is right to point out that a key difference between socialist-era art in the former East and contemporary art involves the structures of the organizations that promoted these varieties of art. Specifically, the Artists Unions under socialism were organized according to the model of the beaux arts, divided by specific media, whereas the SOROS Centers for Contemporary Art (the institutions that structured and defined "contemporary art" in the region) moved towards a horizontal model that treated artworks as documents. (Octavian Esanu, "What was Contemporary Art?", *ARTMargins*, nr. 1:1, 2012, p. 16.) While this is certainly an accurate description of a structural and institutional shift, the shift becomes less drastic depending on our perspective: if we take seriously the idea of Socialist Realism as a "historically open aesthetic system" (following Markov), and the priority given to perpetually reflecting socialist life, we might see the shift from Socialist Realism to the production of contemporary art (as document) as a shift from one kind of archival impulse to another.

acknowledging the primacy of "lateral" systems of artistic judgment that privilege "sameness", rather than aggressive innovation and uniqueness.[14] The lateral structure of Socialist Realism relates, as I will argue below, to the structure of the archive, which likewise aims to expand horizontally, and to find similarity and interchangeability amongst its individual contents.

The horizontality of Socialist Realism is important because, in a paradoxical way, it balances what would otherwise be an overtly expressive tendency in Socialist Realist works. The archive, the material corollary of modern bureaucracy, is supposedly anything but expressive: it represents regularity and objectivity in recording, not subjective expression (or so we are meant to believe). Socialist Realism requires expression: the expression of the artist's (ideologically correct) emotional investment in the development of socialist life. But because Socialist Realism desires to de-hierarchize expression—in principle if not in practice[15]—it effectively transforms every artistic expression into a trace of a horizontal network of socialist citizens, whose aesthetic expressions are invaluable not as representations of some 'external' socialist reality but as

[14] Christina Kiaer, "Fairy-tales of the Proletariat, or, Is Socialist Realism Kitsch?", in Matthew Bown and Matteo Lafranconi, eds., *Socialist Realisms: Soviet Painting 1920–1970*, Milan: Skira, 2012, pp. 184–185.

[15] As Christina Kiaer argues, one can discern, in the early decades of the Soviet experiment with Socialist Realism, a real attempt to produce a shared imaginative, artistic project, in which creators from various backgrounds, social classes, and genders were included on an equal footing. (Kiaer, "Fairy-tales of the Proletariat", p. 185.) In Albania, of course, visual artists were frequently part of an elevated social class, and this was as true during the socialist period as before and after. However, I still think that we can discern a tendency towards leveling the field of creative cultural expression in Albanian socialist-era art.

participants in the unfolding of that very reality (in other words, *as documents of it*).[16]

It is helpful to consider, by way of contrast, a Socialist Realist image of which we could say that it is definitively *not* archival, and which at the same time is clearly representative of the style. I propose that such an image is an undated poster by Jani Talo, entitled *Votoj* [*I Vote*]. (Fig. 1) It is an overtly propagandistic image: a young worker, full of vigor, standing before a sea of other citizens, prepares to cast his ballot. On the ballot itself is written only "Votoj", while the ballot box presents a series of phrases that complete the action: "për kandidatët e frontit", "për forcimin e mëtejshëm të pushtetit popullor", "për lulëzimin dhe mbrojtjen e atdheut tonë socialist" ["for the candidates of the socialist front", "for the further strengthening of the people's power", "for the vitality and protection of our socialist fatherland"]. The image brilliantly synthesizes Socialist Realism's tautological aspect by including the verb "votoj" on the ballot itself: the whole content of the vote is the act itself. It does not matter who one votes for (and of course in a one-party state it really does not), only *that* one votes. This is deeply at odds with the archival impulse, which needs to register the diversity of votes, to count and categorize them, and to preserve them in their specificity—all functions that Jani Talo's picture neatly brushes to

[16] I will return to this point below, but here I wish to note my indebtedness to Petre Petrov's definition of Socialist Realism, which emphasizes the ontological independence of socialist reality's development from all perceptions of it. As Petrov puts it, socialist reality is "a coming-to-be that does not depend on people's awareness of it: it is not first people, but the Realization itself that 'realizes,'" and among the things it realizes is Socialist Realism itself as its own reflection. See Petre Petrov, "The Industry of Truing: Socialist Realism, Reality, Realization", *Slavic Review*, nr. 70:4, Winter 2011,pp. 880.

the side as of (at best) secondary importance. This picture, it is safe to say, is the kind of image many people have in mind when they think of Socialist Realism, and I do not wish to argue that this image has much of the 'archival' in its process of creation or its rationale. But not all Socialist Realist images are of this type, and we will more readily see what the style might have in common with the archive if we pay attention to the internal characteristics that eat away at the integrity of both the Socialist Realism and the archive.

One reason Socialist Realism and archival practice seem inimical to each other is what Katerina Clark calls Socialist Realism's "modal schizophrenia", its foundational embrace of both the realist mode and the mythic impulse, of both "what is" and "what ought to be".[17] If the former is amenable to archival documentation, the latter, "utopian"[18] component of this dichotomy, in particular, appears opposed to the archive's gradual accrual of traces of the past. But of course the archive is also a projection of what ought be, in both its efforts at regularity the generation of equivalence between its elements,[19] and its drive towards an impossible totality. The impossibility of total documentation (and total regularity therein) often leads the archive to collapse on itself,[20] and we might say something similar of Socialist Realism. Its modal oppositions (not just between "is" and "ought to be" but also, as Clark notes, between "simple" and

[17] Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000, pp. 36–41.
[18] Clark, *Soviet Novel*, p. 37.
[19] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive", *October*, nr. 39, Winter 1986, p. 17.
[20] Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. xiii.

"complex", "traditional" and "modern" etc.)[21] both drive its expansion and its unraveling. The urge for internal regulation matched against the very real diversity (and even chaos) produced by the urge to total documentation: this is a structural paradox that plagues both Socialist Realism and the archive.

III. Two Landscapes

Let us consider two photographs of landscapes. The first appeared as the image on the interior of the front and back covers of the 1973 volume *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar* (*Monuments of Albanian heroism*), a photographic album documenting public sculpture and memorials in the People's Republic of Albania.[22] (Fig. 2) The image is difficult to read. It shows a jumbled, rocky landscape, seen through a rosy red filter, the high contrast between lights and darks giving the impression of harsh sunlight raking across a surface apparently devoid of organic life. The image is cropped in such a way that it is difficult to precisely judge the scale of the rocks, without figures or vegetation for comparison. While there is a marked band of shadowed rocky contours that appears extending inward from the left edge of the image, and some expanses of particularly brightly lit stone at each upper corner, the photo possesses no clear focal point.[23] Indeed, it seems to present precisely a formal jumble of indecipherable and

[21] Clark, *Soviet Novel*, p. 37.

[22] Kujtim Buza, Kleanthi Dedi, and Dhimitraq Trebicka, *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar*, Tirana: Shtëpia Qëndrore e Ushtrisë Popullore, 1973.

[23] In fact, even the orientation of the image is variable: inside the front cover of the book, the photo appears (upon close examination) 'upside down,' while inside the back cover the image is 'right side up'—although precisely this variation calls into question the importance of either description.

potentially uninteresting visual information: an otherwise nondescript expanse of stony ground that is conspicuously unrecognizable. Such an image of course conjures the sublime character of Albania's vast, mountainous landscape, but this is a very particular way of suggesting that landscape: this could in fact be any fraction of a mountainside, any expanse of churned rocky surface.

The apparent illegibility of this image contrasts markedly with the opening sentences of the text accompanying the album, which declares, "In Albania, wherever you cast your gaze, you will see a landscape of stone, of marble, of bronze. This is the new landscape of the fatherland…"[24] This landscape—of stone, of marble, and of bronze—is the one constituted by the collection of Socialist Realist monuments documented in the volume.[25] The jumble of rocks that opens the photobook, then, serves at least two functions. First, in its contrast to the eminently legible character of the history narrated through the monuments shown in the album, the photograph of jumbled rocks asserts a kind of base materiality, an unstructured layer of substance that undergirds history, signifying nothing even as it makes history's narratives possible. The contrast between this unstructured matter (analogous and in some cases directly equivalent to the material used to construct monuments) and monumental sculptures also suggests the

[24] Buza, Dedi, and Trebicka, n.p.

[25] In a sense, the monuments documented are themselves an archive, although one important distinction between a network of monuments and the (bureaucratic) archive is that the latter so often relies, as Sven Spieker suggests, on the authority of "heterotropy—the idea that a record's evidentiary power is a reflection of its origin in a place other than the archive that preserves it". (See Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 6.) By contrast, the monuments derive a portion of their authority precisely from their placement near the sites of the events they commemorate.

malleability of the former: out of apparent chaos, history can and indeed will emerge, amenable to interpretation and organization. Beyond these formative contrasts, however, the initial photograph of an apparently random rocky surface also implies a curious quality shared between it and all the subsequent photographs of sculptures and architectural ensembles: it suggests that these photographs are all, ultimately, documents of objective and mundane fact. The illegible stony expanse is as significant as the obelisk commemorating the Partisan regiment, as significant as the bronze statue of the communist leader. The rosy red expanse of stones, then, signals precisely the *archival* character of the project in *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar*; the photographs of the monuments gathered therein are not merely the image of history, they are its sometimes indecipherable excess, a collection of facts collected for no better reason than that they are there to be collected.

The second landscape is much easier to read. We might call it a cityscape, for much of the image is taken up by the city, but its purpose is clearly to show the continuity between (altered) nature and the urban environment. (Fig. 3) This photograph appeared in 1987 photobook *Berati: qytet-muze* (*Berat: A museum-city*), and dedicated to the eponymous city, which received its designation as a "museum-city" in June 1961.[26] The black and white photo offers a sweeping panorama of Berat spread across two pages, showing the Osum River and the city's historic center and major neighborhoods, including the Gorica neighborhood on the left side of the river, the Gorica bridge (originally constructed in 1780) spanning the river, and the

[26] Gani Strazimiri and Refik Veseli, *Berati: Qytet-Muze* [*Berat: A Museum City*], Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1987, p. 15.

Mangalem neighborhood on the river's right side, nestled below the rocky hill that is home to Berat's castle. Stretching across the left side of the photo is the silhouette of Mt. Shpirag, its rolling slopes looming over all of the city except the hill and its castle, which rise at the center to break Shpirag's hard horizon line. Written across Shpirag's slopes—in letters so large that they appear the same size as the buildings in the foreground of the photo—is the name ENVER.

This intervention in the landscape was created in the late 1960s, during the period of Albania's Cultural and Ideological Revolution: a group of soldiers from the People's Army painted the Albanian dictator Enver Hoxha's name on stones set into the side of Shpirag, in letters 100 meters in height.[27] Upon closer examination of this *particular* panorama of Berat, however, we realize that the letters have been inscribed not on the mountain itself, but on the photograph, presumably by those who compiled the photobook. That is, although the geoglyph was very much extant and visible in the year the photobook was published, the photograph itself predated its creation, and thus demanded a process of re-inscription in order to align the representation of Berat's landscape with the eternal aspirations of Hoxha's legacy. Alterations of photographs—whether to contribute to the rewriting of history or to increase the legibility of the history supposedly

[27] This geoglyph became the centerpiece of Armando Lulaj's 2012 work *NEVER*, in which the artist worked with a team that included one of the original creators of the geoglyph uncover the letters (which by 2012 had been obscured by undergrowth) and rearrange the first two characters, changing ENVER into NEVER. On this project, see Marco Scotini, ed., *Armando Lulaj: Albanian Trilogy* (Berlin and New York: Sternberg Press, 2015), and van Gerven Oei, "The Production of Hrönir".

depicted therein (or both)—were common in socialist culture,[28] and Albania was no exception to this. This particular textual supplement to the panorama of Berat must have been especially significant in 1987, just two years after the death of dictator Enver Hoxha. Regardless of precisely when the photograph was originally altered, the inscription on Shpirag's slopes represents an attempt to assert Hoxha's longevity not only forward into the future (as the permanence of the geoglyph was no doubt meant to) but also *backwards* in time, as if it was somehow part of an eternal view of the city of Berat, and the mountain. Of course, the details of this retroactive eternity were loose: little attempt has even been made, in this re-inscription, to make the letters correspond to the visual rules of perspectival recession into space. They appear to hover over the landscape, perhaps unintentionally positing the flatness of the photograph itself as the surface of history, rather than the immensity of the landscape indexed by the image. Close examination of the photograph reveals that the individual letters do

[28] On this topic, see David King, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalin's Russia*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 1997, and Leah Dickerman, "Camera Obscura: Socialist Realism in the Shadow of Photography", *October*, nr. 93, Summer 2000, pp. 138–153. Both King and Dickerman emphasize the doctoring of photographs as an attempt to falsify or revise history in socialist regimes, but airbrushes and other means were also often used to clarify photographs that were of low quality, so that they could be made more easily legible to audiences. Furthermore, as Dickerman (p. 142) points out, socialist citizens were accustomed to these revisions, and photographic alterations were often not disguised, but left clearly visible in the finished product, to emphasize the "publicness" of historical revision. For more on the erasure and rewriting of documents in socialist Albania's official culture, see Elidor Mëhilli, "Written. (Erased.) Rewritten", in *Armando Lulaj: Albanian Trilogy*, pp. 43–61.

not even appear on the correct respective slopes, but have been shifted slightly to the left.

One the one hand, this inexactness has its own logic—its imprecision is the imprecision of myth, rather than the precision of documentation, and in this sense it posits something that is almost the opposite of the rocky, uninscribed expanse in *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar*. There, the past began (and ended) in unreadable matter. Here, the past cannot by any means be allowed to escape from legibility: no bare fact can be allowed to persist without (retroactively) inscribing upon it the text of history. This is, I think, an archival intervention as much as anything else. Beyond the alteration of a photograph to represent a particular feature of the landscape (and in doing so to bring that image up-to-date), the inscription of the name ENVER on the photo of Berat is also—and, I would argue more so—a process of labeling, one which says "this image belongs to this particular category or collection of images and not to some other category". In this specific case, it integrates a general photograph of Berat made sometime before the late 1960s into a corpus of images that reveal the intertwinement of socialist ideology, the leadership cult, and the transformation of urban and rural spaces alike during Albania's socialist years. Simultaneously, it allows this photograph of Berat to serve as a record of something that it did not originally record; a trace on the surface of the landscape has become a trace on the surface of the photograph. The empty and formal character of this re-tracing—the fact that anyone who looked twice at this photograph would immediately know that the name ENVER had been added at a later point—only heightens its symbolic impact.

Beginning with these two landscapes might seem a strange way to approach the question of Socialist Realism in Albania

during the Cold War and its relation to the archive. Neither image is a painting, the medium with which Socialist Realism is still predominantly associated, and—as two peculiar examples of landscape photography—they seem more appropriately related to a discussion on the genre of the landscape in socialist Albania than to an investigation of the archive *per se*.[29] I choose these two images because they occupy an important intersection between photography, Socialist Realism, and the archive, and they belong to a conversation about how Socialist Realism fits into the broader transformation of modernism that took place during its encounter with photographic processes over the course of the 20th century.[30] It is impossible to chart the course of Socialist Realism in terms of the archive without a discussion of photography, and indeed that medium is sometimes treated as essentially synonymous with the archive writ large. There are many reasons for this, but it is partially due to the character of the archive as "a vast substitution set, providing for a relation of general equivalence between images", as Allan Sekula puts it: the "metrical accuracy" of the camera is crucial to the archive, but so is the "integration [of that

[29] On the topic of landscape in socialism, see Evgeny Dobrenko and Eric Naiman, eds., *The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003. On the Albanian case, see Fjoralba Staka Mata, "Political Power and Ideas of Space and Place Embodied in Albanian 'Socialist' Painting", unpublished article manuscript. I thank the author for sharing this piece of writing with me.

[30] For one version of how Socialist Realism relates to the photographic culture of modernity (and modernism), see Dickerman, "Camera Obscura". For a discussion of how photography and its search for 'facts' shaped Cold War modernism, see Joshua Shannon, *The Recording Machine: Art and Fact during the Cold War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

accuracy] into a larger ensemble: a bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system of 'intelligence'".[31]

If the photograph has emerged as the archival document *par excellence* because of its inherent indexicality, and if therefore every film or photographic project becomes—of necessity—an archival action,[32] then we must situate Socialist Realist representation in relation to photography. Leah Dickerman has argued that—in the Soviet case—the entanglement of Socialist Realist painting and photography must be understood in terms of the "mnemonic crisis catalyzed by political revolution", the challenge to prior historical thinking posed by the Bolshevik Revolution and the simultaneous emergence of the photographic document as a mass media tool for disseminating a shared visual record of the present and recent past.[33] According to Dickerman, the camera posed a serious challenge to Socialist Realism, since its "objective" recordings of reality potentially included problematic details, which in turn needed to be edited, or, in some cases, lacked details that needed to be added in—such as the ENVER geoglyph in the panorama of Berat discussed above. Dickerman sees Socialist Realist painting engaged in an active attempt to assert dominance over photography, replacing it (especially in the case of paintings clearly based on prior photographs) even as it relies on the authority of the camera's objectivity in the first instance.[34] This would suggest, then, that Socialist Realism in turn stands in a conflicted position vis-à-vis the archive in a broad sense: one the one hand, the archive furnishes authoritative and

[31] Sekula, "The Body and the Archive", pp. 16–17.
[32] Okwui Enwezor, "Archive Fever: Photography between History and the Monument", in Enwezor, ed., *Archive Fever*, pp. 11–12.
[33] Dickerman, "Camera Obscura", pp. 140–143.
[34] Ibid., p. 148.

indexical information (especially in the form of photographic images) that Socialist Realism needs to function; on the other hand, Socialist Realism needs to perpetually assert its superiority to the archive, emphasizing its mediated qualities, such as the trace of the individual artist's hand. This is indeed a compelling characterization of the relationship between these two systems of representation (Socialist Realism and the archive, understood primarily as the photograph).

However, I think the tension that Dickerman identifies between photographic (here we might say, archival) objectivity and Socialist Realism is not quite as strong as she argues, and this is especially true in the Albanian case. Dickerman sees in Socialist Realism a "mechanicity of vision" (evident, for example, in the visual density of many paintings exemplary of the style), which she attributes to the desire to compete with photography, to overcome it[35]—for our purposes, to overcome the archive. But this only makes sense if we treat Socialist Realism as operating in the late-19th-century-modernist paradigm, in which the artist's individual subjectivity exercised a decisive role in establishing the work's meaning. Such a model is indeed at odds with photography's supposed objectivity. But is this really the only way Socialist Realist images conveyed meaning? I want to instead draw on the characterization of the style offered by Petre Petrov (discussed above), who argues that Socialist Realism is often concerned with a search for truth that is "nonepistemological": that is, "in which truth is not viewed as a correspondence between the contents of consciousness (subjective representations) and external reality."[36] The tension in this case is not—at least not primarily—a

[35] Ibid.
[36] Petrov, "The Industry of Truing", p. 873.

tension produced between individual subjective experiences of socialist 'reality' and the 'reality' itself (revealed through documentation, such as photography). In other words, Socialist Realism is not just about the artist's subjective processing of his or her own experience. Rather, tensions (or contradictions) arise within reality itself, which is to say they arise within Socialist Realism, not *between* it and the artist, or the material of the archive—just as contradictions tend to arise within the archive itself as its purview expands.[37] As Sven Spieker argues, "What the archive records…rarely coincides with what our consciousness is able to register. Archives do not record experience so much as its absence."[38] If the archive is often at odds with experience, that is proper to its function, and the same could be said of Socialist Realism: it reflects a reality that exceeds our ability to sufficiently register its significance. Therefore, Socialist Realism—even as a form of painting—is already closer to photography and the archival than Dickerman suggests, and the idea that Socialist Realism tries to *overcome* the archive is an overstatement. We might more properly say that Socialist Realism simply becomes the archive itself.

We can of course identify moments in Albanian Socialist Realism when concrete censorship or editing of history was deemed necessary. The most obvious example of such a moment is in the literal alteration of particular works to reflect alternate, official narratives of history prescribed by the Communist Party: for instance, a case such as Guri Madhi's *Mbledhja e Moskës* (*The*

[37] The fragmentation of meaning within the archive has now been the topic of many studies, but one of the most noteworthy is Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*: The Anomic Archive", *October*, nr. 88, Spring 1999, pp. 117–145.
[38] Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 3.

Moscow meeting) (1974), from which the artist was instructed—in 1978, after Albania's diplomatic break with China—to remove the figures of the Chinese delegation originally shown alongside the Albanian delegation.[39] In photography, this often occurred through straightforward enactments of vandalism, with images of political figures such as Mehmet Shehu cut or scribbled out of photobooks. (These same processes often took place again, in a different way, after the end of socialism in Albania, with images of Hoxha covered up, removed, or damaged.) In other cases, however, such interventions in photography were not apparently censorial in nature: they served either to smooth over visual disparities created by collaging multiple photographs together, or to clarify information that the photo had captured (sharpening the text on placards, or sharpening the lines demarcating a subject's face or body), or yet again to provide new spatial contexts for events, new visual framing devices. Consider, for example, a detail of a photograph of Enver Hoxha cutting a ribbon at the inauguration of Kinostudio *"Shqipëria e Re"* (The "New Albania" Film Studio) in 1952, published in *40 vjet Shqipëria socialiste* (*40 years of socialist Albania*).[40] Much of the lower left portion of this image has been clearly retouched: the column that forms the entire left side of the composition appears to be hand-shaded, perhaps even completely hand-drawn. (Fig. 4) Loosely painted interventions have either added figures in the background, beyond Hoxha's hand and the ribbon, or perhaps simply clarified the figures' clothing. Of course these interventions serve an ideological purpose, but to equate them with more straightforward examples of photographic "censorship" is misleading.

[39] Hoxha, *Realizmi socialist shqiptar*, p. 28.
[40] *40 vjet Shqipëri socialiste*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1984.

Such examples indicate that one of the key struggles of Socialist Realism was precisely the issue of *details*. This struggle was no secret operation of the censor: it was a problem logically inherited from debates on realism broadly understood as a genre. In 1972, Gjergj Zheji (focusing on literature more than the visual arts, but the point is universal), explained, "Delicate in this case is the artist's attitude towards the material and the details that they have gathered. Engels called the 'accuracy of the details' an essential part of a universalizing realist work, so that it would convey the essence of phenomena, but at the same time he pointed out that an excess of detail is harmful to art."[41] In this instance, Zheji clearly has in mind the judicious incorporation of details taken from everyday life, but a similar concern over the inclusion of detail was also central to the creation of artistic works narrating historical events, such as the Vlora Independence Monument, the creation of which became a paradigmatic case for art criticism in Albania after Enver Hoxha wrote an open letter to the monument's authors. In his letter, Hoxha protested an excess of precision in the ethnographic details of the different warriors included (representing different regions of the nation) in the sculptural group—a criticism that the authors of the monument acknowledged in their letter of response to the dictator, but ultimately only partially implemented.[42] From these two instances—one involving details taken from everyday life, the other those gleaned from ethnography—we can see that Socialist Realism in Albania was clearly conflicted over the "reality

[41] Gjergj Zheji, "Artisti dhe Jeta", *Nëndori*, nr. 19:2, February 1972, p. 8.

[42] On the debates over the Vlora monument, see Raino Isto, "The Dictator Visits the Studio: The Vlora Independence Monument and the Politics of Socialist Albanian Sculpture, 1962–72", *Third Text*, nr. 32:4, 2018, pp. 500–518.

effect"[43] that the incorporation of precise detail might produce in a work.

The ontological density of socialist reality presented a kind of sublime object for Socialist Realist artists: it was a reality so overwhelming in its sheer being that one artist (the sculptor Shaban Hadëri) described "the monumentality of our socialist life" as something that socialist sculpture still struggled (in the 1970s) to accurately reflect.[44] Of course, there are many discourses at work in Hadëri's statement beyond the archival: the sublime, monumentality, contemporaneity, and, of course, the question of realism. The broader context of Hadëri's comment reflects the artist's grappling with a crucial anxiety of Socialist Realist representation: the need to reflect a reality that was assumed to be constantly in flux, constantly overcoming itself and fundamentally transforming into something new. Thus, ever attempt at representation is an urgent attempt: no matter how artistically remote from the photographic, Socialist Realist representation was—in a sense—always a "snapshot", capturing a moment and a configuration of reality that was already becoming something else. This, I think, is some of what Hadëri has in mind with the term "monumentality".[45] And we cannot discount the archive as a

[43] This phrase was famously used by Roland Barthes to describe the way that modern realist authors included numerous small details—apparently insignificant to structural analyses of literature—in their texts in order to reduce the apparent separation between sign and signified. See Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect" [1969], in Francois Wahl, ed., *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 141–148.

[44] Shaban Hadëri, "Monumentaliteti i jetës sonë dhe pasqyrimi i tij në skulpturë", *Nëntori*, nr. 24:5, May 1977, p. 246.

[45] Here I thank Jonida Gashi for her input on this essay, which helped clarify my thinking on this particular point.

crucial paradigm in the development of Socialist Realism's reflective operation. How else could we adequately explain the ever-expanding typologies produced by seemingly unending paintings of (usually anonymous) socialist subjects: the textile worker, the welder, the electrician, the radio operator, the farmer, the engineer, the pilot, the infantryman, the guerilla fighter, the nurse, the village teacher, the collective farm worker, the youth brigade member, the train conductor, the bricklayer… the list, of course, is endless, and that is the point. If Socialist Realism's only operation had been a synthesizing one, distilling the essence of socialist reality from experience, then it could have contented itself with a limited number of specific scenes, events, and protagonists. What we have instead, as the Cold War progressed, is a growing repertoire of seemingly completely unnecessary images of socialist society, apparently totally redundant, each one seemingly adding nothing new either stylistically or ideologically to our image of socialist reality. But this 'nothing new' is precisely the point (and of course there *were* new elements of socialist reality to be pictured: new technologies, new construction projects, and so forth), because what is happening is not the distillation of socialist reality, but its exhaustive documentation in Socialist Realism considered as a massive collective corpus. That is, as an archive.

Let us consider a typically poetic passage of Socialist Realist reporting, a text that elaborates the creation of picture that is now lost to us. In 1971, the poet Alfred Çapaliku wrote in *Drita* of the construction underway to complete the new Martyrs' Cemetery in Tirana, Albania, a complex whose centerpiece would be the massive *Mother Albania* monument.[46] Çapaliku uses the

[46] Alfred Çapaliku, "Duke Mdituar për Dëshmorët", *Drita*, 10 March 1971.

opportunity to emphasize the role played by the socialist youth in constructing this memorial to the fallen Partisans, recounting how students of the arts and sciences work shoulder to shoulder laying the cemetery's foundations. Having richly described the activity taking place in the cemetery as construction site, Çapaliku concludes the account with a paradoxical but deeply significant passage. He writes, "I forgot to mention something: when I was standing in the midst of the students, I also saw a painter. He was sitting off to the side and sketching something on his canvas. I approached. He was deeply absorbed in his work, but I could see everything. He had captured precisely this scene: the students at work on the new cemetery of the martyrs."[47]

What is so striking about this passage is the way it asserts—through the artifice of the offhanded comment, "I forgot"—the fundamental importance of supplemental documentation. Indeed, although it seems that whatever image the painter produced of the work taking place in the Martyrs' Cemetery has been lost to history, for Çapaliku it is paramount. It is not enough for the poet to describe the labor of memorialization (which is already tied to memory): he must also *describe its documentation* through the practice of Socialist Realist aesthetics (for surely the painting produced would have been exemplary of the style). Here we see quite plainly not only the citational structure of Socialist Realist culture, but also its profoundly archival leanings, its recursive desire to assert the necessity of recording socialist life for future generations. What is at work here is a logic of *accumulation* of accounts of socialist reality: first, the author describes what is happening in the course of constructing

[47]Çapaliku, "Duke mdituar".

the new cemetery, then the author describes *someone else describing the same scene*.

Another example of such repetition can be found in the densely arranged composition of Vasil Kaçi's *Me këtë parti, me këtë pushtet, nuk na tremb asnjë tërmet* (*With this party, with this government, we fear no earthquake*), which depicts the reconstruction of a village in the wake of the 1979 earthquake that caused significant infrastructural damage to Albania. (Fig. 5) The painting is an almost painstakingly formulaic one, careful to bring together workers of every age group and gender and to depict an exhaustive array of episodes from the process of rebuilding. Most central in the composition—and indeed most central to the work's formulaic quality—is the *tabelë emulacioni*, a signboard outlining guidelines for labor, celebrating shock workers, and emphasizing goals to be achieved in the reconstruction efforts. On the sign there are a number of textual announcements and initiatives, but there are also images of laborers at work, producing a *mise en abyme* that doubles the process of reconstruction. This doubling first of all evidences Socialist Realism's dual commitment to "what is" and "what ought to be," as discussed above. It furthermore reflects a complementary commitment to accumulation, to multifold documentation, as seen in Çapaliku's poetic reporting.

This kind of accumulation produced overabundance, and redundancy: it is not hard to think of examples of (what now seem to us to be) stunningly mundane repetition of themes, scenes, and figures—as noted above. But I want to strongly avoid the interpretation of this redundancy as evidence of some kind of creative enervation on the part of Socialist Realism. Rather, we should interpret these instances of overlap, repetition, and copying as archival redundancies. Just as documents, images, dossiers, and

so forth are reproduced across the archive, stored in multiple and in different places, so Socialist Realism tended towards such multiplicity. Here, we are back to the image of so many jumbled stones that adorned the inside covers of *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar*: a seemingly meaningless assortment of individually unimportant representations used as the background for a broader project of typological documentation (the photobook collecting images of monuments).

The counterpart of this tendency is the selective editing at work in the panorama of Berat inscribed with the name ENVER. Here, although in a very different way, we also have the addition of information, the overwriting of history with new layers of history, the updating of documentation with new documentation. As in the case of Çapaliku's twofold description of the scene of monumental construction, there is the suggestion of subjective experience: the messy inexactness of the clearly handwritten intervention is clearly the trace not of objective recording, but of the official editor. And yet, this is not an attempt to overcome the photograph as if its objectivity resided outside Socialist Realism. Rather, it is the integration of the photograph more fully into the archive to which it already belongs, a gesture much more akin to the labeling of a file folder to make its contents easier to understand in relation to other such records.

This backwards inscription, coupled with the redundancies of accumulation already noted in Socialist Realism, give us perhaps our most concrete clue about the kind of archive Socialist Realism *is.* Of course, it is dangerous to generalize, and we should not allow any single characterization of Socialist Realism to prevent us from seeing the movement's own internal diversity, even simply within the context of Albania. But it is clear that if the

traditional archive was generally a linear accumulation of facts and documents, then Socialist Realism was open to reversals and repetitions, and in that way it is closer to postmodern re-imaginings of the archive carried out by postwar artists.[48] In these reversals and repetitions, we can see a temporal conflict playing out, a conflict that historian Vladimir Paperny pointed out in his influential analysis of Stalinist architecture: Socialist Realism was intended to be both the beginning of a fundamentally new era and the ultimate culmination of the (revolutionary) past, beyond which nothing more could emerge.[49] But for Paperny, this end of history was a dead end—and if we continue to think of Socialist Realism solely in relation to "history", we may well always consign it to this dead end. In this sense, Paperny's analysis can only get us so far in grasping both the temporality and the strategies of Socialist Realism: it operates via the oversimplification of the supposedly total dichotomy between the newly emergent and the culmination of history. If we instead adopt the heuristic device of the archive—as I have proposed here—we might see Socialist Realism engaged in the same kinds of practices that characterized so many other (neo- and post-avant-garde) art practices of the postwar and later post-socialist decades, practices for which the ends—not any single end—of history served as occasions for the continual re-evaluation of representation and its relation to human experience in a political framework.

[48] On these nonlinear revisions of the archive, see Spieker, *The Big Archive*, p. 191.
[49] Vladimir Paperny, *Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two*, trans. John Hill and Roann Barris, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 18.

IV. Conclusion

First during the Cold War (in the West), and later after that conflict's purported end (in the former East), Socialist Realism has been condemned for a kind of meaninglessness: its inability to say anything 'true' since it merely reproduces official propaganda and empty ideological positions. As a style, it supposedly lacked the nuance and the substance of modernist and later postmodernist engagements with mass culture. But most of all (we are often led to believe), it was meaningless because it was barely a 'realism' in the sense popularly associated with the term. Where, after all, were the bread lines in Socialist Realism? The Party purges? The show trials? The gulag? The omissions are clear, and they continue to be elaborated as we learn more (often, through archives) of the postwar socialist regimes. But here I want to put forward another argument: Socialist Realism threatens to become meaningless to us today not only because it omitted too much—for example, the 'real' experiences of suffering, scarcity, or isolation. It is not only difficult to understand because of hidden documents, censorship, and so forth. It also threatens to become meaningless because it recorded and represented *too much:* it amassed a conglomeration of representations that were never meant to be fully processed by any individual subject—because that was never the primary goal of Socialist Realism as a cultural project. Its aim was always beyond the grasp of its own participants, whether it stretched its grasp into the past or the future. So too the archive.

I want to conclude by considering a metaphor that seems to unite socialist-era art with capitalist-era artistic investigations of the archive: the garbage bin. As Hal Foster has pointed out, an important paradigm in contemporary instances of the "archival impulse" is the trash bin: Thomas Hirschhorn, for example, calls

his Junkspace "the capitalist garbage bucket".[50] The trash bin is an equally familiar characterization of socialist art in its contemporary contexts: consider, for instance, Régine Robin's discussion of Memento Park in Budapest (with its collection of Socialist Realist public sculptures) as one of "the new dustbins of History".[51] If the archive—with its collection of documents and objects that no longer circulate in the system of bureaucracy—has taken on a resemblance to the garbage bin through contemporary artistic interventions, then so has Socialist Realism, in many ways. On the one hand, there is the very real dismissal of works of Socialist Realism, often subject to vandalism and ostracized from official institutions of modern and contemporary art. On the other hand, there is the notion that Socialist Realism itself was a kind of meaningless excess of unoriginal material, characterized by mediocrity at best and cultural stagnation at worst. In other words, Socialist Realism is both itself a garbage bin, and apparently inevitably destined for the garbage bin. If contemporary artists have so often engaged with the socialist past by rummaging through archives that are also garbage bins, then Socialist Realism itself also rummaged: through the history of figurative art for paradigmatic scenes; through global anti-imperialist, antifascist, and anti-colonial struggles in search of possible heroes; through Party speeches for slogans and invented statistics on the progress of production; through everyday life for evidence of the qualitatively new, evidence that communism was coming. Like all rummaging, it produced a wealth of material (images, ideas,

[50] Thomas Hirschhorn, qtd. in Foster, "Archival Impulse", p. 11.

[51] Régine Robin, "The Past as a Dustbin, or, the Phantoms of Socialist Realism", in Lahusen and Dobrenko, eds., *Socialist Realism without Shores*, p. 337.

ideologies) that often now seems to us like it should simply have been thrown away again.

Fig. 1. Jani Talo, *Votoj*, date unknown. Published in *Klasa punëtore në artet figurative*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1977.

Fig. 2. Photograph from the interior covers of the hardcover edition of *Përmendore të heroizmit shqiptar*, Tirana: Shtëpia Qëndrore e Ushtrisë Popullore, 1973.

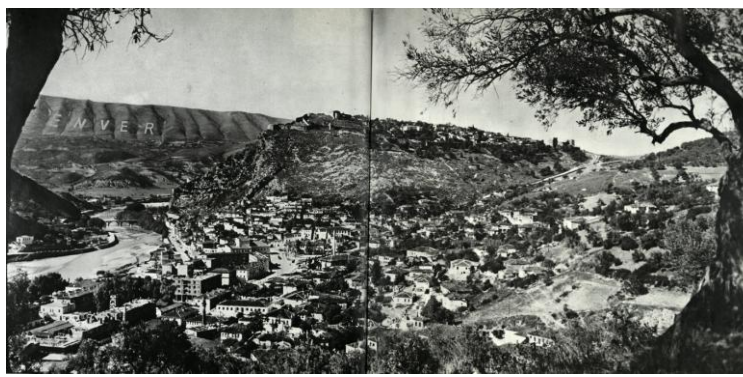

Fig. 3. Retouched panorama of Berat. Published in Gani Strazimiri and RefikVeseli, *Berati: qytet-muze / Berat: A museum city*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1987.

Fig. 4. Detail of a photograph of Enver Hoxha at the inauguration of Kinostudio "Shqipëria e Re" in 1952. Published in *40 vjet Shqipëri socialiste*, Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1984.

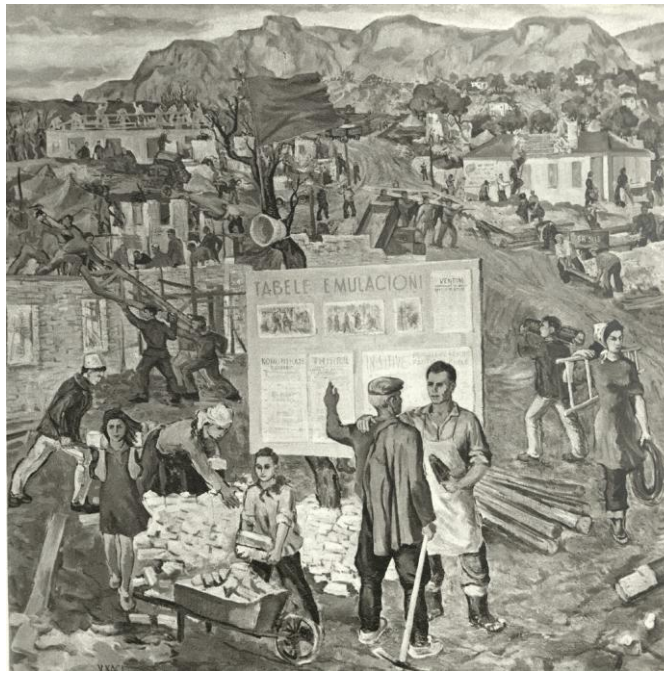

Fig. 5. Vasil Kaçi, *Me këtë parti, me këtë pushtet, nuk na tremb asnjë tërmet*, date unknown. Published in *Klasa punëtore në artet figurative*, Tiranë: 8 Nëntori, 1977.