

Albania

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Albania is considered authoritarian from 1919 to 1945. The lack of formal political institutions resulted in a strong executive and a factionalized political environment. The closest regime type that characterizes Albania in the early period of pre-45 years (i.e., 1919-1924 before Zogu create his personalist regime) is warlordism. Several sources describe about a serious ethnic division between Muslim and Catholic, which also corresponded to a geographical structure of South and North and hindered Albania's unity (see Jelavich 1983, 178; Vicker 1995, 101, 107; Webb 2008, 215-16). Accordingly, all SOLS from 1919 to 1924 are coded as unknown. Also, we code neither minor nor major SOLS changes since no government is making effective policy for the country during warlordism.

Turhan Pashë Permeti (also known as Turhan Pasha), party unknown, ruled as Prime Minister (PM) from 1918 to 1920 as part of a "provisional government" (Cahoon 2011; Pearson 2007, 117). Though technically independent since 1914, much of the country was occupied by Italian forces, who were vying with Yugoslavia to carve up Albanian territory between them. "The country lacked a single recognized government" (US Library of Congress). A January 1920 Peace Conference divided Albania "among Yugoslavia, Italy, and Greece as a diplomatic expedient aimed at finding a compromise solution to the territorial conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia. The deal was done behind the Albanians' backs" (US Library of Congress). Turhan Pasha at the provisional government at Durrës was seen by many as a puppet of the Italians (Pearson 2007, 138). A second provisional government, the Congress of Lushnjë, was formed to rival the provisional government at Durrës. The Congress of Lushnjë "passed a resolution to strip Turhan Pasha of all government prerogatives and to depose the Italian-influenced regime" (Pearson 2007, 139). In 1920 the Congress of Lushnjë selected Sulejman Bej Delvina, party unknown, as the new PM (Pearson 2007, 139). "The Provisional Government at Durrës resigned and handed over all the archives to the nationalist government..." (Pearson 2007, 141).

The Albanians were still occupied during this period by the Italians and the Yugoslavs. Delvina's government was successful in driving out the Italians, but not the Yugoslavs. This led to the downfall of his government, including the Congress of Lushnjë, and he and his Cabinet resigned. The Parliament also resigned and the Council of Regency called for elections for a new National Council (Pearson 2007, 154-155). As a result of the election, in December 1920, Ilias Bej Vrioni, party unknown, became PM. According to Pearson (2007, 162):

The first properly elected Parliament in Albania was opened in Tirana, attended by seventy-seven Deputies. Political groups formed, although these were not truly political parties in the Western sense of the term. They would often collaborate in their policies, which were vague in their programmes of social reform, but very largely dependent on the personalities of their leaders, who would tend to shift their allegiance. There were four political parties whose labels were – the Populist Party (or the Clique), the Democratic Party, the Progressives, and the Independents.

Vrioni's government fell when the Yugoslavians decided to intervene northern Albania and claim it for themselves. To deal with the threat, Albanians resolved to put in place a national coalition government of "Sacred Union" that would include all important political groups as well

as the leaders of the Malisori tribes (Pearson 2007, 173). In October 1921, the head of the new government became Pandeli Evangjeli, party unknown (Pearson 2007, 162). As a result of power struggles among powerful members of the Council of Regency, specifically between Aqif Pasha Elbasani and Zogu, in December the Elbasani “engineered a coup d’etat” (Pearson 2007, 180), leading to the collapse of Evangjeli’s government. The Council appointed Hasan Pristina (also known as Prishtina), party unknown, (Vickers 2001, 101) to the premiership. Days later Amet Zogu “marched on Tirana, and Pristina was forced to flee north with his supporters” (Vickers 2001, 105). Zogu was supported by clan leaders and land owners and enjoyed popularity with the northern tribes because he was himself a chieftain.

Idhomene Kosturi became “acting” PM (Cahoon 2011; Pearson 2007, 182). Because this is a period of warlordism, we do not consider Kosturi interim. After Zogus’ troops arrived in Tirana the Parliament took the illegal action of removing some of the Regents, including Zogu’s longterm opponent Elbasani. Pristina resigned immediately thereafter (Pearson 2007, 183). Xhafer Ypi, party unknown, became PM, but Zogu, as Minister of the Interior, dominated the entire cabinet (Pearson 2007, 184). “Ypi’s role remained that of a mere figurehead, whilst Zogu worked to extend his influence beyond his powerful [interior] ministerial position” (Vickers 2001, 105). Elsie (2010, 493) similarly suggests that the real power already lay with Zogu. There was some popular dissatisfaction with Ypi’s government. In December 1922, in order to “forestall a crisis, Zogu replaced Ypi as prime minister” (Vickers 2001, 107).

“Zogu’s protégés organized themselves into the Government Party. Noli and other Western-oriented leaders formed the Opposition Party of Democrats, which attracted all of Zogu’s many personal enemies, ideological opponents, and people left unrewarded by his political machine. Ideologically, the Democrats included a broad sweep of people who advocated everything from conservative Islam to Noli’s dreams of rapid modernization. Opposition to Zogu was formidable. Orthodox peasants in Albania’s southern lowlands loathed Zogu because he supported the Muslim landowners’ efforts to block land reform; Shkodër’s citizens felt shortchanged because their city did not become Albania’s capital, and nationalists were dissatisfied because Zogu’s government did not press Albania’s claims to Kosovo or speak up more energetically for the rights of the ethnic Albanian minorities in present-day Yugoslavia and Greece” (<http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-157.html>).

In March 1924, Shefqet Bej Verlaci, party unknown, became PM in order to quell discontent with Zogu’s government after Zogu had been wounded by an assassination attempt. Tensions were rising throughout the country. In June 1922, “in a last-ditch effort to contain the revolt” (Vickers 2001, 111) Ilias Bej Vrioni, party unknown but thought to have sympathies with either the Independent Party (Pearson 2007, 162) or the Progressive Party (Vickers 2001, 101), was appointed PM. Two weeks later Bishop Theofan “Fan” Stilian Noli, party unknown, “presided over” the June Revolution (Vickers 2001, 111), a wave of anti-Zogu sentiment, to become prime minister. Noli’s support wavered once the goal of pushing Zogu out of office was accomplished. Moreover, Western powers favored Zogu and gave him monetary gifts (Vickers 2001, 115). The June Revolution was defeated when Zogu’s Yugoslva-backed army marched into Tirana in December (Library of Congress).

In December 1924 Vrioni once again became PM. Vrioni must have been put in place by Zogu, who had re-taken control of Albania. In January 1925 Zogu came back into power as PM, beginning a rule that would not end until 1939. This ended the warlordism and opened Zogu’s personalist regime. This is SOLS change.

“The parliament quickly adopted a new constitution, proclaimed Albania a republic, and granted Zogu dictatorial powers that allowed him to appoint and dismiss ministers, veto legislation, and name all major administrative personnel and a third of the Senate. On January 31, Zogu was elected president for a seven-year term (US Library of Congress).” Zogu essentially established a personalist dictatorship where he appointed northern chieftains to government posts, granted military titles (and the associated salary) to his supporters, and made his supporters pledge loyalty to him at least once a year. “The king's loyalists disarmed all of Albania's tribes except for his own Mati tribesmen and their allies, the Dibra” (US Library of Congress). Zogu unified the roles of chief of state and head of government and took control of the military. “The president was clearly interested in doing away with the role of the military in politics, primarily because the last time the military took an active role was in opposition to him” (Fisher 1984, 79). In 1928, he dissolved the parliament and crowned himself King, calling himself Zog I. His reign was recognized by a number of countries. Generally little changed between his dictatorship and his reign as King. We code his regime as personalist. His main support base was his Muslim tribe (the Mati tribe) (see ENCYCLOPEDIA 4U.com; Pearson 2004, 213; Jacques 1995, 383). Zog fled Albania when in 1939 Italy decided to annex Albania. This is not a SOLS change by our foreign occupation rules. Albania is coded as having lost independence until 1944. When Albania regained independence, it was under Communist control by Hoxha of the Albanian Workers’ Party (PPS) who ruled as First Secretary. Geddes codes Albania as a single-party regime starting in 1944. This is a SOLS change.

From 1945 to 1991, Albania is considered a non-democratic country ruled by a single party. Since 1991 Albania transitioned to democracy under a parliamentary regime. In 1996, Albania is briefly coded non-democratic. During the communist era in Albania, there were two rulers: Hoxha and Alia. The first leader governed the country between 1941 and 1985 as the secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party. During the 80s, Hoxha’s health was declining. For that reason, a transition was planned, and in November 1982, Ramiz Alia was named as chairman of the Presidium of the People’s Assembly (kind of head of state). Hoxha progressively dedicated more time to write his memoirs, and Alia assumed more responsibilities. Hoxha died in April 1985, and Alia was elected party first secretary by the Central Committee. So, this change is not a SOLS, because Alia is clearly the predestinated successor of Hoxha and he continues the single-party regime under the PPS.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the communist regime was in trouble. Economic decline led to public demonstrations demanding free and competitive elections in a multiparty system. Alia tried to appear strong, claiming the support of intellectuals, and attempting some minor reforms in the political system. However, the situation got worse for the communist regime after the Romanian collapse, and Alia needed to implement some major reforms regarding human rights, economic reforms, and some political changes, such as the liberation of political prisoners. Geddes codes the single-party system as ending 1990 but we code no SOLS change since Alia was still in power then.

In December 1991, Alia announced that parliamentary elections would be held in March 1992 (there was an election in 1991, but it was far from free, and its results were not taken into account) and called on his Ministry of Food, Vilson Ahmeti, to form a caretaker government under his supervision in order to restore law and order. There had been serious riots that caused massive destruction in the whole country. On the other side, the opposition blamed the Communist Party for the chaos.

In the 1992 elections, the Democratic Party won in 90 out of 100 electoral districts, accumulating 92 seats in the Congress (out of 140). On the other side, the Socialist Party received 32 seats, and the Social Democratic Party received 7 seats. Due to the outcome of the election, Alia presented his resignation to the Congress in April 1992. The Parliament accepted his resignation, and days later, it elected the opposition leader, Berisha, as new president for a five-year term. So, this change is clearly a SOLS change, and also it means a change from a non democratic period to a democratic era in Albania.

The next elections were held in May 1996 in which there were 24 political parties competing for seats in the parliament. However, the Democratic Party won in a landslide, receiving 122 out of 140 seats in the new Congress. Conversely, the Socialist Party gained just 10 seats, down from 32 seats in last Congress. However, the opposition had planned a boycott alleging several irregularities in that election. The Socialist Party joined several other minor parties and they stated that they would not accept the results, or recognize the new parliament. This statement was supported by some international organizations that claimed that this election was controversial. For that reason, we code that year as non-democratic.

The country was in serious trouble. For instance, in March it was clear that the government had lost its power and it could exercise just limited authority over its territory. Albanians started to migrate, and 15,000 Albanians arrived to Italy due to the turmoil in the country. The U.N. Security Council authorized the creation of a protection force. As a result, the 1997 elections appeared as Albania's chance to exit the chaos. That election marked the comeback of the Socialist Party. It received 101 out of 155 seats in the Congress, and the Democratic Party gained just 24 seats. In this context, Berisha claimed that elections were held under unsatisfactory conditions, but he would respect the results. So, in July, he resigned, and socialist leader "Fatos Nano became Prime Minister, while Rexhep Meidani...replaced Berisha as president. The Socialists emphasized that the real power would be concentrated in the hands of the prime minister and that the post of president would be symbolic." (Biberaj 1999, p. 339). Thus, starting in 1997, Archigos codes the PM as leader. The leadership change is a SOLS change because Fatos Nano belonged to an opposition party.

During 1998, a new Albanian constitution was drafted with the goal of reconstructing the fragile democracy in the country, threatened by the chaos of a possible civil war. However, by September an opposition leader was assassinated, and it sparked armed rioting in Tirana, and it forced the resignation of the Prime Minister Fatos Nano. He was replaced by Pandely Majko who was perceived with no political past, even though he formally belonged to the same party as Nano. This is not a SOLS change.

Also, Majko was replaced in 1999 by Ilir Meta who belonged to the same party. Meta was Prime Minister from October 1999 to February 2002 when he resigned due to his failure to reorganize the government. The president then appointed former PM Pandeli Majko to form a new cabinet where portfolios were divided between supporters of Nano and Meta (leaders of the two factions of the PSS). Meanwhile, the term of the president, Mejdani, ended. When he left office, he was replaced by Alfred Moisiu, a retired general. Majko did not have the support of the new president, and he had to resign. Consequently, the new president Moisiu appointed Nano as PM again. Majko and Meta did not leave politics. Indeed, they were relocated to ministries. Even though Majko, Meta, and Nano all belonged to different factions, they also belonged formally to the same party. So, these changes are not SOLS changes.

In July 2005 new parliamentary elections were held. "Although the opposition PD won a clear victory, the ruling PS contested the results in many constituencies, delaying the formation

of the new Berisha government until September” (Paddington et. al. 2008, 25). Because Berisha belongs to the opposition party of the former government, this is a SOLS change.

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