

# ALBANIA

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## *1.1 Historical Overview*

The fact that Albania does not have a long democratic tradition is key to the developments in the post-socialist transformation period. Although indirect elections were held before World War II, these neither met modern democratic standards nor were they fought within a competitive party system. The totalitarian single-party system in the period of communist rule did not tolerate any form of political competition. The post-socialist transformation phase was accompanied by a multitude of political, social, and economic difficulties that left their mark on the quality of democracy.

During the Balkan Wars in 1912/13, the Albanian independence movement succeeded in freeing the country from Ottoman rule and founding the Albanian state. The Statute of 10 August 1914 is considered the first Albanian constitution. It defined Albania as a sovereign, constitutional, and hereditary principality. The national assembly, which had both a controlling and legislative function, was first constituted in 1914. In the course of World War I, Albania was occupied by Italian troops and a new, Italian-dependent government was installed.

The Albanian independence movement called a new national assembly in Lushnje in 1920. The 56 deputies demanded sovereignty in a declaration to the Paris Peace Conference; and in a statute passed on 9 February 1920, they described a political system in which the government was accountable to a parliament. It did not, however, come to an agreement on the state form. A second, parallel government was installed in Tirana. In the end, Italy was forced to recognize Albanian independence and the new government.

The first indirect elections were held in 1921. A variety of unstable fractions emerged in parliament, which led to numerous government crises and changes. In 1922, Prime Minister Achmed Zogu managed to form a strong government coalition that in time became increasingly authoritarian. The last of Zogu's opponents left parliament in 1924, and a new constitution, which legitimized his dictatorial regime, was passed

on 7 March 1925. The national assembly elected Zogu to King Zog I on 1 September 1928 and shortly thereafter passed a new monarchist constitution. Although elections took place in the following years and parliament met, this body had de facto no political meaning. A new fascist constitution was passed on 3 June 1943, renaming parliament the Fascist Corporative Council but leaving power in the hands of the king. Albania had been reoccupied by Italian troops in the course of 1939 and subsumed under the Italian crown. After the Italian capitulation in September 1943, Albania was occupied by German troops.

As opposed to other countries in Eastern and South Eastern Europe, the communist rise to power in Albania did not result from Soviet occupation, but was due to a domestic communist movement, initially supported by the Yugoslavian Communists. Three years after the foundation of the Albanian Communist Party, a provisional government was formed on 22 October 1944 under the leadership of party secretary Enver Hoxha, who directed the fate of Albania for four decades until his death in 1984. The party was renamed the Albanian Party of Labor (*Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë*; PPSH) in 1948. A totalitarian one-party state developed, in which the unitary list of the Democratic Front of Albania—the umbrella organization encompassing the mass organizations—was the overwhelmingly dominant force in the political landscape. During elections only one single candidate was put up in a constituency, although competition between candidates from the party and the state mass organizations was theoretically possible. Even the possibility to add or remove candidates from the list, which was stipulated by law, did not exist in reality. Elections were largely manipulated, serving first and foremost as an instrument of mass mobilization and political control. The infrequency of parliamentary sessions and the limited competencies invested in the parliament are evidence of the powerlessness of the institution. The population of this small agrarian country was systematically terrorized and lived on an economically low level until the end of the regime. The extended crisis was exacerbated by political and economic isolation.

The leading state party and its elite began to lose power in the last decade of the 20th century. The democratic transformation began in 1990 with student demonstrations that quickly led to protests throughout the country. The political leadership under Ramiz Alia, Hoxha's successor, was placed under a great deal of pressure through these mass demonstrations and violence. The Democratic Party (*Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë*; PDSH) was founded in December 1990 and soon thereafter the establishment of competing parties was legalized. The la-

tent danger of a civil war could only be avoided through extensive concessions and a reduction in the power of the Albanian Party of Labor.

In 1991, the PPSH won an unexpected two-thirds majority in the first semi-competitive election (see below 1.2). Before and after these elections, the PPSH tried to achieve a social consensus and the legitimization of its dominant rule by co-operating with different parties and other new and old organizations. The founding elections also led to a clear division within the party system: the Albanian Party of Labor with its allies on one side and the Democratic Party on the other. This division and polarization of the political landscape has shaped Albania to the present day.

After these elections the oppositional Democratic Party continued organizing protests and mass demonstrations. In the context of a general strike and a severe crisis within the governmental coalition, early elections took place in 1992. This was the first transfer of power in Albania's history to be legitimized by an election. In the period between 1992 and 1997, advances in the process of democratization lagged well behind expectations. Under the influence of the radically anti-communist president Sali Berisha, the system developed new authoritarian tendencies. These reached their pinnacle in the new and restrictive regulations for candidate nomination, which were internationally criticized, a blatant election fraud in 1996 in favor of the PDSH, and the complete failure of the system and a civil war in the course of the collapse of the "pyramid games" in 1997, which caused many Albanians to lose their investments. A multi-national force under Italian leadership (Operation Alba) was crucial in re-establishing order. New parliamentary elections, organized to a large extent by international organizations and advisors, were held in June 1997 on the basis of a new electoral law, upon which the rival parties could only agree after difficult negotiations mediated by the international community. The pre-election period was affected by violent conflicts. The PPSH, which had been renamed Socialist Party of Albania (*Partia Socialiste e Shqipërisë*; PSSH) in 1991, won an absolute majority and formed a broad-coalition government. President Berisha finally resigned at this point. Since then the political situation has been relatively stable. The Socialist government led Albania back to normality, pushed economic and political reforms forward and re-intensified international relations. Until then the old communist constitution with several amendments was still in force. Finally, with international support, a new constitution was drawn up which included important judicial and administrative reforms. It was adopted in a referendum in November 1998. After a powerful start with important

reforms, however, the socialist government became more and more involved in internal struggles and scandals. However, the PSSH won the elections of 2001 again with a very narrow majority. When Fatos Nano assumed office as Prime Minister, the old conflict between the PSSH and PDSH opened up again. At the same time a stagnation of the reform process was observed.

Following the elections of 2005, the PDSH recaptured power under the leadership of Sali Berisha, but held no parliamentary majority. Again the elections featured several irregularities. In three constituencies, elections had to be repeated. The final results could only be published months after the voting. These elections demonstrate once again that Albania lacks a democratic tradition and that present politics are burdened by its autocratic heritage. This is decisive for both the quality of democracy in general and the quality of elections in particular.

### *1.2 Evolution of Electoral Provisions*

No democratic elections were held in Albania before World War II. The first national assembly of 1914 included representatives of the religious communities, members named by various princes, and elected deputies. The latter were elected indirectly via their respective community councils. First elections after Italian occupation took place in 1921. In an indirect election process, one elector was chosen for every 500 eligible voters; these electors in turn elected 78 deputies. After 1925, the number of deputies was increased to 95.

During the royal dictatorship of King Zog I (1928–1939), one elector was chosen in the electoral districts for every 250 male citizens by relative majority. The electors elected, on the level of the prefecture, 57 deputies (one deputy per 15,000 citizens), again by relative majority.

Suffrage was granted to all Albanian citizens of at least 18 years of age in 1945. This included, as in many other communist countries, the introduction of both active and passive suffrage for women. The first elections under these provisions, however, were fought alone by the unitary lists of the Democratic Front of Albania. The electorate therefore only had the chance to confirm or reject the unitary lists, or to withhold the vote. Due to widespread illiteracy, votes were cast using beads, which the voter dropped into the respective urn.

The electoral law of 1966 stipulated that 250 deputies would be elected by absolute majority in SMCs for a term of four years. The pop-

ulation of the districts ranged from 4,077 to 13,416, which contradicted the then valid constitution that explicitly called for electoral districts of 8,000 residents. In theory, both the party and state mass organizations were allowed to nominate candidates; in reality only a single candidate was nominated in each constituency.

The election law stipulated that the vote was to be secret, but the population was put under a great deal of pressure both to take part in the election and to express their support of the regime by casting their vote publicly. The option to scratch candidates from the list or to add others, as foreseen in the law, did not exist in practice. Elected members of the political mass organizations counted the ballots. As can be expected, the manipulated results document an unambiguous acclamation of the system—nearly all eligible voters took part in the elections and almost all voted for the unitary lists.

During the transformation in 1990 and the gradual loss of power of the former state party, a new electoral law was passed (No. 7423) that permitted alternative candidates for all constituencies. Nonetheless, candidates from these different parties and organizations were still to run on the unitary lists of the Democratic Front. According to the same law, voters were to have access to voting booths and voting was no longer compulsory. The remainder of the system was the same, i.e. 250 deputies in SMCs were elected by absolute majority.

A new electoral law (No. 7556) was passed on 2 February 1992. The number of deputies was reduced to 140. Out of these seats, 100 were decided by absolute majority in SMCs, the remaining 40 seats by compensatory PR.

400 signatures were required for nominating a candidate. Only those parties with candidates in at least 33 districts were permitted to generate national lists. The voters had only one vote, which was counted both for the candidate in their district and for the party on the national level. Lists were closed and blocked, and a threshold of 4% was applied. This new law also included detailed regulations for the publication of the election results by the electoral commission.

The electoral law of 1996 drastically limited the right to stand as candidate. Only Albanian citizens over the age of 18, who had been resident permanently in the country for at least six months, could be elected deputy. Additionally, all persons convicted of crimes during the communist regime were excluded from taking part in the election, and a questionable background check for all candidates was initiated. The boundaries of the constituencies were changed, too. The number of deputies remained stable at 140 but the proportion of direct mandates and compensatory

seats was adjusted to 115:25. While the threshold of 4% from 1992 was maintained, an additional, higher threshold for party coalitions was added. Finally, the voters were given a second vote, the first for the local candidate (absolute majority) and the second for the party (PR). The compensatory nature of the proportional vote was thus lost.

The electoral system was changed again before the following elections (No. 8212). The politically motivated restrictions on suffrage were eliminated, the two-vote system was maintained, and the number of seats in parliament was raised to 155. The electorate voted in 115 SMCs by absolute majority and the remaining 40 seats were distributed proportionately on the national level (threshold: 2%).

Basic elements of the electoral system, the number of seats according to the two parts of the electoral system, as well as the legal threshold were finally outlined in the Constitution of 1998, which also stipulates that the distribution of seats shall correspond to the distribution of votes. This has been done to avoid the continuous adjustment of the electoral law with each election. The new electoral law (No. 8609) was passed on 8 May 2000 and was applied for the first time in 2001. On 19 June 2003, however, a new Electoral Code was adopted (cf. 1.3).

### *1.3 Current Electoral Provisions*

*Sources:* Constitution of the Republic of Albania of 1998; Law on Political Parties of 2003; Electoral Code of 2003.

*Suffrage:* The principles of universal, secret, and direct suffrage are applied. All Albanian citizens over 18 years of age are eligible to vote. Citizens who have been declared mentally incompetent by a final court decision do not have the right to vote. Convicts serving a prison sentence have the right to vote but not to run for office.

*Elected national institutions:* Unicameral parliament (*Kuvendi i Republikës së Shqipërisë*) with 140 members and a term of four years. The president is elected by the parliament with a two-thirds majority for a term of five years; one re-election is possible.

*Nomination of candidates:* A list of supporting signatures is necessary for nominating a candidate (majority vote); the number of signatures depends on the number of registered voters in the respective constituency. For constituencies with less than 5,000 voters, 50 signatures need to

be obtained; for districts with between 5,000 and 30,000 voters, 100 signatures are necessary; for larger districts, 300. The nomination must occur at least 22 days before the election. The party lists must contain at least 20 names. The Central Election Commission has the final decision on whether a candidate will be permitted to stand for election.

*Electoral system:* Compensatory system. 140 deputies are elected, 100 by plurality in SMCs and 40 mandates are distributed proportionately in a nationwide MMC. A candidate who wins the relative majority of valid votes in an SMC is considered elected. The Hare quota with the largest remainder is used to allocate the 40 compensatory seats among parties or coalitions that surpass the respective threshold, e.g. 2.5% for parties and 4% for coalitions. If the remainders for the last seat are equal, lots are drawn.

*Legal provisions for referendums:* A constitutional referendum may only be initialized by the assembly. Two-thirds of the members of the assembly may decide to hold a referendum on proposed constitutional amendments. If proposed amendments are already approved by at least two-thirds of the members of the assembly, one-fifth of the representatives may initiate a referendum on the respective amendments. An amendment is rejected by referendum if at least 50% of the registered voters do not approve of them.

A total of 50,000 signatures is required to initiate a general referendum to repeal a law or on matters of special importance. The alternative gaining the majority of the votes, but not less than one-third of the total registered voters, is considered the winner. However, referendums may not be held on issues of the territorial integrity of Albania, the limitation of human rights and freedoms, financial topics concerning budget, taxes and the state, the state of emergency, the declaration of war and peace and amnesty. A referendum on the same issue may not be repeated within three years.

*Organizational context of elections:* The Central Election Commission is a permanent organ that prepares, supervises, manages, and verifies all aspects of the elections (including the voter lists). The results of the elections must be made public at least two days after they have been held.

All Albanian citizens who have completed a degree at a institution of higher education, do not belong to the executive of a political party, and do not have a criminal record, can be nominated for the Central Election

Commission. Two members are named by the president, three by the high Council of Justice, and two by parliament. The members of the Central Election Commission must relinquish all state and party offices upon their nomination.

#### *1.4 Commentary on the Electoral Statistics*

No complete results are available for the elections held before World War II. The election results for the communist period have all been published by the respective state institutions; the accuracy of these figures is nonetheless questionable.

Elections in the post-socialist period were repeatedly marred by manipulations and serious administrative deficits. International election observers repeatedly criticized both the organization and execution of elections. The 1996 election results have never been fully published by the Central Election Commission, but with the exception of this one lapse, the quality of the since 1991 has been increasing continuously since 1991. Information on the results of the referendums has been taken from the Research and Documentation Centre on Direct Democracy of the University of Geneva.



## 2. Tables

### 2.1 Dates of National Elections, Referendums, and Coups d'Etat

Year	Presidential elections	Parliamentary elections	Elections for Constit. Assembly	Referendums	Coups d'état
1945		02/12			
1950		28/05			
1954		30/05			
1958		01/06			
1962		03/06			
1966		10/07			
1970		20/09			
1974		06/10			
1978		12/11			
1982		14/11			
1987		01/02			
1991			31/03 (1st) 07/04 (2nd)		
1992		22/03 (1st) 29/03 (2nd)			
1994				07/11	
1996		26/05 (1st) 02/06 (2nd)			
1997		29/06 (1st) 06/07 (2nd)			
1997				29/06	
1998				22/11	
2001		24/06			
2005		03/07			

## 2.2 Electoral Body 1945–2005

Year	Type of election <sup>a</sup>	Population <sup>b</sup>	Registered voters		Votes cast		
			Total number	% pop.	Total number	% reg. voters	% pop.
1945	NA	1,122,044	603,566	53.8	542,400	89.9	48.3
1950	NA	1,218,943	641,241	52.6	637,578	99.4	52.3
1954	NA	1,340,000	702,476	52.4	701,942	99.9	52.4
1958	NA	1,507,000	788,250	52.3	788,123	100.0	52.3
1962	NA	—	889,875	—	889,868	100.0	—
1966	NA	1,914,000	978,161	51.1	978,157	100.0	51.1
1970	NA	2,136,000	1,097,123	51.4	1,097,123	100.0	51.4
1974	NA	—	1,248,530	—	1,248,530	100.0	—
1978	NA	—	1,436,289	—	1,436,288	100.0	—
1982	NA	—	1,627,968	—	1,627,968	100.0	—
1987	NA	—	1,830,653	—	1,830,653	100.0	—
1991	CA	3,260,000	1,977,516	60.7	1,949,816	98.6	59.8
1992	NA	3,190,000	2,021,169	63.4	—	—	—
1994	Ref	3,202,000	—	—	—	—	—
1996	NA	3,283,000	2,204,002	67.1	1,963,344	89.1	59.8
1997	NA	3,324,000	1,947,235	58.6	1,412,929	72.6	42.5
1997	Ref	3,324,000	1,947,235	58.6	—	—	—
1998	Ref	3,354,000	—	—	—	—	—
2001	NA	3,069,275	2,499,238	81.4	1,339,987	53.6	43.7
2005	NA	3,135,000	2,850,821	90.9	1,367,347	48.0	43.6

<sup>a</sup> CA = Constitutional Assembly, NA = National Assembly, Ref = Referendum.

<sup>b</sup> Censuses were held in 1945 and 1950 (furthermore in 1969, 1979, 1989 and 2001). The other figures are official estimates.

## 2.3 Abbreviations

AD	<i>Aleanca Demokratike</i> (Democratic Alliance)
AMS	<i>Partia Aleanca për Mirëqenie dhe Solidaritet</i> (Alliance for Welfare and Solidarity Party)
BDSH	<i>Partia Bashkimi Demokrat Shqiptar</i> (Albanian Democratic Union Party)
BLD	<i>Bashkimi Liberal Demokrat</i> (Liberal Democratic Union)
FDSH	<i>Fronti Demokratik I Shqipërisë</i> (Democratic Front of Albania)
KKVLAPSH	<i>Komiteti Kombëtar i Veteranëve të Luftës Antifashiste të Popullit Shqiptar</i> (National Veteran's Committee).
LBSH	<i>Lidhja e Blertë Shqiptare</i> (Albanian Green League)
LDLNJ	<i>Partia Lëvizja për të Drejtat dhe Liritë e Njeriut</i> (Freedom and Human Rights' Movements)

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LSI	<i>Lëvizja Socialiste për Integrim</i> (Socialist Movement for Integration)
LZHK	<i>Lëvizja për Zhvillim Kombëtar – Leka I Zogu</i> (National Movement – King Zogu I)
Omania	<i>Omania: Bashkimi Demokratik i Minoritet Grek</i> (Democratic Union of the Greek Minority)
PAA	<i>Partia Agrare Ambientaliste</i> (Agrarian Environmentalist Party)
PADSH	<i>Partia Aleanca Demokratike</i> (Party of the Democratic Alliance)
PASH	<i>Partia Agrare Shiptare</i> (Albanian Agrarian Party)
PASSH	<i>Partia Aleanca Socialiste Shqiptare</i> (Albanian Socialist Alliance Party)
PBD	<i>Partia Bashimi Demokrat</i> (Democratic Union Party)
PBDK	<i>Partia Balli Kombëtar Demokrat</i> (Democratic National Front Party)
PBDNJ	<i>Partia Bashkimi për të Drejtave të Njeriut</i> (Party of the Union for Human Rights)
PBK	<i>Partia Balli Kombëtar</i> (Party of the National Front)
PBL	<i>Partia Bashkimi Liberal</i> (Liberal Union Party)
PD	<i>Partia Demokrate</i> (Democratic Party)
PDDRDSH	<i>Partia Demokratike Demokracia e Re e Djathtë Shqiptare</i> (Albanian Democratic Party for a New Right Democracy)
PDI	<i>Partia për Drejtësi Integrim</i> (Party of Justice and Integration)
PDKSH	<i>Partia Demokristiane e Shiptare</i> (Albanian Christian Democratic Party)
PDR	<i>Partia Demokrate e Re</i> (New Democratic Party)
PDSH	<i>Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë</i> (Democratic Party of Albania)
PDSSH	<i>Partia Demokracia Sociale e Shqiperisë</i> (Social Democratic Party of Albania)
PKSH	<i>Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë</i> (Communist Party of Albania)
PLL	<i>Partia Lëvizja e Legalitetit</i> (Legalist Movement)
PLMDSH	<i>Partia Lëvizja Monarkiste Demokrate Shqiptare</i> (Albanian Democratic Monarchist Movement Party)
PPSH	<i>Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë</i> (Albanian Party of Labor)
PRSH	<i>Partia Republikane Shqiptare</i> (Albanian Republican Party)
PSDSH	<i>Partia Socialdemokrate e Shqipërisë</i> (Socialdemocratic Party of Albania)
PSHS+PUK	<i>Partitë e Spektrit Social + Partia e Unitetit Kombëtar</i> (Parties of the Social Spectrum + National Unity Party)
PSHSK	<i>Partia e Sigurisë Kombëtare Shqiptare</i> (Albanian National Security Party)
PSKSH	<i>Partia Socialkristiane e Shqipërisë</i> (Social Christian Party of Albania)
PSSH	<i>Partia Socialiste e Shqipërisë</i> (Socialist Party of Albania)
PUKSH	<i>Partia e Unitetit Kombëtar Shqiptar</i> (Party of the Albanian National Unity)

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*2.4 Electoral Participation of Parties and Alliances 1945–2005*

Party / Alliance	Years	Elections contested <sup>a</sup>
FDSH	1945–1987	11
KKVLAPSH	1991	1
Omania	1991	1
PPSH	1991; 2005	2
PDSH	1991–2005	6
PBDNJ	1992–2005	5
PRSH	1992–1997; 2005	4
PSDSH	1992; 1997–2005	4
PSSH	1992–2005	5
PBK	1996–2005	4
PADSH	1997–2005	3
PASH	1997–2001	2
PDKSH	1997–2005	3
PUKSH	1997	1
PBD	2001	1
PBL	2001–2005	1
PD	2001	1
PLL	2001	1
PSKSH	2001	1
AMS	2005	1
BDSH	2005	1
BLD	2005	1
LBSH	2005	1
LDLNJ	2005	1
LSI	2005	1
LZHK	2005	1
PAA	2005	1
PASSH	2005	1
PBDK	2005	1
PDDRDSH	2005	1
PDI	2005	1
PDR	2005	1
PDSSH	2005	1
PKSH	2005	1
PLMDSH	2005	1
PSHS+PUK	2005	1
PSHSK	2005	1

<sup>a</sup> Elections to the parliament and the constitutional assembly are listed. Total number: 16.

## 2.5 Referendums

Year	1994 <sup>a</sup>		1997 <sup>b</sup>	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,800,000	—	1,947,235	—
Votes cast	—	84.4	—	—
Invalid votes	—	—	—	—
Valid votes	—	—	1,354,837	—
Yes	—	41.7	450,478	33.3
No	—	—	904,359	66.7

<sup>a</sup> Referendum on the Draft Constitution of 6 October 1994.

<sup>b</sup> Referendum on the restoration of monarchy.

Year	1998 <sup>a</sup>	
	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,914,859	—
Votes cast	968,346 <sup>b</sup>	50.6
Invalid votes	27,000	—
Valid votes	941,000 <sup>b</sup>	—
Yes	879,488	93.5
No	61,000	6.5

<sup>a</sup> Referendum on the new Constitution of Albania.

<sup>b</sup> Aggregate data are inconsistent: Valid and invalid votes total 968,000; 'Yes' and 'No' votes total 940,488. The tabulation procedure did not allow for a proper scrutiny of the count. Each election commission based its protocol on the level below, and mistakes made at polling station level were sometimes not corrected on higher levels.

## 2.6 Elections for Constitutional Assembly

1991	Total number	%	Seats	%
Registered voters	1,977,516	—		
Votes cast	1,949,816	98.6		
Invalid votes	88,484	4.5		
Valid votes	1,861,332 <sup>a</sup>	95.5		
			250	100.0
PPSH	1,046,120	56.2	169	67.6
PDSH	720,948	38.7	75	30.0
Omania	13,538	0.7	5	2.0
KKVLAPSH	5,241	0.3	1	0.4

<sup>a</sup> Official data are inconsistent: Party votes total 1,785,847.

## 2.7 Parliamentary Elections 1945–2005

Year	1945		1950	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	603,566	–	641,241	–
Votes cast	542,400	89.9	637,578	99.4
Invalid votes	0	0.0	0	0.0
Valid votes	542,400 <sup>a</sup>	100.0	637,578 <sup>a</sup>	100.0
FDSH	505,304	93.7	626,005	98.2

<sup>a</sup> The difference between the valid votes and the figure for the votes of the FDSH could not be explained by the official statistical data.

Year	1954		1958	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	702,476	–	788,250	–
Votes cast	701,942	99.9	788,123	100.0
Invalid votes	0	0.0	0	0.0
Valid votes	701,942 <sup>a</sup>	100.0	788,123 <sup>a</sup>	100.0
FDSH	700,983	99.9	778,812	98.82

<sup>a</sup> The difference between the valid votes and the figure for the votes of the FDSH could not be explained by the official statistical data.

Year	1962		1966	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	889,875	–	978,161	–
Votes cast	889,868	100.0	978,157	100.0
Invalid votes	0	0.0	0	0.0
Valid votes	889,868 <sup>a</sup>	100.0	978,157 <sup>a</sup>	100.0
FDSH	889,828	100.0	978,114	100.0

<sup>a</sup> The difference between the valid votes and the figure for the votes of the FDSH could not be explained by the official statistical data.

Year	1970		1974	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,097,123	–	1,248,530	–
Votes cast	1,097,123	100.0	1,248,530	100.0
Invalid votes	1	0.0	2	0.0
Valid votes	1,097,122	100.0	1,248,528	100.0
FDSH	1,097,122	100.0	1,248,528	100.0

Year	1978		1982	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,436,289	—	1,627,968	—
Votes cast	1,436,288	100.0	1,627,968	100.0
Invalid votes	0	0.0	0	0.0
Valid votes	1,436,288 <sup>a</sup>	100.0	1,627,968 <sup>a</sup>	100.0
FDSH	1,436,285	100.0	1,627,959	100.0

<sup>a</sup> The difference between the valid votes and the figure for the votes of the FDSH could not be explained by the official statistical data.

Year	1987	
	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,830,653	—
Votes cast	1,830,653	100.0
Invalid votes	1	0.0
Valid votes	1,830,652	100.0
FDSH	1,830,652	100.0

Year	1992		1996	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	2,021,169	—	2,204,002	—
Votes cast	—	—	1,963,344	89.1
Invalid votes	—	—	316,863	16.1
Valid votes	1,826,142	—	1,646,481	83.9
PDSH	1,046,193	57.3	914,218	55.5
PSSH	433,602	23.7	335,402	20.4
PSDSH	73,820	4.0	—	—
PRSH	52,477	2.9	94,567	5.7
PBDNJ	48,923	2.7	66,529	4.0
PBK	—	—	81,822	5.0
Others	161,127 <sup>a</sup>	8.8	153,943 <sup>a</sup>	9.3

<sup>a</sup> Official data give no proof of the votes for smaller parties. The discrepancy in the figures is likely to be the consequence of this. Presumably missing votes belong into the category 'Others'.

Year	1997		2001	
	Total number	%	Total number	%
Registered voters	1,947,235 <sup>a</sup>	—	2,499,238 <sup>a</sup>	—
Votes cast	1,412,929	72.6	1,339,987	53.6
Invalid votes	104,906	7.4	49,310	3.7
Valid votes	1,308,023	92.6	1,290,677 <sup>b</sup>	96.3
PSSH	413,369	31.6	555,272	41.4
PDSH	315,677	24.1	13,867	1.0
PSSH/PSDSH	245,181	18.7	—	—
PBDNJ	41,157	3.2	34,897	2.6
PADSH	36,380	2.8	34,262	2.6
PSSH/PASH	10,875	0.8	—	—
PSSH/PUKSH	9,106	0.7	—	—
PDSH/PDKSH	4,608	0.4	—	—
PD/PLL/PBK/PBL	—	—	494,272	36.9
PD	—	—	68,181	5.1
PSDSH	—	—	48,911	3.7
PASH	—	—	34,247	2.6
PDKSH	—	—	12,226	0.9
PSKSH	—	—	9,224	0.7
PBD	—	—	8,123	0.6
Others	231,670 <sup>c</sup>	17.7	—	—

<sup>a</sup> Aggregated results of the majority vote.

<sup>b</sup> Official data are inconsistent: Party votes total 1,313,482.

<sup>c</sup> Official data give no proof of the votes for smaller parties. The discrepancy in the figures is likely to be the consequence of this. Presumably missing votes belong into the category 'Others'.



Year	2005	
	Total number	%
Registered voters	2,850,821	–
Votes cast	1,367,347 <sup>a</sup>	48.0
Invalid votes	21,973 <sup>a</sup>	1.6
Valid votes	1,366,226	98.4
PRSH	272,746	20.0
PSDSH	174,103	12.7
PSSH	121,412	8.9
LSI	114,798	8.4
PDSH	104,796	7.7
PDR	101,373	7.4
PAA	89,635	6.6
PADSH	65,093	4.8
PDSSH	57,998	4.2
PBDNJ	56,403	4.1
LZHK	47,967	3.5
PKSH	44,576	3.3
PBK	22,896	1.7
PDI	16,012	1.2
BLD	14,418	1.1
PPSH	9,292	0.7
LDLNJ	9,027	0.7
PKSH	8,937	0.7
PBDK	7,632	0.6
BDSH	7,371	0.5
PASSH	6,604	0.5
Others <sup>b</sup>	13,137	1.0

<sup>a</sup> Official data are inconsistent: Valid and invalid votes total 1,388,199. The error is likely to have occurred with the figure for the invalid votes or the total votes cast, as valid votes equal the total party votes.

<sup>b</sup> Others include: AMS: 5,029 votes (0.4%); PSHS+PUK: 3,260 (0.2%); PDDRDSH: 1,794 (0.1%); LBSH: 1,710 (0.1%); PLMDSH: 774 (0.1%); PSHSK: 570 (0.1%).

## 2.8 Composition of Parliament 1945–2005

Year	1945		1950		1954		1958	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
	82	100.0	121	100.0	134	100.0	188	100.0
FDSH	82	100.0	121	100.0	134	100.0	188	100.0

Year	1962		1966		1970		1974	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
	214	100	240	100	264	100	250	100
FDSH	214	100	240	100	264	100	250	100

Year	1978		1982		1987	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
	250	100.0	250	100.0	250	100.0
FDSH	250	100.0	250	100.0	250	100.0

Year	1992		1996		1997		2001	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
	140	100.0	140	100.0	155	100.0	140	100.0
PDSH	92	65.7	122	87.1	24	15.5	46	32.9
PSSH	38	27.1	10	7.1	101	65.2	73	52.1
PSDSH	7	5.0	–	–	9	5.8	4	2.9
PBDNJ	2	1.4	3	2.1	4	2.6	3	2.1
PRSH	1	0.7	3	2.1	1	0.6	–	–
PBK	–	–	2	1.4	1	0.6	0	0.0
PDKSH	–	–	–	–	2	1.3	0	0.0
PD	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	4.3
PASH	–	–	–	–	0	0.0	3	2.1
PAD	–	–	–	–	0	0.0	3	2.1
Independent	–	–	–	–	13	8.4	2	1.4

Year	2005	
	Seats	%
	140	100.0
PDSH	56	40.0
PSSH	42	30.0
PRSH	11	7.9
PSDSH	7	5.0
LSI	5	3.6
PDR	4	2.9
PAA	4	2.9
PADSH	3	2.1
PBDNJ	2	1.4
PDK	2	1.4
PDSSH	2	1.4
BLD	1	0.7
Independent	1	0.7

## 2.9 Presidential Elections

Direct presidential elections have not been held.

## 2.10 List of Power Holders 1912–2009

Head of State	Years	Remarks
Ismail Qemali Bej	1912–1914	29/11/1912–22/01/1914; chairmen of the provisional government.
Esat Pashë Toptani	1913–1914	12/10/1913–12/02/1914; chairman of the oppositional Council of Elders of Central Albania.
Fevzi Bej	1914	22/01/1914–07/03/1914; chairmen of the central government.
Wilhelm zu Wied	1914	07/03/1914–03/09/1914; Sovereign Prince.
Qamil Musa Haxhi	1914	03/09/1914–09/1914; chairman of the Administrative Commission.
Feza		
Mustafa Bej Ndroqi	1914	09/1914–05/10/1914; chairman of the General Council.
Esat Pashë Toptani	1914–1916	05/10/1914–24/02/1916; chairmen of the provisional government.
Turhan Pashë Permeti	1918–1920	28/12/1918–28/01/1920; chairmen of the provisional government.
Sulejman Bej Delvina	1920	28/01/1920–30/01/1920.

Head of State (continued)	Years	Remarks
High Council	1920–1921	30/01/1920–25/12/1921; integrated by: Aqif Pashë Biçaku, Luigj Bumçi, Abdi Bej Toptani Mihal Turtulli.
High Council	1921–1925	25/12/1921–31/01/1925; integrated by: Omer Pashë Vrioni, Ndoc Pistulli, Sotir Peci, Refik Bej Toptani, Xhafer, Gjon Çoba.
Fan Noli	1924	02/07/1924–24/12/1924.
Amet Zogu	1925–1928	31/01/1925–01/09/1928.
Zog I	1928–1939	01/09/1928–08/04/1939; King.
Xhafer Ypi	1939	09/04/1939–12/04/1939.
Shefqet Bej Vërlaci	1939	12/04/1939–16/04/1939.
Vittorio Emanuele III	1939–1943	16/04/1939–03/09/1943; Italian King.
Ibrahim Bej Biçaku	1943	14/09/1943–20/10/1943; chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee.
Mehdi Bej Frashëri	1943–1944	20/10/1943–25/10/1944.
Omer Nishani	1944–1953	26/05/1944–01/08/1953; Chairman of the Presidium of Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation.
Haxhi Lleshi	1953–1982	01/08/1953–22/11/1982; Chairmen of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.
Ramiz Alia	1982–1991	22/11/1982–30/04/1991 Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, first secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor 1985–1991.
Ramiz Alia	1991–1992	30/04/1991–03/04/1992 first President of Albania.
Kastriot Islami	1992	03/04/1992–06/04/1992.
Pjetër Arbnori	1992	06/04/1992–09/04/1992.
Sali Berisha	1992–1997	09/04/1992–24/07/1997; President of the PDSH, Prime Minister since 2005.
Skënder Gjinushi	1997	24/07/1997 ; University Professor of Medicine, Minister for Education 1987–1991, MP since 1992, President of the PSDSH, Speaker of the Parliament 1997–2001.
Rexhep Meidani	1997–2002	24/07/1997–24/07/2002; University Professor of Physics, MP since 1996, General Secretary of the PSSH 1996–1997.
Alfred Moisiu	2002–2007	24/07/2002–24/07/2007; Vice Minister of Defense (1981/82 and 1994–1997) and Minister of Defense (1991/92).
Bamir Myrteza Topi	2007–	Since 24/07/2007; Minister for Agriculture (1996/97).

Head of Government	Years	Remarks
Sulejman Bej Delvina	1920	27/03/1920–14/11/1920.
Ilias Bej Vrioni	1920–1921	10/12/1920–19/10/1921.
Pandeli Evangjeli	1921	19/10/1921–06/12/1921.
Hasan Bej Pristina	1921	07/12/1921–12/12/1921.
Idhomene Kosturi	1921	12/12/1921–30/12/1921.
Xhafer Ypi	1921–1922	30/12/1921–04/12/1922.
Amet Zogu	1922–1924	04/12/1922–05/03/1924.
Shefqet Bej Vërlaci	1924	05/03/1924–02/06/1924.
Ilias Bej Vrioni	1924	02/06/1924–16/06/1924.
Fan Noli	1924	16/06/1924–26/12/1924.
Ilias Bej Vrioni	1924–1925	26/12/1924–06/01/1925.
Amet Zogu	1925	06/01/1925–30/01/1925.
Koço Kota	1928–1930	10/09/1928–05/03/1930.
Pandeli Evangjeli	1930–1935	05/03/1930–22/10/1935.
Mehdi Bej Frashëri	1935–1936	22/10/1935–09/11/1936.
Koço Kota	1936–1939	09/11/1936–08/04/1939.
Shefqet Bej Vërlaci	1939–1941	12/04/1939–04/12/1941.
Mustafa Merlika-Kruja	1941–1943	04/12/1941–19/01/1943.
Eqrem Bej Libohova	1943	19/01/1943–13/02/1943.
Maliq Bushati	1943	13/02/1943–12/05/1943.
Eqrem Bej Libohova	1943	12/05/1943–09/09/1943.
Ibrahim Bej Biçaku	1943	25/09/1943–24/10/1943.
Mehdi Bej Frashëri	1943	24/10/1943–03/11/1943.
Rexhep Mitrovica	1943–1944	04/11/1943–18/07/1944.
Fiqri Dine	1944	18/07/1944–26/10/1944.
Enver Hoxha	1946–1954	01/01/1946–20/07/1954; chairmen of the Council of Ministers.
Mehmet Shehu	1954–1981	20/07/1954–18/12/1981.
Adil Çarçani	1981–1991	18/12/1981–22/02/1991.
Fatos Nano	1991	22/02/1991–05/06/1991. First post-socialist Prime Minister, former member of the last communist government.
Ylli Bufi	1991	05/06/1991–10/12/1991.
Vilson Ahmeti	1991–1992	10/12/1991–13/04/1992.
Aleksandër Meksi	1992–1997	13/04/1992–11/03/1997.
Bashkim Fino	1997	11/03/1997–24/07/1997.
Fatos Nano	1997–1998	24/07/1997–02/10/1998.
Pandeli Majko	1998–1999	02/10/1998–29/10/1999, MP since 1992, Minister of Defense 2002–2005.
Illir Meta	1999–2002	29/10/1999–22/02/2002. MP since 1992, Minister of Foreign Affairs 2003, Member of the PSSH until 2003, since 2004 President of the LSI.

Head of Government (continued)	Years	Remarks
Pandeli Majko	2002	22/02/2002–31/07/2002. MP since 1992, Secretary General of the Socialist Party since 1997.
Fatos Nano	2002–2005	31/07/2002–11/09/2005, General Secretary of the PSSH until 2005.
Sali Berisha	2005–	Since 11/09/2005.

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