



## Research Article

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# Democratic Revolution or *Coup D'etat*: Government of Fan Noli in Albania

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## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study closely the political developments of June 1924 in Albania to bring convincing facts, that the priest Fan Noli, did not come to power in a democratic way as formulated in the text of the History of State and Law in Albania, but with a coup d'etat, which interrupted the democratic and institutional processes that began with the establishment of all powers of the rule of law by the National Assembly of Lushnja in January 1920. The descriptive and comparative method was used in this study to understand the evolution of institutional culture since the founding of the state. The historical method of well-known sociologists and political scientists, Max Weber, David Easton, and Norberto Bobbio, it was worth looking at the political system as a set of institutions and political processes, in mutual interdependence, arising from free democratic elections. The study hypothesis is confirmed through the analysis of historical variables provided by archival sources and publications and memoirs of serious authors, domestic as well as foreign. The study results bring to the conclusion that the history of political institutions must be written with scientific objectivity, according to the Latin maxim, history is the teacher of Leibniz's life and method, that the present is full of the past, and charged with the future.

**Keywords:** Constituent Assembly, coup d'etat, democratic revolution, legislative power, prime minister

## 1. Introduction

To give an exhaustive answer to the question, what was June 10, 1924, how Fan Noli came to power, the Democratic Revolution, or a coup d'etat, it is necessary to provide a very transparent panorama of the historical journey of institutional, by the National Assembly of Lushnja on January 28, 1920, when the Albanian political elite led with maturity by the most important political actors of the time established all the powers of the rule of law, until the failure of the historic mission of the Constituent Assembly that emerged from the elections of December 1923.

The Constituent Assembly began its work on January 21, 1924 in order to approve the Constitution of Albania, but its delegates left the historic mission and plunged Albania into political

and institutional anarchy. The final solution of the dilemma in the historical, constitutional, institutional and procedural aspect also stems from the fact that in the book for law students "History of State and Law in Albania", the fourth edition, prepared by a group of authors, there is no analysis of the constitutional and institutional character, of how Fan Noli came to power and how legitimate his government was, as the political and institutional event is treated sparingly and distorted. In the IX Chapter of the book "History of the State and Law in Albania", titled "Recovery of the Albanian National State in the Years 1920-1924", in point 3, it is stated: "After the victory of the June Democratic Revolution, the Assembly The constitution was dissolved by itself, and the constitutional legal position of the Council of Ministers was expanded by the very fact that the Democratic Government became the main leader of the political, economic and state life of the country". (Omari, 2007: 345)

Of course, scholars, compilers of the book for young lawyers, consider it very normal for Noli to come to power without parliamentary elections, and they are not at all impressed by the lack of legislative power, which after four years did not exist, but they also have great "academic" courage to formulate that, based on formal legal arguments, domestic and foreign reactionary opinion considered Noli's government "illegal", as it had not received the vote of confidence of the Constituent Assembly, as required statutes". If this wording were normal for textbooks of law students in the State of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, when revolution was considered the driving force of society, it sounds absurd how "scholars", even after the establishment of political pluralism, consider Noli's government legitimate, without being approved by the Constituent Assembly, which, from January 21, 1924, until June 10, 1924, exercised the powers of the legislature! Their theoretical thinking resembles the theses of the Marxist philosophy of law when they formulate that "the new government had to strengthen the political victories of the Albanian people, to suppress the counter-revolution, to eradicate the marked feudal remnants, so it needed a strong power. revolutionary". (Omari, 2007: 346)

The contradiction of the theoretical opinion of the "scholars" appears clearly when they formulate that the new government had to strengthen the victories, but also to suppress the counter-revolution! The National Assembly of Lushnja in 1920, re-established the political and legal institutions of Albania that were destroyed by the anarchist movement of Central Albania that culminated with the departure of Prince Wied on September 3, 1914 and could not be re-established constitutionally after the First World War.

The National Assembly of Lushnja exercised the competencies of a Constitutional Assembly, after creating for the first time in Albania all the powers of the rule of law.

The Albanian political elite created political parties and made the functioning of institutional parliamentary democracy a reality, so much so that it surprised even European political skeptics, who did not believe in the self-governing abilities of Albanians and considered Albania "Little Turkey". Thus, the International Control Commission introduced the Statute Organic Albania of April 1914, the article that gave constitutional power to the preservation of the capitulation regime that the Great Powers imposed on Turkey in 1875. But the anarchist political movement called "Democratic Revolution" interrupted the democratic and institutional processes, and put them far behind political developments by "promoting" violence as a democracy and coup as a model of government.

## **2. Study Methodology for the Historical Journey of the Opposition, as a Warning of Coup D'etat!**

The research method served to recognize the acts emanating from the legitimate institutions of the time. The comparative method has been used to understand the evolution of institutional culture since the founding of the Albanian state. The historical method of well-known sociologists and political scientists, Max Weber, David Easton and Norberto Bobbio, helped to analyze the political system as a set of institutions and political processes, in mutual interdependence, stemming from free democratic elections. The study hypothesis is confirmed through the analysis of historical

variables provided by archival sources and publications and memoirs of serious authors, domestic and foreigners.

The historical and comparative method in dealing with political and institutional events served to understand that Albanian scholars influenced by the ideology of the state party, have distorted the real history and hit the main political operators who founded modern state institutions. Scholars of the political and legal institutions of Albania are far from the historical truth and the western political mentality that promotes the rule of law, because, for ideological reasons, they do not accept that the national elite has the political and historical merit of organizing the National Assembly of Lushnja, which can be considered unequivocally the "Historical and Institutional Pantheon of the Nation".

As stated by Aqif Pasha Elbasani in the letter he sent to the Peace Conference in Paris, on February 2, 1920, with the status of Speaker of the National Assembly of Lushnja and Speaker of The High Council which was a collective regency with four members, said:

*"The National Assembly convened in Lushnja in one voice addresses the Peace Conference and demands its full independence, as it does not accept any foreign mandate or protectorate." (Documents historical 1959: 17)*

The new political system created by political actors on January 30, 1920, with all the deviations in short time segments, functioned constitutionally and institutionally, until the parliamentary political opposition deviated from the historic mission of the Constituent Assembly, and ended its life policy of the constitutional and institutional functioning of the state.

We find the beginnings of the illegal and anti-institutional political activity of the opposition action in September 1920, with the pressure on the first Prime Minister elected by the National Assembly of Lushnja, Sulejman Delvina, who resigned because he was not supported by the President of the state and parliament to pass the law on the election of the Constituent Assembly, and the epilogue, or tragic end of political and institutional life, must be sought in the deviation of the historic mission of the Constituent Assembly, which began its activity on January 21, 1924, and ended in June 1924, when Albania was engulfed by political and institutional anarchy and the precedent of taking power by revolution was established, which Prime Minister Fan Noli himself called "*coup d'état*".

To get away from ordinary opinions, we are listing facts and evidence based on the Historical Research Methodology, that offers arguments on scientific criteria of objective analysis and interpreted on principles of philosophy of law, or Western jurisprudence, as antipode of Marxist-Leninist theses, which strangely glorify the historical moment of taking power by force and worship, and even glorify the values of the political actors who organized and directed that political process. The method of chronological and narrative description aims to make the development of events in real time and as attractive and curious as possible to be recognized by interested subjects as credible.

In Albania the National Assembly of Lushnja is considered the "Pantheon of constitutional and institutional political culture", as the representative delegates with tolerance and political compromise created all the powers of the rule of law and Albania entered the democratic path of constitutional and institutional governance.

The National Council was a legislative power *sui generis*, because the councilors of the nation were not elected, but were "appointed" by the delegates of the National Assembly of Lushnja.

On March 26, 1920, Aqif Pasha Elbasani, the chairman of the High Council, in his capacity of head of state addressed the Council of Nation with a statement saying that on November 28, 1912 in Vlona was decided to convene a senate, but did not convene.

On October 25, 1918, again in the meeting of Durrës, it was decided to convene a strongly appointed Senate, but even this one did not convene. That is why the Parliamentary life of Shqipëria begins with Mr. Wey. (AQSH, 1920: 3-4)

The democratic functioning of the institutions with western political mentality was rewarded with the gaining of the status of a member in the League of Nations of Albania on December 17, 1920.

From this moment, some leaders of the main institutions were covered by "glory" and euphoria which was accompanied by legal provisions. The comparative method of study provides us with facts on how the political elite with progressive ideas to create stable political institutions held the first democratic parliamentary elections in April 1921, from which the legitimate deputies also emerged.

In order to eliminate the institutional conflicts with the High Council, the Vice President of the National Council/Parliament, Hoxha Kadria, proposed to the parliament on May 30, 1921, the expansion of the statutory norms and the clear definition of competencies. (AQSH, 1921: 6-6/ 1)

The Chairman of the High Council Aqif Pasha Elbasani and the member of the collective regency, Luigj Bumçi, also asked the parliament on July 16, 1921 for the legal definition of the legal rights and obligations of the institution that performed the functions of the collective head of state. (AQSH, 1921: 8/1)

On May 29, 1921, the constitutionalist deputy Koço Tasi proposed the creation of a parliamentary commission to supplement the Statute of Lushnja, until the constitution was approved. (AQSH, 1921: 7-7 / 1)

The National Council evaluated the opinion of the deputies Hoxha Kadria and Koço Tasi, and on July 21, 1921 approved the Statute Commission with personalities: Koço Tasi, Fan Noli, Stavro Vinjau, Ndre Mjeda, Kadri Hoxha, Milto Tutulani, Ali Këlcyra, Mehdi Frashëri, Mustafa Kruja, Luigj Gurakuqi, Ibrahim Xhindi and Shefqet Dajiu. (AQSH, 1921: 8)

In March 1922 Bajram Curri, Hamit Toptani and Elez Isufi aimed to violently overthrow the government approved by the legitimate parliament.

According to Puto (2009), the parliamentary opposition justified the coup by delaying the organization of elections for the Constituent Assembly.

The parliamentary majority accelerated the procedures and on September 11, 1922, in the 39th session of the parliament, introduced the project "On the Expansion of the Statute of Lushnja".

Later on December 8, 1922, the Parliament approved the Extended statute of Lushnja, as the Basic Law of the Albanian state, until the Constitutional Assembly determined the final form of the regime with a constitution.

The Legislative Power was treated in Part "B" of the Statute, in point 5 where it was formulated "The national representation is summarized in a Parliament composed of deputies elected by the people by universal suffrage (universal) as per the law. While in point 6, it was said the Deputies are elected for four years; their burden ends only at the end of this term. As for this Parliament, this article did not apply to governing electoral bodies. But the delegates did not carry out the historic mission of approving the constitution, but overthrew the government, formed two more governments and with the assassination of the assembly delegate Avni Rustemi the opposition left and went to Vlorë and on May 1 and 2, 1924, 26 assembly members demanded the relocation of the Assembly Constitutional in Vlorë.

The President of the Constitutional Assembly on May 17, 1924 announced the beginning of works in Tirana. (AQSH, 1924: 87)

The Constitutional Assembly took over the functions of the legislative power and on May 27, 1924 the Prime Minister Shefqet Vërlaci presented the draft budget of 1924. (AQSH, 1924:51)

### 3. Literature Review

Many Albanian researchers with scientific naivety, distort the purpose and mission of the Constituent Assembly, hence the ugly political event, which they call "democratic revolution", a theoretical thesis that stems from the ideological conviction inspired by Marxist philosophy. It is not accidental that law students are offered a shortened information in only 29 pages about the political and legal institutions of Albania created from January 1920-1925, when the Republic of Albania was proclaimed, and distorted by scientific naivety, after the political and institutional achievements that gave Albania the portrait of a democratic country, are considered "counter-revolution", and according to them, therefore that way of governing had to be overthrown, to be replaced by a "strong revolutionary

power" to put the country on the path of development democratic bourgeoisie. (Omari, 2007: 346) In the same theoretical approach and political frequency are the opinions of some historians who were commissioned by the Academy of Sciences of Albania, to prepare the Third Volume of "History of the Albanian People" in 2007. The work done from this group of "academics" is similar to the work done in June 1924, when scholars resembled the "Haxhiqamil's movement" expelled from Albania by Prince Wied in 1914, and they called the "Democratic Revolution of June", as a continuation of the national revolution of 1920, but with the distinction that in 1920, the Albanian people fought against foreign invaders for the acquisition of national independence, in 1924 the democratic forces were set up to get rid of the feudal waste from the political and economic-social life of the country and for its democratization". (Çani, 2007: 226) Why the "scholars" do not understand and do not accept that the political event of June 10, 1924, when Fan Noli came to power, was neither a revolution nor a democratic process, but an anarchist political movement that interrupted the constitutional rule of institutional? We think that the justification of the coup by "scholars" is not only related to ideological factors, but also to the lack of constitutional and institutional political culture of the rule of law.

According to Tajar Zavalani thought (1998), the events of June 1924 were not a revolution, because revolution occurs when peoples gains weight and fights to overthrow the ruling regime, in order to create a new order.

*"The government of Tirana was overthrown by a military operation led by the two regimes, South and North, that marched simultaneously against the capital" (Zavalani 1998).*

While the other researcher, Teki Selenica, assessed the June 1924 movement as "a *Coup d'état* that overturned a positive process in the stabilization of the state, as Albania had made great strides in institutional functioning and was strengthened. the international position of the state". (Selenica, 2006: 110.)

The researchers' conclusion is very true. Political developments were an interruption of political processes and a return to the political culture of constitutional and institutional governance. This option is also defended by diplomats accredited in Albania. The anarchist movement claim that the "June Democratic Revolution" began on June 1, 1924, and on June 10 the opposition entered Tirana by force of arms. MP Ali bey Këlcyra instead, claimed that, on June 11, he had talked with the US diplomat /minister in Albania, Ulysses Grant-Smith, whether they should form a provisional government in a military regime, or call on members of the Regency and assembly members to convene. (Frashëri, 2005: 87)

According to the diplomat Durraco, "the most serious thing was the bypassing of the Constitutional Assembly to approve the new cabinet, because, according to Art. 66 of the Extended Statute of Lushnja, the cabinet had to get the vote of confidence in the parliament, no later than three days after the decree, otherwise it was overthrown. He claims that from discussions with Fan Noli, Gurakuqi and others, he understood that their biggest concern was the fact that the Assembly could come out in the majority against its merger, and could decide to fulfill its duties for approval of the constitution, in two or three sessions, while Noli's government wanted to avoid cooperating with the Assembly at all costs. It is clear, then, that the existence of the Assembly was considered an obstacle to revolutionary governance, and its destruction was the objective of the government. This proves the intention of Noli and his supporters, to destroy democracy and build a government without opposition. (FO 371/9639; 861-862) From Durracos' information and Ali Bey Këlcyra's talks with US Secretary of State, Mr. Grant, it is clear why the "Nolists" did not want legal proceedings. Because in legal and institutional ways they did not provide the majority for the approval of the government and the program that was considered democratic. Noli, who refused to become a minister, became prime minister, with *coup d'état*.

Fan Noli had a very developed culture and could be compared to Aeschylus in literature, but he had shortcomings in political culture. Furthermore, he was encouraged by others to come into power

and become prime minister. After coming to parliament, as a representative of the Pan-Albanian Vatra Federation in the US, he also became chairman of the People's Party. In his capacity as chairman on May 18, 1921, he demanded that the government give explanations to the parliament on the political situation (AQSH, 1921: 1). Ahmet Zogu the future King of Albania was also in that party. The People's Party nominated Xhafer Ypi as Prime Minister after the dismissal of the Chairman of the High Council Aqif Pasha and the member of the High Council Luigi Bumçi.

The government was formed in Elbasan, but Noli was not present to take his opinion. The Prime Minister sent a letter to Fan Noli on December 25, 1921, informing him that "he would be a member of the cabinet, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and asked him to come as soon as possible to carry out the task assigned to him." (AQSH, 1921: 13). Noli replied: "I was extremely surprised when I saw my appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs, although I have stated categorically that I can not accept this burden. Apparently there has been a sudden misunderstanding which surprises and saddens me. "Either way, please remove my name from the list and make it officially known everywhere." (AQSH, 1921: 26).

Politician Sejfi Vllamasi linked Noli's opposition to dissatisfaction, as he was aiming for the post of prime minister. The thesis becomes somewhat plausible, because, before the formation of the Ypi government, the Albanian Panfederata "Vatra" slandered him as a candidate for prime minister, but Sotir Peci was against, because he did not consider him a statesman and could lead him to disaster. (Vllamasi, 2000: 280)

Ahmet Zogu and Rexhep Mitrovica also sent a telegram to Noli, wishing him that "the Cabinet as a wall votes the trust of the entire parliament with 3 opposite votes, We wish you a new task". (Zog & Mitrovica, 1921: 9) Noli replied: "as I telegraphed to you twice, thank you very much but I can not accept the office you have proposed to me". (Noli, 1921: 12)

The British ambassador in Albania, Robert Parr, informed his superiors that Noli initially accepted the Foreign Affairs portfolio. (Parr, 371/8535: 1148). In fact, Noli accepted the post on January 21, 1922, but he resigned on February 20, 1922, in a letter to Prime Minister Xhafer Ypi, further dividing the People's Party. (Noli, 1922: 1)

According to Arben Puto, (2009), Noli's participation as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Xhafer Ypi's government is considered a "big surprise", the resignation was related to the non-organization of the elections for the Constitutional Assembly and the reactionary policy of the government and the slide of the People's Party in Zogu's position, who was becoming the main figure.

Arben Puto's thoughts do not match the reasons explained by Noli himself.

Nasho Jorgaqi (2005), another historian says that "in those conditions, the decision to resign could not be postponed any longer, and on February 20, 1922, Noli left the government and on March 9, 1922, the People's Party", as well.

Sejfi Vllamasi, one of the active political actors of the time judged Noli's resignation from minister and departure from the People's Party as a wrong action. In his book Political Confrontations, he writes: "Noli and another group of MPs left and joined the opposition. The departure came at a time when the People's Party would be conducting the reforms and construction work the country needed. By joining the opposition, they helped Ahmet Zogu. (Vllamasi, 2005: 282-285)

#### 4. Results and Discussions

Opposition to the political posts by Fan Noli, and the justification of the coup, with which Noli came to power, scholars state it with the delay of the elections for the Constituent Assembly. This thesis does not correspond to historical truth. The law on elections to the Constituent Assembly was adopted on 30 September 1923. Parliament did not decide whether Assembly delegates would perform the functions of deputy.

Ambassador Parr on October 15, 1923, informed that the Constituent Assembly may declare itself the elected parliament of the country, but this will remain to be decided as a matter of



constitutional law. (Parr, 371/8535, 1923: 1149)

On the other side MP Bahri Omari at the end of the parliament made public the intention of the opposition against Zogu's government, which they considered a personal dictatorship, therefore, as he said, we fight and will fight. (AQSH, 1923: 1)

On behalf of the government responded MP Petro Harito who assessed the opposition as dead old, poor in thought, destroyed as a party tired and desperate from the parliamentary war, therefore appears against parliamentarism. (AQSH, 1923: 139)

The elections ended in December 1923 but were not elections for deputies as the scholars claim, but elections for delegates to the Constituent Assembly. The meeting of the Constituent Assembly was opened on January 21, 1924, by the next chair of the High Council, Xhafer Ypi. (AQSH, 1924: 42). The Assembly was constituted on February 23, 1924, with the election of Esheref Frashëri as President of the Constituent Assembly, Kostaq Paftali as Vice President, Nush Bushati as Secretary and Jashar Erebara as Guardian. The opposition removed the constitution from the agenda and demanded the resignation of the prime minister, as if the assembly members had the mandate of parliamentarian. Their arguments were not true, and even the discussions that took place between the delegates found the "understanding" that the delegates would perform parliamentary functions, only for the approval of the budget and any extraordinary case.

On April 17, 1924, Fan Noli, Sulejman Delvina, Bahri Omari and Sami Vrioni left the Constituent Assembly and after the assassination of the assembly member Avni Rustemi, military and assembly members gathered in Vlora. On May 1, 1924, the member of Constitutional Assembly Kostë Paftali, asked the chair of the Constitutional Assembly, Petro Poga, to move the assembly to Vlora. Signatories were the following: Fan Noli, Hafez Repishti, Father Ambros Marlaskaj, Sulejman Delvina, Sejfi Vllamasi, Sulejman Luzati, Xhemal Bushati, Ismail Tatzati, Qazim Koculi, Kost Paftali, Ibrahim Gjyrezi, Ibrahim Xhindi, Sh. Gurakuqi, Fazli Frashëri, Nush Bushati, Ali Këlcyra, Luigj Kooliqi, Kol Tromara, Mustafa Tragjasi, Eles Muka, Rasim Babameto, Spiro Koleka, Sif Kedhi, Abdul Kuçi, Numan Ferizi, Bahri Omari, Osman Myderizi. (AQSH, 1924: 56)

On May 2, with the proposal of twenty-seven assembly members and the signature of the Vice President of the Constitutional Assembly Kostë Paftali, the relocation of the Constitutional Assembly to Shkodra or Lushnja was requested. (AQSH, 1924: 57).

On May 16, the Shkodra Garrison led by Colonel Rexhep Shala supported the demands of the rebel assembly members, and the commander of the Përmet Garrison, Kasëm Qafzezi, joined the group of assembly members in Vlora.

The Constitutional Assembly resumed the works in Tirana on May 17 as a silent response to the request of the assembly members who put pressure on the relocation of the works in Vlora. The President of the Constitutional Assembly announced the Municipalities for the beginning of the works (AQSH, 1924: 87).

On May 23, the Battalion with volunteers of the Organization "Union" was created and the Assembly of Labëria was initiated. The Provisional Administrative Commission was established to lead the movement with Fan Noli as Chairman, who would also exercise the functions of Foreign Minister, Sulejman Delvina as Minister of Internal Affairs, Kostë Paftali to direct world affairs, Mustafa Tragjasi finances, and finally military leaders were Bajram Curri, Kasëm Qafzezi and Rexhep Shala. The two military leaders, Kasëm Qafzezi and Rexhep Shala, also became ministers in the Noli government, a fact that reinforces the thesis of Noli coming to power with *coup d'etat*.

The commission asked the diplomatic corps not to recognize the government and to maintain ties only with Noli, just as Noli on May 26 asked the Italian government, through their representative in Durrës K. Durraco, to mediate to avoid military intervention by former Yugoslavia and Greece. So, de facto a parallel government had been created. (Çani, 2007, 225)

Shefqet Vërlaci informed the Presidency of the Assembly about the request of the second voters of Kruja for the removal of the mandate of the assembly member Kostë Paftali. (AQSH, 1924: 96)

At the same time there was a request of the second voters of the Tirana Prefecture, addressed to the Presidency of the Constitutional Assembly for the revocation of Osman Myderiz and Kostë Paftali

by members of the Constitutional Assembly, because they had deviated from their promise as miss from Constitutional Assembly. (AQSH, 1924: 84-85)

The opposition continued the destructive anti-constitutional path and dismissed the ministers from the government. Shefqet Vërlaci resigned on May 27, 1924 and was replaced by the Government of Iliaz Vrioni. That day, the member of the High Council Sotir Peci escaped to Vlora and Gjon Çoba asked the Presidency of the Constitutional Assembly to accept the resignation of a member of the High Council.

In the absence of legislative power and the head of state, Noli concentrated all state power in his own hands, transforming "democratic republican government" as scholars claim, into the form of absolute monarchy.

High Council member Sotir Peci returned to office in August 1924 and asked Noli to declare elections for the new parliament. He even decreed the Election Law by modifying the Election Law for the Constitutional Assembly. But Noli hesitated, even though his government was not recognized by any state.

US Secretary of State Grant Smith in a report on the political situation in Albania in November 1924, considered Noli's government, an interim government located in an interim capital, operating illegally under an interim constitution. Noli refused to legitimize his government in the Constituent Assembly and did not hold elections, as he considered parliament unnecessary.

He expressed this political philosophy in an interview with the correspondent of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom for the newspaper "PRAVDA", when he went to Geneva to the League of Nations, on September 9, 1924, at 15.15. According to "Pravda", the Prime Minister Fan Noli said to the correspondent "I did not need the parliament, I will say this tomorrow in the meeting, because the Parliament for three years has been narrated to us for three years". (AQSH, 1924: 4) He also unveiled his political philosophy of governing without parliament at the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations on September 10, 1924, where he also considered the League of Nations an unnecessary institution. With that behavior, Noli denied his praiseworthy contribution as head of the Albanian delegation, for its admission to the League of Nations, a fact that is confirmed by the letter he sent to Faik Konica stating that "with God's hope, I will return to Tirana by brings with it the decision of admission of Albania to the advanced community and providing it with a place at that table that has belonged to it for a long time ". (Jorgaqi, 2005: 426)

Desperate for the non-granting of the loan by the League of Nations, Noli also ironized the Secretary General of the League with his brilliant rhetoric and his not at all political and ethical monologue, showing his world-wide governing philosophy without parliament. Noli addressed the secretary with the rhetorical expression:

*"Maybe you do not want to enter into negotiations for a loan with a rebellious government, which has no parliament, a government like the one headed by the humble priest who is talking to you. But do you know what parliament is? No doubt you know. But you will have a clearer idea when I tell you what I think about it. Well, parliament is a hall where soulless politicians gather to evaluate the operation on the living body of their race, a hall full of poisonous gases, suffocating gases, gases that cause tears and laughter. But after you insist, we do not refuse to make new elections and call that wound, that great misfortune, that ugly superstition, which is parliament, after we have done two or three years of paternal government." (Noli, word Assembly 1924).*

Noli, declaring that he was against parliamentarism, conscientiously admitted that he came to power with *coup d'état*.

## 5. Conclusions

From the analysis of many historical documents we showed that the political developments of June 1924 brings substantial evidences, that the priest Fan Noli, did not come to power in a democratic way as expressed in the text of the History of State and Law in Albania, but with a *coup d'état*, which



interrupted the representative and recognized processes that began with the establishment of all powers of the rule of law by the National Assembly of Lushnja in January 1920, until January 1924 when the Constituent Assembly convened to approve the Basic Statute of the State and the final form of government.

The Assembly established the powers of the state of law as a model sui generis. The final form of government would be decided by the Constituent Assembly, which assembled on January 21, 1924, but did not approve the constitution.

The opposition directed by Noli left the assembly and with a *coup d'état* took power and Noli was declared prime minister. The program and the government were not approved by the Constituent Assembly, which performed the functions of the legislature.

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