

By All Means Necessary: The Rescuing of the Albanian Jews During the Holocaust

Ofer Muchtar

Abstract: The Holocaust, also known as the Shoah, was the tragic and devastating event of the genocide of European Jews during World War II. Between 1941 and 1945, Nazi Germany and its collaborators systematically murdered some six million Jews across German-occupied Europe. The Jews and other racial minorities were rounded up across Europe and slaughtered by the German Nazi regime. Little was done to save, and rescue Jews during that dark period, that is why the story of Albania, a small country in the Balkans, in which the entire country protected the Jewish community is so remarkable. This article examines the rescue of Jews in Albania during the Second World War. The paper focuses on the Albanian moral code *Besa*, emphasizing honor, hospitality, and the unconditional protection of guests. By using historical records and survivor testimonies the study analyzes the ways in which *Besa* influenced everyday practices of sheltering, identity concealment, and communal solidarity. The findings suggest that the *Besa* played a significant role in enabling Albanian society to protect Jewish refugees, resulting in a rare historical outcome in which the Jewish population in Albania increased during the Holocaust.

Keywords: holocaust, Muslims, Albanian, righteous among the nations

“” Muchtar, O. (2026). By all means necessary: The rescuing of the Albanian Jews during the Holocaust. *Journal of Balkan Studies*, 6(1), 67-83.



Dr., Ashkelon Academic College, Ashqelon, Israel, ofermu2@gmail.com



<https://orcid.org/0009-0008-6638-7339>



<https://ror.org/00sfwx025>



Balkan Studies Foundation
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.51331/A070>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 6 (1), 2026
balkanjournal.org



Received: 09.11.2025
Revision: 08.01.2026
Accepted: 05.02.2026



Introduction

Jewish presence existed in The Balkans and Albania since the second century C.E. when Romaniote Jews immigrated to the north of the country. During the Spanish Inquisition in the 15th century, the Turkish Sultan invited Jews to live under Islamic rule in the Ottoman Empire, and this brought more Jews to Albania (Greble, 2010).

During the centuries the country had proved to be a haven for Jews, and before the second world war there were two hundred Jews who dwelled in Albania. According to the 1930 census, 24 Jews lived in Albania (Fischer,2024).

Following the Nazi rise to power in Germany, German and Austrian Jews found refuge in Albania, and the Albanian embassy in Berlin continued to issue visas to Jews until the end of 1938, at a time when no other European country was willing to do so. Most Albanian Jews lived primarily in the southern part of the country. Albania was subject to Italian economic and political influence during the interwar period. On the eve of World War II, 156 local Jews and an additional 109 Jewish refugees from Europe resided there (Stafa-Shoshori.2019). Between the years 1941-1945 Albania did not exist as a sovereign state but was under Italian occupation and later German occupation.

At the Wannsee Conference, held on January 20, 1942, the Nazis estimated that there were 200 Jews in the region (Greble, 2010). During the second world war Albania was the only European country with a Muslim regime.

On March 25, 1939, Mussolini issued an ultimatum to Zog I, King of Albania, demanding that he accept Italian military protection over Albania. When the king refused to submit to the ultimatum, the Italians invaded Albania on April 7, 1939, and deposed him (Balle,2016).

Subsequently, the Italians re-established the Albanian state and transformed it into a protectorate of the Kingdom of Italy (Krasniqi, 2018).

Following the invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, the Jewish community in Albania grew. Due to the relatively favorable conditions of Jews living under Italian rule, Jews from neighboring countries under German occupation viewed Albania as a place of refuge. Approximately 2,000 Jews fled to Albania and found refuge there during the war years (Trošt & David, 2022).

The local Albanian population strongly protected the Jewish refugees. Many of them were transferred to ports on the Adriatic Sea, from which they could reach Italy. Other Jews hid in remote mountain villages, and some joined resistance movements throughout the country (Krasniqi, 2018).

In neighboring countries, the German occupation led to the almost complete annihilation of Jewish communities. In Albania, the fate of the Jews was different. A great many Albanians mobilized to rescue Jews (although, of course, local bandits also murdered Jews and stole their property in several instances).

The efforts of the Muslim community stood up the most, as they went to extreme measures to save their Jewish neighbors from the German genocide (Krasniqi, 2018).

The “Besa,” the traditional code of honor, motivated many to view their commitment to their neighbor’s safety as an unbreakable vow.

“Besa,” meaning “to keep a promise,” is considered an almost sacred ethical code, and it contains a central component of unconditional hospitality: “The Albanian’s house belongs to the guest and to God.” Albanian families who hid Jews, at considerable risk, acted partly out of commitment to this code and viewed rescue as an action required by their honor (Marashi, 2018).

Therefore, many Albanians chose to hide Jews in their homes and sometimes also issued them forged identity documents with Muslim names. At this stage, most Jews living in the country were refugees from other countries rather than

Albanian-born Jews, and thus those in hiding also received traditional Albanian clothing to better integrate into the local population. Jewish children continued to attend schools under assumed names, while adults were hidden. Albania was the only country under German rule during the war in which the number of Jews increased (Krasniqi, 2018).

This article will argue that two main factors contributed to the rescuing of the Jews in Albania during the holocaust: The lack of demonization of the Jews in Albania, and the Albanian moral code of honor known as “Besa”.

The lack of Demonization and Dehumanization in the state of Albania

Demonization is a pervasive phenomenon that has serious negative consequences for individuals and societies (Hovhannisyan, 2022).

Demonization refers to a social and ongoing process of polarization in society in which a group, or an idea, is portrayed as dangerous, evil, or immoral. Demonization is based on processes that perpetuate social polarization in which group members become more extreme in their beliefs and attitudes towards others while maintaining their group cohesion (Malaj,2022).

By portraying other groups or ideas as an existential threat, demonization can mobilize public support to an aggressive action against them (Ghattas, 2023).

Demonization is one of the roots of modern antisemitism and was promoted by the German Nazis regime using stereotypes, prejudice, and negative labeling of the Jews throughout the 1930's.

The Germans authorities used mass media and antisemitic propaganda that tried to evoke hatred and fear towards the Jews that led to intolerance and discrimination towards them (Jones, 2010).

This process was also common at most of the Slavic countries in Europe (such as Poland, Lithuania, and others) as a political tool used for centuries to delegitimize the Jews and to justify aggressive and violent acts toward Jews. Statistical evidence demonstrates the link between the demonization process and the rates of violence in the Slavic countries and illustrates the horrific effect of the dramatization phenomenon.

The rate of Jews slaughtered in Lithuania and Poland was close to ninety percent and Slovakia had an eighty three percent rate (Krasniqi, 2018). The Albanian regime tried to promote mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence between the three religious groups in the country to foster social harmony.

Researchers suggest that demonization process can lead to dehumanization. Dehumanization is the denial of full or partial humanity by certain human beings toward other human beings, sometimes accompanied by associated abuse as a result.

In essence, it is viewing and treating other people as lacking the mental and intellectual capacities attributed to human beings. According to this definition, any act or thought that regards a person as “less than human” constitutes dehumanization. Dehumanization is the foundation for many discriminations in society. In extreme cases, it is one form of incitement to genocide.

Behaviorally, dehumanization can be understood as the opposite of anthropomorphism, which means attributing human characteristics to a plant or inanimate object. Dehumanization is therefore the denial of those characteristics or reduction to abstraction. In almost every context, dehumanization comes hand in hand with disruption of social norms. Often, dehumanization comes together with public humiliation of victims, their use as tools for entertainment and amusement, or incitement of the public against them through propaganda.

Albania had a long history of tolerance towards religious minorities. The majority of this country's Muslim lived in harmony with the Christian minority, and there were no anti-Semitic laws or policies in place before the war.

To underline the process in Albania prior to World War II, In 1934, U.S ambassador to Albania Herman Bernstein wrote:

There is no discrimination towards Jews in Albania because Albania is one of the most unique countries in Europe, where there are no prejudices and religious stereotypes. there is no hate in Albania, even though there are three religions in the country. (Fink, 2014, p. 3)

The government of Albania made efforts to promote diversity and inclusion in order to reduce the salience of group identity and promoted the idea of the bektashism order in Albania, of shared identity of human beings.

The Albanian Moral Code

Morality is a complex concept that has intrigued researchers for centuries. Research on morality, which began in the early 20th century, originated primarily from the conception of morality that prevailed in Europe at that time, accompanied by the strong influence of Kant's moral philosophy.

This concept corresponded to the meaning of the term morality in common usage, according to which morality is a system of rules and principles concerned with directing human behavior and regulating behavior in society, guiding individuals regarding what is right to do, and especially what is wrong and forbidden to do. The essence of morality according to this conception is ensuring the welfare and dignity of human beings within the framework of a just and orderly society (Nissan, 2001).

Kohlberg (1981) defines an individual's moral judgment as the element relating to how the person thinks they should behave (as opposed to the decision concerning how they choose to actually behave). Different approaches address moral development and moral behavior from different perspectives. This article focuses on cognitive theory, which describes moral development schematically, in stages whose order is preserved (Eylon, 1987).

According to this approach, at each new developmental stage, the individual undergoes changes in the structure of their perception and thinking, and with these changes, moral development also occurs: as the individual learns to think in a broader and more abstract manner, and less egocentrically, they become more capable of observing processes and situations from different perspectives and recognizing the thoughts and feelings of others as well. This recognition develops and elevates the level of the individual's moral judgment.

Kohlberg's theory of moral judgment is related to and built upon Piaget's theory of cognitive development (cited in Solberg, 1996).

According to this theory, at each new developmental stage, the individual undergoes changes in the structure of their perception and thinking.

Kohlberg (1981) divided the process of moral development into three stages, each of which is subdivided into two, both revolving around two axes: the ability to understand norms and the degree of autonomy of the moral system.

The Pre-conventional Stage (up to age 9): At this stage, the individual has difficulty developing concepts systematically and understanding cause-and-effect relationships. Therefore, the individual is characterized by an absence of moral norms. The individual at this stage is egocentric and perceives reality as directed toward their needs. They obey norms out of fear of punishment or expectation of reward. The individual is not autonomous and is subject to the control of their impulses, with supervision of their behavior coming from outside. In the first phase, thinking is egocentric. The individual does not consider the desires of others and does not recognize that they differ from their own. Actions are perceived as physical processes rather than as representing someone's interests. The goal: to avoid punishment and to avoid the power of those in authority. In the second phase, the child will act in a manner that satisfies their own needs and desires. The motivation for action is to serve their own needs.

The Conventional Stage (characterizes most adolescents and adults): At this stage, the individual is capable of developing concepts and understanding cause and effect. Additionally, at this stage, there exists the ability to relate to moral norms. However, the relationship to norms is rigid and absolute. At this stage as well, the individual is not autonomous in their moral behavior, despite having already acquired the ability to identify and the ability to internalize. The source of obedience to laws is rooted in social conformity. In the first phase, the individual attempts to fulfill the expectations of those close to them or general expectations from people in similar roles. The motivation for behavior is to be a “good person” in the eyes of others and in one’s own eyes. There is a desire in the individual to preserve laws that support behavior considered good. In the second phase, a person fulfills their duties, those with which they agree. The motivation: to preserve the laws of society. The individual at this stage is capable of adopting the perspective of society that enacts the laws.

The Post-conventional Stage (achieved only by a small number of adults): At this stage, the individual is capable of abstract thinking, perceives reality in a relative manner, and is capable of taking into account additional possibilities beyond the possibility represented in immediate reality. They understand and accept society’s laws, but this acceptance is based on understanding the general moral principles underlying the formulation of laws. A person at this stage will judge according to principle and not according to convention. In the first phase, the perspective is that of a person who rationally views the values and rights underlying social contracts. The motivation is a sense of commitment to law, due to social commitment to obey the law, in order to achieve welfare for all and the realization of their rights. The person is aware that people have a wide range of values and that there is a hierarchy among them (values and rights such as freedom and life have priority). In the second phase, there is already a deep understanding of the nature of morality and humanity. The motivation for behavior is rationality and belief in the validity of universal moral laws and a sense of personal commitment to them. This is a stage where a person chooses, for ethical reasons, certain principles. When the law violates these principles,

the person will act contrary to the law (these are universal principles such as equality among people, etc.).

Numerous studies (see, for example: Kurtz, Katz, and Dreyfuss, 1997) have examined various factors that influence the development of moral judgment among children and adolescents.

As mentioned, the difference among individuals is manifested in the rate of moral judgment development. The rate of the individual's development is greatly influenced by their environment. Moral activity exists when it has support in the individual's ideas, beliefs, and thoughts, and when the individual is involved in the moral climate and practice (Adad, 1989).

Solberg (1996) argues that in order for a child to acquire a repertoire of behaviors and values that will make them a functioning member of society, there must be some interaction between their developmental capacity and the socialization agents of the culture.

Kohlberg (1981) speaks of the "moral climate" of a particular group that serves as the basis for the development of its members. This involves providing guidance by directing members' attention to relevant aspects.

Studies (for example: Adad, 1989) have shown that most criminals are at the second stage of morality according to Kohlberg. At this stage, it is easier to violate the law because the person thinks that the consequences of their actions will affect only themselves, in contrast to people at Kohlberg's third level of morality, where there is a central emphasis on loyalty to the reference group and on the need to meet others' expectations (Solberg, 1996).

Cognitive theory links the development of moral judgment to the moral climate in which the person lives. This climate is influenced by those surrounding them: family and friends. A higher degree of justice in the environment encourages development to a higher level of sense of justice and thereby contributes to the prevention of delinquency (Eylon, 1987).

Moshe Adad (1989) argues that moral behavior is influenced by conscious and unconscious factors. Regarding the conscious domain, there are various techniques through which the individual's behavior is directed. The overt behavior of the person, in his view, can be influenced by personal and social reinforcements. However, the influence of such reinforcements is usually short-term, and external or internal factors may extinguish them. The process that generates moral behavior must be accompanied by internal internalization of normative systems. Therefore, it must be accompanied, among other things, by appropriate development of moral thinking and judgment, which are essential for the internalization of these systems. People with a high moral level will behave morally. In Piaget's view, the individual's encounter with society may include various conflicts that will require reorganization and adaptation to reality. Therefore, interaction with others is of great importance regarding the development of moral judgment. It has been found, for example, that receiving "advice" from a person with higher moral judgment than oneself is more effective and provides greater change (Walker, 1999).

Additional researchers (see for example: Hertz-Lazarowitz, Sharan, and Tal, 1983) argue that the primary stimulus for critical thinking about the individual's own moral positions is found in encounters with others who think differently, and in the experiences of conflicts between the individual's viewpoint and that of the other, within a context of trust and affection. It has also been found that parents in particular, and the environment in which the child grows in general, have a significant influence on their moral development. Hostile social situations (such as, for example: inconsistent responses to actions by authority figures, lack of harmony and agreement between parents) inhibit moral development (Walker, 1999).

Avni (1982) argues that moral judgment is influenced by the degree of justice characterizing the individual's environment. A higher degree of justice in the environment encourages development to a higher level of sense of justice and therefore contributes to the prevention of delinquency. Braithwaite (1989) argues that in order for adolescents to internalize moral laws, they must live in an environment with an "educational" moral climate.

When the environment in which the youth grow instills shame on a person who deviates from the straight path, the individual learns not only what is permitted and what is forbidden but also learns to develop their own internal supervision. Piaget (cited in Solberg, 1996) emphasized that children internalize material primarily through experiential experience. However, an environment with a moral climate is not sufficient to raise children who will internalize moral values. There is a need, according to Bouvert (1988, cited in Wolf, 1997), for a good relationship between children and the adults who educate them.

Reception of messages that help shape morality among children and adolescents is possible primarily from socialization agents whom they both fear and respect. In order to create an environment for the reception and internalization of norms, the youth must receive messages from a parent, sibling, teacher, or coach who represents authority to them, yet toward whom they feel affection and love.

These two conditions of fear and respect are necessary for paving the way for the reception of messages conveyed to the youth. According to Bouvert (1988, cited in Wolf, 1997), a youth will not listen to an adult they do not respect.

Additional researchers (for example: Hoffman, 1979) explain that in order to help youth internalize moral laws, one must explain to them what the destructive consequences of their behavior are and how they may harm others. Additionally, the guiding figure should use expressions of affection toward adolescents.

Bull's (1987) theory speaks of four main stages in moral development: **Anomie (pre-morality)** - The sole criterion of judgment is hedonistic: the sole motivation is avoidance of punishment and suffering.

Heteronomy (external morality) - Guidance for behavior is provided by various authorities, and supervision is maintained through the threat of rewards and punishments. There is learning and development of the system for self-restraint and self-supervision, but morality is still imposed at this stage. Moral

judgment is anticipation of behavioral consequences, of reward and punishment.

Socionomy (internalized external morality) - Morality becomes an integral part of personality; supervision and restraint are carried out through social praise and condemnation, not through material rewards and punishments.

Autonomy (internal morality) - Moral ideas arising from the individual themselves, and supervision arising from their own self-criticism. A moral code is formed that directs the individual in their behavior independently of society or environment.

The Honor of The Besa

During the second world war Albania was home to a population of 803,000 people.

Albania had a small Jewish population, mostly concentrated in the capital city of Tirana (Marashi, 2018). It is estimated that about six hundred to eighteen hundred migrated Jews were in Albania before the German occupation (Trošt & David, 2022).

Throughout the 1930's, Jews fleeing from Germany, Austria, and Yugoslavia found refuge in the country. Due to Albania's liberal visa application process, in hope to find haven and continue to Israel or other countries of shelter. During the second world war Albania was invaded and occupied by Italy in 1939. The Italians, under the leadership of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, enforced anti-Semitic policies in Albania (Gurakuqi, 2013).

The people of Albania did not only protect the Jewish citizens of Albania, but they also provided sanctuary to the Jewish refugees who fled the war and found themselves faced with the risk of deportation to concentration camps. The Albanian government issued a decree in 1938 that granted Albanian citizenship to

all Jewish refugees who arrived in the country. This was a crucial measure that saved many Jewish lives during the war (Malaj, 2022).

After the Nazi occupation in 1943, the Albanian population, in a remarkable act, refused to aid the Germans and refused to turn over lists of Jews residing within the country's borders, reassuring the Jews that they would protect in their country (Fink, 2014).

Furthermore, various governmental agencies gave Jewish families false documentation that allowed them to mix among the population. Muslim Albanians played a significant role in sheltering and protecting their Jewish neighbors. The Albanian resistance helped Jews escape from the Nazis and aided in their transport to safety in other countries. The extraordinary act of savior in Albania can be traced to the phrase: "Besa"—an Albanian moral code of honor (Cohen, 2016). The "Besa" is regarded as the topmost ethical and holy code of behavior in the country. The meaning of the word means literally "keeping a promise"—individual who acts according to the code of the "Besa" keeps their word and will protect you and your family life—it is a guarantee of trust. The assistance provided to the Jews should be understood as a matter of an Albanian national moral honor (Fein, 2008). The people of Albania went to tremendous efforts to provide help and, seemed like they were competing, for the privilege of supporting and assisting the Jews. One can argue that those acts of grace originated from the main principles of the bektashism order of Islam, an Islamic Sufi order originating in the 13th-century, which most of the Muslim community of Albania followed (Mais, 1986). The order merits act of kindness towards all human beings and believes in the value of: "love thy brother".

The "Besa" is based on those principles, as it values acts of compassion and desires to help those in need, even if they belong to a different origin and faith. In conclusion, the "Besa" is based upon faithfulness toward one's word in the form of loyalty or as an allegiance guarantee. It is an obligation and solidarity when conducting oneself with others and secrecy in relation to outsiders (Marashi, 2018).

Conclusion

The study contributes to Holocaust and Balkan studies by emphasizing the importance of culturally embedded moral frameworks in understanding patterns of rescue and solidarity under conditions of occupation and extreme violence. The Holocaust was the biggest act of genocide in the 20th century. It resulted in the extermination of six million Jews and other minorities across Europe by the Nazi regime left an indelible mark on humanity (Jones, 2010). While most of Europe was complicit in the genocide of the Jews, the rescue of the Albanian Jews was an extraordinary display of human decency, courage, and selflessness in times of crisis (Krasniqi, 2018). After the occupation of Albania in 1943, German forces began operating to exterminate all Jews living in Albania and in annexed areas, including western Macedonia. Italian occupation in western Macedonia, which had not been harmed under Italian occupation, was marked as a target, and groups of Jews immediately began to be sent to extermination camps, and their property was plundered. The Germans demanded that Albanian authorities provide them with lists of Jews for deportation, but local authorities evaded compliance and even provided forged documents to Jewish families. The Germans made considerable effort to demonstrate that Albania was an independent state, for reasons of propaganda and pragmatism (as their military situation was difficult and they required genuine cooperation), and consequently refrained from exercising extensive coercion in the country. As a result, Jews in Albania continued to be protected through the population's efforts and the deliberate turning of a blind eye by the administration. Thus, for example, the SS conducted almost no search and deportation operations.

On November 28, 1944, the communist forces of Enver Hoxha took control of Albania within its original borders. According to estimates, there were 1,800 Jews in Albania at the end of the war, seven times the number of Jews who lived there in 1939. After the refugees, especially from Yugoslavia, returned home, 157 Jews remained in September 1946, almost exactly the pre-war number (in reality, their number was even larger, as many had converted to Islam and Christianity to survive and therefore did not appear on the lists). The purpose of German

rule in the region was primarily strategic—the attempt to prevent British freedom of action in the area. To this must be added the geographical conditions and outdated infrastructure, the numerical scarcity of Jews, and the difficulty of locating some of them in the mountainous topographical terrain of Albania and in remote villages. Albania story stands out as a unique case of rescue, where the Albanian government and people, Muslims and Christian alike, risked their own lives to protect and rescue Jews from the Nazi persecution (Savich, 2002). This paper aimed to explore the reasons behind this altruistic act. Kohlberg’s theory has significant implications for moral education and codes such as the “Besa”. One can argue that the people of Albania who followed their moral compass and were guided by the honor code known as “Besa” are in the postconventional level of morality. Kohlberg’s model highlights the importance of fostering an environment that encourages ethical reasoning. The theory also emphasizes the importance of cultural and social norms in shaping moral judgment. The “Besa” and the lack of demonization in Albania were the main reasons why Albania, which was the only European country with most Muslims, achieved what no other country in Europe did (Cohen, 2016). The findings suggest that religious doctrine alone cannot explain this phenomenon; rather, *Besa* operated as a shared cultural framework that unified different religious communities (Malaj,2022). Almost all the Jews within the Albania borders, refugees, or of Albanian origin alike, who dwelled in the country during the Nazi occupation, were saved. Unlike many European contexts where rescuers were isolated individuals, Albania rescue behavior was widely accepted and often supported by local communities, reducing the likelihood of denunciation and collaboration (Malaj,2022).

Remarkably, Albania was the country in Europe that had more Jews at the end of the war than beforehand (Marashi, 2018). The reason so little is known about Albania’s unique role during the Holocaust has a lot to do with the country’s post-war history. Once the war was over, Albania fell under communist control and spent the next half-century behind the Iron Curtain (Fink, 2014). The full picture of the Jewish rescue was revealed only in the early 1990s, after the collapse of communist Albania.

“Yad Vashem”, the Israeli national Holocaust memorial museum. began investigating stories of the rescue of Jews by Albanians, and in 2009, a ceremony was held at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York where descendants of Albanian rescuers and surviving Jews spoke. Albania’s ambassador to the UN, Ferit Hoxha, stated that the rescue story proves that “even though we were under one of the most rigid communist regimes, the Albanian people are noble and capable of acting as courageously as anyone else in Europe.” The Albanian people act of bravery and heroism have been recognized by the state of Israel, and “Yad Vashem” had bestowed the honor of “Righteous Among the Nations” to 75 Albanians for their role in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust (Gurakuqi, 2013). The rescuing of the Albanian Jews during the holocaust is an example of the power of human kindness and solidarity.

Albania demonstrated that, despite the horrors of war and the atrocities committed by the Germans, it is possible to unite and protect innocent lives. The story is a reminder that, even in the heartless and cruelest of times, there can always be hope for morality to triumph over darkness.

References

- Balla, E. (2016). *Greece and Albania during the Second World War*. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(1), 45–54.
- Cohen, M. R. (2016). Albania’s role in rescuing Jews during the holocaust. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 30(1), 109-128.
- Fein, H. (2008). The Albanian rescue of Jews during World War II. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10(1), 71-91.
- Fink, C. (2014). The Albanian righteous among the nations: A case study of rescue during the holocaust. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 16(1), 1-18.
- Fischer, B. J. (2022). *Albanian customary law, religion, and the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust*. **Holocaust and Genocide Studies**, 36(3), 372–394.
- Ghattas, S. (2023). Black power, aboriginal genocide, and the politics of identity. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 25(1), 1-23.

- Greble, E. (2010). Albanian Muslims and Jews during the holocaust. *The American Historical Review*, 115(5), 1403-1423.
- Gurakuqi, G. (2013). Albania: An unsung hero of the holocaust. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research*, 1(1), 47-55.
- Hovhannisyan, G. S. (2022). The Sumgait Massacres: Characteristics and definitions. *International Journal of Armenian Genocide Studies*, 7(2), 23-44.
- Jones, A. (2010). *Genocide: A comprehensive introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Kohlberg, L. (1969). *Stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization*. In D. A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 347-480). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Krasniqi, G. (2018). Albania and the holocaust: Rescue and resistance. *Studia Albanica*, 1, 43-62.
- Mais, Y. (1986). Jews in Albania during the holocaust. *Yad Vashem Studies*, 17, 269-297.
- Malaj, V. (2022). *Albanian customary law, religion, and the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust*. **Holocaust and Genocide Studies**, 36(3), 372-385.
- Marashi, A. (2018). The rescuing of Jews in Albania during World War II: Successes and challenges. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research*, 6(1), 17-28.
- Narvaez, D. (2010). Reconsidering Kohlberg's theory of moral development: Towards a more inclusive and integrative approach. *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(3), 239-253.
- Nucci, L. P. (1989). The relevance of Kohlberg's theory of moral development to the challenge of contemporary moral education. *Educational Psychologist*, 24(2), 167-182.
- Pugliese, S. (2024). *Fascist transnationalism during the occupation of Albania (1939-1943)*. **Modern Italy**. Advance online publication.
- Savich, C. (2002). Albania and the rescue of Jews during the holocaust. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4(4), 579-593.
- Trošt, T., & David, L. (2022). Renationalizing memory in the post-Yugoslav region. *Journal of Genocide*
- Stafa-Shoshori, M (2019) *Hebrenjte ne Shqiperi*, Shtëpia Botuese Onufri, Tiranë.