

# Rescue of Sephardic Jews by Muslims in the Holocaust

Yitzchak Kerem\*

*Most of the Sephardi Jews of Greece and the former Yugoslavia were annihilated in the Holocaust. In contrast, relatively few Jews from North Africa perished during the short period of German and Italian occupation. This might explain the fact that only in the past thirty years have Muslim Righteous Gentiles come to the forefront. Categories of the rescuers include Turkish and Persian diplomats, Muslim individuals and families who harbored Jews needing protection from arrest and deportation in Bosnia, Albania, Tunisia, and France, and even an imam in Paris. The study will also analyze motives for rescue, and present selected cases of Muslim rescuers in each country where the phenomenon has been recognized; as well as a more acute assessment of geographical boundaries, and a depiction of the relevant Muslim environments where rescue of Jews occurred under German occupation.*

In many countries, Jews befriended Muslims. In the Ottoman Empire, until modernization set in during the latter half of the 19th century and the Tanzimat Reforms gave legal equality between Muslims and members of the minorities, the status of the Jew as a *Dhimmi*, a member of protected religious minority and part of the People of the Book, was lower than that of the Muslims and showed inferiority. However, once the Balkan countries became independent, relations between Jews and Muslims were more equal. The Jew as a minority in North Africa, was often resented or identified with Colonialism, but had frequent daily contact with the mainstream Muslim society. The days had long passed where a Jew could not ride a horse, since this would mean symbolically that he was above a Muslim.<sup>1</sup> By the time WWII arrived, the Jew in Bosnia or in Tunisia had contact with Muslims; and these connections led to relationships of rescue for a small number of Jews and Muslims.

---

[\\*ykerem@actcom.co.il](mailto:ykerem@actcom.co.il)

<sup>1</sup> Himmelfarb 2007: 104.

Nechama Tec presents a new classification of the altruism of rescuers: normative and autonomous. She defined the two terms as such: “Normative altruism refers to helping behavior demanded, supported, and rewarded by society. In contrast, autonomous altruism refers to selfless help, which is neither reinforced nor otherwise rewarded by society and may at times involve grave risks not only of physical injury but of social ostracism”.<sup>2</sup>

Tec adds six categories of shared characteristics of rescuers and conditions from her research, which were similar to those from different European countries, but can also be applied to the regions in North Africa, the Middle East, and throughout the Mediterranean basin where Muslims rescued Jews in the Holocaust. They include: (1) The ability of the rescuer to blend with the environment, a characteristic that resembles closely the concept of marginality. But because marginality has a negative connotation, instead one can employ the word “individuality” or “separateness” to describe this characteristic. (2) A high level of independence and self-reliance that causes these individuals to pursue personal goals regardless of how these goals are viewed by others. (3) An enduring, strong commitment to help the needy that began before the war and that included a wide range of activities. (4) A matter-of-fact attitude toward rescue that sees it as a mere duty, which explains the repeated denials of rescuers that their protection of Jews was extraordinary or heroic. (5) An unplanned beginning of rescue efforts. (6) A universalistic perception of the needy; the ability to disregard and set aside all attributes of the needy except their dependence and helplessness.<sup>3</sup>

Eva Fogelman in theorizing motivations of Righteous Gentiles presents five categories: *Moral* – people who were prompted to rescue Jews by thoughts or feelings of conscience; *Judeophilic* – people who felt a closeness to the Jewish people as a whole; *network* – people fueled by anti-Nazi ideology, joining others who were politically opposed to the Third Reich; *concerned professionalism* – people such as doctors or social workers who held jobs in which helping was a natural and logical extension; and *children* who helped rescue Jews at the behest of their families.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Tec 1986: 151-152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Fogelman 1994: 159.

Fogelman defined three types of rescuer morality, pertinent in understanding rescuer motivations, behavior, and responses to the calls of Jews in distress; *ideological, religious, and emotional*:

*Ideological* morality was based on rescuers' ethical beliefs and notions of justice. A congruence between moral beliefs and action had always been part of their lives. They stood up for their beliefs; and so, when they were asked to help, they did. They were also more likely than other moral types to be politically involved. Some belonged to socialist or communist parties or in a few cases to nationalist parties.

*Religious-moral* rescuers described their sense of right and wrong in religious rather than ethical terms. Their morality was based on religious tenets such as "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" and precepts about how to treat others and how to live their lives. Religious values, including a tolerance for people who were different, were unshakable and permanent in these rescuers. During the war and after, when faced with dire circumstances or morally complex questions, these rescuers relied on their faith to see them through crises. [...]

*Emotional-moral*, rescuers felt a compassion for victims of Nazi persecution that compelled them to help. Emotional-moral rescuers were the rarest type of moral rescuers. They responded to the helping situation out of compassion and pity, not just from an ideological sense of right and wrong. Theirs was a morality based on caring and responsibility [...].<sup>5</sup>

### *Albania*

Of the 22,000 righteous gentiles honored by Yad Vashem, the official Israel government Holocaust memorial, over 80 have been Muslims, 69 Muslim Albanians.<sup>6</sup> In Albania, Muslims who harbored Jews were motivated by a code of honor called "*besa*"; "keeping the promise". According to Norman Gershman of St. Louis, who did an exhibition on Albanian Muslim rescuers who risked their lives to

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 163-164.

<sup>6</sup> *Jerusalem Post*, May 7, 2007. See also Nidam-Orvieto and Steinfeldt 2013.

save Jews from annihilation by the Nazis, ‘The Albanian villagers were motivated to risk their lives by the simple concept of helping one’s neighbor’.<sup>7</sup> Ahmet Kazamustafa, a history and religious studies professor at the Washington University in St. Louis noted that “saving a life is a universally acknowledged Muslim value” and “protecting a life has always ranked at the very top of moral and legal categories articulated by legal and theological scholars in Islam”. *Besa* was a code of national honor, emanating from strong Muslim and ethical beliefs. Mughal and Rosen analyzed *besa* as follows: “Its Ustaša significance was that once a family was hosted by the Albanians, those individuals could trust their hosts with their lives and the lives of their family. These acts originated from compassion, loving-kindness and a desire to help those in need, even those of another faith or origin”.<sup>8</sup> According to the Quran, “If someone seeks refuge in Allah, give him refuge. If someone asks in the name of Allah, give him something. If someone asks you a favor, repay him. If you cannot find anything to repay him, then pray for him so he knows that you appreciate what he has done for you”.<sup>9</sup> If someone turns to a Muslim or to believers in Allah for rescue from danger, the Muslims have a theological obligation to comply and provide assistance.

Lime Balla, born in 1910, noted a group of 17 Jews who came from the capital Tirana to her village Gjergi in 1943 during the holy month of Ramadan. “We divided them among the villagers”, Balla said and added, “We were poor. We had no dining table, but we didn’t allow them to pay for food or shelter. We grew vegetables for all to eat. For 15 months, we dressed them as farmers like us. Even the local police knew”.<sup>10</sup> Lime Balla noted that she did not know initially that the refugees were Jewish and she viewed that she and her husband were sheltering God’s children, refugees escaping from the Germans, under their *besa*.

Mosheh Mandil and his family fled Belgrade and found refuge in Kosovo, but were interned by the Italians for more than a year. The Mandil family and 120 other Jews escaped to Albania. When the Germans replaced the Italian occupation in Albania in autumn 1943, the teenager Refik Veseli hid the Mandil and Ben-Yosef families, totaling five adults and two children, in Tirana, but when the situation

---

<sup>7</sup> Townsend 2010: 11.

<sup>8</sup> Mughal and Rosen 2010: 9.

<sup>9</sup> Koran, Sura An-Nas: Seeking Refuge in Allah, Chapter 114

<sup>10</sup> Mughal and Rosen 2010: 12.

became too dangerous, he decided to move them to his parents' mountain village Kruja. He gave them villager peasant clothes, forged documents, new Muslim names, and accompanied them by foot to Kruja. Despite initial hesitation the Veseli parents took in the Jewish refugees, gave them shelter for a year, and fed them. When the Germans searched for Jews, the Veseli family hid them in a nearby cave.<sup>11</sup>

Refik never debated whether he should save the Jewish families, but how to do so. Going by car was too dangerous, so he transported the above two Jewish families by donkey to Kruja. He explained the historic rationale for taking the risk to save the Jewish families:

Our people had been underdogs for generations. All Albanians had been oppressed: by the Serbs, by the Austro-Hungarians, by the Turks, by the Italians, and now by the Germans. We were used to being under occupation. It was in our blood to help whoever suffered. Every child knew it was risky to help Jews, but help was a natural action. We saved only a few Jews. Others saved more.<sup>12</sup>

Several of the Albanian rescuers regarded the Jews as brothers and their rescuing of Jewish friends as part of their devotion to Islam and a religious duty. The rescuer Kasem Jakup Kocerri noted, "We have been a family of Muslims for 500 years. To save a life is to go to paradise. *Besa* came from the Quran".<sup>13</sup> Hamid and Xhemal, brothers of the above Refik Veseli, stated, "Our parents were devout Muslims and believed, as we do, that every knock on the door is a blessing from God. [...] *Besa* exists in every Albanian soul".<sup>14</sup>

Including local Jews, mostly of Ioaniote Romaniote<sup>15</sup> origin, there may have been approximately 500 Jews in Albania during WWII. In the late 1930s, Jewish United States Ambassador to Albania, Herman Bernstein, arranged for Jews from Austria and Germany to settle legally in Albania. In February 1939 one hundred

---

<sup>11</sup> Sarnier 1997: 48-49.

<sup>12</sup> Silver 1992: 110.

<sup>13</sup> Gershman 2008: 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Jews of Byzantine origin and historically they spoke Judeo-Greek.

Jews came from Vienna and sixty settled in Tirana and another forty in Durres.<sup>16</sup> Adeli estimated that between 800 to 1,000 Jews found safety in Albania, a predominantly Muslim country, in WWII.<sup>17</sup>

The Albanian rescuers did not share common languages, nor common cultures, with most of those Jews they rescued. Most of the Jews rescued were foreigners from Poland, Germany, Serbia, Macedonia, and Greece. They outnumbered the Albanian Jews four or five to one. The Muslim rescuers unquestionably accepted those they harbored as their “own siblings”.<sup>18</sup>

Only seven Jews were detected by the Nazis and deported to Auschwitz. Several were also betrayed. Rudy Abravanel reported that a group of his relatives were murdered by Albanian smugglers who were supposed to take them across the border into Albania.<sup>19</sup> The *Balli Kombetar* Nazi fascist collaborationist group, which was responsible for killing the Jewish Ardel family, emerged after October, 1942, in Vlora. Three of its members joined the Rexhap Mitrovica cabinet in January 1944.<sup>20</sup> This cabinet led the Nazi-created Greater Albania Regime which was led by Kosovo Albanian Muslims and at the initiative of Germany sought to include Kosovo in a Greater Albania. While many Muslim individuals in Albania protected Jews, the regime was an arm of the Nazis.

Yitshak Adijas, age 8, and his parents, were released as Italian subjects from the Monopol internment camps in Skopje in March 1943, and did not share the fate of the other Sephardic Jews of Monastir and Skopje deported to Treblinka and annihilated there. They were assisted by the Italians to flee to Albania, but when the Germans took control and ousted their former Italian Axis partners in September 1943, the Skopjean Sephardic Adijas family was on the run. They roamed through villages and enjoyed partisan protection. Adijas portrayed the villages, not all Muslim, but some also Greek-Orthodox, as unassuming and helping those who passed by without feeling daunted, endangered, or imperiled. While his 8-9 year old memories were pretty simple and general, he did not feel then that local Albanians were greatly imperiled or endangered by his Jewish and unwarranted

---

<sup>16</sup> Sarnier 1997: 33.

<sup>17</sup> Adeli 2010: 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Yad Vashem M.31/5666. See also Rivlin 1998: 414-423.

<sup>20</sup> Savich 2005.

presence under the eyes of the German military regime searching Jews for arrest, deportation, and ensuing annihilation.<sup>21</sup>

Mufail Biçaku and his son Niazi hid twenty-six Jews in Struga, Albania. High in the mountains in Albania near the border, in an area protected by the Communist partisans in nearby Macedonia, Yugoslavia, six families – the Rabenovic family (of Kosovska-Mitrovica) with five members,<sup>22</sup> the Sadikario family (from Monastir), Aroesti (from Monastir) consisting of four members, the Shefer, Behar, and Rebeje (Reuvain) families, and individuals like Rafael Faraggi and Tova Baruhovitch (Buna) all had fled to diverse cities in Albania to avoid Nazi arrest and deportation. When the Italian occupation fell in autumn 1943, they fled further into more remote areas of Albania. Finally through contacts, they reached the village of Charishte. This village was too dangerous since about half the population was pro-fascist. They were led to the Biçaku family in nearby Struga, a village 2200 meters high and snowed in for six months in the winter which had been freed by the Yugoslavian partisans. The families were given a shack in the forest, which was too small for everyone, and given other alternative hiding places with local Muslim families. The father Mufail died, and the 17 year old son Niazi took care of all of the Jewish refugees mentioned above. He brought them food and firewood.<sup>23</sup> On a Muslim feast, which baffled the Jewish refugees, the local Muslims brought the Jews a sheep. The Jews were hidden until September 1944, when the Germans retreated. The Muslim Biçakus intervened on behalf of this group of Jews to avoid arrest by the Germans, and remained devoted to their safety, welfare, and needs.

Often, the Germans searched for Jews in hiding in Albania in cities and even in remote mountainous areas and in villages, but those hosts who took it upon themselves to hide the Jews, protected them, and deflected the Germans from their suspicions. Clearly these numerous Muslim rescuers risked their lives, and unlike in other countries, none of the Albanian rescuers were found harboring Jews and sent to Auschwitz as punishment.

The Mufti Haj Amin El-Husseini of Jerusalem recruited Muslims in Albania, Kosovo, and Bosnia to form SS Division No. 21. Furthermore in Kosovo, ethnic

---

<sup>21</sup> Adijas 1994:162-171.

<sup>22</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, 0.3/9815, Interview with Shemuel Rav-On, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, Righteous Gentile Department file 6782 on Mufal and Niazi Biçaku.

Albanians formed the SS Skenderberg Unit which arrested and deported Kosovo Jewry in 1943 to Bergen Belsen.<sup>24</sup> Less than half of those recruited in Bosnia were not particularly motivated or suited to fight in the army, but thought Germany would be victorious and would defend them against annihilation at the hands of the Serbian Chetniks. The latter were reacting to Croatian Ustaša killings against Serbs, which they believed were supported by Muslims. The recruits were a very small portion of the Muslims in the respective countries. The Waffen SS Handžar unit of Bosnian Muslims was a combat unit, and did not participate in atrocities nor staff concentration camps.<sup>25</sup> While the Mufti and other activists were very enthusiastic supporters of Germany, in 1943 Muslim leaders met with him in Sarajevo and warned him against the Germans and their support of the Serbian Chetniks against the Muslims:

Islamic leaders journeyed from as far away as Albania to speak with the Mufti, and he received members of nearly all of the multitude of groups that composed the post-Spaho Bosnian Muslim political scene. He was told not only of the disregard displayed by the Croatian government for the Muslims' welfare, but of the bitterness held by some Muslims for the Germans, whom the former believed would bring peace and prosperity with their arrival in 1941. They also voiced their disapproval of Axis military assistance provided to their arch-enemies – the Serbian Četniks.<sup>26</sup>

Albanian Muslim rescue of Jews was not a given, but the overwhelming incidents of rescue point to a trend of Muslim altruism at that time and place. Most of the Albanian cases were instances of Tec's theory of autonomous altruism, that was selfless, was not rewarded by society, and posed grave risks to the rescuers. Correlating to Tec's six characteristics of rescuers and conditions, most were relevant to Albania: the ability to blend into the environment, a high degree of independence and self-reliance, an enduring commitment to help the needy, viewing

---

<sup>24</sup> Lebel 2007: 206-207.

<sup>25</sup> Lepre 1997: 315-317.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.



rescue as a matter-of-fact duty, an unplanned beginning, and a universalistic perception of helping the needy.

*Former Yugoslavia*

In Sarajevo, Bosnia, there were several cases where Muslims protected and sheltered Jews. Again, they were a small minority versus those Muslims who cooperated with the Nazis and the controlling Croatian Ustaša in their attempts to deport or exterminate the Jews of Bosnia. Until January 2013, twenty-four individuals, couples, and families were recognized as Righteous Gentiles from Bosnia at Yad Vashem.<sup>27</sup> A little less than half were Muslims as identified by their names. Bosnia had a difficult mountainous terrain. Many of its citizens opposed ethnic persecution and annihilation perpetrated by the controlling Croatian Ustaša government, Nazi occupation troops, and collaborationist Serbian Četnik forces. This created conditions leading to Bosnia becoming a center of partisan military operations.<sup>28</sup> In 1941, the Islamic community of Bosnia and Herzegovina organized one of numerous and exceptional “Muslim resolutions” publicly opposing the mass-killing of Serbs, Jews, and Roma by the Ustaša. On the 14th of August 1941, the annual assembly of the “El Hidaje” organized such a protest in Sarajevo by initiating a town resolution signed by thousands of Muslims/Bosniaks and many of their most prominent members and leaders.<sup>29</sup> The document protested Croatian state-sponsored persecution of Serbs, Jews, and Roma, condemned Muslims who took part in such crimes, and called for the perpetrators, irrespective of religion, to be brought to justice.<sup>30</sup> Sixty-five prominent citizens, among them high officials in Islamic schools, authors, doctors, and businessmen, signed the letter.<sup>31</sup> While some Bosnian Muslims held privileged positions in the NDH and Ustaša government, many other Muslims very quickly became dissatisfied with the cruel treatment of the later regime towards minorities. On 12 November 1941, leading members of the Muslim community in Banja Luka sent a signed letter to two Muslim government ministers, Džafer Kulenović and Hilmija Bešlić. Adeli described the document as follows:

---

<sup>27</sup> See Righteous Gentile lists at: [www.yadvashem.org](http://www.yadvashem.org)

<sup>28</sup> Adeli 2010: 10-12.

<sup>29</sup> Kreso 2006: 126. See also Hadžijahić 1973: 274-282.

<sup>30</sup> Adeli 2010: 12.

<sup>31</sup> Kreso 2006: 88-89.

The letter opened with an indictment of the regime's atrocities and stressed that religious tolerance was a Bosnian tradition. The authors requested that the government reassert control over the 'wild' members of the Ustaša, some of whom had disguised themselves as Muslims by donning fezzes when carrying out massacres of Serbs. The authors warned that ethnic persecution jeopardized the state's interests by provoking a violent reaction and urged the state to guarantee the security of its citizens' life, property, and religious freedom. Again, dozens of well-known Muslims signed their names to the document.<sup>32</sup>

Between September and December 1941 letters of protest were written by Muslims in Prijedor, Sarajevo, Mostar, Bijeljina, and Tuzla against the Ustaša killings of the Serbs, Jews, and Roma. Many of those who signed these letters were later imprisoned in concentration camps or died in combat as part of the multi-ethnic Partisan Revolutionary army.<sup>33</sup> Adeli noted that the public protests by the Bosnian Muslim community against the abusive treatment of minorities were unique in the history of the Second World War.<sup>34</sup> The numerous mass actions of the Muslims in Bosnia protesting Ustaša actions against Serbs, Jews, and Roma would be what Fogelman coined as *network* of Righteous Gentiles who opposed Nazi ideology and were politically opposed to the Third Reich and the Ustaša-Axis alliance, program, and actions.

The NDH, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* in Croatian) led by Ante Pavelić, was a murderous state which set up the Jasenovac death camp and other deadly labor and concentration camps, and targeted the annihilation of Jews and Serbs. The NDH also occupied Bosnia after the Axis attack in 1941 and parts of Serbia including Zemun, opposite Belgrade. In general, the fascist Croatian regime viewed "the Muslims of Bosnia as Islamized Croats, and actually very admirable Croats since they had even been willing to adopt Islam under the Turks to gain autonomy and maintain their political and economic control over

---

<sup>32</sup> Adeli 2010: 13.

<sup>33</sup> Kreso 2006: 89.

<sup>34</sup> Adeli 2010: 13.

what had been medieval Croatia”.<sup>35</sup> The Croatian fascist pro-Nazi regime co-opted Bosnian Moslems to break up the former Yugoslavia Kingdom and establish a greater Croatia, spared them of the mass violence against Serbs and Jews, and recognized two state religions; Catholic Christianity and Islam. On the other hand, many of the Bosnian Muslims in the interwar period with their leading political party, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, had embraced interwar Yugoslavism in order to escape the assimilating pressures of both the Serbs and the Croats. These Bosnian Muslims tended to favor the partisans and their broad-based Yugoslav emphasis on “brotherhood and unity”.<sup>36</sup> Even in concentration camps under the Croats in the NDH, Jews, Christians, and Muslims cooperated in party organizations, and food-sharing cooperatives in order to survive and also “to defy the Ustaša notions of ethnic separation”.<sup>37</sup> Such cooperation turned into a matter of principle among large parts of the Bosnian population. This type of alliance according to Fogelman was “*ideological morality*” based on pre-WWII political party alliances, or common Socialist or Communist affiliation, etc.

In a rare scenario, the Muslim residents of Travnik protested the deportation of the local Jewish community. Lisa Adeli analyzed and depicted the event:

Although the Bosnian Muslims occupied a relatively privileged position in the NDH, and some sought to work within the Ustaša government, many Muslims quickly became dissatisfied with the harsh treatment of minorities. On several occasions, their dissatisfaction was expressed publicly, partly because of the erroneous belief that the atrocities were the result of overzealous individuals rather than official policy and partly because the Muslims felt, at least initially, that they had some power to effect change within the state. One spontaneous protest occurred when the mostly Muslim residents of Travnik, Bosnia, observed the local Ustaša organizing a large-scale deportation of the city’s Jews in January 1942. Because of the extremely cold weather at that time, many residents of the city feared for the health of the people scheduled for deportation. Although the Ustaša

---

<sup>35</sup> Fischer 2007: 208.

<sup>36</sup> Bougarel 2003: 102.

<sup>37</sup> Adeli 2010: 15.

authorities refused to delay the transport until the weather improved, a compromise was reached; officials assigned a Jewish doctor, Josef Konforti, to accompany the transport in order to reassure the concerned citizens that efforts were being made to safeguard the health of Travnik's Jews during the journey.<sup>38</sup>

When the Muslim truck driver, Izet Arnautović, learned that the Jews of Travnik were to be arrested (which occurred on January 25th, 1942), he immediately made several trips to rescue people.<sup>39</sup> On October 20th 1941, the Jews on the first transport from Travnik were taken to the Okučuni, Jasenovac, Stara Gradishka, and Kroshitsa concentration camps, and the third arrest took place on March 24th, 1942.<sup>40</sup>

In another rare act of altruism, when the Jews of Sarajevo were being rounded up and sent to concentration camps, Dr. Muhamed Kundurovic, a Bosnian Muslim, reported to a military camp where Jewish women and children were being interned and declared that they were carriers of an infectious disease. This lie enabled Jews to get out of the camp and provided Kundurovic a means to help them escape. One Jewish boy assisted that day through these efforts was Albert Musafia, age eleven. In the following weeks and months Gentile neighbors assisted the boy and his family. For a period of time, the family was hidden in an apartment in the center of Sarajevo.<sup>41</sup>

In April 1941, Muslim Mustafa Hardaga offered his Jewish friend Yosef Kabilio, housing after his apartment was bombed by the invading Germans. This Muslim opened himself to his Jewish friend and his family; "Yosef, you are our brother, and Rivkah, you are our sister, and the children are our children. Everything we have is yours, this is your home".<sup>42</sup> Paldiel described the Hardagas as devout Muslims and devoted to saving him and his family:

The Hardagas were devout Muslims, and the women of the household customarily veiled their faces in the presence of strangers. Hardaga's hospitality was all-encompassing, however, "Our wives will not hide their

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 11-12. See also Sindik 1972: 211.

<sup>39</sup> Konforti 1976:17-18, 50, 56, 76, 78.

<sup>40</sup> Loker 1988: 164-165.

<sup>41</sup> Tauber 2007: and Schwartz 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Silver 1992, 103.

faces from you”, he assured Kabilio, “for you are like our own family. You are in danger, and we shall not abandon you”. As Zayneba [Mustafa Hardaga’s wife] remarks in her statement, this was the first time that a man who was not a relative had ever slept in their house.<sup>43</sup>

When Yosef was arrested in his factory, and later sent to a local prison with seventy other Jews, and then in Pale, Zayneba often came to supply food to him and accompanying prisoners. After escaping a death sentence, he received food and shelter temporarily before joining his family in the safe-Italian zone. Zayneba’s father, Ahmed Sadik, hid and helped the Jewish Papo family get to the Italian zone, but later was denounced for assisting Jews and murdered in Jasenovac.<sup>44</sup> After Sadik was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem, a *sheikh* representing the local Sarajevo Moslem Religious Council in a ceremony told Zayneba that her deeds and those of her late husband, “were in the spirit of the prophet Mohammed and in full accord with Islam’s teachings on the importance of aiding strangers in distress”.<sup>45</sup> When asked why she and her father endangered their lives, she answered “Humanity does not know fear”.<sup>46</sup> Fogelman would place the Hardagas as “Emotional-moral” rescuers who helped victims of the Germans and responded out of compassion.

Bosnian National Museum chief, the Muslim librarian Dervis Korkut, not only saved and hid the Sarajevo Hagadah of medieval pre-expulsion Spanish origin, but he hid Mira Papo in April 1942, brought her home, and passed her off as a Muslim servant. The story is presented as such in Yad Vashem records:

Derviš Korkut (b. 1888), was the curator of the municipal museum in Sarajevo, and knew many languages. Korkut was a well-known person in the city and, among Jews he was known as a friend with a deep interest in the culture and folklore of the Jews of Sarajevo. Korkut published several articles on this subject, and in his writings he described the important contribution

---

<sup>43</sup> Paldiel 2007: 328.

<sup>44</sup> Silver 1992: 104-106.

<sup>45</sup> Paldiel 2007: 330.

<sup>46</sup> Gottfried 2001: 62.

made by Sephardi Jews to society. In November 1941, Donkica Papo, a Sarajevo native, joined Tito's partisans with a number of her friends from the Jewish youth movement *Hashomer Hatzair*. At some point in 1942, when their unit was ambushed, they were ordered to disperse, and Papo eventually found her way back to Sarajevo, where she hoped to find a member of her family who could shelter her. However, when she found no one there to help her, Papo met a man who had worked with her father. He was surprised to see her, brought her to the museum building, and told her to sit down and wait for him to return. A few minutes later, a religious Muslim entered the room and she was introduced to him as a Jewish girl who had returned from a concentration camp and needed a place of refuge. This man was Derviš Korkut and he explained that his young wife had recently given birth to a son and offered Papo shelter in his home in the guise of a Muslim servant. Papo quickly accepted the offer. Korkut then took her home and introduced Papo to his wife, Servet, who gave Papo a warm welcome. The Korkuts gave her a room in the attic, dressed her in traditional Muslim garb, and introduced her as a Muslim to their guests. While hidden there, Papo managed to make contact with some family members in another city and, after five months with the Korkuts, they helped her obtain a travel permit so she could go and join her family. Some time later, Papo (later Mira Baković) rejoined the partisans, where she served as a nurse attached to a fighting unit until the end of the war. One day during the war, representatives of the *Einsatzstab Rosenberg*, an organization established by the Germans to plunder the cultural and artistic treasures of the Jews, arrived at the Sarajevo museum to confiscate the famous 14th century Sarajevo Hagadah. When they confronted Korkut, he told them that some Germans had already taken the artifact. They accepted his story, although the Hagadah was actually carefully hidden in Korkut's home. After the war, Derviš Korkut returned the Hagadah to the municipal museum".<sup>47</sup> The novel, *People of the Book* by Geraldine Brooks, which is based on the testimony of Mira Papo, interviewed at Yad Vashem, recounts the brave acts of heroism by Croatian Muslims who took the Sarajevo

---

<sup>47</sup> <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4021797>

According to other versions, Korkut smuggled the Hagadah to a Muslim cleric, who hid it underneath the floor of a mosque.

Hagadah from the local Jewish community for safekeeping during the Holocaust.<sup>48</sup> As one of the most valuable and unique historic Jewish illuminated manuscripts, it was highly sought after by the Nazis for their museum of the Jewish people which they planned after they intended to liquidate the Jews of Europe. Local Muslims frustrated these aims and preserved the book so it could be repatriated to the Jewish community after the war.

Dervis was put on trial in 1946 by the Tito regime for war crimes and for aiding the Fascists, but was never prosecuted. Korkut, who died in 1969, was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile in 1994. When the Serbs herded Kosovo refugees into camps, in 1999, Dervis Korkut's daughter Lamija Jaha and her Muslim husband escaped the camp, tracked down the head of the Jewish community in Pristina, Kosovo, and then were flown to safety in Israel. Mira's son Davor met the children of his mother's rescuer at Ben Gurion Airport.

The existing option of Serbian Jews to escape to Bosnia and be aided by Muslims, emphasizes that there were cordial relations between Jews and Muslims in the former Yugoslavia, and that the Jews felt that they could depend on Muslims in critical moments to save their lives. While the example below shows that in those dangerous times for the Jews, not all of those who fled succeeded, Muslims could be depended on to do their part in attempting to assist the Jews in danger. In his autobiography and account of his imprisonment in the Jasenovac death camp, Cadik I. Danon Braco wrote:

My family, father Isidor, mother Dona, sister Sida and myself, managed a few days upon the entry of the Germans in Belgrade to go to Tuzla to my father's brother, Moše Danon. The elder sister Sarina with her husband went inland to Serbia and joined the preparations for the uprising. At the end of 1941 a Muslim woman came from Mostar, sent by our family with passes for my father and my mother, to take them to Mostar; Sida and I planned to go to Majevisa to the Partisans; but our attempt failed. However, when the Muslim woman came with the passes, my father and I were already in prison and

---

<sup>48</sup> Brooks 2008: 47-90, 371.

taken to the Jasenovac camp. My mother with a veil over her face went to Mostar and was followed by my sister Sida.<sup>49</sup>

In Kosovo, where the Albanian Muslim Kosovars were a majority, no cases of Muslim rescue were known neither among the local Muslim Albanians, nor the Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims.<sup>50</sup> The Albanian SS Division *Skenderbeg* and German troops arrested the Jews of Pristina on May 14th, 1944,<sup>51</sup> sent them to the Samiste death camp in Belgrade where they were tortured for a month, and then were deported to Bergen Belsen in Germany.

In Macedonia, there were few Righteous Gentiles, and the Bulgarian army deported more than 7,000 Jews from Monastir, Skopje, and Shtip to Treblinka; where they all were exterminated upon arrival in late March 1943. The few known Righteous Gentiles were eastern Orthodox Christians. In north western Macedonia there were many Muslim Albanians, but Jews did not live in those regions or flee there.

### *Greece*

In Athens, on March 24th-25th 1944 Passover, eight hundred Jews were arrested when reporting to the synagogue to receive *matzot* and register at the weekly sessions that the Nazis required of the local Jews. While the Turkish Jews were in the Haidari prison camp with the other Jews awaiting deportation to Auschwitz-Birkenau, a representative of the Turkish embassy came to the camp and was able to release the twenty Turkish subjects due to the neutral status of Turkey in WWII.<sup>52</sup> Some of these people were men who had lost their status as Turkish nationals after Turkey had only allowed women and children to retain Turkish nationality abroad. The Jews were protected by the Turkish embassy personnel and sent to Turkey by train in continuous weekly groups of 5-6 people, thus enabling them to survive. They returned to Greece after the liberation.

---

<sup>49</sup> Danon Braco 2006: 17.

<sup>50</sup> Djokic 2003:125-128.

<sup>51</sup> Loker 1988: 283-284.

<sup>52</sup> Kerem 1986: 77-109.



In the Bulgarian occupation zone in Thrace, a family of four found refuge in the Turkish consulate in Cuomotini and were exempted from deportation to Treblinka in early March 1943.<sup>53</sup>

### *Turkey*

Several Turkish diplomats in France, Greece, Rhodes, and even Poland assisted Jews facing Nazi persecution. This was part of their task as diplomats. Most did not risk their lives to do this and while they may have acted forcefully against German soldiers organizing and deporting Jews, they enjoyed diplomatic immunity. Turkish French ambassador Erkin was recalled to Turkey in punishment for his rescue activities of Jews in France. Turkish consul Ulkumen serving in Rhodes exceeded his sovereignty, tried to act on behalf of all the arrested Jews, was threatened by the German officers for crossing his diplomatic mandate, and in the end, was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem since it was shown that he endangered his life trying to rescue Jews. None of the Turkish diplomats in France were recognized as Righteous Gentiles, none of the others were have been known to risk their lives, none of the other Turkish diplomats were threatened by the Nazis for abusing their diplomatic immunity, and no Jews rescued ever came forward in writing to Yad Vashem to recommend these other diplomats as Righteous Gentiles.

İsmail Necdet Kent (1911–September 20, 2002) was a Turkish diplomat who went beyond the call of duty to save Jews during WWII. While he served as vice consul-general in Marseilles (1941-1944), a major port of embarkation, he gave Turkish citizenship to dozens of Turkish Jews living in France who did not have proper identity papers and had gathered in southern France during the war as did many other refugees.

At some time in 1943, an assistant at the Turkish consulate told Kent that the Germans had just loaded 80 Turkish Jews living in Marseilles into cattle cars for immediate transport to probable death in Germany. Kent later recalled, “To this day, I remember the inscription on the wagon: ‘This wagon may be loaded with 20 head of cattle and 500 kilograms of grass’”. Kent approached the Gestapo commander at the station, and demanded that the Jews be released, as they were Turkish citizens

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 95-96, and Chary 1972: 106-107.

and Turkey was neutral. The official refused to do so, saying that the people were nothing but Jews. Kent and his assistant quickly got on the train, too. The German official asked him to get off, but Kent refused. At the next station in Arlès, German officers boarded and apologized to Kent for trying to let him off at Marseilles; they had a car waiting outside to return him to his office. Kent explained that the mistake was that 80 Turkish citizens had been loaded on the train. “As a representative of a government that rejected such treatment for religious beliefs, I could not consider leaving them there”, he said. Surprised at his uncompromising stance, the Germans ultimately let everyone off the train.<sup>54</sup>

Kent’s heroism was not limited to this one action. In contrast to some other foreign representatives stationed in Marseilles, Kent reached out to the Jewish community, issuing Turkish identity documents to scores of Turkish Jews living in southern France, or those who had fled there and did not hold valid Turkish passports. He went to Gestapo headquarters to protest against their latest action in Marseilles: the stripping of males in the street to determine whether or not they were Jews (by circumcision). The consul-general rebuked the German commander and informed him that circumcision did not necessarily prove an individual’s Jewish identity. Kent said, “When I saw the emptiness in the commander’s eyes, I realized that he did not understand what I am saying. And I said that I will accept to be examined by their doctors”. He told the Germans that Muslim men, as he was, were also circumcised.<sup>55</sup>

In 2001, Kent, Namık Kemal Yolga and Selahattin Ülkümen, also Turkish diplomats who had worked in Europe and saved Jews during World War II, were honored with Turkey’s Supreme Service Medal. Previously, Ulkumen received the Righteous Gentile distinction from Yad Vashem in Israel, for rescuing Jews from deportation in late July 1944 during the Holocaust as a young 29 year-old consul in Rhodes. Until now he has been the only Turkish citizen recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem since no witnesses were located or recommended on their own the other Turkish diplomats.

The latest research points to an opposite trend where Turkey did not sanction rescue in France and the activities of Ambassador Behiç Erkin eventually were

---

<sup>54</sup> Ojalvo 1992: 37-40.

<sup>55</sup> See Reisman 2010: 154-160.

scorned by both Turkey, Vichy France, and Germany. He was recalled to Ankara in June 1943. He was removed because Ankara could not withstand pressure by Germany against his rescue activities, and endure its frustration after losing Stalingrad, and an implied threat of invasion into Turkey.<sup>56</sup> The Gestapo in France resented his activities to rescue Jews of Turkish origin. There was great pressure put on the Turkish government to recall Erkin, both in Ankara via German ambassador Franz von Papen and in other channels like through the Reichstag. Previously, on May 15, 1942, Turkish ambassador Behiç Erkin was frustrated that the French Vichy government rejected his proposals to save Turkish Jews and he wrote to Ankara suggesting that Turkey should find a way to retaliate against the Vichy government, but the Deputy Vice-Foreign Minister responded that it was against the grain of the principle of Turkey regarding the Jewish question.<sup>57</sup> This motivated Erkin to protect Turkish Jews and send them however possible back to Turkey by train and to safety.

Between March 15, 1943 and May 23, 1944, the Turkish embassy in Vichy and the consulate general in Paris arranged trains to return Turkish Jews back to Turkey. There were at least eight groups of ca. 53 people each.<sup>58</sup> Erkin was ordered by Ankara not to send Jews to Turkey convoy by convoy, but he noted that “it is impossible to prevent Turkish citizens to go back to their country”.<sup>59</sup> When Erkin left, rescue of Turkish Jews dropped greatly. On December 21, 1943, Germany announced that after January 31, 1944, Turkish Jews would be treated like German Jews.<sup>60</sup> In an April 14, 1944 memorandum of the United States War Refugee Board, Ira Hirshmann, special attaché in Ankara attested that it had never been the policy of Turkey to intervene on behalf of French Jews of Turkish heritage. Only on August 1, 1944, did Turkey sever relations with Germany and joined the side of the Allies.<sup>61</sup> It is known that at least 1,659 Turkish Jews were deported from France to the death camps.<sup>62</sup> In the Paris area, according to the 1941 census, there were 3,381 Jewish Turks over the age of 15. If one adds those under the age of fifteen, the figure rose to more than 5,000. Corry Guttsstadt noted that according to Gestapo figures in Paris, in

---

<sup>56</sup> After the defeat of the Germans in Stalingrad, Russia, after two years of fighting, Turkey feared that Germany would attack in order to open up a new front.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-184.

<sup>58</sup> Shaw 1993: 135-254.

<sup>59</sup> History of Revolution Museum, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey, *Behiç Erkin Memoirs*, 493.

<sup>60</sup> Reisman 2010: 228.

<sup>61</sup> Shaw 1993: 298.

<sup>62</sup> Reisman 2010: 132.

the summer of 1941 there were 1,859 Jewish families of Turkish nationality in the Greater Paris area, and based on an average of 3.5 persons per family their numbers reached 6,500.<sup>63</sup> Stanford Shaw estimated that there were 10,000 Turkish Jews throughout France, and much higher estimates reached as high as 20,000.

Namık Kemal Yolga was posted to the Turkish Embassy in Paris in 1940 as the vice-consul, his first diplomatic post in a foreign country. Two months later the Nazis invaded and occupied France. They forced the roundup of Jews, sending those from the Paris area to the Drancy deportation camp. From there they were to be sent east to concentration camps.

The young Yolga saved Turkish Jews one by one from the Nazi authorities, by picking them up from Drancy, driving them in his own car and hiding them in safe places. In his autobiography, Yolga described his efforts as:

Every time we learnt that a Turkish Jew was captured and sent to Drancy, the Turkish Embassy sent an ultimatum to the German Embassy in Paris and demanded his/her release, specifically pointing out that the Turkish Constitution does not discriminate its people for their race or religion, therefore Turkish Jews are Turkish nationals and Germans have no right to arrest them as Turkey was a neutral country during the war. Then I used to go to Drancy to pick him/her up with my car and put them in a safe house. As far as I know, only one Turkish Jew from Bordeaux was sent to a camp in Germany as the Turkish Embassy was not aware of his arrest at the time.<sup>64</sup>

Selahattin Ülkümen (b. on January 14th, 1914 in Jerusalem – d. 7 July 2003 in Istanbul) was a Turkish diplomat and consul in Rhodes during the Second World War, who assisted many local Jews to escape the Holocaust. In 1989 Israel recognized him as among the Righteous Among the Nations and listed his name at Yad Vashem. On the island of Rhodes, Turkey's consul, Selahattin Ülkümen, saved some 46 people, among a Jewish community of about 2000 after the Germans took over the island. The German occupation followed Italy's removal of Benito

---

<sup>63</sup> Guttstadt 2008: 345.

<sup>64</sup> See Shaw 1993: 63-64.

Mussolini from power and its armistice with the Allies. In retaliation for Turkish neutrality and in an effort to inhibit the Turkish legation in order to put pressure for Turkey to close its consulate in Rhodes, in February, 1944, German planes bombed the Turkish consulate on Rhodes. Injured in the bombing was Ülkümen's pregnant wife Mihrinissa Ülkümen, and the consulate gardener was killed.<sup>65</sup>

On July 19th, 1944, the Gestapo ordered all of the island's Jewish population to gather at its headquarters: ostensibly they were to register for "temporary transportation to a small island nearby", but in reality they were gathered for transport to Auschwitz and its gas chambers. Ülkümen went to the German commanding officer, General Kleeman, to remind him that Turkey was neutral in the war. He asked for release of the Jews, including not only Turkish citizens but also their spouses and relatives, even though many of the latter were Italian and Greek citizens.<sup>66</sup> At first the commander refused, stating that under Nazi law, all Jews were Jews and had to go to the concentration camps. Ülkümen responded with "under Turkish law all citizens were equal. We didn't differentiate between citizens who were Jewish, Christian or Muslim. According to Turkish law, all citizens are equal [...]". Ülkümen told Kleeman that "I would advise my Government if he didn't release the Jewish Turks it would cause an international incident. Then he agreed". The Jews protected by Ülkümen were released, though not until they were subjected to considerable additional harassment by the Nazi authorities. Ülkümen continued to provide protection and moral support to those whom he had rescued and other Jews who remained on the island. They feared suffering deportation, as they were required to report to the Gestapo daily and never knew whether or not they would be able to return home.<sup>67</sup>

Soon after Ülkümen's gaining release of Turkish Jews, the Germans rounded up the Greek Jews on Rhodes, numbering 1673 in all, and deported them to Greece.<sup>68</sup> From there, the Germans had them transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau; only 151 of the group survived the war. One Jew, Albert Franco, was deported from Rhodes by boat to the Haidari camp outside of Athens in Pireaus, but due to the efforts of Ülkümen, he was taken off the deportation train to Auschwitz, when the young

---

<sup>65</sup> Kerem 2006 n.pag. and Kerem 1994: 62-63.

<sup>66</sup> See Silver 1992: 119-122, and Silver 1992a: 107-108.

<sup>67</sup> Emekli 1989: 54-61.

<sup>68</sup> Angel 1980: 152.

diplomat protested that Franco had a Turkish wife,<sup>69</sup> and put under Turkish protection in Athens, and thus survived. Shortly afterward, the Germans quickly detained and deported Ülkümen to Athens, and confined him in the embassy until the end of German occupation in Greece in autumn 1944.

During the next six months, Jewish Turks remaining on Rhodes were subjected to almost constant harassment by the Gestapo, which often detained them for long periods of time. The German authorities did not deport them to concentration camps as earlier planned, presumably because of the disorder and other requirements for transport in the Third Reich during the last days of the war. Finally, early in January 1945, the German commander Kleeman learned that representatives of the International Red Cross were to visit Rhodes to look into the situation of its population. He ordered the remaining Jews on the island to go to Turkey, which they did the next day, traveling in small boats across a stormy sea to safety at the port of Marmaris.<sup>70</sup>

Released at the end of the war, Ülkümen returned to Turkey and served as a career diplomat throughout the world. He died in his sleep on July 7, 2003 in Istanbul at the age of 89.

The contemporary Turkish Jewish historian Rifat Bali clarified that it was never a part of Turkish foreign policy to rescue Jews or even their own Turkish Jewish citizens from Nazi persecution:

In truth, a significant number of Jews possessing 'irregular' Turkish citizenship because they lived abroad – and, in this case, in countries under Nazi occupation – would have been subjected to deportation to the camps had they been unable to produce documentation of citizenship from the Turkish consulates or embassies in their respective countries. Nevertheless, there was never any overall Turkish policy or set objective on the part of the Turkish Foreign Ministry to rescue the country's Jewish émigrés. Any initiative to do such would have been the sole domain of individual Turkish diplomats.

---

<sup>69</sup> Mughal and Rosen 2010: 16.

<sup>70</sup> Kerem 2009: 581-584.

Certain Turkish diplomats would end up preventing their 'irregular' Jewish compatriots from such a fate, while others remained decidedly uninterested.<sup>71</sup>

These Turkish diplomats confronted with masses of Jews being endangered by the threat of German deportation to death camps, professionally had what Tec called "a strong commitment to help the needy which began even before the war and included a wide range of activities'. Their motivations fit Fogel's Righteous Gentile motivations as *moral* and *Judeophilic*. In the case of Necdet Kent, as German occupation progressed, more and more Turkish Jews approached him in desperation and became committed to rescue. When he heard that his subjects were deported from Marseilles, he immediately set out to see what he could do and later miraculously stopped the deportation.

In addition to the above individual acts of altruistic initiative on behalf of Turkish diplomats, in the 1930s and 1940s, Turkey admitted some 1,200 German academics, scientists, authors, musicians, artists, playwrights, actors, filmmakers and other noted cultural icons who were escaping Nazi persecution.<sup>72</sup> At least a third of them were Jewish. They were given refuge and positions in Turkish universities and institutions. This was a commendable human gesture, but no danger was posed on Turkey for this. It is noteworthy as an example of Turkish altruism, but it is not part of the Righteous Gentile paradigm.

### *France*

In Paris, the Great Mosque served as a point of refuge for the resistance and Jews. On the Left Bank, Si Kaddour Benghabrit, originally from Sidi Bel Abbes in Algeria, was the administrative head of the mosque, rector, and represented the Muslim community vis-à-vis the French and German authorities, and determined who was a Muslim. When the Gestapo had a question as to the Muslim identity of a person, they turned to Benghabrit and were not known to have challenged his position. He was known to have claimed that Jews hiding in the mosque were Muslims or covered for them with a Muslim alibi when German officials had specific or general suspicions.

---

<sup>71</sup> Bali 2013: 61-83.

<sup>72</sup> Epstein 1998: 536-550.

The senior Imam, Si Mohammed Benzouaou was also known to have risked his life by hiding Jews and providing many Jews, including children, with certificates of Muslim identity enabling them to avoid deportation and death.

The initial Jewish testimony was by Albert Assouline, a North African Jew, who escaped from a prison camp in Germany. As a French pilot he became a prisoner of war. He escaped together with an Algerian Muslim Yassa Rabah, and they crossed the border from Germany into France. Rabah led them to hiding in the Parisian mosque.

In an article in 1983, Assouline wrote in the *Almanach du Combattant* (French Veterans Almanac) that 1,732 resistance fighters, Christians and Jews, found refuge in the underground caverns beneath the mosque compound. He based his figure on card files he had seen while at the mosque. He recalled an alert when “German soldiers smelled the odor of cigarettes and, convinced that Muslims were forbidden to smoke, searched the mosque looking for hidden Jews. According to Assouline, the Jews were able to escape via sewer tunnels that connected the mosque to nearby buildings”.<sup>73</sup> It was revealed after his death in Cannes in 2005, that the renown singer, Salim (Simon) Halili, also hid in the mosque. Born in 1920 to a poor Jewish family in Annaba (formerly Bone), Algeria, near the Tunisian border, he came from a Jewish-Berber tradition. Alone in Paris in 1940, he turned to the mosque after the Vichy regime had begun pursuing Jews.

To protect Halili from the grip of Vichy’s anti-Jewish laws, Benghabrit evidently provided him with a certificate of Muslim identity. But because Halili was such a public figure, Benghabrit had to go one step further. To lend credibility to Halili’s claim of Muslim roots, Benghabrit arranged to have the name of Halili’s grandfather engraved on an abandoned tomb in the Muslim cemetery in Bobigny.<sup>74</sup> This episode was first revealed in the Parisian newspaper *Liberation* by Nidam Abdi, and then portrayed in Satloff’s book on rescue in North Africa. According to Satloff, ‘This

---

<sup>73</sup> Satloff 2006: 143.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.



unconventional ploy provided incontrovertible proof of Halili's Muslim origins and enabled him to survive the war years in safety.<sup>75</sup>

According to the current head of the mosque, Dalil Boubakeur, one hundred Jews were given refuge in the mosque.<sup>76</sup> Boubakeur noted that the Germans constantly pressed the mosque officials throughout the occupation as to Jews and resistance members being harbored under the auspices of the mosque. On September 24, 1940, in a document of the Quai D'Orsay, the deputy director of the Political Department of the French Foreign Ministry, P.H., wrote to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The occupation authorities suspect the personnel of the Mosque of Paris of fraudulently delivering to the individuals of the Jewish race certificates attesting that the interested persons are of the Muslim confession. The imam was summoned, in a threatening manner, to put an end to all such practices. It seems, in effect, that a number of Jews resorted to all sorts of maneuvers of this kind to conceal their identity.<sup>77</sup>

The Kabyle Muslims, Berbers from the Djurjura mountains in Algeria, some hundred miles east of Algiers, were a large part of the Muslims in Paris. Many had come to Paris to work as laborers after WWI and were known as workers who had built the Parisian subways. They were active in the French Resistance, and by the 1930s, their militants in Algeria and France had organized and were active underground in preparing the seeds of the future Algerian independence movement. After the famous round-up of almost thirteen thousand Jews from the Paris area at Vel D'Hiv on 16 and 17 July 1942 by the French police;<sup>78</sup> after which they were sent to the Drancy internment camp and then to Auschwitz, a letter circulated through a coffee house written in the Kabyle language encouraging the Kabyles to hide Jewish children:

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 150-157.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>78</sup> Marrus and Paxton 1981: 232-235.

Yesterday at dawn, the Jews of Paris were arrested. The elderly, the women, and the children. In exile like ourselves, workers like ourselves. They are our brothers. Their children are like our own children. Anyone who encounters one of his children must give that child shelter and protection for as long as misfortune – or sorrow – lasts.

Oh man of my country, your heart is generous.<sup>79</sup>

The Kabyles wore a traditional tassled wool felt hat called a “checheya” or a “fez” identifying them as Muslims, and the Nazis hesitated to touch them. Also their language, whether spoken or written, was undistinguishable to the Nazis and French Vichy fascist regime. The Kabyle network smuggled Jews out of Paris to safety;<sup>80</sup> and their secret smuggling network also assisted escaping prisoners of war, Allied pilots and parachutists in hiding. They passed coded messages between the Resistance in France and the Free French Army in Algeria. A Tunisian Muslim physician, Dr. Ahmed Somia, worked at the Muslim hospital in Paris. He tried to protect Jewish children in danger of deportation at the hand of the Nazis, and sent them to safety by pretending they were ill and arranging for them to be transferred to special clinics away from Paris until the end of the war. He would dress the Jewish children as Christians or Muslims as a decoy. Sometimes he would send them to the Paris mosque and often utilized the Kabyles to transport them. In at least one case, Somia brought a Tunisian Jew needing shelter to the mosque, where he survived for the remainder of the war some two and a half years later.<sup>81</sup> The mosque had a vast network of underground tunnels, which even reached the Seine River near the Halles aux Vins, the wine market.<sup>82</sup> From there the Kabyles loaded people and messages in massive wine barrels on barges on the Seine River to freer areas in the west and south of France. According to the French filmmaker Derri Berkani, he saw a register of children’s names of the Muslim population between 1940 and 1944, and he claimed that some four hundred were Jewish children given protective identities.<sup>83</sup> Both parents of Berkani, who were in the Kabyle resistance, began researching the

---

<sup>79</sup> Ruelle and DeSaix 2009: 23.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*: 26.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*: 20.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*: 30.

<sup>83</sup> Berkani 1990.

Paris mosque rescue theme in 1974. He also interviewed Mrs. Lamberger, a Jewish woman who was rescued in the mosque, who has since then passed away, but she described how she escaped from German occupied Paris on a péniche boat operated by a Kabyle.<sup>84</sup>

In 1943, after the Allied invasion of North Africa, the Germans imposed more restrictions on the activities of the mosque. German senior officials visited, and took pictures. After that, episodes of rescue may still have occurred, but were much less and much more concealed. According to Boubakeur, in his interview with the researcher Robert Satloff, it was the role of the imam Si Mohammed Benazouaou to provide the Jews who turned to the mosque with false identity papers.<sup>85</sup>

The above rescuer morality of the Parisian mosque officials was a classic type of “religious morality” according to Fogelman. It was based on right and wrong in religious terms. Together with the resistance, they were filled with *network* motivations against Nazi ideology and forces, and the mosque clergy joined together with the Kabyle French resistance to opposed Third Reich persecution against the Jews, partisans, and anti-German resistance.

### *Tunisia*

In Tunisia, the Jews enjoyed some public support and in some cases, Muslims defended Jews and assisted them to avoid Nazi arrest and potential deportation. The Bey of Tunis provided moral support and at times, practical support to the Jews in face of danger of the German regime.<sup>86</sup> Moncef Bey of Tunisia and his handpicked Prime Minister, Mohamed Chenik, did much to assist and protect Jews during the dangerous German occupation:

Mohamed Chenik, a businessman with long-standing ties to the Tunisian community, regularly warned Jewish leaders of German plans, helped Jews avoid arrest orders, intervened to prevent deportations, and even hid individual Jews so they could evade a German dragnet. Acting in the name of

---

<sup>84</sup> Ruelle and DeSaix 2009: 34.

<sup>85</sup> Satloff 2006: 152-153.

<sup>86</sup> Satloff 2006a. n.pag.

the bey, cabinet ministers gave special dispensations to some young Jewish men so they could avoid forced labor and tried to intervene with German authorities on behalf of Jewish hostages. Even members of the royal court hid Jews who had escaped from German labor camps.<sup>87</sup>

Khaled Abdul-Wahab (1911–1997) was a Tunisian man who saved several Jewish families. He was the son of an aristocratic family, aged 31 when German troops occupied Tunisia in November 1942.<sup>88</sup> Tunisia was then home to approximately 100,000 Jews. Under the Nazis' anti-Semitic policies, they were forced to wear yellow badges and were subject to fines and having their property confiscated. More than 5,000 Tunisian Jews were sent to forced labor camps, where 46 are known to have died; another 160 Tunisian Jews in France were sent to European death camps.

Abdul-Wahab, an interlocutor between the Nazis and the population of the coastal town of Mahdia, heard that German officers were planning to rape a local Jewish woman, Odette Boukhris; instead, he hid her, her family, and several other Jewish families, about two dozen in all, at his farm outside town for four months, until the occupation ended.<sup>89</sup> Robert Satloff, who had been searching for records of Arabs who had saved Jews from the Holocaust, was first informed of Abdul-Wahab by Odette Boukhris' daughter, Annie Boukhris, who had also been hidden by Abdul-Wahab at the age of 11; shortly after recording her testimony, she died at age 71. Satloff then went to Mahdia and confirmed the story.<sup>90</sup>

Although nominated, Abdul-Wahab still has to be approved by the Yad Vashem commission that grants the honor. Yad Vashem has conferred the honor on more than 70 Muslims, but thus far no Arab had ever been nominated. Most of the Muslims who received the award are Albanians.

In the Holocaust, Eva Weisel in Mahadia, Tunisia, was rescued by Khaled Abdul Wahab, who has yet to be recognized by Yad Vashem as the first Arab Muslim Righteous Gentile at Yad Vashem despite his initial nomination in 2007. Eva wrote:

---

<sup>87</sup> Satloff 2006: 112.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-137.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-137.

In December 1942, when I was 13 years old, German troops occupied my hometown. Within days, our house was commandeered as an officers' mess hall. I soon had a yellow star on my dress, setting me apart from many of my childhood friends. The men of our family were ordered into forced labor. My happy life had vanished.

Luckily, an influential local man knew of our difficult straits and generously offered his protection. One night, he ferried the women, children and old men in our family to a farm he owned about 20 miles outside of town. There, he said, we would be safe. Though the stables he provided us for lodging were modest, with just a drape across the door to protect against the elements, we were relieved to be behind the thick, high walls of his property. We were deeply grateful. ...

This is patent nonsense. Anyone with any knowledge of the Holocaust period knows that anyone caught harboring Jewish fugitives could be killed, even summarily executed. To claim that Wahad didn't endanger his own life is unspeakable [...].

I refuse to believe that Yad Vashem has one standard for "righteous" in Europe and another for "righteous" who performed their sacred duty on the other side of the Mediterranean, in an Arab country.

Sixty-nine years after pinning a yellow star to my chest in my native land, I know that I was able to enjoy a long, full life because Abdul Wahab confronted evil and saved me, as he saved other fortunate members of my family. I hope that Yad Vashem reconsiders his case before no one is left to tell his story.<sup>91</sup>

While the above quote is polemical against Yad Vashem, and there may be sensitive political issues involving the abstinence of the Israeli governmental Holocaust authority in recognizing Righteous Gentiles from Arab and Muslim countries, where currently there are no relations, such recognition enhances acknowledgement of the

---

<sup>91</sup> Silverstein 2012. n.pag.

phenomenon of Muslims rescuing Jews in the Holocaust. Without such recognition, such a rescue category appears much more diminished; whereas in the past historical reality, it had a somewhat greater presence. Without the official Yad Vashem recognition, quantification, as well as qualification, of Muslim rescue of Jews remains much more unrecognized and unaccounted. At present, as noted above, no Righteous Gentile from an Arab country has been recognized as Righteous Gentiles at Yad Vashem, despite many nominations which are all treated as confidential at that institution, while in reality numerous rescue episodes throughout North Africa have been reported saving at least hundreds of Jews. While many Muslim rescuers in Albania are recognized, and none have been recognized in Tunisia and elsewhere in North Africa, this does not mean that there was no significant Muslim rescue of Jews in the Arab lands of North Africa, but only that it has not yet come to the forefront and it has yet to be recognized.

Several other cases of Muslims rescuing Jews in Tunisia are known. Another outstanding example is Si Ali Sakkat, former mayor of Tunis, who opened up his farm for sixty ragged, fugitive Jews, who fled from a German labor camp at the height of battle between the Allies and the Axis forces in the Zaghouan valley.<sup>92</sup> He opened his house to these Jews, providing them with food and lodging, until the Allies took the Zaghouan valley en-route to Tunis and Bizerte.

Avraham Tayar of Gabes was saved by local Arabs and through efforts by the Arab mayor and his son. Avraham recollected the episode:

There was general panic ... I was almost kidnapped twice. I remember I went to the market and I found myself standing in front of two German soldiers [who were] with two Arabs and [they pointed to me]. I understood that they wanted to catch me, and I don't remember ever running like that in my life. I felt as though my body was flying, my feet didn't exist, as if I were in an airplane ... I remember, the second time, they saw that they couldn't catch many Jews during the day, [so] the Germans came into the shelters we built, along with Arabs, and stood on both sides. The Arabs' job was to say 'this is a Jew – this is not a Jew'. After all they knew who's who. I remember, we

---

<sup>92</sup> Satloff 2006: 117.

didn't have a lot of money, I had a bag. We were 4 siblings and our mother. By chance we lived next to the Arab mayor of the city who knew a mother whose son was in the shelter with us. I took my purse and gave it to the Arabs. The Arabs knew the mayor's son, were alarmed and said, "there are no Jews here". And this is how I was saved.<sup>93</sup>

According to Yaacov Zrivy, from a small town near Sfax, "The Arabs watched over the Jews".<sup>94</sup> He noted that despite how the Germans and their Arab collaborators prompted fear for the Jews, there were exceptions. He noted, "There were those who would hide the money of the Jews. They said 'We will keep watch over you, that way nothing will happen to you. No Arab will do anything to you' ".<sup>95</sup> Victor Cohen of the city Tunis claimed that in the city there was much hostility between the Jews and the Arabs, but that in the south, the Arabs helped the Jews by taking them to the mountains and that he had uncles who were sheltered in the homes of Arabs, who even provided them with kosher food.<sup>96</sup>

In Tunisia, rescue fits Tec's classification of unplanned beginning to rescue efforts. However, in Gabes and southern Tunisia, rescue was motivated by Fogelman's theories of *moral* and *Judeophilic* motivations. Muslim townspeople and friends of Jews were morally motivated to rescue Jews endangered by the Nazi German occupation in Tunisia.

In Djara, there were two women, an Arab and a Jew, who were friends and they planned on giving birth the same day. The Arab woman died in childbirth, but her son was saved. The Jewish mother nursed the Arab baby for two years and he was like a family member until the age of 16-17. When the Nazis were looking to arrest Jews in the synagogue, the Jewish teenage boy went to the house of the Arab neighbor and the latter slaughtered him in his house.<sup>97</sup> This incident illustrates the limits of Jewish-Arab co-existence, and that Arab Muslim altruism was a limited phenomenon.

---

<sup>93</sup> Asitz and Kerem 2006: 292.

<sup>94</sup> Adeli 2010: 6.

<sup>95</sup> Satloff 2006: 102.

<sup>96</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Interview with Victor Cohen, O.3/8634.

<sup>97</sup> Asitz and Kerem 2006: 293.

*Iran, Crimea, and Belarus*

The rescue of Jews by Muslims in Iran, Crimea, and Belarus does not involve rescue of Sephardic Jews, but either Eastern Jews, crypto-Jews, or Ashkenazi Jews being protected by Muslims, and this short condensed section points to additional cases of Muslims rescuing Jews in the Holocaust hardly known until now.

In Paris in 1940-42,<sup>98</sup> mainly when Iran was neutral, Iranian consul Abdol Hossein Sardari issued Iranian passports to hundreds if not as many as 2,400 Jews; enabling them to escape from the Nazis. He supported the trumped claim of hundreds of Jugatis or Chola, former Islamized crypto-Jews of Persian culture from Buchara (Uzbekistan) in Central Asia who had returned to Judaism, and were immigrants in France, as well as Persian Jews, that they were not Jewish, but pure Persian Aryan, and exempted them temporarily from wearing yellow Jewish stars, arrest, internment, and deportation. Only in June 1944 was their racial origin challenged by the Germans and some were arrested. In Iran some 2,000 Jews from Poland who had fled to U.S.S.R, over half were children. Many of them were interned in Siberia, found refuge in Tehran in “Operation Teheran”.

Saide Arifova (c. 1916/1919-August 2007)<sup>99</sup> was a Crimean Muslim Tatar woman from Bakhchisaray, Crimea, Ukraine who saved more than 88 Crimeans Jews in 1942-1943.<sup>100</sup> During the Nazi occupation of Crimea she worked as a kindergarten director and managed to forge documents, camouflaging Jewish children’s ethnicity. She also managed to conceal some seventy children from Kerch orphanage, who were prepared to be sent to Germany for inhuman medical experiment. The Nazis tortured her, considering her suspect. She saved people with the family names – Kapostinski, Shwartzman, Saleve, Chavayez (the latter two are names of Tat Jews), and Zagenmordechai.<sup>101</sup> Despite her heroic behavior during the occupation and the Holocaust, she was deported to Uzbek (U.S.S.R) on May 18th, 1944 during the Russian “Sürgün” (“Relocation”), as the Crimean Tatars were founded collectively guilty of collaborationism with the Nazi occupation forces, and only after the *Perestroika* did she return to Crimea.

---

<sup>98</sup> Paldiel 2007: 202.

<sup>99</sup> Goloskrima 2007, See also Russell and Cohen 2012: 1-20.

<sup>100</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, Dept. of Righteous Gentiles 13384.

<sup>101</sup> *Wait for Me* 2003.



In Minsk, a Muslim woman of Tatar origin, Fatima Kanapatski, and her daughter Aysha, harbored the Davidson family of five,<sup>102</sup> in various periods from the establishment of the ghetto in late June 1941 until the liquidation of the ghetto in June 1943, and then Fatima provided them with a hiding place in a shed in the woods and with her fled to a partisan-controlled area in the forest and joined the partisan unit under the command of Shalom Zorin, until they were liberated by the Red Army in the summer of 1944.<sup>103</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In the Holocaust, rescue was a phenomenon for a small minority of non-Jews who when confronted by danger to Jews, spontaneously decided to help and intervene despite the risk to their lives.

The Israel-Arab conflict taints our perception that Muslims could be rescuers of Jews facing the danger of annihilation at the hands of the Nazis and the German military machine. But just as Catholics, Ukrainians, Greek and Eastern Orthodox, Lutherans, and Calvinists were altruistic Righteous Gentiles so were Muslims. Whether they be individuals in Albania or Bosnia, Turkish diplomats, Parisian Muslim clerics, or political elite in Tunisia and ordinary Muslims throughout North Africa, at this early stage of research of this new topic, there are already close to a hundred cases of Muslim rescuers. Paradoxically, it was Shi'ite Iran and an Iranian diplomat in Paris, who officially dealt with rescue of Jews in Paris and Iran.

The only Muslim who was punished for collaboration for rescuing Jews was Saide Arifova for saving 88 Crimean Jews, but she was punished for this by the Russians, and not the Nazis.

Numerous Muslims rescued Jews out of humanitarianism and altruistic reasons. For some, like in Albania, their motifs had theological roots, but for most it was the right thing to do when turned to by Jews in distress facing the threat of death in the Holocaust.

---

<sup>102</sup> <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/kanapatskaiya>

<sup>103</sup> Yad Vashem Archives, Righteous Gentile Dept. file 10156. Interview with Rachel Davidson Shmailovitz, Yad Vashem Archives, VT/11005.

## **Bibliography**

### **Archives**

History of Revolution Museum, Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey, *Behiç Erkin Memoirs*.

Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Israel. M.31/5666; 0.3/9815. Interview with Shemuel Rav-On, 1996; Interview with Victor Cohen, O.3/8634; Department of Righteous Gentiles files 6782 on Mufal and Niazi Biçaku, 13384, 10156. Interview with Rachel Davidson Shmailovitz, Yad Vashem Archives, VT/11005.

### **Books and Articles**

**Adeli 2010:** Lisa Adeli, 'Muslim Resistance to the Holocaust: Historical and Pedagogical Implications', University of Arizona, Interdisciplinary Conference *Bearing Witness: Memory, Representation, and Pedagogy in the Post-Holocaust Age* co-organized by Shenandoah University and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, Shenandoah University, Shenandoah, Tennessee, April 11-13, 2010.

<http://cmes.arizona.edu/sites/cmes.arizona.edu/files/paper.pdf>

**Adijas 1994:** Yitzhak Adijas, *Childhood in Albanian Shelter*, Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 1994 (Hebrew).

**Angel 1980:** Marc D. Angel, *The Jews of Rhodes, The History of a Sephardic Community*, New York, Sepher-Hermon Press and Union of Sephardic Congregations, 1980.

**Asitz and Kerem, 2006:** Haim Asitz, Yitzchak Kerem, et al., *The Shoa in the Sephardic Communities: Dreams, Dilemmas & Decisions of Sephardic Leaders*, Jerusalem, Sephardic Educational Center of Jerusalem, 2006.

**Bali 2013:** Rifat N. Bali, 'Perceptions of the Holocaust in Turkey' in Gunther Jikeli and Joelle Allouche-Benayoun, eds., *Perceptions of the Holocaust in Europe and Muslim Communities; Sources, Comparisons, and Educational Challenges*, Heidelberg, New York, and London, Springer, 2013, pp. 61-83.

**Danon Braco 2006:** Cadik I. Danon Braco, *The Smell of Human Flesh, A Witness of the Holocaust, Memories of Jasenovac*, Belgrade, Dosije, 2006.

**Bougarel 2003:** Xavier Bougarel, 'Bosnia Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea' in Dejan Djokic, ed., *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, London, Hurst and Company, 2003.

**Brooks 2008:** Geraldine Brooks, *People of the Book, A Novel*, New York, Viking, 2008.

**Chary 1972:** Frederick B. Chary, *The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution, 1940-1944*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

**Djokic 2003:** Dejan Djokic, ed., *Yugoslavism, Histories of a Failed Idea 1918-1992*, London, Hurst & Company, 2003.

**Emekli 1989:** *Emekli Diplomat Selahattin Ülkümen'in anilari, Bolinmeyen Yönleriye Bir Dönemin Dişisleri*, Istanbul, Gozlem, 1989.

**Epstein 1998:** Mark Epstein, 'A Lucky Few, Refugees in Turkey' in Michael Berenbaum, and Peck, Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History, The Known, the Unknown, the disputed, and the Reexamined*, Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 536-550.

**Fisher 2007:** Bernd J. Fischer, ed., *Balkan Strongmen, Dictators and Authoritarian Rulers of South Eastern Europe*, West Lafayette, IN, Purdue University Press, 2007.

**Fogelman 1994:** Eva Fogelman, *Conscience & Courage, Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust*, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1994.

**Gershman 2008:** Norman H. Gershman, *Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews in World War II*, Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 2008.

**Goloskrima 2007:** 'Side Arifov - Crimean Tatar World, The Righteous', *Goloskrima*, 2007 <http://www.goloskrima.com/?p=5038>

**Gottfried 2001:** Ted Gottfried, *Heroes of the Holocaust* (Brookfield, CT: Twenty-First Century Books, 2001).

**Guttstadt 2008:** Corry Guttstadt, *Die Turkei die Juden und der Holocaust* (Berlin and Hamburg: Assoziation A, 2008).

- Hadžijahić 1973:** Muhamed Hadžijahić, 'Muslim Resolutions from 1941, I Collection of Papers: 1941' in *History of Peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta, 1973) pp. 274-282 (Serbo-Coatian).
- Himmelfarb 2007:** Milton Himmelfarb, *Jews and Gentiles*, New York, Encounter Books, 2007.
- Kerem 1986:** Yitzchak Kerem, 'Rescue Attempts of Jews in Greece in the Second World War', *Pe'amim* 27 (1986), pp. 77-109, (Hebrew).
- Kerem 1994:** Yitzchak Kerem, 'The Role of Greek Righteous Gentiles in the Rescue of Greek Jews in the Holocaust', *Gesher, Bridge, The Official Journal of The Council of Christians & Jews, Vol. 1, No. 4* (October 1994) pp. 62-63.
- Kerem 2006** Yitzchak Kerem, 'Greek Righteous Gentiles in the Holocaust, A Renewed Look and Their Current State of Being Recognized', <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/conference/2006/8.pdf>,
- Kerem 2009:** Yitzchak Kerem, "Turquie", *Dictionnaire de la Shoah*, Paris, Larouss à présent, 2009, pp. 581-4.
- Konforti 1976:** Josef Konforti, *Travnički Jevreji [Travnik Jews]*, Sarajevo, author, 1976.
- Kreso 2006:** Muharem Kreso, *The Nazi "Final solution" of the Jewish Question in the Occupied Countries of the Western Balkans 1941 – 1945*, Sarajevo, Institute for the Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, 2006.
- Lebel 2007:** Jennie Lebel, *The Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj-Amin el-Husseini and National-Socialism*, Belgrade, Cigoja Stampa, 2007.
- Lepre 1997:** George Lepre, *Himmler's Bosnian Division, The Waffen-SS Handschar Division 1943-1945*, Atglen, PA, Schiffer Military History, 1997.
- Loker 1988:** Zvi Loker, ed., *Pinkas Hakehillot, Yugoslavia, Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1988, pp. 164-165 (Hebrew).
- Marrus and Paxton 1981:** Michael Marrus, and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy et les Juifs*, Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1981.
- Mughal and Rosen 2010:** Fiyaz Mughal, and Esmond Rosen, *The Role of Righteous Muslims*, London, Faith Matters, 2010.

**Nidam-Orvieto and Steinfeldt 2013:** Iael Nidam-Orvieto, and Irena Steinfeldt, 'The Rescue of Jews in Albania Through the Perspective of the Yad Vashem Files of the Righteous Among the Nations', Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 2013.

**Ojalvo 1992:** Harry Ojalvo, *Marking 500 Years of Jewish Life in Turkey*, Istanbul, The Quincentennial Foundation, 1992.

**Paldiel 2007:** Mordecai Paldiel, *Diplomat Heroes of the Holocaust*, New York, Rabbi Arthur Schneier Center for International Affairs of Yeshiva University in Association with Ktav Publishing House, 2007.

**Reisman 2010:** Arnold Reisman, *An Ambassador and a Mensch, The story of a Turkish Diplomat in Vichy France*, Cleveland, author, 2010.

**Rivlin 1998:** Bracha Rivlin, "Albania" in Bracha Rivlin, Yitzchak Kerem, et al., *Pinkas Hakehillot, Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities from their Foundation till after the Holocaust, Greece*, Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 1998, 414-423 (Hebrew).

**Ruelle and Desaix 2009:** Karen Gray Ruelle, and Deborah Durland Desaix, *The Grand Mosque of Paris, A Story of How Muslims Rescued Jews During the Holocaust*, New York: Holiday House, 2009.

**Russell and Cohen 2012:** Jesse Russell and Ronald Cohen, *Saide Arifova*, Tbilisi, Georgia, Tbilisi State University and Russell Books, 2012.

**Sarner 1997:** Harvey Sarner, *One Hundred Percent of Jews in Albania Rescued from Holocaust*, Cathedral City, CA, Brunswick Press, 1997.

**Satloff 2006:** Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous, Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands*, New York, Public Affairs, 2006.

**Satloff 2006a:** Robert Satloff, 'The Holocaust's Arab Heroes', *Washington Post*, 8 October 2006.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/10/06/AR2006100601417.html>

**Savich 2005:** Carl Savich, 'Kosovo and the Holocaust: Falsifying History', January 31, 2005, Serbianna.com.

**Schwartz 2013:** Stephan Schwartz, 'Bosnian Religious Leaders Fill Political Void', *The Weekly Standard*, January 18, 2013,

[http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/bosnian-religious-leaders-fill-political-void\\_696289.html](http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/bosnian-religious-leaders-fill-political-void_696289.html)

**Shaw 1993:** Stanford Shaw, *Turkey and the Holocaust*, London, Macmillan, 1993.

**Silver 1992:** Eric Silver, *The Book of the Just, The Silent Heroes who Saved Jews from Hitler*, Tel Aviv, Edanim Publishers, Yediot Aharonot, 1992. [Hebrew]

**Silver 1992a:** Eric Silver, *The Book of the Just, The Silent Heroes who Saved Jews from Hitler*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992.

**Silverstein 2012:** Richard Silverstein, 'The "Other" Righteous Gentiles: Muslims', *Tikun Olam: Making the World A Better Place*, [www.richardsilverstein.com/tikun\\_olam/2012/01/04/the-other-righteous-gentiles-the-muslims/](http://www.richardsilverstein.com/tikun_olam/2012/01/04/the-other-righteous-gentiles-the-muslims/)

**Sindik 1972:** Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sećanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Memories of the Jews of the Jasenovac camp) (Belgrade, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1972).

**Tauber 2007:** Eli Tauber, *When Neighbors Were Real Human Beings*, Sarajevo, author, 2007.

**Tec 1986:** Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced The Darkness, Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986.

**Townsend 2010:** Tim Townsend, 'Righteous Among the Nations; Muslims Who Saved Jews from the Holocaust', *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 11 January 2010, p. 11.

### **Films and TV**

**Berkani 1990:** Derri Berkani, *Une résistance oubliée: La mosquée de Paris de 40 à 44*, 1990, Paris, Ara/Anabase/AFHIS 26 min. DVD.

**Wait for Me 2003:** *Wait for Me*, 27 January 2003, Yom Hashoa (Holocaust Commemoration day) broadcast, Moscow, Russia.