

Blood Feuds and Revenge in Canons and Medieval Statutes and Social Consequences

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Abstract

In this paper as object of this publication is the phenomenon of blood feud murders as a medieval phenomenon, which continues to accompany the life of the Albanian nation in modern times bringing loss of life and other negative consequences in the society. I purposefully chose this topic as a subject of study in this paper, by noticing the serious consequences that brings the blood feud, and I thought as valuable to investigate, draw conclusions, by stating the reasons and consequences of this medieval phenomenon and to submit my opinions related to this phenomenon. Through this study I want to point out the flow of this medieval phenomenon, reflecting its negative side as well as the consequences of this phenomenon, the tendency of this phenomenon nowadays, the work of the state authorities and non-governmental social organizations to mitigate this phenomenon, always in the service of life and freedom of the individual. Murders are the most serious crimes that affect the human right to live, as a fundamental human right protected by a number of international acts such as the Universal Declaration of the General Assembly of the UN (1948), the European Convention (1950), the Constitution of the Republic of Albania etc. Martin Lutherking said (4th april 1968) "It may be true that the law cannot make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me, and I think that's pretty important" Albanian scholars in Albania starting from the basic thesis that blood feud murders are social historical phenomena that have appeared since ancient times, in pre-state formations and blood feud was the only way of protection of certain social groups, a phenomenon which over time is replaced by the State and its structures. However in the Albanian areas this medieval phenomenon woefully continued to operate until today, that often appeared more terrific taking innocent human lives and beyond every customary rule.

Keywords: Blood feud, Revenge, Murder, Canon

1. Preamble

Each society has an interest to have among them as little negative phenomena and less crimes against life in general and blood feud in particular. Albania is a country affected by this phenomenon.

During the treatment of this actual subject I aim to show a picture of the extension of this phenomenon and the role of the Albanian state and organizations in fighting against it, because the fight of this phenomenon is of interest not only of the state but also of the whole society.

Through this paper besides the manifestation of a general overview of the phenomenon of blood feud currently, I aim to represent some of the main causes, its harmful consequences that brings the blood feud to a society and after their analysis to present some thoughts and conclusions on combating this phenomenon till its disappearance from the Albanian society.

Various analysis made to this phenomenon and highlighting of the causes and its consequences, encourages the competent state bodies, to take concrete measures to combat this phenomenon, sensitizes the opinion of the whole society for the extinction of this phenomenon and clarifies all the competent actors that only a nationwide and constant struggle makes that this phenomenon remain a bitter part of our past for the Albanian society.

By showing through the analysis and studies of this medieval phenomenon of our society from different organs and organisms of our society and the conclusions drawn from them makes even the competent institutions to take legislative initiatives, fighting against it and mitigation of this phenomenon as well as adequate measures in the concrete fight for concrete cases as a specific prevention moment and general prevention of this phenomenon.

The disappearance of the medieval phenomenon of blood feud is the main interest of the Albanian society and its constant analysis, including this paper too, for this phenomenon, give a modest contribution to the realization of sensitization and ultimate eradication of the blood feud from the Albanian mentality. That's for a future where the rule of law prevails, the law and respect of human rights, because only this way the future of the society and of our nation will be safe in the realization of our national aspirations.

2. The Meaning and Historical Development of the Blood Feud and Revenge Murders

Blood feud as a phenomenon and as a criminal act has an historic character. The phenomenon of killing for revenge and vendetta was born in the order of primitive community, has evolved in other historical periods, appearing up to modern times. In those societies where the organization is recognized under the tribal group, in a patrimonial form (home-brotherhood-tribe), the individual lived as a member of this group. He was obliged to fulfill the obligations of the tribal group, including those of their predecessors. In a member of the group is insulted, it is considered as an insult against the whole group, which is avenged by revenge from any living member of the tribal group and it was considered as a liability.

Blood feud in our country for study purposes can be said to have gone through these steps:

1. The period during the occupation by the Roman Empire, Rome's power retained and used state legal institutions that existed previously in Illyria and were not contrary to its interests. In mountainous areas the Illyrian tribes were allowed to live as self-governing according to traditional customs, which included the custom of vengeance and vendetta. So in addition to the Positive Law also the acted local Customary law as a right that was considered deeply local indigenous.
2. The period during the State of Arber was followed by a law of feudal type, a law that corresponded to the social development of that period. In this period existed the positive law created by the central government, canonical law and customary law. So at this stage alongside with the other laws, the customary law as a whole constituted the main source of law that regulated social relations in the territories inhabited by Albanians. Characteristic for the criminal customary law in this period was particularism, which derived from feudal fragmentation based on feudal land property. The fact of the coexistence of positive law with customary law is shown by the fact that some customary rules are directly related with the name of Lek Dukagjin and Skanderbeg saying (Gjeçovi, 1910-1925) "Was left by Leka ..." or "Skanderbeg left it in the canon ..." (Fraseri, 1993-1996) etj.¹ Many customary law changes that were made during this period are associated with debates of Skanderbeg with Lek Dukagjin and one of the customary law changes related to these names has direct connections with the customary institute of blood feud where was decided the equality of blood illustrated by these expressions: "The good and the bad are the same, because from the good comes the bad and from the bad comes the good", "A soul for a soul" (Elezi, 1983)²
3. The period during the occupation by the Ottoman Empire, the Shariah provided criminal offenses against the person, for which was executed the principle of Talion or the compensation principle, at the request of the injured party. Ottoman attitude toward local autonomy and customary law in the highland provinces have been double-headed. They, as a result of the situation of that period were forced to recognize the de facto local autonomy and customary law, which operated in parallel with the Shariah that was executed in the occupied areas.

The lack of independent Albanian state and criminal legislation impacted on the revenge and blood feud murders and the development of the common law as a right of the Albanian people which amounted to Local Canons, as Canon of Lek Dukagjin, Canon of Skanderbeg, canon of Laberia etc. Customary law was part of our national identity Albanian, that showed it Self Government, freedom and independence of the Albanian people, through the mountains against the Ottoman wild invasion in the lower parts of Albanian Lands. Kanun of Skanderbeg (Frano, 1993) as part of the Albanian customary law from different sources confirmed that on Skanderbeg state, besides the law created by the central government of the Roman-Byzantine feudal rights, has acted and the criminal common law, which recognizes the crime notions of blood feuds and revenge in general.³

4. During the time period 1912 to 1939 continues to operate Customary law, in particular the blood feud murders. Even after 20-th years, the crime of blood feud murders remains a worrying social problem. In the years 1922-1926, were committed around 960 blood feud murders. Fan Noli democratic government (Geneva, 1924), in its program provided significant measures against this situation and its perpetrators, "*radical reform of the old*

¹ Group of Authors, "The history of the state and right in Albania", "Luarasi", Tirana 2001, pg.185

² Ismet Elezi, "Criminal customary law of the Albanians and the fight for the extinction of waste in Albania" (Tirana: P.H. 8th November 1983)

³ Illia Dom Frano "Canon of Skanderbeg", Milot 1993.

judicial canons". Because of the restoration of the rule of King Ahmet Zogu was not achieved to change anything in this aspect of the Albanian society organization. However King predicted as a special crime the implementation of the the Canon. But even in this period lacked the strong state authority to strike this phenomenon.⁴

5. During the time period 1939-1945 characterized by reference to the norms of the Criminal Code of 1928, rates of canons, special penal laws issued by the the invaders in the occupied areas, as well as the partisan decisions in the liberated areas. The invaders had no interest in preventing the blood feuds while the quisling governments had no authority in this direction. National liberation councils and partisan commands on close cooperation between them had the main task of blood feud reconciliation, fight against fratricide and revenge by considering the fact that the country was invaded and the Albanians should fight against invaders and not with each other. As a result of this popular movement for blood feud reconciliation, was reached that in 1944 there were only 7 murders for blood feud in the entire country. (Elezi, 2001)⁵ This shows that in certain periods when the state and social organizations of the Albanian nation oppose this harmful phenomenon of our nation, against his initiatives ends up by producing results that can not be imagined. This is because of our common law recognizes the institution of blood feud reconciliation as an institution which is illustrated by a phrase used often by the negotiators "A real man forgives."
6. During the time period 1945-1990 is characterized by the gradual extinction of the blood feud as a phenomenon in Albania, although it still faced between Albanians living in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. The communist state did not take into consideration Albanian Traditional Justice and on the other hand pressure and had huge impact on every aspect of social life. Influence of the state was felt even in the most remote parts of the country, exactly where customary law had enjoyed centuries of undisputed authority. The creation of a strong centralized state, law enforcement, state authority, economic and social coercive strengths measures, the action of a tough criminal legislation etc, made the blood feud and revenge murders to be lower than the other types of murders. Criminal codes of 1952 and 1977 predicted the revenge killing as aggravated homicide for which the sentence was up to death. In the revenge notion, according to these codes, included revenge in the wider and in the strict sense, so the blood feud. However the blood feud murders in 60-th went towards the total eradication, whereas revenge murders in the wider sense of the word, encountering in practice, but in limited numbers.⁶
7. The time period 1990-2015 is characterized by the revival of elements of canon law, with a tendency toward a complete form. The authority of state in this period is weak and powerless to realize his disciplinary and control role in implementing democratic processes and pluralism of society. Such a poor representation of the state, of its institutions, laws and their implementation, at this moment the transition from the communist system and economic and social centralist , in a pluralistic and democratic system of economic and social was not able to convince the individual to respect the laws and to give up self-judgment, although for a long period of dictatorship that was achieved.⁷(Elezi,1965). Economic crime, trafficking, smuggling, corruption, prostitution, etc., became the new source of deep conflicts, which were added to the old ones and brought crime chain of revenge and blood feud. On article 78 of the current Criminal Code, After some improvements, provided "*Homicides committed for interest, revenge or blood feud, are punished by imprisonment not less than 20 years or by life in prison.*"⁸ In recent times results that murders committed for blood feud occupy a significant percentage of this crime. Nationwide results the statement of criminal offense of blood feud murder.⁹

⁴ Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Justice 2002-2014

⁵ Elezi Ismet, "Blood Feud and Revenge Murders" Publishing House Luarasi 2001

⁶ Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Justice 2002-2014

⁷ Elezi, I., "Norms with criminal character on the Canon of Leke Dukagjin and Canons special (decisions), on Presentations and Speeches held in the jubilee scientific session on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of independence ", Law Faculty of the State University of Tirana, Tirana, 1965, pg.3-44.

⁸ Law no. 7895, dated 27.01.1995 "Criminal Code of The Republic of Albania", changed.

⁹ Ismet Elezi, " Commentary of additions and changes to the Criminal Code " (Tirana: ERIK 2009)

3. The Meaning and the Characteristics of Blood Feud Murder

The right to life is a fundamental personal right of every person, of every human being. This right because of its importance is enshrined and protected in all national and international normative act of human society. The right to life is sanctioned by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations Assembly on dt.10.12.1945 as well as in the European Convention of Human Rights dt.08.09.1953 and specifically in its Article 2:

Right to life:

1. Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.
2. Deprivation of life shall not be regarded as inflicted in contravention of this Article when it results from the use of force which is no more than absolutely necessary:
 - (a) In defense of any person from unlawful violence;
 - (b) In order to affect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person lawfully detained;
 - (c) In action lawfully taken for the purpose of quelling a riot or insurrection.

The crime of blood feud murder as a criminal and a legal concept has special specifications, which are closely related to psychology, tradition and socio-cultural development of the area and as such is a complex problem of a certain human society.

In the first phase of the existence of this form of private reaction it can be said that it was unlimited and its fundamental features were inequality, collectivity and brutality as well as its religion character.¹⁰

With blood feud, concept which comes from the Albanian customary law, it means the committed murder to get the blood of father, brother, son, uncle, nephew of the father according to the rule of canon (Hasluck, 2004) "*Blood for blood*", "*Head to head*".¹¹ Blood feud means: a very long fight between two families or groups in which each group kills members of the other group in order to punish the group for earlier murders. Blood feud murder has always its indispensable element the premeditation. Blood feud murder differs from the revenge murders because revenge itself is a broader concept and perceives a wider field of avenge including blood feuds. Mainly the revenge murder is committed as a retaliation for unfairly action or for use of violence by the victim against the author or his relatives. Herein lies the difference between blood feud murder which has always the murder retaliation committed by the victim, while the revenge murders have any other kind of violation of the victim to the author or his relatives except murder.

In literature we have a set of concepts that refer to blood feud phenomenon. Blood Feud is a socio-pathological phenomenon that even today is present in some areas and world regions and especially in some parts of Albania and Kosovo.¹²

Regarding the phenomenon of blood feud murders, on Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania in its Article 78 provides specifically:

*Homicides committed for interest, revenge or blood feud, are punished by imprisonment not less than 20 years or by life in prison si and a fine of five hundred thousand to three million Lek.*¹³

From the above we think that we explained the general meaning of blood feud and revenge murders and punishment foreseen by the criminal legislation of the Republic of Albania to this serious criminal offense that violates the right to life and human health.

As we mention above the blood feud murders often are confused with revenge murders although the blood feud as a concept differs from the revenge. For this reason, we appreciate the interest to make distinction between the blood feud and revenge murders.

4. The Blood Feud and Revenge Murders in Albania

The Criminal Code of the Albanian Kingdom strictly prohibited the blood feud and the murder condemn legally. By the state formation were made serious effort to establish the order on national level at the time of development of the

¹⁰ Prof.Dr.Rexhep Gashi "Punitive policies against blood delicts in Kosovo during the period 1980-1989", Prishtina 2003, pg.72.

¹¹ Hasluck Margaret "Albanian canon " Metropol. - No. 56, 11 July, 2004, pg. 22 - 23.

¹² Prof.Dr.Ragip Halili "The Criminalology", Prishtina 2008, pg.336.

¹³ The Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania amended, Tirana 2007

Albanian society. Adopted laws and bodies dealing with the implementation of them managed to narrow the scope of action of the common law. This tendency and the work of the state organs at that time strongly influenced on the decrease of murders number. Has resulte that 46% of the 1652 murders in total in years 1930-1938, were caused by blood feud, this according to data published by the State Archive.¹⁴ Although, number of murders in general and the number of blood murders in 1938, comparison in 1930 has noticed a decrease measure 2.1 and 2.5 times, again the blood feud murders on the eve of the Italian invasion accounted 41% of total number murders. By this time the canon and blood feud in Shkodra district felt itself strongly in front of state institutions, because the 33% of blood feud murders nationwide, committed during the period 1930 – 1938, belonging to this prefecture. During fascist occupation 1939-1944, (11) 290 or 33% of the 872 murders in total were caused by blood feud. We notice a decrease of the percentage of blood feud murders in comparison with the total number of murders.¹⁵

Approval of the constitution, codes and a series of laws by state institutions after liberation, the establishment of public order throughout the territory of Albania, increase of economic, education and culture, development, the great and well organized propaganda against the canon, general application of the death penalty for perpetrators of blood feud murders, would affect on the decreasing of blood feud murders in Albania during this period. During the years 1946-1950 the blood feud murders accounts 17% of murders in total, during 1951-1955 there is a decrease of blood feud murders of 13.5% and, From 1956 to 1982 there's no evidence of any blood feud murder.¹⁶ These results were such due to the fact that we had to do with a centralized communist state, with bodies that operate in highly coordinated and organized way the fight against crime and at the time was an institutional and social struggle against the common law and its waste. As part of this war were severe penalties envisioned for such criminal offenses and the grand prize will also pay the killer's family for blood feud which began a imprisonment and internment marathon.

Influenced by the strong propagation of the state leaders of the ex-party at that time, made that even the youth and schools social organizations to strongly propagate the fight against backward customs, called "custom" or "customary law". So we are dealing with a time when the whole society was raised against blood feud and this phenomenon almost disappeared for the period. This made the blood feud phenomenon remained as conversation among elderly persons who with their nostalgia of the men who had been part of the canon, to spoke passionately about the rules and regulations that provided the Albanian customary law.¹⁷

Although was held violently during the dictatorship (1946-1990), the blood feud as customary institution was deeply rooted in the dignity of the Albanians, it exploded without rules and so chaotic after the entry of democracy in '90

The return of blood feud in the Albanian society was accompanied by a negativ practice of its basic rules codified in the Albanian Canon. Consequently, during this time the only rule that is respected is blood feud. Other rules defined to the express way by Local Canons Albanian and Albanian customary law in general, as: Not to murder the male children until adulthood (15 years according to the canon), or not to murder the women, ect are neglected and they are not respected but they are openly violated by those persons who carry out their criminal acts of blood feud. Social, economic, political and demographic changes after 1991 as well as the fragility of state institutions of the Albanian society in this period created conditions for the revival of customary law and the spread of blood feuds.¹⁸ This chaotic revival of customary law at the time that we live, we think and conclude that has come for several reasons, among which we can mention:

- a) the appearance of organized crime in the most dangerous forms of his time,
- b) disorganization among employees of law enforcement institutions, weakening of state power and the authority of law, what leaves space for the implementation of the old medieval rates of canon.
- c) the abolition of the death penalty as a punishment that there was no going back.
- d) the poverty of the population on problematic areas,
- e) The alarming abandonment in numbers of education (that is not only because of some cases but also a result of blood feud)

In the years 1992-1996, the blood feud killings accounted 9.5% of total murders committed during this period. Economic and political crisis of 1997, except 1542 killed, it created quite new conflicts in society. These new conflicts

¹⁴ According to data published on the Internet referred to the National Archives of Tirana.

¹⁵ Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Justice 2002-2014

¹⁶ Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Justice 2002-2014

¹⁷ Therein.

¹⁸ Elezi, I., *Historical development of criminal law in Albania*, Albin, Tirana, 1998

were potential factor that brought so frightening the revival of blood feud institute. After the establishment of national reconciliation government continued efforts to establish public order and rebuilding state institutions and from year to year the number of murders was decreased, from 573 in 1998 to 119 in 2004, while blood feud murders decreased respectively from 45 to 10. Since 1994 murders that occurred in the years 1998-2004, 8.5% of these were carried out for blood feud. While in 2001, blood feud murders in Shkodra region occupied 57.8% of blood feud nationwide.¹⁹

Every year, by the Albanian courts are given approximately 18 (eighteen) final decisions for blood feud murders. The number of convicted authors under the relevant article, in 2004-2009, is eighty-three authors. The total of this kind of cases in six years is a hundred and six murders for the blood feud. This overly heavy statistic positions Albania on the map of countries where crime of retaliation with self-judgment is still on justice mentality of revenge, where the right to live is discriminated by the inability of the state to ensure fair and humane justice. (Elezi, 1998)²⁰.

Concluded that we are in a dramatic stage that coincides with escalation of the phenomenon. According to Open Data Albania, from 2004 to 2008 statistics on cases that were judged for blood feud murder marking a gradual decrease. Thus, the year 2004 carries twenty-eight completed litigation, and within five years, the number of each year decrease reaching fifteen (15) cases of the year 2008. The decrease of crimes cases due to blood feuds was attributed to several factors related to the institutional role of the state, with the activity of non-profit organizations and with the activation of civic movements in the hottest and to the most problematic areas about this plague of Albanian society. Reduction of homicide number includes a positive index in alleviating of crime in total in the years. According to the same research of the ODA, the year 2009 represents an increased number of blood feud murders. This escalation in the two years preceding a dramatic situation on March events of 2011.²¹

From year 2010 we have two events that coincided with serious crimes where blood feuds overcomes the rules and modeling of moderate Canons and display features even more barbaric than medieval justice. Thus, we have a cleric murder and a revenge of a minor in a short period of time. The unwritten canon law considers this as a serious crime and a violation of the community, the murder of cleric (religion dedicated person). On date 8 September 2010, in Shkodra, a twenty-one years old boy, M.N, killed with a gun the twenty-nine years old boy D.P, known around the community of Shkodra as pastor at the church "Word of Christ."Njemza, the crime author, declared that he had killed for revenge because in 2005, the victim's uncle had killed his brother. The Serious crime was considered inadequate by the conservative community that recognizes the mentality of redemption through the blood feud for two reasons: firstly, the victim was a clergyman (pastor), category that under customary law does not "fall in blood" and, secondly, the relationship of the victim to the crime was distant, revenge for an act performed by his uncle.

Unfortunately in Albania and almost in all other territories inhabited by Albanians still exist blood feud murders and revenge motives in general, even though it continues to operate sanctioned the positive right.

This phenomenon appears mostly in the North and Northeastern regions of Albania, although this phenomenon was carried to other regions where had been demographic movement of population.

Regarding revenge it was more pronounced in the southern part of the country, particularly in the Fier, Berat, Vlore cities, etc.

Blood feud and revenge murders culminated in 1997 as a result of the general riots and general decay of state institutions and the military. The inability of the state to guarantee the lives and security of citizens in this period, people turned to self-judgment, a phenomenon which brought blood feud and revenge, phenomena which brought fatal consequences for the lives of citizens and the safety of their families. In this period we have a characteristic which up to this time was not recorded and in complete contradiction with customary law, monstrous killings were committed with explosives, combustion and decay of corpses, between different groups, different rival and between families in enmities with each other.

With the strengthening of the state and its institutions has been shrinking every year this phenomenon, this consequence of combating crime in all its forms generally and revenge and blood feud particularly

5. Social and Other Consequences that have Caused Murders

Despite the characteristics and consequences of blood feud we can also present some social effects that bring blood

¹⁹ *Therein.*

²⁰ Elezi, I., *Historical development of criminal law in Albania*, Albin, Tirana, 1998

²¹ *Statistical Yearbook of the Ministry of Justice 2002-2014*

feud. Revenge, this wound, as serious as it is painful that has plagued Albanian society and continues to hurt and injure many Albanian families. (Durham, 1991)²²

Many isolated families, within the walls of the house, where the woman lives in anxiety, that one day her husband would be killed even if he has not committed a crime, but a relative of his has committed a crime and now will suffer the whole tribe.

Children that do not attend school have forgotten their toys and just live with fear that one day will be killed his brother, father, uncle or their grandfather.

Others addressed to garner shipping, with or without visa, in order to leave from their followers that require revenge. Many of them have forgotten their identity, changing the names of the birthplace from which they come to escape the blood feud.

The appearance of this medieval phenomenon nowadays and its consequences make us think that blood feud today is just an excuse of the most cold-blooded criminals in Albania, who wear to their crime a socially unacceptable cloth, a medieval moral shield which does not even recognize and do not respect the rules set by the blood feud of Customary law.²³

As a direct consequence of blood feud murders, presented the right violation of life and health, the rights that are violated by bringing loss of life in people and serious damage to health. Blood feud murders except consequences to life and human health also have other social consequences such as home isolation of the killer's family members doing that these families to experience as a group all the consequences of an illegal action and supposedly based on the Canon as blood feud murder. The Canon dictates that even male children born into families involved in blood feuds become targets once they reach their teenage years. Women are supposed to be exempt, but in rare instances are not spared. Children and women of the family have continued life bearing family responsibilities in cases of confinement of men for blood feud.

Blood feud being considered as a plague of Albanian society makes us to arise several questions: *Can the blood feud eridicate?*

Many other peoples have fix this problem in a civilized manner. Even we, in our day, we have an educated nation which has in its hand, its fate. But by the Albanian society must take some professional urgent measures and adequate. These measures should consist of: Legal Protection and construction of a special anti-canon Strategy.

6. Conclusions

From the analysis of this phenomenon we can conclude some conclusions and some of the actions and measures that must be undertaken by state institutions and society itself to prevent blood feud among where the most important are:

- With blood feud murder it's understood murder which was committed to take the blood of the father, brother, son, uncle, nephew of the father according to the customary rule "Blood for blood", "head to head", under the principle of Talionit known in feudal criminal law on different states and on Medieval Canons of Albanian.
- Blood feud murders performed to obtain the blood of a person killed or injured
- Blood feud murders were born in the primitive community order, a phenomenon which has continued to exist and evolved until the time the we live. This phenomenon, although was borned in a moment of social development in Albanian territories is regulated by customary law becoming an important institute of this right.
- Blood feud murders as a criminal and a legal concept has special specifications closely related to psychology, tradition and socio-cultural development of the area and as such is a complex problem of a certain human society.
- Blood feud murders more and more have decreased in terms of cases reported, due to the work of state institutions and society organizations against this medieval bloody phenomenon, fact which is reflected in many provinces.
- Regarding the fight against Blood feud murders vrasjeve për gjakmarrje social and state institutions have developed a constant struggle, activity which provided relevant results. This activity can be divided into preventive and repressive measures. However regarding the measures that must be undertaken by state institutions and Albanian society itself to prevent blood feud can be enumerate as follows:
- Development of a National Strategy for the prevention of blood feud, after conducting a detailed study of the

²² Durham Edit "Balkan Concerns", Tirana 1991

²³ Elezi Ismet "Norms with criminal character in the Canon of Leke Dukagjin on Presentations and Speeches", Tirana 1965.

phenomenon.

- Continued growth of the state authority of law to ensure order and safety and the protection of human life.
- Improved the economic, cultural and civic life of the country.
- The prevention of crime in general and murder in particular. Increased activity for the reconciliation of families in enmities, conflict prevention, conflict resolution of citizens demands so fast and without bureaucratic delays etc.
- Realization of other necessary legal changes, predicting severity of punishment for perpetrators, as well as additional penalties for perpetrators impacting directly on special and general prevention of this phenomenon.
- Increase the level of cooperation between state institutions and authorities charged with preventing and combating crime in general and blood feud in Albania in particular.
- Tracking and arrest as soon as possible the authors of murders in general and those related to blood feuds in particular. As well as documenting in the most efficient way of such crimes by the police and prosecution.
- Development of a rapid investigation and trial, but not accelerated of these criminal acts. In order not to have any error that benefit the perpetrator.
- Strengthening and institutionalization of cooperation with local governments and non-governmental organizations to resolve conflicts that may precipitate in blood feuds in the affected districts
- Increasing the assistance and cooperation with the blood feud reconciliation committees, always in accordance with the law in order mediation of settlement of conflicts cases that can bring blood feud.
- Education of the young generation with feelings of brotherhood, understanding, tolerance, against crime, against vigilantism, against revenge and blood feud and cultivating a sense of law enforcement and state of law.
- Assistance and encouraging of foundations, missions, companies and organizations who work on conflict resolution and reconciliation of disputes, especially those with criminal character, which bring the blood feud.
- Evidence the blood feud and isolated families and persons that threaten these families with whom become a social investment for extinguishing the sense of blood feud in these families and in society in general.
- The solution of social problems of isolated families and the mitigating the effects of blood feud by economic and educational measures for the members of these families.
- Sensibilisation of public opinion to the consequences of blood feud and the importance of the fight against blood feud in Albanian society.
- Sensibilisation and continuing struggle of print and electronic media against blood feud and its consequences.

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