

Former Yugoslavia: A patchwork of destinies

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The date of arrival of the Roma in the lands that were to become Yugoslavia is not documented but there are references to individuals from 1289 onwards and it is likely that several hundred had arrived in the years before the Ottoman conquests in the fifteenth century, when they were joined by larger numbers accompanying the victorious Turks. The Romani population in this region during the Ottoman hegemony comprised nomads, as well as sedentaries working in agriculture or as miners and traders (Marushiakova and Popov 2000). Nowadays the Roma in these lands can be classified by religion or language. They may be Orthodox, Catholic or Muslim and speak Arika, the speech of long-settled urban populations, or a range of dialects used by previously nomadic groups, such as the *Gurbet*.

As a country Yugoslavia exists only from 1918, the name itself from 1921. During the Second World War it was conquered by Nazi Germany and divided by the occupiers into several administrative regions and various parts were occupied by Hungarians, Bulgarians and Hitler's Italian allies. Although a puppet government was established in Serbia, for practical purposes it was under German military rule. In this wartime period many Roma were arrested, alongside Jews, to be shot as 'hostages' by German soldiers in revenge for attacks by partisans. Concentration camps were also set up near Belgrade and Niš. In Croatia power was in the hands of the fascist Ustashi party and some 28,000 Roma were murdered in the extermination camp at Jasenovac. However, there was no systematic attempt to wipe out the Roma elsewhere in occupied Yugoslavia (Kenrick and Puxon 1995).

After liberation in 1944 Yugoslavia was re-established as a republic and under the leadership of Tito (Prime Minister 1946-53 and President 1953-80) became a federation of states, each with an ethnic majority. Each state decided whether its Roma should be classed as a minority or an ethnic group, while the rights and privileges varied from state to state according to this designation. The 1971 census recorded 78,485 Roma for the whole of Yugoslavia, an unbelievably low figure, even allowing for the losses during the Nazi

period. As their confidence increased more Roma acknowledged their ethnicity in 1981 (168, 127) but there was a slight drop in recorded numbers in 1991.¹

Some 2,000 Roma belonged to the League of Communists (Report on Serbia 1998), the single party permitted under Tito, but this was not the limit of their political activity. In contrast to some other Eastern European countries, in Tito's Yugoslavia the Roma were free to organise – at least on a cultural plane. One of the first Romani organisations to be established was the Cultural Society Rom founded in Belgrade in 1969 and its formation was followed by the emergence of many local organisations.² Five years later the Federation of Rom Societies of Serbia was founded, uniting some forty local Romani organisations. In spite of inter-ethnic and political tensions following the death of Tito in 1980, the first Roma had been elected to town councils and Sait Balić from Niš became a member of the Serbian National Parliament. Four years later there were already fifty-three elected Romani members of town or provincial councils in addition to the one seat in the Serbian Parliament (Report on Serbia 1998). In 1981 the first bilingual radio programme in Romani and Serbian had been broadcast from Belgrade, entitled *Ašimen romanen* (Listen, Roma) and the series continued until 1987.³

From the late 1960s onwards, in parallel with this domestic mobilisation, Yugoslav Roma played an important part in the activities of the International Romani Union. At the first World Romani Congress, held near London in 1971, the Belgrade poet Slobodan Berberski was elected president. After a decade in office he was replaced by Balić at the Third Congress in Göttingen (1981), while the writer and journalist Rajko Djurić was chosen as the secretary. The Fourth Congress in Warsaw (1990) saw Djurić promoted to president, with the secretaryship going to a Czech Rom, Emil Šćuka. Even after being forced to quit Yugoslavia because of his opposition to the Bosnian war, Djurić remained president until 1999 when he resigned because of ill health. He did however attend the Fifth Congress in Prague in 2000 where he was replaced by Emil Šćuka (see Acton and Klimová 2001).

The political problems following Tito's death came to a head as Communist Party rule collapsed throughout Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and in the following year the Yugoslav Federation began to break up. By 1996 only Serbia (including the previously autonomous provinces of Voivodina and Kosovo) and Montenegro remained in the smaller Federation. However, one cannot talk about Roma 'after the end of Communism' in the ever-shrinking Yugoslav state, for the government in Belgrade under the leadership of Milošević⁴ was still following centralist Communist principles, although the name of the ruling party had changed to the Socialist Party. However, a multi-party system had been permitted, providing the opportunity for some Romani ethnic political parties to emerge. The first was the Romani Social Democratic Party founded in Leskovac in April 1990, with Djurić as its president. In the 1990 parliamentary elections, however, this party did not manage

to win any seats. In September of that same year the Democratic Party of the Roma of Serbia and Yugoslavia was founded in Kragujevac, with Miroslav Jovanović as its president (Report on Serbia 1998).

As the Federation disintegrated Roma were wooed by rival factions and in particular by the Serbian and Macedonian governments. During the ensuing conflicts they were conscripted into the armies of the new states that had been created around them and as a result Roma often found themselves fighting each other at the front line.

The sections below deal with the states emerging from the break-up of Yugoslavia in the order of their formation, leaving the rump Yugoslav Republic to the end. A central place in this account is given to the bitter experience of the Roma of Kosovo, where the Romani minority was squeezed between larger and more powerful ethnic groups, being opportunistically recruited to their neighbours' cause when convenient and cynically discarded or expelled when their usefulness had passed. Nowhere is there a better illustration of the tragic yet historically familiar role of the Roma as political pawns in power games beyond their control.

Slovenia

Slovenia became an independent state in 1991 after a brief skirmish with the Yugoslav Federation. It had been the most homogeneous of the former Yugoslav republics but this raised questions about the status of minority populations within the new republic. Speaking of Roma, Article 65 of the constitution of the new republic runs: 'The legal situation and particular rights of the Romani population living in Slovenia will be settled by the law'. This vague statement has never been fully defined.

The 1971 Yugoslav census had recorded 977 Roma while in the 1991 census (the last in the Federation) 2,293 had declared themselves as Roma and, inexplicably, a larger number – 2,847 – said Romani was their mother tongue. A recent, semi-official figure is 7,000,⁵ while in reality the population is probably nearer to 10,000.

Roma have been living since the seventeenth century in three regions of present-day Slovenia: Prekmurje and the borders of Austria and Hungary, Dolenjska (south-east of Ljubljana), and a smaller number – largely *Sinti* – in Gorenjska-Alta Carniola near Bled. Although the indigenous Roma have escaped the miseries of war their situation is unenviable. Most live in segregated settlements, are unemployed and subsist on welfare payments,⁶ while the percentage in prison is much higher than for the Slovenian population as a whole.⁷

It is never been clarified what precisely the 'particular rights' enshrined in the new constitution comprise. In practice, the Roma appear to have fewer rights than the Hungarian and (smaller) Italian minorities as regards the use

of their own Romani language in schools, the media and dealings with officials. The national law on local self-government stipulates that in areas where minorities live they should have members on councils but in 1998 there was only one such representative.⁸

As elsewhere, the Roma in Slovenia suffer discrimination and prejudice.⁹ Many reside in separate settlements, sometimes in poor conditions on the edge of villages. Nearly all live in temporary dwellings such as huts or even containers. There are also new Romani immigrants from other parts of war-torn Yugoslavia living on the edge of many large urban areas. Housing and work remain the prime problems for the Roma of Slovenia.¹⁰ There have been some examples of extreme prejudice in housing as in 1997, when the Slovene inhabitants of Malina prevented a Romani family from moving into a house in their village – a move designed as part of an integration programme.¹¹ Local authorities refuse planning permission for Roma to build houses, refuse to find accommodation for them and then blame them for building houses illegally or for living in poor conditions (*Delo*, 4 April 1998).

The central government of Slovenia has set up an Inter-departmental Commission for Roma Matters which, apart from representatives of ministries, also has members of the local authorities in areas where Roma live and from Romani organisations. In 1995 the government started a programme to improve the lot of the Roma. Its aims included improving the living conditions in Romani settlements and increasing the educational opportunities for Romani children from nursery school to university.¹² However, such official initiatives for Roma depend on local goodwill to carry them out. The Roma in Prekmurje are the best organised and generally co-operate with the authorities. But, in 1998 they organised a demonstration – blocking a highway – to press for the building of a road to the Romani village of Beltinci.¹³

Roma children, as elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, have problems when they come to school because they do not know the majority language and lack social skills, while many schools try to avoid registering Romani children.¹⁴ Their lack of education leads the majority of Roma to depend on unskilled work and they are the first to go when factory personnel are shed. Such employment as there is includes cleaning, farmwork, road construction, stonemasonry and dealing in horses.¹⁵ Even qualified Roma find it difficult to get work because of discrimination.¹⁶

In the first seven years of the new state seven Romani organisations were founded¹⁷ and they have now come together in one union, *Zveza Romskih društev Slovenije* (The Association of Romani Organisations in Slovenia), whose president is the author Jožek Horvat-Muc. These organisations are involved in the fields of culture, education, information and sport but not politics.¹⁸ Radio broadcasts in Romani come from Murska Sobota and Novo Mesto. In Murska Sobota there is also a theatre group which has been

functioning since 1992.¹⁹ A magazine, *Romano Them* (Romani World), is published by a non-governmental organisation, while the Romani organisation in Murska Sobota produces its own bilingual paper, *Romske novice*.

Croatia

Croatia declared its independence from the Yugoslav Federation in 1991 but, partly due to the presence of Serbian population enclaves, this led to a bitter and protracted war. Fighting against the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army continued until 1995 and Roma were among the civilian victims, although the number of casualties is difficult to estimate. Many Roma who did not escape from Baranja (in western Slavonia) were killed by the Serbian occupiers.²⁰ On 31 November 1991, Serbian irregular units burnt down the Romani quarter of the village of Torjanici and killed the remaining eleven inhabitants. Because the Roma were Catholics like the Croats, they were accused of collaborating with them. In another incident, in 1993, Roma were driven out of Dubac, a suburb of Zagreb, by Croats returning from fighting the Serbs and have had to resettle elsewhere in Croatia.²¹

Official census figures had recorded 313 Roma in 1961, rising to 1,257 in 1971, 3,858 in 1981 and 6,695 in 1991 (the last count before independence). Various sources give totals ranging from 35,000 to 150,000 and around 80,000 would be a reasonable estimate.²² The Romani population of Croatia consists of several different clans: *Koritari* (speaking a Carpathian dialect of Romani); *Kalderash* and *Lovari*; *Arlije*, *Garbet* and other recent immigrants from Macedonia as well as from the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo.²³ All still face discrimination and harassment.²⁴

The Romani Society (*Čidniipe Romano*) in Croatia was founded in 1991 with its headquarters in Virovitica. In 1994 activists started publishing the bulletin *Romano Akharipe Glas Roma* (Romani Voice) and this was followed by *Romengo Cacipe* in 1997, the organ of the first Romani political party, *Sravnka Roma Hrvatske* (the Croatian Romani Party). In 1997 this party elected Čana Kasum as its president, replacing Vid Bogdan, and Kasum stood unsuccessfully for election to parliament.²⁵

Meanwhile important initiatives were taken in the field of education. In 1994, the first summer school was organised in Zagreb for thirty-eight Romani children (Kranželić 1995) and in 1998 a youth organisation was established, *Udruga mladeži Roma Hrvatske*. Broadcasts in Romani are transmitted from Pula and Beli Manastir.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the federal state of Yugoslavia as re-established after 1945, the Roma were recognised as a national minority in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

They were allowed to run their own organisations and use the Romani language which gave a great impetus to activism. In this area the majority of Roma speak the Arika or Gurbet dialects. In 1986 Sarajevo hosted a seminar which was a landmark in the development of Romani culture, not only in Yugoslavia but for the whole of Europe. Delegates came from many countries – though not from the local Roma community – and Romani was used by many of the speakers as well as in the final conference report (Šipka 1989).

The 1991 census recorded only 7,251 Roma but the probable Romani population before the recent conflict was circa 80,000.²⁶ Since 1992 an unknown number of Bosnian Roma have sought refuge in other countries.

During the armed conflict in Bosnia, which lasted from 1992 to 1995, Roma found themselves conscripted into all the three warring armies (Bosnian, Croatian and Yugoslav/Serb) (Latham 1999: 213). After the establishment in 1995 of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic (Muslim-Croat Bosnian Federation), Romani populations were found to have survived the fighting in Tuzla, Sarajevo and other towns, though many had fled during the war to Western Europe. The Romani population of Sarajevo is now between 1,000 and 2,000, some 350 of whom live in the previously Serbian district of Hlidza.²⁷

There was, unsurprisingly, no functioning Romani organisation in Bosnia during the war period except in Sarajevo but some six active organisations now operate in the state. *Braca Romi* (Romani Brethren), founded in 1993, continues to function locally in Sarajevo,²⁸ while the German-based *Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker* helped set up an All-Bosnian Roma Union which held its first conference in 1997.

Several deputations visiting Tuzla and other towns since the end of the conflict have found that the Roma are at the bottom of the list for receiving humanitarian help from outside agencies. At the time of writing several thousand Romani refugees from Bosnia are still in Germany and smaller numbers live in other Western countries. Some are being sent back to Bosnia, though there are some doubts whether the new constitution will allow all the Roma who once lived in Bosnia to become citizens of the new federation as they may not all be able to establish residence. This is because they were born in or spent long periods in other republics of the former Yugoslavia. A fact-finding mission under the auspices of the Council of Europe visited Bosnia in May 1996 and recommended that both parts of the Republic, Bosnia-Croatia and Republika Srpska (see below), recognise Roma as a nationality (Latham 1999: 217).

Republika Srpska

When Bosnia was partitioned, the political entity known as Republika Srpska

was set up which is *de facto* under Serb rule. The current total Romani population figure is unknown but there are 200 living in the area of Banja Luka and a similar number in Bijeljina. The Romani population is small because during the three years of fighting those Roma who were Muslims – the majority – were expelled from this area. Roma expelled from Bratunac, for example, now live in Virovitica in Croatia. Almost the entire pre-war populations of Banja Luka and Bijeljina, both numbered in thousands, have left. The Roma in Bijeljina were told: 'Either leave or be killed' and the majority fled. The Romani settlements of Jasenje and Staro Selo have been destroyed. In 1994 the 200 Roma in the village of Klasnice in northern Bosnia, in Republika Srpska, asked the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to arrange their evacuation.²⁹ Several thousand Roma who formerly lived in the area now under Serb control are living as refugees in Western Europe, in particular Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, and they, too, like those from Bosnia proper, are unlikely to be accepted as citizens if they return.

Macedonia

Macedonia became independent through a peaceful process in 1992. The estimated Romani population is at least 200,000, although the 1994 census listed only 42,707, a decrease on the 55,575 recorded in 1991. This was in spite of the availability of census forms in the Romani language. Many Macedonian Roma joined the partisans during the Second World War and survivors believe that Tito promised them their own state after the war. This promise, if it had been made, was not carried out as the Yugoslav government would have seen a smaller sovereign Macedonia as prey for Greek and Bulgarian expansionist ambitions.

On 1 September 1990, the leaders of the Macedonian Romani community called on all Roma to stop identifying themselves as Albanians simply on the basis of a common religion, Islam, and declared 11 October 1990 (already a Macedonian public holiday) to be a day to celebrate the cultural achievements of Roma in the country (Poulton 1993a, 1993b). When, in 1993, Macedonia became *de jure* a new state, Roma from all over the country joined in the celebrations. President Kiro Gligorov publicly acknowledged the Roma as 'equal citizens of the Macedonian state'. They were recognised as a nationality in the preamble to the new constitution, while Romani language television programmes are broadcast from Skopje and several local radio stations have followed the early example of Tetovo.³⁰

The Romani intelligentsia took advantage of the new political freedom to form political parties, the main one being PSERM (Party for the Complete Emancipation of Roma in Macedonia), claiming at one time a membership of 36,000 (Poulton 1993b). Its president, Faik Abdi, was also at one time a member of the Macedonian parliament, representing Shuto Orizari (see

below). PSERM has been the prime mover in securing Romani rights. After a split a second party emerged, the Alliance of Roma in Macedonia, led by Amdi Bajram, who was re-elected as an MP in 1998. Yet a third party, the Democratic Progressive Party of the Roma in Macedonia, now controls Shuto Orizari through the mayor, Nezdhat Mustafá.

The association of Romani women known as *Dajja* (Mothers) has its headquarters in Kumanova and branches elsewhere. It was set up with a grant from the Soros Open Society Institute but is still financially weak. Amongst the many other Romani non-governmental organisations should be mentioned *Mescina* in Gostivar, which played an important role in helping Romani refugees from Kosovo.

In spite of the central government's encouragement of the political and cultural advancement of the Roma, there is much unemployment and poor housing. Some inter-ethnic conflict, mainly between Albanians and Roma, has been reported (ERRC 1998),³¹ as well as police brutality, often directed against street traders.³²

Shuto Orizari is perhaps the only town in Europe with a Romani majority. Shutka, as it is popularly known, is a satellite town outside Skopje in Macedonia which grew rapidly after the Skopje earthquake of 1963 when large numbers of Roma from the town were resettled there in houses donated by foreign governments. It grew further as the result of a voluntary decision by the inhabitants of the old Romani quarter of Topana in Skopje to leave and move into the new town. By the mid-1970s Shutka had its own district council offices, a cinema and a football ground. Some 5,000 more houses were subsequently built, assisted by the granting of free building land and flexible town planning regulations. The estimated population in 1977 was already 40,000. However, facilities in Shutka are poor. There is only one ambulance and specialist medical care is lacking while the standard of education in the two primary schools is low.³³

A special educational programme for the Romani language in schools throughout the state began in principle in September 1993, consisting of language classes for grades 1–8. As part of this programme a 40,000 word Macedonian-Romani dictionary is in preparation, as well as other teaching material. Here the main dialects are Arlia (Erlia), the most widely spoken and the mother tongue of an estimated 80 per cent of Macedonia's Roma, together with Burgudji, Djambazi and Gurbet. It has been agreed to use the Arlia dialect – the speech of the long-settled urban populations in the Balkans – as the basis for a standard language for educational purposes, using the Latin alphabet (Friedman 1995).³⁴ In addition to the teaching of Romani in primary education classes, there are proposals for Skopje University to inaugurate a Department of Romani Studies for the study of, and research into, language, history and culture. Some hundred potential teachers of Romani attended a seminar convened by the Ministry of Education at Skopje

University in October 1993 but the full implementation of the Romani language programme has been held up by the lack of materials and qualified teachers. The situation may improve after the graduation of more than fifty Romani students, currently attending various full-time courses at the university.

Looking at the fragmented former Yugoslavia it can be said that, in spite of some discrimination and harassment, it is in Macedonia that Romani culture is most alive, both in the home and beyond with regular radio and TV broadcasts.³⁵

Kosovo

The southern province of Kosovo is currently still *de jure* part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, following the twelve-week war in 1999, waged by NATO against rump Yugoslavia to prevent the ethnic cleansing of the indigenous Albanian inhabitants. *De facto*, however, it is now controlled by Kosovar Albanians and the successors to their guerrilla force, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). This is in spite of, or because of, the presence of the NATO-supplied K-FOR military forces in the role of peacekeepers.³⁶

Kosovo was a thriving centre for Romani culture in the years after 1945. A group of young poets received acclaim well beyond the province largely because of the efforts of Marcel Courthiade in getting their work published.³⁷ Until recently two magazines – *Roita* and *Ahimisa* – were being published in Priština. In 1983 radio broadcasts in Romani began in Priština, amongst the earliest in Europe, and these continued for many years, while weekly television broadcasts started in the same town three years later. Broadcasts have been resumed but not in Romani (OSCE 1999a). Formal education was rather less successful since although some schools introduced Romani in 1985, this was without a curriculum or any text books. In this region the Arlia and Gurbet dialects were widely spoken.

The 1971 census showed 14,493 Roma in Kosovo, while in 1991 a more realistic figure of 45,745 was recorded. The estimated Romani population before the recent conflict was, however, at least 100,000.³⁸ The majority were Muslim Roma but there were small minorities of Orthodox and Catholics. Although all official census figures of Roma populations in former Yugoslavia should be regarded as underestimates, there is particular justification for this in the case of Kosovo.

During the weeks preceding the 1971 and 1981 censuses both ethnic Albanians and Turks tried to persuade Roma to declare themselves as Albanians or Turks respectively while the Serbs encouraged them to register as Roma, in order to reduce the nominal percentage of Albanians in the country.³⁹ Later, a further complicating factor emerged when, following the example of some Roma in Macedonia, an Egyptians' Association was set up

in Kosovo in 1990. This claimed that several thousand 'descendants of the Pharaohs' lived in the province. The question of 'Egyptians' is discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

Yet, in spite of pressure both from Serbs and ethnic Albanians on the Roma to align themselves with one of the larger groups, the Association of Roma People of Priština had a membership of more than 10,000. Its president, Baskim Redjevi, was a deputy in the Priština city council while the poet, Bairam Haliti, worked in the Centre for Minority Languages and Culture in Priština. Later, Haliti was to flee to Zemun in Serbia after being denounced as a collaborator and war criminal by the KLA.⁴⁰

From 1981 the desire of many Kosovar Albanians for a fully independent Kosovo strengthened. Sometimes this turned to violence against Serbs but also against the Roma, whose leaders supported the Serbs. Such attacks only served to reinforce the alignment of the Roma with the dominant Serbs. When Yugoslav government tanks arrived in Priština prior to the autonomous status of Kosovo being revoked in 1990, the Romani population unwisely turned out to welcome them.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Albanian resistance continued and in 1998 the central government of Yugoslavia launched an offensive against the KLA, leading some 2,000 Roma to leave Kosovo for Voivodina in northern Serbia to flee the hostilities.⁴² After Serbian troops recaptured Orahovac from the KLA and massacred some 200 civilians, Roma were used to load corpses onto lorries (*Sunday Times*, 26 July 1998). The use of Roma as gravediggers, reminiscent of how they were used by the Nazis in Yugoslavia to bury Jews, was to escalate during the period of the NATO raids the following year.

During the 1990s, as economic and social segregation intensified, Albanians voluntarily or unwillingly left their jobs under the Serbian-led administration and many Roma took over the vacant posts, a move that was not to endear them to the Albanians. In social life Serbs replaced Albanian musicians by Roma while the Albanians themselves employed Albanian musicians in preference to Roma.

At the end of the decade in a rapidly deteriorating situation, the Yugoslav delegation to the Paris peace talks on Kosovo in 1999 included Albanians and Turks, Kosovan Roma and the newly discovered minority of 'Egyptians', alongside a Serbian majority. Amid this claim of multi-culturalism, the delegation refused for several days to have direct talks with the KLA, whom they persisted in calling 'terrorists'. For the Romani and Egyptian delegates, Ljuran Koka and Cherim Abazi, their participation in the talks was to lead to their enforced flight to Serbia to escape Albanian hostility.

Then came the period in 1999 during which NATO carried out intensive bombing raids. We will not pre-empt history's judgement on whether Serbian atrocities against Albanians escalated during that time, although at the very least they continued. But it is important to examine the manipulation of the

Roma minority during this dramatic period when they were the victims of both warring groups. Roma were swiftly enrolled by the Serbs to help them terrorise the ethnic Albanians. Men of military age were forcibly recruited into the army and others were posted at the doors of food shops to keep the Albanians out.⁴³ In self-defence, interpreted as complicity by the Albanians, the Roma in several villages marked an R on their doors to distinguish them from the Albanian houses when the Serbian auxiliaries arrived to burn and kill (Murphy 1999).⁴⁴ Some Roma had work as gravediggers before the bombing started. Now their services were called upon by the Serbs to bury their Albanian victims. But the number of victims was such that extra hands were needed.⁴⁵

Other Roma fled the country, either to escape NATO bombing raids or because – as Muslims – they, too, were being targeted by the Serbian auxiliaries. Some 2,000 fled to Macedonia where they were helped by Romani organisations and individual families in the face of discrimination by Macedonian agencies. Over 20,000 took refuge in Serbia, over 800 in Albania, 8,000 in Montenegro and a smaller number in Bosnia.

In June 1999, after Milosević agreed to peace terms, NATO forces entered the province as K-FOR peacekeepers. As the Serbian troops withdrew from Kosovo they looted the houses of Albanians who had fled during the period of the air strikes. The Serbs forced the Roma to load the most valuable items onto their lorries and then told the Roma to take what was left. Undoubtedly, some did so.⁴⁶

The departure of the Serbian army and police was soon followed by a series of retaliatory attacks by Albanians from Kosovo and from Albania proper on both civilian Serbs and Roma. By 12 August 1999 UNHCR estimated that 170,000 Serbs had already fled in the days since K-FOR arrived, leaving only 30,000. The Roma were to follow.

Many of the Albanians who returned from refugee camps in Macedonia and Albania were to take revenge on the Romani community as a whole because of those members who had actively helped the Serbs. It is not yet clear how much of the ethnic cleansing of Roma that was to follow can be attributed to Kosovo Albanians and how much to intruders from Albania proper but that is beyond the scope of this chapter. Whoever the perpetrators were, the Roma were now to suffer what the Albanians had suffered from the Serbs.

Pogroms since the end of the conflict include the following. In June 1999 the Romani quarter in Mitrovica was burnt down and the inhabitants fled to Priština. Roma in Kosovo Polje (near Priština) also came under threat and 3,500 took refuge in a school. Roma and 'Egyptians' in Djakovica and elsewhere were told they would be killed if they stayed. On June 29 twelve houses were burnt down in Sitimica, a mixed village inhabited by Roma and ethnic Albanians. The Romani quarter of Dusanova in Prizren has also been burned

down, as have many houses in Obilic and the quarter of Brekoc in Djakovica.⁴⁷

German K-FOR troops discovered fifteen injured Roma in a police office that had been taken over and used by the KLA as a prison in Prizren. A sixteenth man had been beaten to death. It was alleged the victims had taken part in looting.⁴⁸ Romani victims of Albanian violence, however, have included many who could have taken no part in helping the Serbs. For example, a nine-year-old girl, J. Q., was beaten in the Fabricka Street quarter in Kosovska Mitrovica and in the same quarter three elderly Roma died in their houses when these were set on fire by Albanians.⁴⁹

Shukrije Bajrami fled from the fighting to Vucitrim to the house of a relative with her four-year-old daughter. There the local Albanians told the Roma: 'Leave because we are going to kill you.' As she spoke to a reporter another Romani house went up in flames. A young man wearing a KLA beret watched the house burn (*Financial Review*, 25 June 1999). Many reports have also been filed of rapes of Romani women by men in KLA uniforms (*Financial Review*, 25 June 1999; *Daily Telegraph*, 22 July 1999).

In addition to the improvised refuge in Kosovo Polje, K-FOR built a camp housing 5,000 'internally displaced' Roma at Obilic (near Priština) in a pine forest and surrounded it with barbed wire covered with plastic sheeting. Albanians removed the protective sheeting so they could hurl insults and missiles at the Roma in the camp. In December 1999 the residents were moved to an army barracks in Plemetina. Roma elsewhere have complained that K-FOR does nothing. There are countless reports of Roma seeing their homes looted and burnt while British and other K-FOR troops stood by unable or unwilling to help.⁵⁰

Although ethnic Serbian refugees from Kosovo were reluctantly accepted into Serbia proper, many Roma were stopped on the border and told to go back to their homes by the police (*The Guardian*, 23 June 1999).⁵¹ Meanwhile, thousands of Roma from Kosovo have taken refuge in several countries. As attacks increased, over 2,000 Roma fled to Italy in June and July 1999,⁵² but in August the Italian authorities said they would no longer accept refugees from Kosovo as the fighting was over. Nevertheless, Roma still attempt the sea crossing, sometimes with tragic results.⁵³

An OSCE report suggested there were some 25,000 Roma of various clans still in the province, living in a 'precarious' state and the new millennium has seen further attacks (OSCE 1999b). Amongst the reports we read that seven Roma were murdered between February and May, an eleven-year-old boy was beaten and thrown into the river at Klinja in March, while sixteen Roma families were forced out of Ogošte by ethnic Albanians displaced from an Albanian settlement on the other side of the Kosovan border in southern Serbia (UNHCR/OSCE 2000).

Most of the Roma intelligentsia have fled and, as at present in 2001, it

seems that the conflicts in this region have extinguished what had once been an inspirational example to Roma elsewhere.

Rump Yugoslavia

The 1991 census gave a figure of 70,126 Roma in Serbia (excluding Kosovo and Voivodina). The figures were rising steadily which reflected not merely the high birth rate of the population but also increasing self-confidence and willingness to be recognised as Roma at the start of the 1990s. However, there still remains some way to go before the recorded population reaches the estimated real figure of 600,000.⁵⁴ As noted above, Roma in Yugoslavia can be classified by religion (Orthodox, Catholic or Muslim) or language (Arlia, the speech of the long-settled urban populations, or a range of dialects used by previously nomadic groups, such as the *Gurbet*). This applies equally to Serbia.

Before the break up of the federal state the Roma in Serbia had made attempts to get their status raised to that of a national minority, a desire that was voiced at academic conferences in Belgrade in 1976 as well as Novi Sad (Voivodina) in 1990 and 1997 (Report on Serbia 1998). In the terms of the 1991 Constitution of Serbia, the Roma had the lowest status – the third rank, as an 'ethnic group'.

Faced with the disintegration of the federal republic, the Belgrade government made considerable efforts after 1993 to gain the support of its Romani population. The attendance of government officials at an official orthodox church service in Romani was heavily publicised and subsidies were given to Romani newspapers. The poet Trifun Dimitić was able to publish the New Testament in Romani as well as a first reader for schools. However, a conflicting message was sent by the harassment of Rajko Djurić, journalist and poet as well as president of the International Romani Union, who was forced to flee the country because of his opposition to the government's support for the Bosnian Serbs during the conflict in Bosnia (Latham 1999: 209).

The Romani Congress Party (RKSD) was founded at a meeting in Belgrade in 1997 on the symbolic date of 8 April (declared as Romani National Day at the First World Romani Congress) and has a membership of some 2,000. One of its aims is for Roma to attain the status of a national minority. Its president, Dragoljub Acković, is editor of the magazine *Romano Lil* and of the revived Romani radio programmes.⁵⁵

Yet, in spite of more overt Belgrade government support for Roma, police harassment is common and, as in Macedonia, street traders are a prime target.⁵⁶ There have been reports of isolated cases of racist attacks on Roma though Romani leaders have said they hear of such attacks in Belgrade every two or three days.⁵⁷ Skinheads are active and in one reported incident in September 1996, they assaulted Roma in Krajevo. Mostly, the skinheads

choose as their targets individual Roma in isolated streets. Graffiti saying 'Death to Roma' have appeared in Kragujevac, while houses have been set on fire in some places (Latham 1999: 209). Prejudice is widespread and some villages will not allow the Roma to bury their dead in Orthodox cemeteries while there have been cases of discrimination in bars in Raska. In October 1997 the Serbian daily *Nedeljini Telegram* published an article entitled: 'We shall expel the Roma, Negroes, Gays and Junkies and create a Great White Serbia', quoting the words of skinheads from Novi Sad.

Even before the current economic depression, living conditions for Roma were inadequate and in some parts of Serbia Romani life expectancy for Roma is only 29–33 years. Unemployment is high and such work as the Roma have is usually of low status such as day labourers, herdsman, skimmers, street sweepers or as cemetery workers. Meat is rarely on the menu in the Romani home and clothing is poor. Child allowances have not always been paid to Roma and Albanians.⁵⁸

The majority of Romani children do not complete primary education and even the cultural association, *Matica Romiska*, accepts that more than 80 per cent of the Romani population is illiterate. One reason is that 30 per cent of Romani children arrive at primary school with no knowledge of Serbian because of the isolation of their communities, and there is little pre-school provision by which they could learn the language of the education system (Report on Serbia 1998). Less than one per cent of Roma have completed higher education.⁵⁹ There is, however, a Romani Cultural Federation, whose members must have at least a college degree. Members of the Federation were active in founding the Romani Congress Party (see above). As elsewhere in Eastern Europe a number of Romani children are placed in special schools, not because of lack of intelligence but after failing tests which are designed for those living in a different culture.⁶⁰

Organisations having a brief other than culture and political activity are the [Romani] Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Yugoslavia, founded in 1997 and based in Kragujevac, and the Society for the Improvement of Romani Settlements, established under the leadership of the architect Vladimir Macura and the sociologist Aleksandra Mitrović.

Yugoslavia still includes the republic of Montenegro and the previously autonomous region of Voivodina, both of which are discussed below.

Montenegro

Montenegro was independent or semi-independent from 1389 to 1918, when it became part of Yugoslavia. At the time of writing, Montenegro is still part of the reduced Yugoslav state. The 1971 census recorded 396 Roma but the estimated population is 2,000, still low compared with other regions of Yugoslavia. Up to 1940 the Roma in Montenegro were almost entirely

nomadic, unlike elsewhere in the Balkans, but the occupation of Yugoslavia by the Axis powers evidently put a stop to their wandering and few resumed the nomadic life after the liberation. Many Roma from Montenegro did, however, emigrate as workers to Western Europe in the 1970s.

Roma in Montenegro have not escaped prejudice – a pogrom in Danilovgrad when the Gypsy quarter was burnt down being the most visible manifestation of this feeling.⁶¹ The small Romani population has been expanded by refugees from Kosovo who may stay and bring their cultural heritage to build a larger and more vibrant community.

Voivodina

Voivodina is a province of Serbia and the Yugoslav Republic. It remains part of Serbia, its autonomy having been suspended in 1990 at the same time as a similar proclamation in the province of Kosovo. During the Second World War it was occupied by Hungary which tried to deport many of the Romani population into Serbia proper. Nevertheless, many Roma remained there throughout the wartime period. When Voivodina was re-occupied by Yugoslav forces after the Second World War the population was manipulated in various ways until the ethnic Hungarian majority became a minority (Kabok 1994).

The official returns in the 1971 census showed 7,760 Roma but by 1991 the figure reached the more realistic total of 24,895.⁶² The estimated Romani population was 55,000 before the recent immigration from Kosovo. A number of dialects are spoken, in particular Vlach Romani and Gurbet, though many Roma have Hungarian or Romanian as their mother tongue (Savic 1995). The frontier town of Sremska Mitrovica saw an influx of Muslim refugees from Bosnia after 1992 bringing its Romani population up to some 8,000 (Report on Serbia 1998). Further refugees have arrived from Kosovo in recent months.

In Voivodina, the Roma are not integrated and most still live in settlements on the outskirts of towns and villages. Anti-Roma graffiti have appeared here, too,⁶³ and instances of police brutality have been reported.⁶⁴ Educational levels for Roma are low, as elsewhere in Yugoslavia.⁶⁵ In 1996 the cultural organisation *Matica Romiska* was set up in Novi Sad but with a remit to cover all Serbia. Its first president was the writer Trifun Dimić.⁶⁶ The following year a round table on the Standardisation of the Romani Language in Yugoslavia was organised in Novi Sad by the *Matica Romiska* and the Voivodina Society for the Romani Language,⁶⁷ one of many attempts in recent years to standardise Romani. The organisation *Društvo Voivodina* (Voivodina Association) is also working for the advancement of the Romani language,⁶⁸ while recently, optional instruction in Romani was introduced in primary schools in Obrovac and Tovarisevo.⁶⁹

Egyptians

A number of groups in the Balkans, previously thought to be Roma but who no longer spoke the language, began some twenty years ago to claim that they were not Roma but descendants of Egyptian immigrants to Europe. They were followed in 1984 by some blacksmiths in Ulcinj (Montenegro) who wanted to declare themselves as a separate ethnic group to be known as *Kovaci* (Smiths) (Duijzings 1992: 6, Poulton 1993a: 91).⁷⁰ By 1990 the 'Egyptians' had grown to a sizeable movement and associations were founded in Ohrid (Macedonia) and Priština (Kosovo), with a total membership of some 10,000.⁷¹ They asked to be recognised as an ethnic group for the Yugoslav, Serbian and Macedonian censuses of 1991 but no separate figures have been published listing them.

Persons calling themselves Egyptians now number many thousands and are also found in Albania, where they are known as *Evgjit* or *Jevg*. In that country, a non-Romani origin has been accepted for longer (ERRC 1997: 10–13). The Serbian-led government in Belgrade was pleased to welcome the emergence of the 'Egyptians' as they helped to diminish the percentage of Albanians in Kosovo and the ethnologist, Hadzi Ristić, stated that he had found traces of Egyptian presence in Macedonia (Duijzings 1992: 7). It seems likely that the 'Egyptians' emerged from the population of Albanian-speaking Roma who found, after 1990, that there was no advantage in being Albanian in either Kosovo or Macedonia. However, they had little inclination to call themselves Roma, because of the low social status of this group.

It is debatable as to whether there is any historical justification for an Egyptian population in Europe distinct from the Roma. According to legend, however, an Egyptian sailor, shipwrecked on the coast near Durres (Albania) around the year 825, was able to converse – in Coptic, presumably – with local 'Egyptians'. There are also the records of new arrivals in Western Europe in the fifteenth century claiming to have come from Little Egypt and, indeed, the first references to Roma in English law and literature use the term 'Egyptian'.⁷² Most historians place this Little Egypt on Peloponnese (Greece) and few serious scholars accept the claims of the modern 'Egyptians' of the Balkans.

Conclusion

On balance we can say that in spite of the new freedom to organise and publish, the Roma are worse off economically and socially in the newly independent states than they were in federal Yugoslavia. Everywhere, unemployment has risen and racial tensions have come to the surface. In four of the six republics Roma have not only experienced the common suffering of war but have been singled out for special discriminatory treatment. Worst of all, in the

extreme cases of Bosnia and Kosovo, there has been a massive displacement of Roma as Muslim Bosnians and Kosovar Albanians strive to create states where they will be the unchallenged majority.

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Notes

- 1 An alternative published figure for 1981 is slightly different: 168,197. The total for 1991 was 143,519.
- 2 Such as The Society Rom (1969) and the Rom Society in Niš (Report on Serbia 1998).
- 3 Other cultural initiatives included a bilingual children's paper - Čuvrikano Lil which appeared for a short time in 1985 and was revived in 1995.
- 4 Eventually voted out of office in the elections of September 2000.
- 5 Institute for Nationality Questions in Ljubljana.
- 6 Personal communication, Bojan Deklava, Department of Social Pedagogy, Ljubljana.
- 7 Press release on the report made out behalf of the Slovene government to the UN Committee on Torture, 7 August 2000.
- 8 Janez Sarkez in Murska Sobota/Prekmurje (Fergus Smith, posting to Romnet, 20 October 1998).
- 9 During the 1990 referendum on independence the authorities in Dolenjska first tried to prevent Roma from voting and then set up a separate polling station because the gadje (non-Roma) refused to vote in the same place as the Roma (Fergus Smith, posting to Romnet, 5 April 1998).
- 10 Jožek Horvat-Muc, however, gives a brighter picture of the situation of the Roma in Slovenia in an interview with *Romani Putri*, Oberwart, October 1999.
- 11 European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) letter to the Prime Minister of Slovenia, 7 November 1997 and ERRC Statement to OSCE, 19 November 1997. The following year farmers in Mlačevec, Dolenjska armed with pitchforks set up a 24-hour guard to stop Roma moving into their village (Fergus Smith, posting to Romnet, 20 October 1998).
- 12 In 1997 there was one school where Romani was taught.
- 13 Fergus Smith, posting to Romnet, 30 May 1998.
- 14 Only 25 per cent of the Romani children are at school.
- 15 The collection and sale of herbs is also a traditional activity.
- 16 One in four have only daily or seasonal employment, three in four depend upon welfare payments to survive.
- 17 These included associations in Novo Mesto, Murska Sobota, Krško, Puconci Srdica and Velenje.
- 18 International Meeting for International Romani Day (8 April) and in 1995 the first International Meeting took place in Murska Sobota. These meetings are devoted to culture, history, language and ethnology.
- 19 The group has written two of its own plays and performed in many towns in Slovenia and even in Hungary.
- 20 Personal communication, Sami Ališan.
- 21 Personal communication.

- 22 The Croatian Romani Party estimate is 40,000 (personal communication) but Mirjana Domini writes: 'the Gypsies state that there are 150,000 in Croatia' in her article 'Changes in the Republic of Croatia and the state of minorities', in *Nationen, Nationalitäten, Minderheiten* (Vienna: 1994).
- 23 There are also clans speaking Romani (*Bajash*) and Albanian (*Ashkalije*).
- 24 90 per cent are unemployed and 40 per cent live in poverty (personal communication, Kusim Cana). In spring 1999 one Rom was beaten up in Rijeka and another in Zagreb. The victims in Zagreb, Šensa Sevdic, was twice sent home from hospital although he was later found to have two broken ribs. It has been said that because injuries that Roma receive are minor they do not report incidents to the police. A school in Medjimurje has a separate entrance for the Romani children.
- 25 Other Romani associations are in Rijeka, Zagreb (*Zajednica Roma Grada Zagreba* and *Čitilipi Roma ani Zagreb*) and elsewhere. The organisations are keen on presenting a public image of the Romani population, its culture and history. For example, the Zagreb Association, led by Sami Ališan, organised a celebration of Romani International Day in 1993 in the Intercontinental Hotel, Zagreb, while in 1998 a memorial commemoration was held at the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp. Vid Bogdan is now president of an association representing the Romanian-speaking Roma.
- 26 *Pogrom*, Göttingen, March/April 1997, suggests 60,000. The 1991 figure is taken from Mönnesland's table included in a report from the Palme Center in Stockholm. His figures for some other republics differ slightly from those cited in this text.
- 27 Others have stayed on in Gorica. However, two Roma areas of Sarajevo were destroyed during the conflict (*Pogrom*, Göttingen, March/April 1997).
- 28 Other bodies are active in Kiseļjaki (*SAE Roma*), Visoko and Zenica.
- 29 For Krasnice, see *Washington Post*, 19 March 1994. See also *Pogrom*, Göttingen, March/April 1997.
- 30 A few bilingual (Macedonian and Romani) magazines have been published sporadically. The cinema in Shutka (see above in main text) often shows Indian films which have a special appeal to the Roma, and Indian videos sell well.
- 31 Attacks on Roma in spring 1999 were reported from the towns of Kočani and Vinica, where an eight-year-old Romani boy had been beaten by a teacher in late 1998. See also cases reported in the 1998 ERRC report.
- 32 One street trader, a woman, died while being arrested in Skopje in 1996 (ERRC statement to OSCE, 19 November 1997). Jasar Perusan's complaint that he had been twice beaten by the police in Stip in 1998 was dismissed by the court who refused to accept medical evidence and ruled that there was no evidence that his injuries had been inflicted by the police. On the day of his appeal to the civil court he was arrested early in the morning, beaten up again and prevented from attending the hearing (ERRC, letter to the Macedonian General Prosecutor, 31 March 1999).
- 33 According to the Romani economist Šenci Šajnov (Latham 1999: 219).
- 34 The language is currently taught in four primary schools in Skopje and one in Tetovo.
- 35 The *Phralipe* theatre group left Macedonia towards the end of 1990 when the Communist Party took over its premises and is now based in Germany (see *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23 November 1990 and Tebbutt 2001).
- 36 K-FOR was the multi-national force replacing NATO after the cessation of hostilities in Kosovo.
- 37 Published in *Études Tsiganes* 28 (1982) and 29 (1983).
- 38 A figure of 600,000 cited by the Hamburg-based Roma National Congress seems exagger-

- ated (e-mail to Romnet).
- 39 See Orhan Gajus article *Roma of Kosovo*, posted on the Web. Also Slobodan Berberski claimed that Roma had been threatened that unless they declared themselves as Albanians they would either be forced out of Kosovo or else Muslim imams would refuse to perform religious rituals, such as funerals, for them (Beberski 1984: 1344).
- 40 A poem by Haliti can be found in Hancock, I. *et al.* (eds) (1998) *Roads of the Roma*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- 41 Personal communication, Imer Berisha.
- 42 Posting to bit.listserv.hungary, 31 July 1998.
- 43 Personal communication, Isuf Berisha.
- 44 Elaine Lafferty reported that Roma in Vucitrn had sprayed ROMI on their homes (Lafferty, E. (1999) *A Visit to a Devastated Land*, posted on Romnet, 19 June).
- 45 Ali and Shefki from Prizren had been street sweepers. On one occasion they were taken to Pusto Selo where they had to dig up ninety bodies which had been hastily buried in plastic and to load them onto lorries. They were made to work for five hours without a break until the job was finished. After the end of the air strikes the KLA told them they could stay in Prizren so that they could give evidence to the War Crimes Tribunal. Others were not to be so fortunate. For Gypsy gravediggers during the period of NATO hostilities, see also [London] *Standard*, 17 June 1999; *The Times*, 19 June 1999; *The Guardian*, 14 June 1999; *Daily Telegraph*, 22 June 1999.
- 46 Personal communication, Isuf Berisha.
- 47 Sometimes entire Romani neighbourhoods have been burnt as was the case in Mitrovica' (OSCE 1999a); personal communication, Sevdije Ahmeti.
- 48 *Infoblatt*, 9 August 1999.
- 49 J. Q., interviewed by ERRC, ERRC press statement, 9 July 1999.
- 50 Unarmed Albanian civilians openly looted Roma houses in the afternoon of 2 July in Moravska Street, Priština while four armed British K-FOR soldiers in a jeep watched from 50 metres away without intervening (interview with Kasum Čana, *Feral Tribune*, Split, 9 August 1999). British K-FOR soldiers are also reported to have ignored the expulsion of Roma and the burning of their homes in Graca (report of Theodor Freundt for RomNews Network, 17 February 2000). Paul Polansky lists several similar incidents in a report by the *Gesellschaft für behroliche Völker* organisation (see main text).
- 51 See also ERRC statement on Roma in Kosovo, 9 July 1999.
- 52 510 arrived in one boat on 29 June 1999 (*La Stampa*, 30 June 1999).
- 53 One hundred Roma drowned when a small fishing boat sank in August 1999 (*The Independent*, 27 August 1999).
- 54 This figure is based on estimates by *Matica Romška*, Alain Reymiers, Tatimir Vukadinović and Rade Uhlík (Report on Serbia 1998).
- 55 Report on Serbia (1998) and interview with Dragoljub Asković (Latham 1999: 205-26).
- 56 A report from Sabac in 1989 speaks of Romani street traders having their feet beaten by the police and then refused treatment by doctors. Other reports are witness to beatings and other mistreatment on the barest pretence.
- 57 For example, teenager Dušan Jovanović, who was beaten to death by skinheads in Belgrade in October 1997. A pregnant woman was earlier beaten up in Skadarska Street (ERRC statement to OSCE, 19 November 1997; *Globe and Mail*, 23 October 1997; *New York Times*, 22 October 1997). Dragoljub Acković's wife was twice attacked by skinheads in October 1999 (ERRC open letter to Minister of Internal Affairs of Serbia, 28 October 1999).
- 58 *Pogrom*, Göttingen, June/July 1993: 45.
- 59 This represents 0.2 per cent of those recorded as Roma in the 1981 census.

- 60 A day centre was set up in Kragujevac for children aged 3-7, funded by Open Society and a British organisation OKSOM, to teach the children Serbian and prepare them for primary school. The result was that these Romani children achieved very high results in the tests conducted prior to enrolment in primary school. We do not know of any other facility of this kind in Serbia (Report on Serbia 1998).
- 61 In April 1995, following an accusation that a young Montenegrin girl had been raped by a Romani youth, a mob burned down the houses in the Romani quarter of Danilovgrad while the police looked on. As a result, Roma inhabitants were driven out of their homes and had to take refuge in a neighbouring town, Roma children lost their school places for lack of a permanent address, and Roma men were sacked for not reporting for work. Only one local person was charged in connection with the affair, for 'endangering public safety'. The charges against him were later dropped 'for lack of evidence' (Pleše 1998: 46-8).
- 62 The figure of 24,366 is found in some publications.
- 63 One instance of graffiti, saying 'Roma! Beat it from Serbia', stayed for almost a year on the wall of the National Bank of Yugoslavia in Novi Sad before it was removed.
- 64 Here, too, beatings by the police are alleged by Roma but official investigations are slow to start, long drawn-out and inconclusive.
- 65 In 1993 there were only forty-three Romani secondary school pupils and no Roma in higher education - this from a population estimated at well over 50,000.
- 66 Trifun Dimić is a leading figure in the cultural movement in Voivodina and Serbia. He has translated the New Testament, the Five Books of Moses and the Epic of Gilgamesh, apart from compiling a first reader in Romani (*Lil Ramnosarimako*).
- 67 The Voivodina Society for the Romani Language and Literature and Customs published a journal *Romologija* and a monthly magazine *Alar e Romengo*.
- 68 Classes are held for children and there are magazines and a TV programme which has been produced since 1992 in Novi Sad. The radio station there began Romani broadcasts in the same year and provision has grown to three hours on Saturday mornings.
- 69 The curriculum is based on that used for other minority languages such as Hungarian. Salaries of the teachers are paid by the government which co-financed the production of textbooks together with the municipality of Backa Palanjka.
- 70 Duijzings, English version (1992: 6, note 10).
- 71 For Ohrid, see *Tinjig*, 6 June 1990 and *BBC SWB EE 0837 B/10*, 8 August 1990. For the Egyptians generally, see Duijzings (1992) and Poulton (1995: 141-2).
- 72 Mother Theresa was the most well-known of the Macedonian Egyptians. The word 'Gypsy' itself (and its equivalents in other languages, such as *Gitan* and *gitano*) derive from 'Egyptian'.