

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page ix</i>
Introduction	1
PART I. THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	
1. Regimes, States, and Minorities	23
2. Marginality and Ethnic Mobilization	49
PART II. NONDEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS AND GYPSY MARGINALITY	
3. The Gypsies in Imperial and Authoritarian States	83
4. The Roma under State-Socialism	112
PART III. THE GYPSIES IN EMERGING DEMOCRACIES	
5. The Socioeconomic Impact of Regime Change: Gypsy Marginality in the 1990s	157
6. Romani Mobilization	202
7. The International Dimension: Migration and Institutions	241
8. State Institutions and Policies toward the Gypsies	282
9. Romani Marginality Revisited	325
Conclusion	354
<i>References</i>	363
<i>Index</i>	389

Index

- Abdi, Faik, 145, 151, 221, 224, 257, 342
- Abyssinia, 102
- Acton, Thomas, 253, 257
- Adam, Vladimír, 169
- Albania, 33, 34, 37, 38, 112, 322
 - Gypsy policies, 105
- Albanian Gypsies
 - illegal dwellings, 179
 - numbers of, 126,
- Albanians, 54, 91, 127
 - in Macedonia, 195, 323
 - reproduction, 162
- Albright, Madeleine, 314
- Alexander II, Tsar, 30
- Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungary), 223, 238
- Alliance of Roma in Macedonia, 222
- Amish, 54
- Amnesty International, 273-4
- Anderson, Benedict, 78
- Andrić, Ivo, 59
- Antall, József, 290
- Anthony, Susan B., 65
- Antonescu, Ion, 35, 191
- Arany, János, 87
- Arif, Bekir, 145
- Armenians, 91
- Armstrong, John A., 63
- assimilation, 56-7, 68, 93-5, 116-19, 121
- Association of Roma in Moravia, 209, 224
- Association of Roma Women, 211
- Atanasov, Petar, 304, 340-1
- Auschwitz, *see* Oświęcim
- authoritarian states, 31, 33
 - minority policies, 31-2
- Autonómia Foundation, 277
- Babičková, Magdalena, 191
- Bajram, Amdi, 221, 222, 228, 235, 237
- Baláž, Branislav, 302
- Balić, Sait, 150, 258
- Baranek, Rudolf, 297
- Baranya county (Hungary), 145
- Barth, Fredrik, 2
- Bartos, Adam, 242, 258
- Báthory, János, 303
- Baumannová, Ingrid, 293
- Beash* Roma, 12
- Bedouin, 348
- Belarus, 56
- Belgium
 - Gypsy immigration to, 244-5
- Bell, Daniel, 68
- Ben Gurion, David, 77
- Berberski, Slobodan, 145
- Berger, John, 64
- Bidia, Dumitru, 197
- Bíró, András, 19, 186, 218, 269, 277
- Bişu, Nicoleta, 204

- Blacks
 - in South Africa, 54, 60
 - in United States, 54–5, 58, 59, 306
- Blair, Tony, 244
- Body, Ladislav, 237–8
- Bohemia, 28, 92
- Bokréta*, 211
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 55, 116, 284
 - Gypsy emigration from, 244
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 172
- Braham, Mark, 342
- Bridge on the Drina, The*, 59
- Brass, Paul, 73
- Braude, Benjamin, 84
- Bright, Richard, 11
- Brno (Czech Republic), 148, 169, 299–300
 - Gypsy museum, 148–9, 210, 224
 - "Strategic Plan 2000," 299–300
- Brown, J. F., 343
- Bubevski, Dusan, 127
- Bugár, Béla, 313
- Bulgaria, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 271, 358
 - attitudes to Gypsies, 193–4, 270, 273
 - census, 127
 - Communist Party, 118
 - Constitution of 1971, 115, 296
 - Constitution of 1991, 296, 309
 - emigration from, 242
 - environmental activism, 42
 - ethnic parties, 60, 213, 296
 - governments, 294, 304–5, 339
 - and international organizations, 271–2, 273
 - media and the Roma, 225, 311
 - minority policies, 118, 123, 277
 - parliamentary committees, 306
 - policies toward Roma, 99, 105, 115, 118–19, 123–4, 215, 269–70, 290, 324, 339
 - comprehensive program, 336–7, 339
 - political developments, 283, 325
 - presidency, 285, 286, 288
- Bulgarian Gypsies, 87
 - administrative status, 309
 - crimes, 141, 181, 182, 183
 - education, 88, 134–6, 169–71
 - electoral performance, 237–8
 - employment, 138, 140, 172–3, 174, 320
 - health, 176–7
 - housing, 321, 337
 - living standards, 118
 - migration, 248
 - mobilization, 95, 101, 146
 - elections, 235
 - state support for, 227, 322
 - newspapers, 118
 - numbers of, 125–7, 158, 160, 161
 - organizations, 207, 208, 210, 211
 - per-child subsidies, 178
 - reproduction, 177–8
 - settlement patterns, 129, 163–4
 - social integration, 97, 187, 188, 195
- Bulgarian Helsinki Commission, 234
- Bulgarian Socialist Party, 228, 230, 237
 - manipulation of Gypsy voters, 230, 234
- Bulgarians, 91, 277
- Burley, Anne, 274
- Burtea, Vasile, 303, 308
- Byelorussians, 33, 56
- Calabria, 57
- Canada, 189
 - Gypsy immigration to, 245, 246, 248
- Caravan Sites Act (United Kingdom), 252
- Carnegie Corporation, 278
- Čarnogursky, Jan, 321
- Catavencu*, 312
- Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 125, 152
- Center for Social Intervention and Studies (CRISS), 213, 229, 232
- Central European University, 263–4
- Charles University (Czech Republic), 318

- Charles III, King, 95
- Charles VI, Emperor, 93
- Charter 77, 224
 - and Gypsies, 149–50
- Chinese
 - in Indonesia, 56
- Christian Roma Party, 221
- churches
 - and Roma, 88, 279
- Cioabă, Florin, 221–2, 228, 262, 263
- Cioabă, Ion, 184, 185, 220, 221, 233, 259
- Citizens' Solidarity and Tolerance Movement (Czech Republic), 275
- Civic Democratic Party, 233
- Civic Forum, 237
- Clinton, Bill, 272, 314
- Codrescu, Andrei, 254
- Commission for Inter-Ethnic Relations (Macedonia), 306
- Commission on National and Ethnic Minorities (Poland), 305
- Commissioner for Citizens Requiring Special Assistance (Slovakia), 302
- Commissioner for Romani Issues (Slovakia), 302
- Committee for Human Rights and Minorities (Slovakia), 305
 - Sub-Committee on the Roma, 305
- Committee for National Minorities (Romania), 306
- Committee for the Socially Disadvantaged (Bulgaria), 304
- Committee on Human Rights (Bulgaria), 306
- Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, 237–8
- Constantinescu, Emil, 273–4, 283, 288
- Convention of Cooperation of Romani Associations (Romania), 219
- Co-ordination Council for Gypsy Affairs (Hungary), 302–3
- Council for Ethnic Minorities (Czech Republic), 302
- Council for Human Rights (Czech Republic), 301
- Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations (Macedonia), 304–5
- Council for Minorities (Slovakia), 302
- Council for National Minorities (Czech Republic), 301
- Council for National Minorities (Romania), 303
- Council of Interethnic Relations (Macedonia), 222
- Council of Europe, 262, 267–70, 271, 278, 299–300, 302, 311
 - Activities on Roma/Gypsies, 269
 - Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, 268
 - Recommendation 1203, 267
 - seminar in Warsaw (1994), 268
 - Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies, 269
 - effect on Roma, 269
- Courtiade, Marcel, 182, 258
- Croatia
 - constitution, 309
 - Gypsy policies, 105
- Croatian Gypsies
 - education, 170
 - numbers of, 126, 160
- Croats, 34
- Črvenkovski, Branko, 291
- Csáky, Pál, 248, 302, 330, 338, 340
- Csalog, Zsolt, 187
- Csurka, István, 314
- Cultural Association of Hungarian Gypsies, 147
- Cultural Association of the Roma in Poland, 212
- Cultural Enlightenment Organization of the Gypsy Minority in Bulgaria, 146
- Czech Association of Entrepreneurs, 297

Czech Gypsies

- administrative status, 115, 309–10
 - crimes, 181
 - education, 133, 167–9, 170, 318
 - elected officials, 238–9
 - employment, 137, 140, 173, 320
 - housing, 131, 321
 - living standards, 139
 - migration, 244–7
 - mobilization, 101, 145, 149
 - state support for, 227, 322
 - numbers of, 125–7, 160,
 - organizations, 207, 208, 209, 214–15, 229
 - per-child subsidies, 139, 177
 - reproduction, 177–8
 - Romani language facility, 128
 - settlement patterns, 142, 163–4
 - social integration, 97, 187, 188
 - violence against, 195–6
- Czech Republic, 24, 323
- attitudes toward Gypsies, 191–3, 194, 270
 - citizenship law, 236, 270, 309–11
 - as consolidated democracy, 283
 - Constitutional Court, 296, 310
 - extremism, 190, 196, 199, 200, 295, 297, 314
 - governments, 291–2, 301–2
 - Gypsy emigration from, 244–7
 - and international organizations, 270, 272
 - judicial system, 315–16
 - local authorities, 298
 - media and the Roma, 311
 - ombudsman, 308
 - parliamentary committees, 305
 - policies toward Gypsies, 246, 290, 323
 - comprehensive Roma program, 332–4
 - Governmental Resolution No. 686 (1997), 333, 338
 - “Roma integration concept,” 301–2
 - self-government idea, 328
 - political developments, 325

- presidency, 285, 286–7
 - Romani advisers, 333
 - as safe state, 255
 - separation of powers, 289
- Czechoslovakia, 34, 37, 41, 358
- censuses, 115, 126
 - Communist Party, 117
 - as democracy, 32
 - emigration from, 242
 - minority policies, 34, 38
 - Gypsy policies, 99, 100, 115, 117–18, 123–4, 131
 - Porajmos*, 105–6
 - sterilization of Romani women, 117–18, 150
- Czechs, 34
- Dahl, Robert, 38
- Daniel, Albert, 194
- Daniel, Bartolomej, 146, 205
- Danihel, Vincent, 302, 330
- Danova, Savelina, 168
- Dávid, Ibolya, 303
- Daya*, 212
- democracies, 38–40
 - and human and minority rights, 38
 - incomplete, 40
 - and minorities, 38–39, 343–4
- democracies (East European), 282–4
- democracy, 38
- Democratic Christian Party of Romanian Roma, 208
- Democratic Congress Party (Bulgaria), 214, 238
- Democratic Convention (Romania), 283, 306
- Democratic Federation of Hungarian Gypsies, 150, 209
- Democratic Roma Union of Bulgaria, 208
- Denmark
 - deportation of Gypsies, 254
 - Gypsy immigration to, 244, 252
- Department for the Protection of National Minorities (Romania), 303, 304, 334
- Deutsch, Karl, 2

- diaspora, 63
- Dilinkó, Gábor, 149
- Dimovski, Boris, 191
- Djurić, Rajko, 180, 258, 260
- Doinas, Stefan Augustin, 191
- Doncsev, Toso, 303
- Duray, Miklós, 313
- Dzurinda, Mikulaš, 289, 293, 302, 338
- Eastern Europe
 - anti-Semitism, 98, 199, 308, 313
 - anti-discrimination laws and programs, 312, 316–17
 - backwardness, 83, 189
 - democracies (emerging), 282–4
 - cooperation on Romani issues, 352
 - comprehensive Gypsy programs, 328–39, 344–53
 - and policies toward the Gypsies, 284–324, 337–44
 - democratization, 41, 189–90, 282–4
 - differences between states, 322–3, 355–6, 358–9
 - emigration from, 241–2
 - extremism, 189–90, 195–201, 313–15
 - interwar era, 31–5, 95–103
 - and minority policies, 33–5, 98–100
 - manipulation of Gypsy votes, 232–4
 - national minority laws, 311
 - state financing for Gypsy mobilization, 227–8, 322
 - state institutions
 - dealing directly with Roma, 300–8, 320–2
 - and minorities, 284–300
 - state-socialism, 16, 112–53
 - and minority policies, 37, 38, 113–25
 - liberal and conservative states, 37
- East Germany, 38
- Eckstein-Kovács, Péter, 303, 334, 335, 338, 340
- Economist, The*, 199, 255
- “Egypt Society,” 101
- empires, 25–27
 - and ethnic minorities, 33
- Engels, Friedrich, 35
- Estonians, 56
- ethnic entrepreneurs, 43
- ethnic identity, 67–70
 - denial of, 69
 - formation, 69–70
 - markers of, 68
- ethnic minority, 24
- ethnic mobilization, 65–7
 - causes, 66
 - and communications, 75–6
 - and financial resources, 75
 - and ideology, 74
 - and leadership, 71–2
 - and opportunity, 74–5
 - and organizations, 72–3
 - phases, 67
 - and regime change, 42–3, 67, 357
 - and symbols, 76
- ethnic parties 73
- ethnic solidarity, 71
- ethnic violence, 195–201
- ethnogenesis, 70
- Eurobarometer, 241
- Euroleft (Bulgaria), 237
- European Commission, 270
- European Community, 241
- European Parliament, 270
- European Roma Parliament, 261–2
- European Roma Rights Center, 263, 275–6
- European Union, 262, 267, 270–1, 277, 281, 283, 293, 332, 335, 337, 338, 339, 341, 343, 352
 - Agenda 2000, 270–1
 - country-by-country membership criteria, 272–3
 - PHARE program, 332
- Farkas, Flórián, 162, 219, 223, 246, 263, 280, 311

- Finland, 276
 Gypsies' conditions in, 253
 Gypsy immigration to, 245
- Fonseca, Isabel, 7, 108
- Framework Program for Equal Participation of Roma in Bulgarian Public Life (1999), 215, 336-7
- France, 257
 attitudes toward Gypsies, 251
 deportation of Gypsies, 254
 Gypsy immigration to, 246
 influence on Romania, 86
- Franco, Francisco, 42
- Fraser, Angus, 107, 109
- Free and Democratic Community of Gypsies (Romania), 256
- Friedlander, Henry, 103
- Friedman, Edward, 112
- Fundația Aven Amentza* (Romania), 232
- "Future," 101
- gadje* (non-Roma), 12, 13
- Gabal, Ivan, 292
- Gandhi High School (Hungary), 318, 319, 346
- Gazeta Wyborcza*, 311
- Gebert, Konstantin, 199
- "General Association of Romanian Gypsies," 102
- "General Union of Romanian Roma," 102, 148
- Germans, 28, 29, 33, 37, 58, 115, 288
- Germany
 Bosnian refugees in, 256
 Bundestag's minute of silence, 266
 as destination of immigrants, 242-3, 244, 254-6
 Gypsies' conditions in, 249-50, 253
 Gypsy policies, 103-4, 250-1, 265-6
 Nazism, 32, 355
 refugee (and asylum) law, 243, 255
 repatriation of Gypsies, 253-5, 259
 and others, 254, 256
 reunification, 249
 social attitudes toward Roma, 249, 252
 as target of criticism, 251, 254-5
 violence against Gypsies, 250
- Gheorghe, Ivan, 235, 304
- Gheorghe, Nicolae, 162, 213, 243, 262, 263, 269, 276, 290, 295, 330, 360
- Gheorgiev, Petar, 237
- Gilberg, Trond, 101
- Gligorov, Kiro, 284, 285-6
- Göncz, Árpád, 285, 286, 289
- Gorál, Vladislav, 301
- Görlitz (Germany), 242
- Greater Romania Party, 219, 314
- Greece, 284
- Greeks, 55, 91
- Greenwich Village socialists, 54
- Grozev, Yonko, 234
- Gronziková, Alena, 152
- Gypsies
 adaptability, 14-15
 armed forces, 312, 347-8
 assimilation, 19, 93-5, 116-19, 121, 144, 203-5, 217
 cannibalism (charges of), 87, 98
 child welfare, 349
 cleavages between
 nomadic vs. settled, 11
 orthodox vs. unorthodox, 13
 rich vs. poor, 186
 communist party membership, 144-5
 criminality, 97, 141, 179, 180-3, 189, 350, 351
 customs and traditions, 8-9, 12-15, 103, 130, 182, 192, 204, 350-1
 data concerning, 6-8,
 deportation of, 35, 47
 as diaspora, 63
 discrimination, 137, 167-8, 170, 174-5, 181, 297-9, 311-15
 anti-discrimination programs, 312, 314-15, 344-5
 diversity of, 12-15

- and East European security, 343
- economic conditions, 88–91, 96–8, 139–40, 178–80, 342–3, 347, 355–6
- education, 88, 96, 132–7, 164–72, 317–19, 346–7
 - curricula, 165–6
 - disincentives for, 165–7
 - kindergartens, 165
 - in native language, 133, 136, 165
 - parents, 166–9, 350–1
 - special schools, 167–8
 - teachers, 133, 167–8, 318, 319
 - textbooks, 133, 165, 318
 - view of, 166–7, 319
- as Egyptians, 9, 158
- employment, 137–40, 172–6, 319–20, 347–8
- entrepreneurship, 185–6, 222
- health, 128, 176–7, 348
- history, 8–9
- homeland, 9, 63, 102–3, 257–8
- housing, 129–32, 179–80, 192–3, 299, 321, 348
- identity, 8, 15, 77, 148–9, 202–5
- in imperial states, 84–95, 355, 357–8
- incest, 128
- intelligentsia, 136, 204, 218
- and interethnic relations, 130–1, 140–3, 189–95
- in interwar period, 95–103
- integration, 19, 122, 152, 187–8, 340–1, 348–53, 360–1
- interaction with *gadje*, 64
- kings, 92, 102, 141, 184–5, 221, 257
- and legal system, 315–17, 344–5
- letters of safe conduct, 86
- living standards, 139–40
- marginality, 2, 49, 52, 62–4, 97, 355–7
- and the media, 141, 311–12, 350–2
- migration, 9–10, 127, 143, 164, 187, 200–1, 241–56
- political asylum, 247–9
 - economic reasons, 247–9
- money usurers, 349
- musicianship, 87
- nomadism, 10, 11, 119
- nostalgia for state-socialism, 201, 236–7
- numbers of, 7, 125–7, 158–62
- occupations and skills, 64, 87, 89–90, 96, 137–8, 172–6, 320
- orphanages, 178
- per-child subsidies, 128, 139, 177–8, 320–1, 348–9
- persecution, 11, 63, 87, 92, 98, 103–9, 117–22
- Porajmos*, 103–9, 141, 265
 - commemoration of, 212–13, 265, 286
 - in concentration camps, 104, 212–13, 265–6
 - disbelief in, 205
 - number of victims, 106, 107–9
- poverty, 178–80, 321, 342–3
- regime change, 43, 201, 360
- religion, 84–5, 87, 94
- reproduction rate, 127, 162–3, 177–8
- reputation, 85
- residential patterns, 129–30, 163–4
- responsibility of, 19, 342, 350–1, 360
- Romani language facility, 12, 64, 118, 128, 266, 311, 318
- segregation, 130–1
- self-identification, 127, 158–9, 194, 203–4
- settlement patterns, 12, 117, 118, 119, 129–30, 142
- slavery, 10, 85–6
- social attitudes toward, 63–4, 141–3, 189–95, 345, 350–1
- and social policy, 348–9
- social stratification, 88, 183–8
- and state institutions in emerging democracies
 - administrative status, 308–9, 344

Gypsies (*cont.*)

- comprehensive Gypsy programs, 326-40
- legislatures, 294-6, 305-6
- local authorities, 296-300
- ombudsmen, 306-8
- presidents, 285-9
- prime ministers, 289-94
- state policies in emerging
 - democracies, 328-39, 340-53, 357-9
- in state-socialist countries, 112-53, 358
 - administrative status, 114-16
 - education, 117, 132-7, 165, 168, 169
 - employment, 137-40
 - living standards, 118, 139-40
 - occupations, 119
 - policies toward them, 113-25
- subgroups, 12, 15
- survey research, 7-8
- uniqueness, 1-3
- violence against, 195-201, 250-2, 275, 293, 315-17
- and war in Yugoslavia, 200-1
- wealthy, 183-5
- welfare payments, 320-1, 348-9
- women, 14, 90, 177-18
 - sterilization, 117-18, 150
- work ethic, 90, 121, 139, 174-5, 339
- in World War I, 95
- Gypsy activists, 162, 316, 322, 341-2, 346
 - and Gypsy criminality, 180-1, 182
 - and size of Gypsy communities, 162
- Gypsy Cultural Association (Poland), 227
- Gypsy Cultural and Educational Society (Bulgaria), 146
- Gypsy Federation (Hungary), 148
- "Gypsy industry," 279-81
- Gypsy mobilization, 77, 95, 143-51, 349-52, 358
 - attributes of, 77-9
 - electoral campaigns, 235-6
 - electoral coalitions, 233-5
 - electoral participation, 237
 - electoral performance, 231-3, 237-8
 - as elite politics, 204, 218-19, 220
 - and ethnic solidarity, 78
 - and financial resources, 78, 186-7, 209, 227-30
 - and identity, 77, 148-9, 202-5
 - impact of, 209-10, 240, 281, 349-50, 358-9, 360
 - in imperial period, 95
 - in interwar period, 100-3
 - international, 150-1, 256-67
 - activism, 265-6
 - funding, 262
 - leadership, 263-4
 - and language and communications, 77, 224-7, 266
 - and leaders, 78, 143-5, 201, 206, 218-24, 229-30, 319, 341-2
 - Roma's confidence in, 230
 - criminality, 182, 185, 219
 - moderate, 220-1, 223-4
 - modern, 143-5, 220, 223-4
 - radical, 220-4, 263-4
 - relations to governments, 218-19, 220, 294
 - traditional, 143-5, 182, 184-5, 220-3, 236
 - shortcomings of, 218-20
- local elected officials, 238-9
- media (Romani), 148, 224-7, 350-1
 - newspapers, 225-6
 - radio and television, 226-7
- members of parliament, 214, 223-4, 232, 237-8, 295
- "nation without a state," 260
- and organizations, 78-9, 205-18, 239-40, 349-50
 - awareness of, 217-18, 236, 265
 - cultural and social, 210-11
 - financial management of, 229-30, 258-61
 - fractiousness, 206, 208, 218-19

- independent, 148–51
- institutionalization, 239–40
- membership, 208–9
- number of, 206–9
- political, 213–18
- programs and objectives of, 216–18
- relations with majority
 - organizations, 233–5, 294
- socioeconomic, 210–13, 299
- state-controlled, 145–8
- and the state, 145–6, 229–30, 349–50, 352–3
- women's, 211
- and past experience with, 77
- and political opportunity, 79, 202
- radicalism, 263–5
- and solidarity, 186–7, 253
- and symbols, 78, 258
- theaters, 148–9, 210
- umbrella organizations, 232–3
- voting behavior, 235–7
- Gypsy Research Center (France), 264
- Habsburg Empire, 26, 88, 354–5, 358
 - Dual Monarchy, 26
 - Gypsies, 84–91
 - institutional structure, 27
 - minority policies, 27–31, 47
 - policies toward Roma, 86–7, 93–5
 - religious policies, 29
- Hadareni (Romania), 196, 315
- Hága, Antónia, 221, 238
- Hajdúhadház (Hungary), 177
- Halonen, Tarja, 276
- Hancock, Ian, 108–9, 258, 260–1, 342
- Harman, Lesley D., 52
- Havel, Václav, 58, 150, 244, 286–7, 289
- Hechter, Michael, 64
- Heidelberg (Germany)
 - Gypsy cultural center in, 250, 266
- Heinemann, Hermann, 249
- Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Roma Section, 224
- Helsinki Watch/Human Rights Watch, 167, 274
- Herbst, Susan, 54
- Herzog, Roman, 266
- High School for the Arts (Slovakia), 318
- Highest Council of Roma in Poland, 232
- Hitler, Adolf, 34, 105
- Hochschild, Jennifer, 264, 345
- Holocaust, 103–9
 - see also Gypsies, *Porajmos*
- Holomek, Karel, 140, 209, 221, 222–4, 229, 238, 247–8, 297, 342
- Holomek, Miroslav, 146
- Holomek, Tomáš, 223
- Holy Roman Empire, 92
- Hooks, Bell, 55
- Horáková, Monika, 237
- Horn, Gyula, 290, 302
- Horowitz, Donald, 29, 197, 264
- Horthy, Miklós, 106
- Horváth, Aladár, 150, 221, 222–3, 238, 261, 290, 341
- Horváthová, Ágnes, 203, 219
- Hrebenciuc, Viorel, 293–4, 352
- Hristov, Asen, 237
- human rights organizations
 - useful work of, 274–5
 - objectivity of, 6–7, 192, 197–9, 273–7, 316
- Human Rights Project (Bulgaria), 168, 215, 227, 275, 336–7, 339
- Hungarian Gypsies
 - administrative status, 116
 - crimes, 141, 181
 - economic conditions, 86
 - education, 88, 121, 133–6, 170–1, 318, 319
 - elected officials, 239
 - employment, 138–40, 173–4, 319–20
 - and ethnic conflict, 130, 191
 - financial support, 321
 - health, 176

- Hungarian Gypsies (*cont.*)
- housing, 131, 321
 - intelligentsia, 148
 - living standards, 139
 - migration, 245–6
 - mobilization, 101, 121, 144–5, 150, 223, 236
 - state support for, 227–8, 322
 - numbers of, 125–6, 160
 - organizations, 207–8, 209, 215
 - per-child subsidies, 139
 - Porajmos*, 106
 - poverty, 179
 - reproduction, 128, 162, 177, 178
 - Romani language facility, 13, 128
 - self-government, 219, 239, 246, 303, 326–8, 350
 - settlement patterns, 129, 163
 - social integration, 187, 188
- Hungarian Revolution
- Gypsy participation in, 149
- Hungarian Socialist Party, 238
- Hungarian War of Independence, 36
- Gypsy participation in, 87
- Hungarians, 33
- in minority, 33, 37, 124, 288, 293, 295, 305, 306, 309
- Hungary, 24, 33, 37, 41, 271, 323, 338, 355, 358
- anti-discrimination laws and programs, 316–17
 - attitudes toward Gypsies, 193, 194, 298
 - child protection legislation, 349
 - Communist Party, 116, 121, 147, 150
 - as consolidated democracy, 283
 - emigration from, 242
 - environmental activism, 42
 - extremism, 195, 200, 314
 - financial support for Roma, 321–2
 - governments, 290–1, 302, 321, 338
 - and international organizations, 272, 273
 - Law on Minorities (1993), 269, 295–6, 311, 326
 - local authorities, 298–9
 - minority policies, 323
 - Nationalities Act (1868), 30
 - Ombudsman Act (1993), 307
 - parliamentary committees, 305
 - policies toward Roma, 100, 121–2, 145–7, 152, 290, 318, 319–20, 321, 323, 324, 338
 - comprehensive Gypsy program, 326, 328–30, 332, 334, 339
 - pre-1918 minority policies, 30
 - prime ministers, 290–1
 - presidency, 285–6
- Huntington, Samuel P., 239–40
- Huttenbach, Henry, 107
- Hübschmannová, Milena, 119, 123
- Iliescu, Ion, 233, 234–5, 251, 283, 288, 322
- Independent Roma Union, 208
- India, 9, 10, 257
- Indians
- in Trinidad and Tobago, 56
- Indonesia, 56
- Industrial Revolution, 63
- impact on Roma, 90
- Institution of the Public Attorney (Macedonia), 307
- Inter-Ministerial Commission for Roma Community Affairs (Czech Republic), 301
- Inter-Ministerial Committee for Gypsy Affairs (Hungary), 303, 328, 329
- Inter-Ministerial Committee for National Minorities (Romania), 303
- Sub-Committee for Roma, 335
- International Center for Minority Studies (Bulgaria), 277
- International Gypsy Committee, 151, 258
- international Gypsy movement, 150–1, 256–67
- funding, 262–3
 - leadership, 263–5
 - ordinary Roma's awareness of, 265

- organizations, 258–62
- International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 274
- international organizations, 46–7, 262, 263, 265–73, 352
- capacity to change state policy, 46, 267, 271–3, 281
- effectiveness, 279–81, 323–4, 337–9, 352–3
- International Roma Federation, 261
- International Romani Union, 147, 258–61
 - achievements, 259–60, 265
 - communist influence in, 261
 - divisions in, 259, 260
 - embezzlement, 258–60
 - presidency sold, 260
- Ireland
 - Gypsy emigration to, 244
- Italy
 - Bosnian refugees in, 256
 - policies toward Gypsies, 252
- Ivanov, Ventzislav, 276–7
- Jarovnice (Slovakia), 182
- Jefferson, Thomas, 39
- Jesus Christ, 51
- Jews, 2, 35, 56, 64, 69, 112, 257
 - in Balkans, 105
 - deportation of, 35, 47, 105
 - and Hebrew language, 77
 - in Habsburg Empire, 28
 - and Holocaust, 103, 104, 105
 - in Ottoman Empire, 29, 55, 91
 - in Poland, 33
 - religion, 64
 - in Russian Empire, 56
- Joseph, Archduke, 90
- Joseph II, Emperor, 87, 93–5, 358
- Jurová, Anna, 162
- Kalderash tribe, 102, 129, 184
- Kaltenbach, Jenó, 307
- Kalyi Jag school (Budapest), 318, 319
- Kanchev, Tsvetelin, 237
- Kanev, Krassimir, 20
- Kapralski, Slawomir, 205
- Karklins, Rasma, 25, 188
- Karsai, László, 108
- Kasfir, Nelson, 69
- Kavan, Jan, 248
- Kawczynski, Rudko, 162, 251, 263, 264, 280, 341–2
- Kemény, István, 159
- Kenrick, Donald, 108, 245, 246
- Khrushchev, Nikita S., 125
- Kiss, Péter, 312
- Kitschelt, Herbert, 74, 75
- Kiucukov, Kristo, 259
- Klaus, Václav, 233, 291–2, 301, 323, 332, 333, 338
- Klestil, Thomas, 275
- Kliot, N., 57
- Kogălniceanu, Mihail, 86, 95
- Kolev, Gospodin, 145
- Kolín (Czech Republic), 318
- Kompuš, Jan, 238
- Košice (Slovakia), 231, 289, 318, 332
- Kosovo, 54, 180, 284
 - Gypsy emigration from, 244
 - war in and the Gypsies, 200–1
- Kostov, Ivan, 294
- Kotai, Aladár, 246
- Kováč, Michal, 287
- Kozák, János, 219
- Kozma, Blanka, 211
- Kraków, 239, 299
- Kurds, 2, 56
- Kurón, Jacek, 305
- Kwaśniewski, Aleksander, 287
- Kwiatkowski, Roman, 119–20, 209, 212, 221, 263
- Kwiek dynasty, 257
- Kwiek, Janusz, 102
- Kwiek, Joseph, 257
- Kwiek, Michal, 102
- Kwiek, Rudolf, 102
- Ladányi, János, 159
- Latinos
 - in United States, 54–5, 59
- Latvia, 76
- Latvian Gypsies, 188

- Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 314
 leadership
 and mobilization, 71–2
 League for the Cultural Uplifting of
 the Gypsies, 98
 Lee, Jung Young, 51
 Left Bloc (Czech Republic), 238
 legislatures, 294–6, 305–6
 Lengyel, László, 233
 Lenin, Vladimir I., 36, 114
 Leuprecht, Peter, 262, 268
 Lewis, Bernard, 84
 Lewy, Guenter, 108
 Libertarians, 54
 Liégeois, Jean-Pierre, 162, 264
 Linz, Juan, 39
 local authorities, 296–300
 local minority self-governments
 (Hungary), 326–8
 Lockwood, William, 8
 Lom (Bulgaria), 148, 177, 299
 Lombardy, 57
 Loran, Tibor, 221
 Lovara tribe, 129
Lungo Drom, 208, 215, 228, 230,
 327
 Lunik 9 (Slovakia), 231, 289

 Macedonia, 41
 constitution, 309
 governments, 291, 304–5
 Gypsy policies, 100, 122–3, 290–1,
 294, 323, 324, 326
 interethnic relations, 152, 199
 judicial system, 316
 minority policies, 323
 ombudsman, 307
 parliamentary committees, 306
 political developments, 283–4
 presidency, 285–6
 prime ministers, 291
 Macedonian Gypsies
 education, 134–6, 165, 170–1,
 318–19
 Egipcani, 158–9
 in Germany, 256
 guest workers, 175–6
 housing, 131
 migration from, 243
 mobilization, 101, 145
 state support for, 227, 322
 numbers, 126–7, 160
 organizations, 207, 211–12
 per-child subsidies, 178
 Romani language facility, 128
 Phralipe theater, 147
 settlement patterns, 163–4
 social integration, 98, 175, 187,
 188
 Marga, Andrei, 312
 marginal group
 identity, 52–6, 59
 interaction with dominant group,
 58–61
 mobilizational level, 46
 socioeconomic conditions, 45–6,
 347
Marginal Man, The, 50
 marginality, 2
 altering of, 56–8
 of blue collar workers, 53
 concept of, 49–52
 determinants of, 53
 economic, 53, 54–5, 57, 61, 97
 ethnic, 58
 of Gypsies, 62–4, 97
 of homosexuals, 53, 60
 of Jesus, 51
 of FDR, 52–3
 of majorities, 54
 and race, 53
 self-imposed, 54
 social, 55–6, 97
 political, 59–62
 of women, 53, 55
 Maliková, Anna, 313
 Maria Theresa, Empress, 93–5, 106,
 358
 and Gypsy edicts, 93–4
 Markovska, Djulistana, 237
 Marushiakova, Elena, 125, 184,
 248
 Marx, Karl, 35
 Marxism-Leninism, 32, 35, 112, 189

- and ethnic minorities, 35–6, 112, 189
- Mastny, Vojtech, 34
- Matějka, Zdeněk, 272
- Mátyás (Matthias), King, 86
- McAdam, Doug, 74
- McNeill, William H., 51
- Mečiar, Vladimír, 215, 228, 270, 283, 287, 292–3, 302, 321, 322
- Médecins sans Frontières*, 211
- media
 - Gypsy, 148, 330
 - and the Gypsies, 141, 311–12
- Mennonite, 54
- Mesecina*, 212
- Metodiev, Vesselin, 304
- microfinancing, 277
- migration, 57–8, 241–56
- Miklušáková, Marta, 168
- Mill, John Stuart, 39
- millets, 29, 84
- Milošević, Slobodan, 201
- Ministry of Culture and Art (Poland)
 - Department for the Culture of National Minorities, 301
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Macedonia)
 - Human Rights and Minorities Department, 304
- Ministry of Labor (Hungary), 312, 320
- Ministry of Labor and Social Policy (Bulgaria), 320
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and Family (Slovakia), 349
- Ministry of Social Welfare (Czech Republic), 320
- Mirga, Andrzej, 103, 106, 162, 166, 212, 263, 269, 298, 347
- Mitroi, Paul, 308
- Mława (Poland), 244, 308, 317
- Mlynar, Vladimír, 246–7
- mobilization
 - ethnic, 65–7
 - experience with, 71
 - measures of, 66
 - political, 46, 61, 65
 - prerequisites of, 71–6
- Moldavia, 242
 - Gypsy slavery, 10, 85–6
- Montenegro, 116
- Montreal
 - Gypsy immigration to, 245
- Moric, Vitazoslav, 313
- Motejl, Otakar, 308
- Motyl, Alexander, 26
- Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 215, 228, 238
 - manipulation of Gypsy votes, 234
- Movement for Rights and Freedoms, 213
- Mróz, Lech, 103
- Mubarak, Hosni, 158
- Mueller, John, 39
- Museum of Gypsy Culture (Tarnów), 210, 258
- Museum of Romany Culture (Brno), 148–9, 210, 224, 227
- Mussolini, Benito, 102
- Mustafa, Neždet, 280
- Naftanalia, Lazar, 101
- Nanterre (France), 251
- Nastase, Adrian, 338
- nation, 24
- National Council for Questions of the Gypsy Population (Czechoslovakia), 117
- National Council for Regional Languages and Cultures (France), 251
- National Council on Ethnic and Demographic Issues (Bulgaria), 304, 341
- National Council of the Roma (Bulgaria), 235
- National Gypsy Council (Hungary), 147
- National Gypsy Self-Government (Hungary), 219, 239, 246, 303, 326–8
- national minority laws, 311

- National Office for the Roma (Romania), 276, 303, 335
- NATO, 267, 283
- Naumoski, Branko, 307
- Németh, Miklós, 321
- Netherlands, The, 53, 252, 274
- Neuville-sur-Ain (France), 251
- New York Times*, 254–5, 286
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 46–7, 210–13, 273–9, 280
- capacity to change state policies, 46, 281, 360
- effectiveness, 279–81
- Nord-Rhein Westphalia, 243, 249, 256
- Northern Ireland, 53
- NOS Foundation for Civic Society (Slovakia), 236
- Nunev, Iosif, 304
- Office for Ethnic Equality and Roma Integration (Czech Republic), 333
- Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (Hungary), 302–3, 329, 340
- Office for the Protection of National and Ethnic Minority Rights (Hungary), 275
- Office of Gypsy Affairs (Poland), 119
- Office of the Parliamentary Commissioners (Hungary), 307
- Olah* (Vlach) Roma, 12
- ombudsman, 306–8
- Open Society Foundation, 210, 211–12, 227, 277–8
- OSF-Bulgaria, 210
- Opocki, Stanisław, 279, 318
- Oprescu, Dan, 276, 280, 303, 335, 338
- Orbán, Viktor, 290–1, 328–9, 338
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, formerly CSCE), 244, 259, 267–70, 272–3, 330, 352
- Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues (CPRSI), 268–9
- High Commissioner on National Minorities, 268
- Office of Demoractic Institutions and Human Rights, 268
- organizations, 205–18
- and mobilization, 72–3
- Orgovánová, Klára, 220, 263
- Ostrava (Czech Republic), 142
- Oświęcim, 212–13, 287
- Osztójkán, Béla, 223
- Ottoman Empire, 26, 84–91, 354–5, 357–8
- institutional structure, 27, 84
- minority policies, 27–31, 47, 84
- organizational principle, 28, 354–5
- parliament, 27
- policies toward Roma, 91–2
- religious policies, 28, 84
- social status, 84
- tolerance, 84, 86–7
- Ózd (Hungary), 174, 185, 246
- Ötvös, Géza, 211
- Pacai, Jozef, 190
- Park, Robert E., 50, 52, 57, 58
- Parliament of European Roma, 262
- Parliamentary Commissioner for National and Ethnic Minority Rights (Hungary), 307
- Parliamentary Committee for Interethnic Relations (Macedonia), 222
- Partida Romilor* (Romania), 208, 214, 219, 221, 228, 232, 234–5, 304
- electoral performance, 232, 234–5
- Party for Total Emancipation of Roma in Macedonia, 237, 257
- Party of Democratic Socialism (PDSR, Romania), 233, 234–5, 288
- Pashov, Shakir, 145
- Patriotic People's Front (Hungary), 147–8, 150

- Paun, Nicolae, 235, 237
 Pavel, Dan, 229, 234
 Payne, Jiři, 310
 Pécs (Hungary), 318
 Pehe, Jiři, 199, 218
 Péli, Tamás, 238
 People's Advocate (Romania), 308
 Petkova, Dora, 210
 Petrova, Dimitrina, 296
 Pew Charitable Trusts, 280
Phralipe (Gypsy theater, Macedonia), 147–8
 Phralipe Independent Gypsy Organization (Hungary), 150
 Pickvance, C. G., 42
 Plovdiv (Bulgaria), 164, 179
 Poland, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 317, 355, 358
 anti-discrimination efforts, 317
 as consolidated democracy, 283
 Constitution of 1965, 115
 emigration from, 242
 Gypsy migrants in, 242–3
 interethnic relations, 199
 media and Roma, 311, 317
 minorities in, 33, 115
 ombudsman, 308
 parliamentary committees, 305
 policies toward Gypsies, 92, 99, 119–20, 124, 145, 152, 290, 324, 326
 as safe state, 255
 Poles, 33, 56
 police
 and Roma, 315–16, 345
 policies toward ethnic minorities
 enlightened, 24
 imperial, 27–31
 indifferent, 24–5
 repressive, 24
 policies toward the Roma (in democracies), 308–22
 combatting extremism, 313–15
 constitutional and legal issues, 308–11
 discrimination, 311–12
 education, 317–19
 employment, 319–20
 financial support, 321–2
 law enforcement and judicial system, 315–17
 social welfare, 320–1
 Polish Gypsies, 99
 administrative status, 115
 elected officials, 238–9
 employment, 137–8, 140, 175
 kings, 102–3
 mobilization, 102, 147
 state support for, 227, 322
 numbers of, 124, 126, 160
 organizations, 207, 212–13
 Porajmos, 106
 settlement patterns, 129, 163
 social integration, 187, 188
Politica, 314
 Political Asylum Research and Documentation Service, 248
 political mobilization, 46, 61, 65, 71–9
 political opportunity, 74–5, 202
 political symbols, 76, 258
Polska Roma, 10
 Popov, Vesselin, 8, 125, 184, 248
 Prague Spring, 117, 123, 146
 Gypsy participation in, 149
 presidents
 and the Roma, 285–9
 power of, 285
 prime ministers, 289–94
 Pro Juventate, 252
 Project on Ethnic Relations, 229, 264, 278
 Roma Advisory Council, 278
 Prussia, 29
 Public against Violence (Slovakia), 237
 Puxon, Grattan, 108

 Quakers, 54
 Quebec, 61
 Quigley, Kevin, 280

 race research
 in Germany, 104

- Raducanu, Gheorghe, 185, 235, 237, 247, 288, 308-9
- Radulescu, Iulian, 184
- Raduly, József, 206
- Rashkov, Anghel, 229
- Rashkov, Kyril, 141, 184-5, 221, 228-9
- Rau, Johannes, 256
- Rauh, Edit, 340
- Red Cross (Poland), 243
- Red Cross (Slovakia), 312
- regime change, 25, 41-3, 354-7, 359
and minorities, 41-3, 58, 356-7
and mobilization, 42-3, 67, 357
and Roma, 43, 96, 100-3, 109-10, 201-2, 239-40
- regimes, 3-5, 354-7, 359
and minorities, 25, 109-11, 355-7
types of, 3-5, 23-4, 25, 112, 152, 355-6, 359
- Regional Labor Force Development and Training Centers (Hungary), 329-30
- Regional Roma Participation Program, 263
- Reichszentrale zur Beämpfung des Zigeunerwesens*, 104
- repatriation of Gypsies, 253-4
- Republican Party (Czech Republic), 190, 295, 314
- Rigo, Emil, 145
- Rom and Sinti Union (Germany), 261
- Roma
as name, 1
see Gypsies
- Roma Inter-Ministerial Subcommission (Romania), 303
- Roma Press Center, 223, 227
- Roma Program Committee (Hungary), 302-3
- Roma National Congress (Germany), 262-3
- Roman, Petre, 293
- "Romanestan," 257-8
- Romani Civic Initiative (ROI - Czech Republic and Slovakia), 196, 205, 208, 214-5, 224, 233, 237, 238, 297
- Romani Democratic Union (Romania), 196
- Romani Parliament (Hungary), 223, 232
- Romani language, 9, 64, 128, 266, 318
- Romani News Agency, 278
see also Roma Press Center
- Romani Secondary School for Social Work (Czech Republic), 318
- Romania, 24, 37, 41, 273-4
attitudes toward Romania, 193, 195, 270
censuses, 7
child protection legislation, 349
Civil Service Law (1999), 336
Communist Party, 120
Department for the Protection of National Minorities, 232
elections, 283
extremism, 191, 195, 219, 313-14, 315
financial support for Roma, 322
governments, 293-4, 303-4, 322, 338-9
guaranteed minority representation, 231, 295, 306
homosexuals, 60
and international organizations, 272
media and the Roma, 312
miners' rampage, 293
minority policies, 38, 274
Most Favored Nation status, 272
parliamentary committees, 305-6
policies toward Roma, 100, 106, 120-11, 123, 290
comprehensive Gypsy program, 334-6, 338-9
self-government idea, 328
political developments, 283, 325
presidency, 285, 288
regulation of political parties, 213
repatriation agreement with Germany, 253-5

- social spending, 322
- Romanian Gypsies
 - crimes, 141
 - education, 134, 166, 169, 171, 318
 - elected officials, 234, 237–8, 295
 - electoral performance, 231–2, 238
 - employment, 120, 138, 173
 - health, 176
 - housing, 131
 - migration to Germany, 243
 - mobilization, 95, 101–2, 144–5, 148, 149
 - newspapers of, 102
 - numbers of, 7, 125–6, 127, 158, 160, 161
 - organizations, 207, 208, 210, 211–12, 213, 214
 - Porajmos*, 106–7, 108
 - poverty, 179
 - reproduction, 162, 177–8
 - Romani language facility, 128
 - settlement patterns, 129, 142, 163–4
 - social integration, 187, 188
 - violence against, 195
- Romanians, 33
- Romanipe*, 13, 204
- Romano Hangoš*, 224
- Romanov, Manush, 237
- Romen (Gypsy theatre in Czechoslovakia), 149
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 52–3
- Rostás-Farkas, György, 342
- Rostock (Germany), 249
- Rothschild, Joseph, 33, 68
- Rušenko, Jan, 182, 204, 206
- Russian Empire, 29, 30, 36, 56
- Ruthenes, 33
- Rychetsky, Pável, 301, 332
- Saudi Arabia, 53
- Savinova, Jelica, 222
- Schmidt, Helmut, 265
- scholarship on Roma, 18–19, 119, 121–2
- Schöpfli, George, 343
- Schuster, Rudolf, 288–9
- Scientific Council for the Coordination of Gypsy Research (Hungary), 121
- Scruton, Roger, 351
- Sčuka, Emil, 94, 149, 206, 214, 259, 297
- Sechkov, Rumian, 235
- Seiters, Rudolf, 253–4
- Serb Gypsies
 - education, 136
 - land ownership, 122
 - mobilization, 101
 - and *Porajmos*, 105
 - social integration, 98
- Serbs, 91, 309
- Shain, Yossi, 63
- Shuto Orizari (Macedonia), 123, 164, 222, 234, 280
 - electoral campaigns in, 234
- Sibiu (Romania), 184, 299
- Sicily, 57
- Šiklová, Jiřina, 203, 229
- Simmel, Georg, 50, 52
- Simoska, Emilija, 319
- Singh, Karan, 177
- Siu, Paul, 52
- skinheads, 195–201, 314–15
- Skopje, 123, 148, 185, 222, 291
 - earthquake, 123, 131
- Sladek, Miroslav, 190, 287, 295, 314, 315
- slavery, 10, 85–6
- Sliven (Bulgaria), 84, 164
- Slota, Jan, 289, 313
- Slovak Academy of Sciences, 194
- Slovak Gypsies
 - criminality, 141, 182
 - economic contribution, 97
 - education, 133, 165, 169, 170–1, 318, 319
 - electoral performance, 231–2, 237–8
 - employment, 138, 140
 - housing, 131, 321, 331–2
 - migration, 244–5, 247, 253
 - mobilization, 207
 - state support for 227–8, 322

- Slovak Gypsies (*cont.*)
 numbers of, 126, 158, 159, 160, 161
 organizations, 207, 214–15
Porajmos, 106
 reproduction, 127, 163
 self-identification, 203
 settlement patterns, 142–3
 social integration, 97, 187, 188
 violence against, 197
- Slovak National Party, 199, 289, 292, 313
- Slovakia
 attitudes toward Gypsies, 192–3, 270
 extremism, 190, 197, 200, 313, 314
 financial support for Roma, 322
 governments, 292–3, 302, 322, 338
 judicial system, 315
 language law, 270
 local authorities, 298
 minority language law, 311
 parliamentary committees, 305
 policies toward Roma, 99, 290, 323, 338
 “extraordinary receivers,” 349
 self-government idea, 328
 Strategy for the Roma, 330–2, 337
 political developments, 283, 315, 325
 presidency, 285, 286–7, 288–9
 prime ministers, 292–3
 travel agencies, 248–9
- Slovaks, 33, 34
- Slovenia, 41
 pre-school program for Gypsies, 318
 constitution, 309
- Slovene Gypsies
 health, 176
 mobilization, 227
 state support for, 227
 numbers of, 126, 160
 organizations, 207
 per-child subsidies, 178
- social attitudes
 toward Gypsies, 63–4, 141–3, 189–95
 toward minorities, 45
- social capital, 71
- Social-Cultural Federation of the Roma from Timis County, 206
- Society of New Peasant Brotherhood, 101
- Somalia, 257
- Soros, George, 277–8, 313
- South Africa, 40, 54, 61
- Southwest (United States), 61
- Soviet Union, 36, 37, 355–6
 as empire, 30
 control of Eastern Europe, 113–15, 118, 125, 152, 355–6
 nationalities, 36–7
 totalitarianism, 32, 355
- Spain, 42
 Bosnian refugees in, 256
 policies toward Gypsies, 93, 95
 social attitudes toward Gypsies, 252
- Stalin, Iosif, 32, 36, 113, 114–15
- Stanchev, Krassen, 296
- Standing Committee on Human Rights, Minorities, and Religious Affairs (Hungary), 305
- Stankiewicz, Stanisław, 232
- state, 23, 25
 and ethnic minorities, 43–7
 influence on society, 62, 350–1, 359
 institutions, 62
 and marginality, 62
 political-institutional attributes, 44–5
- state-socialism, 32
 and Communist Party, 35
 and inter-ethnic relations, 140–3
 and minorities, 35–8, 112–13
 Gypsy policies, 113–25, 129–37, 151–2, 358
 Stalinist period, 113–14
- Stepan, Alfred, 39
- Stewart, Michael, 77

- Stonequist, Everett V., 50, 52, 58
 Stoyanov, Petar, 272, 287–8
 Sts. Cyril and Methodius University
 (Macedonia), 318–19
 Subcommittee for the Application of
 the List of Basic Rights and
 Freedoms (Czech Republic),
 305
 Subcommittee for Nationalities
 (Czech Republic), 305
 Sungarski, Ivan, 306
 Sus, Jaroslav, 115
Svobodna Bulgariya, 214, 229, 238
 Sweden
 deportation of Gypsies, 254
 Gypsy emigration to, 244, 252
 refugees from Bosnia, 256
 Switzerland
 deportation of Gypsies, 254
 policies toward Gypsies, 252
 Széleányi, Iván, 159
 SZETA (Hungary), 150

 Tabajdi, Csaba, 302–3
 Tamás, G. M., 199
 Tarnów (Poland), 147
 Tarrow, Sidney, 74, 75
 Thurzó, György, 86
 Tilly, Charles, 65
 Tito, Josip Broz, 116, 122
 Tokay, György, 303
 Tökés, László, 256
 Tomova, Ilona, 176, 209
 Topana (Macedonia), 131
 Toronto
 Gypsy migration to, 245
 Tošovský, Josef, 292
 totalitarianism, 32–3, 355
 Tranca, Dumitru, 143
 Trinidad and Tobago, 56
 Tudor, Corneliu Vadim, 219, 315
 Turkey, 127

 Uhl, Petr, 301, 332
 Ukrainians, 33, 56
 Union for Peace and Human Rights
 (Slovakia), 275
 Union of Czechoslovak Gypsies, 146
 financial mismanagement, 146
 Union of Democratic Forces
 (Bulgaria), 237
 Union of Polish Roma, 209, 212–13
 Union of Roma Associations
 (Slovenia), 227, 232
 Union of Slovak Roma, 232
 United Kingdom
 Bosnian refugees in, 256
 Gypsy emigration to, 244
 policies toward Gypsies, 252
 social attitudes toward Gypsies,
 252
 solidarity among Gypsy groups,
 253
 United Nations, 257, 270, 285
 Commission on Human Rights,
 271
 Committee on Economic, Social,
 and Cultural Rights, 271
 High Commissioner for Refugees,
 271, 310
 UNESCO, 259, 277
 UNICEF, 259, 271
 United States, 40, 54–5, 189, 272
 Gypsy immigration to, 246–7,
 248
 House of Representatives, 272
 migration in, 57–8
 social attitudes toward Gypsies,
 253
 State Department, 272
 women's movement, 65
 University of Bucharest, 318
 School of Social Work, 319
 urban movements, 42
 Ústí nad Labem (Czech Republic),
 142, 192, 296, 297, 310
 Utah, 306

 Vaculík, Ludvík, 310
 van der Stoehl, Max, 268, 273
 Vašečka, Michal, 169
 Vasile, Radu, 178
Vatra Românească, 195, 199
 Verdery, Katherine, 309
 Veselá-Samková, Klára, 228, 233,
 316

- Veselý, Ivan, 152, 210, 214–15, 221, 228, 341
- Vietnamese, 249
- Vohryžek, Jozef, 149
- Voicu, Madalin, 219, 235, 237, 238
- von Weizsacker, Richard, 265
- Wałęsa, Lech, 287
- Wallachia, 242
- Gypsy slavery, 10, 85–6
- Warsaw, 242
- Warsaw Pact, 37, 149
- Wassdas, 211–12
- Weber, Max, 70
- Weimar Republic, 103
- Welfare Service Foundation (Hungary), 330
- Western Europe
- deportation of Gypsies, 254
- Gypsies' conditions, 249–53
- Gypsy migration to, 242–9
- policies toward Gypsies, 249–55
- social attitudes toward Gypsies, 252
- Wilson, William Julius, 172
- Working Group of Romani Associations (Romania), 232, 303–4, 334–6
- World Romani Congresses, 150, 151, 258–9
- Yugoslav Gypsies
- administrative status, 116
- education, 134
- employment, 138, 140
- in Germany, 256
- land ownership, 122
- mobilization, 122, 147, 150–1
- numbers, 126, 160, 161–2
- settlement patterns
- Yugoslav Romany Association, 150
- Yugoslavia, 24, 105, 112, 356
- Communist Party, 122–3
- Constitution of 1974, 116
- Gypsy policies, 100, 116, 122–3, 125, 145
- emigration from, 242, 243–4
- three-tier nationality system, 116
- war and Gypsies, 200–1
- Zala county (Hungary), 97
- Zamfir, Cătălin, 7, 269
- Zamfir, Elena, 7
- Zeman, Miloš, 292
- “zero-grade” classes, 318, 334
- Zgorzelec (Poland), 242
- Zhelev, Zhelyu, 285, 286, 294, 320
- Zhivkov, Todor, 125
- Zielinski, Adam, 308
- Zimmermann, Michael, 108
- Zsigmond (Sigismund), King, 86