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Roma and Forced Migration

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Presently, there are between seven and eight and a half million Roma living in Europe. From their arrival on the European continent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Roma have faced mistrust, rejection, and exclusion. In 1504, Louis XII forbade Roma from entering France; in 1496, the German parliament declared Roma traitors to Christianity; and from the fifteenth century until as late as 1864, Roma lived as slaves in Romania. However, the ultimate act of aggression and violence against Roma came with the Holocaust of the Second World War, in which between 270,000 and 500,000 Roma were murdered. Despite this legacy of mistreatment, the political changes in Eastern Europe in 1989 brought a new optimism to the Roma community. One scholar described it as a "new Roma awakening," with a flurry of new social, political, and cultural organizations emerging to provide choices to the Roma community for the first time in their history in Eastern Europe. However, the political changes have also awakened a new wave of anti-Roma sentiment and violence. The rise in violence has been noted in nearly every country with a significant Roma population. Many Roma are left wondering if they were better off under the previous regimes.

Because of the deteriorating conditions for Roma in Eastern Europe—discrimination in housing, unemployment, and the threat of violence—many Roma, especially those from Romania, Bulgaria, and the former Yugoslavia, are seeking to settle in Western Europe. The movement of these people is considered by some experts to be only the beginning of a vast migration of Roma westward. One leading expert on Roma suggests that it could rival the last great movement of Roma that took place at the end of the 19th century, when slavery was outlawed in Romania. Discrimination and violent attacks by civilians and police in countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the former Yugoslavia provide an element of coercion and influence the decisions of many Roma to migrate to Western Europe. Clearly, the problems within Roma communities are a

pan-European problem, and not merely problems within one country.

Because of the current precarious situation of Roma in Europe and the potential for migration, we have produced the following annotated bibliography to provide policymakers and implementers, scholars, and others with a compilation of sources of information on Roma. Our aim is for this information to facilitate a better understanding of the issues involved in the migration of Roma up until the present

day. The bibliography, compiled by Dana Neacsu, a Harvard LL.M. and former law professor and jurist from Romania, with the assistance of Allison Mindel, Information Administrator of the Forced Migration Projects, lists almost 400 books, articles, and periodicals dealing with Roma and migration-related issues. The assistance of the Budapest-based European Roma Rights Center in reviewing the compilation is gratefully acknowledged.

This selected annotated bibliography assembles texts directly concerned with the forced migration of Roma, as well as other books, articles, periodicals, and various collections which provide background information on the Roma and their socio-economic, political and legal history. Those books which focused only on the cultural heritage of the Roma, e.g. books on the Spanish



Flamenco, the Hungarian Csardas, or the Moscow Gypsy Theater were left aside, as were many possibly helpful but obscure texts. Also included are some fictional works about the Roma which readers may find enriching. The bibliography is organized by region and country for easier usage. Most of the books can be found at the New York City Public Library and are also available at most other large research libraries.

Arthur C. Helton
Director, Forced Migration Projects

I. General Bibliographies about Roma

BINNS, Dennis. *A Gypsy Bibliography: A Bibliography of All Recent Books, Pamphlets, Articles, Broadsheets, Theses and Dissertations Pertaining to Gypsies and Other Travellers That the Author Is Aware of at the Time of Printing*. Chorltonville, Manchester: Dennis Binns Publications, 1982.

This is a self-published, multi-volume, and periodically updated bibliography.

BOROVSKY, Stefan. *Ciganska otazka: Bibliografija* [The Gypsy question: Bibliography]. Kosice: Statne vedecka kniznica, 1960.

This is a useful bibliography about Roma in the countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain.

GERMAN, A. Z. *Bibliografiya o tsyganakh*. Moscow: Tsentrizday, 1930.

This bibliography was published at a time when Russia was isolated from the rest of the world by what the author terms a "thick ideological wall."

GRONEMEYER, Reimer. *Zigeuner in Osteuropa: Eine Bibliographie zu den Laendern Polen, Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn (Mit einem Anhang ueber aeltere Sowjetische Literatur)*. [Gypsies in East Europe: A bibliography on Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (with an appendix on older Soviet literature)] Munchen: K. G. Saur, 1983.

This is an annotated bibliography of works about the Roma in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Soviet Union.

TONG, Diane. *Gypsies: A Multidisciplinary Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishers, 1995.

This work includes updated bibliographical references and indexes.

II. Periodicals Which Regularly Publish Articles about Roma

Amaro Drom (since 1991). Tavaszmezo u. 6, 1084 Budapest, Hungary.

This magazine has been published by the Roma Parliament since 1991. It is available only in Hungarian.

Ciganyfuro. Baross u. 124, VIII District, Budapest, Hungary.

This is a Hungarian publication which includes art, criticism, and articles about Roma issues.

Drom Dromendar. 5 Nikola Karev Str., 8800 Sliven, Bulgaria.

Written in Bulgarian, this is a monthly newspaper.

Etudes Tsiganes (since 1955). 2 rue d'Hautpoul, 75019, Paris, France.

Giessener Haefte fuer Tsiganologie (1984-6), succeeded by *Tsiganologische Studien* (since 1990, on a sporadic basis). c/o Institut fuer Soziologie, Justus-Liebig-Universitaet, Karl-Glockner-Str. 21E, 6300, Giessen, Germany.

Interface. Newsletter of the Gypsy Research Centre/Centre de Recherches Tsiganes. Universite Rene Descartes, 106 quai de Clichy - F - 92110, Clichy, Paris, France.

I Tehachipen (La Verdad). Apartados Correos 202, 08080 Barcelona, Spain.

This journal, published by the Union Romani, covers social and cultural issues.

Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (since 1988). There have been some interruptions, and the journal is now in its fifth series. 5607 Greenleaf Road, Cheverly, MD 20785, USA. From 1978 to 1989, it was called "A Newsletter of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter."

Kethano Drom. Marek Jozsef u. 16 II/21, 1078 Budapest, Hungary.

This magazine is published in Hungarian only.

Lacio Drom (since 1965). Centro Studi Zingari, Via dei Barbieri, 22, 00186, Rome, Italy.

Lungo Drom. Szapary ut. 19, 5000 Szolnok, Hungary.

Published by the Lungo Drom organization, this magazine is available only in Hungarian.

Nevipens Romani (Noticias Gitanas). Apartados Correos 202, 08080 Barcelona, Spain.

Also published by the Union Romani, this newspaper covers issues of human rights, racism, and discrimination vis-a-vis Roma in Spain.

O Drom. P.O. Box 16875, 1001 RJ Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Published in the Netherlands, this Dutch magazine "for and about Roma and Sinti in Europe," focused its December 1996, English-language edition on Roma in the former Yugoslavia.

Patrin. P.O. Box 215, 080 01 Presov, Slovakia.

This international periodical is published in both Romani and English.

Phralipe. Tavaszmezo u. 6, 1084 Budapest, Hungary.

A Roma publication written in Hungarian.

Roma Rights (since fall 1996). Newsletter of the European Roma Rights Center, H-1525, Budapest 114, P.O. Box 10/24, Hungary.

Roma Rights in Focus (since March 1996). 23 Solunska Street, 6th floor, Sofia 1000, Bulgaria.

This is the newsletter of the Human Rights Project, a non-profit organization focusing on monitoring and legal defense of Roma in Bulgaria. It is published in Bulgarian and English.

Romano Bavarvalipe. 10 Khan Asparyh Str., 1463 Sofia, Bulgaria.

Romano Dzaniben. Cimburkova 23, 130 00 Prague 3, Czech Republic.

Available in Czech, this Prague-based journal focuses on Roma issues.

Romano Ilo. 10 Khan Asparyh Str., 1463 Sofia, Bulgaria.

This newspaper is published monthly in Bulgarian.

Romano Kurko. Moravske typografie, Moravske namesti, Brno, Czech Republic.

Focusing on political, cultural, and social issues related to Roma in the Czech Republic, this newspaper is available in Czech and Romani.

Romano Lil. ul. Hilendarska 2, Belgrade 11000, Yugoslavia.

A newspaper based in Belgrade, it is published by Rominterpress of Yugoslavia in Romani.

Rom Po Drom. ul. Warszawska 43, 15-062 Bialystok, Poland.

This magazine covers political and cultural issues and is available in both Polish and Romani.

III. Texts Containing General Information about Roma

III. A. GENERAL ACADEMIC STUDIES ABOUT ROMA

ACTON, Thomas A., and Paul KEGAN. *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*. London: Routledge, 1974.

This is a work on Roma political and social movements in Europe.

BALIC, S., et al., eds. *Romani Language and Culture*. Sarajevo, Institut za Proucavanje Nacionalnih Odnosa, 1989.

This is a collection of articles produced for the 1986 Conference on Romany Language and Culture in Sarajevo. Many of the articles address the linguistic consequences of Roma migrations, notably W. R. Rishi's "History of the Romany Movement: Their Language and Culture."

BATAILLARD, P. "De l'apparition et de la dispersion des Bohemiens en Europe." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. Vol. 5, 1834-1844, pp. 348-75, 521-52.

This author advances his theory that the Roma originated as the blacksmiths of the Bronze Age, in the central region of the Western Alps.

CHATARD, R. P., and Michel BERNARD, eds. *Zanko (Chef tribal chez les Chalderas): La tradition des Tsiganes, conservée par aristocratie de ce peuple... Documents*. Paris: La Colombe, 1959.

This collection of documents gathered by Chatard and presented by Bernard recounts the daily life of the Kalderas, a Roma tribe.

COHN, Werner. *The Gypsies*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1973.

This account, which applies the Addison-Wesley modular anthropology program to the Roma, describes Roma cultural values and resistance to assimilation.

COLLOCI, A. A. *Gli Zingari*. Turin, 1889.

This Italian approach to Roma history, origins, and European migration was written when Europe first discovered Roma "exoticism."

DUNA, William A. "Gypsies: A Persecuted Race." Appendix reprinted from *Land of Pain: Five Centuries of Gypsy Slavery*, by I. Hancock. Minneapolis: Duna Studios, 1985.

This study emphasizes the persecution of the Roma throughout history, but especially during the Holocaust.

ESTY, Katharine. *The Gypsies: Wanderers in Time*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969.

FONSECA, Isabel. *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*. London: Chatto & Windus; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

This narrative describes the Roma as "a landless, twelve-million minority" and emphasizes their Eastern European history and migrations. It includes a well-selected bibliography, 50 illustrations, and 3 maps.

FRASER, Angus. *The Gypsies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, 2nd ed. 1995.

This general history is composed of nine sections, each with one or more chapters. The Roma migration alone is detailed in five sections, beginning with their "early migrations from Persia and Armenia," through their "expulsion, assimilation, extirpation, and transportation" within the Ottoman Empire, to the "renewed migration of the nineteenth century," and ending with the most recent migrations, especially from Romania and the former Yugoslavia.

GHEORGHE, Nicolae. *Romanies in the CSCE Process: A Case Study for the Rights of National Minorities with Dispersed*

Settlement Patterns. A report on the debates at the CSCE Human Dimension Seminar, Warsaw, 1993.

GREENFELD, Howard. *Gypsies.* Crown Publishers, 1977.

This treatment of Roma life includes their history, traditions, customs, occupations, Asian origins, and the impact of modernity on traditional life inside their kumpania.

GRELLMANN, H. M. G. *Die Zigeuner: Ein historischer Versuch ueber die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volkes in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprung.* Dessau and Leipzig: Auf Kosten der Verlags-Kasse und zu finden in der Buchhandlung der Gelehrten. 1783; 2nd ed., Gottingen, 1787. English translation, *Dissertation on the Gypsies*, London, 1787; 2nd ed., London, 1807; French translation, Metz, 1788 and Paris, 1810; Dutch translation, Dordrecht, 1791.

This treatise is one of the first to establish the Indian origins of Roma and one of the first to claim that they are racially inferior.

GRONEMEYER, Reimer, and Georgia A. RAKELMANN. *Die Zigeuner, Reisende in Europa: Roma, Sinti, Manouches, Gitanos, Gypsies, Kalderas, Vlach und andere.* Cologne: Dumont Buchverlag, 1988.

This is a historic overview of the European Roma tribes emphasizing their socio-cultural differences across centuries and borders while underlining their similarities.

GROOME, F. H. "The Gypsies." In *National Life and Thought of the Various Nations throughout the World*, ed. E. Magnusson. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1891.

HALEY, William J. "The Gypsy Conference at Bucharest." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 13, no. 4 (1934): pp. 182-90.

This article marks an event in the Roma international movement during the first half of this century: the 1933 International Romany Conference in Bucharest.

HALL, Elsie M. "Gentile Cruelty to Gypsies." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 11, no. 2 (1932): pp. 49-56.

This is a description of historic European intolerance for the Roma within gentile civilization.

HANCOCK, Ian. *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution.* Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1987.

This book is the first major English-language account recording persecution of the Roma.

HANCOCK, Ian. "The Romani Diaspora." *The World and I* (March 1989): pp. 613-23.

This article describes how European Roma migrations occurred within multinational empires, where the basic rule was to divide the population in order to dominate them more easily.

HOHMANN, Joachim S. *Zigeuner und Zigeunerwissenschaft.* Marburg: Guttandin und Hope, 1980.

This is a book about what the author terms "the Roma and Roma science."

HOHMANN, Joachim S., ed. *Handbuch zur Tsiganologie.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996

This collection of 23 essays on "Tsiganologie" (Gypsology) about Roma language, customs, and culture can be found at the New York Public Library—but only in German.

HOTTELET, Richard C. "Little Has Changed: Gypsies Still Marginalized." *Christian Science Monitor*, July 3, 1996, p. 19.

This presentation of the Roma explains how they managed to preserve their identity for the ten centuries since they left Northwest India.

HUNT, Bernice Kohn. *The Gypsies.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972.

This work is an examination of Roma history, language, customs, and daily life.

KENRICK, D. *Gypsies from India to the Mediterranean.* Toulouse: CRDP, 1993.

This presentation of Roma history covers the exodus from India in the tenth century and subsequent settlements and wanderings across Europe.

KENRICK, Donald, and Grattan PUXON. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies.* [Roma translation, revised and updated: Bihantale Bersa. London: Romanestan Publications, 1990]. New York: Basic Books, Chatto-Heinemann; Sussex University Press, 1972.

This multidisciplinary study attempts to explain how the Roma have been either chased, enslaved, or exterminated everywhere they have tried to settle.

KOGALNICEANU, M. *Esquisse sur l'histoire, les moeurs et la langue des Cigains.* Berlin: Behr Verlag, 1837. [Abridged Romanian translation by D. Simionescu, in D. Simionescu, ed., *Opere*, vol. 1. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974, pp. 552-3, and the entire French text republished in A. Zub, ed., *Opere*, vol. 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974, pp. 354-85].

Published during an era when the Roma were still enslaved in both the Romanian Danubian principalities and Russia, its author became responsible for the enforcement of the Romanian Liberation Act to protect them. The work also contains grammatical and vocabulary analyses of the Roma language.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Gypsies and Travellers.* Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation, 1987; revised ed. 1994.

This sociological text on Roma mores includes documentation about official policies towards them, as well as information about their origins and wanderings.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Mutation tsigane: la revolution bohémienne*. Brussels: Edition Complexe, 1976.

This book discusses the "Opre Roma!" movement [an approximate translation being, Stand Up for Your Rights, Roma!].

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Tsiganes*. Paris: La Decouverte, 1983. [*Gypsies: An Illustrated History*, abridged translation by T. Berrett. London: Al-Saqi Books, 1986].

A socio-linguistic account of the Roma from their origins to their most recent coexistence with *gadje* society, this book provides information about this "scattered and diverse ethnic group with few records of their own."

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre, and Nicolae GHEORGHE. *Roma/Gypsies: A European Minority*. Translated from French by Sinead ni Shuinear. A Minority Rights Group International Report, 1995.

This work highlights the danger of the European "exclusion, containment, and assimilation" policies and offers recommendations on how the collective identity of the Roma can be accommodated and their European (forced) migrations altered.

MAYALL, David. *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth-Century Society*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

This revision of the author's doctoral thesis, "useful to historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and philologists, as well as to any human rights researcher," views the Roma as either an indigenous itinerant population or an originally foreign group of immigrants.

McDOWELL, Bart. *Gypsies: Wanderers of the World*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1970.

This account of the Roma is accompanied by the photography of Bruce Dale. The text and illustrations detail the Roma who populate Europe and Asia, from England to India.

MUNSTER, Sebastian. *Cosmographiae Universalis*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550. [French edition, *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde, augmentee, ornee et enrichie par Francois de Belleforest*, Paris, 1575].

The author of this treatise saw in the Roma language "nothing else than a 'mishmash'—a jargon of their own drawn upon all the other languages." The work contains early maps from the 15th and 16th centuries.

PREDARI, F. *Origine e vicende dei zingari con documenti intorno alle propieta fisiche e morali*. Milan: Lampato, 1841.

This author opined that the Roma are the descendants of a "prehistoric people who had been turned into nomads by a geological or political catastrophe."

PUXON, Grattan. *Roma: Europe's Gypsies*. Minority Rights

Report no. 14. London: Minority Rights Group, 1973, 1975, 1983, 1987.

This is a survey of the discrimination Roma have suffered—from the absence of enforceable human rights to the transparent state policies of forced integration into the surrounding dominant society.

RAKELMANN, Georgia. *Interethnik. Beziehungen von Zigeunern und Nichtzigeunern*. Muenster: Lit Verlag, 1988.

This is a socio-political study of the Roma in Central Europe generally and Germany specifically, highlighting the predicament of Roma communities within a surrounding and often hostile culture.

REHFISCH, F., ed. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*. London and New York: Academic Press, 1975.

This collection of anthropological-cultural essays treats the Roma way of life, especially their nomadism, within a general presentation of Roma *kumpania-gadje* (community-gentile) interactions in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as in America. It includes numerous bibliographical references.

RISHI, W. R. *Roma: The Punjabi Emigrants in Europe, Central and Middle Asia, the USSR and the Americas*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976.

This is an examination of the Roma language (including the etymology of many key Roma words such as *Rom*, *gadje*, etc.), religion, exodus, and subsequent migrations, beginning with their departure from the Punjab region.

SERBOIANU, C. J. Popp. *Les Tsiganes*. Paris: Payot, 1930.

This summary of Roma history offers information about the medieval European migrations of the Roma and their more modern situation.

SIMSON, James. *A History of the Gypsies, with Specimens of the Gypsy Language*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1871.

This book discusses the origins of the Roma and their migrations. It also includes a study of their civilization from a linguistic perspective.

SINGHAL, Damodar P. *Gypsies: Indians in Exile*. Meerut, India: Archana Publications for Folklore Institute, 1982.

This history details the migrations of the Roma, including the Muslim invasion of their historic Indian home.

VAUX DE FOLETIER, Françoise de. *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes*. Paris: Fayard, 1970.

This is a comprehensive study of Roma history.

VAUX DE FOLETIER, Françoise de. *Le monde des Tsiganes*. Paris: Espace des hommes Berger-Levrault, 1983.

This history of the Roma explains their nomadism, considered by the author to be one of the main characteristics of

the Roma, "but for those of Spain and the former Romanian 'principalities,' where sedentarism was imposed."

WEDECK, Harry Ezekiel. *Dictionary of Gypsy Life and Lore*. Written with the assistance of W. Baskin. London: P. Owen, 1973.

This source on the Roma includes numerous references to various dictionaries and encyclopedias on this topic.

WILLIAMS, P., ed. *Tsiganes: identite, evolution: actes du colloques pour le 30eme anniversaire des Etudes Tsiganes*. Paris: Syros Alternatives: Etudes tsiganes, 1989.

This collection of articles about Roma ethnicity, prepared for the 30th International Conference on the Roma in Paris in 1986, emphasizes the mutual bonds existing between kumpania and gadje society.

III. B. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT ROMA AND THE HOLOCAUST

BAUER, Yehuda. *A History of the Holocaust*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982.

This book about the victims of the Holocaust includes an account of the Roma extermination.

BERNADAC, Christian. *L'Holocauste oublie: Le Massacre des Tsiganes*. Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1979.

Focused on the mistreatment of the European Roma, this book extends its research beyond the Nazi genocide with information about the even less-publicized post-war "popular and unquestioned anti-Gypsy feelings."

CARGAS, Harry James. "The Continuum of Gypsy Suffering." In *Reflections of a Post-Auschwitz Christian*. Foreword by Vidal Sassoon, pp. 75-90. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.

This account describes the extermination of the Roma from 1939 to 1945.

CONOT, Robert E. *Justice at Nuremberg*. New York: Harper and Row, 1983.

This book provides information about Auschwitz-Birkenau, the forced labor camp and mass extermination center in which, of all the death camps, the highest concentration of Roma were murdered.

FEIN, Helen. *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization during the Holocaust*. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

This book on the Holocaust details the mistreatment of the Roma. For example, in 1933, well before the later Nazi massacre, Weimar Germany decided to fingerprint its Roma population.

FRIEDMAN, Philip. "The Extermination of the Gypsies." *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*, pp. 151-57.

Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.

This work provides details about what the Roma endured during the Second World War.

GUTMAN, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 4 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1989.

This encyclopedia of the Holocaust includes details about the Roma exterminations.

HANCOCK, Ian. "Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust." *Shmate: A Journal of Progressive Jewish Thought* 17 (1987): pp. 6-15; 18 (1987): pp. 14-17.

The author discusses the two main victims of the Holocaust: the Jews and the Roma.

HANCOCK, Ian. "Uniqueness of the Victims: Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust." *Without Prejudice: The EAFORD International Review of Racial Discrimination* 1, 2 (1988): pp. 45-67.

This article about Nazi victims includes an analysis of the parallel treatment both the Jews and Roma received during the Holocaust—mass extermination.

HILBERG, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961; New York: Harper and Row, 1979; (student edition) New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981.

This history includes facts about the life and death of those Roma who were the targets of "Vernichtung durch Arbeit"—"extermination through work."

Hitler's Ten Year War against the Jews. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress/World Jewish Congress, 1943.

This study of Hitler's victims also includes information about the Roma targeted by the Third Reich.

International Military Tribunal. Nuremberg Documents: NG-558; PS-682; Vol. 33. Henceforth, *IMT*.

These extracts tell, in the words of the Nazis' own official doctrine, about "the annihilation of all the asocials" and its objective "that the Jews and Gypsies should be exterminated unconditionally."

LITTELL, Franklin H. *Early Warning, Remembering for the Future: The Impact of the Holocaust on the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1988.

This is a narrative about the effect of the Holocaust, a half-century later, upon its victims—including the Roma—and their survivors.

MAUR, Wolf in der. *Die Zigeuner: Wanderer zwischen den Welten*. Vienna, Munich, and Zurich: Molden, 1969.

This scholar addresses the statistics of those who perished in the Nazi genocide, stating that 70% of all of Roma living in European countries under fascist rule were murdered.

MILLER, Jim. "A War to Remember." *Newsweek*, 4 September 1989, pp. 64-66.

This was the first published acknowledgment in a U.S. national periodical of the actual Roma losses suffered during the Holocaust.

MULLER-HILL, Benno. *Toedliche Wissenschaft*. [Murderous science: Elimination by scientific selection of Jews, Gypsies and others, Germany 1933-1945, translated by George R. Fraser.] Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. Hebrew edition, Jerusalem: 1992.

This book describes the atrocities suffered by Jews and Roma during World War II.

PUXON, Grattan. *Gypsies: The Holocaust's Forgotten Victims*. Los Angeles: Publication of the U.S. Romani Council, 1984.

Speaking about the Roma as the forgotten victims of the Holocaust, the author reveals little-known historic facts about their European flight.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. "Case of the Missing Millions." *New York Times*, 26 May 1988, A5.

This article discloses that the first Western money designated for war crimes compensation to the Roma was embezzled and never paid to the legitimate recipients.

SCHUCKENAK, J. *Sie sind auch umgekommen: Polen, Homosexuellen, Juden, Zeugen Jehovahs und andere nicht-Zigeunerische Opfer Hitlers Gewaltherrschaft*. Tuebingen: Klaffende Tur, 1988.

This is a comparative survey of how Nazi ideology varied according to its victims, such as the Roma.

STROM, Margot, and William PARSON. *Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behavior*. Watertown, MA: Intentional Educations, 1982.

This is designed as a tool for those teaching students about genocide—from the Ottoman Armenian experience to the Holocaust—including material for understanding the racism Roma faced, especially under Nazi regimes.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *The Fate of the Gypsies during the Holocaust*. Washington: Special Report to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1985.

This report describes Roma life under the Nazi regime, including the claim by Auschwitz's Commander Hoss that the "most pure" of them were "his favorite prisoners."

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *Gypsies and the Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essay*. Montreal: Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, 1991.

This work documents such stories as the one that claimed that once the Roma had a "friend" in Himmler and a "foe" in Lohse. (Himmler lost his "ideological struggle" of protecting the Roma, and they shared the Jews' fate, extermination).

WIESENTHAL, Simon. "Tragedy of the Gypsies." *Bulletin of Information* 26 (1986): p. 6. Vienna: Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Judische Verfolgter des Naziregimes.

The famous Nazi hunter denounces the mistake made by the then Darmstadt city mayor who, having addressed the Sinti and Roma council, said that their request of recognition "insults the honor of the memory of the Holocaust victims by aspiring to be associated with them."

WYTWYCKY, Bohdan. *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell: A Brief Account of 9-10 Million Persons Who Died with the 6 Million Jews under Nazi Racism*, foreword by S. Siegel. Washington D.C.: The Nowak Report on the New Ethnicity, 1980.

This book has an entire chapter devoted to the Nazi efforts to rationalize the genocide of the Jews, Slavs, and Roma, considered by Hitler to be "subhumans," and, respectively, "asocials," which thus "justified" their extermination.

ZULCH, Tilman. *In Auschwitz Vergast, bis Heute Verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa* [Gassed in Auschwitz, persecuted to the present: About the situation of the Roma (Gypsies) in Germany and Europe]. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979.

III. C. MISCELLANEOUS: MEMOIRS, BIOGRAPHIES, GENERAL INFORMATION, NONFICTION, AND FICTION

BECK, Sam. "Racism and the Formation of a Romani Ethnic Leader." In *Perilous States, Conversations on Culture, Politics and Nation*, ed. G. E. Marcus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 165-91.

This portrait of a Romanian Roma expert—N. Gheorghe—is by a fellow sociologist who uses Gheorghe's story to underline the Roma need for national, as well as international, leadership.

BERCOVICI, Konrad. *The Story of the Gypsies*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1929. Reedited under the title, *Gypsies: Their Life, Lore and Legends*. New York: Greenwich House, 1983.

This survey chronicles the migration of Roma from India to Europe and America, including Roma legends and folklore.

CLEBERT, Jean-Paul. *Les Tziganes*. Paris: B. Arthaud, 1961. *Los Gitanos*. Barcelona: Editora, 1965. [The Gypsies, translated by Charles Duff. New York: E. P. Dutton; London: Vista Books, 1963; reprinted by Penguin Books, 1967.]

LELAND, Charles Godfrey. *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling*. New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1963.

This is a story of the Roma and "Roma magic," illustrated by incantations, specimens of medical magic, and tales.

TOMASEVIC, Nebojsa Bato, and Rajko DJURIC. *Gypsies of the World: A Journey into the Hidden World of Gypsy Life and Culture*.

Photos by D. Zamurovic. Belgrade and London: Flint River Press, 1988; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988.

This survey of the Roma follows them from India, through the Soviet Union, Turkey, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, Hungary, Italy, and France and continues their journey through the United Kingdom to the New World. It discusses how Roma culture coexists in the *gadje's* world.

IV. Academic Studies on Roma in Eastern Europe

IV. A. EASTERN EUROPEAN ROMA: BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND PAPERS

BARANY, Zoltan D. "Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies." *Slavic Review* 53 (January-March 1994): pp. 321-44.

This article discusses the social and political situation of the Roma and their lack of enforceable human rights in today's Eastern Europe.

BAUER, Yehuda. "Continuing Ferment in Eastern Europe." *SICSA Report* 4:1-2. Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

This report about nationalism and racism proffers an analogy between "radical anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy sentiment" in Eastern Europe.

CLAUDE, Patrick. "Gypsies Still Encounter Wide Discrimination." *Manchester Guardian*, 4 February 1990, p. 4.

This article targets Western European public opinion and urges greater tolerance towards the Roma, while disclosing the discrimination and prejudice towards the Roma in Eastern Europe.

BINDER, David. "European Gypsies Issue Call for Human Rights at Meeting." *New York Times*, May 5, 1993, p. 6.

This article uncovers the continuing racial hatred and violence the Roma still face in Eastern European countries.

CROWE, David. *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

This is a study of Roma history in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, and Yugoslavia.

CROWE, David. *World War I and Europe in Crisis (1914-1935)*. Piscataway, N.J.: Research and Education Association, 1990.

This work on World War I and its ethnic causes inside the major European empires of that time offers information on Eastern European Roma minorities.

CROWE, David, and John KOLSTI. *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (with an introduction by I. Hancock). Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1991.

This is a collection of ten essays about Roma history in Germany, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

FABER, Bernard Lewis, ed. *The Social Structure of Eastern Europe: Transition and Process in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia*. New York: Praeger, 1976.

This text includes essays about the social and demographic conditions in Eastern Europe, thus tangentially addressing the similar problems of the Roma.

GOODMAN, Fred. "The Conquering Kings." *Rolling Stone*, 5 April 1990, p. 23.

This article discusses the position of Roma as the scapegoats of Eastern Europe.

GRAHAM-YOOLL, Andrew. "In Search of Saint George." *The London Magazine*, August/September 1990, pp. 75-88.

Great Britain. *Foreign Office Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries*. New York: Kraus International, 1983: No. 83, 7 May 1941, p. 15; No. 87, 4 June 1941, p. 15; No. 96, 7 August 1941, pp. 15-16.

These articles survey various incidents across Eastern and Western Europe in which the Roma fell victim to totalitarian governmental policies.

HUTTENBACH, H. R., ed. "The Gypsies in Eastern Europe." *Nationalities Papers* 19, no. 3 (1991): special issue.

This article portrays the complex position of the Roma in Eastern Europe on the edge of forced migration from their countries of origin.

KENEDI, Janos. "Why Is the Gypsy the Scapegoat and Not the Jew?" *East European Reporter* 2, no. 1 (1986): pp. 11-14.

The author protests the poor treatment the Roma still receive in Eastern Europe, in comparison to that of the Jews.

PEARSON, Raymond. *National Minorities in Eastern Europe, 1848-1945*. London: Macmillan, 1983.

This study of modern interactions between the Eastern European majorities and minorities contains information about the Roma, as well as data about their extermination, which seems sometimes to have been accomplished by accident. For example, in 1941 the German "Operation Punishment" was aimed at the Serbs but succeeded in destroying Zemun, the Gypsy Quarter of Belgrade.

PUXON, Grattan. "Gypsies: Blacks of East Europe." *The Nation* 222 (17 April 1976): pp. 460-64.

This depicts racism towards Roma in Eastern Europe.

ROSENBLUM, Mort. "The Gypsy Problem Grows: East Europeans Can't Control Gypsies." *San Antonio Express*, 25 March 1984, p. C1.

This article denounces abuse towards the Roma, such as coerced sterilization of Roma women and permanent removal of their children.

SETON-WATSON, Hugh. *Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918-1941*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1986.

This is a history of Eastern Europe by a British specialist who describes its governments and politics, including policies towards minorities such as the Roma, at a time when "political earthquakes" shook the former multinational empires.

SMEDLEY, Scott, and Christopher STEPHEN. "Gypsies in Fear as Democracy Unleashes Hate." *Times* (London), 15 April 1990, p. A23.

This is an article about popular prejudices against the Roma in the new democracies of Eastern Europe (e.g., Hungary). It underlines the fact that fear may be a factor causing their migration across Western borders.

IV. B. ROMA AND THE HOLOCAUST IN EASTERN EUROPE

ARAD, Yzchac. *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhardt Death Camps*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

This book recalls the fate of the Jews and Roma at the Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka death camps.

BEDNARZ, W. *Oboz stracen w Chelmnie*. Warsaw: Panstwowy Institut Wydawniczy, 1946.

This book provides general information about the genocide wrought at Chelmino and details the extermination of the Roma, which started in January 1942 with groups numbering 200-300.

FISCHER, Julius S. "How Many Jews Died in Transnistria?" *Jewish Social Studies* 20 (April 1958), pp. 95-101.

In this article, dedicated to the Jewish victims who died in Transnistria, the author discusses the deaths at the Romanian-administered labor camp located on the border of today's Moldova and Ukraine. The author does not neglect the Roma who also perished there.

FISCHER, Julius S. *Transnistria: The Forgotten Cemetery*. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969.

A story of the only labor camp administered by Romanians, which counted Roma as well as Jews among its victims.

LIFTON, Robert J. *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.

This book provides details of Roma life in Auschwitz, where,

for example, Roma were not only confined to "the Family Camp," reserved for Roma, but also wore an identifying black triangle.

PROESTER, F. *Vrazdeni Cs. Cikanu v Buchenwaldu* [The murder of Czechoslovak Gypsies in Buchenwald]. Document No. UV CSPB-K-135 of the Archives of the Museum of the Fighters against Fascism, Prague, 1940.

This document tells about the first "mass genocidal action of the Holocaust: the killing of 250 Gypsy children at Buchenwald, in a test of the gas Zyklon B."

SCHECHTMAN, Joseph B. "The Transnistria Reservation." *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 8 (1953), pp. 178-96.

This account of the victims of Transnistria tells of the Roma who were killed or impounded there.

SMOLEN, Kazimierz. *Auschwitz, 1940-1945*. Auschwitz: Panstwowe Muzeum Oswiecimiu, 1969.

This is an account of the tragedies at Auschwitz and the victims of its mass exterminations, many of whom were Roma.

SMOLEN, Kazimierz. *From the History of K-L Auschwitz*. Translated from Polish by Krystyna Michalik, New York: H. Fertig, 1982.

This text includes bibliographies and indexes about Auschwitz, where Jews, Roma, and other Nazi victims were murdered

IV. C. ROMA IN ALBANIA

PLASARI, Ndreçi, and Shyqri BALLOVA. "Politique et strategie dans la lutte antifasciste de liberation nationale du peuple albanais (1939-1944)." *Studia Albanica* 2 (1975).

This article tells of the Albanian battle against its fascist regime, with mention of the role played by each minority, including the Roma.

POLO, Stefanaq, Aleks BUDA, et al., eds. *Historia e popullit Shqiptar*. Vol. 2, Prishtine. (Originally published in Tirane by the University of Tirane, 1965.)

This Albanian history contains data about the Vlach and other Albanian Roma, but is difficult to locate in any major library.

RUCHES, Pyrrhus J. *Albania's Captives*. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1965.

This English source on the Albanian Roma was written at a time when Albania had a Stalinist government.

IV. D. ROMA IN THE BALKANS

JELAVICH, Charles, and Barbara JELAVICH. *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*. Seattle and London: Washington University Press, 1977.

This history of the turbulent politics and often sudden changes of government in the Balkan Peninsula also details the complex and complicated positions in which the Roma often found themselves.

KING, Robert R. *Minorities under Communism: Nationalities as Source of Tension among Balkan Communist States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

This is an account of relationships between majority and minority populations in the Balkans, including a comprehensive presentation of the situation of Roma.

LOCKWOOD, William G. "Balkan Gypsies: An Introduction." In Joanne Grumet, ed., *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*, pp. 91-99. New York Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1985.

POULTON, Hugh. *The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict*, foreword by M. Djilas. London: Minority Rights Group Publications, 1991.

Focused on the former Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria, this book describes the area's history and ethnic conflicts, including those between the Roma and the surrounding dominant communities.

SOULIS, George C. "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961): pp. 143-65.

Besides offering information about the Roma in the Balkans, this article discusses theories concerning their common appellation in all European languages which apparently comes from the Greek "Atsinganoi."

IV. E. ROMA IN BULGARIA

ACKERLEY, F. G. "Romano-Esi." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 27, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1948): p. 158.

During the late '40s and perhaps later, all Bulgarian Roma had to subscribe to the socialist newspaper *Romano-Esi*—Roma Voice.

GILLIAT-SMITH, B. "Endani 'Relatives.'" *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 37, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1958): p. 156.

This explains, among other things, how the Greek word describing the Roma became accepted by the Bulgarian Roma themselves. It was brought by the Armenian troops sent by the Byzantine empire to settle the frequent Bulgarian independence movements.

GILLIAT-SMITH, B. "The Gypsies in Bulgaria (1948)." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 27, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1948): pp. 156-7.

This text describes the Roma socio-political situation in Stalinist Bulgaria after the Second World War.

Helsinki Watch. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Bulgaria*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991.

This report explores the specificity of state policies towards the Roma, both before as well as after the fall of communism.

MARUSHIAKOVA, E. "Ethnic Identity among Gypsy Groups in Bulgaria." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Fifth Series 2 (1992): pp. 95-115.

An account of the theories embraced by the Bulgarian Roma to explain their own origins, this article is an oft-cited reference about the Bulgarian Roma.

MARUSHIAKOVA, E. "Gruppi e organizzazioni zingare in Bulgaria e il loro atteggiamento verso l'impegno politico." *Lacio Drom* 28 (January-April 1992): pp. 51-63.

This article contains an explanation of the expressed political goals of the Bulgarian Roma in the postcommunist era.

MARUSHIAKOVA, E., et al. *The Ethnic Situation in Bulgaria: Research in 1992*. Sofia: Club '90 Publishers, 1993

Produced by a project on ethnic relations sponsored by Princeton University, this contains an overview as well as details about how both Muslims and Roma are treated in Bulgaria.

MILLER, Marshall L. *Bulgaria during the Second World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975.

This is a summary of a moment in Bulgarian history when even minority issues such as the treatment of Roma became as important as military events in Bulgaria's efforts to distinguish itself from its fascist neighbors.

PETROVA, Dimitrina. "Murder to Intimidate." *Obektiv*, Bulletin of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, English language version, No. 1/1994.

PETROVA, Dimitrina. *Violations of the Rights of the Gypsies in Bulgaria*. Sofia: Human Rights Project, 1994.

POPOV, V. "Il Problema zingaro in Bulgaria nel contesto attuale." *Lacio Drom* 28 (January-April 1992): pp. 41-50.

This article presents the socio-economic and political situation of the Roma in postcommunist Bulgaria, noting their still unstable situation on the verge of migration.

SILVERMAN, Carol. "Bulgarian Gypsies: Adaptation in a Socialist Context." *Nomadic Peoples*, nos. 21-22 (December 1986): pp. 51-62.

This describes the post-Stalinist Bulgarian policy of settling and segregating the Roma throughout the country.

TROXEL, Luan. "Bulgaria's Gypsies: Numerically Strong, Politically Weak." *RFE/RL Research Report* 1, no. 1 (March 6, 1992): pp. 58-61.

According to this report, the Bulgarians, though apparently tolerant towards their other minorities, have manifested an increasing "hatred and violence toward their Roma."

IV. F. ROMA IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND SLOVAKIA

ADAMOVIČ, K., and P. KUREC, eds. *Problém vychovy a vzdelávania ciganskej mladeže* [Problem of education and upbringing of Gypsy youth]. Bratislava: Psychodiagnostické a didaktické testy, 1976.

This is an official account of the socio-educational problems encountered by the Czech and Slovak Roma under the last regime.

BUBELINI, Jan. "Skusenosti z riesena otazok ciganskych obyvatelov vo Vychodoslovenskom kraji" [Experiences with solving questions of Gypsy inhabitants in the region of Eastern Slovakia]. *Socialna politika* 6 (1983): pp. 138-39.

This is one among many official articles written, by order of the government, about "social problems raised by the Roma" in the former Czechoslovakia.

BULIR, Michal. "Skolni dochazka ciganskych deti v letech 1980-1985" [School attendance of the Gypsy children during the years 1980-1985]. *Demografie* 29, no. 1 (1987): pp. 86-89.

This is another official article stressing the "asocial element" of Roma life in what was Czechoslovakia.

"Cigani" [Gypsies]. *Encyklopedia Slovenska*. Bratislava, 1977, p. 321.

This is a portrait of the Roma and how the dominant society perceived their culture in the Czechoslovakia of the 1970s.

DAVIDOVA, Eva. "The Gypsies in Czechoslovakia. Part I: Main Characteristics and Brief Historical Development." Translated into English by D. E. Guy. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 69, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1970): p. 84-97.

This is a record of the early history of the Roma in Bohemia and contains theories about their first settlements there.

DAVIDOVA, Eva. "The Gypsies in Czechoslovakia. Part II: Post-War Developments." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 1, nos. 1-2 (January-April 1971): pp. 39-54.

This sequel to the author's earlier article about Roma civilization in Czechoslovakia further develops previous theories about its past and future there.

DAVIDOVA, Eva. "Lidove nabozenstvi trebisovskych Cikanu-Romu koncem padesatych let 20. stolecia, pred rozpadem jejich tradicni komunity" [Popular religion of Trebisov Gypsies—Roma toward the end of the 1950s, before the break-up of their traditional community]. *Slovensky narodopis* (Bratislava) 1, no. 36 (1988).

This scholar of the Roma tells of their religious culture and how it shaped their daily life in the former Czechoslovakia.

DEDIC, M. *Vychova a vzdelani cikanskych deti a mladeze* [Upbringing and education of Gypsy children and youth]. Prague: SPN, 1988.

This socio-educational study is dedicated to the Roma and their problems in Czechoslovakia.

EDGINTON, B. "Czech Republic: To Kill a Romany." *Race Class* 35 (January-March 1994): pp. 80-2.

This article about Roma life in the Czech Republic recounts racism towards the Roma in postwar Eastern Europe.

Etnicke Procesy: Referaty z pracovni konference o cikanech [Ethnic processes: Papers from a working conference on Gypsies]. Prague: Ustav pro etnografi a folkloristiku, 1978.

European Roma Rights Center. *Time of the Skinheads: Denial and Exclusion of Roma in Slovakia*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center, January 1997.

The report offers an overview of human rights violations against Roma in Slovakia during the years 1993-1996. The ERRC describes three main trends in Slovak-Roma relations. These include the denial by authorities that the rights of Roma have been violated, the existence of legal, administrative, and social practices preventing the integration of Roma into Slovak society, and the Slovak state's role as a caretaker state.

FINKOVA, Zuzanna. "Zistovanie plodnosti ciganskych zien." [Ascertaining fertility of Gypsy women]. *Demografie* 21, no. 4 (1981): p. 340.

This is an account of the mistreatment and victimization of Roma women in the former Czechoslovakia.

FRIEDMAN, Philip. "How the Gypsies Were Persecuted." *Wiener Library Bulletin* 3-4, 1950.

This article examines signs of the growing pre-war intolerance and persecution of the Roma—such as the dramatic cannibalism trial in what is today Slovakia.

GROSS, T. *The Czech Republic: Citizenship Research Project*. Unpublished report for The Tolerance Foundation, Senovazne Nam. I, Prague I, 1994. It is mentioned in I. Fonseca's *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*, p. 310.

This paper, though unavailable to the general public, reports on how the new Czech citizenship law is intended to affect nomadic Czechs, such as the Roma.

GRULICH, Tomas, and Tomas HAISMAN. "Institucionalni zajem o cikanske obyvatelstvo v Ceskoslovensku v letech 1945-1958" [Institutional interest in the Gypsy population in Czechoslovakia in years 1945-1958]. *Cesky lid* 73, no. 2 (1986): p. 74.

This article presents demographic data on the Roma in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1958.

HANA, Jiri. "Vybrane problemy cikanske etnicke skupiny v okrese Cheb" [Selected problems of the Gypsy ethnic group in the Cheb district]. *Demografie* 29, no. 2 (1987): pp. 167-71.

This article addresses Roma ethnic issues as posing "certain problems to the regime and society" in Czechoslovakia.

HOLOMEK, Miroslav. "Soucasne problemy Cikanu v CSSR a jejich reseni" [The current problems of Gypsies in Czechoslovakia and their solution]. *Demografie* 11, no. 3 (1969): p. 205.

HORVATHOVA, Emilia. *Cigani na Slovensku* [Gypsies in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Vytadel'stvo Slovenskej Akademie Vied, 1964.

This text presents theories on the first Roma entrance into Bohemia, in addition to information on Roma history.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Struggling for Ethnic Identity: Czechoslovakia's Endangered Gypsies*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992.

Dealing with racial attacks on the Roma immediately before the two republics separated into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, this human rights report is an overview of their socio-economic and political situation.

"In a Gypsy School." Translated from Czech by S. E. Mann. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 13, no. 3 (1934): pp. 117-8.

This is an article about Gypsy revival in the twenties which contains a description and history of a Gypsy school at Uzhorod.

KALVODA, Joseph. "National Minorities in Czechoslovakia, 1919-1980." In Stephan Horak, ed., *Eastern European National Minorities: 1919-1980: A Handbook*. Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1985.

This essay is from an oft-cited collection of writings about Eastern European minority policies.

KAPPEN, O. van. "A Prague Edict against Gypsies (1710)." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 42, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1963): pp. 117-121.

This is an account of the atrocities suffered by the Roma in what was once Austria.

KOSTELANCIK, David, J. "The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia: Political and Ideological Considerations in the Development of

Policy." *Studies in Comparative Communism* 22, no. 4 (winter 1989): pp. 307-321.

Though this study's main purpose is now dated, it presents historic and demographic information about the Roma minority in what was then Czechoslovakia.

"Kulturno-vychovna praca medzi ciganskymi obyvatel'mi." *Zbornik* [Cultural-educational work among the Gypsy population. Symposium...] Bratislava: Osvetovy ustav, 1978, 1983.

This paper, produced for a conference, regards Roma as an asocial element.

NECAS, Ctibor. *Nad osudem ceskych a slovenskych cikanu v letech 1939-1945* [On the fate of Czech and Slovak Gypsies during the years 1939-1945]. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyne, 1981.

This book presents an overview of the experiences endured by the Roma during World War II in Czechoslovakia.

SRB, Vladimir. "Cikanske obyvatelstvo v roce 1967" [The Gypsy Population in 1967]. *Demografie* 10, no. 3 (1968): p. 270.

This is an article which illustrates the way studies about Roma were conducted in the former Czechoslovakia.

SRB, Vladimir. "Nektere demograficke a kulturni charakteristiky cikanskeho obyvatelstva v CSSR 1980" [Some demographic and cultural characteristics of the Gypsy population in the Czechoslovak Republic in 1980]. *Demografie* 26, no. 2 (1984): pp. 161-78.

This prolific author and scholar tells of the problems Roma faced due to their forced assimilation into Czech society.

SRB, Vladimir. "Ustavujici sjezd svazu Cikanu-Romu v CSR v Brne" [The Founding Congress of the Alliance of Gypsy-Romani in Czechoslovakia in Brno]. *Demografie* 11, no. 4 (1969): entire issue.

This is a report of the Roma Congress at Brno in 1969, which records the socio-economic problems raised by their representatives.

SRB, Vladimir. "Zmeny v reprodukci Ceskoslovenskych Romu 1970-1980" [Changes in the reproduction of the Czechoslovak Roma, 1970-1980]. *Demografie* 30, no. 7 (1988): pp. 305-8.

An official scholar presents communist population policies and their effects on the Czech Roma.

SUS, Jaroslav. *Cikanska otazka v CSSR*. Prague, 1961.

This source about the Roma in the former Czechoslovakia is out-of-print, published only in Czech.

ULC, Otto. "Integration of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia." *Ethnic Groups* 9, no. 2 (1991): pp. 107-117.

This article focuses on the political emergence of the Roma human rights movement after the "Velvet Revolution."

IV. G. ROMA IN HUNGARY

CROWE, David M. "The Roma (Gypsies) of Hungary through the Kadar Era." *Nationalities Papers* 19, no. 3 (winter 1991): pp. 297-311.

This article focuses on Hungarian Roma policy.

CSEMER, Geza. *Habiszti: Ciganyok Elete-Etele*. Budapest: Lettera Kft, 1994.

This collection of facts on famous Roma and their lives also includes recipes of the Hungarian Roma.

DIOSI, Agnes. *Ciganyut*. Budapest: Szepirodalmi Konyvkiado, 1988.

This is a dissertation and bibliography on ethnic relations between the Hungarians and their Roma minority during the previous socialist era.

GROVE, Lloyd. "Lament of the Gypsies: 40 Years after Auschwitz, Still Petitioning for a Place." *Washington Post*, 21 July 1984, p. C4.

This article describes strong anti-Roma feelings, this time in Hungary, forty years after the Holocaust.

HAJDU, Mihaly. "Gypsies, 1980." *Hungarian Digest* 6 (1980): pp. 28-34.

This is an official study of the social and economic problems of the Roma in communist Hungary.

HANN, C.M. *Tazlar: A Village in Hungary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

This is a sociological case study on Hungarian rural conditions before dramatic changes occurred in government policies. It shows how the conditions affected ethnic cohesion between majority and minority populations, including Hungarian and Roma populations.

HEINRICH, Hans-Georg. *Hungary: Politics, Economics, and Society*. London: Pinter, 1986.

This is a Hungarian economic study that addresses the social and political situation of the communist regime and describes its social structure and the status of minorities, including that of the Roma.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Rights Denied: The Roma of Hungary*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996.

This report surveys human rights offenses directed against Hungary's largest minority, the Roma, and analyzes the reasons behind them, including political-legal failures. It offers recommendations to the Hungarian government about how to improve the domestic Roma situation.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Struggling for Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Hungary*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993.

This is a report about the Hungarian Roma minority, com-

pleted just as the Minority Bill passed. It tells of the Roma struggle for identity and human rights after the fall of the former regime.

JANOS, Andrew C. *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary, 1825-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

In this book about Hungarian politics and governments during the 19th and 20th centuries, the fate of the Roma is described in detail.

KARSAI, Laszlo. *A Ciganykerdes Magyarorszagon 1919-1945: Ut a Cigany Holocausthoz*. Budapest: Scientia Hungariae, Cserepfalvi Kiadasa, 1992.

This book is about the Roma Holocaust in Hungary.

KOSA, Laszlo. "Thirty Years of Ethnographic Research among the National Minority Groups Living in Hungary (1945-1974)." *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1975): pp. 231-46.

This academic report studies Hungarian minorities from a cultural-ethnographic perspective.

KOVATS, Martin. "A Jo, a Rossz, es a Csuf—A Romapolitika Harom Arca" [The good, the bad, and the ugly—The three faces of Romani politics]. *Eszmelet* 32 (1997).

This essay discusses contemporary Roma politics in Hungary.

MACARTNEY, C. A. *A History of Hungary: 1929-1945*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956.

An Eastern European specialist presents a history of Hungary and its ethnic problems, including those of the Roma.

McCAGG, W. D. "Gypsy Policy in Socialist Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 1945-1989." *Nationalities Papers* 19, no. 3 (1991): pp. 313-36.

This comparative study offers an analysis of the similar Roma policies of forced assimilation in communist Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

MEZEY, Barna, Laszlo POMOGYI, and Istvan TAUBER. *A Magyarorszagi Ciganykerdes Dokumentumokban, 1422-1985*. Budapest: Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1986.

This is a collection of sources of historical information (government documents, letters, manuscripts, etc.) on Roma in Hungary.

PAIKERT, G. C. "Hungary's National Minority Policies, 1920-1945." *The American Slavic and East European Review* 12 (1953): pp. 201-18.

This article details Roma policy in Hungary from 1920-1945.

SINOR, Denis. *History of Hungary*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976.

This summary of Hungarian history also includes information about the Roma minority, presenting data from their origins in Hungary to their situation under communist rule.

STEWERT, Michael. *Daltestverek: Az Olah Cigany Identitas es Kozosseg Tovabbelese a Szocialista Magyarorszagon*. Budapest: Twins Kiado, MTA Szociologiai Intezet, Max Weber Alapitvany, 1993.

Recently published in English as *Brothers in Song*, this anthropological work on the Vlach Roma of Hungary discusses their adaptation to the socialist economy.

SZUHAY, Peter, and Antonia BARATI, eds. *Kepek a Magyarorszagi Ciganysag 20. Szazdi Tortenetebol: "A vilag letna, melyen az egyik fel, a masik le megy" (cigany kozmondas)* [Pictures of the history of Gypsies in Hungary in the 20th century: "The world is a ladder, which some go up and others go down" (Gypsy proverb)]. Budapest: Novrotrans, 1993.

This book was compiled by the historians and anthropologists of the Budapest Museum of National History. Its main purpose was to accompany a comprehensive exhibition of pictures of the Roma community in Hungary.

UTASI, Agnes, and Agnes MESZAROS. *Ciganylet*. Budapest: MTA Politikai Tudomanyok Intezet, 1991.

This is a collection of academic works on Roma in Hungary.

VAJDA, Gabor. "Gypsies Face a Crisis of Confidence." *Budapest Week* 3, no. 27 (September 9-15, 1993): p. 5.

The author contends that political responsibility is the only way of ensuring political freedom and avoiding its misuse and loss. Such an outcome occurred immediately after the constitutional reform of 1990, when the Hungarian Roma failed to aggressively pursue their new legal rights.

VEKERDI, Jozsef. "Earliest Arrival Evidence on Gypsies in Hungary." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 1 (1976): pp. 170-72.

This is an article about documentary evidence which establishes the first Roma migration in Hungary.

VOLGYES, Ivan. "Legitimacy and Modernization: Nationality and Nationalism in Hungary and Transylvania." In George Kline and Milan J. Reban, eds., *The Politics of Ethnicity in Eastern Europe*, pp. 127-46. Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981.

This study about ethnic relations inside pre- and post-war Greater Hungary only mentions the Roma minority in passing, and then only statistically.

IV. H. ROMA IN POLAND

BROAD, P. *Zigeuner in Auschwitz*. *Auschwitz-Hefte* 9 (1959): pp. 41-2.

The Roma genocide at Auschwitz started in the early morning hours of August 1, 1944—a night now remembered as "Zigeunernacht"—when 4,000 were suddenly killed and cremated.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy. *Ciganie na Polskich Drogach* [Gypsies along the Polish Way/Gypsies on the Polish Road]. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985.

This is a historic account of the Polish Roma, including their forced migrations into and out of Poland.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy. "The Fate of Polish Gypsies." In *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*, pp. 166-77. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1982.

This essay is about Polish Roma history, specifically the extermination of Roma in Polish death camps.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy. *The Gypsies in Poland: History and Customs*, translated by Eileen Healey. Warsaw: Interpress, 1991.

This book tells the story of the common fate of both the Poles and Polish Roma during centuries of foreign occupation.

MICHALEWICZ, Bogumila. "Another Sour Note from Poland." *Newsletter*, North American Chapter of the Gypsy Lore Society 5, no. 3 (1982): p. 7.

This article attempts to show that anti-Roma feelings, reflected in Polish Roma policy, have always been deep, and that four decades after the Nazi deportations, Polish Roma were still being displaced with little or no public outcry.

PIPER, Franciszek. *Auschwitz: How Many Perished—Jews, Poles, Gypsies*. Krakow: Poligrafia ITS, 1991.

This is a study about the atrocities at Auschwitz, their ethnic apportionment, as well as the number of Roma killed there.

IV. I. ROMA IN ROMANIA

BECK, Sam. "Ethnicity, Class and Public Policy: Tiganii/Gypsies in Socialist Romania." In Kot K. Shangriladze and Erica W. Townsend, eds., *Papers for the V Congress of Southeast European Studies: Belgrade*, September 1984, pp. 19-38. Columbus: Slavica Publishers.

This is an account of the former Romanian government's policies toward the Roma.

BECK, Sam. "The Origins of Gypsy Slavery in Romania." *Dialectical Anthropology* 14 (April 1989): pp. 53-61.

This book explains Roma bondage as a result of the persistent wars between the Danubian Romanian principalities and Hungary, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire, during which Roma prisoners were enslaved.

BECK, Sam. "The Romanian Gypsy Problem." In Joanne Grumet, ed., *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings*, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter. Publications no. 2, pp. 101-9. New York: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1985.

This paper presents the socio-economic and political situation of the Roma in communist Romania.

BENEDICT, Ruth. "History as It Appears to Rumanians." In Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux, eds. *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, pp. 405-15. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

This study of Romanian history contains details about ethnic relations between the Romanian majority and its minorities such as the Roma.

BLAGA, Ion. *Romania's Population: A Demographic, Economic and Socio-Political Essay*. Translated into English by Doina Glavan and Nora Scurtulescu, Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1972.

This is an "official" statistical source of information," with data about the Roma in formerly communist Romania.

CARTNER, H. "Ethnic Conflict in Tirgu Mures." New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1990, May newsletter.

This human rights report summarizes Romanian ethnic animosities, especially in Transylvania—where Tirgu Mures is located—consisting mainly of Romanian antipathy towards the Hungarian minority, but also of a common racial hatred by both those groups against the Roma.

CARTNER, H. "News from Romania." New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1990, July newsletter.

This report on the evolution of human rights in Romania immediately after the fall of the Ceausescu government describes the expectations of each Romanian minority, including Roma, and their socio-economic and cultural needs.

CARTNER, H. "Romanian Lynch Law: Violence against Roma in Romania." New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1994, November newsletter.

Using as background a tragic event when a Roma village experienced the aggression of neighboring villagers, this text provides information about recent human rights abuses in Romania.

CLARK, Charles Upson. *United Roumania*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932.

This account of the unification of the Romanian principalities after World War I includes statistics about the Roma and their economic and social conditions.

CLARK, Victoria. "Gypsies Caught in Spell of Hate." *Observer* (London), 29 July 1990.

The author discusses the human rights of Romanian Roma.

DEAK, Istvan. "The Revolution of 1848-49 in Transylvania and the Polarization of National Destinies." In John F. Cadzoo, Andrew Ludanyi, and Louis J. Elteto, eds., *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 120-23. Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1983.

This provides information on the ethnic communities of Transylvania, including demographic references about Roma living there.

EAST, W. G. *The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, 1859*. New York: Octagon Books, 1973.

Tracing the unification of these two Danubian principalities, this study also tells of a segment of the Romanian population who, originally settled against their will, became the enslaved Roma.

European Roma Rights Center. *Sudden Rage at Dawn: Violence against Roma in Romania*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center, 1996.

This report discusses the findings of the ERRC's mission to Romania in 1996. The group found that Roma face a new type of abuse in Romania—the old pattern of community violence has been replaced by a new pattern of police raids conducted systematically in Roma communities.

FATU, Mihai, and Mircea MUSAT, eds. *Horthyist-Fascist Terror in Northwestern Romania: September 1940-October 1944*. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1986.

This history of Romania, Hungary, and Transylvania during World War II also addresses the atrocities in Transylvania under Horthy rule, including the fate of the Roma.

FISHER-GALATI, Stephen. "The Communist Takeover of Rumania: A Function of Soviet Power." In Thomas T. Hammond, ed., *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*, pp. 310-20. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

In a collection of essays about the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe, this essay tells of the socio-economic effects of that political event on Romania, its population, and thus on its minorities, including the Roma.

FISHER-GALATI, Stephen. "National Minorities in Romania, 1919-1980." In Stephen M. Horak, ed., *Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980: A Handbook*, pp. 190-215. Littleton: Libraries Unlimited, 1985.

This collection of essays about the minorities of Eastern Europe offers a view into the history of the Romanian minorities, whose Roma reportedly represent almost a quarter of its population.

GASTER, M. "Bill of Sale of Gypsy Slaves in Moldavia, 1851." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 2 (1923): pp. 68-81.

This is a historic study of the Roma in the Danubian principality of Moldova, based upon a contract of sale of a Roma slave during the second half of the nineteenth century.

GASTER, M. "Rumanian Gypsies in 1560." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 12 (1933): p. 59.

This brief article is about the enslavement of the Roma in Romania and their forced settlement there.

GHEORGHE, Nicolae. "Origin of Roma's Slavery in the Rumanian Principalities." *Roma* 7 (1983): pp. 12-27.

Written by a prestigious Romanian Roma scholar, this is a presentation of historic data concerning the origins of their serfdom in the Danubian principalities.

GILBERG, Trond. "Ethnic Minorities in Romania under Socialism." *East European Quarterly* 7 (January 1974): pp. 435-64.

This is a report about Romanian minority rights under the former communist government, with new perspectives about the rights of the Roma there.

GILBERG, Trond. *Modernization in Romania since World War II*. New York: Praeger, 1975.

This work is another of the Praeger special studies at Princeton on international economics and development, and contains information about the Romanian communist government's Roma policy.

GILLIE, Oliver. "Ceaucescu Is Dead, the Gypsy King Lives!" *Independent* (London), 7 March 1990, p. 13.

This article contains information about the abusive treatment of the Roma by members of the Romanian police forces, taken from formerly secret records discovered after the fall of Ceaucescu.

GILLIE, Oliver. "The Gypsy King Tortured under Ceaucescu Returns to the Fold." *Independent* (London), 17 February 1990, p. 12.

This article relates the complicity of the former Romanian government in what the author describes as the brutal police treatment of the Roma.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Persecution of the Gypsies in Romania*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991.

This is a report about the political and socio-economic situation of the Romanian Roma as well as the new waves of migration immediately following the fall of the former regime.

ILLYES, Elemer. *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania*. Boulder: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1982.

This sociological monograph supplies details about the Roma minority in communist Romania, with a special focus on events in Transylvania.

KOGALNICEANU, Mihail. "Dezrobirea tiganilor, stergerea privilegiilor boieresti, emanciparea taranilor. Discurs rostit in Academia

Romana." In A. Zub, ed., *Opere* 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1976, pp. 603-635.

This is a record of a political speech made by a Romanian politician who worked for Roma liberation.

LEHRER, Milton G. *Ardealul, pamint romanesc. Problema Ardealului vazuta de un american*. Bucuresti: Ed. Stiintifica si Enciclopedica, 1989. [Transylvania: History and reality, edited and with a foreword by David Martin]. Silver Spring, MD: Bartleby Press, 1986.

This work is a history of Transylvania from its earliest documented beginnings to World War II, with an analysis of ethnic relations between the Romanians and the Transylvanian minorities, including the Roma.

McCLURE, E. F., and Malcolm M. McClure. "Factors Influencing Language Variation in a Multilingual Transylvanian Village." *Rumanian Studies* 3 (1973-1975): pp. 207-20.

This linguistic study of the Romanian territory depicts ethnic connections among the people living there, including the Roma. It also explains why sometimes mixed or adjacent settlements were not at all or not quite successful.

OTETEA, Andrei, ed. *A Concise History of Romania*. English edition, Andrew Mackenzie, ed., London: Robert Hale; New York, distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1985.

This work depicts the origins, history, and economic, social and legal status of the Roma in what is today Romania.

PANAITESCU, P. N. "The Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia: A Chapter of Economic History." Trans. by Doris Hardman. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 20 (April 1941): pp. 58-72.

The Romanian Roma are discussed from an economic and ideological perspective.

POTRA, George. *Contributiuni la istoricul Tiganilor din Romania*. Bucharest: Fundatia Regele Carol I, 1939.

This book on the Roma was written during the last decade of Romanian democracy before communism.

RIKER, T. W. *The Making of Romania: A Study of an International Problem. 1856-1866*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. American edition, *The Making of Roumania*. New York: Arno Press, 1971.

This book discusses Romanian politics between 1856 and 1866, during the reunification of the two Danubian Romanian principalities, and their impact on the enslaved Romanian Roma, who soon would become legally free.

ROUCEK, Joseph S. *Contemporary Romania and Her Problems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932.

Written at a time of great change in the history of Romanian democracy, this record of Romanian socio-economic and political affairs includes a summary of Roma issues and official policies.

RUSSELL, Alex. "Classification and Numbers of Wallachian Gypsies in 1837." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series 6 (1912-13): p. 150.

This journal is a source of information about Roma demography in the Romanian principality of Wallachia, soon after the 1837 census.

RUSSELL, Alex. "Roumanian Gypsies." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series 6 (1912-13): pp. 153-55.

This portrays the political and economic situation of the Roma at the turn of the century in what is today Romania.

SETON-WATSON, R. W. *A History of the Roumanians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934.

The author notes that history can be understood only in its geopolitical circumstances and that the Roma minority therefore should be viewed in the same context.

SZASZ, Zsombor de. *The Minorities in Romania Transylvania*. London: The Richards Press, 1927.

This monograph about the minorities of Transylvania includes information about the socio-economic and political status of the Roma between the wars.

THOMPSON, T. W. "Gypsy Prisoners at Szamos Ujvar, Transylvania." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series (1914-1915): pp. 195-96.

This record documents that the Roma were not only forced to migrate but often forced to settle, as in the Romanian principalities and the Russian Empire.

IV. J. ROMA IN RUSSIA AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

BARANNIKOV, A. P. "Ob izucenii cygan SSSR." *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*. Leningrad, vol. VII, no. 5, pp. 369-98; and no. 6, pp. 457-78.

This article about Roma in the Soviet Union emphasizes Roma contributions to Soviet literature, which are explained as a product of the settled nature of the Russian Roma community.

BARANNIKOV, A. P. *The Ukrainian and South Russian Gypsy Dialects*. Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1934.

This linguistic study of Roma history details the early Roma migrations and settlement in Russia.

BOBRI, Vladimir. "Gypsies and Gypsy Choruses of Old Russia." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 40, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1961): pp. 112-20.

Besides its cultural account, this article tells of the Russian Roma's contribution of money and soldiers to the Russian wars against Napoleon.

de l'HOSTE RANKING, Devey Fearon. "The Gypsies of Central Russia: The Gypsies of Kisilefka." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series 4, no. 4 (April 1911): pp. 245-247; 251-5.

This is one of three articles by the same author, dedicated to the Roma in feudal Russia and addressing Roma nomadism. Roma, in the village of Kisilefka as elsewhere, were prevented from settling because by decree they were not allowed "to erect anything but temporary shelters in the form of tents or huts".

DRUTS, Efim, and Alecksei GESSLER. *Tsygane: ocherki*. Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel, 1990.

This work tells about the Roma and the attention given their social issues by the authorities in what once was the USSR.

HALLIDAY, W. R. "A Russian Gypsy Renegade." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 2, no. 3 (1923): p. 6.

This is about Jacob, a romantic figure and Russian Roma "diplomat," whom Peter the Great sent to spy on the Turks, but who became an agent for the Ottomans, or so it is said, upon his arrival in Istanbul.

HIRSCHBIEL, Henry H. "Kiselev, Pavel Dmitrievich (1788-1872)." In Joseph L. Wiczynski, ed., *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, vol. 17, pp. 41-44. Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1980.

This details the political activities of the Russian statesman who also affected many beneficial changes in the legal status of the Roma.

LINCOLN, W. Bruce. *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

This study of the Russian emperor includes material about his policies concerning forced settlement of the Roma.

SHOUR, Paul S. *The East European and Soviet Data Handbook: Political, Social, and Development Indicators, 1945-1975*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Among extensive Russian and Eastern European statistics is information about the Roma living there.

IV. K. ROMA IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

ACTON, T. A. "Resettlement." *Migrationworld* 24, no. 4 (1996): pp. 21-6.

The author describes a group of 3,000 Kalderas people from Banja Luka, displaced by war, now trying to settle in Great Britain, and asks for tolerance from their new English hosts.

BARANY, Zoltan D. "The Roma in Macedonia: Ethnic Politics and the Marginal Condition in a Balkan State." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (July 1995): pp. 515-31.

This article discusses the social status of the Roma in this

former Yugoslav state from which many were forced to emigrate.

MILETIC, Antun. *Koncentracioni Logor Jasenovac 1941-1945* [The Jasenovac concentration camp 1941-1945]. Belgrade: Narodna Kniga, 1986.

This is a comprehensive study of the Croatian concentration camp—Jasenovac—where many Roma from the former Yugoslavia were sent for “medical experiments” and extermination during World War II.

PARIS, Edmond. *Genocide in Satellite Croatia, 1941-1945: A Record of Racial and Religious Persecutions and Massacres*. Chicago: The American Institute for Balkan Affairs, 1961.

This is an account of Croatian racial and religious persecutions of minorities, such as the Roma, including their massacre during World War II.

PUXON, Grattan. “Roma in Macedonia.” *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Fourth Series 1, no. 2 (1976): pp. 128-33.

This article describes the socio-economic situation of the Roma, in the former Yugoslavia generally, specifically in Macedonia.

PUXON, Grattan. “Tito and the Future of Roma.” *Roġma* 5 (July 1980).

This analysis emphasizes what the author describes as the gap between the reality of Roma life and the mistruths supporting Tito’s Roma policy.

REINHARTZ, Dennis. “Aryanism and the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945.” *The South Slav Journal* 9 (autumn-winter 1986): pp. 19-25.

This article is about the Nazi ideology in Croatia and its influence upon Roma minority policies.

RAMET, Pedro. “From Strossmayer to Stepinac: Croatian National Ideology and Catholicism.” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 12 (spring 1985): pp. 123-39.

This article presents the effects of religious nationalism upon the Roma in this profoundly Catholic country.

RULLMANN, Hans P. “Child Slave-Trade in Yugoslavia: Gypsies’ (Romas) Oppression.” *That’s Yugoslavia* 5 (1986): pp. 5-8.

This article reveals the organized kidnapping of Roma children from what was then Yugoslavia, either for sale to Italians and Americans, or for training in crime.

SINGLETON, Frederick B. *A Short History of the Yugoslav Peoples*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

This is a history of the former Yugoslavia and its diverse population, including the Roma.

VUKANOVIC, Tatimir. *Romi (Tigani) u Jugoslaviji*. Vranje: Nova Jugoslavija, 1983.

This study includes data about the Roma’s first migration in Europe and their appearance in Hungary and Transylvania.

IV. L. ROMA IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

CLARK, Edison L. *The Races of European Turkey: Their History, Condition and Prospects*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1878.

This work offers some details of Roma daily life under Ottoman rule.

INALCIK, H. “Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire.” In Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Bela K. Kiraly, eds., *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, pp. 25-52. New York: Brooklyn College Press, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1979.

This is a source covering the socio-economic status of the Roma in the Eastern European countries under Ottoman rule.

SOULIS, George C. “A Note on the Taxation of the Balkan Gypsies in the Seventeenth Century.” *The Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 38, nos. 1-2 (January-April 1959): pp. 154-6.

This describes how under Ottoman rule the Roma enjoyed full liberty as long as they paid their taxes according to their religious beliefs. The Christian Roma paid a higher tax than the Muslim Roma.

SUGAR, Peter. *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977.

This summary of Ottoman history contains information about the liberties Roma enjoyed under Ottoman rule.

V. Books about Eastern European Roma: Monographs, Autobiographies, Biographies, Fiction

V. A. MONOGRAPHS, AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, AND BIOGRAPHIES ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

ADELSBERGER, Lucie. *Auschwitz: A Doctor’s Story*. Translated from German by S. Ray, with an introduction by D. Lipstadt, and annotations and historical advice by A. J. Slavin. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995.

This memoir of a female Jewish Holocaust survivor, who worked as a physician in the infirmary of the “Gypsy Camp” at Auschwitz-Birkenau, describes the situation of the Roma and Jews there.

CZERNIAKOW, Adam. *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*.

Chelsea, Mich.: Scarborough House, 1978.

This is a story about Roma in the Warsaw Ghetto, where they wore a "Z" armband and were confined to live under the same terror and violence as Jewish residents.

FREIBERG, Dov. Testimony, Yad Vashem Archives, Microfiche A-361.

Along with general information about Nazi mass killings of the Roma, this witness adds that "an unknown number of Gypsies are believed to be killed in Sobibor."

FRIEDMAN, Ina R. *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.

This is a collection of Nazi persecutions of the Roma with bibliographical references.

HOSS, Rudolf Franz. *Kommandant in Auschwitz*. Stuttgart: Deutscher Verlag, 1958. [Death dealer: The memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz, translated by A. Pollinger and edited by S. Paskuly. Buffalo, N. Y.: Prometheus Books, 1992.]

Besides a general description of Nazism and Auschwitz atrocities, these memoirs also provide details on the killing of the Roma deported there, including the infamous "Zigeunernacht."

SERENI, Gitta. *Into the Darkness*. London: Deutsch, 1974.

This is a personal account of the Nazi atrocities against the Roma.

TILLON, Germaine. *Ravensbruck*. New York: Anchor Press, 1975.

This book about Ravensbruck—the special concentration camp for women from all over Nazi-occupied Europe—highlights the forced sterilization of Roma women.

WIERNICK, Jacob. *A Year in Treblinka*. New York: American Representation of the General Jewish Workers' Union of Poland, 1944.

Though the 2,000 Roma who perished at Treblinka between mid-1942 and February 1943 represent but a small portion of the war's total, their deaths were a step towards the larger crime of "Operation Reinhard"—the extermination of all the Jews and Roma under Nazi European governments.

WIESENTHAL, Simon. "Juifs et Tsiganes." In *Idem, justice n'est pas vengeance: Une autobiographie*, pp. 234-38. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1989.

This author has long urged that the Roma be treated equally with the Jews as victims of Nazi genocide.

YATES, Dora E. "Hitler and the Gypsies." In *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.

This monograph describes Nazi policy toward the Roma.

V. B. MISCELLANEOUS

BANGU, Dezider, transl. *Piesen nad vetrom. 41 ciganskych piesni v preklade Dezidera Bangu s drevorezjami Stefana Pruknera* [Song above wind. Forty-one Gypsy songs. Translated by Dezider Bangu with drawings by Stefan Prukner]. Bratislava: Slovensky spisovatel, 1964.

This book is a record of Roma culture in communist Czechoslovakia, explaining Roma nomadism there.

DJILAS, Milovan. *Wartime*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

This autobiography portrays the Yugoslav and Roma underground movements between 1939-45.

Kosovo. Belgrade: Kultura, 1973.

This study tells about the coexistence of Albanians and Roma for over 600 years.

MIRGA, A. *Human Rights Abuses of the Roma (Gypsies)*.

Testimony before the subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., April 14, 1994. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994, pp. 29-32.

Representatives of the international Roma movement testify to the historic oppression of the Roma.

ORGOVANOVA, K. *Human Rights Abuses of the Roma (Gypsies)*.

Testimony before the subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 2nd sess., April 14, 1994. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994, pp. 26-8.

Along with Drs. Mirga, Gheorghe, and Hancock, this scholar presented to Congress the history of Roma oppression.

SWIRE, Joseph. *King Zog's Albania*. New York: Liveright, 1937.

This is a presentation of the Albanians and the Roma.

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967.

The author describes the Lovara Roma and their wanderings throughout Western Europe and the Balkans.

VI. Academic Studies about Roma in Western Europe

VI. A. GENERAL INFORMATION

"Citizens of Europe." *Economist* 305 (April 21, 1990): pp. 55-6.

This article, focused on the itinerant Roma, maintains they should be regarded as "citizens of Europe."

"Gypsy Kings." *Economist* 327 (May 15, 1993): p. 62.

This article anticipates a change in Europe's treatment of Roma.

KENRICK, Donald, and Grattan PUXON. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*. New York: Basic Books; London: Sussex University Press, Chatto-Heinemann, 1972. Revised and updated ed., retitled *Gypsies under the Swastika* with a greater focus on the Nazi oppression, University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995.

Covering all the German-occupied and satellite countries, this book also addresses "the Nazi aftermath," the recent migrations, and the emerging World Roma movement.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *La scolarisation des enfants tsiganes et voyageurs*. Luxembourg: Commission des Communautés Européennes, 1986. [School provision for Gypsy Traveller children. Manchester Commission of the European Communities Traveller Education Service, 1988.]

Sponsored by the European Community, this confronts the education of the young Travellers, especially the Travelling Roma.

"True, Tormented Pan-Europeans." *Economist* 321 (October 26, 1991): p. 66.

This article depicts this pan-European minority crossing national borders in search of a welcome.

VI. B. ROMA AND THE HOLOCAUST IN WESTERN EUROPE

BERNADAC, Christian. *L'Holocauste oublié: Le massacre des tziganes*. Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1979.

Starting with the Nazi treatment of the European Roma, this notes postwar "popular and unquestioned anti-Gypsy feelings."

BINDING, Karl, and Alfred HOCHÉ. *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung Lebensunwertesleben*. Leipzig: F. Meiner Verlag, 1920.

This source of Nazi racial policies presents the arguments of Binding, a psychiatrist, and Hoché, a magistrate, for the murder of those with "worthless life/Ballastexistenzen," including the Roma.

BUCHHEIM, H. *Die Aktion Arbeitshce Reich*. Gutachten des Instituts fuer Zeitgeschichte, Munich II. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1966.

This describes the Nazi ideology of "work makes one free" and its brutal application to German minorities, including the Roma.

VI. C. ROMA IN AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND

European Roma Rights Center. *Divide and Deport: Roma and Sinti in Austria*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center, 1996.

This is a report on the treatment of poor aliens, particularly Roma migrants, by the Austrian government and the way Roma are denied any enforceable human rights there.

FISK, Robert. "Fear of Nazis Reigns among Vienna Gypsies 50 Years On." *Times* (London), 14 March 1988, p. 2.

The author articulates the silent fear of the Austrian Roma of "recurrent Nazi persecution," in a state where the Roma are officially still not welcome.

HEMETEK, Ursula, and Mozes F. HEINSCHINK, eds. *Roma: Das Unbekannte Volk*. Munich: Boehlau Verlag, 1994.

MAMATEY, Victor S. *Rise of the Hapsburg Empire, 1526-1815*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971.

A study of the Hapsburgs, this is also a source on the plight of the Roma in the Empire.

PERCHINIG, Bernhard. *Die rechtliche, oekonomische und soziale Situation von Migrantinnen in Oesterreich*, prepared for the Conference on migration in the new member states of the European Union, December 15-16, 1995.

This a report about the legal, economic, and social aspects of seeking asylum in Austria.

SCHWICKER, J. H. *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenbuergen*. Vienna and Teschen: Karl Brochasta, 1883.

This is an account of peasant servitude in Hungary and Transylvania under Hapsburg rule, telling also of the Austrian decrees on Roma serfdom.

SHOEMAKER, Henry W. "Banishment to Polynesia." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 12, no. 3 (1933): pp. 158-60.

This article describes a petition to the League of Nations seeking "resettlement" of the European Roma in the Polynesian islands.

WILLIAMS, Frances. "Swiss Shame over Stolen Children." *Times* (London), 8 June 1986, p. 10.

This article exposes Swiss racism in transferring Roma children from their kin to non-Roma families in an official plan to annihilate the Swiss Roma's "way of life."

VI. D. ROMA IN GERMANY

BAUER, Yehuda. "Jews, Gypsies and Slavs: Policies of the Third Reich." In *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*, pp. 73-100. New York and London: Greenwood, 1985.

This is an account of Nazi atrocities and their victims, of which the most targeted were Jews, Roma, and Slavs.

BEHRENDT, Johannes. "Die Wahrheit ueber die Zigeuner." *NS Partei Korrespondenz* 10, no. 3 (1939).

In this article, the author—physician in the Office of Racial Hygiene under Hitler—offers that "all Gypsies should be eliminated without hesitation, as a defective element in the population."

BIESTER, Johann E. "Ueber die Zigeuner: besonders im Koenigreich Preussen." *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 21 (1973): pp. 108-65.

This study provides information on the Roma in Prussia—once an independent state.

BOCK, Gisela. "Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany." *Signs* 8, no. 3 (1983): pp. 400-21.

In this article the author addresses Hitler's 1933 eugenics laws against the Roma and other Germans of color, which mandated sterilization of "lives not worthy of life/ Lebensunwertesleben."

BLOCK, Martin. *Zigeuner: Ihre Leben und Ihre Seele*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1936. [Gypsies: Their life and their customs, translated by Barbara Kuczybski and Duncan Taylor. New York: Appleton-Century, 1939.]

This work is an attempt by Nazi scholars to rationalize mass extermination.

BRANDIS, Emil. *Ehegesetze von 1935 erlaudet*. Berlin, 1936.

The author defends racism against non-Aryans showing that in 1935 the Roma, along with Jewish and Black Germans, became subject to the Nuremberg laws forbidding sexual relations between them and Aryan-Germans.

DAVID, Henriette. "Nouvelles de l'etranger: Allemagne." *Etudes Tiganes* 19, nos. 1-2 (1973): p.75.

This article records an ethnic clash between Germans and Roma, underlining continuing anti-Roma sentiment in Germany.

DORING, Hans-Joachim. *Die Zigeuner im Nationalsozialistischen Staat*. Hamburg: Kriminalistik Verlag, 1964.

This book describes the Nuremberg Laws against sexual relations between Aryans and non-Aryans, such as Roma.

FIENBORK, Gunoula, Brigitte MIHOK, and Stephan MULLER. *Die Roma—Hoffen auf ein Leben ohne Angst*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1992.

GEIGES, Anita, and Bernhard WETTE. *Zigeuner Heute: Verfolgung und Diskriminierung in der BRD: eine Anklageschrift*. Bornheim-Merten: Lamuv-Verlag, 1979.

This is an account of the German Roma's sufferings, rationalized as a result of the social and cultural differences between the marginal Roma and the dominant German societies.

"Gypsy Punishment in 18th Century Germany." *Gypsy and Folklore Gazette* 1, no. 1 (1912): p. 45.

This article describes forms of punishment suffered by Roma under medieval German rule.

HANCOCK, Ian. "Gypsy History in Germany and Neighboring Lands: A Chronology Leading to the Holocaust." *Nationalities Papers*, unpublished, mentioned in Crowe, ed., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*.

This article chronicles abuse against Roma in Germany. The author states that "in 1722 it became a capital offense just to be Gypsy," while under the Nazis they were labeled "Lebensunwertesleben," which mandated capital punishment for their mere existence.

HILBERG, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961; New York: Harper and Row, 1979; (student edition) New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981.

This book about the fate of the European Jews offers information about Nazi treatment of the Roma who, in 1938 by Himmler's orders, were subjected to medical experiments with sterilization techniques.

HOHMANN, J. S. *Geschichte der Zigeunerverfolgung in Deutschland*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1981.

This book is about the Roma of Germany, including their plight during the Nazi era.

Human Rights Watch. *Foreigners Out: Xenophobia and Right-Wing Violence in Germany*. New York: Human Rights Watch Report, October 1992.

This is a work about German mistrust of outsiders, including xenophobia towards Roma.

INFIELD, Glenn. *Secrets of the SS*. New York: Stein and Day, 1952.

This book about SS policies confirms once more that "between the Jews and the Gypsies there was no difference in the killing campaigns."

KOPE, Peter. *Sinti und Roma*. Munich: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1994.

This study about the German Roma and their current problems compares their pre- and post-war treatment.

KUEPPERS, H. "Die Beschaeftigung von Zigeunern." *Reichsarbeitsblatt* 5, 25 March 1942.

This book tells of the Nazi policy to exterminate the entire Roma population, with the unheeded caveat by Himmler to spare those of "pure race"—the Lalleri and Sinti Roma (see *infra*, Vossen).

LUCASSEN, Leo. *Zigeuner: die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland*. Munich: Boehlau Verlag, 1996.

MACARTNEY, Robert J. "East Berlin Said to Agree to Holocaust Payments." *Washington Post*, 19 October 1988, 25-26.

This article is about the East German decision to recompense Jewish survivors of war crimes while "refusing to pay anything to Roma survivors."

MARTINS-HEUB, Kirsten. *Zur mystischen Figur des Zigeuners in der deutschen Zigeunerforschung*. Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen Verlag, 1983.

This study of Roma social and ethnic identity in, and their medical, philosophical, and even criminal contributions to German society was originally the author's master's thesis.

MEAGHER, Anthony E. "Gypsies in Germany Make a Stand." *Christian Century*, 11 April 1990, pp. 370-72.

This attributes some Roma social and political problems to Lutheranism in Germany and has been criticized in Germany for supposed bias.

MODE, H., and S. WOLFFLING. *Zigeuner: Der Weg eines Volkes in Deutschland*. Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1968.

This book explains the connection between modern Roma problems and historic German-Roma relationships.

NOAKES, Jeremy. "Social Outcasts in Nazi Germany." *History Today* 18 (1985); and *New York Times*, 17 September 1986.

This author makes the point that Roma have historically been the target of German abuse and argues that the lesson of such injustice and violence should never be forgotten.

NOVITCH, Miriam. *Le Genocide des Tziganes sous le regime nazi*. Paris: AMIF Publication No. 164 (La Comite pour l'Erection du Monument des Tziganes Assassines a Auschwitz), 1968. English translation, Budapest: Romani Union Publication, 1987.

Starting with the first acts of intolerance, such as the edicts (1725) to hang all adult Gypsies throughout Prussia, the author documents the history of German abuse through the Holocaust.

POND, Elizabeth. "Romanies: Hitler's Other Victims." *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 March 1980, p. 17.

This article examines the West German government that called "Romani demands for war crimes reparations 'unreasonable' and 'slandorous.'"

PORTSCHY, Tobias. "Kein Schulbesuch fuer Zigeuner." *Grenzmark-Zeitung*, 4 September 1938, p. 1.

The author—one of the criminal Nazi "doctors" and Area Commander in Syria—urged mass sterilization of the Roma to stop "contamination of the blood of German peasantry with non-Aryan blood."

RITTER, Robert. *Die Bestandsaufnahme der Zigeuner*. Berlin: Offizielle Gesundheitsdienst Publication, 1941.

Written when the Nazi atrocities were occurring, this article explains how Roma "blood" was identified: if two of a person's great-grandparents were even partly Roma, that individual "had too much 'Gypsy blood' to be allowed to live."

Survey of the Policy and Law Regarding Aliens in the Federal Republic of Germany. Bonn: Federal Ministry of the Interior, 1992. Mentioned in I. Fonseca's *Bury Me Standing*.

This study of legislation concerning German immigration tells of the difficulties faced by Roma in obtaining the status of legal immigrant.

TENENBAUM, J. *Race and Reich*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1956.

A presentation of its entitled subject, this book contains abundant information about the Roma extermination under the Third Reich.

THURNER, Erika. *Kurzgeschichte des nationalsozialistischen Zigeunerlagers in Lackenbach, 1940-1945*. Eisenstadt, 1984.

This book makes it clear that the Roma were a direct target of Nazi genocide, which mandated not only "extermination through work—Vernichtung durch Arbeit," but also "direct executions—Sonderbehandlung."

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. "Germany and Gypsies." In *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982, pp. 178-92.

Because the Nazis saw the Roma as "a concern of public health, a parasite on the body of the German people," they subjected them to mass sterilization and death by exhaustion.

VOSSEN, Rudiger. *Zigeuner: Roma, Sinti, Gitanos, Gypsies, zwischen Verfolgung und Romatisierung*. Frankfurt: Ullstein Fachbuch, 1983.

This explains the different tribal labels used to "distinguish" the Roma. In Nazi Germany, for example, the Lalleri and Sinti (*see supra*, Kueppers) were "Aryan," at least to SS head Himmler, while other Roma were condemned as racially "stained."

WEISSENBRUCH, Johann Benjamin. *Ausfuehrliche Relation von der famosen Zigeuner- Diebs- Mord- und Rauberbande*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1772.

This late 18th-century work describes the wholesale murders of the Roma, especially five such pogroms which occurred across German lands.

ZIMMERMAN, Michael. *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Losung der Ziguenerfrage"*. Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 1996.

ZIMMERMAN, Michael. *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet: Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik gegen Sinti und Roma*. Essen: Klartext, 1989.

ZULCH, Tilman. *In Auschwitz Vergast, bis Heute Verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa* [Gassed in Auschwitz, persecuted to the present: About the situation of the Roma (Gypsies) in Germany and Europe]. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979.

This is official testimony about the Roma under the Nazis in Germany as well as other European countries, addressing their displacement and extermination.

VI. E. ROMA IN GREECE

HONDROS, John L. *Occupation and Resistance: The Greek Agony 1941-1944*. New York: Pella, 1983.

This Greek war history addresses the plight of the Greek Roma from the war until 1967.

VRISSAKIS, Yoannis. "Nazis and the Greek Roma: A Personal Testimonial." *Roma* 30 (1988): pp. 15-17.

This narration recounts the 1942 murders of hundreds of Roma by Nazi death squads in Greece.

VI. F. ROMA IN GREAT BRITAIN

ACTON, Thomas A. "The Social Construction and Consequences of Accusations of False Claims to Ethnicity and Cultural Rights." Paper presented at the Leiden Foundation Centennial Conference, 13-15 September 1990, at Leiden, Holland.

This paper shows British anti-Roma sentiment as well as that of other Western democracies.

ACTON, Thomas A., ed. "Current Changes amongst British Gypsies and Their Place in International Patterns of Development." *Proceedings of the Research and Policy Conference of the National Gypsy Educational Council*. Peter's College, Oxford, 26-28 March 1971.

These academic papers by British, French, and Czech authors—lay and clergy—about the British Roma, are designed to reduce national misunderstandings between the Roma and dominant communities.

ADAMS, B., J. OKELY, D. MORGAN, and D. SMITH. *Gypsies and Government Policy in England*. Heinemann Center for Environmental Studies, 1975.

This detailed work tells of the status of the Roma in Great Britain and the bias they face there.

ALTHEER, David. "Gypsies Are a Racial Group under Discrimination Act." *Times* (London) Law Report, 29 July 1988, no. 14.

This legal report contains factual data about the domestic situation of the Roma minority in Great Britain.

BINNS, Dennis. "The Most Persecuted Minority." *The Manchester Paper*, May 1986, p. 4.

Focused on Roma human rights, this article observes that a call for the extermination of the Roma was still a way to politically campaign in 1984 England.

"Burn Gypsies Belfast Councilor to Visit Glasgow." Bulletin issued by the Belfast City Hall, 5 February 1988.

This discusses Irish anti-Roma intolerance, such as a call for "the incineration of Gypsies in a garbage dump."

COVERLEY, B. "Fellow Travellers." *New Statesman Society* 7 (January 6, 1995): pp. 22-3.

This author says that about 50,000 Roma and "Travellers" suffer constant discrimination in Great Britain, a situation unchallenged until only recently.

FRASER, Angus M. "The Travellers: Developments in England and Wales, 1953-1963." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 43, no. 3 (1964).

This article addresses the lifestyle and social problems of the itinerant Roma who travel Wales and England.

"Gypsies Face Apartheid Policy." *Leeds Other Paper* 377 (17 May 1985): pp. 6-7.

This reveals 1985 English "apartheid" laws which barred from the Bradford area those Roma who lacked permits.

HOLMES, Colin. "The Germany-Gypsy Question in Britain, 1904-1906." In Lunn, ed., *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities*, pp. 134-59.

This essay identifies escalating anti-Roma terrorism in Germany as the major cause for increased Roma immigration to Britain around 1900.

IVATTS, Arthur. "The Travelling Communities: History, Culture and Educational Opportunities." Contact Point for the Roma and Sinti Issues (CPRSI). Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. *CPRSI Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (August 1996): p. 2.

This official report by the education ministry discusses problems of ethnic identity of the Travelling Roma, "by far the largest group among the Travelling Communities in Great Britain".

JARMAN, A. O. H., and E. JARMAN. *The Welsh Gypsies: Children of Abram Wood*, Cardiff, 1991.

This history of the Welsh Roma features their origins and first settlement there.

KERSWELL, W. F. "Gypsy Sites." *North Shropshire Echo*, 18 June 1979, p. 6.

England did not escape resurgent postwar racial sentiments, such as calls for the extermination of "those Gypsies you can do nothing with."

LUNN, Kenneth, ed. *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities*. London: Dawson Books, 1980.

This is a study of the social realities of the Roma, both new and old immigrants, in Great Britain.

MAYALL, David. *English Gypsies and State Policies*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995.

The book begins with a survey of Gypsy persecution in Europe, describing the attempts of the English central government to control Gypsies through legislation. The author provides details on the different strategies local governments have used to control the so-called "Gypsy menace."

"Off the Road." *Economist*, no. 320 (August 24, 1991): p. 51.

This article observes that nomadism is not the preferred existence for "English Travellers," who would really like to settle there.

OKELY, J. M. *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

This socio-anthropological study is the product of extensive fieldwork by the author among "Travellers in England from 1970-72 and 1974-5" and argues that the Roma are an indigenous folk who became outsiders with the collapse of feudal society, thus rejecting the Roma's legendary Indian origins.

O'NIONS, Helen. "The Marginalisation of Gypsies." *OSCE CPRSI Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (August 1996): pp. 3-4.

This tells of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, which reduced the number of authorized Roma sites to deter nomadism, their dominant lifestyle in England.

REHFISCHE, F., ed. *Gypsies, Tinkers and Other Travellers*. London: Academic, 1975.

This selection of essays accents the nomadic aspect of Roma life in the U.K.

SAMPSON, J. *The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

This work uses linguistics to explain Roma origins and migrations.

SIBLEY, David. *Outsiders in Urban Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.

This book about the Roma minority of Great Britain examines their marginal position and the impact it has on their social and living conditions.

SINCLAIR, P. "Casting out the Outcasts." *Geographic Magazine* 65 (March 1993): pp. 14-18.

This is a proposal about replacing the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, a law with important consequences for the life of the Travellers in England.

WARD, C. "Fringe Benefits." *New Statesman Society*, no. 5 (December 18, 1992- January 1, 1993): p. 25.

This article discusses proposals to modify or replace the 1968 Caravan Sites Act in Great Britain.

WARD-JACKSON, C. H., and D. E. HARVEY. *The English Gypsy Caravan*. Newton Abbot, 1972; 2nd ed. 1986.

This is an account of the travelling English Roma, their social and economic status, and the attitudes of the surrounding society towards them.

WEBB, Godfrey Edward Charles. *Gypsies, the Secret People*. London: H. Jenkins, 1960.

This is a sociological account of the British Roma, emphasizing their communal character—especially their self-sufficiency, closed to "outside invasion."

VI. G. ROMA IN ITALY AND FRANCE

BROWN, Marilyn. *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in 19th Century France*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985.

This book on Roma culture regards nomadism as romantic.

SANGAN, Jean-Claude. *Une Ecole chez les Tziganes*. Preface par M. A. Bloch. [A Romany school. Introduction by M. A. Bloch]. Societe d'Edition. Paris: Droit & Liberte, 1974.

This teacher's journal contains details about the Roma. At the end of the book is a French administrative order concerning legislation on the education of the nomadic Roma.

ZUCOTTI, Susan. *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue, and Survival*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

This account of the Second World War focuses on its Italian Jewish and Roma victims.

VI. H. ROMA IN SCANDINAVIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

DYRLUND, F. *Tatere og Natmandsfolk i Danmark*. Copenhagen, 1872.

This book tells about the Danish medieval migrations and the origins of the Roma there.

GRONFORS, M. *Blood Feuding among Finnish Gypsies*. Helsinki, 1977.

This book is source on Roma society and customs in Finland.

HEYMOWSKI, A. *Swedish Travellers and Their Ancestry*. Uppsala, 1969.

About the Swedish Roma, this discusses their first migration there and describes their present nomadism.

HOVENS, P., and R. DAHLER, eds. *Zigeuners in Nederland*. Nijmegen/Rijswijk, 1988.

This collection of essays about the Dutch Roma contains inside information about their relatively settled communities.

LUCASSEN, L. *En Men noemde hen Zigeuners*. Amsterdam and The Hague, 1990.

This is a relatively recent record of the itinerant Roma living in or passing through the Netherlands.

VAN KAPPEN, O. *Geschiedenis der Zigeuner in Nederland*. Assen, 1965.

Aimed at both the specialist and the layperson, this work describes the atrocities historically suffered by the Roma in what is today the Netherlands.

VI. I. ROMA IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

ALFARO, Antonio Gomez. *The Great Gypsy Round-Up*. Gypsy Research Center/Editorial Presencia Gitana, Spain, 1993.

The book discusses the general imprisonment of 10,000-12,000 Spanish Roma during the reign of Ferdinand VI in July 1749, for the "collective crime of being Gypsy."

AMADOR, Antonio Martinez. "Technical Racism and Transformation in Spanish Gypsy Society." In *Romani Language and Culture*, pp. 139-42. Sarajevo: Institute za Proucavanje Nacionalnih Odnosa, 1989.

This is a report on anti-Roma incidents in Spain, where the Roma were the target of attempted expulsions and even lynchings.

COELHO, F. A. *Os Ciganos de Portugal*. Lisbon, 1892.

A work that contains theories about Roma origins in Portugal.

DONOVAN, B. M. "Changing Perceptions of Social Deviance: Gypsies in Early Modern Portugal and Brazil." *Journal of Social History* 26 (Fall 1992): pp. 33-53.

GASSOL, Juan Castella. *El problema Gitano*. Madrid: Editorial ZYX, 1967.

The author writes about Roma "racial inferiority," claiming that "the Gypsies are for the Spanish what the Blacks are for the Yankees."

LOPEZ DE MENESES, A. *La inmigracion gitana en Espana en el siglo XV*. Martinez Ferrando Archivero. Madrid: Asociacion nacional de bibliotecarios, archiveros y archeologos, 1968.

This is an account of the Roma migration in Spain in the 15th century.

VII. Miscellaneous: Folktale, Folklore, and Memoirs about Roma in Western Europe

BORROW, G. *The Zingali*. London: John Murray, 1841; *Lavengro*. London: John Murray, 1843; *The Romany Rye*. London: Murray, 1857; *The Bible in Spain*. London: John Murray, 1843.

The author not only translated the Gospel of St. Luke into Spanish Romani for the British and Foreign Bible Society, but also created many fictional works, chiefly about the Roma of Spain.

BOSWELL, S. G. *The Book of Boswell*. Edited by J. Seymour. London: Gollancz, 1970.

This memoir of an English Roma contains descriptions of Roma life in Britain.

HANCOCK, I. "Marko: Stories of My Grandfather." *Lacio Drom* supplement to no. 6 (December 1985): pp. 53-60.

The author relates memories of his London ancestors.

YOORS, Jan. *Crossing*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971; reissued, Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland, 1988.

This work tells the story of the Roma underground and the author's own involvement during the Second World War, including his "harrowing crossing of the Pyrenees."

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies of Spain*. New York: Macmillan, 1974.

This book, with pictures by A. Lopez, tells the story of the Gitanos—"the trapped Roma"—who are settled and never migrate beyond Spanish borders.

WOOD, Manfri Frederick. *In the Life of a Romany Gypsy*. Edited by J. A. Brune. London and Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1973.

This book, by a founding member of the Gypsy Council and a member of one of the oldest Roma families in Britain, tells of the social structures of the English Roma, "the various taboos that are observed, and the way work and wealth is distributed."

VIII. Roma in Asia: Books and Articles

BERLAND, J. C. "Parytan: 'Native' Models of Peripatetic Strategies in Pakistan." *Nomadic Peoples*, nos. 221-21 (1986): pp. 189-205.

This is an anthropological study of nomadic peoples, such as the Roma, who have lived in or passed through Pakistan.

CROWE, David M. "The Liuli (Gypsies) of Central Asia." *AACAR Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (spring 1993): p. 2.

This article is about the migration of the Roma—the Liuli—from Central Asia in order to escape Muslim assaults.

GOEJE, M. J. de. *Accounts of the Gypsies in India*. Delhi: New Society, 1976. Contribution to the proceedings of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen of Amsterdam in 1875.

The author hypothesizes that between the 10th and the 15th centuries, the Roma emigrated from India through today's Iran, entering Europe through Asia Minor.

HANCOCK, Ian. "On the Migration and Affiliation of the Domba: Iranian Words in Rom, Lom, and Dom Gypsy." *International Romani Occasional Papers*, series F, no. 8 (1993).

The author discusses Roma migration through their linguistic heritage, noting commonalities between Middle Eastern and European Roma.

HARRIOT, J. S. "Observations on the Oriental Origin of the Romnichal." *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1830): pp. 518-58.

KOCHANOWSKI, J. "Roma—History of Their Indian Origin." *Roma* 4 (1979): pp. 16-32.

This work focuses on Indian history and the origins of the Roma minority and their subsequent world migration.

LONGPERIER, G. de. "L'Inde et ses mysteres." *Musee universel* 1 (1857): pp. 330-6.

This article attempts to show the ties between Roma and India.

MacRITCHIE, David, ed. *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*. New Society Publications, Delhi, 1886.

This English translation of "A Contribution to the History of the Gypsies" by M. J. de Goeje, professor of Arabic at Leyden University, contains a few remarks of appreciation.

MISRA, M. K., and K. C. MALHORTA, eds. *Nomads in India*. Calcutta, 1982.

SHAW, Stanford. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

This book on Roma in the Ottoman Empire presents the migrations and status of the Roma who lived inside its borders as a trusted population.

SHAW, Stanford, and Ezel Kural SHAW. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

This sequel presents the history of the Turkish Republic,

which preserved many characteristics of the Ottomans, including a "tolerance" towards the Jews and Roma.

TURNER, R. L. "The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan." *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 5 (1926): pp. 145-89.

This article about the Roma's origins yielded a polemic between Turner and Sampson. Sampson's reply and the author's rejoinder can both be found in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 6 (1926).

WATSON, Francis. *A Concise History of India*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975; London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.

This history of India is a source of information concerning the possible causes of the Roma's migration from the Punjabi region when Muslim abuses started.

IX. Roma in North and South America

DONOVAN, B. M. "Changing Perceptions of Social Deviance: Gypsies in Early Modern Portugal and Brazil." *Journal of Social History* 26 (fall 1992): pp. 33-53.

The article describes the living conditions of Roma on the Old Continent, in Portugal, and in one of its colonies, Brazil.

GROPPER, Rena C. *Gypsies in the City: Cultural Patterns and Survival*. Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1975.

The author wrote this social study of the North American Roma and their relatively closed community based on her lifetime of extensive fieldwork among them.

KEPHART, William. *Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Lifestyles*. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

This sociological study of North American communal subcultures (the Amish, Shakers, Mormons, etc.) devotes its first chapter to the American Roma and their uncompromising dedication to firm social boundaries, keeping the *gadje* total outsiders.

MARCHBIN, A. A. "Gypsy Immigration to Canada." *JGSL* 3, no. 13 (1934): pp. 134-44.

This is an article on the history of Roma immigration to Canada from the U.S. and directly from Europe.

MAZZONE, G. L. "Traveling Criminals: Take the Money and Run." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 63 (July 1994): pp. 5-8.

This article is aimed at law enforcement personnel, containing statistics about Roma criminal activities.

MCLAUGHLIN, John B. *Gypsy Lifestyle*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980.

This is a controversial book about Roma lifestyle and their "traditional occupations in the United States," written by a deputy sheriff and an associate professor with the Police Training Institute at the University of Illinois.

SALO, M. T. "Gypsy Immigration to the United States." Papers from the Sixth and Seventh Annual Meetings, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, New York, 1986, pp. 85-96.

Focused on Roma economic adaptability, this paper offers information about Roma *kumpania* and their socio-economic patterns.

SALO, M. T., ed. "The American Kalderas: Gypsies in the New World." Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, held at Wagner College, Staten Island, New York, September 29, 1979. Hackettstown, New Jersey: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1981.

This is a collection of multidisciplinary (anthropology, education, folklore, geography, and sociology) studies about the American Kalderas, authored two years after the formation of the North American Chapter of the Gypsy Lore Society.

SUTHERLAND, Anne. *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans*. London and New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1975.

This portrait of the American Roma *kumpania* and its complex socio-economic and juridical system is based on the author's field work among a group of Vlach Roma.

SWAY, M. *Familiar Strangers: Gypsy Life in America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

This is a sociological study of the American Roma.

THOMAS, James D., et al. "Disease, Lifestyle and Consanguinity in Fifty-Eight American Gypsies." *Lancet*, 15 August 1987, pp. 376-79.

This medical study of the Roma presents the medical risks assumed by a semi-closed community.

WEBER, Bruce. "A Hard Lesson." *New York Times Magazine*, 23 March 1988.

This article discusses the fact that the Capitol Children's Museum in Washington D.C. refused to include Roma among the Nazis' victims.

WHAT ARE THE FORCED MIGRATION PROJECTS?

The Forced Migration Projects of the Open Society Institute were established to monitor circumstances in different regions of the world in order to provide the international community with early warning of forced movements of people, as well as to identify the social, economic, and political conditions which cause such displacements. The Projects encourage early and effective humanitarian responses to migration emergencies; advocate the humane treatment of those unable to return; urge permanent solutions for those displaced; and promote measures that avert individuals' need to flee. The Projects gather information concerning displacements and the circumstances that motivate them, concentrating primarily on the countries of the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, and the Americas.

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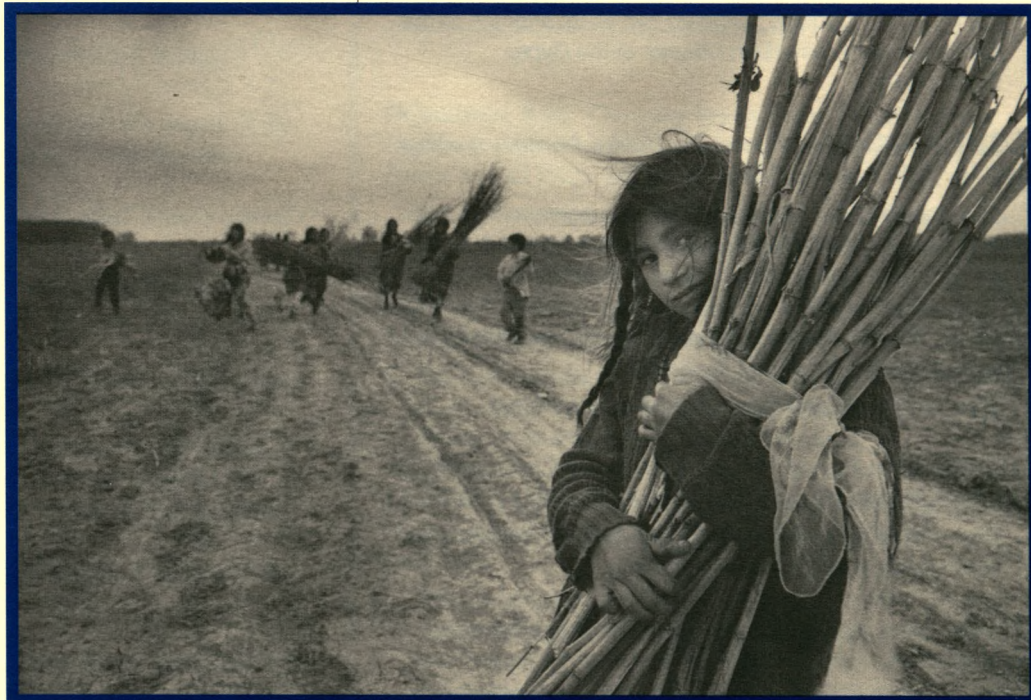
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WHAT IS THE OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE?

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