

The PROJECT ON ETHNIC RELATIONS (PER) was founded in 1991 in anticipation of the serious interethnic conflicts that were to erupt following the collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. PER conducts programs of intervention and dialogue and has served as a neutral mediator in several major disputes in the region. PER also conducts programs of training, education, and research at international, national, and community levels.

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# BULLETIN

PREVENTING INTERETHNIC CONFLICTS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION  
NUMBER 15 SPRING 2000

## ALBANIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

The Project on Ethnic Relations held a landmark conference that tackled the most explosive ethno-political issue in the Balkans—the situation of the Albanians and their relationship with their neighbors.

The meeting in Budapest, Hungary, on April 7 - 8, brought together almost every senior Albanian politician from Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro with their counterparts from Macedonia, Bulgaria, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Romania, and Serbia-Montenegro. Serbia was represented by leaders of the democratic opposition from Belgrade and leaders of the Kosovar Serb community. Senior officials from the United States, the Council of Europe, the Southeast Europe Stability Pact, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations, the European Union, and NATO also attended.

Participants addressed three main problems. First, they asked the Albanian leadership to clarify its position on the idea of a "Greater Albania." Albanian leaders flatly rejected the notion, but they defended building active ties among all the Albanian populations in the region. Second, participants looked at the interethnic situation in Montenegro and Macedonia. Ethnic Albanians currently participate in the governing coalitions, but demands by the Albanians for special status could upset these arrangements.

A third issue—the current and future status of Kosovo and its impact on the politics of the region—dominated the discussion. It also reflected the sharpest divisions. Kosovar Albanian leaders were unanimous in their insistence on full and early separation from Serbia and Yugoslavia. They advocated sovereignty and independence—a position supported by the Albanian leadership of Macedonia. Kosovar Serbs vehemently opposed any separation. And most neighbors and representatives of the international community were either against any change of borders, or reserved about making any decision in the foreseeable future.



From left to right: Ibrahim Rugova, Skender Hyseni, Bobi Bobev, Hashim Thaci, Martin Ivezaj, Miodrag Vukovic.

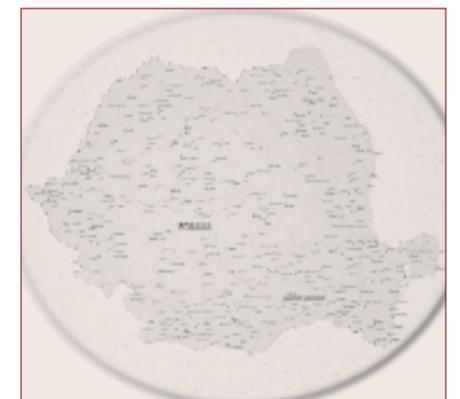
The crisis in Kosovo is the most dramatic manifestation of a deeper regional problem: the uncertainty of how Albanians and their neighbors will accommodate to changing demographic and political realities throughout the region. The Albanians are eager to find political and state vehicles that will embody their national aspirations.

Despite their differences, all participants agreed that the main obstacle to peace in the Balkans is the Milosevic

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***With membership to the European Union and NATO a much sought-after objective, ROMANIA must maintain good interethnic relations.***



For PER's programs on the upcoming national and local electoral campaigns in Romania, see page 3.

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## PRESIDENT'S REPORT



Ten years after the end of Communism, Europe has finally reached a consensus on the fundamental importance of managing its interethnic relations on a peaceful and fair basis. Interethnic accord has become a requirement for entry into the European Union and NATO, as well as for good standing within the Council of Europe. These values also have strong backing from the United States.

The next challenge is to create and institutionalize arrangements that will make ethnic accord possible—a process that will surely be more difficult than the first, declaratory phase. Even without the burdens of healing the wounds left from the ethnic wars fought in Kosovo, Croatia, and Bosnia, we are faced with a fundamental dilemma. A civic solution—one that emphasizes democratic procedures but ignores ethnicity—may not sufficiently take into account the cultural and political aspirations of large minorities. But approaches that are driven by ethnic-based arrangements can, paradoxically, exaggerate the very divisions that create interethnic tensions in the first place, especially if some in the majority feel threatened by the idea of special treatment for minorities. (Consider the affirmative action debate in the United States.)

We should not be misled by apparently successful experiences in Slovenia and Hungary, where the minority populations typically are small enough not to be politically salient, and where it is therefore easier to appear generous. (As always, the Roma are an exception.)

A more serious test is going on in Romania with its ethnic Hungarian minority. Of all the countries in the region with significant majority/minority issues, Romania has been by far the most successful. It now boasts an interethnic governing coalition. (Slovakia has also succeeded in putting together an interethnic coalition, but the real debate about Slovak-Hungarian relations is just beginning.) Despite Romania's achievement, there will be a long-term struggle for comparative advantage, as illustrated by the unresolved, symbol-laden debate about whether to establish a Hungarian university in that country.

The difficulties in achieving ethnic peace will be far

greater in countries with large Albanian populations. Witness the Kosovo trauma, the fragility of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Albania itself; and, of course, shifting demography. If we are fortunate, the entire region will find various forms of accommodation. If not, there could be chronic, low-level violence (or more wars)

in the Balkans, a breakdown of interethnic political coalitions in Romania and Slovakia, and backsliding in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

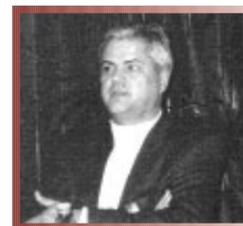
Many politicians cite European integration as the answer to ethnic divisions, claiming that borders and boundaries will become less relevant in the years to come. But this advantage is more likely to concern economic, monetary, trade and transport matters than the deeply symbolic values of language, culture, and identity. Indeed, invoking the European future can be a way of evading today's ethnic questions. "Europe" can provide a good framework for aspirations, and it can discipline those who fail, but it does not, cannot, and will not provide standard solutions for interethnic problems. It will be up to each country to invent its own institutions.

So, having achieved its first breakthrough in endorsing universal, interethnic amity, Europe now faces the more difficult challenge of inventing ways to achieve it. This is basically a political task, and we shall soon see whether our political systems are up to it. The United States, which many count on to provide diplomatic and military resources when ethnic violence breaks out, is also a participant and stakeholder in this difficult process.

This is the urgency that defines PER's mission. The intensive political roundtables, consultations, and other activities described in this newsletter are all aimed at finding those solutions. ■

Allen H. Kassof

## ROMANIA



Adrian Nastase



Gyorgy Frunda, Bela Marko



Teodor Melescanu



Valeriu Stoica, Zoe Petre

### Keeping Campaign Rhetoric on the High Road

With hotly contested national elections due this autumn in Romania, ethnic issues—especially between the Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority—are likely to play a role. The ethnic Hungarian party is a member of the current ruling coalition, making the party, and the Hungarian minority, tempting targets.

In an effort to persuade the candidates and their parties not to spoil Romania's progress in interethnic relations, PER organized a meeting in Poiana Brasov, Romania, on February 12 – 13. The meeting addressed the problem of campaign rhetoric during the upcoming election campaign.

Members of the principal parliamentary parties, including the two mainstream opposition parties, spent two days in intensive discussions, together with foreign guests. All the participants agreed to refrain from exploiting interethnic issues in the upcoming national campaign.

Conferees also evaluated the contribution of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) to the ruling coalition over the past three years. Participants unanimously acknowledged the professionalism of UDMR politicians and officials. Even more striking, opposition party participants stated that, if they win the elections, they would seriously consider including Hungarians as participants in a coalition government.

The goodwill exhibited at the meeting testifies to the participants' understanding of just how much their actions affect the position of Romania in the international arena. With membership to the European Union (EU) and NATO a much sought-after objective, Romania must maintain good interethnic relations. Moreover, while Romania may trail some of its neighbors in economic advances, it can point to its progress in interethnic relations.

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### Meanwhile, the Local Elections...

PER is also focusing on Romania's local elections, which are scheduled for this spring, before autumn's national vote. In Tirgu Mures, Transylvania—where most of Romania's Hungarian population live—PER's office there brought together leaders of the local political parties and the media to address the question of campaign rhetoric. At the full-day meeting on March 11, participants agreed that whether the country succumbs to nationalistic tendencies will be determined to a large extent by the political climate created by the politicians and the media. ■

### The Media: Face-to-Face

Romanian journalists are being introduced to a region of their own country that they rarely visit: the Hungarian communities of Transylvania. PER organized two on-site visits in September and December 1999, for journalists from leading daily newspapers and television stations in Bucharest. Accompanied by PER staff from Bucharest and Tirgu Mures, they traveled to this ethnically diverse region for discussions with ethnic Hungarian political and community leaders. The journalists have asked PER to organize a third visit, planned for May. ■

### Text of the Poiana Brasov Agreement

The political leaders of the main democratic parties from Romania (PNTCD, PNL, PD, UDMR, PDSR, ApR) met in Poiana Brasov, on February 10 - 12, 2000, to discuss "The Impact of the Electoral Year 2000 on the Status of Minorities and the European Integration of Romania" in a seminar organized by the Project on Ethnic Relations (PER). The participants put a special emphasis on maintaining and improving the peaceful coexistence between majority and minority. There is a danger that certain extremist forces, which do not have adequate social programs, could aggravate the interethnic situation in order to profit in the elections. The participants agreed that their respective parties would continue to support interethnic collaboration, the integration into Euro-Atlantic structures and to condemn aggressive, nationalist discourse. At the same time, the participants noted that in the upcoming electoral campaign, the democratic parties should respect a set of rules. For example, the focus of debate should be on concepts and programs, and not on individuals. In addition, they emphasized that the tone of the electoral campaign should illustrate Romanian society's orientation toward integration into the European Union and NATO.

## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

**Opposition and Minorities Debate  
Vojvodina**

Among Serbia's many woes, the breakdown of traditional interethnic relations in Vojvodina has gone almost unnoticed as the world focused on the wars with Croatia, and in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Vojvodina, an autonomous province of Serbia, has a multiethnic population. In addition to a Serb majority, it has a sizeable number of ethnic Hungarians, Romanians, Croats, Ruthenians, Roma, and other minorities. Before the dictatorship of Slobodan Milosevic, Vojvodina enjoyed a working relationship among all the ethnic groups in the province. Laws were enforced to guarantee the multiethnic character of the province. These arrangements have all but collapsed under Milosevic's rule.

As minorities have lost civil rights, national tensions have grown. Hungarians and other minorities in Vojvodina are seeking to regain political and administrative autonomy for Vojvodina and to expand the role of ethnic self-government in a post-Milosevic Serbia. (The Serbs of Vojvodina favor regional autonomy as well.) Unlike the Kosovar Albanians, the Hungarians of Vojvodina have repeatedly expressed their preference for living within a democratic Yugoslavia. Their watchword is self-government, not secession.

PER organized two meetings on this subject with leaders of the Serbian democratic opposition parties and the Vojvodina minorities: in Vienna, on September 23 - 25, 1999, and in Athens, on February 14 - 15, 2000, where participants hammered out agreements on political cooper-



Tahir Hasanovic, Predrag Simic, Milan Mikovic.

ation between opposition Serbs and ethnic minorities. They also charted a course for interethnic relations in a post-Milosevic Vojvodina. The Vienna meeting had failed to produce a unified position—the Serbian Renewal Movement, a major opposition party led by Vuk Draskovic, agreed on the restoration of regional autonomy but would not endorse ethnic self-government. But at the second round in Athens, the parties crafted a document to which all the parties subscribed. It includes a proposal to create national councils to represent ethnic minorities at all state levels.

In return, the Vojvodina minorities pledged to cooperate with the Serbian democratic opposition in upcoming elections in Serbia. The willingness of the Serbian opposition to take up this problem even while Milosevic still rules is highly significant. ■

**Participants and Observers in Vienna and Athens:** Andras Agoston, president, Hungarian Democratic Party of Vojvodina; Gordana Anicic, member, Yugoslav Federal Assembly; member, presidency of Serbian Renewal Movement; Nenad Canak, president, League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina; Jon Cizmas, president, Union of Romanians in Yugoslavia; Ivan Djordjevic, chief of staff, New Democracy Party; Ilija Djukic, member, Main Board, Democratic Party; Emil Fejzulahi, vice president, League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina; Nicolae Gheorghie, adviser on Roma and Sinti Issues, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; Alex Grigor'ev, program officer, Project on Ethnic Relations; Tahir Hasanovic, secretary general, New Democratic Party; member, Executive Board, Coalition Dan; Dragar Hiber, vice president, Civic Alliance of Serbia; Miodrag Isakov, president, Vojvodina Reform Democratic Party; Dejan Janca, professor of Law; member, presidency of Vojvodina Reform Democratic Party; Dusan Janjic, director, Forum for Ethnic Relations; Laszlo Jozsa, vice president, Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians; Allen Kassof, president, Project on Ethnic Relations; Jozsef Kasza, mayor, Subotica; president, Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians; Milan Komnenic, head, Serbian Renewal Movement Group, Yugoslav Federal Assembly; vice president, Serbian Renewal Movement; Zarko Korac, coordinator, Alliance of Democratic Parties; president, Social Democratic Union; Zoran Lutovac, chairman, Committee for Ethnic Minorities, Democratic Party; member, Main Board, Democratic Party; Ferenc Melykuti, representative in Hungary, Project on Ethnic Relations; Milan Mikovic, member, Presidency, Serbian Renewal Movement; head, Serbian Renewal Movement Group, National Assembly of Serbia; Dragoljub Micunovic, president, Party of the Democratic Center; Dusan Mihajlovic, president, New Democracy Party; Sandor Pall, president, Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians; Livia Plaks, executive director, Project on Ethnic Relations; Predrag Simic, foreign policy adviser to the president, Serbian Renewal Movement; Hannes Swoboda, vice chairman, Commission on Southeastern Europe, European Parliament; Bela Tonkovic, president, Democratic League of Croats in Vojvodina; Tibor Varady, professor, Central European University, former minister of justice, F.R.Y.; Slobodan Vuckovic, chairman, International Affairs Committee, Party of Democratic Center.



Dusan Janjic, Tibor Varady, Laszlo Jozsa, Jozsef Kasza.

**Montenegro on the Brink:  
Avoiding Another Yugoslav War**

The next political beachhead in the Balkans may very well be in Montenegro.

The world has been following the struggle between the Milosevic government in Serbia and Montenegro, the smaller republic that, together with Serbia, makes up present-day Yugoslavia. Milosevic, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), has imposed economic sanctions against Montenegro and ordered increased military activity at the Montenegrin border. Milo Djukanovic, the Western-oriented, democratic president of Montenegro, has publicly accused Milosevic of employing the federal army to overthrow him.

In an address—given at a PER-organized meeting held in Budva, Montenegro, on December 3 - 4, 1999—President Djukanovic reiterated his position that Montenegro is considering how to redefine its fundamental relationship with Serbia.

Some 40 participants at the Budva meeting—including leading officials and policymakers from Montenegro, Albania, Croatia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, the United States, Italy, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and the United Nations, as well as the Serbian opposition—addressed the issue of Montenegro's role in the western Balkans and the potential for Montenegro's secession from Yugoslavia.



Milo Djukanovic, Livia Plaks, Kiro Gligorov, Allen Kassof.

President Djukanovic opened the meeting, stating Montenegro's preference for remaining part of Yugoslavia, subject to adjustments in constitutional arrangements. But he emphasized that the ongoing crisis in Serbia was imposing grave problems on Montenegro. One way out of these problems, President Djukanovic said, was separation and independence.

Reaction among the participants to a possible bid for independence was varied. Kiro Gligorov, former president of Macedonia, provided a personal perspective about how Macedonia had separated from the old Yugoslavia. While he recognized some comparable issues, he urged caution. Foreign participants also preferred a slow approach. They expressed concern that independence could not only produce unrest within Montenegro, but could destabilize the region as a whole. Most participants from the Serbian opposition were opposed to any bid for independence. Instead, they urged cooperation in the fight against Milosevic and reform of the federation.

Inevitably, the discussion turned to Kosovo. The fear was that Montenegrin independence would give credence to similar claims from Kosovo, which would, in turn, have repercussions in Macedonia.

Participants at the meeting also considered Montenegro's management of interethnic relations, especially with its Albanian minority. Even though they praised Montenegro's open-arms policy of receiving Kosovar Albanian refugees and applauded advancements in social policies, the discussion made clear that the interethnic situation in Montenegro is fraught with potential problems if left unresolved. And these problems will only grow more difficult if attention to the political crisis between Montenegro and Serbia takes precedence.

**Participants Republic of Albania:** Sokol Dervishi, deputy director, Regional Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Pellumb Xhufi, deputy minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina:** Jadranko Prlic, minister of Foreign Affairs; **Republic of Bulgaria:** Veselin Nikolaev, director, Division of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Republic of Croatia:** Josip Paro, assistant foreign minister;

*President Djukanovic reiterated his position that Montenegro is considering how to redefine its fundamental relationship with Serbia.*

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## MONTENEGRO *continued from page 5*

**Republic of Hungary:** Klara Beuer, head, Department for Human Rights and Minority Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **State of Israel:** Arie Nadler, director, Peres Institute for Diplomacy and Regional Cooperation; **Italian Republic:** Alessandro Silj, secretary general, Italian Council for the Social Sciences; Roberto Toscano, director, Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **[Former Yugoslav] Republic of Macedonia:** Kiro Gligorov, former president of Macedonia; Mirce Tomovski, coordinator, International Network for Ethnic Relations in Southeastern Europe; **Romania:** Adrian Severin, member, Parliament of Romania; former deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; **United States of America:** Steven Burg, professor, Brandeis University; Thomas Countryman, director, Southeast European Affairs, State Department; Alex Grigor'ev, program officer, Project on Ethnic Relations; Allen Kassof, president, Project on Ethnic Relations; Livia Plaks, executive director, Project on Ethnic Relations; John Scanlan, member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord; former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia; Walter Viers, associate program officer, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; Susan Woodward, senior research fellow, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London; **Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Republic of Montenegro:** Dragisa Burzan, deputy prime minister, Government of Montenegro; Srđjan Darmanovic, director, Center for Democracy and Human Rights; Ferhat Dinosh, member, Parliament of Montenegro; Milo Djukanovic, president of Montenegro; Bozidar Jaredic, secretary of information, Government of Montenegro; Novak Kilibarda, deputy prime minister, Government of Montenegro; Slavica Milacic, deputy foreign minister; Branko Perovic, minister of foreign affairs; Milan Rocen, foreign policy adviser to the president of Montenegro; Orhan Sahmanovic, deputy minister, Ministry for the Protection of Rights of Persons Belonging to National and Ethnic Minorities; Neda Sindik, public relations officer, Ministry for the Protection of Rights of Persons Belonging to National and Ethnic Minorities; Dragan Soc, minister of justice; Miodrag Vukovic, chairman, Executive Board, Democratic Party of Socialists; adviser on constitutional and legal issues to the president of Montenegro; chairman, Committee on Political System, Justice, and Administration, Parliament of Montenegro; Ranko Vukovic, director, Center for Tolerance; **Republic of Serbia:** Dragoslav Avramovic, former governor, National Bank of Yugoslavia; Alliance for Change; Tahir Hasanovic, secretary general, New Democracy Party; Istvan Ispanovics, vice president, Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina; Dusan Janjic, director, Forum for Ethnic Relations; Rasim Ljajic, president, Coalition for Sandzak; Dragoljub Micunovic, president, Party of Democratic Center; Predrag Simic, adviser to the president, Serbian Renewal Movement; Goran Svilanovic, president, Civic Alliance of Serbia; Slobodan Vuksanovic, vice president, Democratic Party; **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe:** Julian Peel Yates, head of OSCE/ODIHR Office in Montenegro; **United Nations:** Vera Mehta, senior political officer, United Nations Liaison Office in F.R.Y. ■

## ROMANI NEWS

### *Roma and the Law: Demythologizing the "Gypsy Criminality" Stereotype*

After years of being denied ethnic status, Romani leaders are still wrestling with the issue of ethnic identity. In so doing, they find themselves dealing with common stereotypes, none more damaging than the concept of "Gypsy criminality." "Gypsy criminality" is often cited as justification for hostility toward the Roma, and its usage condemns the overwhelming majority of law-abiding Roma.

The issue of "Gypsy criminality" is further complicated by the fact that many Romani leaders have shied away from the matter, in part because they fear that discussing the topic legitimizes the stereotype.

*The media, the police, and dubious crime statistics on the Roma play a key role in perpetuating this stereotype [of "Gypsy Criminality"].*

Members of the Romani leadership decided to face the issue head-on at a PER-organized meeting in Paris, on October 7 – 8, 1999. Titled, "Roma and the Law," the forum was launched in cooperation with the Council of Europe. It tackled the question of whether Romani populations really display higher rates of crime, or are victims of stereotyping and discrimination.

Participants agreed that the media, the police, and dubious crime statistics on the Roma play a key role in perpetuating this stereotype. These factors—coupled with inflated figures regarding numbers of asylum-seekers—currently shape many government reactions.

Efforts to obtain a balanced picture of the myth of "Gypsy criminality" are extremely difficult. The task of collecting crime statistics requires more funds and expertise than are readily available in the countries that are most affected. In addition, the psychological and political sensitivities that the Roma have regarding compiling "Gypsy criminality" statistics further complicate the situation. The Roma claim that current crime statistics single out only the Roma as opposed to other ethnic groups. And they can hardly forget the memories of the pseudo-scientific research cited by the Nazis as a pretext for extermination of the Roma.

A May meeting, co-organized with the Council of Europe, continued the discussion, focusing on statistical evaluations. ■



PER report, "Roma and the Law: Demythologizing the Gypsy Criminality Stereotype," written by Andrzej Mirga, chair of PERRAC.

### *Roma and Migration*

The migration of the Roma is having repercussions at home and abroad. Central and Eastern European countries applying for admission to the European Union (EU) must demonstrate that they are trying to improve the lot of the Romani minority. But when Roma leave these countries to ask for asylum in Western Europe, it sends a signal that not enough is being done. Although the Roma are only a fraction of those seeking asylum, their poverty and the visibility of their lifestyles quickly arouse popular hostility. Some governments have imposed visa requirements on all citizens from several countries from which the Roma are coming—leading to diplomatic tensions for which the Roma are blamed.

Politicians and Romani leaders in Slovakia addressed this complex problem at a PER-organized, two-day roundtable on March 13 – 14. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) cooperated, as well. Participants also looked at the larger sociological issue: Why are the Roma leaving in such large numbers? Participants from international organizations and governmental institutions



Marek Balaz and Anna Koptova, participants at migration meeting.

presented statistical and legal information. Reports on skinhead violence against the Roma, Romani unemployment rates, and lack of education, confirmed the pattern of socioeconomic marginalization of the Roma in Slovakia. (The conferees noted, however, that a more comprehensive system for collecting and evaluating social data is needed.) Further discussion examined the legal definitions and jurisdictions regarding asylum-seekers, as well as the new restrictions imposed by Western European countries. Participants concluded that Western

Europe's negative response further alienates the Roma at home and abroad.

Romani participants met by themselves on the second day and agreed to draft a document defining the Roma's position on migration. Issued in April, "The Memorandum of the Working Group of the Roma from Slovakia on the Migration of the Roma" states, "The emigration of Roma from Slovakia is due to the lack of protection for their human rights." It asserts that Roma who have moved to the West fulfill the legal requirements for seeking asylum. The document condemns the culture of violence that threatens the Roma's existence in Slovakia, and takes the EU countries to task for ignoring the policies of international law. ■

### *Displaced Kosovar Roma Face Uncertain Future*

The war in Kosovo has left many Roma displaced in Macedonia. The question is, what now? Caught between the hatred of the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo—who accuse the Roma of participating with the Serbs in atrocities against them—and the insistence of Macedonia that the Roma must return, the Roma from Kosovo have reason to fear for their future.

In the fall of 1999, PER met in Macedonia with Romani leaders representing 3,000 refugees housed in a camp near Skopje, and talked with leaders of the Macedonian Romani community who are trying to help those in the camp. PER also contacted the OSCE office in Pristina, which is attempting to aid the Roma remaining in Kosovo. In February, Andrzej Mirga, chair of the Project on Ethnic Relations Romani Advisory Council (PERRAC) testified at the U.S. Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Mirga said that moderate forces within the ethnic Albanian leadership in Kosovo should be encouraged, but he considered it unlikely that displaced Roma would voluntarily return to Kosovo under present conditions. ■

### *Tackling Romani Issues at the National Level*

The challenges of dealing with Romani issues at a national level are great; but so are the potential rewards. Improving the economic and educational standards of the Roma not only serves their needs, but—by increasing the number of educated members of the workforce—strengthens the national economy. And the successful implementation of such programs can help speed up entrance into the European Union (EU).

PER has been helping to formulate national strategies in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia. In the last few months, PER has focused its efforts in Hungary and Romania.

In December 1999, PER sponsored a workshop assessing Hungary's mid-term government program for the Roma. The National Roma Self-Government of Hungary also contributed to organizing the meeting.

Members of the Hungarian government and Hungarian political parties, Romani leaders, and EU officials evaluated the mid-term package, which had been worked out by the government

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## IN BRIEF

**Balancing History, Building Interethnic Bridges**

More accurate history textbooks can change the future in Central and Eastern Europe.

For the past two years, PER has orchestrated initiatives in Romania, the Balkans, and most recently in Slovakia to revise history textbooks in secondary educational institutions. Emphasis has been placed on including information about minorities in the countries and presenting information in an unbiased manner. (In all cases, PER involved high-level educational officials.)

The results are particularly striking in Romania. PER organized two meetings in 1998 and 1999 (in Poiana Brasov and Tirgu Mures) at which education experts worked out major textbook revisions. After the Poiana Brasov meeting, the Ministry of Education adopted a new history curriculum for high school students; following the second gathering, it approved the use of several new alternative history textbooks. Follow-up evaluations and monitoring are planned.

The work in Slovakia builds on these activities. In April, PER's office in Bratislava organized a meeting to expedite a national history project. Historians, ethnic Slovak and Hungarian history teachers from Slovakia, and Hungarian teachers from Hungary analyzed the textbooks presently used in both countries, and they assessed possible government cooperation in implementing educational changes. ■



Students in Romania are using these alternative history textbooks in Romanian and Hungarian. ■

#### ROMANI ISSUES *continued from page 7*

in cooperation with the Romani community. The package aims to decrease social inequities, minimize discrimination, and strengthen Romani culture. Different ministries are assigned responsibilities and deadlines. Their tasks include improving education from the primary level through college; establishing Romani community houses to foster Romani culture; and providing employment and development opportunities. Other areas deal with healthcare, housing, and awareness-raising/training programs for the majority population.

To encourage the successful completion of these goals, the meeting called for annual action plans as well as sufficient budgets that would reflect real political will on the part of the government. Participants called for improvements from both sides in relations between Romani self-government organizations and the government. They also stressed the importance of the Roma as partners in the implementation of the measures.

Work at the national level is going on in Romania, as well. Following a PER-organized meeting in March, the Department for the Protection of Ethnic Minorities (DPMN) and the Working Group of Roma Associations or GLAR issued a joint memorandum. (Formed in January 1999, GLAR is an advisory group to the DPMN on Romani issues in Romania.) It emphasized the partnership between the government and GLAR in forming a national strategy that denounces all forms of discrimination against the Roma. The memorandum calls for the development of a mid-term national strategy—with a November deadline—and proposes allocating budgetary funds. The memorandum has been forwarded to the Prime Minister of Romania.

The DPMN and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) helped to organize the conference. ■

**Helping Chechen Children Cope in the Aftermath of War**

The most tragic victims of the war in Chechnya are the children.

As part of a post-war reconciliation effort to aid Chechen school children, PER is helping to support the Moscow-based Fund for the Humanitarian Assistance to Chechnya. PER Executive Director Livia Plaks serves on the board. The Moscow Academy of Social and Pedagogical Sciences is also providing support.

Under the leadership of Valery Tishkov—president of the Academy and director of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences and member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord—the Fund has already shipped books to Chechen school libraries destroyed in the war. It also organized a week-long seminar for 30 Chechen teachers in Moscow. Working with educators and experts in the field of psychological trauma, the participants learned about methodologies for helping children cope with post-traumatic stress syndrome. They visited two Moscow schools and met with the minister of education. Plans are currently underway to assist in reestablishing the national library of Chechnya. Two Chechen assistants—Dr. Kheda Abdulaeva and Zaurbek Gakaev—are helping to facilitate these efforts. ■



Chechen teachers at the Mozdok railroad station waiting to take a train to Moscow. ■

**Community Policing Workshops for Hungarian Police**

Leaders from the Hungarian National Police (HNP) continue to work on improving police and ethnic minority relations in Hungary. At workshops on community policing, held on May 24 and 28, 1999 in Budapest, trainers from the Department of Justice Administration, Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville, Kentucky provided instruction on establishing police and community partnerships and securing improved relations between the police and ethnic minorities. Presentations by police and Romani community leaders from Nograd County, Hungary also highlighted the success of community-policing techniques in that region. The sessions were the culmination of a two-year program organized by the University of Louisville, the U.S. Department of State, the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, the HNP, and PER. ■

**International Consultation**

PER officials are continuing their consultations in Brussels and Strasbourg with international leaders about interethnic issues and regional security. In January, Allen Kassof, president of PER, and Livia Plaks, executive director, consulted with leaders from the European Commission and the Southeast Europe Stability Pact and met with NATO secretary general Lord Robertson and Council of Europe general secretary Walter Schwimmer. They discussed PER cooperation with these institutions and assessed the political situation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. ■

**Council of Europe Meetings**

Executive Director Livia Plaks and Andrzej Mirga, chair of the PER Romani Advisory Council (PERRAC) and co-chair of the Council of Europe Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies, participated in meetings of the Specialist Group at the Council of Europe in April. Plaks also met with the leaders of the Council of Europe's Section on Education and outlined PER's projects on history textbooks to section head Klaus Schuman, and his colleagues. ■

ALBANIANS:  
*continued from page 1*



Participants at the meeting "Albanians and Their Neighbors" included from left to right: Momcilo Trajkovic, Hidajet Hyseni.

ambassador to Albania; Carl Siebentritt, first secretary, State Department Advance Team in Kosovo; Susan Woodward, member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord; senior research fellow, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London; **Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Republic of Montenegro:** Ferhat Dinosa, member, Parliament of Montenegro; Martin Ivezaj, member, Committee on Constitutional Issues, Parliament of Montenegro; member, Executive Board, Democratic Party of Socialists; Miodrag Vukovic, chairman, Executive Board, Democratic Party of Socialists; adviser on constitutional and legal issues to the president of Montenegro; chairman, Committee on Political System, Justice, and Administration, Parliament of Montenegro; **Republic of Serbia:** Vladan Batic, coordinator, Alliance for Change; president, Christian Democratic Party of Serbia; Tahir Hasanovic, member, Executive Council, Dan Coalition; secretary general, New Democracy Party; Dusan Janjic, member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord; director, Forum for Ethnic Relations; Gaso Knezevic, member, Main Board, Civic Alliance of Serbia; Zarko Korac, coordinator, Alliance of Democratic Parties; president, Social Democratic Union; Djordje Stojiljkovic, secretary, Christian Democratic Party of Serbia; **Kosova:** Hidajet Hyseni, vice president, Albanian Democratic Movement; Skender Hyseni, political adviser to the president, Democratic League of Kosova; Stojan Jovanovic, member, Executive Board, Serb National Council; Ibrahim Rugova, president, Democratic League of Kosova; Bilal Sherifi, adviser to the president, Party of Democratic Progress of Kosova; Veton Surroi, editor-in-chief, *Koha Ditore*; Hashim Thaci, president, Party of Democratic Progress of Kosova; Momcilo Trajkovic, president, Executive Board, Serb National Council; **Carnegie Corporation of New York:** Stephen J. Del Rosso, Jr., senior program officer; **Council of Europe:** Andras Barsony, rapporteur on the Southeast Europe Stability Pact, Parliamentary Assembly; **European Union:** David Daly, delegation in Hungary, European Commission; **Italian Social Sciences Council:** Alessandro Silj, secretary general; **North Atlantic Treaty Organization:** Andrew Dolan, director, Institute for International Policy Development; Christopher Donnelly, special adviser for Central and Eastern European Affairs, Office of the Secretary General; **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe:** Gert Ahrens, ambassador; head, OSCE Mission in Tirana; **Project on Ethnic Relations (USA):** Alex Grigor'ev, program officer; Allen Kassof, president; Livia Plaks, executive director; **Project on Ethnic Relations Romani Advisory Council:** Andrzej Mirga, chair; co-chair, Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies, Council of Europe; **Southeast Europe Stability Pact:** Donald Kursch, deputy special coordinator.

regime. That senior leaders of three out of four Serbian opposition alliances and the leaders of the Serb community from Kosovo chose to participate testifies to the gathering's significance. All the participants have urged PER to sustain this complex dialogue. ■

#### Participants

**Republic of Albania:** Paskal Milo, minister of foreign affairs; Fatos Nano, chairman; Socialist Party; Adhurim Resuli, ambassador to Hungary; Mirosh Sako, director, Regional Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Republic of Bulgaria:** Bobi Bobev, ambassador to Albania; **Hellenic Republic:** Evangelos Kofos, Balkan area senior adviser, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy; Alexandros Mallias, ambassador to Albania; Alex Rondos, special adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Michael Spinellis, director, South Eastern Europe Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; **Republic of Hungary:** Gabor Bagi, deputy state secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Janos Hovari, head of department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Rudolf Joo, deputy state secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Csaba Lorincz, head of department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ferenc Melykuti, director, Project on Ethnic Relations Office in Hungary; Istvan Simicsko, deputy chairman, Defense Committee, Parliament of Hungary; deputy head of the Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party Faction; Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Parliament of Hungary; **Italian Republic:** Demetrio Volcic, senator; member, Foreign Affairs Committee, Italian Senate; **[Former Yugoslav] Republic of Macedonia:** Jordan Boshkov, chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, Parliament; Imer Imeri, president, Party for Democratic Prosperity; Mirce Tomovski, coordinator, International Network for Ethnic Relations in Southeastern Europe; Arben Xhaferi, president, Democratic Party of Albanians; **Romania:** Gheorghe Magheru, director, Relations with Candidate Countries to EU, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dan Pavel, director, Project on Ethnic Relations Office in Romania; **Slovak Republic:** Eduard Kukan, minister of foreign affairs of Slovakia; special envoy for the Balkans of the United Nations Secretary General; **United States of America:** Thomas Countryman, director, Office of South Central European Affairs, Department of State; Laura Kirkconnell, deputy chief of mission, Embassy in Skopje; Joseph Limprecht, ambassador to Albania; Carl Siebentritt, first secretary, State Department Advance Team in Kosovo; Susan Woodward, member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord; senior research fellow, Center for Defence Studies, King's College, University of London; **Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Republic of Montenegro:** Ferhat Dinosa, member, Parliament of Montenegro; Martin Ivezaj, member, Committee on Constitutional Issues, Parliament of Montenegro; member, Executive Board, Democratic Party of Socialists; Miodrag Vukovic, chairman, Executive Board, Democratic Party of Socialists; adviser on constitutional and legal issues to the president of Montenegro; chairman, Committee on Political System, Justice, and Administration, Parliament of Montenegro; **Republic of Serbia:** Vladan Batic, coordinator, Alliance for Change; president, Christian Democratic Party of Serbia; Tahir Hasanovic, member, Executive Council, Dan Coalition; secretary general, New Democracy Party; Dusan Janjic, member, PER Council for Ethnic Accord; director, Forum for Ethnic Relations; Gaso Knezevic, member, Main Board, Civic Alliance of Serbia; Zarko Korac, coordinator, Alliance of Democratic Parties; president, Social Democratic Union; Djordje Stojiljkovic, secretary, Christian Democratic Party of Serbia; **Kosova:** Hidajet Hyseni, vice president, Albanian Democratic Movement; Skender Hyseni, political adviser to the president, Democratic League of Kosova; Stojan Jovanovic, member, Executive Board, Serb National Council; Ibrahim Rugova, president, Democratic League of Kosova; Bilal Sherifi, adviser to the president, Party of Democratic Progress of Kosova; Veton Surroi, editor-in-chief, *Koha Ditore*; Hashim Thaci, president, Party of Democratic Progress of Kosova; Momcilo Trajkovic, president, Executive Board, Serb National Council; **Carnegie Corporation of New York:** Stephen J. Del Rosso, Jr., senior program officer; **Council of Europe:** Andras Barsony, rapporteur on the Southeast Europe Stability Pact, Parliamentary Assembly; **European Union:** David Daly, delegation in Hungary, European Commission; **Italian Social Sciences Council:** Alessandro Silj, secretary general; **North Atlantic Treaty Organization:** Andrew Dolan, director, Institute for International Policy Development; Christopher Donnelly, special adviser for Central and Eastern European Affairs, Office of the Secretary General; **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe:** Gert Ahrens, ambassador; head, OSCE Mission in Tirana; **Project on Ethnic Relations (USA):** Alex Grigor'ev, program officer; Allen Kassof, president; Livia Plaks, executive director; **Project on Ethnic Relations Romani Advisory Council:** Andrzej Mirga, chair; co-chair, Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies, Council of Europe; **Southeast Europe Stability Pact:** Donald Kursch, deputy special coordinator.

## Press Coverage

Extensive press coverage by American and European wire services, as well as newspapers in the region, underscored the importance of the "Albanians and Their Neighbors" meeting.

**Hashim Thaci, president of the Party of Democratic Progress of Kosova, former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army:**

*"The most significant feature of the Budapest roundtable was that we sat together with the Serb representatives from Kosovo. ... We should have events such as this take place more often. Resolutions will be more easily achieved if we get to know each other better."* (from the Hungarian newspaper *Nepszabadsag*)

**Zarko Korac, leader of one of the four Serbian democratic opposition alliances:**

*"For the first time, the solution to the Albanian question in the Balkans is being discussed on a region-wide basis, with all the participants."* (from *Danas*, a major Serbian democratic newspaper)

ROMANIA  
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Many factors have contributed to this development, including PER's role in fostering interethnic dialogue over the past 10 years. And PER's work continues. As follow-up to the February meeting, PER is monitoring campaign speeches and media coverage of the national election through its offices in Romania. ■

**Participants:** **Christian Democratic National Peasant Party (PNTCD):** Mihai Gheorghiu, MP; Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni, vice president; MP; president, House Committee for the Control of the Romanian Service of Information; Ioan Avram Muresan, prime vice president; minister of agriculture; MP; Gabriel Tepelea, MP; president, House Committee for Media and Culture; former prime vice president; **National Liberal Party (PNL):** Valeriu Stoica, vice president, minister of justice; Mona Musca, MP; **Democratic Party (PD):** Mariana Stoica, MP; **Democratic Union of Hungarians from Romania (UDMR):** Laszlo Borbely, secretary of state, Ministry for Public Works and Territory; Peter Eckstein-Kovacs, minister for national minorities; senator; Gyorgy Frunda, senator; Lazar Madaras, vice president, executive presidium; Bela Marko, president; senator; Attila Verestoy, senator; leader of senate UDMR group; **Party of Social Democracy in Romania (PDSR):** Liviu Maior, senator; former minister of education; Adrian Nastase, first vice president; MP; former minister of foreign affairs; former president, House of Deputies; Ioan Mircea Pascu, vice president; MP; president, House Defense Committee; former state secretary of defense; **Alliance for Romania [ApR]:** Teodor Melescanu, president; senator; former minister of foreign affairs; Dan Mihalache, vice president; **Presidency of Romania:** Zoe Petre, counselor on domestic and foreign affairs; U.S. Embassy in Bucharest: Anton Niculescu, political expert; James Rosapepe, U.S. ambassador in Bucharest; U.S. State Department: Colin Cleary, country director for Romania; **Project on Ethnic Relations:** Allen Kassof, president; Livia Plaks, executive director; Dan Pavel, director, Bucharest office; Maria Koreck, representative, Tirgu Mures office; Elena Cruceru, administrator, Bucharest office.



## PER NEWS

### Council

The PER Council for Ethnic Accord welcomes two new members. Dr. Susan Woodward, senior research fellow at the Center for Defence Studies of King's College, University of London, is an expert on Yugoslavia. She is the author of a definitive work on the breakup of that country. Dr. Dusan Janjic of Belgrade is founder and director of the Forum for Ethnic Relations and president of the Center for Ethnic Relations and Minority Protection. A scholar-activist and author of several books on interethnic relations in the Balkans, Dr. Janjic has played a major role in establishing PER's programs with Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro.

The new members replace two charter members of the Council. In recognition of his many contributions, Cyrus Vance has been named an emeritus member. Nicolae Gheorghe is also leaving the Council, having assumed the role of adviser for Roma and Sinti Issues with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights at the OSCE. PER looks forward to his return upon the completion of his assignment. ■

### Staff

Ann Marie Grocholski joins the PER staff as a program officer and assistant to the executive director. Grocholski received her master's degree in public affairs from the University of Minnesota, with concentrations in international development and human rights policy. As a Peace Corps volunteer, she was stationed in the Czech Republic for two years, and is fluent in Czech.

Ingrid Breckova has joined the Bratislava office as a representative. She replaces Peter Priadka. Departing from the Princeton office is Program Officer Warren Haffar, who is now at Beaver College in Pennsylvania. ■

### Princeton

Allen H. Kassof  
*President*

Livia B. Plaks  
*Executive Director*

Alex N. Grigor'ev  
*Program Officer*

Ann Marie Grocholski  
*Program Officer, Assistant to the Executive Director*

Patrice Chadwick  
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Ivan Ilchev

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY  
Ferenc Melykuti

CRACOW, POLAND  
Andrzej Mirga  
*Chair, PER Romani Advisory Council*

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA  
Dan Pavel  
Elena Cruceru

TIRGU MURES, ROMANIA  
Maria Koreck

MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
Boris Makarenko

BRATISLAVA, SLOVAKIA  
Samuel Abraham  
Ingrid Breckova

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Attorney-at-Law

Donald L. Horowitz  
Duke University School of Law

Helene L. Kaplan  
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ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc.  
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Yugoslavia