Notes

¹ Vojislav Koštunica, "Yugoslav President's Address to the Federal Assembly", 18 April 2002, http://www.predsednik.gov.yu/press/tekst.php?id=551&strana=naslovna.

² Milo Djukanović, Vijesti (Podgorica), 15 March 2002, http://www.vijesti.cg.yu.

³ International Crisis Group (ICG), "Current Legal Status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and of Serbia and Montenegro," *Balkans Report no. 101* (Washington/Brussels, 19 September 2000), p. 6, http://www.crisisweb.org.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵ "Koštunica: Uspravili smo se kao država i vratili u svet" [We rose as a state and returned to the world], Interview to the daily *Politika* (Belgrade), 12 November 2000, p. 1.

⁶ ICG, Balkans Report no. 114 (Podgorica/Brussels, 1 August 2001), p. 1.

⁷Nebojsa Cagorovic, "Conflicting Constitutions in Serbia and Montenegro," in *Transition* (Prague), vol.3, no. 4 (7 March 1997), p. 28.

⁸ On 14 and 15 January 1998, on the eve of president's Djukanović inauguration, Momir Bulatović organized and led the demonstrations in Podgorica. The demonstrations led to violence between the supporters of Bulatović and the police. Bulatović accused Djukanović of electoral fraud in the presidential elections.

⁹ Interview with Momir Bulatović, "Djukanović je naivan momak" [Djukanović is a naive guy], NIN, no. 2565, (24 February 2000), p. 17.

¹⁰ Branko Mamula, "Poslije Miloševićevog sloma" [After Milošević's downfall], *Monitor* (Podgorica), no. 525, 10 November 2000, at http://www.monitor.cg.yu.

¹¹ Attila Agh, Emerging Democracies in East Central Europe (Glos, UK: Edward Elgar, 1998), p. 202.

¹² Elizabeth Roberts, "Montenegro," *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2 (75-76) (Spring-Summer 1999), p. 9.

¹³ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 270-291.

¹⁴ Pavlović, "The Podgorica Assembly..."

¹⁵ Branislav Milošević was recalled from Moscow in December 2000, after the downfall of Slobodan Milošević.

¹⁶ Fundamental differences developed between Slovenia and Serbia regarding their national interests in the late 1980's, which the SFRY could not resolve. Slovenia at that time was aiming to join European international organizations, a symbol of economic prosperities, while Serbia opted for strengthening of its ethnic nation-state (Greater Serbia) through wars and ethnic cleansing. See Reneo Lukic and Allen Lynch, Europe from the Balkans to the Urals: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 144-194.

¹⁷ Ethnic conflict breaks out when there is a denial of collective rights and identity by one group over another, while political conflict concerns the distribution of power and resources among two or more competing political elites.