

nature of inter-communal divides, historical factors limiting ethnic animosity) and external (the pull of European institutions and conditionalities on membership and assistance) have combined to remove the issue from the agenda.

None the less, it is an enduring feature of the politics of the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. In the former instance, substantial NATO-based multilateral intervention has stabilized the situation, somewhat, although events in northern Kosovo suggest this may be a rather fragile outcome. In the latter, more or less robust cease-fires hold in most of the conflicts in question (Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan), but political settlements remain elusive. One conflict has been settled politically (Tajikistan), though that settlement is shaky.²³ Only the Chechen conflict remains as an active source of this form of instability in the OSCE space.

This should not necessarily be taken as reassuring. There is some prospect of the outbreak of civil conflict in Montenegro and Macedonia.²⁴ There is substantial potential for new inter-communal conflict in Georgia and in the northern Caucasus.²⁵ The Russian campaign in Chechnya carries a substantial potential for spillover into neighbouring jurisdictions within the Russian federation and into Georgia. Uzbekistan evinces increasing civil disorder in Uzbekistan owing to the government's efforts to control what it perceives to be a threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the Ferghana Valley. The incipient conflict in Uzbekistan implicates Kyrgyzstan which has been used and may be used again as a transit corridor for militants opposed to the Karimov government. The use of Tajikistan as a sanctuary risks the extension of conflict in Uzbekistan to Tajikistan as well. Recent (late 1999) arrests of separatist Russians in northern Kazakhstan suggest some potential for inter-ethnic and secessionist conflict in this OSCE member state as well.

Post-Conflict Stabilisation and Peace-Building

The transition from war to peace in internal conflicts is a complex process. Short of victory by one side or another, a rare phenomenon, it involves:

1. the mediation of cease-fires;
2. efforts to address the humanitarian consequences of war;

²³ On the settlement process in Tajikistan, see Lena Jonson, *The Tajik War: A Challenge to Russian Policy* (London: RIIA, 1998).

²⁴ The deep division of opinion within Montenegro over the nature of that jurisdiction's ties to Serbia, and the possibility of Serbian intervention in the event that Montenegro moves towards independence together constitute a serious danger of war. In Macedonia, much depends on the determination of the status of Kosovo. Should Kosovo become independent, unification of Kosovo with Albania is plausible. This would risk the destabilization of the internal politics of Macedonia as compactly settled Albanian minority populations in northern and western Macedonia might seek to join the larger Albanian state.

²⁵ S. Neil MacFarlane, *Reassessing Conflicts in the Caucasus Region*, CPN Briefing Paper (Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik European Union Analysis and Evaluation Centre, January 2000).