

Historical Security Council

The situation in Yugoslavia, 1994



Forum	Historical Security Council
Issue:	The situation in Yugoslavia, 1994
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Introduction

In the Balkan Peninsula in October 1994, the Yugoslav Wars are raging on, a series of separate yet related ethnic conflicts, wars of independence and insurgencies between the six separate republics of Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. The United Nations and other international efforts are trying to end the wars through peace accords, yet because of large differences between the ethnic populations and their goals, no agreements have yet been established. UN peacekeepers have been brought in to extinguish the fighting, but their presence seems to be ineffective.

What has caused the situation to escalate this far? How are we to react and what is the plan of action if the situation continues to escalate in the future? How can we prevent any further harm being done through violence?

Although previous efforts have failed, the Security Council's duty remains to discuss the situation in the hopes of finding a peaceful solution. Its priority is the following: to find a way to convince the separate republics to agree with peace accords in order to end the wars and avert any more mass civilian casualties.

Definition of Key Terms

Balkan Wars

The Balkan wars took place in the Balkan Peninsula in 1912 and 1913. It consisted of two conflicts. In the First Balkan War an alliance of Balkan States defeated and eliminated the Ottoman Empire. In the Second Balkan War, the former allies fought among themselves for the Ottoman spoils.



Yugoslavia

Other names: Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (1943), Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1946), Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963) - A former country on the Balkan Peninsula in Central and Southeastern Europe, consisting of the now-independent nations of Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo and Slovenia; it existed for most of the 20th century, disintegrating in the 1990s.

League of Communists of Yugoslavia (*Communist Party of Yugoslavia until 1952*)

The ruling party of SFR Yugoslavia. After Yugoslavia was liberated from foreign occupation in 1945, the party established a single party state, which existed until the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1990.

Ethnic Cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is not recognized as a crime under international law. Therefore there is no real definition of this concept or the acts that can be qualified as ethnic cleansing. According to the United Nations, "A United Nations Commission of Experts mandated to look into violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia defined ethnic cleansing in its interim report [S/25274](#) as "... *rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area.*" In its final report [S/1994/674](#), the same Commission described ethnic cleansing as "... *a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas.*" The Commission of Experts also stated that the coercive practices used to remove the civilian population can include: murder, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, extrajudicial executions, rape and sexual assaults, severe physical injury to civilians, confinement of civilian population in ghetto areas, forcible removal, displacement and deportation of civilian population, deliberate military attacks or threats of attacks on civilians and civilian areas, use of civilians as human shields, destruction of property, robbery of personal property, attacks on hospitals, medical personnel, and locations with the Red Cross/Red Crescent emblem, among others. "



Background Information / General Overview

Although the concept of Yugoslavia, a single state for all south Slavic peoples, was only first realized during the aftermath of World War I, the origins of the concept emerged in the late 17th century. It was a product of Croatian philosophers who believed this uniting to be the only way for southern Slavs to regain their freedom after centuries of occupation under various empires. The idea became increasingly popular through the Illyrian Movement, a south Slav nationalist movement, which existed in the mid-nineteenth century. However, at the time the idea was not acted upon.

The First Yugoslavia

It wasn't until 1918 that an opportunity arose for the southern Slavs to resurrect an old dream. Once the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and World War I had ended Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule, it was decided in 1918 that new state borders in the Balkans would be secured. When the country was formed it was known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1929 the government renamed the country Yugoslavia.

In the late 1930s the political scene in Europe was starting to enter chaos. It was marked by growing intolerance between the predominant figures, by the aggressive attitude of the multiple totalitarian regimes and by the belief that the order set up in 1919 was losing its strongholds. Amidst this chaos, the Croatian leader Vladko Maček managed to create the Banovina of Croatia, an autonomous region with significant internal self-government in 1939.

Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, the Prince Regent of Yugoslavia at the time, yielded to fascist pressure and signed the Tripartite Pact in Vienna on 25 March 1941, in the hopes of keeping Yugoslavia out of the war. This was however at the expense of support for the prince. Senior military officers and many others were also opposed to the treaty and launched a coup d'état when the prince returned on 27 March. Shortly thereafter, Hitler decided to attack Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941.

World War II

At the time of World War II, the composition of the population of Yugoslavia was extremely complicated. Generally speaking, there were two main ethnic groups in the region - the Serbs and Croats - in addition to three other small groups - Albanians, Macedonians and Slovenes. As expected, significant tension existed between these ethnic groups. It was



this ethnic division, combined with the fact that the country was being attacked from three separate sides and armies, which forced the Yugoslav army to surrender on 17 April 1941. Soon thereafter the Axis victors claimed territories and divided the country amongst themselves.

During the occupation, multiple partisan and nationalist movements initiated uprisings across the different states, which lead to large-scale killing by German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian authorities. By 1944, the Balkans were too difficult to control. In the autumn of 1944, the German troops were forced to evacuate Greece, Serbia, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina and in April 1945 they retreated from northwestern Yugoslavia as well.

Between 1941 and 1945 the Germans and their Axis partners murdered more than 67,000

Jews and 27,000 Roma on Yugoslav soil. The total amount of Yugoslav casualties is estimated to be between 850,000 and 1,200,000.

The Second Yugoslavia

In 1946 Yugoslavia was again established but this time as a socialist state, a federation of six formally equal republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Though the state was of a federal form, it was highly centralized, with the power in the hands of Josip Broz Tito (see fig. 1.), the communist revolutionary who had helped liberate the country from German rule in 1944-45, and his Communist Party of Yugoslavia and functioning using a constitution modeled on that of the Soviet Union.

Between 1948 and 1963 the country distanced itself from the Soviets and built its own tightly governed socialist system under the strong political leadership of Tito. On the 7th of April 1963 the nation changed its name to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Josip Broz Tito was named President for life.



Fig. 1. "Josip Broz Tito, 1972"; Encyclopædia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Josip-Broz-Tito/media/1/597295/161001>; image



The first real cracks in the system surfaced when students in Belgrade and several other large cities joined the worldwide protests happening in 1968. More extreme disobedience came later, during the so-called Croatian Spring of 1970 and 1971. Students in Zagreb organized multiple demonstrations for greater civil liberties and Croatian autonomy, followed by manifestations across Croatia. Tito, who was worried over the stability of the country, responded by on the one hand suppressing the protest and on the other conceding to some of the demands, appeasing both the Croats and Serbs. The country was subsequently reorganized, ratifying a new Constitution in 1974 which gave more rights to the individual republics in Yugoslavia.

Through a planned and liberal economy, remarkable growth was achieved between 1953 and 1965, yet development quickly slowed. Particularly during the 1980s inflation and unemployment started to emerge as significant problems within the country. After Josip Broz Tito's death in 1980, a weak system of federal government was left in control which immediately had difficulties coping with the rising economic and political challenges. As a consequence of multiple grave errors made by Yugoslav governments, such as massive and uncoordinated foreign borrowing, an economic crisis erupted in Yugoslavia. The percentage of unemployed workers soared, and many firms were declared bankrupt within a year. Additionally, after 1983 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) started demanding economic restructuring as a prerequisite for further financial support. The debate over how to meet this demand resurrected hostilities between the wealthier northern and western regions and the poorer southern and eastern regions. It was such differences that contributed directly to the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

There were continuous ethnic tensions between the different nations in Yugoslavia, but especially those between Albanians and Kosovo Serbs remained high during the 1980s, which in turn resulted in an increase of Serb opposition to the high level of provincial autonomy. In 1987, Slobodan Milošević came to power in Serbia, having gained a high level of support among Serbs because of his centralist policies. Party leaders of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia greeted Milošević with opposition.

Yugoslav Wars

In January 1990, the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was convened. The Slovene and Serbian delegations spent most of the congress arguing over the future of the League of Communists and Yugoslavia. Yet, because of great disagreement



between the parties they both ended up leaving the Congress which consequently led to the all-Yugoslav Communist party being dissolved. Immediately thereafter, a constitutional crisis followed. This resulted in a rise of nationalism in all of the Yugoslav republics.

Between June 1991 and April 1992, four of the six republics declared independence. On 25 June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia were the first republics to declare independence from Yugoslavia. A series of conflicts immediately ensued.

Ten-Day War (1991) – *The war was initiated by the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) on 26 June 1991 following the independence declaration by Slovenia. The Yugoslav government ordered the JNA to guard the borders in Slovenia. Slovenia authorities blockaded roads which led to stand-offs across the republic. The army withdrew by 26 October 1991 after an agreement had been made.*

Croatian War of Independence (1991-present) – *Once Croatia had declared their independence, the JNA tried to keep Croatia within Yugoslavia by occupying the entire republic. A ceasefire was declared in 1992 and the Republic of Croatia was internationally recognized as a sovereign state. Thereafter the United Nations Protection Force was deployed, and combat has become intermittent since.*

Bosnian War (1992-present) – *In early 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina, whilst engulfed by conflict, also declared independence from Yugoslavia. The war that followed was a territorial conflict between the Bosniaks, who wanted to preserve the integrity of the new Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republika Srpska and the self-proclaimed Herzeg-Bosnia, each led and supplied by Serbia and Croatia, reportedly with the goal of separating of Bosnia.*

Initially the JNA tried to preserve the unity of the whole of Yugoslavia by suppressing the governments, but it has increasingly come under the influence of the Serbian government led by Slobodan Milosevic, who is evoking Serbian nationalist rhetoric and seems willing to use the Yugoslav cause to protect and preserve the unity of Serbs in one state. The JNA has lost the majority of its Slovenes, Croats, Kosovar Albanians, Bosniaks, and ethnic Macedonians, and has ‘effectively’ become a Serb army. According to a United Nations report published this year, the Serb side does not aim to restore Yugoslavia, but to create a “Greater Serbia” from parts of Croatia and Bosnia. Now, in October 1994, the Yugoslav Wars are still going on in the region.





Fig. 2. "The historical boundaries of Yugoslavia from 1919 to 1992."; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Yugoslavia-former-federated-nation-1929-2003/media/1/654783/42975>; image

Ethnic Cleansing

Widespread ethnic cleansing has accompanied the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as large numbers of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and Bosnian Croats have been forced to flee their homes. Starting in April 1992, Serbia began systematically removing all Bosniaks from Bosnian territory. Bosniaks were attacked by Serbians and ethnic Bosnian Serbs with former Yugoslavian military equipment and proceeded to surround Sarajevo. Many were driven into concentration camps, where it seems women and girls were gang-raped and other civilians were tortured, starved and murdered. Some Bosnian Croats have carried out a similar campaign against the Bosniaks and Serbs. Yet, while they have engaged in grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law, they have not engaged in systematic ethnic cleansing.

Major Parties Involved

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Following Bosnia and Herzegovina's declaration of independence on 3 March 1992, Bosnian Serb militias started to mobilize in several parts of the country. Because of



increased diplomatic pressure the JNA was forced to withdraw from the republic's territory in June 1992. Those Bosnian Serb members of the JNA that remained formed a new army, the Army of Republika Srpska. Through many offensives in 1992 they were able to take much of the country under control. It is estimated that more than 100,000 people have been killed and more than two million people have been forced to flee their homes as a result of the war since April 1992. The Bosnian Serb advance has additionally, as has been stated before, been accompanied by the ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats. Concentration camps have been established wherein inmates are subjected to violence and abuse, including rape. Bosniak and Bosnian Croat forces are also engaging in war crimes against different ethnic groups, yet this is done on a smaller scale.

Macedonia

After having declared independence in the fall of 1991, Macedonia enjoyed a peaceful separation. The country, populated by a majority of ethnic Macedonians and a large Albanian majority, has remained at peace through the Yugoslav wars up until now.

Montenegro

Montenegro has remained a part of a smaller Federal Republic of Yugoslavia along with Serbia. During the ongoing Bosnian War and Croatian War, Montenegrin military forces have joined Serbian troops in the attacks on Croatia. These operations seem to be characterized by a pattern of large-scale violations of human rights.

Croatia

The influence of xenophobia and ethnic hatred has become increasingly clear in the ongoing Croatian War. Propaganda by both Croatian and Serbian sides is being used to spread fear, claiming that the other side would engage in oppression against them and would exaggerate death tolls to increase support from their populations. In many places, ethnic tensions have exploded into violence. The conflict itself is very much ongoing with bombing being used most often as the main kind of attack. The JNA is also actively involved.

Slovenia

Slovenia's withdrawal from the Yugoslav Federation turned out to be comparatively bloodless. Since the end of the Ten-Day War and the withdrawal of the JNA soldiers and their equipment, Slovenia has not been involved in any further conflict.



United States of America (USA)

Besides the member states of Yugoslavia and the United Nations, the United States of America is the only party separately involved at this time. American diplomats tried to help set up a new Yugoslav government, however this only lasted from May to December 1992. Representatives of the USA and Yugoslavia are still in discussion with regards to peace, yet as of now no clear progress is being made.

Any other international peace efforts are solely being attempted through the channels of the United Nations and their councils. As of May 30th, 1992, the majority of states from the United Nations have severed economic ties and have imposed sanctions on FR Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav People's Army (JNA)

The armed forces of Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1992. During the dissolution of Yugoslavia they have frequently attacked member states, believing it to be their constitutional obligation to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. They stand on the side of the Serbians and have engaged in battles with Croatian, Slovenian and Bosnian military forces.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

The first United Nations peacekeeping force, active in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Yugoslav Wars. It was formed in February 1992. In Croatia their mandate is to ensure conditions for peace talks, and security in three 'safe-havens' located in various regions. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the UNPROFOR mandate is to keep the population alive while the war ends.

Timeline of Key Events

Date	Description of event
December 1st, 1918	The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is declared in Belgrade
October 3rd, 1929	The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is renamed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.



March 25th, 1939	Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, the Prince Regent of Yugoslavia at the time, yields to fascist pressure and signs the Tripartite Pact in Vienna
April 6th, 1941	Hitler attacks Yugoslavia
April 17th, 1941	The Yugoslav army is forced to surrender
April, 1945	The final German troops retreat from Yugoslavia
1946	Yugoslavia is established as a socialist state, a federation of six equal republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia
April 7th, 1963	The nation changes its name to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) & Josip Broz Tito is named President for life
1970-1971	The Croatian Spring takes place
1983	The International Monetary Fund (IMF) starts demanding economic restructuring as a prerequisite for further financial support
1987	Slobodan Milošević comes to power in Serbia
January 1990	The 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia convenes
June 25th, 1991	Slovenia and Croatia are the first republics to declare independence from Yugoslavia
June 26th, 1991 - October 26th, 1991	Ten-Day War
1991 - present	Croatian War of Independence
1992 - present	Bosnian War
October 1994	The Security Council convenes

UN involvement, Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

The United Nations first became involved in the situation in Yugoslavia on September 25th, 1991, when the Security Council adopted resolution 713 (1991) in which deep concern was expressed at the fighting in the country. The UN Security Council has passed many



resolutions related to conflicts in Yugoslavia from 1991 till present day. The most important of those resolutions are listed below:

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 713, September 25th, 1991 (S/RES/713)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 724, December 15th, 1991 (S/RES/724)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 727, January 8th, 1992 (S/RES/727)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 743, February 21st, 1992 (S/RES/743)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 771, August 13th, 1992 (S/RES/771)

Previous Attempts to solve the Issue

The United Nations Security Council has on multiple occasions tried to intervene and propose solutions to the republics of Yugoslavia, proven by the amount of relevant resolutions submitted from 1991 till present day. During a meeting between the Personal Envoy and all Yugoslav parties an immediate cease-fire was agreed upon. All Yugoslav parties also clearly expressed their wish for a United Nations peace-keeping operation to be established.

The first United Nations peacekeeping force, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), was established in Yugoslavia on March 21st, 1992. Their tasks were to monitor the January 1992 ceasefire, oversee the demilitarization of the areas seized by Croatian Serbs & facilitate the safety of refugees and displaced persons. However, the cease-fire broke down almost immediately after the agreement had been made. International mediation was not able to settle the Serb-Croat conflict. Within months the peace-keepers sat between furious Croats and Serbs who were both determined to keep control of territory they had acquired by force. The protagonists have no political will to solve their dispute peacefully, so the peacekeeping force cannot play a role. It is additionally extremely difficult for the United Nations to further intervene seeing as what republics of Yugoslavia asked of them contradicted their policy. For example, how could the Security Council send peacekeepers to a province of a sovereign member state to help a Bosnian nascent government secede from that same state? The Security Council can not endorse such a precedent. The UN is now deploying troops, but not in sufficient numbers to fulfill the Security Council mandates. The commands of the Security Council are losing authority.



The forces feel they are engaged in a constant struggle against an imprecise political mandate, generally rising expectations and inadequate numbers and equipment to cope with a growing requirement to 'enforce' UN resolutions in some way. Some say that, if the major powers do not see it in their national interests to conduct peace enforcement, the UN should not attempt to give the appearance of doing something by using UN peacekeeping inappropriately. "Only in the rarest cases should the UN, at this stage in its evolution, and only to the extent to which the parties give genuine cooperation, deploy a peacekeeping force in an internal situation where peace is still a far-distant goal" Cedric Thornberry, Assistant-Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Possible Solutions

At this point, the international community is sending mixed signals with regards to the situation in Yugoslavia. On the one hand, they are defending the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. An example of this is the fact that the U.S. administration is seeing Yugoslavia as a precedent for what might happen in the Soviet Union - uncontrolled disintegration and what might happen to the nuclear arsenal - so they are trying to preserve Yugoslavia as if it is a lesson for the Soviet Union. This is also a signal to the Yugoslav leadership. On the other hand, there is another policy which is to support democratization. These mixed signals are dangerous. The federal authorities are considering it as permission to do whatever they need to do to maintain the territorial integrity of their state. It is therefore extremely important for the international community to find a way to clearly communicate their opinions on this topic to each other and to Yugoslavia. Clear communication is key to being able to find fitting solutions that appeal to all parties.

It is also important for the United Nations to decide how they will use their peacekeeping forces moving forward. As of now the forces seem not to be able to fulfill their goals because of multiple different problems. What can be done to solve these problems? Should the UN continue using these forces or should other measures be taken?

Lastly, it is extremely important that steps should be taken to prevent any further acts of ethnic cleansing from taking place in the region. To start trying to attain this goal, it is necessary for the United Nations to temporarily put aside its philosophy of neutrality and nonviolence as this is fully unsuited to the conflict. The deliberate and systematic attempt to expel, terrorize, or murder an entire people must be handled with all necessary means. One of the most important means is the use of NATO airpower. For airpower to be used to protect



the safe areas it is necessary for both NATO and the UN Secretary-General to give their permission. However, because multiple ambassadors in the Security Council, predominantly the British and French, have been reluctant to use NATO airpower, the UN Secretary-General has not been able to give his consent. NATO airpower therefore cannot be used as of now. It is extremely important that a compromise should be made between the member states on this subject in order to be able to use NATO airpower when problems arise in the future. Any other means possible, economic, social and political, should also be implemented.

Right now, it seems the international community is approaching this as though they do not believe anything will realistically happen. They are talking about the possibility of a fire and what to do with the fire in the case it does happen. However, they are not establishing the rules of procedure and what will be needed/done to evacuate a building when it is on fire and subsequently to put the fire out. This needs to change. Plans should be made, discussions should be held, and agreements should be put on paper.

Key ideas: economic stability, peacekeeping forces, preventing ethnic cleansing, clear leadership, transparent communication & future planning

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