International Dispute Resolution Centre
Fleet Street
London, England

Tuesday, 25th October, 2005

### ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL CONSTITUTED UNDER

ANNEX VII TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA

In the matter of an arbitration between

BARBADOS

and

THE REPUBLIC OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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# Before:

JUDGE STEPHEN M SCHWEBEL (The President)
PROFESSOR VAUGHAN LOWE
MR IAN BROWNLIE CBE QC
PROFESSOR FRANCISCO ORREGO VICUNA
SIR ARTHUR WATTS, KCMG QC

PROCEEDINGS - DAY SIX

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### ATTENDANCES

Barbados was represented by:

Hon Mia A Mottley QC, Deputy Prime Minister, Attorney General and Minister of Home Affairs, Agent for Barbados

Mr Robert Volterra, Co-Agent, Counsel and Advocate, Latham & Watkins

Professor Sir Elihu Lauterpacht CBE, QC, Counsel and Advocate Professor Michael Reisman, Counsel and Advocate

Mr Jan Paulsson, Counsel and Advocate, Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer, Paris

Sir Henry Forde QC, Counsel and Advocate

Mr Stephen Fietta, Counsel and Advocate, Latham & Watkins

Mr Adrian Cummins QC, Counsel

Dr David Berry, Counsel

Ms Megan Addis, Counsel, Latham & Watkins

Ms Teresa Marshall, Permanent Secretary, Foreign Affairs

Mr Edwin Pollard, High Commissioner for Barbados in London

Mr Anthony Wiltshire, Minister/Counsellor at the Barbados High Commission, London

Mr Francois Jackman, Senior Foreign Services Officer

Mr Tyronne Brathwaite, Foreign Services Officer

Mr Christopher Parker, Fisheries Biologist, Fisheries Division

Ms Angela Watson, President of Barbados Association of

Fisherfolk Organisations, BARNUFO

Mr Anderson Kinch

Mr Oscar Price, Information Technology Support, Latham & Watkins

Ms Phillippa Wilson, Information Technology Support, Latham & Watkins.

Mr Dick Gent, UK Hydrographic Office

Dr Robin Cleverly, UK Hydrographic Office.

Ms Michelle Pratley, Assistant, Latham & Watkins

Ms Claudina Vranken, Assistant, Latham & Watkins

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago was represented by:

Senator the Hon John Jeremie, Attorney-General, Agent

Mr John Almeida, Co-Agent, Messrs Charles Russell

Mr Laurie Watt, Co-Agent, Messrs Charles Russell

Ms Lynsey Murning, Charles Russell

Professor James Crawford SC

Professor Christopher Greenwood, CMG, QC, Counsel

Mr Samuel Wordsworth, Counsel

Ambassador Phillip Sealy, Trinidad and Tobago Ambassador to the United Nations

Mr Gerald Thompson, Director, Legal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr Eden Charles, Foreign Service Officer at the United Nations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr Martin Pratt, International Boundaries Research Unit

Mr Francis Charles, Expert

Dr Arthur Potts, Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture

Mr Charles Sagba, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr Andre Laveau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ms Glenda Morean, High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago

Mr David Gray (Tribunal appointed Expert Hydrographer)

The Permanent Court of Arbitration was represented by:

Ms Anne Joyce Mr Dane Ratliff

Court Reporter

June Martin, Harry Counsell Ivan Trussler, Harry Counsell

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. As I see, there is no shortage of paper. The Tribunal wishes to thank Trinidad and Tobago for its answer to the question put on Article 62(3) and it may be that Barbados wishes to comment thereon as well. I believe that we resume this morning with Mr Volterra.

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MR VOLTERRA: Yes, Mr President, thank you. There are two administrative things. First, I am told by our very efficient assistants that there are some materials that are still in need of insertion to today's Judges' folder, but that will be done by us in due course today.

I have asked the people from the PCA to bring out for you as well the Judges' folder from day one, trying to reduce the amount of paper for the Tribunal and the forests that have sacrificed themselves for this arbitration.

Mr President, before I commence my presentation proper, there is one preliminary matter that I wish to bring to the attention of the Tribunal. You will recall that yesterday I raised the question of two instances of a pleading by counsel for Trinidad and Tobago which Barbados characterises as improper that took place on Friday. You will recall that one was in relation to the north of the median line and Professor Crawford acknowledged during my objection on Friday that Trinidad and Tobago had submitted no evidence in relation to that matter. The second referred to the south of the median line and it is to that second matter to which I turn at the moment.

At paragraph 10 of the Counter Memorial, Trinidad and Tobago stated "in the present case the areas claimed by Barbados and proximate to the coast of Tobago have hydrocarbon potential and have been subject to exploration licensing by Trinidad and Tobago. They are potentially more important for their hydrocarbon resources than their fish".

At pages 59 and 60, and at lines 35 to 38 of page 59 and lines 1 to 3 of page 60 of the transcript of day 4, Friday, counsel for Trinidad and Tobago stated in part, in reference to the area to the south of the median line,

"Barbados claims areas which have been the subject of established licences which are the subject of actual exploitation". "Actual exploitation" not "potential". Professor Crawford was asserting that in the areas to the south of the median line claimed by Barbados there are, one, established licences and, two, that those licences are the subject of actual exploitation. Yesterday I stated that there was no evidence on the record of licences or actual exploitation within the relevant area to the south of the median line. I must correct my statement in part.

There is evidence on the record of one Trinidad and Tobago oil licence dating from 1997, a small part of whic is located within the extreme south western tip of the area claimed by Barbados to the south of the median line.

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There is evidence on the record of one Trinidad and Tobago oil licence dating from 1997, a small part of which is located within the extreme south western tip of the area claimed by Barbados to the south of the median line. I apologise for my error. There is no evidence of any actual exploitation within the relevant area, including no evidence in relation to that oil licence to which I have just referred, and until Friday Trinidad and Tobago had made no assertion that there was.

As yet another preliminary matter, Mr President, I wish to let the Tribunal know that Barbados will try to answer all of the Tribunal's questions by the end of today, but as you may imagine that sometimes might not be possible for any number of reasons, including the requirement for example in relation to the Co-operation Zone Treaty, to do our due diligence and confer with the Ministry back in Bridgetown. We will answer them as quickly as we can; and if not today then hopefully by the end of this week and as early as possible to give our friends on the other side a chance to make any response they wish to make.

Finally and by no means least as a preliminary matter, I wish before you to thank Ms Megan Addis who is helping with my slides that you see before you. You have seen her here at the hearing throughout the last two weeks assisting with our presentation, but you can imagine that this reflects only a small part of the invaluable service

that she has rendered to Barbados throughout this arbitration.

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Mr President, members of the Tribunal, as in round one I have the honour to begin Barbados' submissions in relation to Trinidad and Tobago's claims to the north of the median line. In anticipation of the submissions that will be made by Mr Paulsson, Professor Reisman and me, I preface my remarks to the Tribunal by addressing it in my capacity as Co-Agent of Barbados.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, the maritime territory to the north of the median line and inside Barbados' median lines that is the subject of the claims by Trinidad and Tobago in this arbitration are of paramount importance to Barbados. I direct the Tribunal to the opening address of the Agent of Barbados that can be found at tab 198 of your Judges' folder, the first tab of today's folder. I will refer to page 15, line 25 of the transcript from day one. There it is recorded that the Agent stated "Our exclusive economic zone and our outer continental shelf in the south east are of the highest importance to Barbados' future development". President, nothing could possibly compensate Barbados if this Tribunal were somehow to accept that Trinidad and Tobago was entitled to any maritime territory at all to the north of the median line.

I will now address the Tribunal in my capacity as counsel and advocate.

After five years of bilateral negotiations and almost two years of this arbitration, the peripatetic claims of Trinidad and Tobago in relation to the maritime territory to the north of the median line finally began to take shape last Friday, a bit like an army in a dawn attack gradually taking form. But Trinidad and Tobago still has not dared to show you what its claim actually represents. Worse, it has declined to account for the legal and practical ramifications of a hypothetical acceptance of its claims. Barbados keeps challenging Trinidad and Tobago to show the Tribunal all of the zones and implicit

boundaries that are the result of its claims. Trinidad and Tobago keeps avoiding to do so and that speaks volumes.

I will now take the Tribunal through a series of demonstrative maps. They are to be found in sequence in the Judges' folders from tabs 199 to 203 of your folders. I will take you to them in turn. They will also be shown on your monitors as I go through them. I promise only one is the same as the maps I showed you last week.

What you see on your screen is map one. It is found at tab 199. This is the superficially simple claim line put forward by Trinidad and Tobago. It follows the median line, it goes to point A and then runs out along the 88 degree azimuth. It looks wonderfully simple. But, of course, it is not. If we move to the second map, found at tab 200 - I will ask you in any event to turn to tab 200 - you will see that this is the map that I spoke to in round one. It shows the bewildering multiplicity of different claims that are inherent in the proposed delimitation line put forward by Trinidad and Tobago.

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A glance reveals the conflict and chaos that results from these claims.

I ask you now to turn to tab 201. This shows the universe of Trinidad and Tobago's UNCLOS interpretation. This is the jigsaw of exclusive economic zones that would exist if the Tribunal accepted a number of propositions that are contained in Trinidad's claim. One being the relationship between Part V and Part VI, another being the requirement of the Tribunal to implement and give effect to the 1990 Agreement between Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago.

There is also a close-up of this universe of EEZs you can see. Trinidad and Tobago would get the large red hashing on the map, Barbados would get the green hatching, and in Trinidad and Tobago's claim Venezuela would get the purple.

Now I ask you to turn to the next map which is at tab

202. This is the universe of Trinidad and Tobago's extended continental shelf vision based on its interpretations again of Part V and Part VI. In Trinidad and Tobago's world these would be the extended continental shelf entitlements that would result from its claim line being accepted by the Tribunal. You can see that Barbados would get the triangle to the north and Trinidad and Tobago would get the middle triangle and Venezuela would get whatever shape it is below it.

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The map shown on the map, tab 203, shows the overlapping zones that result from Trinidad and Tobago's vision of UNCLOS. You can see them flashing now. In the universe of UNCLOS á la Trinidad and Tobago they would be from north to south: Barbados' Exclusive Economic Zone existing simultaneously with Trinidad and Tobago's extended continental shelf in part; next Barbados' Exclusive Economic Zone and Venezuela's extended continental shelf in part; and finally down in the south Barbados' and Guyana's Joint Co-operation Zone in part and Venezuela's extended continental shelf in part.

In its written pleadings Trinidad and Tobago said that this chaotic series of overlapping zones was "a function of the coexistence of the relevant parts of the 1982 Convention". Page 72 of Trinidad and Tobago's Rejoinder tucked away in footnote 228.

In round 1 counsel for Trinidad and Tobago appeared to recognise the weakness of relying on a supposed intended result of UNCLOS that would have this sort of chaos. Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago would have you believe that these zones, an illegitimate offspring of an unholy union of Parts V and VI, are an inevitable and indeed necessary result of sloppy drafting by the drafters of UNCLOS. Trinidad and Tobago's case in this respect rests on the entirely untenable foundation of the novel interpretation of UNCLOS that it has proposed to this Tribunal. According to this interpretation, the EEZ regime is entirely about the water column and living resources, whilst Part VI is all about the seabed and

subsoil. The text of Part V flatly contradicts this conclusion. Certainly Trinidad and Tobago has been forced to admit that there are what it refers to as "overlaps" between the two Parts. Using Mexican jumping crabs and marine worms, counsel for Trinidad and Tobago attempted to gloss over this insuperable obstacle to its case.

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Barbados' interpretation of Parts V and VI and their interplay results in the two Parts operating in harmony, with no chaotic overlapping zones. Not just here but Trinidad and Tobago's interpretation has the anywhere. opposite result. Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago's observations on this issue can be found at tab 204. are recorded on pages 92 and 93 of the transcript of Day 4 and I invite the Tribunal to turn to them now. I will also put the relevant extract up on the screen. Trinidad and Tobago's legal analysis to explain the resolution of the incompatibility of its assertions as to the meanings of Parts I and VI with the text of UNCLOS itself can be found at line 24 of page 93. In defence of its interpretation of Parts V and VI Trinidad and Tobago has this to say. "It is true, and it might be thought to be an example of sloppy legal craftsmanship that there is an overlap between them, but the gist of the EEZ was always on living natural resources".

In response to the question from Professor Lowe last week, Trinidad and Tobago's legal analysis of the potentially chaotic overlap of different maritime regimes is based on a reliance of an alleged "gist" of Part V. But no manner of generalisation or extraction can avoid the truth. That Part deals with the water column, the living resources and the seabed and subsoil within 200 nautical miles of a coastal state.

Trinidad and Tobago seeks to give Part VI precedence over Part V, but there is no textual support for this interpretation. My colleague, Professor Reisman, will speak to this issue further when he presents Barbados' rebuttal to Trinidad and Tobago's arguments about its extended continental shelf claim.

As I noted at the outset of my remarks on this issue, Trinidad and Tobago has chosen not to show the Tribunal in graphic form what is the practical result of its interpretation of UNCLOS. But the potential for conflict is evident at a glance. Trinidad and Tobago has still not commented upon the obvious practical problems that would be the consequences, indeed what Trinidad and Tobago admits would be the inevitable consequences, of accepting its view of UNCLOS.

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I turn now to address briefly the 1990 Venezuela-Trinidad and Tobago Agreement.

There is actually little for me to say in rebuttal. Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago did not speak to it very much last week. To borrow a phrase from the ever eloquent Professor Greenwood, but to direct it more aptly, this is, in truth, the claim that dare not speak its name.

Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago confirmed that the 1990 Agreement was not opposable to Barbados. You can find that at page 107 of the transcript day 3.

Nonetheless, Trinidad still seeks to have its effect imposed on Barbados indirectly in two ways. I will address each of these in turn.

First, Trinidad and Tobago seeks to import the Agreement and the line that it produced through the back door under the cover of its regional implications argument. After my colleague, Professor Reisman, dealt with that argument last week, Trinidad proceeded to avoid the issue almost entirely. Despite this, at page 104 of the transcript day 3, you can find counsel for Trinidad and Tobago trying to cajole the Tribunal into giving effect to the Agreement. This can be found at tab 205 of the Judges' folder from today, starting at line 25. it up on the screen for your convenience. "Of the 1990 Agreement Trinidad argues all it constituted was an acknowledgement by Trinidad and Tobago, after extensive negotiations which lasted more than a decade, of Venezuela's entitlement as a coastal state with a significant coastal frontage on to the region to a modest

salida, just like the ausgang the Federal Republic of Germany got following the North Sea Continental Shelf decisions or the corridor -I am afraid the French word for that corridor is unpronounceable - which the islands of St Pierre and Miguelon have got in that decision".

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The description of the so-called salida as modest is breathtaking. There is nothing modest about this Agreement. There is nothing modest about the ambitions that motivated it or the line that it produced. The so-called salida purportedly salidas far beyond Venezuela's 200 nautical mile arc and salidas right up to the outer edge of the continental shelf. It bears no resemblance to the petite sortie of St Pierre and Miquelon, let alone the ausgang of Germany.

Second, Trinidad seeks to have the 1990 Agreement imposed on Barbados in practical result by suggesting that the Tribunal may not consider any dispute between the parties to the extent that that dispute relates to areas to the south and east of the 1990 line. That is off limits, says Trinidad and Tobago. This argument is I addressed Trinidad's arguments on this issue untenable. in the first round. Barbados claims all the area to the north of the median line in the area now claimed by Trinidad for itself. Barbados also claims for itself the area to the north of the median lines and to the south and east of the 1990 line, that which Trinidad says belongs to Venezuela, and Trinidad and Tobago's claims would exclude Barbados from that area. The parties are in dispute, undoubtedly as you have heard over the last week, in relation to all of that area. As such, it is subject to the jurisdiction of this Tribunal in toto as it considers the bilateral delimitation between the two parties before it.

The issue is joined and Barbados is content to rest on its pleadings.

The 1990 Agreement between Venezuela and Trinidad is not of a higher legal order than the Barbados-Guyana EEZ Co-operation Zone Agreement. The Barbados-Guyana Co-

operation Zone Treaty cannot be ignored by this Tribunal. Nor can the zone it creates in relation to the water column, the living resources, the seabed and subsoil. It cannot be dismissed. That zone was carefully crafted in the west so as to lie beyond any legitimate claim of any third party. It, nevertheless, leaves the parties to the Co-operation Zone Treaty free to expand it should they so desire to reach its full and natural dimension to the west at the appropriate time.

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As Barbados has described to the Tribunal previously, the EEZ Co-operation Zone Treaty represents the legitimate exercise of rights and jurisdiction by Barbados and Guyana over the overlapping areas of maritime territory that lie within 200 nautical miles of their coasts and beyond 200 nautical miles of any other states. It has the advantage of being entirely consistent with UNCLOS and international law. Barbados will answer Professor Lowe's questions about the zone in the next few days.

I now ask the Tribunal to turn to the Judges' folder for day one, which the very helpful Anne Joyce of the PCA brought this morning. I am going to turn you to tab 48. Mr President, I am now going to turn to the 1990 Trinidadian map that traces the history of the negotiations between Trinidad and Venezuela. This is the fold-out map. I took the Tribunal to this a number of times last week.

I have a free copy if it would assist. Let me make sure there is nothing in it to which my friend would object. It is a blank copy of the map.

You can also see it on the screen in front of you. The Tribunal will recall that this was the map circulated by the current Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago in 1990 when he was leader of the Opposition. The Tribunal will recall that this 1990 Manning map records graphically the history of the Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago negotiations that led to their 1990 Agreement, negotiations that we have been told by counsel for Trinidad and Tobago lasted for more than a decade.

Indeed, well more than a decade.

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The Tribunal will no doubt recall the attempt made last week by Trinidad and Tobago to impugn indirectly the Manning map. Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago said "I should say that Barbados has made a great deal of the draft map which fell off the back of a truck or other conveyance at some stage unspecified during the very lengthy negotiations". The reference is to transcript day 3, pages 104 and 105, starting at line 24.

Counsel for Trinidad and Tobago takes the view that this fell off the back of a truck or other conveyance at some stage during the lengthy negotiations.

There are further references to the map having fallen off the back of a truck elsewhere in Trinidad and Tobago's pleadings.

It is significant that Trinidad and Tobago does not deny the truth contained in the map. Trinidad and Tobago implied that it is somehow unfair that it has been caught out so unfairly and so awkwardly, but it does not deny that the lines shown on the map reveal what they have been described as revealing. It does not deny the implications that arise from the fact that the various proposed lines stopped at the median line between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Nor did it address the inevitable implications of the lines that rise up from the coast of Guyana claimed by Venezuela to join the finally-agreed 1990 line at significant locations in its perambulations.

Rather Trinidad and Tobago is content to imply by suggesting that the Manning map fell off the back of a truck that somehow it was obtained by foul means.

Barbados is puzzled by Trinidad and Tobago's attempt to imply there was foul play. This map was obtained by Trinidad and Tobago's current Prime Minister, Patrick Manning, in 1990. It was he who disseminated it widely to the media and others back then. It did not fall off the back of a truck into Barbados' hands.

The media published copies of the map at the time.

Indeed, one newspaper article, reporting on a press briefing given by Mr Manning on the Agreement back in 1990 and printing a copy of the map with the article in its newspaper, recorded that the map was "exhibited by Opposition leader, Patrick Manning". Barbados submitted a copy of that article, including the map, at tab 6 of its supplementary evidence. I have included a copy of the article and this map at tab 207 of your folders. If there was any foul means used to obtain this map, they were engaged in back in 1990 and they were not engaged in by What is important is that Trinidad and Tobago does not challenge the Manning map's authenticity, or at least it has not to date, nor the accuracy of the contents shown on it. Nor did Trinidad and Tobago seek to challenge the fact that the lines drawn on the maps have the meanings I described to you last week.

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So what does the map show? It shows the first and second boundary lines proposed by Venezuela. It shows the counter-proposed line of Trinidad and it shows the final lines. It shows all of these lines stopping within the Trinidad and Tobago-Barbados median line, apart from the final line tagged on as an appendage, handwritten beyond the median line. Clearly, until the very last moment Trinidad and Tobago was negotiating based on the shared understanding that Trinidad's maritime territory was constrained to the north by its median line with Barbados.

In addition, the lines rising up from the coast of Guyana demonstrate the understood and intended effect of the final agreed line on the claims of Venezuela in relation to the land territory of Guyana. This is not some latter day invention of Barbados. It was known at the time by Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela and Prime Minister Manning. The Tribunal will no doubt recall that I took it to a number of the extended quotations of the statements made by Mr Manning back in 1990 to that effect.

In response to this evidence, Trinidad and Tobago referred to the note sent by Trinidad to Venezuela in the 1991 diplomatic exchange that related to the Agreement's

ratification. A copy of that 1991 note can be found at tab 208 of the Judges' folder. You may wish to turn to that now. If you like, you can get rid of the Judges' folder from day one. I am not going to take you to it We are at tab 208 and this is a diplomatic note of 1991, sent by Trinidad and Tobago to Venezuela. note, Trinidad told Venezuela that, Trinidad having agreed to a Treaty that contained a map that expressly showed Guyana land territory as being Venezuelan, that did not constitute recognition of Venezuela's claim to that territory. Trinidad and Tobago's 1991 diplomatic note was as genuine as an apology that is uttered with a smirk, Mr President. The note does not say, as counsel for Trinidad seems to try to imply, that Trinidad did not support implicitly Venezuela's claim to Guyana by agreeing to the 1990 line. The very agreement contained within it that implicit agreement. It only said the words "zona de reclamacion" on the map did not mean that Trinidad and Tobago accepted Venezuela's claims.

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THE PRESIDENT: Where are those words on the map?

MR VOLTERRA: That is not on the Manning map I have given you. It was on the map that was part of the final version of the treaty itself. I can give the Tribunal the reference to that but I do not have it to hand at the moment.

Trinidad and Tobago's note is not a defence to the evidence that the clear effect of the 1990 agreement between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela was to prejudice Guyana and enhance Venezuela's land and maritime claims. Because that is what the agreement does, and no amount of rhetorical resiling by Trinidad now or even back in 1990 can change that effect.

Trinidad and Tobago made much last week of its support for Guyana and its CARICOM neighbours in relation to the well-known territorial ambitions of Venezuela. But actions speak louder than words.

I ask you now to turn to tab 209 of the Judges' folder. You will find a copy of this map also displayed

on the monitors in front of you. It is map 1.2 of Trinidad's Counter Memorial. The magnified section of the map that you see on the screen is also contained in tab 209, the second page, and that is merely a magnification of map 1.2 of Trinidad's Counter Memorial. And I ask you to look to the left hand side of that magnification, about half way up above the words "Caribbean Sea" and you will see a maritime feature shown there. Mr President, members of the Tribunal, it is a matter of international notoriety that there is a geographical feature to the west of the Windward Islands whose first name is Bird, or, in Spanish, Aves. Venezuela asserts that it is an island with all of the territorial implications that flow from such a designation, to the significant detriment of the states of the Windward Islands. It is also a matter of international notoriety that CARICOM as a body and its member states as individual states assert that this feature is not an island but rather a rock, with no more significance in terms of generating maritime entitlements than such a lesser feature has. Thus Venezuela and its supporters refer to the feature as Bird Island, or Isla Aves, or Aves Island. The states of the Windward Islands and CARICOM refer to it as Bird Rock.

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As the Tribunal can see here, Trinidad and Tobago's map labels it "Aves Island". Trinidad is yet again demonstrating something rather less than solidarity with its fellow CARICOM countries by endorsing Venezuela's claim against its fellow CARICOM members.

I come to the conclusion of my address. Barbados is a small nation without significant natural resources. But even before independence it enjoyed a dignified history of regional harmony, and it remains today at the forefront of regional co-operation initiatives. Barbados has taken, by way of this arbitration, the courageous step of standing up for its rights in the face, you will well appreciate, of daunting opposition. History is replete with examples of relatively large and powerful states that have a vision of their own place in the world and an appetite to achieve

it even at the expense of their neighbours. Trinidad and Tobago's claim demonstrates its appetites. Its proposed delimitation line cannot be sustained as legally justified and certainly not required. Trinidad and Tobago has declined to show the Tribunal what its visually simple 88 degree azimuth actually entails in terms of multiple zones, a bewildering array of conflicting entitlements and a jigsaw of unspoken boundary lines. In the end, Trinidad and Tobago's claim amounts to nothing more than an assertion that Trinidad and Tobago is big and Barbados is small, and so Trinidad and Tobago should be awarded more living space. Against that appetite, Mr President, Barbados seeks the protection of the law.

I ask the Tribunal, please, to call upon Professor Reisman. I apologise, I ask you to call on Jan Paulsson instead.

MR PAULSSON: The confusion is flattering.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr Paulsson, please.

10.45.

MR PAULSSON: Thank you. My subject is geography. I will say a few things about adjacency and I will say a few words about proportionality and that is that. But I would like to start with the mysterious point A, which you see again set out at tab 210 of the Judges' folder. Barbados persists in maintaining that point A remains unexplained and unexplainable.

In his opening speech last week, Professor Crawford expressed what he called a mild complaint about my oral submissions, so I will be allowed a mild defence. He said that it was improper for counsel to misrepresent the record, in particular to say that a point had not been dealt with when the opposite is true. None of us, I suppose, likes to be lectured by our opponents about "advocacy and accuracy", as Professor Crawford put it (line 6, page 18 of the day 3 transcript) but he said it in such an agreeable tone that I assure you and him that no offence was taken. Professor Crawford's contention was that Trinidad and Tobago had explained how it had selected

point A in its Counter Memorial and again in its
Rejoinder. He was kind enough to give me credit for being
literate and then expressed in what seemed to be a mixture
of sadness and disappointment that I had not used that
skill. In the same breath, Professor Crawford said this,
"I promise on behalf of my colleagues that they will not
make more complaints." In honesty, I must admit that I
did not think for a second that such a promise could bind
his successors. It did not and I do not protest. As
Voltaire would surely have put it, I may disagree with
what Professor Greenwood has to say but I will defend to
the death his right to try to give me a hard time.

Professor Greenwood certainly exercised that right.
He observed that Barbados had said that it could not

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Professor Greenwood certainly exercised that right. He observed that Barbados had said that it could not understand point A as anything but wholly arbitrary. That is true. He offered to help us. "There is in fact nothing arbitrary or unexplained about point A", he said on page 93 of the day 3 transcript, and invited us to read passages from the Counter Memorial and Rejoinder. With just a touch of exasperation he then repeated the alleged explanation.

On Friday, Professor Crawford came back to this matter in his penultimate speech, where he once again asserted that we had forgotten Trinidad and Tobago's twice repeated explanation of point A, as he put it on page 74 of the day 4 transcript. He, too, gave the explanation one more time. It sounded to me as though the two professors' card on me would read "Could be a good student but needs to do his homework". Now, it is my turn.

First of all, you will understand that it cannot fail to encourage an advocate when his opponent feels it necessary to send out one eminent champion after another to repeat their assaults on the very same point. Point A is Trinidad and Tobago's raw nerve. Many statements are attributed to Winston Churchill and this is what he is said to have said about one of his political rivals, if anyone remembers him, I think it is Stafford Cripps, at the time the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said

about one of his speeches, "He delivered that speech with an expression of injured guilt". Trinidad and Tobago knows it has come up with a dodgy proposition and it pretends to complain when it is given short shrift.

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Barbados' contention, Mr President, is not that Trinidad and Tobago failed to say what it had done to come up with point A, rather we expressed disbelief. The transcript will show that Barbados expressed the view that no principle had been articulated, no principle was even conceivable that could make it proper to alight on this point A.

I will cut to the chase and tell you what my report on the two professors would be, "Brilliant students but need to pay attention in class". I say this in a lighthearted way because I do not see why I should be heavyhearted, but please make no mistake. This is a matter of Trinidad and Tobago is seeking at utmost seriousness. Barbados' expense to extend its maritime territory by thousands of square miles beyond the median line, nearly 15,000 square miles. Trinidad and Tobago is saying that this vast space of Barbados' natural patrimony should be lost forever to Barbados due to the calamitous impact of this point A. In Barbadian eyes point A is a monstrosity. To say that we question it is a considerable understatement.

So how did you come to alight on this particular point, Barbados asks Trinidad and Tobago? Why does not the adjacency effect that you claim kick in as soon as you enter what you have decreed is the Atlantic? We were told that the effect of adjacency requires that you get out to some unspecified distance into the Atlantic. I may have expressed mild irony when I said that adjacency is apparently a feeling that must grow on you as you sail away. Professor Crawford then made my point beautifully as he strove to remember a poetical notion which he ascribed to Donne of the difficulty of knowing when the spirit cometh and goeth. Day 4, transcript page 74. Let the point be crystal clear. When Trinidad and Tobago

asserts that it has explained to us more than once how it selected point A Barbados says that that is not true.

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What if Trinidad and Tobago had said "we picked point A because it corresponded to the width of Professor Greenwood's thumb on the map we were using"? That would tell us how they did it, but is that an explanation? Only in the most narrow and useless sense of the word "explanation".

As it happens, the eastward drift of point A probably does correspond to the width of a thumb on some of the maps we have been seeing, but that is of course not what Trinidad and Tobago is saying. We have told you before, and we are telling you again, Trinidad and Tobago's advocates intone, point A is justified because it is the last point on the equidistance line which is determined by a base point on the south-west facing coast of Barbados. But is this any better than the width of my thumb? supposed to be impressed by the use of sanctifying words which the man on the Clapham omnibus would perceive as technical - equidistance line, base point? Barbados has the certitude that this Tribunal will not be bedazzled. This is not a difficult point. It is this. The coasts which in the contention of Trinidad and Tobago justify an adjustment to the median line are not the coasts where one finds the base points that generate that line.

The directly opposing coasts are those which generate the median line which Barbados says should be the border. These opposing coasts are given full, simple, orthodox decisive effect in the median line fortunately acknowledged by both parties. The different coasts now at issue, because they were brought into issue by Trinidad and Tobago as allegedly justifying an adjustment, are in Trinidad and Tobago's thesis the "generally eastern-facing coasts" of the island of Trinidad. We are told that point A is an appropriate location from which to commence giving effect to this eastern facade of the island of Trinidad. But what precisely is the alleged magic of this point, defined as the last point on Barbados' south-west facing

coast which has a controlling effect on the equidistance line? That definition is a bit of a mouthful, so perhaps we might call it, not the Cape of Good Hope, but, looking at it from Trinidad and Tobago's point of view, the Cape of Last Hope. Looking at tab 211 of the Judges' folder, it is important to understand that point A does not have a fixed relation to that Cape of Last Hope. To put it another way, point, A where it sits many scores of miles down the equidistance line, could find itself in a number of places, even if the Cape of Last Hope remains, as it should, exactly where it is.

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We had better look at an illustration. What you see depicted at tab 212 of the Judges' folder is a series of base points which presently control the undisputed median line. The Cape of Last Hope does indeed control Trinidad and Tobago's point A. But let us look closer at the base points. Beyond the Cape of Last Hope, the next base point on Barbados' south east coast, here numbered two, becomes controlling, until the median line, off in the watery distance, falls under the control of the third base point, and so forth.

What would happen if one were to eliminate a few of the Cape of Last Hope's neighbouring points? You could do so by lopping off a slight rounding of Barbados' coast like this. Tab 213. As one would grasp instantly, conceptually, although I suspect that not many people in this room could carry out the mechanics, the Cape of Last Hope now extends its control further downwards across the median line until it yields to the control of a new more distant neighbour. This more distant neighbour is base point 4A, obviously a new point because we have chopped off knobs of this sliver of Barbadian coast. Given the now greater reach of the Cape of Last Hope, the famous point A on the equidistance line would move from here to here, a distance of 54 miles. Trinidad and Tobago's claimed adjustment would have to be reduced, Mr President, by 5,632 square miles. Very simply, the position of point A is not controlled by the south-west facing cost of

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I make no apology for this geographical manipulation. The validity of a proposition must be susceptible to testing under a variety of hypotheses. What have we seen? We have seen a rather modest change in the geography of the island of Barbados. We removed one quarter of a square mile of Barbados' land mass, a good city block, without in the slightest way altering the direction of the coast. And, as my tower of strength, my rock of ages, Mr Gent tells me, the equidistance line will end at precisely the same point as before.

The Cape of Last Hope, which in Trinidad and Tobago's conceit represents the eastern most marker of the alleged Caribbean sector, has not moved. Nor has the coast of Tobago, nor Trinidad, nor indeed Trinidad and Tobago's archipelagic baseline. So how can one imagine that the Cape of Last Hope gives us any principled basis on which to effect an adjustment on account of the island of Trinidad's eastern facade? None whatsoever. less arbitrary than a thumb nail. Trinidad and Tobago's big point, its supposed rationale, was that it had found the point at which the relationship of the two states as a whole becomes lateral rather than opposite. Professor Greenwood's expression. Day 3 transcript, page This simply cannot be. As we have just 92, line 30. seen, Trinidad and Tobago's ostensible rationale would have the effect that the tiniest difference on Barbados' coast would mean that the lateral relationship of the two states as a whole does not become a reality until you have gone a further 54 miles out to sea, with 5,632 square miles changing hands as a result.

This is not an explanation. This is a contrivance most artificial. Trinidad and Tobago has given no justification for point A. The Counter Memorial offered a pseudo explanation. The Rejoinder reiterated that pseudo explanation. And when it was repeated orally, indeed by two speakers, Barbados must conclude that it is faute de mieux.

We have waited in vain for an explanation. The time for waiting is over, the Tribunal will surely not accept a new explanation if it is finally provided at the 13th hour on the day of surrebuttal and when there is no occasion for Barbados to answer.

It will not have escaped the Tribunal's attention that we have not even begun to address the choice of azimuth moving up and away to the north east from point A. Again Trinidad and Tobago seems to rely on the uncertain spirit of the poet. "We do not suggest that this is necessarily the unique way of dealing with the problem" "We have proposed a method of dealing Day 4, page 74. with the adjustment and we have given reasons for it". Reasons for the choice of the azimuth. The stated reason was that the length was the length of a vector representing the distance from the furthest points north and south on the island of Trinidad. In fact, as the Tribunal's hydrographer can confirm, if it is felt relevant, this is inaccurate. It is for some unexplained reason only an approximation. Perhaps Trinidad and Tobago preferred not to promote explicitly a breathtaking new rule of international law to the effect that when two EEZs overlap there should always be a 50/50 division, which Trinidad and Tobago admits is the practical result of its purported line. Day 4, page 75.

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But of course all this dissolves into gossamer nothings when one contemplates the arbitrariness of point A. One can only suppose that Trinidad and Tobago will say that the azimuth must be coupled with point A to give the total maritime dominion which Trinidad and Tobago covets. Where is the principle? Barbados rather surmises that this is a matter of "This is the rule, because this is what I want". So much for point A.

I next wish to revert to the metaphysics of adjacency and opposition. After that some remarks about proportionality. And after that, Mr President, I will pray to be allowed to take my leave from this pulpit!

With respect to adjacency and opposition, as a preliminary remark may I observe that Trinidad and Tobago rather exaggerated its argument when it said that the distinction between the Caribbean and the Atlantic "has been recognised by bodies like the International Hydrographic Organisation for many many years." Day 1, page 86. "Bodies like the IHO?" Name one other body!

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As for the IHO itself, what we are talking about is one document half a century old which incidentally proposed a convenient notional division for the purposes of whatever study was germane to that document. So to speak of "the IHO's dividing line" as though it were something sacrosanct is rather overdoing it.

More interestingly, the map you were shown when this reference to "bodies like the IHO" was being made is this one, tab 215, where we see the "Atlantic Ocean" to the east in its empty light blue expanse and darker waters to the west, containing the entirety of this Tribunal's delimitation area, where the only designation at the far left is "the Caribbean Sea."

I know that Barbados has an Atlantic side and a Caribbean side, but so does St Lucia, so does every other of its neighbouring Caribbean islands. Lest you think that Barbados may be yielding to the temptation of overstating its own argument let it be said that this business of rough indicative nomenclature simply does not contain even the germ of any legally decisive proposition, so let us move on.

You will recall that I spent a considerable time talking about the Anglo/French case and its Scilly effect. On this point too we were taken to task because I heard on day 3, transcript page 88, line 2, our way was not the proper way to use authorities. Trinidad and Tobago said it would not "throw short extracts on the screen but look at the passages in context rather than seeing just a short gobbet taken as an extract". And then a wonderful thing happened. Trinidad and Tobago immediately proceeded precisely to read out short gobbets. And what is more, as

the record will show, the very same gobbets which had commended themselves to the present speaker. This is very good news for the Tribunal because it means that there is agreement as to what is relevant, a disagreement as to what it means, and a requirement to have the Tribunal sort out the competing theses. No more needs to be said.

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That leaves us, as they say in Brussels, with two acquis. First you will recall my observation that the decision in the Anglo/French case explicitly stated that there was no need to establish as a legal proposition whether the two states were in a position of adjacency or opposition, but that if it were necessary to do so the Court of Arbitration would have been inclined to conclude that they were in opposition, and this destroys Trinidad and Tobago's thesis. Day 2, page 56 line 11. words Trinidad and Tobago cannot invoke the Anglo/French case for the proposition that the two states, in that case or this one, are transformed into legally adjacent states in the Atlantic sector. There was no comeback on this point from Trinidad and Tobago. In fact I think we end in what matters is the physical reality of agreement; geography.

That leads me to observe the second acquis. There is no Scilly effect in our case. Trinidad and Tobago has been able to show no such thing because there is none. However interesting its articulation of abstract principles may or may not strike you, the Anglo/French case gives no concrete guidance for assessing Trinidad and Tobago's claim for adjustment.

The same I venture to say may reasonably be concluded with respect to Gulf of Maine and Qatar/Bahrain. Each of those cases also presented peculiar geographic features, which find no correspondence in our rather simpler case of two small island states separated by 116 nautical miles of open uncluttered waters.

So it seems that Trinidad and Tobago's prayers for an adjustment in the eastern sector depend on Trinidad and Tobago's concept of proportionality, and so I come to my

third and final topic of geography.

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The Tribunal will have noted Trinidad and Tobago's acute lack of enthusiasm for the equidistance line. Its advocates paid fleeting lip service to the median line as a starting point - for a nanosecond, but my, what a great hurry they were in to get away from it! Indeed this allergy was so pronounced that my ears actually picked up Professor Greenwood's reference to "the putative median line", and so did the day 4 transcript at page 31 line 4.

The median line may make Trinidad and Tobago as nervous as a long tailed cat in a room full of rocking chairs, but it is no good calling the median line "putative". It is what it is, and perhaps the one fortunate certainty in this case, the one thing that has been agreed between the parties.

Professor Crawford took you through some measurements of the lengths of what he presented as the relevant coasts. They produced a range of ratios. He took as what he called a starting point the 3.6 to 1 ratio which I had shown you earlier. This is in the folder at tab 216. His poisonous suggestion seemed to be that this was an extreme starting point and that the true measurement would likely result in some middle position between the 3.6 to 1, and Professor Crawford's 8.9 to 1 at the other extreme end. But of course this was not Barbados' starting point at all. The 3.6 to 1 ratio represents a correction of Trinidad and Tobago's application of its highly contested notion of eastern facing coastline as being relevant; but Barbados of course says that this notion is wrong as a first principle.

The relevant coasts are these opposing coasts and they produce a ratio substantially in favour of Barbados; more than two and a half to one. Tab 217.

Even if one were to disregard the doubtfulness of its relevance, Trinidad and Tobago's presentation of its alleged east facing coastal frontage is more than debatable. You will recall the map which Professor Crawford showed in support of his extremist 8.9 to 1

ratio. Tab 218. It purported to show relevant coastlines. It will not have escaped your attention, indeed I hope it will have shocked you, that the Barbadian shore directly fronting the median line was entirely ignored in computing this ratio; and yet on the other hand the Trinidad and Tobago calculation counted the full length of Trinidad's sizeable beak which, as far as I can tell turns its back on the delimitation area and faces rather directly, as I was surprised to find, in the direction of the tip of South Africa, that is to say the real Cape of Good Hope.

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Then we are told to give great weight to the frontage of the island of Trinidad. Professor Crawford would have you think that it projects in this fashion, tab 219; now all of a sudden to do this he disregarded what he called the little cap of the hat, what I call Trinidad's beak, which is actually 15 miles long. Even if one accepts to leave out this beak Barbados would suggest, and so would Mr Gent, that the proper placing of the baseline would give you this projection. I hope someone will say "Please do not be silly, include the beak". So we will and here is the projection which we submit is the most representative of the island of Trinidad's general direction. It does not even touch the delimitation area.

Mr President, let us not even talk about the eastern coast of Tobago. If it were not for Brazil it would be projecting towards Antarctica!

In an attempt to justify the reference to coastlines that do not front the delimitation area Trinidad and Tobago said that "Trinidad and Tobago are caught in the middle in a concave situation in exactly the same way that Germany was caught in the middle, except that these are islands". Day 4 transcript, page 67. Exactly the same way? I could make a number of comments but they seem unnecessary. Let me merely point out that the maritime space that Trinidad and Tobago would enjoy under the boundary proposed by Barbados would be a multiple of Trinidad and Tobago's land mass whereas Germany's agreed

North Sea domain is a small fraction of its national land territory.

And if we started playing this game where would it end?

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Is not the island state of St Vincent caught in a concave situation, vis-a-vis Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago? You can ponder this at your leisure. If you examine the location of the string of islands to the west, where would we stop?

What is ultimately the implication of saying that the facade of these away facing coasts should push the order northward?

Please consider this image at tab 220 of the Judges' folder. If Trinidad were bigger, should Trinidad and Tobago's maritime domain expand even further? Or should this also occur if Tobago were larger? If we are going to entertain such notions, then we should consider what would happen if we shrink Trinidad and Tobago. Does this mean that Barbados is entitled to adjust the median line southwards in its favour? Members of the Tribunal, Mr President, are we not really looking at two opposite coasts where the border should be determined by the median line? After so much talk about radiation, by all means let us look at the proper and rational ambit of radiation. Baselines do radiate, but only if they represent the base points that control the median line. We are looking at an image reproduced at tab 224.

I must say that, if Trinidad and Tobago's aggressive ideas about proportionality and radiation would become a rule of law, it would come as very bad news to a lot of people. It would break the hearts of the citizens of the Kingdom of Bahrain, who would have to come to terms with the proposition that their historic judgment of 2001 made them the beneficiaries of an injustice (tab 225). Look at Qatar's size compared to Bahrain. Trinidad and Tobago would advise Qatar to seek to reopen the judgment and, on the footing of some allegedly-relevant measurement,

whether at the neck or the waist or some other anthropomorphic manifestation of Qatar, to ask for an appalling reduction of Bahrain's maritime domain.

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What about Sri Lanka? Sri Lanka has agreed to a maritime border with India. The Union of India has produced, I think I can say, a gallery of distinguished and able international lawyers and India is not known to be either shy or ill-informed when pursuing its entitlements under international law. So how did India miss this trick? How does Sri Lanka dare to put itself so impudently in the path of the manifest destiny of India's mighty coastlines? Surely, India was entitled to radiate Sri Lanka's maritime domain into smithereens?

But the real victims of Trinidad and Tobago's radiation would be the poor Gambians. Tab 227. At present they live in the seemingly false security of this agreed, boringly predictable maritime border. But by the time Professors Greenwood and Crawford reach the Senegalese with the Trinidad and Tobago doctrine, the matter will have to be reconsidered. First, the northern border will be pushed down by Senegal's dominant northern coast and then the southern border would be pushed up by Senegal's dominant southern coast. The good citizens of Gambia will be lucky to be left with the equivalent of a swimming pool of maritime domain.

Barbados, Mr President, is of course a firm partisan of the judgment line in Qatar-Bahrain, and a firm partisan of the agreed borders of India and Sri Lanka and Gambia and Senegal. The wild mischief of the Trinidad and Tobago claim is flatly contrary to legal orthodoxy, which Barbados submits is reflected in the following simple sentence which you find in tab 228, a quotation from Churchill and Lowe, Third Edition. "Differences in the lengths of the relevant coastlines are a relevant circumstance especially (perhaps only) in the case of opposite coasts". Need I repeat: Tab 217 shows us that the lengths of the opposite coasts favour Barbados by a 2.6:1 ratio. The eminent good sense of this proposition

may be grasped instantly by considering, on the one hand, this emblematic case of opposition where an adjustment seems justified, (Judges' folder tab 229) and, on the other hand, this emblematic case of adjacency where adjustment does not seem justified.

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Mr President, I can see that my train is coming into the station just a little quicker than I had anticipated, so I will leave the Tribunal with one last thought, which occurred to me as a possible encapsulation of the Gestalt of this case: one thought that, for this advocate encompasses everything. The thought came to me as I listened with admiration to the erudite and apposite arguments of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle reaching back into 18th century poetry to come up with concepts that were germane to their arguments. heard Michael Reisman referring to Andrew Marvell's coy mistress to illustrate a temporal aspect of a problem of jurisdiction, "had we but world enough and time", and James Crawford, referring to John Donne, if it was John Donne, in a very sporting way, making a powerful argument in favour of Barbados, saying the spirit comes and goes, you never know what it is but, when you have to make a maritime delimitation, at some point, the spirit might move you and the spirit will tell you to do something I am not a fan of John Donne, I find him a bit somewhere. arch and arid for my taste, but I understand that for most of his life he was an impecunious preacher - and that of itself is enough for him to stay in our minds as a sympathetic figure. I suppose that he stayed that way until later in his life when he was elected Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, the cathedral down the way. But during his impecunious times, he wrote one poem, I think that it is called "A Verse Letter" (you can tell because it is always to somebody) to the Countess of Bedford, which stays in the poetry anthologies. Given the piety of the man I am sure that it was not the impulse of adulterous yearnings but, not to put too fine a point on it, I suppose he was paid for it. Anyway, he gave value because the Countess of Bedford has been immortalised. Mr

President - one line - six words: "Your radiation" - not radiance - "can all clouds subdue". That is poetic licence - and it ain't true! You might procure that John Donne writes a poem to immortalise you for the ages, but your radiance will not the English clouds subdue. And I put it to you, as a moral certainty, that the Countess of Bedford was as susceptible as any of us to being drenched by the occasional English squall or even drizzle.

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Trinidad and Tobago can procure that an array of eminent advocates, whose names will certainly be handed down from generation to generation, invent a radiation that they will ascribe to Trinidad and Tobago. But this poetic licence ain't true either. This notion of radiance will not be able to subdue the clouds of legal orthodoxy which stand in the way of Trinidad and Tobago's extravagant claim.

My subject is geography. Everything I say is subject to fishing. But that is not my subject. Radiation is a part of geography. There is a place in international jurisprudence for radiation. It has, incidentally, had effects in maritime delimitation, but its effect has been orthodox, its effect should be foreseeable, its effect should be, as you see on the map now (tab 227), neither predatory nor mischievous.

As this is I think my last intervention in these proceedings, may I thank the Tribunal and all of its members for all their patience and courtesy.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Mr Paulsson. Is this the time when we should have our coffee break?

MR PAULSSON: Yes, thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Then we will adjourn until twenty to 12.

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: Mr President, I noticed that Mr Volterra said earlier that there would be replies to the questions asked yesterday some time this week. When we were asked a question by Professor Orrego Vicuna we took some trouble to ensure that the answer to that question was provided in

writing on the first day of Barbados' Reply so that they

could consider what, if anything, needed to be said about it. We would have no difficulty with replies in writing to questions asked by members of the Tribunal, but we would have grave concern if those replies were provided later than Thursday.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Have you any observation, Mr Volterra, on that?

MR VOLTERRA: Oh, but that we had a two day weekend as well! PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: Sir, the questions were asked yesterday.

Yesterday is Monday and we are asking for replies on Thursday. Close of business on Thursday will be enough. I think that after today the substantial team of Barbados can address their mind ... If I might say so, without wanting to take up your time, I am slightly puzzled that they need instructions as to what has happened in the Zone of Co-operation, but no doubt they will tell us.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr Volterra.

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MR VOLTERRA: Mr President, we can certainly evaluate during the coffee break where we are.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. We stand adjourned.

# (Short Adjournment)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr Volterra, did you wish to speak? MR VOLTERRA: Thank you, Mr President. I will respond on the point of responding to questions. In Barbados' calculation the Tribunal has asked 12 questions in the course of the hearing to date. Six of those were asked yesterday and the Tribunal may imagine that Barbados has been preparing for its second day of its second round. Of those 12 questions Barbados has answered five already in the course of its presentations in this round of the hearing. Barbados will be able to answer two more of those questions by the close of play Wednesday. seek to submit responses to a further four by the close of day Wednesday, but that might have to be Thursday. there is one question on which Barbados is already working and it will try to submit by the close of day Wednesday, but it might not be able to do so properly within that That is the question raised by Professor Lowe

yesterday afternoon in which he requested a summary of precedents for all Tribunals who have been asked to delimit boundaries and give remedies other than delimitation of a boundary, together with a note of how far that remedy was in a question contemplated in terms of reference to the Tribunal. This Tribunal may understand that whilst we are working assiduously on it even whilst some of us are here that might require something more than the time available. But nonetheless I assure my friends that we are hoping that we will get it finished in time.

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In relation to the aside about the exclusive economic zone one of the reasons that Barbados was seeking to do due diligence is that it is on the public record that the Prime Minister of Barbados was heading a multilateral CARICOM delegation to Guyana to talk over a number of issues. Also on the agenda between the Prime Minister of Barbados and the President of Guyana were a number of bilateral issues and importantly among those were a number of matters dealing with the exclusive economic zones, including consideration of a number of protocols and so on.

This meeting we have discovered, has been postponed and we do not know why. It is being rescheduled or apparently the bilateral meeting is being rescheduled for November and Barbados wanted to find out the status of things before making a precipitous response, but that is one of the questions to which Barbados will respond by the end of the day tomorrow. Thank you very much, Mr President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Mr Volterra. Professor Crawford.

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: Sir, that was a long answer and I am just trying to grasp its implications. Is Mr Volterra telling us that, in effect, all but the one question asked by Professor Lowe about alternative remedies will be answered by the end of the day tomorrow, saving force majeure?

MR VOLTERRA: I am saying that we will seek to have them all, other than perhaps the question from Professor Lowe, by the close of day tomorrow, but it might be that four will be responded to on Thursday.

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: I am sorry, "four"?

MR VOLTERRA: Four questions in total.

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PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: Will be responded to on Thursday. I ask when on Thursday. We are dealing with issues on Thursday to which we are not planning to reply on Friday. I think that we are entitled to have answers. They are mostly questions of law. The question that Professor Lowe asked is a question of law and we can just reply to it ourselves, but the questions of fact and mixed questions of fact and law, if they do not know the answers now, I wonder why.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you have anything to add, Mr Volterra?

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: If I may take an example, sir, one of

Professor Lowe's questions was, what is the significance
of article 297.3(a) for the jurisdiction of this Tribunal?

It is a vital question. It has been flagged by us. It
is on the table. We are entitled to an answer to that
question before we stand up on jurisdiction on Thursday
afternoon.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr Volterra.

MR VOLTERRA: Barbados will endeavour to respond to these questions as soon as it can. It will certainly endeavour to do so by the end of the day tomorrow, but there may be some questions that it will not be able to answer by the end of tomorrow as I have indicated.

THE PRESIDENT: Professor Reisman is the next speaker, is he? PROFESSOR REISMAN: Yes, Mr President.

THE PRESIDENT: Please, Professor Reisman.

PROFESSOR REISMAN: Thank you, Mr President. Mr President, members of the tribunal, with your permission I turn to Trinidad and Tobago's regional implications theory. I will not address this theory at length because we have already had the opportunity to explain to you in written and oral submissions that we think that it is little more

than a ruse and that little new has been said about it by our friends in the first round, though a few of their points warrant comment.

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I should emphasis at the very outset that Barbados relies on the customary international law of maritime delimitation and has submitted to you that that body of law now holds that for states in coastal opposition the appropriate methodology is the median line-special circumstances method. Many experiments, some unsuccessful, have been tried with other methods and the accumulated experience distilled through general state practice and judicial and arbitral decision teaches that this is the method which provides equitable outcomes in situations of coastal opposition. Of course, we take it as res ipsa loquitur that Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago are in a state of coastal opposition and that attempts to pretend that they are really or somehow adjacent simply collide with reality.

We question the legitimacy of a proposed method such as regional implications theory which is deployed to obscure the geographical situation that obtains and the method that has been prescribed for it. In asking you to ignore the general state practice, including treaty practice, which has produced and sustained over time the median line special circumstances method, and instead to look at only two treaties, one of which, Trinidad and Tobago-Venezuela, is not even supposed to be in this case, the other Dominica-France, an idiosyncratic agreement without repetition in the region, and to look at no other, Trinidad and Tobago, we submit, is inviting the Tribunal into ignoring Article 31, paragraph 1, subparagraph (b) of the Statute and replacing it with a new provision which says to you look only at the regional treaties which I say are relevant and ignore everything else. That is the wrong intellectual procedure and it is perilous. device for suppressing Article 38, paragraph 1 subparagraph (b) of the Statute by replacing the requirement of general practice with a selection of one or two treaties and presenting them as if they displaced general international law should be rejected.

International law is international and not parochial. And it is international law that is the mandate of the Tribunal.

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The only treaties which Trinidad and Tobago presented under the rubric of the regional theory are, first, Trinidad and Tobago's treaty with Venezuela, which is not opposable to Barbados, and, second, the treaty between France and Dominica, but, Mr President, having listened to our learned friends, we are no longer sure that one of those treaties is still in play. Does Trinidad and Tobago actually insist on the Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela treaty? Listen to Professor Crawford. "You are not asked to validate or invalidate the 1990 treaty. It is not a matter for this Tribunal. It is not a matter for this dispute. You were certainly not asked to render it opposable to Barbados". Day 3, page 104, lines 21 to 24. Tab 243. Mr President, are we to conclude that the regional implication theory has now retracted to one treaty? Perhaps as a means for concealing the exclusion and selectivity which its regional implication theory imports, Trinidad and Tobago has accused us of only citing regional treaties that are favourable to Barbados. Mr President, ours is not a regional implication theory. We are not relying on practice of one or two states within We are relying upon general international law. a region. We strenuously object to a stratagem that tries to oppose Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela or Dominica as an integral part of their regional implication theory, and Professor Crawford's assurance notwithstanding, we still find throughout the written submissions disturbing evidence that the entire regional implications theory is a stratagem to have the Trinidad and Tobago-Venezuela treaty applied against Barbados.

Mr President, as for the Dominica-France agreement, we insist that one agreement does not a regional norm make. As we said last week, the reason why our discipline

looks for general practice and general trends in decision is precisely to ensure that the customary rule that emerges is fully general and not a reflection of the special or idiosyncratic political features of any one agreement. Dominica is an unusual agreement, its commentaries have observed, and could hardly be the basis for either a general rule or a corollary that would justify departing from the rule, especially in our case. It is arguable that Dominica could have been cut off by application of median line special circumstances, but in our case the median line allows Trinidad and Tobago a zone of 193 nautical miles. That is hardly a cut-off.

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The Barbados-Guyana agreement apparently does not qualify for inclusion in the regional implications theory. We are baffled as to the criteria for membership in the region. We thought that Barbados and Guyana were members. Nor is the St Lucia agreement apparently qualifying as a member in this region; yet Trinidad and Tobago/Venezuela which is not supposed to be in the case, as Professor Crawford said, does seem to qualify.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, at a certain point one would be forgiven if one said we are not certain exactly what your regional implications theory is, and how it comports with Article 38 of the Statute, and indeed which treaty qualifies as regional and which does not and why; and what role the Trinidad and Tobago/Venezuela treaty plays or does not play? Of course we understand your regional implication theory gives you everything you want, and that is why you have invented it and that is why you are pleading it, but if it is a regional theory what does it do for the region; what does it mean in practice? What is the regional equitability that flows from it and that would not flow from the application of general international law?

In America we say the proof of the pudding is in the eating. We have been given quite a complicated pudding. So let us taste it. We tried to do that, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, to cut through the pudding of

rhetoric and the contradictions to the critical question; what does the regional implication theory as propounded by Trinidad and Tobago produce? Here is what it produces. Consider the graphic on your screen. Look at the equity that it does to Barbados. Barbados submits that this picture speaks for itself and condemns Trinidad and Tobago's regional implication theory in this case more eloquently than words can.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, Trinidad and Tobago has seen this graphic and says that this is a nightmare scenario which is a figment of our imagination (day 3, page 69 tab 244). "None of those states", says Professor Crawford, with reference to the states that you are looking at, "none of those states have made proposals of that kind and there would be no basis for them to do so."

17 12.00

None of them have made proposals of this kind, although they are all members of the region. And none of them would have a basis for so doing so. No basis for them to do so. But that is exactly what Trinidad and Tobago is doing. The projection was designed to show exactly what the consequences of Trinidad and Tobago's theory of delimitation would be. If there is no basis for the other states in the region whose geography supposedly justifies recourse to the regional implications theory, on what basis does Trinidad and Tobago claim to do it? What support does the regional implication theory provide for it? Mr President, members of the Tribunal, is not this just an elaborate ploy to justify Trinidad and Tobago's claim and then to turn it off so that no one else in the region supposedly supporting this regional norm can do it; and of course no one else has claimed it.

Judge Schwebel has called for transparency and clear reasoning in maritime boundary delimitations, and as a member of the Court he criticised judgments which did not achieve this. The so called regional implications theory fails any transparency and clear reasoning test. It was

invented for this case. We submit that it must be rejected.

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Mr President, members of the Tribunal, I turn to consider Trinidad and Tobago's substantive claims on the ECS, the extended continental shelf, which is appurtenant to Barbados' EEZ but not to Trinidad and Tobago's EEZ.

Professor Greenwood, with characteristic humour and modesty, introduced this part of his presentation by inviting the Tribunal to regard it as "the commercial break between the two halves of a serious film", tab 245. Commercial break between the two halves of a serious film. That is usually a signal to get up and go to the refrigerator to get a beer, alcoholic or non-alcoholic. We did not do that. As befits an international arbitration of this importance, we took what he said and what his colleagues said on this point very seriously, and having done so we find considerable difficulties with it, as we believe the Tribunal will as well.

I outlined the sequence of premises of Trinidad and Tobago's argument here last week so the briefest mention of Trinidad and Tobago's argument should suffice.

Continental shelf doctrine entered customary international law before the EEZ and the doctrine survives intact.

Moreover it trumps EEZ rights of other states, that is rights within 200 miles of the coast of another state. As the continental shelf doctrine predates the institution of the EEZ, a state's continental shelf which encounters another state's shelf in the EEZ may go under that state's EEZ and co-exist with it and reappear as the extended continental shelf which goes beyond the other state's EEZ. Those are the essential steps of the argument.

The humorous opening of the presentation of this part of Trinidad and Tobago's case by Professor Greenwood was followed by many throwaway lines as Trinidad and Tobago developed its argument. We appreciate your time is limited and we do not intend to address each of these arguments because many of them self-destruct on any examination. But there are a few points. Professor

Crawford asks you to ignore France/Dominica's terminus of Dominica's rights at the 200 nautical mile limit which one would have thought would have been indicative of practice as evidence of law with respect to the extended continental shelf. Why ignore it? Because our friend explains Judge Guillaume simply told Dominica it could not do it - page 102. But was this simply an ipso dixit of Judge Guillaume or was it evidence of international law? Mr Dundas on whom Trinidad and Tobago relies and we do not in his article which has been presented as travaux - and it is not travaux, he seems to have worked for one of the parties - says that the ground for France's objections or President Guillaume's objection to Dominica's claim here was that "it would be contrary to international law". here we have a clear indication of practice and opinio juris, manifest opinio juris, and it is from a major and we are told just to ignore it. establishes that the EEZ concludes at the 200 mile nautical limit and nothing extends beyond it. We agree with Judge Guillaume and as a matter of legal method we would say that when someone of the status of a judge of the International Court says something is

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contrary to international law in a practical case that view is entitled to more than summary dismissal.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, consider Professor Greenwood, repeating Professor Crawford's previous argument, contending that where Trinidad and Tobago's 200 mile arc bends away from Barbados' 200 mile arc Barbados' area cannot belong to Barbados and thus block Trinidad and Tobago's shelf claim because "it amounts to reinstating a rigid adherence to equidistance" (tab 246). What is the seguitur here? What is the connection? And as a separate matter what about the entitlements of Barbados to an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles which does not end until it encounters another? Professor Crawford, though relied upon by Professor Greenwood, has a different view, though it's a view that changes very rapidly, so rapidly, I would say,

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that it is hard to follow. He says, "If our maritime zones come to the end within 200 miles of our coast, then that is it. We are dead". Day 3, page 20, lines 3 and 4. "If our maritime zones come to the end within 200 miles of our coast, then that is it. We are dead". He goes on to say, "We do not somehow go underground. Where would we go underground and emerge somehow in some mysterious process hundreds of miles further east and still in an area claimed by others". Same page, lines 4 to 8. Incidentally, this is your tab 247. Well, this seems fairly reasonable. But wait. On the very same page, one paragraph later, Professor Crawford says - and I believe you should turn to this just to verify it, Mr President, members of the Tribunal - tab 247 - Professor Crawford says, having said, "If our maritime zones come to the end within 200 miles of our coast, then that is it. dead", he says a paragraph later, "If you say - and we will explore this in more detail tomorrow - that the mere fact that another state has a few miles of exclusive economic zone beyond our exclusive economic zone and that puts an end to all of our maritime claims, you will have reinstated equidistance for the outer continental shelf". But we thought you are dead. "If our maritime zones come to an end within 200 nautical miles, then we are dead". Apparently, there is life after death and you need not wait for the rapture or the resurrection. All you have to do is go down one paragraph

Mr President, we wonder what is the serious half that is on one side or the other side of the commercial break.

I will not take your time to go through many of the very, very problematic and inconsistent statements that we find and we think are manifest and which, as I said earlier, we believe self-destruct on a reading, but I would like to go to the core of the thesis that was propounded to us and that is the notion of the continental shelf doctrine as an almost platonic notion. A premise of Trinidad and Tobago's argument is — and I am quoting Professor Crawford — that "there are not two continental

shelves, outer and inner, intended and extended, so to speak. There is only one. Just as there are not two continental shelf doctrines, one old and one new, there is not the old continental shelf of 1958 and the new continental shelf of 1982" - a very important premise in the argument that I outlined a moment earlier. Of course, Mr President, law frequently presents itself as permanent and immoveable. We all use the expression "as mutable as the decrees of the Medes and the Persians", but we all know that law changes, sometimes tectonically, sometimes dramatically and in a revolutionary fashion. It was Dean Pound who said that all legislation is an experiment in social control and, if there is any area of international law which demonstrates that, it is the law of the sea of the modern era. For all the extraordinary ferment in the law of the sea, has the continental shelf doctrine alone proved impervious to that dynamic change? Is there really only one doctrine of a continental shelf that has never changed through time - a platonic continental shelf - and, if there is, what does not this unchanging doctrine give to Trinidad and Tobago?

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Let us understand what we are talking about by going back to the geological origins of the continental shelf. I apologise, Mr President, for such basic information, but I think that it is important to make sure that it is on the record. Geologically, the continental shelf is that extension of the land mass that extends in shallow water to the top of the continental slope, also known as the shelf break. Beyond the break the continental land mass falls away down the continental slope to the abyssal plain of the deep ocean. The transition from continental to oceanic geology happens in the foot of the slope. to define continental shelf in its geological reference, and let us not forget that it was that reference that preceded the juristic experiments, and indeed that reference that gives us the very designation of continental shelf, then, if that is the designation, then Trinidad and Tobago's continental shelf ends within four

miles of its coast. Four miles of its coast.

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If one were to define the continental shelf of Trinidad and Tobago as including the shelf and the slope as we saw in the previous graphic, Trinidad and Tobago's inclusive continental shelf does not even reach the 200 nautical mile limit measured from its archipelagic baselines.

That is, I suppose, as close as you will get to a platonic definition of the continental shelf and it does not give Trinidad and Tobago the ocean space that it is claiming.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, the 1958
Convention defined the continental shelf in article 1 in quite a different fashion. "For the purpose of these articles, the term 'continental shelf' is used as referring to the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas adjacent to the coast but outside the area of the territorial sea to a depth of 200 metres or beyond that limit to where the depth of a superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of natural resources of the said areas". There is another provision, of course, to this. I do not want to be accused of just giving you a gobbet, but, as you will see, this is all that is relevant to our discussion.

If this was the continental shelf that Trinidad and Tobago claims to have acquired at some point in the past, what did it actually acquire given its natural prolongation? There is the 200 metre isobath. The depth of 200 metres. Of course, under the strict language of article 1 of the 1958 Convention there actually is no definition of the continental shelf other than a definition of the limits of exploitability. So this could, in theory, ultimately extend to mid-ocean as there was no other geological or geomorphological definition provided by the 1958 Convention. But, Mr President, no one other than Judge Oda, to our knowledge, has propounded or advocated that theory, in part because that view, if it were accepted, would preclude any common heritage in the

other part of the sea. The majority view of jurists was that the shelf is more bounded and, certainly, in 1958 the 200 metre isobath of Trinidad and Tobago was less than 12 miles from its coast. Is this the concept of continental shelf to which Professor Crawford was referring?

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Mr President, was the concept of continental shelf in article 1 of the 1958 Convention, perhaps the platonic continental shelf, was it carried over to UNCLOS? Consider article 76, paragraphs 1 and 3 of the 1982 Convention. I will not read it into the record as it is in your folders or is supposed to be in your folders. It may not be there.

This is quite a different concept from 1958 and also from the geological conception, the original conception, as it were, of continental shelf. I think there should be no surprise. In 1958 exploitability technology and economics seemed quite limited. We all know that the first well of more than 200 metres was not drilled until about 1970, but after that explorations were being conducted in deeper water. By 1982 drilling was being conducted in over 1,000 metres. So it was appreciated that the limits of deeper prospecting had not been reached. If the 1958 definition of the shelf was retained, there might be no common heritage of mankind as States extended their exploitation to the mid-ocean reaches. Hence, the entirely new definition which was more limiting in some ways, more extensive in some ways, was developed. Still Article 76, paragraphs 4 to 8 introduced the possible extended continental shelf, which might go as far seaward as 350 nautical miles from the baselines or 100 nautical miles from the 2,500 metre isobath. The provision prescribed the maximum length of straight outer lines and it made this extension subject ultimately to the final decision of the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf under Annex II or, to be precise, subject to its recommendations "which shall be final and binding."

This is quite different from what was available in

1958. In addition, Article 82 imposed the system of payments or contributions in kind in respect of the exploitation of the non-living resources of the continental shelf to be made to the Authority, which was to distribute them to state parties. So, in place of the 200 metre isobath along with an undefined exploitability test, a qualified and geological and contingent distance test was installed with automatic rights to a now defined continental shelf limited to the outer edge of the margin or the 200 nautical miles where it is greater than the margin. After that, coastal states' rights were conditional on additional geomorphological tests, subject to confirmation by a designated commission and even then the benefits that might be gained from those rights were subject to mandatory contributions to the Authority.

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So, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, is it not clear that there have been radically different conceptions of a continental shelf? Is there a natural continental If there is, it is the geological definition - and the geological definition provided to Trinidad and Tobago 4 miles from its coast. 1982 represents, if I may say, a watershed, a qualitative change in the early experiments. We submit that it was only under the 1982 Convention that Trinidad and Tobago could have first made a claim obviously assuming that Barbados did not exist and enjoy its own equally valid entitlements - the areas beyond 200 nautical miles which it is now claiming as its continental shelf. And that definition of the continental shelf was contemporaneous with the statutory installation of the exclusive economic zone. I will consider the relationship between these two institutions in a moment, but to emphasise the point that we are dealing with distinctively different conceptions of a continental shelf, I ask the hydrographer to add the line possible under UNCLOS to the chart where you can see the line possible under the 1958 Convention.

You will observe that under the new definition
Trinidad and Tobago's continental shelf is quite different

from what it was under the 1958 definition and radically different from what it was under the geological definition, the definition that ultimately gave us the terms that entered into the codex of international law. The point of emphasis is that the notion of a single conception of the shelf, single and coherent and consistent through time as propounded by Professor Crawford, is not empirical at all. It is a metaphysical concept, vague in contour and essentially ex post facto in content. Anyone who claims that he or she could have foreseen these developments as inevitable within the womb of the platonic ideal of continental shelf is impressively psychic or dreaming.

Until 1982 neither Trinidad and Tobago nor any state had a right to an ECS or even a right to the shelf as defined in UNCLOS Article 76. If any state qualified under paragraphs 4 to 8 of Article 76, it qualified as a result of the 1982 Convention, not as a result of any pre-existing concept of the continental shelf, and that new definition had to be accommodated with the contemporaneous installation of the exclusive economic zone. So Trinidad and Tobago's claim based on a continuous single doctrine of continental shelf we submit fails.

Incidentally, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, this review of the evolution of the continental shelf doctrine obviates the apparent contradiction between chapters 5 and 6 of UNCLOS, a seeming contradiction which Trinidad and Tobago's claim creates and then has to struggle to justify. The drafters of UNCLOS were not sloppy. They did not create a regime under which two states have the same rights, one under Article 56 paragraph 1 and the other under Article 77 to the same piece of seabed. They were not guilty of sloppy drafting and there is no reason to try and reconstruct why and how they would have arranged for two different states to use the same seabed at the same place. Nor is there any reason to load so much and so implausibly on to the words "in accordance" in Article 56 paragraph 3 in order to

pretend that the EEZ is subordinated in this artificially created conflict to the continental shelf by the drafters.

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Trinidad and Tobago's argument requires you to read "in accordance with" as if it said "subject to", but the drafters used "subject to" when they intended to create a subordination between different parts of UNCLOS. Article 87. Look at paragraph 1, subsection (c), "the freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines subject to Part VI". Subsection (d), "freedom to construct artificial islands and other installations permitted under international law subject to Part VI". Subsection (e), "freedom of fishing, subject to the conditions laid down in section 2". Mr President, members of the Tribunal, the words "subject to" were part of the lexicon of the drafters of the Law of the Sea Convention and when they wanted to use those words they did. "In accordance with" is not "subject to", and the exclusive economic zone was not made subject to the continental shelf, as our friends have argued.

Second, if as we said last week Trinidad and Tobago automatically acquired a continental shelf at some moment in the past, then Barbados must have acquired its shelf at the same time. And Trinidad and Tobago's shelf would have stopped where Barbados' shelf encountered it. Given the situation of coastal opposition that would have been the median line. Trinidad and Tobago would not have reached the ECS because Barbados was once again inconveniently in front of it.

Third, as a general legal theory, the proposition that the codification and progressive development of an area of customary international law into a widely accepted treaty still allows the customary international law which was codified to continue to exist and to develop in ways different from the treaty takes us into Rudolf von Jhering's satirical Begriffshimmel; a heavenly abode — a heaven of concepts — in which departed jurists can blissfully play with concepts as disembodied as themselves forever. This notion of the continuing existence of the

customary law despite a multilateral and widely accepted treaty that incorporated it was used as one of the basis of jurisdiction by the International Court in the Nicaraguan case, and it has been widely criticised and it was wrong. The very idea that international law which was codified in UNCLOS on its entry into force continues to exist and to evolve as custom while the treaty goes its own direction is belied by Article 31 of the Vienna Convention which mandatorily incorporated subsequent practice in the construction of UNCLOS or any treaty.

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Fourth, the treaty cited in support of Trinidad and Tobago's claim deal with fisheries access and no other uses of water column or seabed, while Trinidad and Tobago's proposals would have a state drilling for oil on the seabed of the EEZ of another state which presumably would be able to exercise its own rights with respect to the seabed in its EEZ. Nor do any of the cases cited by Trinidad and Tobago in this regard even deal with the issue for which they were invoked. But last week Trinidad and Tobago did try to use Sir Gerald's doctrine of nonexclusive rights to bolster its argument. yesterday, we were of course gratified that opposing counsel now accept a theory which we had introduced, but they initially rejected, but I have to say that theirs is a grotesque misapplication of it. Sir Gerald spoke of non-exclusive fishing rights. When some 60 Barbadian iceboats, each with a crew of 3-5 people, net fish in waters south of the median line they do not interfere with any other uses of the water column or seabed. Can the same be said, Mr President, for two states using the same seabed for the search for minerals on the basis of different legal bases; one relying on Article 56 paragraph 1 and the other on Article 77?

Fifth, the theory of the exclusive continental shelf which Trinidad and Tobago propounds must be generalisable if it is to be law. If generalised it would be mischievous and chaotic, as I indicated in the graphics last week, for which I would say poor Mr Gent was unfairly

criticised. Those particular graphics, which are just what graphics in any litigation should be, were prepared by Dr Cleverly. It maybe worth considering them again for a moment. This is the generalisation of the theory that is being put forward by Trinidad and Tobago, in two areas and others of course could be generated.

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Mr President, members of the Tribunal, Professor Greenwood commenced his presentation on the ECS with a Let me show you what the punch line is. pleasant joke. You will see here the allocation of the extended continental shelf that flows from Trinidad and Tobago's theory. How much is given to Trinidad and Tobago and how much is given to Venezuela, how much is given to Barbados. This is not simply a bad joke, it is a bad theory, incorporating faulty reasoning. It would, if it were effected, produce a grossly inequitable result. would receive 25 per cent of the extended continental shelf to which it is entitled under international law, one quarter of what its entitlement is. This inequity is curious because Trinidad and Tobago has urged you to discard the clear and rational criteria which international law has developed for delimitation of maritime spaces of states in coastal opposition, and to adopt the new theory ostensibly based on equitability.

Trinidad and Tobago's theory is in fact a formula for inequity in this case and for chaos and conflict in any other cases in which it might be applied.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, this will be my final opportunity to plead before you. I should like to say again what a privilege and an honour it has been to plead and to appear on behalf of Barbados.

Mr President, with your permission Sir Eli and Attorney General Mottley will address you this afternoon at a time you designate.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Professor Reisman. We will stand adjourned until 3 o'clock.

(Adjourned for a Short Time)

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THE PRESIDENT: Professor Lauterpacht.

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PROFESSOR SIR ELIHU LAUTERPACHT: Thank you, Mr President. Mr
President and members of the Tribunal. The issues before
you have now been so thoroughly canvassed that there is
little that I can add. Certainly it is unnecessary for me
to review all the main issues or pretend to offer them in
a summary form to which they no longer lend themselves.
Instead I will touch briefly on four points which have
wider ramifications in the resolution of the case. The
fact that I do not deal with others should not be taken as
a reflection of any unimportance for them. This is
especially so in relation to the conduct of Barbados north
of the median line which has been so amply dealt with by
Mr Volterra.

Just by way of preface, may I repeat that this is really a simple case that has been made difficult by the complexities introduced on behalf of Trinidad and Tobago. Both sides are now agreed that the process of delimitation should start from the drawing of a median line between Barbados and Tobago. This is in accord with established precedent. Both sides are also agreed that it may be justifiable on a persuasive demonstration then to adjust or modify the median line by reference to certain relevant circumstances. It is in the identification of these circumstances that the two sides differ.

For Barbados the relevant circumstances operate in the north-western sector south of the median line. The extensive fisheries conducted by Barbados fishermen in the waters off the north west, north and north east coasts of Tobago cannot be disregarded. So I come to my first substantive point. The parties disagree as to the extent in time and location of the fisheries. Barbados has introduced a number of affidavits by Barbados fisherfolk attesting to the fact that flying fish have been long caught in these waters by them and their ancestors. Trinidad and Tobago has sought to denigrate the probative value of these affidavits by relying instead on a number

of reports suggesting that fishing for flying fish in this region is a relatively recent development, but Barbados is entitled to ask why should greater probative value be attached to these reports than is attached to the affidavits of the fisherfolk? The fact that in some cases they are reports by government or international officials is tacitly deemed by Trinidad and Tobago to endow them with a greater authority than the statements of persons who are actually involved in the fisheries.

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But Trinidad and Tobago has not introduced this material in the form of witness statements that could have led to the cross-examination of their authors; Barbados, on the other hand, by submitting its evidence in affidavit form has indicated that their authors would be available for cross-examination. Trinidad and Tobago has chosen not to embark on a direct questioning of the Barbados deponents. Instead it has merely asked the Tribunal to accord a greater weight to reports written by persons who appear never to have been involved in actual fishing in the area, than is to be accorded to the evidence, never made the subject of direct challenge, of fisherfolk who have worked in these waters and whose families have done so for generations.

At one point, Trinidad and Tobago classified the evidence given in the affidavits regarding what had happened in earlier generations as hearsay evidence. But is not much of the evidence presented in the form of reports and studies, official or otherwise, also hearsay? Where did those experts get the facts on which they base their reports? They got them from secondary sources. even if the reports in question were to be accepted as the only valid source of information, it has to be observed that they clearly evidence consistent Barbadian flying fish activity at least as far back as the 1970s. Barbados contends that the documentary record from 1942 onwards demonstrates that Barbadian fishing activity in the relevant area dates back to at least the 1930s. Barbados contends further that the evidence as a whole

clearly shows such continuous activity since as far back as the early 18th century.

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Trinidad and Tobago seems to assume that activity that has now gone on for at least some 30 years or, as Barbados contends, for 60 years, and indeed for centuries, that such activity is not a sufficient basis for attributing weight in the process of delimitation that is taking place today.

But even some 30 years of relevant activity may not be disregarded. This must especially be the case where, as here, it is common ground that the activity concerned has been substantial and continuous since the time when the relevant area was high seas. Just as in the Jan Mayen case, continuous fishing activity for capelin for some 20 years was considered a relevant circumstance, so even the indisputable fishing activities for some 30 years in this case must be a relevant circumstance. In any event, it is difficult to believe that Barbadian fishing for flying fish off Tobago is an activity that suddenly sprang into being in the 1970s or even the 1930s, given the documented fact that it was taking place two centuries previously.

The evidence produced by Barbados makes it clear that any conclusion of the present case that leaves the Barbados fishermen unprotected will have major adverse effects. There has been much talk about whether these effects will be catastrophic. Two questions arise. The first is, for whom is the development catastrophic? The second is, what exactly is meant by catastrophic? As to the first, the impact of the catastrophe is to be measured principally in the effects upon the fisherfolk themselves. Though it extends, of course, to their families and all those engaged in the processing and marketing of the flying fish and, indeed, more generally to the population at large.

The Tribunal has been provided with evidence of the hardship that the fisherfolk will suffer if their freedom to fish is curtailed. It is by reference to their hardship that the catastrophe must be measured. In any

event, and this is the second question, is "catastrophic" the right adjective to be used to describe the degree of economic and social consequences of any failure to ensure that Barbados fisherfolk can continue to fish in the relevant area? It has become a commonplace of the discussion of relevant factors in delimitation that economic and social considerations should be disregarded. Barbados suggests that this commonplace is ripe for reconsideration. There is no good reason why an approach to an equitable solution should exclude consideration of economic and social factors, particularly in the case of a small island state that is already inherently vulnerable. The very fact that the concept of catastrophic consequences has been acknowledged as relevant itself indicates that economic consequences require consideration. But why the adjective "catastrophic"? appeared out of thin air in the Gulf of Maine case as a description of the consequences that the Court considered might follow from what it was so keen to avoid, namely, to use the Court's own words, "a radically inequitable delimitation". But the relevance and context of the test were the subject of debate between the parties and the Chamber of the Court did not enter into any discussion of it.

Barbados submits that the present Tribunal should approach the concept of "catastrophe" in a questioning spirit and should be prepared as part of the process of delimitation to consider the impact of the Trinidad and Tobago claim upon a section of the Barbados population and upon the small island of Barbados as a whole. The more so, I should add, because there is no evidence of any specific adverse effect upon the Tobago population if Barbados fisherfolk are enabled to continue their fishing in the area as hitherto. Any failure to take these critical economic and social consequences into consideration would be radically inequitable.

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I turn now to the second matter that calls for

further discussion. Trinidad and Tobago has argued that its claim to continental shelf rights has priority over Barbados' economic zone claim because the continental shelf is a concept of customary international law which preceded the establishment of the concept of the exclusive economic zone. As a general proposition, that is true, since international lawyers began talking about the continental shelf in the late 1940s. But the important question is, what was the continental shelf about which they were talking? The answer, prior to 1982, may be found in the definition given to the continental shelf in the 1958 Continental Shelf Convention. This is a matter that has already been discussed by Professor Reisman, but it is sufficiently important to warrant a brief and slightly different restatement.

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In the 1958 Convention the continental shelf was defined as the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas to a depth of 200 metres or beyond that depth to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits exploitation. In the later and current definition, this depth criterion was replaced by the criterion of natural prolongation of the land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin or to a distance of 200 nautical miles if the continental margin does not extend so far.

Where the edge of the continental margin extends beyond 200 nautical miles, the outer limits shall not exceed 350 nautical miles from the baseline or 100 nautical miles from the 2,500 metre isobath. So today we are talking about a much larger continental shelf than was the case prior to the acceptance of the 1982 Convention. If priority for the continental shelf is to be asserted before 1982, it can only be priority over a significantly smaller continental shelf.

Now, the relevant facts are that off Tobago the 200 metre contour, that is the test under the 1958 Convention, is reached within four miles of the coast. In the area of claimed overlap between the Barbados economic zone and the Trinidad and Tobago continental shelf the water depth

is four and a half thousand metres, therefore well outside the definition of the continental shelf prior to 1982.

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So it is immediately evident that in the period prior to 1982, or rather the date when the convention came to force, Trinidad and Tobago had no customary international law ipso facto right over the whole of the area that it now claims. The actual continental shelf, that is to say the foot of the slope, falls not only within Trinidad and Tobago's 200 mile arc but also falls short of its median line tri-point with Barbados and Guyana. It follows therefore that Trinidad and Tobago's claim to continental shelf cannot trump Barbados' economic zone on the alleged ground of some temporal priority of legal right.

It is significant that the British Government in its 1952 comments on the International Law Commission's Draft Articles on the continental shelf, went no further than to state "Her Majesty's Government considers that state practice is sufficiently uniform to justify fixing this limit" - a fixed limit for depth - "at the 100 fathom line". That view reflected the customary international law position up to and following the 1958 Continental Shelf Convention.

I come now to my third point. A word about the relationship between economic zone rights and continental shelf rights. Trinidad and Tobago has invoked the terms of Article 56 paragraph 3 of UNCLOS, which state that "the rights set out in that Article with respect to the seabed and subsoil shall be exercised in accordance with Part VI", as according priority to the rights of Trinidad and Tobago where its continental shelf overlaps with Barbados' economic zone.

Perusal of pages 521-544 of the Virginia Commentary, which presents the travaux preparatoires of this paragraph, does not support the Trinidad and Tobago argument. As I have already submitted in my opening speech, to say that the rights shall be exercised in accordance with Part VI does not make Part VI prevail over Part V of the 1982 Convention. It states only that the

detailed provisions of Part VI regarding the exercise of continental shelf rights shall also be followed where a state exercises its exploration and exploitation rights under Part V. The phrases "shall be exercised" or "in exercising its rights" in conjunction with the reference to rights dealt with elsewhere in UNCLOS are frequently used in that Convention to avoid unnecessary repetition in one provision of details set out in another. In other words Article 56 paragraph 3 prescribed method not subordination.

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Turning now to my fourth point, I would like to conclude with a word again about the deficiency in Trinidad and Tobago's claim line as set out in its conclusions and submission. The Tribunal will recall that I observed in my opening statement that Trinidad and Tobago appeared to have got itself into a bit of a muddle. It had requested the Tribunal to reject the claim line of Barbados "in its entirety". Nonetheless Trinidad and Tobago asked the Tribunal to decide in its favour that the boundary to the west of their point A followed the median line between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago until it reaches the maritime area falling within the jurisdiction of St Vincent and the Grenadines. I pointed out that the Barbados claim also followed the median line, and that there is a section of the median line that is common to both claims. I asked, if the median line south east of Barbados' point D cannot form part of Barbados' boundary, how can it form part of the boundary for Trinidad and Tobago? In consequence there is a gap of approximately 16 nautical miles in the line now claimed by Trinidad and In his speech Professor Crawford said that he would deal with this point. His treatment of it may be found in the transcript, day 4 at pages 76-77. Perusal of the few lines that he devotes to the matter reveals no answer. All that he did was to explain that Trinidad and Tobago's equidistance line ran northwest from Trinidad and Tobago's point A rather than south east from the tri-point with St Vincent and the Grenadines. The virtue of this,.

he said, was that the Tribunal did not have to determine the tri-point. So be it, but that is no response to the identification of the defect in the Trinidad and Tobago claim. If the equidistance line of Barbados must be rejected in its entirety, as proposed by Trinidad and Tobago, if that equidistance line must be rejected in its entirety, this must mean that there is no stretch of equidistance that can properly be used as the maritime If that is so, how can the 16 nautical miles of boundary. coincidence between the Trinidad and Tobago claim and the Barbados claim be upheld by Trinidad and Tobago as part of its line? If equidistance is good for Trinidad and Tobago, it must also be good for Barbados. good for Barbados, it is not good for Trinidad and Tobago. Professor Crawford does not meet that point at all. did not accept my suggestion that Trinidad and Tobago might seek leave to amend its submissions. So Trinidad and Tobago insists on adhering to a line with a 16 nautical mile gap in it. There is something wrong there, but Trinidad and Tobago seems unwilling to acknowledge or remedy it. The resulting situation makes the selection by Trinidad and Tobago of its point A appear even more arbitrary than has already been shown by my colleagues.

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Mr President and members of the Tribunal, this almost concludes my brief intervention, but in closing I should respectfully recall the words used by you, Mr President, in the course of your dissenting opinion in the Libya-Malta case. In commenting on the circumstances that the court had considered in determining the boundary, you said, "In my view the Court shows no such relevant circumstances. Moreover, it does not use the circumstances on which it relies only to the extent actually dictated by them. Rather the Court's judgment conspicuously fails to invoke and objectively apply relevant circumstances which specifically or measurably justify still less require correction of the median line. It demonstrates not the slightest correspondence between the considerations which it characterises as relevant and

the line which it claims to derive from these circumstances".

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Later you said, and I quote again, "It is difficult to criticise the Court's reasoning at any length since there is so little of it". You then said, "The relevance of these circumstances is not demonstrated. Authority for them in conventional or customary international law, in judicial or arbitral decisions or in state practice is not shown. If the Court concludes that certain designated circumstances are relevant, it has the burden of showing why and of sustaining its reasoning by appropriate authority. What is clear is that the attenuated illusions supplied by the Court do not suffice".

Later, Mr President, you made the point again, and I "In sum, the Court finds it equitable to quote once more. choose a line for reasons only vaguely voiced whose relevance to the law and still less to the line is not articulated, still less demonstrated". Then, finally, towards the end of your opinion, you say, "The process which the Court follows in today's judgment is so far from that followed in the Gulf of Maine case or other adjudications as to be unconvincing. The Court declares in today's judgment that the application of justice of which equity is an emanation should display consistency and a degree of predictability. I fully agree. recognise that, as I put it in an opinion in the Gulf of Maine case, there is considerable room for differences of opinion in the application of equitable principles to problems of maritime delimitation. But, in my view, in today's judgment the Court rose beyond those ample bounds. The Court is of course correct in holding that any median line that is subject to correction so as to take account of special circumstances, but I cannot agree that the Court's cryptic references to the length of coasts, the distance between coasts, the sparsity of base points and the general geographical context suffice to justify the selection of the line of delimitation which it has chosen in this case. Nor do these arrested allusions conduct

towards building the sense of consistency and predictability at which the Court and the law so rightly aim".

Mr President and members of the Tribunal, with the greatest respect, I am confident that these wise dicta will not be overlooked in the formulation of the Tribunal's decision in the present case. I thank you for hearing me and now would respectfully ask you to call upon Ms Mottley, the Attorney General to conclude Barbados' Reply.

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THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much, Sir Elihu. Ms Mottley, please. Professor Lowe would like to ask a question.

PROFESSOR LOWE: It is very simple. You referred to the Virginia Commentary on Article 56(3). I am not certain that that has been put in evidence and I wonder whether, for the convenience of the Tribunal, copies could be made available to us.

PROFESSOR SIR ELIHU LAUTERPACHT: Sir Arthur, the Virginia

Commentary is of course not a matter for evidence. It is
a public book, a work of reference, but, as you ask for a
copy of it, the volume is very large and, if you please,
we will just provide you with copies of the relevant
pages.

PROFESSOR LOWE: That is all we require. Thank you. THE PRESIDENT: Ms Mottley.

THE HON MIA A MOTTLEY: Thank you very much, Mr President and members of the Tribunal, my colleague, the Agent of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Today, as I make these closing remarks on behalf of Barbados, I really cannot help but reflect on the historic nature of this arbitration for Barbados, for Trinidad and Tobago and, indeed, for international law in general. It is historic for the parties because it is the first time that two member countries of the Caribbean community find themselves in a forum such as this. It is historic because such arbitrations really have been the preserve really of larger countries. This is therefore one of the

first times that small island developing states, such as ours, have been at the centre, Bahrain apart. It is historic for the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, from an institutional perspective, because this is the first time that two state parties under this Convention have come before an Annex VII tribunal in accordance with Part XV of the Convention for a maritime boundary delimitation. It is historic because this Tribunal is being asked to make an award which, one way or another, will have significant and wide-ranging consequences for the jurisprudence in this area of the law and, in particular, for the interpretation of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

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Barbados has come, Mr President, to the end of its case and its submissions, effectively. The advocacy has been robust and muscular, some may even say excessive, but bereft of malice, I trust. This must not however distract us from the central issue at hand. That is the role that this distinguished tribunal must play in applying the law to delimit a single maritime boundary between the parties.

The seriousness of that responsibility is clearly understood by the members of the Tribunal and I need not remind you. Your sustained attention, interest and probing inquiries throughout the proceedings have truly been a great source of satisfaction to us as a state. For you are aware, Mr President, that what is ultimately at stake for us is the future livelihood of all of our citizens and, indeed, those in particular in our fishing community — our traditional artisanal fisherfolk and their dependants, but also the future development of Barbados as a nation by virtue of its ability to exploit without impediment the resources of its maritime space.

We have presented to you various aspects of Barbados' case and I trust that there can be no doubt as to what it is we seek, a solution based on the law. The people of Barbados, as well as those of Trinidad and Tobago, expect and deserve no less.

As I adumbrated in my opening statement on Monday

last, Mr President, Barbados has always had a keen sense of fair play and a strong commitment to the rule of law. There are those who argue that this has been one of the consequences of over 300 years of an uninterrupted but evolving relationship with the United Kingdom. If that per chance be so, then, it is notably one of the more beneficial consequences of the colonial rule. But it is this sense, that the rule of law must prevail, which has really brought us here today.

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In the lead up to the commencement of this arbitral process, Barbados was confronted by a series of actions by Trinidad and Tobago which it considered to be threatening to its rights under the Law of the Sea Convention and under international law. One, the arrest and harassment of Barbadian traditional artisanal fisherfolk; two, the signing of a unitisation agreement with Venezuela in August 2003, while they were negotiating with Barbados this boundary agreement; three, the advertising for tender of concession blocks in a part of the relevant area under dispute and without bringing it to our attention once again; four, the Trinidad and Tobago, in our view, filibustering of Barbados in both of the negotiation processes while engaging in activities which would lead to facts on the ground, and those facts are the commercial activities to which I just referred; five, Prime Minister Manning's description of the dispute on 16th February 2004 as being intractable and effectively inviting the Government of Barbados to take his Government to arbitration. These are some of the events which led up to Barbados' decision to commence these proceedings. Tribunal, I trust, will better understand, therefore, how we come to be here today.

From the outset of the recent bilateral negotiations to which I have just referred, the parties were in dispute with respect to both fisheries and boundaries, with respect to both substance and form, down to even what the discussion notes should be called, a situation which simply did not evolve, even though it came to be discussed

at the highest level by the Prime Ministers of the two countries on several occasions and through a series of correspondence between them.

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Barbados in our view was therefore left with no choice in February of last year but to begin these Trinidad and Tobago has suggested that we proceedings. have dragged them here without exhausting the provisions of the Convention. That is truly unfortunate and regrettable, as Trinidad and Tobago knows the difficulty the efforts over the course of more than one decade to come to this point. And the circumstances of small states are not those of large countries and the resources necessary to complete the task very often are simply not there. Barbados has shown, therefore, this view to be false both in fact and in law. Unlike the position of the parties, however, in recent bilateral negotiations, at least now Barbados and Trinidad are agreed upon one thing. The first rule of the law of maritime boundary delimitation is that one which starts the process with the provisional median line and thereafter one considers what are the special circumstances which require the adjustment of that median line. Sir Elihu has simply and clearly averted to that in his wrap-up. It is, therefore, only for this Tribunal to determine the identification of those And it is on this matter that the special circumstances. parties now disagree.

As you will have seen, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, Barbados has repeatedly insisted, whether in negotiations that are documented or the joint reports and negotiation records or in this arbitration, that maritime boundary delimitation and fisheries for us are interdependent. This is in sharp contradistinction with Trinidad and Tobago's case which, although now agreeing on the orthodox international law methodology to be employed, as I just said, has asserted a constantly varying list, almost chameleon-like, of relevant circumstances requiring the adjustment of the provisional median line. I can really not attempt to list them all, because I might read

from the wrong document and I am not sure what will come in response by the end of the week. Suffice it to say that Barbados has sought simplicity and thus seeks simplicity and certainty from the law. Trinidad and Tobago in our view has made a simple case difficult.

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The circumstances surrounding our traditional artisanal fishery to the north, north west and north east coast of Tobago, we say, qualifies as a special circumstance. We have underscored how deeply woven into our fabric are the fisheries and ancillary sectors to the fisheries. Trinidad and Tobago does not deny that the flying fish occupies a special place in Barbadian cuisine, nutritional intake, economy, culture and, perhaps most importantly, iconography. Barbados is globally recognised as being the land of the flying fish. It is part of, indeed it is central to, our national psyche and national For centuries, the flying fish has been as identity. symbolic to Barbados as the steel band is to Trinidad and Tobago, perhaps even as the kangaroo is to Australia. really requires, Mr President, that for two seconds I focus on the people. To quote from Churchill and Lowe, "Although the international law of the sea is a principle limited in its application to states and other entities having international personality, it has immediate significance for individuals". Allow me, therefore, to dwell, as I said, for a moment on these individuals. underlined in my opening address last Monday, and other advocates on Barbados' side have followed suit, the human aspect of this case. Special circumstances, estoppels, effectivités are all critical legal concepts which you are asked carefully to consider, and you must. But to me, Mr President, part of this case must translate into critical human realities for the men and women whom I have the honour to represent and in whose interests I speak today and for whom so much is at stake. We have now made clear how Barbadian fishermen, their dependants, the workers who depend on them in the ancillary sectors, will suffer from dislocation if they lose the ability to fish. As I also

indicated last week, it cannot be fair and it cannot be just that a change, (nor could it have been intended by states) that a change in international law could render behaviour necessary by the ordinary people for their sustenance to be rendered illegal and in some cases, unfortunately for them, to suffer from ill consequences.

We have shown that, unlike Trinidad and Tobago in this case, the effect is harmful to Barbados. But it is not harmful to the fisherfolk of Trinidad and Tobago, since we believe that we have satisfactorily asserted and proven that there is no competition either in terms of the location of the flying fish fishery or, indeed, the actual flying fish effectively fished between the Barbadian and Tobagonian fishermen.

I now turn, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, to what I described in my opening address as being of the highest importance to Barbados' future development. I refer, of course, to our exclusive economic zone and our extended continental shelf in the south east. Barbados' interest in this delimitation lies equally in the exercise of the totality of its rights, those legitimately acquired under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and general international law with respect to the exclusive economic zone and the extended continental shelf.

In this regard Barbados' understanding of the law is that, apart from the special circumstances of the traditional artisanal fishery to which I have just referred, there are no other special circumstances. Therefore we argue that an equidistance boundary will provide an equitable solution in the eastern sector.

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Let me underscore the importance to Barbados of the non-living resources in its Exclusive Economic Zone and extended continental shelf. Our only significant and sustainable resource thus far has been the creativity and the industry of our people, and we are proud of that. But we believe that a boundary in the eastern sector which

diverges into Barbados' side of the median line will now deprive Barbados, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, of what our research over the years has suggested to us is potentially the only significant source of hydrocarbons available to the country of Barbados. The only significant source of hydrocarbons potentially available to Barbados. That is what the research within the Barbados government has suggested.

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Trinidad and Tobago's claim is to an area over which Barbados has continuously and effectively for almost 30 years exercised its sovereign rights unchallenged, indeed acquiesced to, and recognised by Trinidad and Tobago until the eve of this dispute. The undisputed evidence before this Tribunal is that Barbados, and only Barbados, has granted concessions since 1978, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, more than half of my life, in this area north of the median line included in the area that Trinidad and Tobago now claims. Oil companies have long accepted Barbados' jurisdiction there. Trinidad and Tobago has not disputed that evidence; that even its own oil concessionaires have recognised Barbados' sovereign rights and jurisdiction in this area.

And what about surveillance, Mr President, an independent factor that will always help in this matter? It is of note that it is the Barbados Coast Guard that has surveyed and undertakes the surveillance in this particular area north of the median line. So Barbados' paramount interest in this area is underscored as well by what you have heard about the Joint Co-operation Zone Treaty with the Republic of Guyana, and Professor Lowe has asked questions which we have undertaken to answer. But I can tell you even now that in June of this year a Commission on the Non-Living Resources, a Joint Commission on the Non-Living Resources, was established by the parties along with provision for two other commissions, but the full response will come to you.

For all of these reasons, Mr President, Barbados believes that the only boundary in the eastern sector

which is consistent with international law is the equidistance line between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. As I said for us this is a simple matter of law, and no special circumstances mean no modification of the provisional equidistance line. I am told that I should not cite law but if I were allowed to I too would have adopted the dissenting judgment, Mr President, of yours, that my learned friend Sir Eli ended his presentation with.

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It would be incomprehensible to Barbadians who know that Barbados has been exercising its sovereignty on its side of the median line, north of the median line, for almost 30 years, for them to be told that this territory was not theirs and indeed was to be taken from them. I would not be able to explain it because it just never entered their thoughts that this could be territory owned by anyone other than Barbados. I have outlined therefore the simple construction of Barbados' case.

By contrast we believe that Trinidad and Tobago's case is complex and opaque. It is seeking to boldly go where no state has gone before, to use a phrase known to my generation. It is asking this Tribunal to refashion geography in order to satisfy its ambitions. I believe that your distinguished Tribunal, like its predecessors, will reject such an approach.

Trinidad and Tobago insists that it would be geographically disadvantaged by Barbados' proposal. It complains that a median line would cut it off. What is it being cut off from? It has a maritime zone of up to 193 nautical miles under Barbados' proposal, 193 nautical miles. It seeks therefore this Tribunal's assistance to help it refashion geography. If Trinidad and Tobago's geographical location can be said to cause it some disadvantage because of its geographic relations with its neighbours that same geographical location has resulted in it being blessed with an abundance of hydrocarbon resources, and we do not envy them that. Geography and geology have indeed both been very generous to Trinidad

and Tobago. They have offshore and onshore resources which it has wisely used to the aid of its people, but it cannot have it both ways. Mr President, members of the Tribunal, there is no dispute between the parties that case law confirms that there can be no refashioning of geography and you would have heard that from the advocates on both sides.

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I will also at this stage ask you to look at another one of the relevant circumstances cited by them, that is regional implications. And it is on this that we equally have very strong feelings. It should come as no surprise to Trinidad and Tobago that Venezuela's ambitions in the Caribbean Sea have been at variance with the interests of small states in the region and in fact with international law, particularly UNCLOS, to which Venezuela is not a party. Mr President, members of the Tribunal, we are sure that you realise what is happening here. Trinidad and Tobago signed a treaty in 1990 with Venezuela. Trinidad and Tobago conceded a part of its own maritime territory and also attempted to give away territory which belonged to Barbados and to Guyana. Territory which we assert they had no right to concede. It is a fact that this agreement is not opposable to Barbados and on that we are agreed. But the reality of Trinidad and Tobago's position is that they seek to bring through the back door that which they cannot get through the front door.

Therefore this agreement still stands before us today for us to deal with even if by reason of another name. We say that it is the reality of that agreement which drove Trinidad and Tobago in its negotiations and continue in this arbitration to make the assertion that they call upon Barbados to contribute to Venezuela's Salida al Atlantico in order to compensate Trinidad and Tobago. But they want to go north because of where they have been elsewhere with Venezuela to create that Salida al Atlantico. I must confess, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, that this calls to mind the prediction of the late Dr Eric Williams, Trinidad and Tobago's most illustrious statesman and

intellectual, and indeed its first Prime Minister. Thirty years ago Dr Williams gave a seminal address which bears reading by all Caribbean citizens, and indeed those interested in this area of the law, to the Special Convention of the People's National Movement (his political party) where he sought to analyze the Caribbean's relationship with Venezuela. Dr Williams on that occasion 30 years ago, 1975, foretold of an impending catastrophe if CARICOM nations did not adopt common approaches to protect themselves in the evolving law of the sea negotiations on the 200 mile exclusive economic zone, but chose instead to enter bilateral arrangements with Venezuela. This bilateralism he said "has all the hallmarks of the colonialism implicit in all of the statements of the Venezuelan publicist. The new Venezuela that they are preaching in the context of the old colonialism of the Caribbean". It is regrettable, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, that Trinidad and Tobago did not choose to heed the advice of their former Prime Minister.

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Where do we stand today? The 1990 Venezuela Treaty is not the only sign of the aggression for which we as a region are being asked to pay. You will have seen, and heard discussed today Aves Rock, and what is the significance of that which was addressed today. the last few days, Mr President, the Prime Ministers of Antigua and St Vincent have called urgently for a summit of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States to discuss the matter of what they call Bird Rock (not Aves Island as shown on the map of Trinidad and Tobago) because of events taking place this weekend in relation to the marrying of two Venezuelan soldiers at the Military Chapel on Saturday and the baptism of three children at the Military Chapel on Sunday. We say, Mr President, that these matters are part of the general imperialistic ambitions which have caused all of us to suffer in some way, and while I repeat the 1990 treaty is not opposable to Barbados we are being asked to pay for the consequences of it. And yet Trinidad

and Tobago can produce a map here today, and Mr Volterra spoke to it, with the designation "Aves Island", knowing full well that CARICOM Heads of Government, as Mr Volterra adverted to, met and have reflected on the position of four members of the Caribbean community, four OECS states. Indeed Professor Lowe's book Churchill and Lowe at page 164 refers to the protest lodged by these four countries, Antiqua, St Kitts, St Lucia and St Vincent, on the ground that the action of Venezuela is contrary to Article 121(3) But yet Trinidad and Tobago asserts both of UNCLOS. through its Agent and Professor Crawford that it has excellent relations with CARICOM. At some point in the future these records will be made public and whenever that happens the islands of the OECS will be shocked to see a reference on a map to "Aves Island" in circumstances when they have been fighting a battle for which they have asked us in the wider Caribbean community to provide political support. But then again Trinidad and Tobago talks of its continental destiny, but yet says that it supports

But then again Trinidad and Tobago talks of its continental destiny, but yet says that it supports CARICOM. I have always known, Mr President, that you cannot be in the church and the chapel too, but then again Trinidad and Tobago wants you to designate continental shelf rights and exclusive economic zone rights on the same area. So I suppose they are trying to achieve politically and diplomatically that which they ask you to do in the area of international law maritime law.

Enough said of that.

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I believe, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, that Barbados cannot be asked to pay for Trinidad and Tobago's largesse in this matter, and that it must be presumed that Trinidad and Tobago obtained some benefit for the Treaty. That is their concern. But we cannot as a country be asked to underwrite this in what were bilateral negotiations and now a bilateral arbitration between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. And the Venezuelan agreement is not opposable to us and I suggest, Mr President, members of the Tribunal, that that should be

the end of the consideration of the Treaty and that truly not only do you keep the front door locked but keep the back door locked as well from the ambitions of Venezuela.

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The complex and puzzling multi-zonal jurisdiction has been spoken to by Mr Volterra and, indeed, again by Sir Elihu. In his inimitable style, he describes it as a bit of a muddle. I could not do better. Barbados' water column above Trinidad and Tobago's outer continental shelf, and then somehow a Trinidad and Tobago outer continental shelf which supersedes that of Barbados, and all of this bound together by a complex argument about the survival of pre-existing continental shelf rights, notwithstanding the very clear provisions of the Convention on the Law of Sea and, notwithstanding, of course, both Professor Reisman's and Sir Elihu's excellent presentations on the inconsistency of that assertion that it derives from existing/pre-existing continental shelf rights.

Your jurisdiction to determine this maritime boundary as between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, Mr President, in the area of the overlap of the conflicting claims we assert is truly within the province of this Tribunal. Barbados has proposed a delimitation line along the median line with Trinidad and Tobago that starts at the tri-point between Barbados, St Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago in the west, of course, and then runs to the tri-point between the parties and Guyana in the east and it is adjusted to the south, we argue, to take account of the relevant circumstances of our traditional artisanal fisheries off Tobago. We claim the maritime area to the north with part of the area being subject to a Barbados-Guyana joint exclusive economic co-operation Trinidad and Tobago, on the other hand, proposes a delimitation line that follows the median line from the western tri-point and we say at an arbitrary point turns and runs along the azimuth of 88 degrees until it reaches the outer limit of an extended continental shelf. Trinidad and Tobago's claim results in a bewildering array

of zones, as I have said, maritime zones and boundary lines. Some of those areas to the south of the azimuth, Trinidad and Tobago claims for itself. Some of those areas it claims to share with Barbados. From some of those zones it claims to exclude Barbados. A veritable confusion.

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I will not seek to repeat the detailed analysis of these claims that, as I said, Barbados co-counsel have adequately in my view, addressed to the Tribunal. It is sufficient to note for me that the claims of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago are in direct conflict and therefore truly require a determination by this Tribunal. dispute is patent. Thus, we argue that as between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago the area of maritime territory to the north of the median line and to the south and east of the 1990 line between Venezuela and Trinidad and Tobago is also in dispute. We claim that it belongs to Barbados, with part of the area being subject to Barbados, the joint Guyana EEZ Co-operation Zone. Trinidad and Tobago claims that it does not belong to Barbados. Once again, it is a matter that is ripe for determination by this Tribunal. We say that Trinidad and Tobago's case is deeply problematic, because of the havoc, Mr President, that it wreaks both in treaty law to which it is a party and to general international law. universal appeal of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea lies in the promise that it holds out clarity, certainty and finality in the exercise of jurisdiction over maritime space by coastal states. International law and the relevant provisions of UNCLOS are intended to reduce and eliminate conflict between states. We say that Trinidad and Tobago's interpretation of Parts V and VI of UNCLOS invites the opposite. International law traditionally seeks to delimit jurisdiction in all series of state activities. proposal would deliberately subvert this, in our view, by an involuntary system of overlapping and competing jurisdictions in the same maritime territory.

veritable recipe for disaster.

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Mr President, members of the Tribunal, you are all seasoned international lawyers and you bring rich experience from the public as well as the private sphere, so you will appreciate that any solution that leads to a prescription of conflict is, in fact, a recipe for disaster. If two states are given title to the same seabed space, the potential for disaster clearly exists. Conflicting development of the same resource will lead to environmental degradation, inefficiency and need I say, of course, more disputes. That was not why countries like ours signed the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. And, indeed, the promise of the exclusive economic zone and the promise of a juridical continental shelf with clarity, with clear provisions for all was indeed the promise as we negotiated over the period of time and chose to sign on.

Before I conclude, sir, let me make sure that I leave our position in this in proper perspective. I will make a few remarks about our two countries and the way forward for us, because, as I said in the beginning, geographically, historically, economically, politically, culturally, the two countries have much in common.

When we initiated these proceedings 20 months ago, and indeed last week, I indicated then, as I do now, that the bilateral relations between these two countries are of paramount importance to Barbados and we trust to Trinidad and Tobago, as evidenced by their conduct with us on other matters. And that we really believe that this arbitral process is the most effective and least contentious way to resolve an issue that has been brought into dispute between the two countries. I have tried to stay away from the political rhetoric because I am firmly of the view that how we move forward as two countries is critical to the interests of our people - our population. I say that this year Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, along with Jamaica, became compliant in the establishment of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy, a historic occurrence to create a Single Market for the first time and a single economic space in the Caribbean Community of nations. We are on the verge, along with the other member CARICOM states, of becoming compliant in that process by 2006, a few months away from here. It is therefore critical to note that we have not come to this stage lightly. After due consideration, we really determined that the defence of our maritime territory was important for the sustainable development of future generations of Barbadians and that for both countries certainty and clarity is required to move forward, because to stay in the same position without movement can be equally as dangerous as being in a mode of reversal.

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In these circumstances, Mr President, it is absolutely essential that we undertake this legitimate defence, without prejudice and without injury to our regional interest. In this regard, I therefore can only affirm that, for some, this has been a matter of a highly technical area of the law. For some, it has been a matter about the ability of persons within a particular community to survive and to support their families. For others, it is about the ability of a country to plan its economic development in the certain knowledge that that which accrues to it under international law can so benefit it to provide for its citizens on a sustainable basis. But, I say to you this evening that it is about all of that and more.

I would venture to suggest, sir, that, when we consider the circumstances of small states, small island developing states, we may find that it is in the nature of things that their existence may be sometimes difficult and brutish. The one feature that has given us comfort as a small island state is that the international system provides the ability to ameliorate our circumstances and our options through the rule of law. International law, we believe, affords certain protections to those states fortunate enough to find themselves in the position where they can avail themselves of those rights. In short, the

rule of law is necessary for the survival of small states in this world, both for them to survive and to thrive.

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Barbados, therefore, closes its case today, Mr President. And as we do so we thank you and the members of your Tribunal for the time, the patience and the interest and attention that you have shown to these matters, not just in the course of these hearings but, indeed, over the period of the 20 months leading to this point today. But we also close our case today hopeful that the application of the law (to which I just spoke) by this Tribunal will not deprive our country of its past, its tradition, so to speak, or indeed of the promise of its future. What is to be of the nation of Barbados in the early to mid-21st century, I say to you, lies very much in your hands. We eagerly await your determination.

Before I formally sit, Mr President, I would wish now formally to state Barbados' formal submission which is from the Memorial, but if you would wish me to read it into the record I would do so at this stage. As follows, Barbados contends that international authority clearly prescribes that the Tribunal should start the process of delimitation by drawing a provisional median line between the coasts of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. should then be adjusted so as to give effect to a special circumstance and, thus, lead to an equitable solution. The special circumstance is the established traditional artisanal fishing activity of Barbadian fisherfolk south of the median line. The equitable solution to be reached is one that would recognise and protect Barbadian fishing activities by delimiting the Barbados exclusive economic zone in the manner illustrated in Map 3 of Barbados' Memorial. Barbados, therefore, requests the Tribunal to determine a single maritime boundary between the exclusive economic zones and continental shelves of the parties that follows the line described below and is illustrated on Map 3 of its Memorial. The proposed delimitation line is a median line modified in the northwest and encompasses the area of traditional fisheries enjoyed by Barbados.

line is defined in three parts from points A to B, B to C and a third part from point C to E. The first part of the line from A to B is defined by the meridian 61 degrees, 15 minutes west. This line runs south from point A, the point of intersection of the meridian with a line of delimitation between Trinidad and Tobago and Grenada, to point B, the intersection of this meridian, with the 12 nautical mile territorial sea limit of Trinidad and Tobago.

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The second part of the proposed delimitation line is the 12 nautical mile territorial sea limit of Trinidad and Tobago, running from point B around the northern shores of Tobago to point C, the intersection of the parallel 11 degrees 8 minutes north and the 12 nautical mile territorial sea limit of Trinidad and Tobago lying southeast of the island of Tobago.

The third part of the proposed delimitation line is defined by a geodesic line from point C following an azimuth of 48 degrees until it intersects with the calculated median line between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago at point D; then the line follows the median line south eastwards running through intermediate points of the median line numbered one to eight. From point eight, the proposed delimitation line follows an azimuth of approximately 120 degrees for approximately five nautical miles towards the point of intersection with the boundary of a third state at point E. This, as I indicated, is also reflected in the Memorial of Barbados.

Mr President, members of the Tribunal, this has been the case of Barbados and, as I said, we eagerly await your determination and that of your members. I am obliged to you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. We are grateful to the agent of Barbados and to her colleagues for their exposition.

We look forward to the arguments of Trinidad and Tobago beginning Thursday morning. Professor Crawford, did you have a point you would like to make?

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: Sir, I think we will take a leaf

1 out of Barbados' book and begin at 3 o'clock on Thursday 2 afternoon. That will give us still ample time to finish 3 before the drinks we all look forward to on Friday evening. 4 5 THE PRESIDENT: Good, then we will meet on Thursday at 6

3 o'clock, and if there is no further business we stand adjourned.

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(Adjourned till Thursday next at 3 p.m.)