IN THE MATTER OF AN ARBITRATION BEFORE A TRIBUNAL CONSTITUTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 5 OF THE ARBITRATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN AND THE SUDAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT/ARMY ON DELIMITING ABYEI AREA

-and-

THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION OPTIONAL RULES FOR ARBITRATING DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO PARTIES OF WHICH ONLY ONE IS A STATE Peace Palace, The Hague

Thursday, 23rd April 2009

Before:

PROFESSOR PIERRE-MARIE DUPUY

JUDGE AWN AL-KHASAWNEH

PROFESSOR DR GERHARD HAFNER

JUDGE STEPHEN M SCHWEBEL

PROFESSOR W MICHAEL REISMAN

BETWEEN:

THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN and

THE SUDAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT/ARMY

AMBASSADOR MOHAMED AHMED DIRDEIRY of Dirdeiry & Co,
PROFESSOR JAMES CRAWFORD SC of Matrix Chambers,
PROFESSOR ALAIN PELLET of University of Paris Ouest,
MR RODMAN BUNDY and MS LORETTA MALINTOPPI of Eversheds LLP
appeared on behalf of the Government of Sudan.

DR RIEK MACHAR TENY, GARY BORN, WENDY MILES, of Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP, PAUL R WILLIAMS and VANESSA JIMÉNEZ of Public International Law & Policy Group appeared on behalf of the SPLM/A.

REGISTRY: JUDITH LEVINE, Registrar and legal counsel, ALOYSIUS LLAMZON, acting Registrar and legal counsel, PAUL-JEAN LE CANNU, legal counsel, appeared for the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

Transcript produced by Trevor McGowan

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09:01	1	Thursday, 23rd April 2009	09:04 1	the most meticulous care and repeated in three different
	2	(9.00 am)	2	instruments binding the ABC.
	3	THE CHAIRMAN: Good morning. We are here today for the	3	The Arbitration Agreement is your proper law as well
	4	conclusion of these hearings, and we start with the	4	as the law of the parties. It cannot be the case that
	5	observations of the Government.	5	you can comply with your own mandate by finding
	6	I understand that Professor Pellet is the first	6	something like: of course the experts erred somehow in
	7	speaker. Please, Professor Pellet, you have the floor.	7	the interpretation for their mandate, but after all,
	8	Closing submissions by PROFESSOR PELLET	8	this is not as serious as that, let's be flexible.
	9	PROFESSOR PELLET: Mr President, members of the Tribunal,	9	No, the mandate was a condition for the whole peace
	10	last Monday Professor Reisman asked a question which	10	settlement. There cannot be any question that it could
	11	I think takes us to the very heart of the debate on	11	be left erroneously interpreted. Its interpretation
	12	excess of mandate. I read the question again:	12	must have been correct and I would certainly go as far
	13	"With respect to the standard that is to be applied	13	as saying that it might have been entirely, absolutely
	14	to the question posed in the first paragraph of	14	correct.
	15	Article 2, is the standard with respect to the	15	This being said, first, in any case, even under
	16	substantive excess of mandate whether the ABC rendered	16	a plausible interpretation standard, which we think does
	17	a plausible or reasonable interpretation or whether it	17	not apply, the experts' interpretation of their mandate
	18	rendered a correction interpretation of its mandate?"	18	was not in any way tenable; and second, as long as you
	19	I replied straight off, and I do not retract my	19	are at stage one, that is of article 2(a), the way the
	20	spontaneous answer, which Mr Born was good enough to	20	experts implemented their mandate, provided it was
	21	approve in its principle, but it might call for a little	21	correctly and rigorously interpreted, should in
	22	bit more explanation even if at this stage conciseness	22	principle not be the issue. It will become your own
	2324	is in order.	23	mandate to correct the experts' mistakes, and at that
		I would suggest that two distinctions must be made:	24	stage all the substantive mistakes, when you tackle the
	25	first, the distinction between the mandate of the ABC,	25	task entrusted to the Tribunal in Article 2(c).
		Page 1		Page 3
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09:02		which mostly coincided with that of the ABC experts, and	09:07 1	However, even this apparently straightforward
09:02	2	the mandate of this Tribunal; and second, inside your	2	distinction must probably be qualified, since it is
09:02	2	the mandate of this Tribunal; and second, inside your own mandate the distinction to be made between your	2 3	distinction must probably be qualified, since it is worth asking a further question which extends beyond the
09:02	2 3 4	the mandate of this Tribunal; and second, inside your own mandate the distinction to be made between your preliminary mandate under Article 2(a) of the	2 3 4	distinction must probably be qualified, since it is worth asking a further question which extends beyond the one asked by Professor Reisman, and which might have
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09:09 1	to the Tribunal to appreciate whether it was a little	09:13 1	the famous book I had cited last Monday. Interestingly
2	bit, moderately or gravely unreasonable. The simple	2	it includes, among the grounds for annulment of
3	fact that the experts decided ex aequo et bono on the	3	an arbitral award on the basis of an excess of
4	basis of what they found reasonable is an excess of	4	authority, not only extra or ultra petita decisions, but
5	mandate, and must be sanctioned as such.	5	also decisions infra petita, and those:
6	Mr President, in his Monday's presentation Mr Born	6	" exceeding the scope of a concededly existent
7	stuck to one of the SPLM/A's mantras according to which	7	and valid Arbitration Agreement."
8	the unusual expression "excess of mandate" can only be	8	An excess of mandate certainly is at least as broad
9	interpreted at face value: an excess would be something	9	a notion as an excess of authority.
10	in surplus.	10	No doubt that, as he did for my quote from his book
11	Then he says it can only cover the Government's	11	relating to motivation, the learned author will invite
12	ultra petita claim, that is the ABC experts'	12	you to read more carefully the title of his book, which
13	pronouncement on the secondary respective rights of the	13	is called International Commercial Arbitration. This is
14	Ngok Dinka and the Messiriya at least they seem to	14	free advertising. It is indeed a comprehensive and
15	concede that this is the case and therefore the	15	impressive opus magnum. I hope you send me a copy!
16	excess of mandate is established under Article 2(a) of	16	I have followed this excellent piece of advice, and
17	the Arbitration Agreement, and this is enough to allow	17	precisely found that the reason given there holds true
18	the Tribunal to proceed to the delimitation phase of	18	as well or even more in our case:
19	Article 2(c).	19	"The underlying issue is whether the Arbitral
20	This being said, with all due respect, such	20	Tribunal exceeded (or failed to exercise) the authority
21	a limitation to an ultra petita finding is and here	21	that the parties granted to it."
22	again I find it difficult not to use pejoratives, let me	22	More precisely on motivation, I would very much
23	use my favourite word frivolous. It is frivolous.	23	encourage you, members of the Tribunal, to read what
24	It cannot be reasonably sustained that the parties would	24	Mr Born has to say in favour of the:
25	have asked you to annul the experts' decision if you	25	" nearly universal principle that international
	Page 5		Page 7
09:11 1	find it to be ultra petita again, this is in its	09:15 1	arbitral awards must set forth the reasons for the
			arbitrar awards must set form the reasons for the
2		2	Tribunal decisions"
2 3	principle an express admission by the other party but to leave it as it stands if you consider that it does		
	principle an express admission by the other party but	2	Tribunal decisions"
3	principle an express admission by the other party but to leave it as it stands if you consider that it does	2 3	Tribunal decisions" His plea is fully convincing and is clearly
3 4	principle an express admission by the other party but to leave it as it stands if you consider that it does not answer the question in all or in part; that is, if	2 3 4	Tribunal decisions" His plea is fully convincing and is clearly applicable a fortiori in public law cases involving the
3 4 5	principle an express admission by the other party but to leave it as it stands if you consider that it does not answer the question in all or in part; that is, if the experts decided infra petita.	2 3 4 5	Tribunal decisions" His plea is fully convincing and is clearly applicable a fortiori in public law cases involving the delimitation of a boundary.
3 4 5 6	principle an express admission by the other party but to leave it as it stands if you consider that it does not answer the question in all or in part; that is, if the experts decided infra petita. The clear purpose of the Abyei Protocol, and the	2 3 4 5 6	Tribunal decisions" His plea is fully convincing and is clearly applicable a fortiori in public law cases involving the delimitation of a boundary. Moreover, I note that the examples given the SPLM/A
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09:17	1	Abyei Protocol, the mandate of the experts 'is to define	09:21 1	This also means that although we object to any
	2	and demarcate that substantively defined definition'."	2	contention that the standard of proof is exceptional,
	3	I have doubt that you can demarcate a definition.	3	an allegation which finds no ground in the Arbitration
	4	But besides this, up to now I can follow. (iii) I do	4	Agreement, the excesses of mandate would in the
	5	not follow at all:	5	circumstances pass the most demanding standard.
	6	"(iii) Therefore the experts, who necessarily	6	Let me just recall the main ones in telegraphic
	7	needed to interpret the definition in order to carry out	7	style. First, the violations of the Rules of Procedure,
	8	their mission, could not have exceeded their mandate in	8	the respect of which was a condition for the final and
	9	doing so."	9	binding nature of the report.
	10	But why? This is most confused and, as far as I can	10	The Khartoum interviews were in evident violation of
	11	understand, extraordinary.	11	the principles of contradiction and transparency, which
	12	Substantively the mandate is defined in Article 5.1;	12	were particularly marked features of the special
	13	not 1.1.2; Article 5.1 of the Abyei Protocol; as well as	13	character of the whole process that the SPLM/A are keen
	14	in the subsequent instrument. And it is defined as the	14	to stress when it suits their case. I cannot see why
	15	task:	15	the date at which these meetings took place could be
	16	" to define and demarcate the area of the nine	16	an excuse for these grave breaches, nor can the fact
	17	Ngok Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905,	17	that they were held in Khartoum. This does not change
	18	referred to herein as Abyei Area."	18	their very nature of secret meeting.
	19	Where on earth could an excess of mandate be found,	19	Even more important, the experts' short-circuiting
	20	if it is not in the definition of "the area of the nine	20	of Rule of Procedure No. 14, according to which:
2	21	Ngok Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905"?	21	"The Commission will endeavour to reach a decision
2	22	On this the experts erred, and the error they made in	22	by consensus."
2	23	interpreting in interpreting, not implementing; in	23	Given the decision of the experts not to make their
2	24	interpreting their mandate is erroneous. These	24	report public before its presentation to the presidency,
2	25	errors are excesses of mandate. It is of course not	25	it is obvious that, whatever the SPLM/A's quibbles, this
		Page 9		Page 11
		1 age 9		1 age 11
09:19	1	because the experts themselves or the SPLM/A during the	09:23 1	made it clearly impossible for the Commission to reach
	2	ABC process made this same error that it makes it not	2	a consensus.
	3	an error.	3	In spite of time's constraint, I wish to pause here
	4	In the present case the mandate of the experts also	4	for two minutes. Judge Schwebel asked the parties
	5	included express instructions: first, to arrive at their	5	whether:
	6	report as prescribed in the ABC Rules of Procedure;	6	"If the experts had submitted their final report to
	7	failing which, as expressly said in Article 5 of the	7	the Commission, it would in effect have given the
	8	Abyei Annex, it shall not "be final and binding on the	8	parties advance notice of the content of the final
	9	parties". A material breach of such rules does	9	report to be presented to the presidency. In those
	10	constitute an excess of mandate.	10	circumstances, would so doing have risked the
	11	Second, it is also true not only of a violation of	11	possibility of a presentation to the president ever
	12	the indisputable obligation to provide reasons, but also	12	taking place?"
	13	of the obligation to motivate in the manner provided for	13	Indeed, as Mr Bundy said, we can only speculate on
	14	in Article 4 of the Abyei Annex and paragraph 3.4 of the	14	this point, since precisely the experts, by keeping
	15	Terms of Reference, which I read again:	15	their report secret, did not give any chance to a full
	16	"In determining their findings, the experts in the	16	consensus, contrary to their mandate.
	17	Commission shall consult the British archives and other	17	This being said, as we have shown in our rejoinder
	18	relevant sources on Sudan, wherever they may be	18	at pages 147-148, at the very end of the ABC process,
	19	available, with a view to arriving at a decision that	19	before its brutal interruption by the experts, it can
	20	shall [again] be based on scientific analysis and	20	certainly not be excluded that the partisan members of
	21	research."	21	the ABC could have reached a consensus.
	22	It is, Mr President, no longer time to develop long	22	I wish to add a personal remark: I have been struck
	23	arguments on the substance of the experts' excess of	23	by the fact that while the blue SPLM/A and the orange
	24	mandate, and in fact I maintain that there is no need	24	GoS quietly sit on both sides of this bar, at each
-	25	for long development as these excesses are obvious.	25	interruption of the present hearings they leave this
		Page 10		Page 12

09:25 1	hall of justice arm-in-arm and in all friendship.	09:29 1	Jack built."
2	I know that there has been a terrible civil war in	2	Now change it slightly and shorten it for the sake
3	Sudan, but let me think and suggest that in view of the	3	of brevity:
4	state of mind of those present here, partisans as they	4	"The dog that worried the cat that killed the rat
5	are by definition, a consensus was probably less utopian	5	barks."
6	than counsel for the SPLM/A now says, and a compromise	6	Cats do not bark, yet if you apply the pseudo-rule
7	solution would have been reached in perfect compliance	7	of proximity, you should accept that they do. I don't.
8	with the mandate. Don't forget the experts only, not	8	In spite of my poor knowledge of the grammatical rules
9	the ABC, were instructed to base their decision on	9	of the English language, I have some doubts that "the
10	scientific research and analysis of the available	10	area transferred to Kordofan in 1905 of the nine Ngok
11	archives.	11	Dinka chiefdoms" sounds very good in the language of
12	Second ground of the excess of mandate: the	12	Shakespeare.
13	ultra petita decision made by the experts concerning the	13	Second, of course the purposive analysis insistently
14	grazing and other secondary rights of the Messiriya on	14	proposed by Mr Born does not help his case. It is true
15	the one hand, of the Ngok Dinka on the other hand.	15	that, according to Article 8 of the Abyei Protocol, only
16	I have understood, Mr President, that Mr Born never	16	residents of the Abyei Area will be entitled to
17	accepts that he could have conceded anything. However,	17	participate in the Abyei referendum. But if the parties
18	I cannot help thinking that on this point he did.	18	had wished to place themselves at the personal level,
19	In any case, the fact is, as I have shown on	19	they would have asked the experts not to define
20	Saturday and Monday, that while extending the so-called	20	a boundary but to determine tribal allegiances. They
21	secondary rights of the Ngok Dinka far beyond the	21	have not.
22	boundary arbitrarily decided by them, the experts have	22	This is in line with Professor Hafner's question of
23	also attempted to limit the Messiriya's rights south of	23	yesterday, and they would have spoken of "peoples", as
24	parallel 10°10' latitude north, while at the same time	24	Mr Born, completely misleading, kept saying. They have
25	acknowledging that these rights traditionally extend	25	not either. The formula bears on an area. Indeed, the
	Page 13		Page 15
09:27 1	further to the south. Both aspects of this decision are	09:31 1	tribal transfer was realised by transferring a territory
2	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious	2	from a province to the other in 1905.
2 3	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol.	2 3	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is
2 3 4	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol. Even more important, the experts have omitted to	2 3 4	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is also confirmed by the fact that the transfer in question
2 3 4 5	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol. Even more important, the experts have omitted to decide on what is the very heart of their mandate, which	2 3 4 5	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is also confirmed by the fact that the transfer in question was decided and operated by the colonial administration,
2 3 4 5 6	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol. Even more important, the experts have omitted to decide on what is the very heart of their mandate, which was I must quote it for the last time, Mr President,	2 3 4 5 6	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is also confirmed by the fact that the transfer in question was decided and operated by the colonial administration, which was itself territorially based.
2 3 4 5 6 7	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol. Even more important, the experts have omitted to decide on what is the very heart of their mandate, which was I must quote it for the last time, Mr President, even if I suppose you now know it by heart:	2 3 4 5 6 7	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is also confirmed by the fact that the transfer in question was decided and operated by the colonial administration, which was itself territorially based. Fourth but neither least nor last the SPLM/A's
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	equally in excess of the ABC's mandate and in obvious contradiction with Article 1.1.3 of the Abyei Protocol. Even more important, the experts have omitted to decide on what is the very heart of their mandate, which was I must quote it for the last time, Mr President, even if I suppose you now know it by heart: " to define (i.e. delimit) and demarcate the area	2 3 4 5 6 7 8	from a province to the other in 1905. Third, more importantly and more positively, this is also confirmed by the fact that the transfer in question was decided and operated by the colonial administration, which was itself territorially based. Fourth but neither least nor last the SPLM/A's untenable interpretation of the mandate would imply that
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Thursday, 23rd April 2009

Day 6

09:33	1 Professor Dely nor with Mr Schofield, nor indeed with	09:36 1 paragraph (a), and the definition of the boundaries of
	Professor Daly nor with Mr Schofield, nor indeed with	09:36 1 paragraph (a), and the definition of the boundaries of the area on the other hand, and this is paragraph (b).
	2 counsel for SPLM/A for that matter. Again, this was	3 But the experts' report is so clearly mistaken and
	3 erroneous, but this was within their mandate, and on	
	4 this basis alone the Government could not have pleaded	 grossly misconceived, so abundantly unrelated to the mandate of the ABC that, at the end of the day, both
	5 an excess of mandate.	I The state of the
	The experts should have been seen as having defined	1 , 0
	7 the boundary of the area of the nine Ngok Dinka	7 each other. It goes without saying that, far from
	8 chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905, and that on	8 neutralising each other, both aspects cross-fertilise
	9 the basis of their analysis of the documentation	9 the answer which must be given to both questions.
	available to them. But, as is well known to you, this	This, Mr President, is a natural transition to the
1		follow-up of our presentation, which will focus on your
	giving any reason this line of reasoning, the experts	mandate. This will be done by Professor Crawford, if
	invented a kind of no man's land, or res nullius, as	13 you'd like to give him the floor.
	James Crawford put it yesterday, which is clearly	14 Thank you very much.
	incompatible with the very idea of a transfer.	15 THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Professor Pellet. But before
	Then the experts based themselves on factual	giving the floor to Professor Crawford I would like to
1′	1	17 allow Professor Reisman to ask a question.
	secondary rights", which can find no basis whatsoever in	18 (9.38 am)
	their governing instruments.	19 Questions from THE TRIBUNAL
	Applying a mysterious pseudo-legal principle of the	20 PROFESSOR REISMAN: Professor Pellet, I thank you for your
2:		21 preliminary remarks going back to the question that
	combined nobody can guess how with the principles	I posed several days ago. I am concerned to
	of equity, substantive justice and fairness, the experts	23 understand the Government's conception of the function
	divided the goz a geographical notion entirely	of this Tribunal, and I have a number of questions for
2:	unrelated with their mandate between the Ngok Dinka	you so that I understand the position that the
	Page 17	Page 19
	1 and the Messiriya on the basis of what they deemed to be	09:38 1 Government is proposing to the Tribunal.
2	2 reasonable and equitable. This was not a description of	2 My first question: does the Government believe that
2	 reasonable and equitable. This was not a description of a pre-existing limit but an allocation of territory. 	2 My first question: does the Government believe that 3 the ABC had a competence to determine its own
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09:40 1	correct" as the standard that you invite the Tribunal	09:43 1	You cannot I say this with respect read the
2		2	dossier of information about the position of the
3		3	Ngok Dinka in 1905 and believe that it bore any
4		4	relationship whatever to the ABC area. It is simply off
5		5	the planet. That being so, even if you take the tribal
6		6	interpretation of the formula, what you have is
7		7	an application of that which is flagrantly inconsistent
8		8	with the extent of the Government's concession in the
9	·	9	Abyei Protocol.
10		10	I won't say anything more than what I said yesterday
11		11	on the evidence of Mr Zakaria Atem, but I would invite
12		12	you to read in particular paragraph 21 of the witness
13		13	statement of Vice President Taha. What happened was
14		14	that the Danforth proposal was put forward, the SPLM/A
15		15	came back with one of what are a number we have about
16		16	four in the record of proposals to qualify the
17		17	formula by reference to later dates.
18		18	The sentence in this case read:
19		19	"It is the area referred to in the 1972 Addis Ababa
20		20	Agreement and which was administered from 1974 to 1978
21		21	under the President's Office during the currency of the
22		22	said agreement."
23	·	23	In fact what they were trying to do was to
24		24	recuperate the gains of the Ngok Dinka, the territorial
25		25	gains under the Condominium Administration to the north,
	•		
	Page 21		Page 23
09:42 1	PROFESSOR REISMAN: Thank you.	09:44 1	into the definition of the Abyei Area. That was not
2	THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much, and I give the floor	2	agreed. That was not agreed. The Danforth proposal was
3	to Professor Crawford.	_	
	to i foressor crawford.	3	put forward as a take-it-or-leave-it proposal, and this
4		3 4	put forward as a take-it-or-leave-it proposal, and this alternative had to be withdrawn.
4 5	(9.42 am)	4	alternative had to be withdrawn.
	(9.42 am) Closing submissions by MR CRAWFORD		alternative had to be withdrawn. What Mr Zakaria said the other day we believe it
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09:46 1	By which he was referring, let us say for the sake	09:49 1	Ambassador Dirdeiry is reported as saying:
2	of argument, to the Ragaba ez Zarga:	2	"What we are here for is to draw boundaries that
3	" and the River Kiir between them, the latter	3	were drawn in 1905, that is saying 100 years ago. As
4	[the River Kiir] being occupied by the Dinkas under	4	the chairman of this committee told you, before that
5	Sultan Rob."	5	year the Ngok were in Bahr el Ghazal. In 1905 they were
6	That was the understanding at the time.	6	transferred to Kordofan. There were boundaries in 1905
7	Similarly the Gleichen handbook refers in relation	7	before that transfer took place. We want now to know
8	to the post-transfer boundary to Sultan Rob and	8	those boundaries."
9	Dar Jange belonging to Kordofan. "Sultan Rob" is taken	9	Now, that may be right or wrong as an interpretation
10	as shorthand for the people of Sultan Rob. The	10	of the formula, but it was the Government's
11	anthropologists hadn't got to the Dinka by that stage,	11	interpretation of the formula and there was never any
12	but that was the group they were talking about, and they	12	acquiescence in any other position.
13	had considerably more information about them, including	13	I turn to delimitation. I'm not going to repeat
14	about Sultan Rob's rheumatism, than Professor Daly would	14	what Mr Bundy said yesterday on the territorial
15	allow.	15	interpretation. The rest of this presentation assumes,
16	I should explain the phrase "Dar Jange".	16	without concession, that the tribal interpretation in
17	"Dar Jange" is spread across the map. My sense is that	17	some version is correct. Nothing is repeated from what
18	it relates to earlier, rather imprecise maps, in	18	Mr Bundy said, but nothing is conceded in the way
19	particular from the German explorers of the middle part	19	I handle this.
20	of the 19th century, where "Dar Jange" was a convenient	20	The first point to make: this is not a case based on
21	description: there be lions, there be Dinka.	21	18th century tribal title. It is not the Falklands of
22	It is not a specific reference to the Ngok, which is	22	the Dinka lands. The SPLM/A oral history case has to go
23	why I interrupted my friend the other day when he	23	back to 1905, and to stop there. It requires
24	appeared to me to be saying that the word "Dar Jange"	24	a precisely calibrated historical memory, which I think
25	was a reference to the Ngok. It's a reference to the	25	is frankly fantastic.
	Page 25		Page 27
09:47 1	Dinka.	09:50 1	There were clearly tribal movements across this vast
2	Looking at the 1904 map, the word "Dar Jange" there	2	region of Africa in the 18th century; we've discussed
3	includes the territory of what we know to have been	3	that in the pleadings. There is no evidence that the
4	quite a number of Dinka groups at the turn of the	4	ancient tribal extent such as it may have been on
5	century: the Malwal Dinka, the Ruweng Dinka, the Twic	5	certain versions of it of the Ngok to the north bore
6	Dinka and also the Ngok Dinka. Whether the person who	6	any relationship to the position of 1905, and the oral
7	put "Dar Jange" on that map knew of those people is	7	history does not prove that.
8	irrelevant. He certainly wasn't making	8	The second point: the distinction that Mr Born tried
9	an anthropological statement about the nine chiefdoms.	9	to draw between a tribe and a boundary, this is not
10	As to the Ngok right to vote, on any view on any	10	a distinction the administrators had in mind. There was
11	view the Abyei Appendix distinguishes, unfortunately	11	no separate subsequent act of delimitation; there was
12	for them, between some Ngok and others. As I've said,	12	a single act which was treated as having a territorial
13	you cannot believe that the Ngok were at Antila in 1905.	13	effect.
14	That conclusion is not available on the evidence. It	14	Thirdly, assuming for the sake of argument that the
15	may have been true for Mr Tibbs in 1951, but that's	15	tribal interpretation is right, it doesn't mean that the
16	a completely different point.	16	tribe carries with it just any boundary, including
17	If you give meaning to the phrase "in 1905", which	17	a boundary the size of Belgium. The formula necessarily
18	our colleagues agree you must, the consequence is that	18 19	implies a distinction between tribal territory that could conceivably have been said to have become a part
10		19	could concervably have been said to have become a part
19 20	there is a distinction between some Ngok and others, and	20	of Kordofan in 1905, and other rights or alaims or
20	the only question is criterion to which that distinction	20	of Kordofan in 1905, and other rights or claims or
20 21	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn.	21	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that
20 21 22	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn. As to the alleged acquiescence of the Government in	21 22	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that were not related to Kordofan after 1905. That
20 21 22 23	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn. As to the alleged acquiescence of the Government in the ABC's interpretation of the formula, that is another	21 22 23	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that were not related to Kordofan after 1905. That invalidates the experts' treatment of area 4 just in and
20 21 22 23 24	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn. As to the alleged acquiescence of the Government in the ABC's interpretation of the formula, that is another example of spurious acquiescence. I refer to	21 22 23 24	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that were not related to Kordofan after 1905. That invalidates the experts' treatment of area 4 just in and of itself.
20 21 22 23	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn. As to the alleged acquiescence of the Government in the ABC's interpretation of the formula, that is another	21 22 23	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that were not related to Kordofan after 1905. That invalidates the experts' treatment of area 4 just in and of itself. In terms of the application of the tribal formula as
20 21 22 23 24	the only question is criterion to which that distinction is to be drawn. As to the alleged acquiescence of the Government in the ABC's interpretation of the formula, that is another example of spurious acquiescence. I refer to	21 22 23 24	practises or itineraries of the Ngok to the north that were not related to Kordofan after 1905. That invalidates the experts' treatment of area 4 just in and of itself.

09:51 1	I've just explained it and it's a modulated	09:54 1	and doesn't establish an area the size of Belgium.
2	interpretation which is compelled, it seems to us, by	2	Secondly, just west of Koak is located a small
3	the language of the formula I'm somewhat impaired, in	3	netted area with the word "cult". Assuming that it
4	that although Mr Born has spoken twice since my	4	means cultivation, whatever it says says nothing about
5	presentation on the application of the tribal	5	whether the Ngok were involved there. If that little
6	interpretation, he hasn't bothered to reply to most of	6	"cult" gives the Ngok 11,000 square kilometres, it's one
7	what I've said. No doubt he will do it shortly.	7	of the most profitable pieces of agricultural labour
8	On the onus of proof, the PCA Rules, Article 24(1),	8	that I have heard of.
9	are clear: each party bears the burden the same	9	The fact that the SPLM/A tried to derive something
10	burden of proving the facts and contentions on which	10	from the Whittingham sketch shows how desperate they are
11	the claims are based. Whatever the position at the	11	in the absence of actual documentation.
12	excess stage, this is particularly true at the	12	The Dupuis's sketch map of 1921, a map to which we
13	demarcation stage, where each side is starting on	13	attach particular significance, the SPLM/A notes that
14	a position of equality.	14	Dupuis has marked two dugdugs along the Umm Biero to the
15	Mr Born obviously doesn't accept that because he	15	north of Kual Arop's village, located at Abyei. There's
16	doesn't accept what I said about the relationship	16	no particular problem with that; we accept that the word
17	between Article 2(a) and Article 2(c). But the text of	17	"dugdug" is there and that it indicates a Dinka cattle
18	it is perfectly clear: as soon as you determine that	18	camp.
19	there is an excess of mandate obviously there are	19	Incidentally, there are dugdugs far to the east
20	some limitations in the notion of excess of mandate,	20	which Mr Born, in his search for dugdugs, highlighted.
21	which have been discussed and which you need to apply	21	They are quite plainly in the Rueng area.
22	but as soon as you have determined that there was	22	Incidentally, we got the Dupuis map by chance two
23	an excess of mandate, that is the end of the	23	days before the counter-memorial. Mr Born referred to
24	Article 2(a) phase, Article 2(c) starts, and the	24	their getting a map by chance. I can tell you that in
25	experts' boundary no longer has any status. That is	25	the course of the pleadings schedule of this case,
	Page 29		Page 31
09:53 1	what Article 2 plainly says.	09:56 1	that's an experience that both sides have had.
2	I'm going to go probably this time at the speed	2	In the time available we were available to identify
2 3	I'm going to go probably this time at the speed of light, rather than the speed of sound through the	2 3	In the time available we were available to identify five Ngok Dinka sections immediately north of the
2 3 4	I'm going to go probably this time at the speed of light, rather than the speed of sound through the SPLM/A's treatment of the documentary sources, based on	2 3 4	In the time available we were available to identify five Ngok Dinka sections immediately north of the Bahr el Arab. In fact, a closer examination of the map
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09:57 1	The other two, if they were mountain patrol on the	10:00 1	that, because it shows the Ngok in relation to the Homr,
2	10°35' line, must have felt mighty lonely.	2	but it also shows an extremely small area.
3	There was then a huge leap from Dupuis to Howell,	3	This was prepared after enquiry from the officials
4	with none of the intervening documents discussed by	4	of all three provinces. There is an accurate
5	my friend. Howell is 1951. He says that the Ngok	5	description of the circumstances of its preparation and
6	extends this is in 1951, contemporary with Cunnison	6	therefore its provenance in the ABC experts's appendix.
7	and Tibbs:	7	It was prepared for the purposes of resolving tribal
8	" northwards along the main watercourses, of	8	grazing disputes by an official in Khartoum after
9	which the largest is the Ragaba Umm Biero."	9	enquiry. It contains detailed and precise information.
10	Even in 1951 Howell is talking about the Umm Biero.	10	The onus is on the SPLM/A to show that the winter
11	There's nothing here that could possibly assist the	11	settlement activities of the Ngok were radically
12	SPLM/A case.	12	different from the picture that can be seen here. They
13	Then there's the 1965 agreement. The 1965 and 1966	13	have not discharged that onus.
14	agreements recognise that the Ngok had permanent	14	The two accounts that we have near 1905 of the
15	settlements on the Ngol. By 1965 they did; that's the	15	winter practices of the Ngok indicate that they
16	point. It doesn't mean they had them in 1905.	16	clustered together during the rainy season. That's what
17	Then there was some reference to Cunnison and Tibbs.	17	Wilkinson said before the transfer; that's what Willis
18	Cunnison I've dealt with. As for Mr Tibbs, I showed you	18	said after the transfer.
19	his sketch of Dar Messiriya, which bears no relationship	19	I turn to the SPLM/A case for area 4.
20	to the ABC area. It was, incidentally, nice to see	20	Paragraph 51 of the rejoinder lists a number of
21	Mr Tibbs in court during the proceedings.	21	items. Mr Born pointed out quite rightly that it
22	In conclusion, let me take you to two sketch maps	22	doesn't only list the community mapping report, though
23	from the period around 1930, by which stage	23	it does make the assertion in relation to the community
24	Professor Daly's argument ab ignorantia can have no	24	mapping report that:
25	application; by 1930, the Condominium Administration.	25	"A fair reading of the various items that are cited
	Page 33		Page 35
	Tage 33		1 age 33
09:59 1	This was the colonial service of the Sudan, the pride of	10:02 1	shows that permanent Ngok Dinka villages were located
2	the British; it wasn't, as it were, formally British, it	2	throughout the Bahr region, extending north to the goz
3	was Condominium, but a separate colonial service in	3	and latitude 10°35', both in 1905 and for decades
4	which great pride was felt. This was the service of	4	thereafter."
5	MacMichael, this was the service of people like	5	I simply invite you to look individually and
6	MacMichael: real scholars who also spent time, years and	6	collectively at the evidence that's referred to in that
7	years, in the field.	7	paragraph. The statement is plainly untrue.
8	What did they show at this period?	8	In his conclusion, Professor Daly in his second
9	This is the 1927 tribal map. If you can see it,	9	report said at page 19:
10	you're better than I am. Let me just find it.	10	" the critical importance of Wilkinson's report
11	You can see "Humr" written right across the ABC	11	for our purposes, when seen in the light of the Terms of
12	area. You can see "Mareig", which is of course the	12	Reference of the ABC, is that Wilkinson found Ngok Dinka
13	Ngok, near Abyei, to the north of the Bahr el Arab. You	13	in permanent occupation of sites along and to the north
14	can see an early version of the straight-line boundary	14	(left) bank of the Ragaba ez Zarga."
15	to the south it was being straightened out at about	15	Now, that statement is revealing in three ways.
16	this time and you can see the Mareng Dinka further	16	First of all, when I asked Professor Daly whether he
17	east.	17	could find in Wilkinson's report actual concrete
18	That's a depiction it's obviously a sketch and	18	specific evidence of occupation on the Ragaba ez Zarga
19	not a detailed map but that's a depiction of what the	19	in 1905 he said he could not, although he said he would
20	person who produced this map thought was the relative	20	interpret the report in that way.
21	tribal distributions in 1927. As a matter of science it	21	The second point is and this is a remarkable
22	bears no relationship to what the ABC experts did.	22	slip when seen in the light of the Terms of Reference
23	Then let me take you back to the Civsec map. The	23	of the ABC, it would be a remarkable reading of a route
24	Civsec map was broadly consistent with these depictions.	24 25	report in 1902 that it should be seen in light of the
25	Okay, it was a summer camp description, and I accept	25	Terms of Reference of the ABC.
	Page 34		Page 36
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10:04			
10.0.	•	10:07 1	case has been pleaded to conduct the thorough ICJ-type
	documents and not talk about the Terms of Reference of	2	research in the Sudan Survey Department that we would
	3 the ABC. He shouldn't have been concerned with the	3	have like to have conducted, and we have had the same
	4 Terms of Reference of the ABC. He is clearly reading	4	experience of finding graphics by chance that the SPLM/A
	5 the document backwards. In that respect, as in other	5	had when it belatedly undertook its own research.
	6 respects, he faithfully complies with the SPLM/A case.	6	But we can't be sure that it's there. Whoever knows
	7 The third point and here I have to say I have	7	anything about archives, and in particular if I say
	8 great respect for Professor Daly as a historian is	8	so with respect Third World archives, will know that
	9 that he is not able to say that the evidence supports	9	things have gone missing; even in First World archives,
1	0 the SPLM/A claim to area 4.	10	the best possibly preserved archives, that is the case.
1	1 What he says is that the Ngok Dinka were "in	11	If your cartographers accept Ambassador Dirdeiry's
1	2 permanent occupation" he doesn't actually say "in	12	invitation to visit the Survey Department, they will see
1	3 1905" in the words that I've quoted, but let's assume in	13	that the records of the department cannot be described
1	4 1905 of areas "on the north (left) bank of the	14	as well-organised.
1	5 Ragaba ez Zarga". That's the best he can say, and it	15	But the sketch we did submit, Percival's sketch
1	6 doesn't establish it does not establish an SPLM/A	16	covering the area from Wau to the River Kiir, is
1	7 claim to area 4.	17	a complete document. It's not a scrap, it's not a bit.
1	8 I hope the Tribunal will allow me now to be a little	18	We did submit a bit of Wilkinson's sketch of 1902
1	9 less telegraphic.	19	because we thought it was the only relevant one. This
2	MR BORN: If it helps you, Professor Crawford, we don't	20	one is a whole one, and the other part of it may or may
2	have any objection to you going over a while.	21	not exist; we haven't got it.
2	22 PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: That's very kind of you, Mr Born.	22	Moreover, turning to the Whittingham sketch, once
2	MR BORN: Subject, of course, to the president's control.	23	the Whittingham sketch is correctly assembled it becomes
2	PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: In that case I'll say something else.	24	clear that in relation to his journeys, the two routes
2	Mr Born and I have crossed swords, but he has been	25	are entirely separate.
	Page 37		Page 39
	Tage 37		1 age 37
10:05	1 a redoubtable opponent in this case.	10:08 1	To conclude, taking into account the circumstances
	2 Let me speak very briefly about the documents. In	2	in which this case has been pleaded, there is no
	3 the closing remarks I want to address only two points:	3	evidence against the Government of wilful nondisclosure.
	4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4		
	4 the question of access and the question of your function	4	That being so, the normal rule applies: that is, it was
	the question of access and the question of your function faced with the difficult task that you have to perform.	4 5	That being so, the normal rule applies: that is, it was for each party to prove its case by doing its own
			for each party to prove its case by doing its own research within the timescale laid down by the Tribunal,
	5 faced with the difficult task that you have to perform.	5	for each party to prove its case by doing its own
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10:10	1	matter associated with the principle of	10:13 1	ABC and the ABC experts. That is the difference between
	2	self-determination and the consequence being made in	2	you and the ABC, and that is the answer to Mr Born's
	3	a form binding on the Government. As a matter of	3	questions.
	4	general public law, as well as a matter of international	4	Mr President, members of the Tribunal, thank you for
	5	law, the position is clear.	5	your patience throughout this case.
	6	The ABC was a sui generis body. Mr Born himself	6	THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much, Professor Crawford.
	7	declined to classify it as a court or tribunal. It is	7	PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: I'm sorry, I should say in a fit
	8	not called a court or tribunal; it's called	8	of enthusiasm I forgot the agent Mr Dirdeiry would
	9	a commission.	9	like to present our submissions. I do apologise to
	10	The word "commission" covers, if the distinguished	10	him for that slight impropriety. He will not be very
	11	members of the Tribunal will forgive me, a multitude of	11	long.
	12	sins; from bodies which are indistinguishable from	12	THE CHAIRMAN: Alright. Ambassador Dirdeiry, you have the
	13	courts, such as the Eritrea-Ethiopia Claims Tribunal,	13	floor.
	14	which was clearly a court under another name, to bodies	14	PROFESSOR CRAWFORD: And I am grateful to Mr Born for the
	15	which are performing other sorts of functions. But you	15	permission.
	16	can't have it both ways.	16	MR BORN: Our permission is just courtesy. Please take
	17	If you want the ABC and I emphasise again: the	17	all the time that you need. Thank you.
	18	ABC; this is why we take this procedural point so	18	(10.14 am)
	19	seriously to have the attributes of a court,	19	Closing submissions by AMBASSADOR DIRDEIRY
	20	including competence-competence, it has to behave like	20	AMBASSADOR DIRDEIRY: Mr President, distinguished members
	21	a court; it has to behave in a judicial manner.	21	of the Tribunal, we have come to the end of the
	22	You only have to look at what they did writing to	22	Government of Sudan's pleadings in this case. I do
	23	the United States Government to find out what Sudan had	23	not intend to summarise the arguments that the
	24	agreed, and then not following the advice, and then not	24	Government has presented to you in its written
	25	telling us they had done it, and then sneaking their	25	pleadings and during the course of the past six days.
		Page 41		Page 43
10:11	1	report in afterwards to see that they behaved in no	10:14 1	I believe that we have shown why the Government's
10.11	2	manner like a court.	10.14 1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	3	Of course, they had the power to interpret the	3	2
	4	mandate, but every body with decisional-making power,	4	
	5	irrespective of its classification, has that authority.	5	
	6	The crucial question is whether a body, including a body	6	•
	7	of a sui generis character as usual, the words	7	
	8	"sui generis" cover a multitude of analyses is given	8	
	9	the authority to decide for itself on a jurisdictional	9	
	10	formula which involves a question of law.	10	
	11	In the system of international law which we have and	11	•
	12	to which states are subject, in the system of general	12	
	13	principles of law which is postulated as the applicable	13	
	14	law of this Tribunal, the question is whether an entity	14	
	15	is given the authority, right or wrong, to determine the	15	•
	16	scope of its own jurisdiction.	16	
	17	We say even if that might have been true in relation	17	
	18	to the ABC, it was certainly not true in relation to the	18	
	19	ABC experts, whose power was to engage in a scientific	19	
	20	exercise and, after an attempt to find a consensus, to	20	_
	21	reach a decision on behalf of the Commission.	21	
	22	But you are different. You are a tribunal. You	22	
	23	have an applicable law. You have competence-competence,	23	
	24	and you have competence-competence not merely in	24	
	25	relation to yourself, but expressly in relation to the	25	
		Page 42		Page 44

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10:16 1	to the court stenographer for his hard work and, via	10:52 1	Beyond that, the experts correctly defined the Abyei
2	this Tribunal and the CPA, my thanks to the	2	Area.
3	International Court of Justice for making the Great Hall	3	Fairly read, a huge body of documentary,
4	of Justice and other facilities available.	4	environmental, cartographic and witness evidence
5	Finally, I would also like to express my	5	demonstrates beyond any fair doubt that the Ngok Dinka
6	appreciation to our brethren who are here on behalf of	6	have occupied the Bahr region for generations.
7	the SPLM/A, and indeed those on behalf of other parties	7	Even if this Tribunal were to reconsider the issues
8	who are present as observers, for the courtesy and	8	decided by the five experts, their definition of the
9	efforts that have contributed to the positive atmosphere	9	Abyei Area and the Ngok Dinka's historic homeland was
10	within which these hearings have taken place.	10	correct in almost every respect. The only necessary or
11	It remains to me, as agent for the Government of	11	appropriate adjustment would be to extend the northern
12	Sudan, to maintain and reaffirm our formal submissions	12	boundary of the Abyei Area to latitude 10°35' north.
13	in this case which have been set out in our written	13	The Government, over the past years, has raised 10,
14	pleadings. Thank you very much.	14	11, 12, 13 or more different objections to the experts'
15	THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much, Ambassador Dirdeiry.	15	decision. Ultimately the aim of those objections is to
16	We will resume our work at 10.45.	16	delay, to confuse and to complicate. At the end of the
17	MR BORN: Thank you, Mr President.	17	day, all of those objections are baseless. They are
18	(10.17 am)	18	transparent efforts to re-litigate here in front of you
19	(A short break)	19	what the experts already decided, in violation of what
20	(10.50 am)	20	the parties agreed and what the rule of law says.
21	THE CHAIRMAN: Mr Born.	21	It is essential essential to the people of Sudan
22	Closing submissions by MR BORN	22	and to the international community, the rule of law that
23	MR BORN: Thank you, Mr President.	23	governs it that you not acquiesce in what the
24	Your decision in this arbitration will involve	24	Government has done, but that you instead uphold what
25	issues of fundamental importance both to the Sudanese	25	the experts did.
	D 47		D 47
	Page 45		Page 47
10.50 1	people and to the international community. Your	10:55 1	Let's begin back where we started with the
10:50 1	people and to the international community. Your	10:55 1	Let's begin back where we started, with the
2	decision will concern the integrity of the rule of law	2	Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It provided for
2 3	decision will concern the integrity of the rule of law in contemporary life and the right of the Ngok Dinka	2 3	Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It provided for a negotiated resolution of 40 years of civil war.
2 3 4	decision will concern the integrity of the rule of law in contemporary life and the right of the Ngok Dinka people to their ancestral homeland in the Abyei Area.	2 3 4	Comprehensive Peace Agreement. It provided for a negotiated resolution of 40 years of civil war. Central and the parties on this to the agreement
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10:56		11:00 1	Article 1.1.2.
	Let's think again about that language in light of	2	You can see Article 5.1 there on the screen in front
	what we've learned over the past week. Let's reflect on	3	of you, and how it refers to defining and demarcating
	where the parties, the north and the south, would have	4	the area set forth in Article 1.1.2, and that's a point
	conceived their bridge. Was it in the Bahr and the goz,	5	I will come back to.
	where the Ngok and the Messiriya lived as brothers for	6	The Abyei Annex provided for the appointment of five
	generations? Or was it in that narrow strip of swamp	7	impartial experts to the Commission. The parties
8		8	recognised that the definition of the Abyei Area would
1		9	raise complicated historical, factual and other issues.
10	E	10 11	We've seen clearly the complexity of those issues in the
1			last days, historical, anthropological, environmental. We've heard, albeit almost entirely from the SPLM/A,
12 12	1 1	12 13	from Professor John Allan, from Professor Daly, from
1.		14	Mr Schofield, from Dr Poole. We also heard, again
1:		15	almost entirely from this side of the room, about the
10	•	16	views of Professor Cunnison.
1'		17	Those issues the anthropological, the
13	•	18	environmental, the historical are complex, they are
19		19	highly complex, and that was exactly the reason that the
20	• •	20	parties agreed to the selection of five experts and
2		21	you can read it on the slide knowledgeable in
2:		22	history, geography and any other relevant expertise.
2:	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	23	As we also saw, the parties agreed, they
2	-	24	specifically designed an appointment mechanism for those
2:		25	experts. Pursuant to Article 2 of the Abyei Annex, the
	Page 49		Page 51
10:58 1	their substantive agreement on the Abyei Area. The	11.01.1	
	their substantive agreement on the rieger fred. The	11:01 1	United States and the United Kingdom were to appoint one
2	territory is defined as:	11:01 1	expert each, and the Inter-Governmental Authority for
2	territory is defined as: " the area of the nine Ngok Dinka chiefdoms	2 3	
3	territory is defined as: " the area of the nine Ngok Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905."	2 3 4	expert each, and the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development, the IGAD, was to appoint the remaining three.
3 4 5	territory is defined as: " the area of the nine Ngok Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905." That provision was the substantive cornerstone of	2 3 4 5	expert each, and the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development, the IGAD, was to appoint the remaining three. The parties agreed for the IGAD to resolve any
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11:03 1			l
11.05	history, ethnography and African law.	11:06 1	submissions, including an additional presentation from
2	The three African experts you can see,	2	the Government.
3	Professor Kassahun Berhanu, Professor Godfrey Muriuki,	3	Stepping back from that and I know we've looked
4	Professor Shaddrack Gutto, were distinguished men. The	4	at this to some extent in the past, but it's useful in
5	other two, Ambassador Petterson and Dr Johnson, were not	5	the heat of this litigation to step back and look at
6	African, but they had devoted their life to Africa and	6	what those men did it was a remarkable fact-finding
7	they were distinguished experts in their field.	7	process. It was conducted professionally, effectively,
8	At no point throughout the entire ABC proceedings	8	efficiently and fairly. The experts who conducted that
9	did any party object to or criticise any of those five	9	process deserve our honour and our respect.
10	men, and that is because, taken together, they were	10	During the past week we also looked at how the
11	an extraordinarily impressive, distinguished, impartial	11	parties fully expected and wanted the experts to conduct
12	and honest group of men, and because their collective	12	additional investigatory work, additional archival work,
13	expertises provided exactly what the parties wanted and	13	additional investigations on their own, without the
14	expected.	14	involvement of either of the parties, and the experts
15	They weren't international arbitration lawyers.	15	did that. It involved research at locations in England
16	They were just if I can put it that way "just"	16	and elsewhere in Africa: the Rhodes House library, the
17	scientists and historians and anthropologists, but they	17	Bodleian library, the Durham Sudan Archives.
18	were the men with the expertises; they were the men that	18	We saw how the experts interviewed additional
19	the parties chose and wanted to resolve their dispute.	19	witnesses both in England and in Sudan. They visited
20	That choice again demands and deserves our respect and	20	Mr and Mrs Tibbs twice in England, and Professor Ian
21	honour.	21	Cunnison also in England. We've seen how important
22	Once they were appointed, the experts went about	22	those people's testimony was both sides put them in
23 24	addressing the issues that the parties presented to them. They did so with exceptional diligence, integrity	23	as factual witnesses and we saw how
25	and skill.	24 25	Professor Cunnison's work is so important, so important in understanding the factual record.
23	and Skill.	23	in understanding the factual fecord.
	Page 53		Page 55
11:05 1	Liba Da Dagla, the assessed travelled to the Abori	11:08 1	A 6 4 h 6 i
11:05 1	Like Dr Poole, the experts travelled to the Abyei Area and the surrounding regions. They spent six days	11:08 1 2	At the same time, and very properly, the experts conducted additional interviews of witnesses in
3	with the residents, the Ngok and the Messiriya. They	3	Khartoum, as we've seen. The experts heard the parties
4	conducted public hearings around the Abyei Area, and in	4	multiple times; frankly, as many times as the parties
5	total they heard 100 witnesses at the places you can see	5	wanted to be heard. There were no objections at any
6	on the screen: 47 Dinka and 57 Messiriya.	ū	wanted to be neared. There were no objections at any
		6	time throughout those proceedings.
7	•	6 7	time throughout those proceedings. I have showed you this slide before, but because
7 8	The experts included historians who were capable and	7	I have showed you this slide before, but because
8	The experts included historians who were capable and trained in evaluating the testimony and descriptions of	7 8	I have showed you this slide before, but because it's somewhat similar to what we heard this morning from
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11:09 1	issues. It drew on the experts' complementary skills	11:13 1	the sort of decision that all developed and civilised
2	and expertise and a wide range of archival, witness and	2	legal systems do and should enthusiastically uphold.
3	other evidence.	3	Failure to do that not only violates the most basic
4	The Government has castigated that report in	4	principles of res judicata, but it jeopardises the rule
5	multiple ways. It's been called "a scientific	5	of law in future cases. If the law will not give effect
6	shambles", "grossly misconceived", "bizarre" and "off	6	to adjudicated decisions like that in the future, what
7	the planet". Those characterisations aren't fair.	7	reason will parties have to choose to resolve their
8	When you look at the report, those characterisations	8	disputes through peaceful means?
9	are based on distortions that either leave out footnote	9	With that background, let's turn briefly to the
10	references, leave out whole discussions in propositions,	10	Government's complaints.
11	twist the obvious meaning of what the experts meant. If	11	As we know, it's given us a long and continually
12	you step back and look fairly and objectively, outside	12	changing list of complaints: 10, 11, 12, 13; we've been
13	the heat of this litigation, at what the experts did, it	13	told it doesn't really matter. We've seen how the
14	was an impressive work. It too demands our respect and	14	Government changes the rationale for its complaints on
15	our honour.	15	almost every occasion, and we saw further changes in its
16	The experts presented that report to the President	16	rationale this morning. However they put them, however
17	of Sudan on 14th July. That meeting was arranged by the	17	they explain them, the Government's claims are all
18	Government with the full cooperation of the ABC members.	18	baseless.
19	No objections were made in the run-up to the meeting; no	19	First they're baseless because, save with one
20	objections were made when the ABC experts presented	20	exception, they're inadmissible. They don't involve
21	their report; no objections were made after they had	21	claims of an excess of mandate. They don't fall within
22	presented their report.	22	the parties' definition in Article 2(a). Even if they
23	The only time that the Government began to complain	23	did, substantively their claims are implausible, they're
24	about what the experts had decided was when they saw	24	untenable, they're not based in substance.
25	what the substantive result was, and then the Government	25	As we've seen, Article 2(a) of the Arbitration
	Page 57		Page 59
11:11 1	said, "Let the experts sponge their report in water and	11:15 1	Agreement provides what the issue is that this Tribunal
2	drink it".	2	is to decide. It provides a single specifically defined
3	The Government's refusal to honour the experts'	3	basis for this Tribunal's authority to disregard the
4	report is unsatisfactory. It brings dishonour on Sudan,	4	experts' report. As we discussed at length on Sunday
5	and it threatens the rule of law.	5	and Monday, virtually all of the Government's claims
6	The parties' agreement to resolve the Abyei dispute	6	fall outside the scope of Article 2(a) and are therefore
7	was extraordinarily constructive. It ended 40 years of	7	inadmissible.
8	bitter conflict, 2 million dead, 4.5 million displaced.	8	Article 2(a) does not concern whether the experts
9	The arrangements that ended that war are exactly the	9	exceeded their mandate in the abstract. The parties
10	type of agreement that every civilised legal system does	10	could have attached the usual list that one finds in the
11	and should enthusiastically uphold.	11	New York Convention, or a general reference to nullity;
12	Failure to honour those agreements not only violates	12	but they didn't. Instead, as you can see on the slide,
13	the most basic rules of pacta sunt servanda, but also	13	they defined an excess of mandate by reference using
14	jeopardises the efficacy of those arrangements in the	14	the words "which is" to the language that was in the
15	future. If the law will not give effect to agreements	15	Abyei Protocol.
16	like that, parties won't enter into them.	16	The phrase "which is" provides the parties'
17	Equally, the experts produced a carefully reasoned,	17	definition, and it refers to the experts' task of
18	balanced and impressive decision under challenging	18	defining and demarcating, the substantive definition of
19	circumstances. We've seen how they conducted efficient,	19	the Abyei Area in Article 1.1.2. Article 2(a) refers by
20	thorough, impartial procedures, in which two warring	20	its plain terms to a substantive excess of mandate
		I 21	ultra petita.
21	parties, in the middle of a conflict zone, worked	21	_
22	together to resolve their dispute.	22	Applying that definition, the Government's claims
22 23	together to resolve their dispute. The experts' decision, the ABC procedures, were	22 23	Applying that definition, the Government's claims that the experts violated purported mandatory criteria
22 23 24	together to resolve their dispute. The experts' decision, the ABC procedures, were a striking example of how international dispute	22 23 24	Applying that definition, the Government's claims that the experts violated purported mandatory criteria do not constitute excesses of mandate under
22 23	together to resolve their dispute. The experts' decision, the ABC procedures, were	22 23	Applying that definition, the Government's claims that the experts violated purported mandatory criteria
22 23 24	together to resolve their dispute. The experts' decision, the ABC procedures, were a striking example of how international dispute resolution should work. The experts' report is exactly	22 23 24	Applying that definition, the Government's claims that the experts violated purported mandatory criteria do not constitute excesses of mandate under Article 2(a).
22 23 24	together to resolve their dispute. The experts' decision, the ABC procedures, were a striking example of how international dispute	22 23 24	Applying that definition, the Government's claims that the experts violated purported mandatory criteria do not constitute excesses of mandate under

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11:16 1	None of these claims allege that the experts failed	11:20 1	fact or law. Annulment is to be distinguished from
2	to define or delimit the Abyei Area; none of them are	2	appeal."
3	ultra petita claims. Indeed, none of these mandatory	3	As I said, I will come back to that in a moment.
4	criteria claims even allege that the experts violated	4	Applied to the present case, the Government's three
5	the procedural provisions of the ABC agreements.	5	excess of mandate claims do not fall within
6	Rather, as we've seen, all of those claims are based on	6	Article 1.1.2; they instead involve what the Government
7	alleged principles of peremptory mandatory law external	7	calls an error in the experts' reasoning on a point of
8	to the parties' agreements. That is not the basis for	8	law.
9	a claim of excess of mandate under Article 2(a).	9	I made this point before, and this is a lead-in to
10	Second, the Government's four procedural complaints	10	what I promised you about responding to some comments
11	also fall outside the definition of an excess of	11	this morning: the Government's substantive mandate
12	substantive mandate under Article 2(a). Again, although	12 13	claims can be tested the three claims about answering
13	titled differently, as they ultimately have evolved those claims all rely on external mandatory principles,		the wrong question, failing to answer the right question, ignoring the stipulated date by seeing how
14 15	so-called "universally applicable procedural rules" or	14 15	those claims would apply to this Tribunal's own
16	"peremptory procedural norms".	16	decision.
17	We've submitted that on the substance and we'll	17	Our colleagues on the other side of the table
18	come back and look at them that there are no such	18	acknowledge that this Tribunal's mandate is identical in
19	norms. But even if there were, they would not fall	19	its wording, in its reference to the Abyei Area under
20	within the scope of an excess of mandate under	20	Article 2(c), to that of the ABC experts. Your mandate
21	Article 2(a).	21	under Article 2(c), were you to ever reach that issue,
22	Finally, even when one gets to the Government's	22	is to define exactly the same area.
23	purported substantive mandate claims, three of them are	23	Critically, if the experts' misinterpretation of
24	in fact nothing of the sort. The claims that the	24	that definition were an excess of mandate, then
25	experts refused to answer the question asked, that they	25	inescapably, logically, inexorably, exactly the same
23		23	
	Page 61		Page 63
11:18 1	answered the wrong question, or that they ignored the	11:21 1	conclusion applies to you.
2	stipulated date of 1905, all of those rest	2	If the experts were wrong to look at the area of the
3	fundamentally, inexorably, inescapably on the	3	nine Ngok Dinka chiefdoms which were collectively
4	Government's interpretation of the substantive	4	transferred to Kordofan in 1905 instead of looking at
5	definition of the Abyei Area in Article 1.1.2.	5	a transferred area south of the Kiir, and if you were to
6	This Tribunal is not a court of appeal. This	6	do the same thing, then you would be subject to
7	Tribunal does not sit to review the substantive	7	precisely the same challenge that the Government has
8	decisions of the experts. Those three claims do not	8	articulated.
9	fall within your authority: they are not substantive	9	Nothing we heard in any of the Government's
10	excesses of mandate.	10	submissions before this morning denied that. On the
11	We've seen that the Government's definition	11	contrary, as I've showed you the language on previous
12	substantively of the Abyei Area is wrong, completely	12	occasions, the Government embraced that with open arms.
13	wrong. But even if it were right, it would be	13	You can see it on the slide. It would violate this
14	a substantive mistake which is not subject to this	14	Arbitration Agreement, just like they say the experts
15	Tribunal's review.	15	violated their mandate.
16	We've seen the authorities that establish this	16	Professor Crawford didn't deny that this morning.
17	point. We've seen the ILC commentary; it's currently on	17	Instead he sought to draw a distinction between the
18	the slide. We've seen the other authorities. Indeed,	18	character of you on the one hand, as an adjudicative
19	the Government itself and I'm going to come back to	19	body, and the character of the ABC experts on the other
20	this because there were some comments today that	20	hand, as, it appears now, a non-adjudicatory body. I'm
21	addressed the point said:	21	going to come on and address that specifically, but it's
22	"This does not mean that an award can be annulled	22	a new argument, one we've never heard before, with very
23	simply because a party disagrees with the reasoning of	23	good reason.
24	the Tribunal on a point of fact or law, even if the	24	Let me say preliminarily, before I turn to look at
25	Tribunal was in error in its reasoning on a point of	25	what the Government told you this morning, that the
	Page 62		Page 64
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11:23	1 Government's position on this issue is absurd. It	11:26 1	"If the experts had delimited the Abyei Area's
	2 cannot be that if you err in adopting the supposedly	2	boundary on the Ngol"
	3 wrongful definition that the ABC experts did of the	3	And we heard this from Professor Pellet:
	4 Abyei Area in Article 1.1.2 that you too have exceeded	4	" again this was erroneous, but this was within
	5 their mandate. That cannot be.	5	their mandate and on this basis alone the Government
	Were that to be the case then, if you were to follow	6	could not have pleaded an excess of mandate."
	7 the Government's position, the SPLM/A would be in	7	So one thing we know that the Government said, or at
	8 exactly the shoes of the Government, the same from the	8	least says now, is: had the experts misunderstood where
	9 other perspective: that you had erred with regard to	9	the provincial boundary was, that would be a mistake of
	0 your mandate.	10	substance, not a mistake that would constitute an excess
	1 Of course that's not either the SPLM/A's position or	11	of mandate.
	2 any conceivably sensible view of the law. The	12	Let's look at what else the Government said. The
	3 substantive interpretation of what "the area of the nine	13	Government said:
	4 Ngok Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905"	14	"My view is that we say that [the mandate is] as
	5 means, the interpretation of Article 1.1.2, is not	15	long as there is no possibility for interpretation,
	6 a question of jurisdiction; it's a question of	16	there is no competence."
	substance.It's a question of interpreting what that part of	17 18	I don't entirely understand that, to be honest. Of
	8 It's a question of interpreting what that part of 9 the parties' agreement meant. The mandate of the	19	course there's possibility for interpretation. Look at Article 1.1.2: you have to interpret it.
	experts, as with you, is then to define and delimit that	20	Professor Crawford admitted you have to interpret it,
	substantively defined area.	20	and obviously the experts had the competence to do that.
	A mistake in interpreting Article 1.1.2 is the sort	22	But let's go on:
	of issue the Government has described as an appeal on	23	"The only competence they could have is to strictly
	a matter of law or fact. That is not within your	24	interpret the mandate, and we cannot deny that they have
	mandate. That is not an excess of mandate.	25	a slight possibility of interpretation."
	Page 65		Page 67
11:25	The thing that the excess of mandate focuses on is	11:27 1	The Government stands or slides on a slippery slope.
	whether what the experts did and what you would do would	2	It makes no sense to say that you are to review de novo,
	be to define and delimit the thing referred to; define	3	with no deference whatsoever, what the experts decided
	4 and delimit. You have to do that, the experts had to do	4	about either the meaning of Article 1.1.2 or the meaning
	5 that. If the experts didn't do that, they would have	5	of Article 5.1, which contained a reference to the same
	6 exceeded their mandate. But they didn't do anything of	6	language. Professor Pellet started down the path of
,	7 the sort and the Government hasn't suggested it.	7	saying "no deference at all", and even then said:
:	There were some questions from the Tribunal that	8	"We cannot deny that they have a slight possibility
9	9 it's worth talking about. The first question was: did	9	of interpretation."
1	0 the experts have the competence-competence to decide the	10	His example, I confess, I don't understand.
1	-	11	Probably they can try to explain that the cat barks or
1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	12	things like that, but it must really be related and
1		13	strictly related to the mandate.
1-		14	With all respect, that won't do. Just making it up
1.	•	15	on the fly isn't the way that you approach this. You
1		16	need to logically interpret what Article 1.1.2 and
1	-	17	Article 5.1 mean, which we will do.
1		18	Before we do that, let's take one more look at what
1		19	the Government said. The Government said as I've
2	-	20	just said, and for the reasons I have recalled:
2 2		21 22	" the mandate ought to be integrally and fully respected, and any departure from it must be sanctioned
2		23	by this Tribunal; within, of course, the reasonable
2		24	limits to be respected in any litigation, including the
2		25	principle of reasonableness not in isolation, but of
_		25	r
	Page 66		Page 68

11:29 1	reasonableness infra legem and the principle of	11:32 1	end of the day that is a substantive disagreement about
2	proportionality."	2	what Article 1.1.2 means.
3	Again, an ad hoc reference to some sort of deference	3	That takes us then to the rather extraordinary
4	on your part to what the ABC experts decided. Again,	4	argument we heard this morning, which is: while this
5	that doesn't make sense. One needs a logical,	5	Tribunal is an adjudicatory body, the ABC experts were
6		6	not. The reason that I say that that is extraordinary
7	say to how to look at your deference to the ABC	7	is that the Government has never said it before.
8	experts' decision.	8	Moving on through the slides, the Government has
9	The way to do it we have set out consistently and	9	instead, throughout this entire case throughout this
10	clearly in the past. The way to do it is to recognise	10	entire case described the ABC experts by reference to
11	that the parties substantively, as a fundamental part of	11	an arbitral tribunal. You will recall the submissions
12	•	12	on this. They referred to the ABC Rules of Procedure as
13	1	13	the Arbitration Rules, on the most trivial level. They
14		14	analogised the ABC experts to an ICSID arbitral
15	•	15	tribunal; they analogised you to an ICSID annulment
16	**	16	panel.
17	6 6 6	17	We adopted a more nuanced position. Our position
18	•	18	was right, but the suggestion this morning that the ABC
19	•	19	experts were not adjudicatory is extraordinary and it is
20		20	wrong.
21		21	Our position was that while there are important
22	,	22	differences between the ABC experts and the ABC
23	, ,	23	proceedings and an ICSID or arbitral tribunal of some
24		24	sort, it remains adjudicatory. There are submissions
25	Article 1.1.2, there is not a question of deference.	25	that address that in detail. There can be no question
	Page 69		Page 71
11:30 1			
11.50 1	That is a question for them substantively to decide.	11:33 1	but that we are correct on that.
11.30 1		11:33 1 2	but that we are correct on that. Therefore the Government's effort to evade the point
	That is a question as to which the Government says: you are not a court of appeal, but rather this is annulment.		
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2 3	That is a question as to which the Government says: you are not a court of appeal, but rather this is annulment. On that issue there is no review. And that is it, game,	2 3	Therefore the Government's effort to evade the point that we have made repeatedly being that if their arguments about an excess of mandate substantively are correct, they apply to you equally have not been met.
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	That is a question as to which the Government says: you are not a court of appeal, but rather this is annulment. On that issue there is no review. And that is it, game, set and match. What would constitute an excess of mandate under those grounds? We've talked about it, we've made concessions with regard to the grazing rights argument. We think substantively that's baseless. There are other things that would equally constitute an excess of mandate: had the ABC experts changed the date for the referendum, had they changed the governmental structure within the Abyei Area, had they changed the allocation of oil revenues, had they tried to divide natural resources in some other way, that would not have been defining or demarcating the Abyei Area; that would have been outside their mandate. But that's not what they did. That's not what the Government claims. Think a little bit about the Government's claims. Here they say the experts ignored the date 1905. That is a quintessential example of a substantive disagreement, a quintessential example. Ultimately the same thing is true of their arguments about whether or not the reference was to the	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	Therefore the Government's effort to evade the point that we have made repeatedly being that if their arguments about an excess of mandate substantively are correct, they apply to you equally have not been met. They have been addressed only by an effort to treat the ABC experts as something other than an adjudicatory body. That contradicts everything the Government has said in this case; it contradicts the basic principles of what an adjudicatory body is, which have never been disputed. With that I think I can move on, probably having used much too much time, and address the substance of the Government's claims, assuming that they were admissible, and looking at whether there's any substance to them. I begin by just briefly reminding the Tribunal of the well-settled principles, generally applicable principles of law, that set the framework for its enquiry. I won't repeat the authorities that confirm the rules of presumptive finality and res judicata that I've described previously. You can see some of the authorities on the current slide. Nor will I repeat the authorities that demonstrate the importance of that to

11:35 1	It is, though, worth just recalling how the ICJ put	11:38 1	glaring, a manifest extravagance on the merits, flagrant
2	it in the application of the Genocide Convention case:	2	or manifestly unjust.
3	"Two purposes one general, the other specific	3	Going back just for a moment to Professor Crawford's
	underlie the principle of res judicata, internationally	4	comments about how the ABC experts were not really
	as nationally. First, the stability of legal relations	5	an adjudicatory body, think about the Government's
	requires that litigation comes to an end	6	multiple concessions about the elevated standard of
7	"Secondly, it is in the interest of each party that	7	proof that it had to meet. They were on a slide that
	an issue which has already been adjudicated in favour of	8	you saw previously. Where do those come from?
	that party not be argued again Depriving a litigant	9	Those come from the fact that the ABC experts made
	of the benefit of [an already obtained] judgment	10	an adjudicatory decision which is entitled to respect
	must in general be seen as a breach of the principles	11	under principles of presumptive finality, which in turn
	governing the legal settlement of disputes."	12	give rise to those conceded and acknowledged standards
13	That goes back to the discussions that I began with	13	of proof. The Government's case falls apart. To use
	at the outset about the importance to the rule of law.	14	their own analogy, the centre does not hold.
15	We saw how these principles apply with peculiar	15	Third, looking at the procedural complaints that the
	importance in the context of boundary determinations.	16	Government has raised, it is well settled in every legal
	Those principles of finality lie at the foundation of	17	system that an adjudicatory body is entitled to the
	the rule of law. Disregarding those principles would	18	broadest of procedural discretion, that a procedural
	contradict the most basic concepts of legal order, and	19	error needs to be demonstrated clearly and
	would reward parties that flouted negotiated dispute	20	unequivocally, that it has to have caused substantial
	resolution mechanisms and adjudicated boundary	21	damage. Again the ICJ put it well; it's on the screen,
	determinations.	22	I won't repeat it.
23 24	Those principles of res judicata and finality have direct consequences for the Government's case. They	23 24	The same principles apply to the Government's mandatory criteria claims, and I won't go through that
	produce rules allocating and setting the standard of	25	again.
23	produce rules anocating and setting the standard of	23	agaiii.
	Page 73		Page 75
11:37 1	proof for all of the Government's claims. That is true	11:40 1	We've seen how the Government made and I didn't
2	whatever the claim, whatever the Government's theory.	2	hear much reference to it today, to be honest passing
3	In fact, we don't need to rely on those standards of	3	reference to the fact that Article 2 of the Arbitration
4	proof to defend the ABC experts' decision. When you	4	Agreement had waived all these standards, had changed
5	look at it under any standard of proof, that decision	5	the rules with regard to res judicata. That was
6	whether it's procedural, mandatory criteria or	6	something we didn't hear this morning for good reason.
7	substantive mandate was right, was proper. But it is	7	We saw how in Article 3 of the Arbitration Agreement
8	useful nonetheless to look at these principles because	8	the applicable law clause plainly called for this
9	they underscore the importance to the rule of law, to	9	Tribunal to respect, as everyone must respect, the
10	the integrity of the legal system, of upholding the ABC	10	principles of finality and res judicata, pacta sunt
11	experts' decision.	11	servanda and the heightened standards of proof that I've
12	I won't repeat the many authorities, the mountain of	12	talked about.
13	paper that establishes these various rules. We've seen	13	The parties by agreeing to arbitrate didn't change
14	that they require a party that seeks to set aside	14	those or waive them; it simply had you apply them.
15	an adjudicative decision to bear the burden the	15	Those principles are applicable here, just as they would
16	exceptionally onerous burden of establishing one of	16	be anywhere. It's again important to underscore the
17	limited grounds for nullity. That allocation of the	17	vital importance to the rule of law, to the
18	burden of proof, the height of the standard is	18	international community, that we respect those
19	universally acknowledged, it results from the	19	principles; respect them and honour them.
20	presumptive finality.	20	The Government's purported excess of mandate claims
21	You can see how Judge Weeramantry put it he put	21	are not contrary on the substance to just the law; they
22	it very well on the current slide.	22	are also contrary to the parties' agreements, which
23	I also referred previously to the fact that	23	again the Government promised to honour and respect.
24 25	an excess of mandate will only be found where the	24	As we've seen, the Government has complained about
25	adjudicatory body has made a mistake that's enormous,	25	the Khartoum interviews, the Millington emails, the
	Page 74		Page 76

11:41	1	failure to provide a fully reasoned report, the failure	11:44 1	needs to take a much more nuanced view. One has to look
	2	to follow Article 14, and similar sorts of procedural	2	at what the parties agreed, what the parties wanted.
	3	complaints. None of those claims, the Government's	3	One has to look at the Rules of Procedure.
	4	claims, can be reconciled with what the parties agreed.	4	I'd like to recall for you just one more authority,
	5	We saw how the parties did not agree to an existing	5	I promise the last in this case. You will remember the
	6	set of arbitration rules, a formal set of institution	6	Petroleum Development Corporation v Sheikh of Abu Dhabi
	7	rules, but instead had the experts define what the rules	7	case. The parties agreed there on the choice of
	8	were. We saw how the experts were expected and wanted	8	Abu Dhabi law to govern their dispute. The arbitrator,
	9	to conduct an informal proceeding; not a casual one, not	9	Lord Asquith, decided that Abu Dhabi law wasn't really
	10	a sloppy one, but an informal one, a different way than	10	right for that dispute, and instead he substituted
	11	we might do.	11	English law.
	12	We saw how Article 4 of the Abyei Annex gave the	12	That is no different from what the Government seeks
	13	experts the power to determine the Rules of Procedure.	13	to do so in this case with regard to procedural issues.
	14	It was a grant in the broadest of terms to the experts'	14	The parties decided on a particular form of procedure;
	15	of the power to set the procedures for the ABC	15	that is what they wanted. Lord Asquith's decision is
	16	proceedings.	16	viewed not with respect and honour today. He failed to
	17	We saw how the parties granted the experts the	17	honour what the parties had agreed. This Tribunal, like
	18	broadest investigatory power. That got lost this	18	other tribunals around the world, should not make that
-	19	morning, but it's worth going back to it. They were	19	same mistake.
2	20	expected to go to the British archives and to "other	20	The Government's purported excess of mandate claims
2	21	relevant sources on Sudan, wherever they may be	21	also ignore what the parties did, their conduct during
2	22	available", with a view to arriving at a decision that	22	the ABC proceedings. That conduct is impossible to
2	23	"shall be based on scientific analysis and research".	23	reconcile with the Government's claims.
2	24	That's different from what an ICSID Tribunal or	24	The claim that the experts violated Article 14, that
2	25	an ICC Tribunal would do; it's still adjudicative, and	25	they never called a final meeting and never sought to
		Page 77		Page 79
		1.50		1 100 17
11:43	1	it's what the parties wanted.	11:46 1	reach consensus, can't be reconciled with the Rules of
	2	We saw how Article 7 of the ABC Rules of Procedure	2	Procedure, which is the only place the requirement
	3	confirmed that procedural authority on the part of the	3	existed.
	4	experts, how the parties wanted the experts to conduct	4	In addition, as we saw from the evidence I won't
	5	independent investigatory work. They were given the	5	be able to take you through it, I don't have the time
	6	power to interview members of the public other than the	6	the experts tried on three separate occasions to reach
	7	official delegations at the locations to be visited, to	7	agreement. We also saw from Dr Johnson's statements at
	8	figure out what people they should talk to, what	8	the end of the parties' presentations that everybody
	9	information they needed in the use of their expertise.	9	knew the experts were setting about to make their final
	0	We saw how, in discussions between the parties and	10	decision. We also saw from Ambassador Dirdeiry's
	1	the ABC experts, Ambassador Dirdeiry expressly addressed	11	comments that he knew the experts were going to make
	12	the question of what Article 4 of the Abyei Annex meant.	12	their final decision.
	13	I took you through this slide and I won't read it	13	We saw how the experts went to Khartoum, with the
	14	again, but it's worth recalling that he described that	14	ten ABC Commission members, to the presidential palace;
	15	provision, he corrected himself when he said it referred	15	we saw the emails that arranged for that meeting and
	16	only to archival sources, he went out of his way to say	16	that referred to multiple conversations with
	17	that it referred to the way in Africa that's how he	17	Ambassador Dirdeiry. There can be no question but that
	18	described it of collecting oral testimony. Again,	18	the ten ABC [members] didn't go to the presidential
	19	that observation demands our respect and our honour.	19	palace wondering why they were attending. They weren't
	20	Articles 11 and 13 of the Rules of Procedure	20	clueless. They knew exactly what they were doing, and
	21	confirmed the same broad authority. We have seen now	21	they behaved exactly in accordance with the parties'
	22	how the parties did not expect the experts to act like	22	agreements, just like the ABC experts.
	23	ICSID arbitrators, and didn't want them to. The Government's procedural complaints all, though, rest on	23 24	The same thing is true about the Khartoum interviews. When you look at the documentary record,
	24		∠ 4	
2	24 25			
2	24 25	the assumption that they were no different. One in fact	25	it's clear those interviews were discussed, whether it
2				
2		the assumption that they were no different. One in fact		it's clear those interviews were discussed, whether it

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11:47 1	was at the dinner table or otherwise, between the	11:50 1	prove its audacious claims of universally applicable
2	experts and the parties. In any case, we also saw from	2	principles of mandatory and peremptory law. That was
3	Ambassador Dirdeiry's description of what the Abyei	3	an audacious claim. It was its burden. It didn't
4	Annex Article 4 meant that that's exactly what the	4	produce a mountain, it didn't produce a hill; it
5	parties expected the experts to be doing.	5	produced my book, which doesn't support, much less
6	We saw from Dr Johnson's reference to his meetings	6	sustain, its case.
7	with the Tibbses and Professor Cunnison that that's what	7	In sum, even if they were admissible which they are
8	the parties expected. There was no objection to those	8	not, none of the Government's claims has any substance.
9	interviews, and equally there was no distinction between	9	Moving on, for all of those reasons it's plain that
10	those interviews and the Khartoum interviews.	10	the experts did not in fact exceed their mandate. As
11	Likewise and I'll skip quickly over this the	11	a consequence, applying Article 2(b) of the Arbitration
12	Government's conduct before the ABC Commission, the	12	Agreement, the Tribunal's task is clear: it simply must
13	Government's conduct before the experts, contradicts	13	make a declaration to that effect and issue an award for
14	their claim that the experts incorrectly interpreted	14	full and immediate implementation of the ABC report.
15	Article 1.1.2.	15	That is it. That is a complete answer to the
16	We saw how the experts time and time again described	16	Government's case.
17	what their definition of Article 1.1.2 and what their	17	Only if this Tribunal were to conclude that the
18	understanding of their mandate was more generally; you	18	experts exceeded their mandate would it go on to
19	can see it on the slide.	19	Article 2(c). If it does that, as I said yesterday, it
20	Never once was there an objection from the parties	20	should define the Abyei Area as set forth in the
21	to that. The Government didn't protest. Instead, what	21	SPLM/A's submissions, and I won't repeat that right now;
22	the Government said and I'd like to quote a different	22	you can see it on the screen.
23	portion of the transcript that we haven't previously	23	The evidence regarding the area of the nine Ngok
24	looked at, and this is Ambassador Dirdeiry again was:	24	Dinka chiefdoms transferred to Kordofan in 1905 dictates
25	"After defining the area, if it includes the current	25	a number of conclusions that I can only go through
23	Their defining the dreat, if it includes the current	23	a number of concrasions that I can only go through
	Page 81		Page 83
11 40 1	A1	11.50 1	
11:49 1	Abyei"	11:52 1	briefly, but those conclusions provide unequivocal
2	That's important, because that's north of the	2	confirmation of both the experts' decision and the
3	putative provincial boundary: " then the referendum will be conducted there.	3	SPLM/A's claims regarding the Abyei Area. First, the Government's claims and we've heard
4	And if it is not this one, it is the one south of	4	*
5	*	5 6	them again in muted form this week that the Ngok were
6	Bahr el Arab, as we have presented in our document as	7	located entirely or predominantly south of the Kiir/Bahr el Arab in 1905 are absurd. Indeed, there is
7	a Government. Then the referendum and whatever other	8	
8 9	provisions in the agreement will be conducted south of the River Kiir."	9	virtually no evidence of more than a scattered handful of villages south of the Kiir, if that.
10		10	Instead, all of the evidence apart from
	I would suggest to you that that in a sense answers	11	Sultan Rob's old village which got visited once in
11 12	Professor Reisman's question from this morning also. Ambassador Dirdeiry was recognising, as anyone would	12	1902 shows the Ngok scattered throughout the Bahr.
13	have to, that the ABC experts were going to need to	13	Not surprisingly, both Gleichen in 1905, the compendium
13	interpret Article 1.1.2 in the Abyei Protocol. He	13	on all that was known at the time, and the 1912 Kordofan
15	realised that they might decide it for him or against	15	handbook, the most comprehensive description at the
16	him that is inevitable in an adjudicatory process	16	time, put the Ngok's southern not northern,
17	and there weren't objections to what the experts said	17	southern boundary on the Kiir/Bahr el Arab.
18	with regard to their formulation of the mandate.	18	Second, having put aside the ridiculous suggestion
19	Finally, I will spend just a moment on the	19	that the Ngok were really beneath the Kiir, living
20	Government's legal theory for its so-called mandatory	20	cheek-to-jowl in a tiny little territory that
20	criteria claims. I mentioned this previously and I will	21	Zakaria Atem said wasn't big enough to accommodate its
41			
22	just touch on it briefly	, ,	Current Owners, and invino in the Twic Links territory
22 23	just touch on it briefly. There's a mountain of paper behind me: we sadly had	22 23	current owners, and living in the Twic Dinka territory,
23	There's a mountain of paper behind me; we sadly had	23	having put that to one side, we can look at what the
23 24	There's a mountain of paper behind me; we sadly had to put it together to disprove the 11 or 12 or 13	23 24	having put that to one side, we can look at what the evidence shows about the real area, the Bahr, to the
23	There's a mountain of paper behind me; we sadly had	23	having put that to one side, we can look at what the
23 24	There's a mountain of paper behind me; we sadly had to put it together to disprove the 11 or 12 or 13	23 24	having put that to one side, we can look at what the evidence shows about the real area, the Bahr, to the
23 24	There's a mountain of paper behind me; we sadly had to put it together to disprove the 11 or 12 or 13 governmental claims. It was the Government's burden to	23 24	having put that to one side, we can look at what the evidence shows about the real area, the Bahr, to the north of the Kiir.

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11:54 1	What the evidence shows there is clear. It doesn't	11:57 1	That argument, which we thought had been dead and
2	help to just take snippets and soundbites, the way that	2	buried long ago, is contradicted by both what the
3	we heard. It doesn't help to say, "Oh look, the SPLM/A	3	experts found, is contradicted by what Cunnison said;
4	has just produced one dugdug on the Ngol or one plot of	4	maybe that's why he's not here. He said that he took
5	cultivation on this map". No, you have to take a step	5	all these patterns of the people and the places they
6	back.	6	went to be the same now as they had been or more
7	That is one of the reasons that they picked experts,	7	accurately the same in the 1950s, when he lived with
8	historical and anthropological experts: to be able to	8	them for generations, and that's what the other
9	look at all the evidence in the whole. When you do	9	historical experts in the record say.
10	that, and don't just pluck out one piece, what you see	10	All this evidence is particularly impressive given
11	is the evidence of Professor Cunnison and Mr Tibbs, who	11	the limitations of the documentary record. There's not
12	described permanent Ngok Dinka villages scattered or	12	much to go on pre-1905, or even in the Condominium
13	dotted, in Cunnison's words, throughout the Bahr,	13	period itself. But when you put it all together, it
14	throughout the black clay fertile region that was their	14	demonstrates just what Cunnison and the other
15	ancestral homeland.	15	authorities said.
16	We saw how Professor Cunnison, when the Government	16	Third, a point the Government didn't really address
17	proposed to settle the Messiriya in that land, in the	17	this morning: the environmental evidence. It showed
18	Bahr, said, "No, that's not right. Don't do that.	18	and I show it to you again on the slide that the Bahr
19	That's the Ngok Dinka's permanent homeland". He was the	19	region was uniquely adapted to the Ngok Dinka lifestyle,
20	Government's witness. They didn't bring him here, they	20	and on the other hand how the Messiriya couldn't just
21	didn't try to video-link him. He was the Government's	21	plain couldn't live there in the wet season.
22	witness, and what he said demonstrates where the Ngok	22	That too is confirmed by Professor Cunnison. We
23	were.	23	looked at what he said. We looked at what he said in
24	We can look at the pre-1905 reports of Wilkinson, Percival, Mahon. They're scattered, they're	24	great detail, and the Government didn't.
25	Percival, Malloll. They ie scattered, they re	25	The Government's case then, at the end of the day,
	Page 85		Page 87
11:55 1	fragmentary, it's hard to tell exactly what they show	11:58 1	comes down to an argument that this fertile rectangle,
2	and what they don't show. But when you take the time	2	wedged in between desert on a couple of sides and swamp
3	and don't try to nitpick them, the way the Government	3	on another, wedged in between tribes on every side, was
4	tries to nitpick the experts' report, they add up piece	4	empty. There were no Ngok there. It was where the
5	by piece by piece. One dugdug plus one village, plus	5	Messiriya came to empty lands to graze in the dry
6	one set of cattle tracks, plus another dugdug, plus four	6	season; nobody was there at any other time of the year.
7	more dugdugs: it all adds up and it provides a picture	7	We know that's wrong because everybody in the record
8 9	that's exactly consistent with what Professor Cunnison said.	8	tells us and the Government acknowledged this
10	It's also what the Whittingham map [shows], which	9 10	morning that the Ngok Dinka and the Messiriya were brothers, they mingled together in the Bahr. Abyei was
11	the Government somehow didn't manage to find, although	11	a bridge between the two areas. The Messiriya came to
12	they managed to find lots of other maps that they	12	graze in the land of the Abyei Area. That, at the end
13	thought supported their case. It showed that	13	of the day, demonstrates that the Government's factual
13	cultivation patch and the dugdug way up north, beyond	13	case on this point just can't hold up.
15	where Professor Crawford would have you say the Ngok	15	The witness evidence is to the same effect, and
16	were ever found.	16	I don't have time to go through it, but you can look on
17	You will remember the Harvard Development Study,	17	the map and see all the different places one by one.
18	which described in the same way that Cunnison did Ngok	18	It's a little bit like my description of the dugdugs:
19	settlements all the way up to the sandy areas of the	19	you have to add it up piece by piece. But when you do,
20	goz.	20	it paints you a picture that just can't be ignored.
21	We heard reference this morning to the 1965 and 1966	21	At the end of the day, you can't fix with scientific
22	agreements in which the Messiriya said in terms that the	22	precision exactly where the last Ngok dugdug started and
23	Ngok lived on the Ngol, and we heard a half-hearted	23	the first one ended, but you can tell that what the ABC
24	effort on the part of the Government to say 1965 isn't	24	experts decided was essentially right.
25	the same as 1905.	25	I'm going to skip over the remaining parts of my
	Page 86	Ī	Page 88
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Thursday, 23rd April 2009

Day 6

12:00 1	discussion because I know I'm pressing up on my time	12:03 1	party representatives from all of Sudan, many of whom
2	limits. I'd just like to go and recall to you how	2	have a direct stake in the outcome of these proceedings,
3	fundamentally contrary to the purposes of the	3	has been particularly significant to us, and truly
4	Abyei Protocol the Government's definition would be.	4	fulfils the very purpose for which this Peace Palace was
5	Remember in 2005 these parties sat down to define	5	built. Please accept the Tribunal's deep appreciation
6	the Abyei Area; they did it foremost in order to decide	6	for your presence today.
7	where the Abyei referendum would be held, the area where	7	May I ask whether the agent of SPLM wants to take
8	the nine Ngok Dinka chiefdoms and the Ngok Dinka people	8	the floor?
9	would be able to exercise their right to	9	MR BORN: Thank you so much, Mr President. He would
10	self-determination.	10	indeed!
11	There's no basis for challenging, much less	11	THE CHAIRMAN: Okay. I'm very sorry.
12	rejecting, the experts' interpretation of the Abyei	12	(12.05 pm)
13	Area. As the ABC report correctly concluded, the Abyei	13	Closing submissions by DR RIEK MACHAR
14	Area was the historic area of the nine Ngok Dinka	14	DR RIEK MACHAR: Thank you, Mr President, members of the
15	chiefdoms that were collectively transferred to Kordofan	15	Tribunal, my fellow Sudanese, and counsel for both
16	in 1905. It was not some artificially truncated slice	16	sides.
17	of that area.	17	I first would like to thank the members of the
18	The Government's interpretation would manufacture	18	Tribunal, who have paid exceedingly close interest to
19	a colonial boundary, one that never existed, that would	19	every word spoken by the parties over the last five days
20	arbitrarily divide the Ngok Dinka and the nine Ngok	20	and today, and for their unfettered commitment to
21	Dinka chiefdoms in two, in a way that was never intended	21	preside over a fair hearing where both parties were
22	and that would serve no legitimate purpose. On the	22	treated with equity and were fully heard.
23	contrary, it would work profound and irreparable harm;	23	The SPLM would also like to thank the Permanent
24	irreparable harm on an innocent people who have suffered	24	Court of Arbitration and its staff. You have received
25	far too long in silence.	25	us warmly, and we appreciate every step you have taken
	Page 89		Page 91
12:02 1	We go back to where we started. The ABC proceedings	12:05 1	to assist each of the parties so that we might feel
2	were a remarkable dispute resolution process where the	2	comfortable in this Great Hall of Justice, so far from
3	parties jointly designed and implemented	3	Sudan. Because of your efforts we have been able to
4	an exceptionally constructive means of resolving their	4	work effectively to present our respective cases.
5	dispute over the Abyei Area. That process produced	5	Mr President, the SPLM wants to affirm to this
6	an equally remarkable decision, unanimously rendered	6	Tribunal its commitment to implement your decision, and
7	after extensive fact-finding by five pre-eminent,	7	I want to underline this: its commitment to implement
8	distinguished experts on African and Sudanese affairs,	8	your decision. The SPLM hopes that the Government will
9	including three African experts. The resulting ABC	9	also honour its commitment to implement your final
10	report was well reasoned, and it demands our respect and	10	award.
11	our honour.	11	The SPLM knows that with the evidence presented by
12	The parties to the ABC proceedings repeatedly	12	each party, we are confident that your decision will
13	affirmed you saw Ambassador Dirdeiry's promise	13	promote peace and justice in Sudan as pillars for
14	that the result would be final and binding and entitled	14	democratic transformation in our country.
15	to immediate effect. The Government's refusal to honour	15	The SPLM also wants to assure the people of Sudan
16	that promise brings dishonour on it. We should honour	16	that it remains committed to the rights of the Messiriya
17	and respect what the experts did, what the parties	17	and other nomads to continue their traditional grazing
18			
	agreed.	18	in the Abyei Area. Those rights shall continue to be
19	agreed. Thank you, Mr President.	18 19	in the Abyei Area. Those rights shall continue to be honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are
19 20	-		
	Thank you, Mr President.	19	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are
20	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born.	19 20	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all
20 21	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born. Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the end of the	19 20 21	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all of the people who depend on its lands and resources for
20 21 22	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born. Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the end of the oral pleadings phase of this arbitration. On behalf of my co-arbitrators I wish to thank every person who participated in these proceedings, and the many others	19 20 21 22	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all of the people who depend on its lands and resources for their livelihoods.
20 21 22 23	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born. Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the end of the oral pleadings phase of this arbitration. On behalf of my co-arbitrators I wish to thank every person who	19 20 21 22 23	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all of the people who depend on its lands and resources for their livelihoods. Finally, Mr President, the SPLM would like to thank
20 21 22 23 24	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born. Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the end of the oral pleadings phase of this arbitration. On behalf of my co-arbitrators I wish to thank every person who participated in these proceedings, and the many others watching live from all over the world. The presence of	19 20 21 22 23 24	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all of the people who depend on its lands and resources for their livelihoods. Finally, Mr President, the SPLM would like to thank the members of the international community who have dedicated resources directly to the PCA to complete this
20 21 22 23 24	Thank you, Mr President. THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you, Mr Born. Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the end of the oral pleadings phase of this arbitration. On behalf of my co-arbitrators I wish to thank every person who participated in these proceedings, and the many others	19 20 21 22 23 24	honoured, no matter the outcome of this award. We are committed to the development of the Abyei Area for all of the people who depend on its lands and resources for their livelihoods. Finally, Mr President, the SPLM would like to thank the members of the international community who have

12:07 1 important task. 2 Last but not least, Mr President, the SPLM would 3 like to thank Her Majesty's Government and the people of 4 the Kingdom of the Netherlands for hosting us. 5 Mr President, thank you. 6 THE CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much, and let me join you 7 for thanks. In particular I would also like to thank 8 faithfully the Permanent Court of Arbitration and its 9 excellent team of legal counsel, starting with the 10 acting registrar, for their constant and diligent 11 help. 12 I also wish to thank counsel for both parties. 13 I spoke at the beginning of these hearings about the 14 herculean task you undertook in the preparation of your 15 written submissions, and your preparation for these oral 16 pleadings must have been equally exhausting. My 17 co-arbitrators and I have been most sincerely impressed 18 by the depth of your preparation and the clarity of your 19 presentations. 20 Your job is nearing an end, while the Tribunal's own 11 task of arriving at an award within 90 days now begins 12 in earnest. Be assured that we will carefully consider 23 all the arguments and evidence you have articulated so well to us these last six days. With that, pursuant to Article 8(9) of the	INDEX PAGE Closing submissions by
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