

nickel production to protect land-based Canadian production in Ontario and Manitoba. To this end, we have worked closely with developing land-based producers like Indonesia, the Philippines, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. We have not yet succeeded in this campaign, and of course the major consuming states and potential seabed miners on the other side of the issue are quick to suggest that we ascribe to the developing countries the frustration we feel ourselves.

As to why it is necessary for all of us to make such a judgment of the situation of the developing countries, I would answer first that justice is an end in itself. I would also add that without justice there can be little hope for order and stability in the new Law of the Sea. If the "have" countries are destined to become "have more" countries, and the "have not" countries to become "have less" countries, then the new convention will likely be ratified only by the minority which stands to benefit from its terms. The developing countries, of course, will decide for themselves whether or not to ratify. But by that time it will be too late for the rest of us to have any further influence on their decision. That is why we must review the results of our work now, to determine now whether they give a true expression to the concept of the common heritage of mankind, and to make any accommodations necessary to achieve this end.

The inevitable note of weariness at the close of the Law of the Sea negotiations is mixed with satisfaction and regret -- satisfaction that we have come so far in our effort to create a revolutionary new constitution for the oceans, regret that industrialized countries should now proceed to adopt unilateral seabed mining legislation which is widely seen as infringing upon the very idea of the common heritage of mankind.

The dominant note, however, is hope -- hope that the creative impulse which has animated the renewal of the Law of the Sea will not fail us now. Certainly Canada will do everything possible to rouse Poseidon from his torpor, on the rocky coast where Kafka left him, and where, we are told, "a gull, dazed by his presence described wavering circles around his head". In effect, we have created a new constitution for three-quarters of this planet's surface. Only by sustained vigilance can we hope to see it achieve the order and justice which are its goals.