Last week, Prime Minister Mulroney outlined the criteria necessary if, ultimately, we must consider military action. Let me quote him directly:

First, there should be clear political agreement on the objectives. Second, the scope of military action would have to be defined geographically. Third, military action would have to be appropriate to the circumstances. Fourth, the conditions that would precipitate a Western military response would have to be clearly enunciated for all concerned in advance. And, finally, due regard must be given to the disengagement scenario, prior to deeper involvement.

Most fundamental of all, no military action can be contemplated without the agreement of the Security Council. Our emphasis will continue to be on the vital role of the United Nations. Coordination among the Secretary-General, the heads of agencies such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the key member states is absolutely crucial.

Co-operative security in the 1990s is clearly not an easy task. Nor will we find a solution to every problem. But there must be a collective will to find solutions wherever possible. For Canada, the revitalization of multilateral co-operation and the stimulation of a more active, interventionist UN offers by far the best prospect of long-term success.

Unilateralism as an approach to world problems is now dead; bilateralism is suffering from a hardening of the arteries. The way of the future is co-operative security, engaging East and West, North and South, in a common search for peace and stability -- in everyone's best interests.

Canada is in a unique position to advance and promote the concept of co-operative security. The values that have traditionally guided our approach to peace and stability -- respect for human rights, democratic institutions and the rule of law -- are now more than ever entrenched around the globe.

Co-operation is the only way that the world will be able to negotiate the difficult journey to the next century. Canada has and will continue to play its part. May the efforts of all of us succeed in creating a world that is safe and secure for peoples everywhere.