

controversial, and accusations of racism and xenophobia often arise when immigration issues are presented in a national security context.

Such cultural anxiety and security concerns are often expressed in the Western press with respect to movements of people from developing to developed countries. The movement of people within the OECD and from developed to developing countries do not usually have such overtones. With respect to the United States, James Clad has concluded: "We can either acknowledge, reluctantly, that immigration on the scale of the last three decades increasingly conflicts with other national priorities, or we can persist on our laissez entrer course and run a high risk of incurring a nasty nativist reaction to immigration. That sort of reaction would bring profound and unpleasant consequences for our society, our civil liberties, and not least, our foreign relations."⁴⁰ But it is not just a North-South issue. Migration or the movement of workers between developing countries by different ethnic or national groups may create tension. Palestinian people in Lebanon, for example, have created security concerns for Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Israel.⁴¹

This Paper has identified but will not directly address whether immigration is a national security concern, nor analyze the degree to which immigration may contribute to violent responses. The Paper does, however, recognize that, given the right social conditions in the country receiving the migrants, intrastate violence could arise. Periodic violence against ethnic Turks in Germany by neo-Nazis and German nationalists, and ethnic Turks' reprisals, is one example of such conflict. It is fair to say that immigration may contribute to conflict, but that such an outcome is not an inevitable result of immigration. The Paper also accepts the premise that migratory movements can contribute to additional environmental stress in the receiving country in the context of population growth, as discussed earlier. The key question for environmental stress linkages is, however, not simply that of migrants sparking violent incidents and contributing to alleged national security concerns. One must first ask to what extent migration is caused by environmental pressures.

Looking back over the past one hundred years, there is some evidence that environmental factors have contributed to emigration or the movement of people

⁴⁰James C. Clad, "Slowing the Wave", Foreign Policy, Number 95, Summer 1994, p. 139.

⁴¹Gil Loescher, "Refugee Movements and International Security", Adelphi Papers, 268, Summer 1992, p. 51.