

also a second potential national security concern.³¹ The mass movement of people is sometimes alleged to contribute to the change or instability of existing social institutions, cultural norms, etc., and some members of the receiving society consider such a development a threat to their own national security. Whether such social change is really a national security issue is controversial, and accusations of racism and xenophobia often arise when immigration issues are presented in a national security context.

This Paper has identified but will not directly address whether the international migration of Chinese people is a national security concern, nor will it analyze the degree to which migration may contribute to violent responses. It does, however, recognize that, given the right social conditions in the migrant-receiving country, intrastate violence could arise. While immigration may contribute to conflict, 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 migrant-receiving country 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 Chinese migration is caused by environmental stress pressures.

Looking back over the past one hundred years, there is some evidence that environmental factors have contributed to the movement of people within and between countries.³² The Chernobyl nuclear accident, for example, displaced many residents. This is a discreet event with direct cause and effect. In China, the Three

³¹Gil Loescher has made two important observations. First: "Refugees and migrants present political and security problems for the domestic politics of the receiving state. The host populations will be on the watch for any threat to its own interests or, more generally, to the impact of immigrants on the political and social complexion of their country." Second: "Refugees can also be sources of international conflict. Offering sanctuary and support to migrants and refugees frequently incurs military retaliation and draws asylum countries into the turmoil. In many Third World regions of conflict, fighters often mingle with refugee populations, using their camps for rest and medical treatment, and sometimes for recruitment." Gil Loescher, "Refugee Movements and International Security", *Adelphi Papers*, 268, Summer 1992, pp. 48 and 50.

³²An historic example of environmental factors playing a significant part in population migration and conflict is the movement of the Norse peoples (centred in what are now Norway, Sweden and Denmark) for a number of centuries before and after 900 A.D. The Norsemen pillaged and eventually settled in a number of regions in Europe, including Normandy, northern England and Sicily. It is less clear, however, to what degree environmental stress as opposed to a more general scarcity of resources contributed to the movement of these people.