

that stimulates respiratory illness directly endangers human health. Renewable and non-renewable resource scarcities will affect human well-being, regardless of whether there is a violent response to the shortages. Environmental problems in themselves, i.e., the direct environmental impact, necessitate cooperation in tackling them.

One potential policy response is financial assistance provided for reducing environmental stress or improving social conditions, such as poverty alleviation, that work to reduce social tensions that could turn into violent conflict. This assistance could consist of direct bilateral project aid, but might also involve debt forgiveness. For the greatest impact, aid would need to provide new and additional resources. This was agreed to in principle at UNCED, but has proven to be politically difficult for the developed countries. Yet, there are good reasons for seriously considering further aid reorientation. Developed country reductions in emissions of greenhouse gases could be seriously undermined by increased emissions from China. This would not bode well for the objective of reducing climate change. Awareness of environmental stress-national security linkages may, and should, also give a shot of adrenalin to countries experiencing "donor fatigue." Taxpayers in the developed countries are more likely to support development assistance if they can draw an intellectual linkage between the assistance and their own private interest and well-being.⁹⁸ Public scepticism of aid to developing countries may remain high if aid cannot be clearly identified with a particular objective in the donor country's interest, or be shown to result in a globally desirable policy change in the recipient country.

The composition of foreign assistance also needs to be reviewed. If a country cannot increase its foreign assistance budget, realignment of existing funding might be warranted in light of broader national security concerns. In particular, while an extremely sensitive political issue, emphasis on programmes to stabilize population might be warranted.

Technology transfer is also an important mechanism. Such transfers could include outward direct investment from Canada, the direct sale of technology or the export of goods that embody up-to-date, efficient "clean" technologies. Priorities for China could include renewable energy generation, waste management and methods

⁹⁸Without reference to environmental stress contributing to violent conflict, environmentally motivated aid fits nicely into the broad definition of national security. For example, to reduce sulphur emissions from the use of high-sulphur coal, Japan has financed several stack scrubbers in China, since the pollution moves eastward to Japan. Richard N. Cooper, Environment and Resource Policies for the World Economy, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 38.