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ESSAY

SEX FOR WATER – KENYAN WOMEN IN THE SHADOW OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Fanni Kiss

ABSTRACT

Climate change is a global challenge that affects all of humanity in all parts of the world, but not equally. Gender inequality coupled with the climate crisis is one of the biggest problems of today. It puts at risk women's and girls' safety, security, and means of subsistence all over the world. Investigating the question from a multidisciplinary perspective, using social sciences, gender studies and environmental studies, relying on legal instruments and case studies, considering key factors such as women's health, their education and the water crisis of Kenya, this work seeks to show how women are the most vulnerable to the effects of anthropogenic climate change. Thus, by the end of reading this article, the reader will know that the answer to the question of whether or not climate change strengthens the gender inequality, and results in the deterioration of women's rights in Kenya is yes.

Keywords*: climate change, women's rights, Kenya, gender inequality*

INTRODUCTION

The biggest and most severe threat to the environment and human rights in our era is anthropogenic climate change. Wide-ranging environmental repercussions of climate change have already started to manifest, including many negative effects on species, natural resources, and the ecological systems that enable access to clean water, meals and other necessities of life. Temperatures are rising, droughts and wildfires are becoming more frequent, rainfall patterns are changing, glaciers and snow are melting, and the average global sea level is rising. Climate change is merging with demographic trends, migration, and increased urbanization, putting those who are most vulnerable at an increased risk. Some consequences happen unexpectedly, such as when an unprecedentedly powerful typhoon wipes out an entire village, while others develop gradually. It has been happening for a while now, but it is only now that us humans are starting to open our eyes up. Now, we have realized that climate change is one of, if not the biggest challenges we have ever had to face.

Who suffers the most due to this? Who really faces the consequences of our actions? As J. Cole's famous quote says, "It always rains hardest on those who deserve the sun."[1], this exactly captures the idea of what really happens. Climate justice demands that current human rights agreements, commitments, norms, and principles be respected in climate action. Unjustly and unfairly, those who have made the smallest contributions to climate change experience its negative effects. The most vulnerable and disadvantaged people, such as women, children, ethnic minorities, poor communities, migrants or displaced people, elderly populations, and those with underlying health issues are disproportionately affected by the effects of climate change, while they are not necessarily the ones who are the most responsible for the whole issue. Apart from them, those who live in developing nations, and in areas with water scarcity, desertification, land degradation, and drought are also highly affected[2]. For these individuals, among other human rights, the right to self-determination, cultural rights, the right to health, education and the right to life are violated.[3] More so than anyone else, females face severe disadvantages. The fear of verbal abuse, physical assault, or sexual assault has always existed for ladies living in these conditions as they go to collect water for their homes.

The threat has increased significantly because of dwindling incomes, poor governance, and heavy demands on the limited resources of the government. Due to their low-income communities' lack of access to services for water, sanitation, and hygiene, the women and girls are often at the mercy of offenders, and the absence of sextortion legislation presents the biggest obstacle to apprehending those responsible for these crimes.[4] This is a particular challenge in Kenya where, as extreme climatic events damage ecosystems, the burden on women and girls increases, limiting education and income generation opportunities and increasing exposure to violence, including sexual assault.

There has been discussion over the nature of the connections between the environment and human rights for many years. However, it has long been understood that the enjoyment of human rights, such as the rights to life, health, food, and an appropriate quality of living, depends on a clean, healthy, and functional environment. Over the past few decades, there has been considerable discussion about this connection, supported by UNEP, OHCHR, and the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights appointed by the Human Rights Council.[5] Quoting what was stated at the 21st Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, "Climate change impacts, directly and indirectly, an array of internationally guaranteed human rights. States have an affirmative obligation to take effective measures to prevent and redress these climate impacts, and therefore, to mitigate climate change, and to ensure that all human beings have the necessary capacity to adapt to the climate crisis. Climate justice requires that climate action is consistent with existing human rights agreements, obligations, standards and principles. Those who have contributed the least to climate change unjustly and disproportionately suffer its harms. They must be meaningful participants in and primary beneficiaries of climate action, and they must have access to effective remedies."[6] There have been many countries of whom the governments have realized the issue. Canada stated that "Canada understands the impacts of climate change can have destabilizing effects on societies. For instance, more frequent drought-induced food insecurity will have an effect on the protection of human rights. Climate change can worsen existing situations of poverty and fragility and create new vulnerabilities for women, children, indigenous groups and persons with disabilities."[7] However, while national governments and United Nations

organizations have publicly stated that climate change and its reactions may jeopardize human rights, there has been less consensus over the responsibility that governments and corporate actors have to address this issue, and the question remains unsettled.

OVERVIEW OF LINKAGES BETWEEN GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE

In this chapter, the linkages between gender and climate will be examined, demonstrating how women's rights are being harmed by climate change. "The IPCC found that gender inequalities are further exaggerated by climate-related hazards, and they result in higher workloads for women, occupational hazards indoors and outdoors, psychological and emotional stress, and higher mortality compared to men," – according to Verona Collantes, a UN Women international expert, in an interview she gave to Global Citizen. She also added that "Gender inequality hampers women's capacity and potential to be actors of climate action. These gender inequalities - access to and control over resources, access to education and information, and equal rights and access to decision-making processes - define what women and men can do and cannot do in a particular context of climate change,".[8] The human rights, political and economic standing, land ownership, living circumstances, exposure to violence, education, and health of women are often discriminated against in developing nations. The vulnerability of women will be made worse by an additional stressor, which is climate change. Women are more vulnerable to the consequences of climate change than males in many scenarios, partly because they make up the majority of the world's poor and are more reliant on natural resources for survival, which are currently in danger due to climate change. This vulnerability stems from a number of social, economic, and cultural factors. Women make about 70% of the 1.3 billion individuals who live in poverty worldwide. 40% of the poorest households in metropolitan areas are led by women. Though they produce between 50 and 80 percent of the world's food, women possess less than 10 percent of the land.[9] In rural areas all across the world, women and girls predominately do the labor-intensive tasks of obtaining food, water, and home energy resources. Women must go farther and farther to gather water - so they may use it for gardening, cooking, and cleaning - when sources are dried up by droughts and high heat. Due of this, they have less time to

explore other revenue opportunities, which keeps them from achieving economic independence. At the University of Arizona, Stephanie Buechler, researcher of gender and women's studies, focuses on the relationship between women's rights and water shortages along the US-Mexico border. She discovered that when water became less accessible, women were less able to invest in their professions. Furthermore, "Gender-based violence and exploitation rise as resources dwindle, land becomes increasingly unlivable, and climate change increases", - as stated by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN).[10] As known, climate change impacts the availability of resources, and these environmental pressures have contributed to the growth of groups that engage in severe labor exploitation and human trafficking. The most prone populations to these abuses of human rights are women and underprivileged communities. In these circumstances, violence against women is frequently used to maintain control over scarce resources and to promote gender disparities. Adding on, globally, the number of people displaced due to the effects of climate change is increasing, and according to the UN, most of these people are women. Women are less equipped to recover from a disaster than males are, and they are more likely to live in poverty. Girls and women who are displaced frequently find themselves unable to finish their education or pursue employment prospects. In 2021, while 72.2 percent of males in Africa were literate, the share among females was measured at 58.9 percent.[11] Compared to immigrant males, female refugees are half as likely to attend school. Due to climate change, child marriage, domestic violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking are all more common among women and girls.

Overview of Kenya

Although Kenya is not the only country where due to their vulnerability, women are the biggest victims of climate change, this paper will investigate the topic from the perspective of Kenyan women. With more than 500 kilometers of coastline and direct access to the Indian Ocean, Kenya is a country in East Africa. The nation shares borders with Somalia to the east, Tanzania to the south, South Sudan to the northwest, Uganda to the west, and Ethiopia to the north. By 2050, there are expected to be 91 million people living there, a large increase from the current population of 51 million. This growth is estimated to occur at a rate of 2.3% a

year.[12] Kenya's population has more than tripled over the past 30 years, adding to the strain on its natural resources. Given that Kenya is home to one of the biggest refugee populations in Africa, the climate crisis has the potential to amplify current health risks and generate new ones. The warm, tropical climate of Kenya, which is located on the equator, is impacted by a number of variables, including altitude, but there are significant regional climatic variations as well. Kenya's daily highs range from 20°C (68°F) to 28°C (82°F), while the coast experiences higher temperatures. The equator is too close to Kenya for there to be a true winter and summer, and there are dry and wet seasons as well. The air temperature of the country is expected to increase by 1.2 to 3.2 °C (a very likely range) by 2080 compared to the year 1876 as a result of rising greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations. The number of very hot days (days with a daily maximum temperature above 35 °C) is anticipated to increase significantly and with high certainty over central and eastern Kenya, in accordance with rising mean annual temperatures.[13] The water level off the coast of Kenya is expected to rise as a result of globally rising temperatures. It is expected that sea levels would rise by 10 cm in 2030, 21 cm in 2050, and 40 cm in 2080 in comparison to levels in the year 2000.[14] This poses a hazard to Kenya's coastal towns and may result in saline intrusion in groundwater reservoirs and coastal waterways. Kenya is susceptible to a variety of climate-related natural hazards, including coastal storms, flooding, droughts, extremely hot weather, and powerful winds/windstorms, all of which have the potential to be fatal. The main hazards to Kenyan communities are floods, droughts, and rising temperatures.[15] Significant crop failures and higher food costs have resulted from the large droughts that Kenya endures every three to four years. Kenya also suffers from severe riverine and flash floods, especially during the rainy seasons, which is the other extreme. Both have detrimental effects on people's lives, livelihoods, and infrastructure.

AGRICULTURE

The growing temperatures, shifting rainfall patterns, and extreme weather events make the agriculture sector, which is one of the most significant economic sectors in Kenya, particularly sensitive to climate change. Kenyan agriculture, which depends mostly

on rain, is particularly prone to fluctuations in temperature and precipitation. 60% of Kenyans rely mostly on agriculture, which contributes more than 30% of the country's GDP. For the vast majority of Kenyans, it is the primary source of income when it comes to food security, economic growth, job creation, off-farm work, and foreign exchange revenues. The industry is extremely vulnerable to climate change. One of the main stressors is the case of rising temperatures and evaporation rate. Due to the heat and water stress, the amount and the quality of yields decreases, and the heat stress in livestock leads to reduces reproduction. Furthermore, another significant stressor is the increased interseasonal variability in rainfall, leading to crop damage and degraded crop and pastureland. Next, there is the case of increased frequency and intensity of heavy rainfall, and the sea level rise, which causes saltwater intrusion and storm surges, and impacts coastal production. Quoting the 2013-2018 National Business Agenda II of Kepsa, "There is low preparation, response capacity and coping mechanisms in the event of disasters such as droughts, floods, fires, diseases and pests. Early warning and response systems need to be strengthened; as does the provision of affordable, accessible, weather-based insurance products. The emergence of extreme weather patterns of drought and floods due to climate change is also affecting agriculture. Meanwhile the opportunities that can be tapped from carbon credit funds through the implementation of climate change is not being adequately utilized."[16] From this, it is clear that the country, and in particular, the agriculture sector of the country is truly vulnerable.

WATER

Kenya is one of the most water-scarce nations in the world, and the situation is getting worse day-by-day.[17] Water shortage has resulted in inadequate sanitation and hygiene, which together pose serious health concerns, especially in low-income areas, and eventually helped some diseases originate.[18] The majority of the nation's water supply comes from surface sources, but important rivers and lakes are extremely vulnerable to climate change. Kenya's annual water availability in 2010 was 586 m^3, much below the 1,000 m^3 standard that is considered to be acceptable globally; by 2050, it is anticipated that this number will be as low as 293 m^3.

As of 2022, 41 percent of Kenyans lack access to even the most basic sanitation options, while 15 percent of Kenyans rely on unimproved water sources such ponds, shallow wells, and rivers.[19] Looking at the population, 15 million people in Kenya lack access to safe water and 22 million people lack access to improved sanitation. Within this sector, the stressors include rising temperatures & evaporation rate, increased rainfall variability, increased frequency and intensity of heavy rainfall as well as the sea level rise. Due to this, there is accelerated glacial loss, and reduced river flows from Mount Kenya. Furthermore, there is increased flood damage to water supply and sanitation infrastructure, decreased water quality, as well as the case of saltwater intrusion into coastal aquifers, which supplies a population of 3 million.[20]

HUMAN HEALTH

Due to an increase in temperature, and the case of a warmer, wetter climate, malaria is expected to increase. Climate change has made Highland Malaria, which was formerly uncommon in the nation, more common during the past 20 years. Significant epidemics of malaria are linked to unusually wet and warm weather, according to scientists. According to recent studies, 50.6–62.1 million individuals in eastern Africa will be at risk of endemic transmission by 2030 as a result of the altering seasonality of malaria transmission, which is expected to move from the customary 2-3 months to 4-6 months due to longer high temperature seasons.[21] Due to climate change, there are other vector-borne diseases of which the cases will increase, these being dengue fever, yellow fever and chikungunya (a virus spread to people by the bite of an infected mosquito). Furthermore, heat stress also threatens the health and well-being of Kenya's population. The elderly and people living in crowded metropolitan areas, like as Nairobi's and Mombasa's informal settlements, where temperatures can rise substantially due to the urban heat island effect, would be most affected by heat stress. The number of senior fatalities attributable to heat is expected to rise from 2 per 100,000 persons per year in 1990 to 45 by 2080.[22]

VULNERABILITY OF WOMEN

It is undeniable that climate change threatens the full enjoyment of human rights, but it is also undeniable, that climate change is a global challenge that burdens all of humanity, but not equally. In Kenya, the pre-existing gender disparity automatically means that when resources are more scarce women will keep on being disadvantaged as they already had prior challenges accessing these resources. The Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Presidential Center for Women and Development stated that women are more likely than men to live in poverty, have fewer access to fundamental rights like the freedom to move around and own land, and experience frequent violence that worsens during unstable times.[23] In the following, the way how Kenyan women's rights are put at a great risk due to climate change will be demonstrated. Several different aspects, including the long walks due to the scarcity of water, the illiteracy rate since girls are often forced to leave school to provide for their families in hard times, domestic violence, the health of women, the poverty rates of woman, as well as missed opportunities to pursue employment prospects will be elaborated on.

RIGHT TO WATER AT RISK

As mentioned, Kenya is one of the most water-scarce nations in the world, and the situation is getting worse day-by-day. Water is recognized as a human right under international human rights legislation. It was not specifically recognized as a human right in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, or the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, however, it was implied through other human rights, such as the right to life, the right to a healthy life, and the right to an adequate quality of living. The United Nations legally declared access to water as a human right in 2002. "The human right to water entitles everyone to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible, and reasonably priced water for personal and household needs," according to General Comment 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. As a result, the 145 nations that have ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, including Kenya, are required to guarantee that everyone has fair and equal access to clean drinking water.[24] Furthermore, On 28 July 2010, the United Nations General Assembly

adopted a historical resolution recognizing "the right to safe and clean drinking water and sanitation as a human right that is essential for the full enjoyment of life and all human rights" (A/RES/64/292).[25] Access to clean water however remains a challenge in many parts of the world. Looking specifically at the examined country, water is a basic human right guaranteed to Kenyan citizens under the Kenyan Constitution. Quoting the Constitution, "Every person has the right to clean and safe water in adequate quantities".[26]

As known, Kenya is struggling with severe water shortage and sanitation issues. Rainfall in the country has dramatically dropped over the last five years, according to the International Livestock Research Institute, as desertification spreads across the semi-arid terrain of the nation.[27] The Horn of Africa is experiencing a record drought, which has primarily affected rural women and girls who must go up to tens of kilometers to gather potable water, endangering their lives. Next, there are more and more places that can't support animals or grow plants. Due of this, rural families have been pushed towards the metropolis, where it is predicted that by 2050, 50% of Kenya's population would reside.[28] Women who were once able to cultivate land and possibly make a small living now reside in urban slums where they are unable to work at the limited jobs that are available. The country's soil erosion and desertification harm women financially.[29] In Kenya, women face a paradoxical situation where they must provide water for their families yet are less likely than males to have safe access to it. Due to their needs during times of increased vulnerability to infection around menstruation and reproduction as well as the fact that women and girls also play a larger role relative to men in water, sanitation, and hygiene activities, including agriculture and domestic labor, it has been correctly argued that women and girls are disproportionately affected by the lack of access to basic water, sanitation, and hygiene facilities. The vital task of gathering, managing, transporting, and storing water is carried out by women in Kenya. Without access to running water, a woman must travel many kilometers by foot to the nearest natural water source; in Africa, a woman must travel on average six kilometers to collect water. She must then carry the bulky water all the way back, occasionally while carrying a baby on her back. When they return from the water source, women in Africa typically carry 20 kg of water on their heads.[30] These women put their health and safety in danger in order to collect contaminated

water. Additionally, it has been correctly claimed that women and girls' obligations for fetching water increase the amount of unpaid domestic work, take away time from other activities that generate cash, and reduce time for leisure and non-essential activities. Apart from the access to clean water remaining a challenge, violence also has to be mentioned. In Kenya, women frequently encounter assault when performing household tasks like fetching water or while relieving themselves in public. Gender-based violence is a significant issue in Nairobi's slums, which keeps women away from public water sources. Multiple homes may utilize pit latrines, which are holes in the ground that collect waste. The women's one-room homes are far from these public 'restrooms', and they are mistreated while walking to use these, especially at night.

Kenyan women and girls have reported trading sexual favors for water and dealing with other physically offensive and aggressive behavior when traveling great distances to gather water or use sanitary facilities, among other testimonies. “What is this dignity we keep talking about? You see us looking clean, healthy and fed but you have no idea how much sex we have traded to look dignified in front of you”. At the Sex for Water kick-off gathering in September in Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya's biggest informal community, a member of the local assembly spoke these stirring remarks.[31] Most people react to any notion of sex in exchange for water with skepticism, disbelief, and outright rejection. However, the testimony gathered from women in some of Nairobi's major informal settlements, Kibera and Mukuru Kwa Njenga, over the past five years indicate to an unseen, unsaid, and dark result of corruption in the water sector: sextortion, a form of corruption in which sex, rather than money, is the currency of the bribe.[32]

For more evidence, The Stockholm International Water Institute and the African Civil Society Network on Water and Sanitation (ANEW) jointly displayed a film during World Water Week 2018 at the event "Sex for Water: a women's right's violation" in which women from Kenya discussed being solicited to pay for water with sex. In it, the following words are heard. “There are even tanks labeled ‘Water for Sex’, and often, women would rather commit adultery to have water in their houses.”[33] There is also a testimony of Marry, a resident of Kibera, who was attacked by water merchants when she went to get water. “Before the ladies who had me yelling arrived, the two guys who were in my clothing had already started the process”, according to Marry.[34]

It is undeniable, that the supply of fresh water utilized for home and economic purposes is significantly impacted by climate change. The effects of more frequent floods and droughts are severe, especially for the most vulnerable population, women, who are in charge of managing water consumption in their households. Their basic human right is not being fulfilled.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION AT RISK

A human right, the right to education is necessary for the enjoyment of all other rights. The goal of a good education is to promote the growth of a well-rounded individual, and it is one of the most effective methods for bringing individuals and children who are socially excluded out of poverty and into society. Education is a fundamental human right for everyone, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and this right was further outlined in the Convention against Discrimination in Education.[35] As stated in article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."[36] Looking at Kenya specifically, the 2010 Constitution of Kenya also mentions this basic human right. Article 43, which concerns economic and social rights, states that “Every person has the right to education.”[37]

Without immediate action, the effects of climate change will make it harder for students to receive a quality education, particularly underprivileged girls, and young women. Climate change has a disproportionately negative impact on young females in Kenya. Particularly in light of the financial losses and other instability brought on by climate change, many low-income families reduce that expense by having their daughters skip school. According to UNESCO, 15 million girls of primary school age—half of whom live

in sub-Saharan Africa—will never set foot inside a classroom. Between the ages of 6 and 17, there are an estimated 130 million females who are not in school. Typically, poverty, cultural norms and behaviors, subpar infrastructure, violence, and fragility are cited as causes of such numbers; all of these factors are made worse by climate change.[38] One of the reasons which lead to girls not being able to take part in education, is the before-mentioned task of women, to fetch supplies for their families. According to UNICEF, over 200 million hours a day are spent by girls and women fetching water across the world.[39] „Just imagine: 200 million hours is 8.3 million days, or over 22,800 years. It would be as if a woman started with her empty bucket in the Stone Age and didn't arrive home with water until 2016. Think how much the world advanced in that time. Think how much women could have achieved in that time." – said Sanjay Wijesekera, UNICEF Director of Program Division and former UNICEF Chief of the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Section.[40] Due to the decreased availability of water and fuel, women in Kenya will have to spend more time each day merely obtaining essentials, which will prevent the girls from attending school. Spending time away from school deprives girls of the opportunity to pursue better futures. The fact that girls have to drop out of school, or in some cases, cannot even start school is not only dangerous, because it stops them from developing academically, but also because the information, abilities, and behaviors that girls need to adapt to climate change must be developed through education. Quoting Forget Shareka, a member of the CAMFED Association and founder of Chasi Foods, a company tackling food waste in Zimbabwe, "When we are looking at the most vulnerable people when it comes to climate disasters, especially in developing countries, the most affected people are women. If we educate those girls, they will become women one day, and they can contribute to tangible solutions."[41] Education makes things simpler, according to a study titled "Effects of Educational Attainment on Climate Risk Vulnerability". The authors evaluated two sub-Saharan African model scenarios, one in which 30% of women had completed a secondary education by 2050 and the other in which 70% had. According to their estimate, between 2040 and 2050, a higher proportion (70%) of educated women can reduce the mortality tolls from extreme events including floods, droughts, wildfires, and high temperatures by 60%.[42] Furthermore, apart from the fact that young

girls miss the opportunity to sit in school and listen to classes because instead, they have to complete chores, they also miss it due to the fact that girls in the country are unfortunately fighting period poverty. According to Alyazeera, one million Kenyan girls miss school every month due to financial hardship causing them not to be able to afford sanitary products, and some even share shared sanitary pads.[43] Alyazeera also conducted an interview with Mary Asigi, a 17-year-old student at Damascus Primary School in the Dandora slum on the outskirts of Nairobi, who typically misses a few days of class each month because of this. "I wish I was a boy", says Mary, adding that "When I was 15 in class 6, I used to share used pads with fellow classmates before my class teacher warned against it because it was unhygienic,". Sharing pads is particularly risky because, according to study, 12 percent of residents of Nairobi's slums have HIV, compared to 5 percent of the overall population. Mary, like the other girls in her village, must decide between jeopardizing her health and jeopardizing her education. She is still in primary school at the age of 17 as a result of poverty, which has already affected her education like it has for many others in her neighborhood.[44] Without immediate action, the effects of climate change will make it harder for students to receive a quality education, particularly underprivileged girls and young women, depriving them of a basic human right, the right to education.

RIGHT TO HEALTH AT RISK

The right to health of Kenyan women is also at risk due to climate change. The WHO Constitution, which was written in 1946, was the first document to express the right to health, states the following: "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being…" The preamble of the Constitution provides the next definition of health: "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".[45] It was also recognized as a human right in 1966 in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in Article 12: "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.".[46] Looking at Kenya specifically, the 2010 Constitution of Kenya also mentions this basic human right. Article 43,

which concerns economic and social rights, states that "Every person has the right to the highest attainable standard of health, which includes the right to health care services, including reproductive health care.".[47] Numerous studies have established the link between climate change and health, emphasizing that the negative effects of climate change are exacerbated by poverty, food insecurity, isolation from other people, and deteriorating social norms. According to WHO, Climate change is predicted to result in an additional 250 000 deaths per year between 2030 and 2050, mostly from starvation, malaria, diarrhea, and heat stress. They added that the areas least equipped to manage without support to plan and respond to this phenomenon, will be those with limited health infrastructure, which is largely in developing countries, such as Kenya.[48] The linkage between health and climate change has also been supported by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), according to whom the global temperature rise must be kept to 1.5°C in order to avoid catastrophic health effects and millions of fatalities brought on by climate change.[49]

It is therefore well backed up that climate change is one of the major global health threats to the world's population, but do the effects disproportionally affect the most vulnerable, these being the women in Kenya? According to many studies, evidence, and testimonies, they do. Early in 2016, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) formalized their stance on the link between women's health and climate change, stating that environmental exposures can disproportionately impact women and increase their already existing health issues.[50] "The effects of climate change include food and water insecurity, civil conflicts, extreme weather events, and spread of disease—all of which put women at elevated risk of disease, malnutrition, sexual violence, poor mental health, lack of reproductive control, negative obstetric outcomes and death," – they stated.[51] In Kenya, women experience greater rates of anemia and malnutrition, which are mostly caused by the threat of food insecurity brought on by a changing climate. This is due to the fact that during child- birth and menstruation, a woman's nutritional needs increase. Additionally, the majority of small-scale farmers in Kenya are women, which puts their ability to support themselves at risk owing to repeated crop failures brought on by unpredictable climate change. Women, who are constantly at the forefront of making sure that provisions for the family are available, even if it means depriving themselves for the sake

of the other family members, are more at risk. Furthermore, pregnancy-related food insecurity can cause a variety of health problems for women, including gestational diabetes, an iron shortage, and low birth weight. Negative pregnancy outcomes are also directly linked to air pollution, which has an impact on maternal and child health and is typically linked to stillbirth, fetal growth restriction, and congenital abnormalities.[52] The hygiene of Kenyan woman is also at a risk due to one of the most serious effects of climate change in this country, the heavy and long droughts, as there is already a scarcity of clean water for drinking and cooking, resulting in improper sanitation. As far as droughts are concerned, due to the lengthy and dangerous treks required to find water in Kenya during times of water scarcity, women and girls who engage in this type of manual labor are more likely to sustain injuries to their spines, shoulders, and backs, which could lead to chronic muscular pain. Long journeys in search of water, particularly during drought seasons also put them at danger for heat exhaustion and heat strokes.[53]

CONCLUSION

As more and more data and study demonstrate their evident correlation, it's truly important to discuss the uneven effects of climate change and the connections between women's empowerment and effective, global climate action. The purpose of the previous chapters was to find an answer to the research question of whether climate change strengthens the gender inequality, and results in the deterioration of women's rights in Kenya, and from the findings, it is clear that the answer is yes. Women throughout Kenya are more reliant on but have less access to natural resources. They are disproportionately responsible for procuring fuel, water, and food in many areas of the country. Agriculture is the most significant area of employment for women in the country, and during droughts and seasons of irregular rainfall, women labor even harder as agricultural workers and primary procurers to provide supplies and money for their family. Girls are under much more strain since they sometimes have to drop out of school to assist their mothers in carrying the heavier load. A country's competitiveness in the long run "depends considerably on whether and how it educates and employs its women" and if they have "the same rights, responsibilities, and opportunities as males" according to the 2013 Global Gender

Gap Report from the World Economic Forum.[54] Therefore, the violation of the right to education is a key element of the fight against climate change. the country. To conclude, it is clear that all of humanity is affected by the worsening effects of climate change, but the way we are affected is not equal. Women around the world, especially in Africa, are drastically affected, and they are truly more vulnerable. Their vulnerability stems from unequal rights and access to resources, restricted mobility, limited economic opportunities, and other sociocultural barriers that limit their capacity. However, it must be noted that women are also significant change agents who can contribute to adaptation and mitigation. In order to ensure better climate actions and food security around the globe - as women produce the majority of the world's staple crops - a gender-responsive climate policy, which empowers women is needed. The process in gender equality needs to be accelerated, and women's leadership needs to be showcased in climate action.

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ESSAY

IRISH GUNS FOR HIRE – THE IRA'S RECRUITMENT SYSTEM

Réka Barba

ABSTRACT

During the Troubles in Northern Ireland, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) stood an uprising for Irish Republicanism. Using a psychological and sociological lens, this research investigates the historical context and more importantly the justification behind the IRA's methods of recruitment. It examines deeper recruitment motivations influenced by emotional appeal, peer pressure, and Nationalism, among other factors. It also considers the psychology of terrorism, highlighting the distinct variables that contribute to radicalisation in individuals. The study considers a non-traditional technique for assessing recruitment efficiency utilising biological, wildlife population models. Understanding these dynamics is essential for developing successful counterterrorism policies and resolving underlying issues both in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Keywords: Northern Ireland, IRA, terrorism

INTRODUCTION

"*Tiocfaidh ár lá*" which translates to "Our day will come" was the motto of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), the main Republican paramilitary terrorist group of the Northern Irish Troubles. It has been fifty-five years since the beginning of the Northern Irish conflict, and twenty-six since the Belfast, also known as the Good Friday Agreement, which settled the bloody dispute between Northern Ireland (NI) and the Republic of Ireland, yet the guerrilla-style warfare of the Irish Republican Army remains not only significant but also relevant.[1]

What started as the annual march of thousands of Apprentice Boys in 1968 turned into a thirty-year-long bloody and cruel, guerrilla-style civil war called the Northern Irish Troubles. This period claimed the lives of more than 3.500 people and was finally resolved by the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. This conflict was of a sectarian nature, rooted in both political and religious differences of affiliation, namely, it was a fight between the mostly Protestant Unionists/Loyalists, who, despite or rather *because* of the geographical division, wished to remain part of the United Kingdom, whereas the mostly Catholic Republicans/Nationalists wanted to reunite the Irish nation living in two separate countries since the creation of NI in 1921. This is still valid for whatever remained of the several paramilitary groups and other politically-religiously-fuelled organisations.[2]

This essay investigates the Irish Republican Army's recruitment method from a psychological-sociological perspective, drawing on studies on the characteristics of terrorist groups as well as historical essays. Following a brief historical overview of the IRA(s) and the Troubles, the author sought to investigate the likely logic behind the terrorist organisation's justification for the struggle. Following that, the psychology of terrorists and the recruitment process and life cycle of terrorist groups, particularly the PIRA, will be explored. This essay will also focus on potential reasons for joining the IRA, and an alternative, rather innovative way of analysing the recruitment rate of both the IRA and the British Army (BA).

IRAS IN TROUBLED TIMES

In 1919, the IRA started as an armed group of passionate people (later becoming armed forces) to halt British Rule in Northern Ire-

land.[3] The IRA often operated symbiotically with the Irish Nationalist party, Sinn Féin, however, the party, especially in the 1990s, did not appreciate being linked to an extremist paramilitary group.[4]

Not long after the Troubles broke out, in December 1969, the IRA split into two: the Provisional IRA (PIRA) and the Official IRA (OIRA).[5] This was thanks to the British withdrawing from NI, which led to a tear in tactics by the IRA. It was the Provisionals who carried out aggressive measures, which resulted in the death of more than 1,800 people of which some 600 fatalities were of civilians. On the other hand, the Officials pursued the long-awaited independence through more peaceful actions and operations. Soon, the Provisional IRA earned the title, simply *the* IRA.

The day of January 30, 1972, is now recalled as Bloody Sunday, claimed the lives of thirteen unarmed Catholic demonstrators. The shootings led to hundreds of new members of the IRA because the British Army falsely identified and reported bombed attackers, who turned out to be innocent civilians. In the same year, Bloody Sunday was followed by Bloody Friday in July, where over twenty explosives of the IRA killed nine in Belfast. The deadliest year of the Troubles was in 1974, with an estimated 500 casualties – half of them being civilians. Five years later, the IRA continued to carry out bombings; amongst the fatalities was the second cousin of Queen Elizabeth II, Lord Louis Mountbatten.

Led by a Catholic Irish member of the IRA, a 66-day hunger strike broke out in 1981.[6] In this strike, ten prisoners died, including their leader, and elected Member of Parliament (MP), Bobby Sands.[7] Amongst the starved, three were not members of the IRA, but the Irish National Liberation Army, another Republican paramilitary group. As a result of the hunger strike, Margaret Thatcher, former British Prime Minister, obeyed some of their demands, including the right to visit the prisoners, to receive their mail, and to wear civilian clothing.

Thatcher and former Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister), Garret FitzGerald, signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which required both governments to consult on the matters of NI.[8] The agreement was signed with the hope that it would settle the conflict and possibly result in a "devolved power-sharing arrangement".[9]

In the following years, numerous bombings, assassinations, and attacks occurred in which several members of the IRA and the BA,

and, of course, civilians were injured and killed. The 1994 milestone of the bloody events seemed to finally put an end to the Irish-Norther Irish conflict; a ceasefire was arranged. As the IRA stated, it was "a complete cessation of military operations". This fragile peace was broken by the IRA itself when they bombed London's Dockland area, killing two persons and injuring over a hundred people.

Since the 1922 split of the two Irelands, it was the first occasion for the British Government to meet the Irish Sinn Féin to initiate peace negotiations in 1997. Next year, on 10 April, an agreement was signed in Belfast on the Good Friday before Easter.[10] The agreement, followed by a referendum, established the North/South Inter-Parliamentary Association, a forum, which deals with matters concerning both countries and involves both parliaments from NI and the ROI.[11] A segment of the IRA, which was not satisfied with the agreement, called the Real IRA, carried out the deadliest paramilitary bombing in the history of NI in Omagh, killing twenty-nine people.

Ultimately, the IRA announced a ceasefire and the disarmament of bands in 2005.[12]

Ius ad Bellum Secundum IRA

Should the Troubles be assessed as an "internal disturbance" or a "war"? It depends on who is asked; according to Montgomery Sapone, author of *Ceasefire: The Impact of Republican Political Culture on the Ceasefire Process in Northern Ireland*, the British Government would prefer the former terminology and the Republican movements would suggestively prefer the latter.[13] The PIRA "are not simply an organization but the military expression of a complex culture", hence it is crucial to examine the socio-political background and reasoning behind the PIRA's choices of action. Even the question of legislative terminology regarding what to call the Troubles is rooted in the cultural differences between the British and the Irish.

First, we should consider some plausible explanations behind the Republicans' motivation. The Republicans of NI, together with Sinn Féin and the PIRA had the political belief that the partition of Ireland following the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 and the continuation of the British Rule are both illegitimate procedures. Furthermore, the Republicans thought their actions not to be the cause

but rather the response to the presence of the BA in Northern Ireland. Their viewing of the British as the enemy and justifying their armed conflict was due to the Republicans' social environment including factors like discrimination, poverty, and the high rate of unemployment. It was the Catholic minority that experienced all this in a society with a Protestant majority, explaining their feeling of suppression as the result of being victims of a colonial regime. Most Republicans have relatives or friends who were killed by the security forces of NI or were imprisoned for paramilitary associations. For them, the constant presence of British armoured vehicles and patrols equalled being under a persistent socio-psychological blockade. Hence, Republicans saw the opportunity to use their armed forces against the ruling British troops as not only justifiable and necessary but also a legitimate and effective means to their end.[14]

In the history of the IRA, there never had been a time when they suffered from a shortage of members.[15] The volunteers all accepted the possible outcome: being killed or captured during an operation. In many instances, this decision was not a mandatory one but rather a preferred one. Amongst Republican circles, one could earn a higher status by joining the cause, as pursuing Irish self-rule was the *right* way to be a *true* Republican. Republicans, like "most cultures where violence is a fact of daily life", not only successfully acclimatised to the conflict but also made their struggles add to their communal values. This behaviour could be observed in how they treated the deceased as martyrs in the 1981 hunger strike or how they held remarkable funerals for the fallen IRA members. They also glorified the dead with murals and wall paintings. The IRA's connection with death could be described as "necrophiliac" in the sense that they sanctified those dying for the Republic. However, this is a "highly adaptive cultural practice within a militarized environment".[16]

The Psychology of the Terrorist Mind

To fully comprehend the recruitment process and motivations behind terrorists, it is essential to understand their psychology and psychopathology. Therefore, any essay that aims to explore these topics must address these aspects.

In the Piccinni-Marazziti-Veltri article, the authors distinguish three clinical implications right before the introduction to the essay, these being:

- there is no significant link between psychopathology and terrorism;
- even if a terrorist is diagnosed with a mental disorder, it cannot be concluded that a mental disorder was the cause rather than the consequence of terrorist activities; and
- systematic and scientific research is needed to have a better understanding of the basis of terrorist aggression and to design adequate counterterrorism policy.

Terrorism is a heterogeneous phenomenon, therefore, there is no consensus regarding the definition, as more than a hundred descriptions are distinguished by academics. The authors describe terrorism as "violence or the threat of violence against non-combatant populations in order to obtain a political, religious, or ideological goal, or to influence the target population and change their behavior through fear and intimidation."

The categories of terrorism, e.g., state terrorism, sub-state terrorism, right-wing terrorism, nationalist/separatist terrorism, and religious extremist terrorism, could be differentiated through various psychological and group-dynamical characteristics. Similarly, several factors can influence and increase terrorist activities and aggressive behaviour, including biological, psychological, social, and environmental factors, as well as group dynamics and a combination of these. As previously listed, social background and other non-pathological causes could also be influential, although even if many are exposed to the same conditions or show similar psychological characteristics, only a small percentage of these individuals radicalise themselves. Hence thorough scientific and systematic research is much needed to discover the reason behind this phenomenon.

In a series of unstructured interviews conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, David Greene Hubbard of the United States found out that skyjackers showed the personality traits of sexually shy individuals with poor social skills, deeply religious mothers, and alcoholic and abusive fathers.

With over 900 right-wing terrorist participants in Franco Ferracuti's and Francesco Bruno's questionaries, some of the observed psychological traits were the doubt toward authority, flawed com-

prehension, a lack of emotion from the repercussions of their actions, tentative sexual roles, poor education, and harmfulness. Semi-structured interviews of left- and right-wing extremists in Germany done by Martha Crenshaw displayed two groups of personality traits. The differences coming from left- or right-wing-affiliation: the former were extroverted and highly dependent individuals, and the latter were doubtful, hostile, and defensive. Nevertheless, none of these studies utilised control groups or certified psychological tools, making already drawn or possible conclusions questionable. As we can see, the three groups in the examples propose little to no common personality traits, and due to the lack of control groups, distinguishing the characteristics of terrorists and non-terrorists is inconclusive.[17] As a result, the currently available literature is not suitable for identifying typical traits of pathological personalities of terrorists.

There is still a general belief that terrorists are either psychopathic or insane. Several ideas that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s proposed a link between mental disorders and terrorism, arguing that an individual's past psychopathology leads them to commit acts of terrorism. Some scholars defined radicals as outcasts of society with a tendency to be psychopaths, but most of these studies lack the above-mentioned control groups or sufficient psychiatric evaluation. The Northern Irish Lyons and Harbinson studied 59 ordinary and 47 political killers in a clinical investigation. They concluded that murderers driven by politics tended to be more stable, had better family ties, and demonstrated noticeably fewer signs of mental illness. Like other scholars in the field, Lyons and Harbinson have also concluded that individuals who participate in acts of terrorism typically do not meet the criteria for psychiatric disorders. However, it is indeed valid that leaders of terrorist groups may suffer from mental illnesses and certain acts of terrorism may be carried out by those who are mentally unstable. Another common belief is that extremists are all antisocial outcasts of our society, but this argument also seems to be incorrect, on account that there is extensive proof for the contrary: they are often respected freedom fighters and celebrated members of their groups. Some authors studying terrorists' psychopathology suggest that the recruitment process of terrorist and paramilitary organisations, which will be further elaborated on in Chapter 5, starts with the involvement of an individual who shares the social values of the

group. The newly recruited will soon be filled with a sense of belonging and hope in the promise of a promotion on the social ladder.

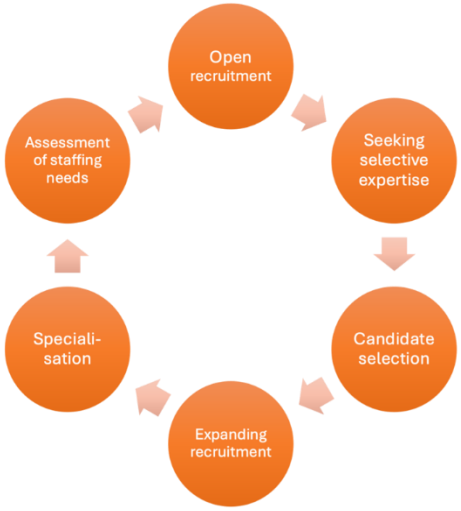
However, we also must entertain the possibility that in the end, terrorism and mental illnesses may be linked in a way that one increases the other. As the authors of the article, *Psychopathology of terrorists* write, "psychopathology is the consequence of surrounding conditions and events." Mental disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) play a significant role in this case, as they are especially connected to severe stress factors like the very lifestyle of a terrorist, the need to hide from the authorities or to leave their families behind, having to adapt to the strict rules of the group, or the possibility of incarceration or even execution.[18]

Recruitment and Life Cycle of Terrorist and Paramilitary Organisations – The PIRA's Methods

Some characteristics of terrorist and paramilitary organisations are moreover universal, these being: different roles for members based on functionality, a collective set of goals, organisation leaders with true authority, and precisely defined decision-making structure. Some theories compare terrorist organisations to political ones, as they carry uncanny resemblances, such as recruitment schemes, funding methods, and constant competition with rivals.

A crucial element of the recruitment cycle used by terrorist groups is self-renewal to prevent stagnation. Prioritising recruitment and finances are essential to build a solid base for a terrorist group. The former is solved by casting a wide net into society, aiming at the "low-hanging fruit", frequently including ex-convicts and former gang members; the latter is often done through illegal activities, especially in the early days of establishing such an organisation. However, terrorist groups must move on from recruiting criminals during the targeted recruitment period to reach the next step of the cycle.[19]

Selectivity and choosiness are growing characteristics during this step. The recruitment criteria are increasingly stricter and now they aim at filling the ranks with experts who could potentially benefit them. The recruitment schemes become more and more bureaucratic and even systematic. Along the lines of new recruits are people with distinguished degrees, such as doctors and engineers.[20]



[21]

1. Figure. Terrorist organisation recruitment cycle. Based on Bloom's figure.

Recruiters also invite entire families to their organisations, as they can secure the longevity of the group with multiple generations carrying the legacy an elder member of the family secured. Children and siblings of members can be motivated by this legacy.[22]

NATIONALISM

Rogelio Alonso, author of *Individual Motivations For Joining Terrorist Organizations: A Comparative Qualitative Study On Members of ETA and IRA*, distinguishes two kinds of nationalism-inspired violent movements: (1) those that wish to obtain control over a certain territory or society through terrorism and (2) those that wish to establish a new state through exclusively political violence. A nationalist movement always emerges when a state faces legitimacy problems. The extent of a challenge posed by a separatist movement depends on the amount of support the nationalist cause receives.

Surprisingly, many IRA recruits were not motivated solely by political affiliation, but rather by "peer pressure and personal immaturity". Rogelio's research shows that the recruited youth's motivations are complex, and not merely a sudden realisation of ongoing injustice, instead, it is quite an emotionally loaded, and in many cases, a gut instinct-induced decision. Recruited at a young age, new members are prone to being influenced more easily as they are still in a period in their lives when they are discovering their self-identity. Furthermore, experienced IRA members could provide

them with a certain *education* – an education of their own choice. Older members were often isolated from mainstream politics; thus, they represented traditional Republicanism.

Upon this matter, the nationalist ideology could be of two natures: ethnic and civic. Terrorist expressions usually lead the former form of nationalism, whereas in the latter case, it is less likely. Ethnic nationalism is often correlated with matters and problems of language, culture, shared historical experiences, race, and religion, which contribute to determining inclusion or exclusion. A part of ethnic nationalists is referred to as civic nationalists, who feel a sense of belonging on account of their being born and raised or their long-term residency in the state or region.[23]

Emotional and Economic Aspects

Terrorism could also be cumulating in ethnic nationalism and certain political structures. Another fact is, that nationalist-separatist terrorism and economic indicators show no clear links, and in NI's case, economic issues were not the main motivations behind the conflict. In addition, some academics even argue that, according to insufficient statistics available at the time, discrimination against Catholics and their housing issues were not in fact as severe as one would think, Furthermore, the economic gap between Northern Irish communities, although present, was "surprisingly narrow", in the sense that many Protestants were also deprived. Research suggests that rising tensions and the increasing level of unemployment are not indeed closely correlated. Hence, the fact that most recruits were of an unstable financial or social background does not show conclusive proof of poverty being the main motivation for joining.[24]

Social Identity

Negative emotions, such as hatred, exasperation, and discontentment are also strong stimuli besides peer pressure. A crucial element of terrorist and paramilitary organisations like the IRA is group thinking which supports and strengthens cohesion, and at the same time, individual identity is subordinated to the group's identity.

"Necrophilia" and the "culture of death", as previously mentioned, are also common features of paramilitary groups. Members

of the IRA were socialised from an early age to follow this cultural norm with funerals and memorial rituals dedicated to the IRA martyrs. Another part of IRA members' education and training was teaching them to dehumanise their targets by solidifying their nationalist identities. This was achieved through providing collective rights instead of individual ones.

As a former IRA member recalls his recruitment in Rogelio Alonso's interview, "I was so very young then that I didn't know the difference between right or wrong, or between Ireland or England; but I knew that my grandfather was violently opposed to British colonialism," meaning, recruits were often too young to get involved in or even have an interest in politics. However, many in the interviews recall being not motivated by politics, but rather by idealistic notions.[25]

Fanaticism

Ideological influence and fanaticism come hand in hand when talking about terrorist groups, and organisation leaders and key figures naturally have a strong manipulation power over their members. The recruitment process – after the group identity is formed and group thinking strengthened – finishes with radicalisation. Significant events such as the hunger strike in 1981 served as an opportunity for leaders to radicalise young IRA recruits. As a former key figure of the Northern Irish paramilitary organisation explains, 'you have to get them to fight for a principle reason'. These 'principle reasons' are something that needs to be *conditioned* into the members through strong discipline.[26]

(Alternative) Methods for Analysing the IRA's Recruitment System

Terrorist organisation analysts use almost exclusively sociological models, originally proposed to examine non-violent groups' behaviour. Some of these models include the analysis of rivalry between organisations or their members besides studying organised warfare. The author of the article determines the three major sociological models used for analysing and assessing the dynamics of terrorist groups, and these are the following: social network analysis (SNA) models, small-group dynamic models, and gang models. It is noteworthy though that these outlines are most often used in

analysing non-violent organisations with a stable structure, however, terrorist groups could not be described as such.

A challenge arises for researchers when examining the dynamics of terrorist organisations utilising the SNA model due to the groups' secretive nature. Another approach is the aforementioned small-group model; yet this turned out not to be a fruitful analysing method either as ambitious terrorist groups such as the IRA rarely organise themselves into smaller entities. These facts would leave us with the last option, namely, the gang model. However, a phenomenon called the social disorganisation theory, which is the core element of this model, points out that there is a fundamental structural difference between gangs and terrorist groups, hence obstructing the use of this scheme.

What method(s) could be used instead? Wildlife populations' behavioural models such as Charles Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection. According to this theory, only those who are "fit" enough to be able to pass down their genes survive. In addition to this, the "fitter" the genes, the greater the chance of further survival of the population. Similarly to wildlife populations, terrorist organisations also have strategies to increase their "gene fitness", which enables sociologists to utilise biological and ecological models for their research on terrorist and paramilitary groups.[27] Such models have already been used in studies examining

- how effective weapons are in defending one species (group) against their enemy;[28]
- when will a species (group) successfully eliminate another;
- which species (group) will control a territory;
- and who will dominate others in the species (group).

Although population management models were originally intended for sociological research, they soon turned out to be ineffective for examining human population dynamics because they did not consider the mental capacity of humans, specifically using emotions and the skill of manipulating one's surroundings. Nevertheless, the Lotka-Volterra (L-V) predator-prey population model seemed to be successful in analysing the conflict between the IRA and the BA, as this scheme examines population dynamics between rival populations.

The model was developed in the 1920s-1930s by Alfred Lotka and Vito Volterra. They each established the scheme on their own, hence the shared name, the Lotka-Volterra model.

The foundation of the model is of a simple supply-demand type, which was based on the number of deaths annually caused by the IRA and the BA in the conflict of NI. After the data and the dynamics of the opponents of the Troubles had been analysed, the academics opted for the L-V model. This method helped scientists determine groups' maturation and evolutionary phase.

To understand the utilisation of this model, one must consider some fundamental assumptions, these being:

> - "Prey will grow in an unlimited way when predators do not keep them under control.
> - Predators depend on the presence of their prey to survive.
> - The rate of predation depends on the likelihood that a victim is encountered by a predator.
> - The growth rate of the predator population is proportional to food intake (rate of predation)."[29]

As mentioned above, scholars have been struggling to amply examine some phenomena with already existing models. This is the case with terrorist cells, which help the main organisations in secretive mobility, especially when hiding. Thus, cells can remain loyal to their head organisation even in seclusion. When it comes to translating this ideology, the prey refers to terrorist cells that are difficult to track or hunt down, and the predators symbolise the British government and the BA.[30]

With the use of mathematical formulas needed for the L-V model, experts could precisely determine the "predation efficiency" of the opposing (para)military organisations by considering the populations of the "prey" and the "predator", the likelihood of their encounters, the death rate of the "predators" when the "prey" were absent, the growth rate of the "prey" when the "predators" were absent, and the carrying capacity of the "prey". "Predation efficiency" is considered as the rate at which a unit of "prey" is converted into a unit of "predator".[31]

With Lotka's and Volterra's method of analysing and modelling wildlife populations and transposing it on terrorist groups' organisation structures, we can see how the IRA's prospective and actual

recruitment process and their recruitment efficiency results in objectively measurable data.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the examination of the Irish Republican Army's recruitment methods and the socio-political context of their actions reveals a mixture of historical, psychological, and sociological factors. The IRA's fight was deeply rooted in a sense of nationalism, their perceived injustices, and a need for self-rule. The group's recruitment process focused on these sentiments, drawing in new members through a combination of ideological indoctrination, peer pressure, and emotional appeal.

Furthermore, studying the psychology of terrorism highlights the complex relationship between individual motivations and group dynamics within terrorist organisations. While there is no universal profile of a terrorist, various psychological and social factors may contribute to radicalisation and involvement in violent extremist activities. Understanding these factors is crucial for developing an effective counterterrorism policy and addressing the root causes of radicalism.

Additionally, the alternative approach of applying biological models to analyse terrorist organisations provides valuable insights into their dynamics and possible future. By adapting concepts from population biology, the reader can gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics between terrorist groups and their opponents, shedding light on recruitment efficiency and their predatory behaviour.

Finally, the study of the IRA's recruitment methods and the broader phenomenon of terrorism underlines the complexity of political-religious violence and the multidimensional nature of its motives. As we continue to deal with the legacy of conflicts like the Northern Irish Troubles, we must touch these issues gingerly and with an interdisciplinary approach, seeking solutions that address the underlying grievances of certain social groups, leading to the evolution of extremist ideologies, radicalisation, and finally, terrorism.

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ESSAY

IS THERE A NEW COLD WAR? - GEOPOLITICS OF THE SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Rebeka Oláh

ABSTRACT

The economic rise of China endangers the "global sheriff" politics of the US. In my research I focused on the conflict between China and the US from a geopolitical perspective. The central question is if a New Cold War is possible in the 21st century. The author paid special attention to the foreign policy of the countries, which has been examined from economic, security and political perspectives. The area of Southeast Asia plays a special role in the current geopolitical conflict, it is the home of major trade routes and possible hot conflicts, such as the artificially built islands of China. The situation of today resembles the Cold War of the 20th century from many points of views, still it remains unique, and it must be considered from different interpretations when defining a possible New Cold War.

Keywords: US, China, new Cold War, power politics

Introduction – The Inevitable Clash of Great Powers

After the dissolution of the USSR[1] in 1991, the United States of America remained the undisputed superpower and was considered by many as the victor of the Cold War[1]. In terms of economics, technology, military, politics and culture, the United States of America remains the dominant hegemon up to this day.[2] Even though, many would think that the USA is able to shape the world in line with its needs, the reality is that the power of the United States of America to do so is quite limited as the available power potential is divided between many objectives.[3] Still, the USA stands Primus Inter Pares, or first among equals, even among its allies.[4] Our world is becoming smaller and what the globalization, in the course of time, created is interdependence between countries. Globalization, per se, opened a great number of opportunities and brought along great challenges for humankind.[5]

One power, and challenger, cannot be ignored, is the People's Republic of China[6]. After the death of Mao Zedong, his later successor, Deng Xiaoping, introduced economic reforms in the late 1970s while still maintaining strict Party control of politics. The "socialism with Chinese characteristics" type of market economy has proven to be successful in case of Beijing. While in 1980 the People's Republic of China possessed less than only 2% of the World GDP, currently, it takes up about 15% of it. The economic growth lifted 500 million people out of poverty, which provides the People's Republic of China with a robust middle class, it can rely on. The Asian country, today is leading in key areas, for instance technology and might be ahead of the United States of America in areas as 5G telecommunication networks.[7]

As the People's Republic of China grew, it became more ambitious.[8] It was the Trump administration that started to treat the People's Republic of China as an economic and security threat, acknowledging its potential.[9] The United States of America rose to be the commanding power of the world in its time and as for now, the People's Republic of China seemed to do the same. The inescapable outcome is great-power rivalry. In the analysis of most Realist International Relations theories, great powers are destined to com-

[1] United Soviet Socialist Republics

pete, as in a world of anarchy, what it means in international relations theory that there is no higher authority above states to control or rebuke states, the only way to survive is becoming the most powerful. Becoming the hegemon also removes fear from states and allows them to act according to their needs.[10]

The Greek philosopher, Thucydides realized the fate of great powers as early as the early 4th century BC and wrote in his work 'The History of the Peloponnesian War': "*It was the rise of Athens and the fear that instilled in Sparta, that made war inevitable.*" The infamous quote became the flagship of the theory 'Thucydides' Trap', that seems like is the fate of today's United States of America and the People's Republic of China.[11]

The present rivalry is quite alike the Cold War of the 20th century between the USSR and the US, and extends to most important sectors of today, including but not restricted to trade, economics, ideology, diplomacy, research, technology, and values, and is present all over the world, in many countries and on all continents[12]

To be able to differentiate a probable Cold War from other types of conflicts we must closely examine what the Cold War meant and what a possible new Cold War could mean. According to Merriam-Webster the expression Cold War is 1: *a conflict over ideological differences carried on by methods short of sustained overt military action and usually without breaking off diplomatic relations. Specifically: the ideological conflict between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. during the second half of the 20th century.* 2: *a condition of rivalry, mistrust, and often open hostility short of violence especially between power groups (such as labor management).*[13]

Cambridge Dictionary writes: Cold War is *a state of extreme unfriendliness existing between countries, especially countries with opposing political systems, that expresses itself not through fighting but through political pressure and threats. The expression is usually used of the relationship between the US and the Soviet Union after the Second World War.*[14]

While Webster's College Dictionary has this definition for Cold War 1. *intense political, military and ideological rivalry between nations just short of armed conflict* 2. *such rivalry after World War II between the Soviet Union and the U.S., and their respective allies*. 3. *rivalry and tension between people or factions.*[15]

We can see that 'Cold War', as such, is predominantly used for the 20th - century conflict between the USA and the USSR but var-

ious definitions outline the following criteria for a Cold War: a conflict that is between two great powers, preferably with opposing ideological backgrounds, that lacks violent involvement from the respective militaries.

In the followings this paper is about to discuss the given matter in detail. The following aspects to be examined in relation to security, economics, and politics[16], with special consideration on Southeast Asia, as a possible epicentre of a formulating conflict. Finally, the author attempts to provide a potential answer for the research question: Are we in a New Cold War?

Aspects of the American-Sino tension

The Atlantic Council published *The Longer Telegram: Toward a New American China Strategy* in early 2021 which may have indicated the start of a New Cold War. In this article the author urges the United States of America to adopt a foreign policy towards the People's Republic of China, as the rise of the country, peculiarly under the rule of Xi Jinping, turned out to be the most notable challenge to US leadership. The author further argues that Xi Jinping fundamentally changed the politics of the People's Republic of China and that Xi Jinping's aim includes the expansion of the People's Republic of China in a revisionist way. He arranges his thoughts around seven proposals that the US leadership should take into consideration: 1. strengthening and rebuilding American economic, military, technological and human capital foundations; 2. establishing a policy of "red lines" and agreeing on terms that Beijing should not cross; 3. agreeing on major national security interest that will guide its strategic behaviour towards the People's Republic of China; 4. identifying areas of strategic competition; 5. defining areas where strategic co-operation with Beijing furthers US interest; 6. waging an ideological war in defence of liberal freedoms and 7. agreeing on the strategy with Asian and European allies.[17]

As of today, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China remains interdependent in terms of economics and share common interests. In order to uphold these values, it is necessary for both countries to respect each other's legitimate core interests.[18] Being the world's first and second largest economy, the relationship between Washington and Beijing is crucial for the development of the world.[19] The People's Republic of China is the

largest goods trading partner of the United States with $559.2 billion in total goods trade during 2020.[20]

THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE 'NEW COLD WAR'

The "America first" policy of the 45th president of the United States of America, Donald J. Trump, was challenged by the People's Republic of China with its economic emerge and its role in world trade. By posing tariff on the cheap Chinese products in 2018,[21] Trump wanted to increase the demand for American goods, thus reclaiming millions of American jobs and American manufacturing, end the intellectual property violation of the People's Republic of China, put an end to its illegal export subsidies and other unfair advantages[22] and tighten the trade deficit of the United States of America.[23] As a retaliation, Beijing also imposed high tariffs on the American import and the quarrel between the two countries quickly escalated into a trade war.[24] One important element to consider here is the market of steel. The People's Republic of China is the world's largest steel exporter. While in the 1990s Chinese steel production composed 4% of the global output, in 2019 it reached 50% of it, not to mention the millions of jobs it created.[25] The 25% tariff on steel and machinery imports in early 2018 focused on the protection of the American steel market and the increase of its utilization.[26] Initially, protecting national steel industry means safeguarding a key sector for the national security interests.[27]

The other side of this trade war that is worth to have a look at is the side of telecommunication and technology. Currently, the People's Republic of China is innovating in areas of manufacturing, digital platforms and associated markets, the usage of mobile applications and other technologies designed "to solve societal problems" and basic science in R&D in fields such as computing and biotechnology. In today's digitalised world, technological advancements, such as Artificial Intelligence, 5G or quantum computing could benefit the People's Republic of China in such a way that it would solely dominate international trade and would gain excessive political and economic influence. Another alarming view on the matter is the 'military-civil fusion' (*junmin ronghe*), that is the translation of commercial technological successes to military application, which poses an additional cyber threat to networks struc-

tured by the Chinses government.[28] These thoughts were burdensome enough for Donald J. Trump to initiate the impose of export restrictions on giant tech companies, like Huawei Technologies Co and ZTE Corp, and restrict Chinese-owned social media platforms for example Tik Tok or WeChat. [29] Seeing the potential in technology, the Chinese government targeted smart manufacturing and innovation with the adaption of 'Made in China 2025' strategy, as early as 2015. This made possible a steady progress in industrial capabilities and boosted innovation.[30]

Joe Biden continues to see The People's Republic of China as a challenge and while he tries to prove that the United States is prepared to lead again, he attempts to win the on-going competition against the Chinese in terms of economics and innovation, with an 'anti-China' coalition, hoping that the Asian giant will not be able to ignore such a huge economy.[31]

The G7, consisting of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the Italian Republic, Japan, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, has already initiated their own version of the 'Belt and Road Initiative', the Build Back Better World (B3W) that would serve as an alternative for those countries in need.[32] Critics of the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative often compare the idea to the Marshall Plan of 1947, stating that the People's Republic of China is establishing political leverage, in a way as the United States did after World War II. This assumption is based on the following points: First, it is said that the Chinese try to boost their economy to achieve an economic transformation via transporting their capacity and currency to other parts of the world. Second, such an initiative would consolidate relationships with traditional US allies and would drift away countries to the direction of the People's Republic of China.[33]

Another interesting aspect of geo-economics is the so-called 'debtbook diplomacy', according to which the People's Republic of China is gaining a strategic position by providing loans to countries who are unable repay it. Three dimensions of the matter are discussed in a Harvard research paper that are: the implementation of the 'String of Pearls' and resolving the 'Malacca Dilemma'; fracturing the U.S.-led regional coalition that does not accept the South China Sea claims of the Chinese government and endowing the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to push through the "Second Island Chain" into the blue-water Pacific.[34]

The importance of the South China Sea in world trade is undeniable. Reportedly, a fluctuating amount of about $3.4-5.3 trillion worth of goods path through the area annually. Both great powers, but especially Beijing, relies on it.[35] The 'Malacca Dilemma' describes the lack of alternative trade routes and the vulnerability of the People's Republic of China in connection with the tight path on the South China Sea, between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, as President Hu Jintao explained in 2003. The Strait of Malacca is a crucial trade route, which is the shortest between the Middle East and East Asia and which is vital for hydrocarbon, crude oil, container, and bulk cargo shipment. More than 70% of the petroleum and liquified natural gas exports of the People's Republic of China is shipped via this strait. The 'Dilemma' arises with the US Navy being able to control communication in the narrow path of Malacca.[36] With the indebted countries the Chinese government would realize the 'String of Pearls'.[37] The 'String of Pearls' is an American theory that align with the ideas of Mahan, who argues that the Chinese-built blue-water navy and established naval bases would allow the country to project power and protect the economic and national interest of the People's Republic of China.[38] It comprises of naval bases and ports along the sea lines of communication. With the involvement of the People's Republic of China in the global economy the need for naval capabilities to protect sea lanes increased and with the 'String of Pearls' this could be made possible. Potential "victims" of the 'debtbook diplomacy' include the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Republic of Djibouti, the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Malaysia, the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of Kenya.[39]

The area of the South China Sea is also critical on the side of territorial claims. To fish and harness the estimated 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 11 billion barrels of untapped oil, countries are claiming parts of the sea for themselves. In this sense the People's Republic of China is at the forefront. The Chinese government has developed islands out of existing reefs but what is more concerning is that these new creations give home to military installations and airstrips besides ports.[40] As of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea three zones are distinguished: the territorial sea, the contiguous zone, and the exclusive economic zone. The territorial sea that extends 12 nautical miles is considered as the sovereign territory of the state; the contiguous zone ex-

tends to another 12 nautical miles and is considered as international water and most importantly the exclusive economic zone extends to 200 nautical miles from the land and allows the exploration and exploitation of natural resources. While islands generate these zones, rocks and low-tide elevation generate either only a contiguous zone or nothing.[41] In Asia, the ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations provides the United States of America with coalition support to counter the influence of the People's Republic of China but Beijing enlarges its economic leverage to influence other claimants in the region.[42] The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Kingdom of Cambodia are said to be China friendly and stand out for the People's Republic of China in the ASEAN, blocking proposals and resolutions under Chinese pressure.[43] The Republic of the Philippines also agreed to accept loans offered by Beijing with conditions, like the waiver of its sovereign rights of patrimonial assets or subjecting itself to a Chinese arbitration held on the dispute about the discussed loan– features typical to debtbook diplomacy.[44]

The last aspect of the debtbook diplomacy concerns the 'Second Island Chain'. The 'Island Chain Strategy' is a geographical security concept that was created by the United States of America in the 1940s as a demarcation line to deter the aspirations of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. The 'First Island Chain' stretches from the Japanese archipelago to Taiwan and the 'Second Island Chain' goes from the Japanese Islands to Micronesia and spans up to Guam. Along with the Compact of Free Association the United States of America has exclusive access to the land, sea and air routes of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau and the Republic of Marshall Islands,[45] but the agreement is about to expire in 2023 providing potential market for the People's Republic of China. Debtbook diplomacy offers an economic way to win over countries and allow access to the 'Second Island Chain'.[46] At the end of 2019 Beijing offered its help and economic assistance for infrastructure development for Micronesia.[47]

China also looks forward to strengthening economic cooperation with countries sanctioned by the West, and created good economic relations with Venezuela, Cuba, Iran, and lately after 2022 with Russia. Western sanction policy in this context is not necessarily helpful to avoid new Cold War. Even if there were negotiations to de-escalate e.g. in case of Iran[48], the JCPOA proved to be a failure.

THE SECURITY PERSPECTIVE OF THE 'NEW COLD WAR'

Mackinder's idea that the rule of Eurasia would allow the control over the world dominated strategic thinking during the Cold War and Europe was without question the scene of action between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.[49] Nowadays, regarding its significance, this region is argued to be Southeast Asia.[50] In comparison, the ASEAN countries give the world's sixth largest economy after the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which meant $2.6 trillion of the aggregated nominal GDP in 2017.[51] As we could see above, the area, and especially the South China Sea, poses many challenges on the economic field but conjointly on the area of security.

With the island buildings the People's Republic of China is not only securing an economic area for itself but is restricting the freedom of navigation. Because the territorial sea is considered as the sovereign territory of the state, the state has the exclusive right to make, apply and execute its own laws without foreign interference except if a watercraft passes through innocently, let it be for civilian or military purposes. Innocent passage requires vessels to refrain from any activity that is not necessary to continue their journey. In the contiguous zone, states cannot limit navigation, omitting if the infringement of the country's laws needs to be prevented or because of the infringement somebody needs to be punished. As the exclusive economic zone is part of the high seas, states have no right to limit navigation.[52]

By building islands and claiming the creations as part of their territory, the People's Republic of China establishes segments, where what the Chinese government says counts. The claims of the Chinese government threaten the freedom of navigation and the securing of the sea lines of communications[53] both of which are included in the basic values of the United States of America.[54] Acting as the "sheriff of the world"[55] Washington supports its Southeast Asian partners and has conducted the Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOP).[56] The Department of Defense defines FONOP as the demonstration of resistance to excessive maritime claims.[57] In fiscal year 2018 Freedom of Navigation Operational Challenges

from the claims of the People's Republic of China were in connection with the South China Sea, the East China Sea, the Paracel Islands or the Spratly Islands. In case of the latter two geographic areas, where most of the Chinese island-buildings are happening, excessive maritime claims are that straight baselines are not drawn in accordance with the law of the sea, referring to the Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Baseline of the Territorial Sea of the People's Republic of China, 1996; and the claim to a territorial sea around features that otherwise would not be entitled.[58] In fiscal year 2020 the same claims appeared from the side of the People's Republic of China on the South and East China Sea[59] and we can say that the Chinese government did not give up on its territorial demands.

Having a closer look at the key defence statistics in 2021, the United States of America has irrefutable advantage compared to other countries. Per contra the People's Republic of China have greater assets in military personnel, armoured infantry fighting vehicles, main battle tanks and artillery and has a remarkable amount both in aircrafts and vessels.[60] The development is especially outstanding in naval shipbuilding. The approximate full load displacement of selected launched naval vessels in tonnes was almost eight times greater in 2018 than in 2000. The question for the United States of America is if the People's Republic of China will be able to sustain this level of output.[61]

This advancement can be observed in the need for a blue water navy. By obtaining about 72 of the Type 056A corvettes, that meets an adequate green water navy, the People's Liberation Army Navy is able to secure the coastal region of the country and is now aiming to go further and establish a blue water fleet.[62] Such improvements would enable the People's Republic of China to reach the second island chain and spread its influence across the region.[63] This also makes it possible to push the issue on territorial disputes, causing a headache to the previous determining power in the region, the United States of America.[64]

Another alarming issue between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China subjects Taiwan. In agreement with today's trends, most countries accept the People's Republic of China as the sole, legal government of China, including the United States of America. However, this was not until 1979, when the USA broke its diplomatic ties with the Republic of China and confined itself to the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979. In accordance with this

act the USA maintains de facto relations with Taiwan.[65] The Taiwan Relations Act writes: *"the United States will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability."*[66] By this statement the strategy of the United States of America towards Taiwan remains ambiguous, meaning that it does not give clear outlines on the measures of action. Strategic ambiguity can be justified by two reasons. First, it serves as deterrence against the People's Republic of China,[67] whose view is that the United States of America stands in the way of its endeavour of peaceful reunification with Taiwan.[68] Second, as the United States of America is not straightforward whether it backs Taiwan or not, it prevents a possible war that would breakout with the creation of an independent Republic of China.[69] Up until recently, the People's Republic of China took into consideration Taiwanese perspective, but in March 2019 Beijing started to send military aircrafts to the (ADIZ) of Taipei on a regular basis.[70] The Air Defence Identification Zone of a country is the part of the air that goes beyond the sovereign territory of a state. Within this territory the identification, location, and air traffic control of aircrafts are required for the purpose of national security.[71] Incursions in the ADIZ became more frequent after the US took friendly steps towards the Republic of China. After the visit of Keith Krach, senior US official, the People's Republic of China sent 16 fighters accompanied by bombers and spy planes. Four Chinese J-16 fighter jets, six H-6 bombers and one antisubmarine aircraft were sent in Taipei's ADIZ after Taiwan's representative Hsiao Bi-khim attended the inauguration of Joe Biden, followed by an even larger group of military aircrafts, including 12 fighters the next day.[72] The most threatening incursion, by far, happened on 1st October 2021, when the People's Republic of China crossed the Taiwan Strait with 38 military aircrafts. The next day Beijing broke its record and sent 39 of its aircrafts. Strategic ambiguity is not working anymore, and some warns the United States of America that it should prepare for a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait,[73] especially after Wu Qian, Ministry of Defence of the People's Republic of China stated that Taiwan independence means war in the eyes of Beijing.[74]

Chinese analysts often see the US policy against the People's Republic of China as containment. This argument upholds by actions of the USA that prove that it tries to remain dominant in the region. Examples include arms sales to Taiwan, removing sanction

against India for its 1988 nuclear test and instead upgrading nuclear and defence cooperation and US navy ships visiting Vietnam. Some may even say that the United States of America has taken advantage of the happenings of 9/11 to gain influence and military bases that are close to Beijing. For the Chinese it seems that the USA is trying to convince other governments that the People's Republic of China poses a threat on the order of the world. While the Chinese laugh at these efforts and explain how the Chinese military is nowhere near the American capabilities and compare their own spending in defence to the budget of the USA, which is almost as large as the defence budget of the rest of the world, for Washington these measures mean insurance.[75]

THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE 'NEW COLD WAR'

The last thing we should consider is the geographic projection is soft power and politics. The United States of America and the People's Republic of China differ in many points, in its values and interests. For the USA spreading democratic values is a core principle, while the People's Republic of China regards the movement of the Americans a threat to Beijing and opposes pushing countries to adopt these principles. Washington is willing to interfere in conflicts in favour of the global order and the Chinese government follows the policy of non-intervention. Beijing holds that countries should not have military bases abroad and the USA has many.[76] In his 2016 speech, foreign minister, Wang Yi, emphasized the importance of the understanding of the People's Republic of China.[77] In order for people to understand the unique Chinese culture and history, Beijing delegated the Confucius Institute to many parts of the world[78] to establish a "*bridge* that *reenforces friendships*". Institutions offering Chinese language, calligraphy, cooking, tai chi and many other cultural classes, counted 548 all over the world by the end of 2018.[79] A similar program from the side of the United States of America is the Program of American Spaces. The American centres, more than 650 worldwide, provide cultural events and educational opportunities,[80] similar to the Confucius Institute. These spaces are strategical important diplomatic tools that support foreign policy in the manner of education and promotion.[81]

This is much in need for the People's Republic of China as it counts only one formal ally, North Korea. Even though the US alliance system is a burden for the country in the eyes of the Chinese government, there is not much to do with the provocative North Korea. The Sino-North Korean Mutual Aid and Co-operation Friendship Treaty of 1961 is renewed regularly, with the latest relevance valid until the year 2021.[82] The Chinese government tries to rely on the overseas Chinese population, living outside the mainland.[83] In 2020, there were about 49.330000 which is around 10.000000 more than it was ten years ago.[84] They try to exploit the Chinese diaspora and use them to serve as a bridge between the mainland and different initiatives of the government of the People's Republic of China.[85] Because having people all over the world means that you are able to reach out to everywhere.

Be that as it may, Chinese atrocities against the non-Han population raise concern in the international podium. By trying to integrate people, the Chinese government tries to avoid separatism to keep the country together and create one 'Chinese nation'. The government promoted mass immigration of the Han Chinese to these territories and preferred Sinification policies in order to achieve its goal. President Xi Jinping pledged: *"We will never allow anyone, any organization or political party to rip out any part of our territory at any time or on any form."*[86] On the other hand, these territories are also strategically important for Beijing: we are talking about Xinjiang and Tibet, both of which are autonomous regions of the People's Republic of China, with their own local governments.[87] In Xinjiang about 45% of the population is Muslim Uyghur and the resentment against the Han rule is continuous. Resentments usually result in attacks. For example, in the city of Urumqi almost two hundred people, mostly Han, died because of the Han-Uyghur tension in 2009. The Chinese government is often criticized for the harsh retaliation so after 9/11, to legitimize its actions, the People's Republic of China tried to seek international recognition of the East Turkestan/Turkistan activist group as a terrorist organisation.[88] At present, the People's Republic of China is being accused of genocide against the Uyghurs. Evidence shows that Uyghurs are used as forced labour, forbade to practice their religion and women are sterilized in "re-education camps."[89] In Tibet, the same methods are used to recruit people to the militarized vocational training programs as it is used in Xinjiang to identify those Uyghurs that

should be sent into the internment camps; an intrusive social control system that relies on village-based work teams. The program is part of a poverty alleviation initiative that aims to transform the weak Tibetan work ethic into a diligent one and useful one.[90] Besides the degrading and humiliating treatment, other inhuman approach towards the Tibetans includes the imprisonment and torture for practicing Buddhism and the ban of the Tibetan national flag and anthem.[91] The human rights' abuse of the People's Republic of China is recognized in the international community and stringer measures have been taken, keeping in sight the importance of Chinese economics. These economic restrictions harm the Chinese economics, and one such example is the prohibition on the import of cotton and tomato from Xinjiang from the side of the United States of America.[92]

Are we in the New Cold War?

The question remains: Are we in a New Cold War? According to definition, we might be. There are two great powers competing, one of which emerged to disrupt the peaceful activity of the other. Their ideological backgrounds differ and there is no direct conflict between the powers, yet but there have been several occasions that indicated a hot conflict, and with that it could have also opened up the possibility for a new world war. Currently, I would say that the two sides are showing off their powers, with separate aims. The goal of the People's Republic of China is to threaten the United States of America and demonstrate its power. Beijing seeks recognition to be able to appear as a great, significant power on the international floor. On the other side, the United States of America showing off its power is a matter of containment, in its effort of maintaining world peace and its hegemony in the world order. Several aspects of the cold war apply to today's situation; the longer telegram, the world being close to a Third World War, this time, over the Taiwan Strait, the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative, to boost the economy of potential allies and therefore provide a market for their own goods and services, even the strategy of containment.

On the other hand, what is going on today is something very different from what happened in the second half of the 20th century. The struggle is not based on action-reaction, much more on the mood of the country-leaders. Unlike the Soviet, the Chinese ideology is not trying to tempt allies to it and there is a lack of zone of

influence, there are no satellite countries.[93] Countries are dependent on each other and even the smallest struggle would result in a huge loss for them, and a decrease in the standard of living, which people are too comfortable with in wealthy states. They rely on both American and Chinese goods and services and exploit their initiatives to educate their people. The People's Republic of China is taking advantage of our globalized world and interdependence in order to fulfil its economic needs. But Beijing does not have the necessary means geopolitically and the ambition to become the hegemon of the world.[94] In his book, The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives, Zbigniew Brzezinski writes that "in the long run, global politics are bound to become increasingly uncongenial to the concentration of hegemonic power in the hands of a single state. Hence, America is not only the first, as well as the only, truly global superpower, but it is also likely to be the very last."[95]

We must remember that all conflicts are unique in their own way and there are no two alike.

Taking into consideration the recent Russian-Ukrainian conflict, we are still only able to identify two main superpowers. The United States of America is aware of the Russian problem, nevertheless, considers the Chinese threat a greater hazard to the world order and the role Washington tries to play. For the Chinese, the Russo-Ukrainian crisis decelerates their economic improvements and crushes the flow of the global market. In this sense, the Ukrainian war does not refute the existence of a new cold war.

As long as there is a show off going on, the power struggle will remain cold. The United States of America will not generate a direct war just to prevent the People's Republic of China from becoming a dominant power. It is not part of the vital interest of the USA. Washington would expect a peaceful rise of China[96] and as for now, it seems that this peaceful rise does not fit the Chinese needs. Beijing's desire is to be seen as a global power, a state that can counterbalance the United States of America. To achieve this goal the People's Republic of China is willing to take the necessary steps.[97]

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China are trying to use their geographic advantages. Apparently, the USA is more successful in this sense, out of obvious reasons that are out of its authority. The People's Republic of China is trying to extend its competence with programs that benefit the Chinese economy or helping the Chinese diaspora overseas. I would argue that the most

important part of the conflict between Washington and Beijing will be, and currently is, happening on sea, with the epicentre of South-east Asia. This region is crucial in terms of economics and security. It gives home to a lot of different kinds of people and various trade routes. From this perspective, having access to the region and being able to have a say in international trade is a key to overcome the other. In terms of economics, the People's Republic of China brought in the backlog and now enjoys economic leverage in the international field and exports goods to all parts of the world. In terms of military, Beijing may not be able to follow the footsteps of Washington. Further, there are crucial points in Southeast Asia, that might be able to give space to conflicts.

Throughout history there have been numerous conflicts and what we currently live in is no exception. The People's Republic of China is currently definitely a challenge to the hegemony of the United States of America, but it is not the Second Cold War, as it was unique in its own time. Today, the great powers have to face new and unexpected challenges that are traits of our complex world.[98]

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