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OFFENSIVE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND DEFENSIVE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT: A GEOPOLITICS PERSPECTIVE

The discussion of the offensive religious conflict in this paper emphasizes on the fact that those regional groups are offensive only because of their dissatisfaction with the status quo and their ability of resorting to force. The purpose of provoking conflict is the pursuit of absolute security as well as maximized benefit in fighting for religious survival space. And the ultimate goal of defensive religious conflict is whether or not to maintain a relatively safe independent development of their own state. The concern about the intentions, abilities and consequences of religious confrontation is the attempt to transform the international relations theory from political realism to religious realism. In the geopolitical sense, if there is no strong enough external force to dominate or intervene, or effective balance of consensus mechanism, then the regional advantageous religious power that are not satisfied with the status quo and have a certain degree of violent may ensure their living space and maximize their religious power through active "self-help". And the religious conflict of the purpose of obtaining a relatively safe living space is essentially a respect for the idea that the various religious forces can coexist in the same region.

Key words: Offensive Religious Conflict; Defensive Religious Conflict; Geopolitics.

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Наступательный и оборонительный религиозный конфликт: геополитическая перспектива

В статье обсуждается наступление религиозного конфликта, подчеркивая тот факт, что наступление региональных групп происходят только потому, что они не удовлетворены статусом-кво и возможностями к применению силы. Целью провокации конфликта является стремление к абсолютной безопасности и максимальной выгоды в борьбе за свободу вероисповедания. И конечной целью военного религиозного конфликта является сохранение относительно безопасного независимого развития своего собственного государства. Забота о намерениях, способностях и последствиях религиозной конфронтации – попытка превратить теорию международных отношений из политического реализма в религиозный реализм. В геополитическом смысле, если не существует достаточно сильной внешней силы для господства, вмешательства или эффективного баланса согласованного механизма, тогда региональная выгодная религиозная власть, которая не удовлетворена статусом-кво и имеет определенную степень насилия, может обеспечить их жизненное пространство и максимизировать свою религиозную силу посредством активной «самопомощи». И религиозный конфликт с целью получения относительно безопасного жизненного пространства является по существу уважением к идее о том, что различные религиозные силы могут сосуществовать в одном регионе.

Ключевые слова: наступательный религиозный конфликт, оборонительный религиозный конфликт; геополитика.

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Шабуыл жасайтын діни қақтығыстар және діни қақтығыстарды қорғау: геосаяси көзқарас

Бұл мақалада діни қақтығыстың басталуы талқыланып, аймақтық топтардың шабуылы олардың кво мәртебесімен қанағаттанбағандығының себебінен ғана орын алатындығы жайлы қарастырылған. Шиеленісті тудыру мақсаты – діни бостандық үшін күресте абсолюттік қауіп-сіздікті және барынша пайда табуды мақсат етті. әскери діни қақтығыстардың түпкі мақсаты – өз мемлекетінің басқа мемлекеттермен салыстырғанда қауіпсіз дамып, өркендеуі. Діни қақты-ғыстардың мақсаты, халықаралық деңгейдегі қарым-қатынас теориясын саяси реализмнен ді-ни реализмге айналдыру әрекеті болып табылады. Геосаяси мағынада, егер жеткілікті дәрежеде ықпалыды сырттай күштердің басымдылығы, ішін-ара араласулық және келісілген механизмдер-дің эфективті теңдігі болмаса, онда жергілікті ыңгайлы яғни тиымды кво статусына қанағаттанды-рылмаған және белгілі дәрежеде қысымы бар, діни билік олардың өмірлік жағдайын жасайды және өзінің діни ықпалы арқылы күшейтеді. Ал салыстырмалы түрде қауіпсіз өмір сүру кеңістігін алу үшін, діни қақтығыс, әр түрлі діни күштердің бір аймақта өмір сүруі мүмкін деген идеяны қолдау болып табылады.

Түйін сөздер: шабуыл жасайтын діни қақтығыстар, қорғаныстағы діни қақтығыстар, иеосаясат.

Introduction

Religion has been playing a more and more important role in political field since the second half of the last century. Due to the wild threat of potential conflict after the 9.11 event, the influence of religion on international politics has become a nonnegligible existence, though the perception of this influence is fairly slow. The discussion of the offensive religious conflict in this paper emphasizes on the fact that those regional groups are offensive only because of their dissatisfaction with the status quo and their ability of resorting to force. The purpose of provoking conflict is the pursuit of absolute security as well as maximized benefit in fighting for religious survival space. And the ultimate goal of defensive religious conflict is whether or not to maintain a relatively safe independent development of their own state. The concern about the intentions, abilities and consequences of religious confrontation is the attempt to transform the international relations theory from political realism to religious realism.

Compare with the traditional religious comparative study, the religious conflict in the realism is not only the ideological differences on the spiritual level, but also the use of violent means including military weapons to combat the opponent's physical confrontation. The different parties of the security strategy of entity religious conflict focus on competing for the specific geographical advantages of religious significance which can be considered from the perspective of geopolitical context. In the geopolitical sense, if there is no strong enough external force to dominate or intervene, or effective balance of consensus mechanism, then the regional advantageous religious power that are not satisfied with the status quo and have a certain degree of violent may ensure their living space and maximize their religious power through active "self-help". And the religious conflict of the purpose of obtaining a relatively safe living space is essentially a respect for the idea that the various religious forces can coexist in the same region. The Middle East region is a typical region to interpret religious conflict. This paper, based on the religious analysis of the conflict in the Middle East, contrasts the situation of religious conflict in China and explains the offensive and religious conflicts in the geopolitical perspective.

The Split, Overlap and Re-construction of the Religious Map

The Global and Continuing Revival of Religion

The historical background of current religious conflicts is the global revival of religion. It is generally believed that the Iranian Islamic revolution, the uproar of the Soviet Union and the 9.11 terrorist attacks together indicate that religion returns back to the international political sphere. Besides, a wider international religious movement took places since political Islam and the political awakening of the American religion right wing and Latin American liberation theology Xu 2012, 14-15.[1] However, the

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1 Xu Yihua, Religion and Contemporary International Relations (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2012), pp. 14-15.

prosperity of the story of the religious revival has been lasting for more than a decade. Around the globe, both the American conservative southern Christian groups and the Middle East Islamic believers nowadays are proving that the religious development has not been slackened at all. Specifically, the revival of religion is manifested not only in the rapid growth of fundamentalism that strictly follows specific rituals and dogma, but also in the continual innovation of rituals and practices of faith in both public social space and private one. Clearly, no matter how different political traditions and cultural history are, there is no rejection to religion publicly in either developed or developing countries.

In view of the important position that the revival of the international religion plays in both public and private areas, Scott M. Thomas directly suggested that the United States should raise living standard and strengthen international security by means of religion (Thomas 2010).[2] He believes that the United States should use religious beliefs to wins friends as well as to expand global influence. This proposal of Thomas represents the concept of instrumentalism; but once used improperly, the instrumental treatment of religion will lead to conflicts of its own level. Even within the United States, the radical Middle Eastern foreign policy of the George H. W. Bush's later administration was criticized by both religious liberals and religious conservatives (Preston 2012, 601).[3] American foreign policy has increasingly been influenced by religious groups, such as the Pentecostals and evangelists, who are given more power by global religious renaissance. In the Americans, Pentecostal sects and evangelists are considered to be important political forces in terms of religious identities in the future. Although the norms of life advocated by Pentecostal sects and evangelical Protestants catered to the values of middle class in global age, their radical attitude towards religious freedom in some traditional Catholic countries in Latin America has led to the same Christianity Sectarian disturbances. And their strong interest in politics goes against to the imagination that religion should go beyond the world. It should be admitted that the religious self-promotion behavior that focusing too much on engaging and progressing in the world will lead to the sense of uneasiness to the surrounding.

Geopolitical-oriented Religious Map

Beliefs have a cohesive effect on culture and land. And the concept of religious map is closely related to geopolitics. "Geography" means occupying a certain territory geographically; "politics" is connected with countries. Therefore, geopolitics is the political expression concerns about the special relationship between the geographical environment and political behavior. "Geopolitics" originated in country's demand for conquest; By contrast, the internal political decisions about human geography made by the domestic government within the territory are "geographical politics" category (Parker 1998, 13)[4]. Geopolitics is the theory developed by the theory of the government's territorial expansion policy. Mahan, the initial representative of geopolitics, is an officer who is actively seeking sea power for the United States. And Mckindy, who advocates land rights, is the parliamentarian that holds the British imperial security position. The analysis of geopolitics has structural patterns of center-peripheral, unilateral, bipolar and multi-level and etc. And there are microscopic, mesoscopic and macroscopic perspectives on the scale. Besides, the geographical characteristics have the divisions of sea rights which focus on oceans, land rights that focus on inland and etc. Even the study of modern geopolitics has the strategic perspective of obtaining geographical advantages for sovereign states.

The essence of religious map is to express abstract reality by a loose geographical map to maintain or advocate a certain belief. The world economic system dominated by developed countries are conquering the world and expanding themselves as well as collapsing other historical systems. Thus, the continuous forms about historical systems concerning religion, language, eating habits, world views are difficult to exist as they used to be. However, the "civilized ideas"(Wallerstein 1991, 236)[5] are still inheriting the unique political rights of historical system. It is a necessity considering the rise of postcolonial culture and the revival or regional religious culture from the perspective of geographical system. Religious map is supported not only by modern national sovereign states, but also by those religious revival groups that constantly go "back to the past".

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[2] Scott M. Thomas, "A Globalized God," Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec 2010, Vol. 89 Issue 6, pp. 93-101.

[3] Andrew Preston, Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), p. 601.

[4] Geoffrey Parker, Geopolitics: Past, Present and Future (London: Pinter, 1998), p. 13.

[5] Immanuel MauriceWallerstein, Geopolitics and Geoculture: Essays on the Changing World-System (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 236.

The requirements that religious map has for the geographical structure are not only maintaining the geographical right distribution of religious groups, but also trying to meet the imagination of religious community, and even the ultimate demands of sacred kingdom from a more spiritual sense. Religious map is a mixture of secularity and beliefs both with and without boundaries; it is the survival areas which inherit religious narrative and customary from the geographical space; it is both the projection of sacred imagination and recognition of group differences among beliefs. For example, Mecca is the religious holy place where is the center for all the Islamic worlds. Muslims are getting in touch with pilgrims from all over the world through visiting Mecca which is the physical holy place for its believers. In addition to worship the territorial boundaries, believers respect the spiritual imaginative territory which is not limited to the physical "Mercator map"(Anderson 2006, 167)[6], but also the space concept with literature map "metaphor"(Mei 2015, 163)[7] as well.

The Changes of Religious Map under Security Dilemmas

The inherent characteristics of anarchy have led to the use of force between nations and military threats. Security researchers argue that military armaments in the form of states would create two types of threats, namely, the devastating threat of the weapon itself and the threat of defeat caused by other actors in the system of weapons. Destructive threats create a defensive dilemma, and the threat of defeat leads to the plight of power and security. From the perspective of military dimension, the nature of national security is the relationship between the two threats and the dilemmas they cause. In the attitude to force, aggressive groups are always trying to break the existing geopolitical patterns, split the existing map and then overlap and reconstruct the map.

Based on the map, the geographical war is the competition of the competition of the political layout which in line with the logic power of realism. In the view of the realists who worship attacks, the conflict-oriented behavior model is the "standard geopolitical process" and it is the fight for the dominative power and hegemony and the model leads to

the result of the zero-sum game. The Balkan gunpowder, Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the agents-searching wars of those super powers in the Middle East are all the suitable examples of the statement above. It seems that the cooperative process of ending the conflict is merely an "alternative geopolitical process" and is still a means of achieving the "standard political process". Therefore, both the territorial expansion of those landscaping for national defense and the territorial control under the name of civilization are the "standard geopolitical process"(Parker 1998, 208)[8] in the name of "cooperation in the geopolitical process". The future we face is in a "post-modern blurring model" (Kaplan 2001, 39)[9], and the nation-state classification framework will eventually be replaced.

The question worthy of discussion is that since the religious map. In which conflicts are used to change the pattern of power, is the unavoidable realistic politics, then in the absence of strong external force intervention, whether those conflicts, religious groups actively lead or passively participated in, aim at developing or maintaining the living space of their own safety; and what are the logic future trends and coping strategies of those conflicts which are competing for space.

The Contention of Religious Safety Living Space

From the geopolitical perspective, religious conflict, whether defensive or offensive, is not the same as the existing concept of "geo-religion" (Xu and Zou 2013, 31)[10]. The concept of "geo-religion" proposed by Chinese religious and political scholars refers to the geopolitics which differs from the competition for greater power and strategic superiority. It is a religious strategy focuses on competing for the political high ground in moral sense, striving for religious discourse on the international political arena and popular thinking among the people. And the geo-religion also has the belief that world politics will transform gradually from geopolitics to geo-economy and will go further into the era of focusing on geo-religion. Religious conflict at the geopolitical level is in the context of religious competition. The essence of competing for geographical, regional control and religious population (capital) advantages is the fighting for the living space of the religious safety.

[6] BenedictAnderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 2006), p. 167.

[7] Mei Xinlin, "Literary Maping,"Social Science in China, No. 8, 2015, p. 163.

[8] Geoffrey Parker, Geopolitics: Past, Present and Future (London: Pinter, 1998), p. 208.

[9] Robert D. Kaplan, The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War (New York: Vintage, 2001), p. 39.

[10] Xu Yihua and Zou Lei, "Geo-religion and China's Foreign Strategy,"International Studies, No. 1, 2013, p. 31.

The Safe Living Space of Religion

For the believers of globalism, religious denominations that preach the whole world are missionary objects are religions that meet the demands of the times. These sects are farther in "cosmopolitan" than the world religion of the moderate tradition. For example, the doctrines of Pentecostal, Evangelical, Salafism and militantly literalistic form of Islam are not rigidly adhered to the specific territory, cultural groups or social field. The non-mainstream sects, following the global doctrine for expanding their faith, won no less political discourse than the mainstream religious sects on the stage of international relations

In recent years, the fights between Christianity and Islam in Russia appears as the conflicts between the Orthodox Slavic Russia and Muslim division of Chechnya Dagestan and Ingushetia; as known as the conflicts between some of the North Caucasus of the Russian Federation and these conflicts show the fear of the Orthodox Church on extreme Islam. Africa's Cote d'lvoire, Kenya's Muslim and Christian groups have also experienced frequent conflicts in recent years. The principle of separation of church and state is not accepted in many "southern world" countries. In those underdeveloped countries, religion has been closely intertwined with charity, terrorism, political groups and rebellion groups. For example, as early as the 19th century, there was record of the Sufi brotherhoods helping the North African Islamic resistance against the French rulers.

In addition to the sacred nature, the conflicts are apt to be misunderstood as the worldwide religious opposition as a whole because of some of the religious independent movements and resistant activities that took place within certain country due to some complex ethnic and historical reasons. The contemporary population has generally recognized that religion can strengthen group identity. In the process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the German Catholic groups put pressure on the government to acknowledge the Catholic background of Croatia; Orthodox countries Russia and Greece are clearly opposed the NATO's bombing of Serbia during the war in Kosovo. The safe living space of religion is the faithful regional community structure that both meets the geographical needs and protects actors from threats.

Religious Mobilization of Conflict and its Decision-making Basis

There are three explanatory paths of the religious mobilization of conflict: primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Primordialism regards religion as the source of conflict; instrumentalism regards religion as conflict pretext being used; and as for constructivism, religious conflict can only be confrontation among ideas of continuous construction (Hasenclever and Rittberger 2003).[11] No matter which path is considered, religion that is always linked to conflict makes the illegal violence outside of the national machine monopoly violence legalized. And religion makes the existing secular political power relative and collapses the secular political authority system.

Both the religious domestic social mobilization capacity at the grassroots level and the cross-country social relations of the international level arouse the test to deal with the need of politicized issues. The decision-making basis of the religious conflict executor is, above all, the essence of this religious conflict, that is, based on the judgment of the parties to the conflict, the real intention of provoker who expect the use of force. In other words, the nature of the conflict, which is aggression or defense, determines the extent to which it can be mobilized. In addition, the public reasons of the use of violence and the demeaning skills lead to the support degree of the surrounding non-religious groups. Another critical basis of religious conflict decision-making is the attitude toward sacrifice and self-sacrifice among members of the faith community. And the degree of understanding and acceptance of the casualties linked to religious obligations affects the depth of the conflict. Religious conflict may even go to upgrade because of fearless of sacrifice, lack of trust between groups or no strong mediation of religious institution.

Religious Conflict Process Based on Geography

First, the motives of religious conflict are related to emotion but are not limited to religious feelings (Moïsi 2010, 8).[12] Emotional geopoliticians think that the culture of hope, humiliation and fear can lead to geopolitical conflict. Almost every one of these three emotions relates to religious groups. Religious cultural revival is the hope of emotion. Israel's strong counterpart to the decline of the Arab culture is leading to the culture of terrorism humilia-

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[11] AndreasHasenclever and Volker Rittberger, "Does Religion Make a Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict," in Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Fabio Petito eds., Religion in International Relations (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 107-137.

[12] Dominique Moïsi, The Geopolitics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World (New York: Anchor Books, 2010), p. 8.

tion. And the Islamophobia after 9.11 is the reaction of the psychological excess. In addition to emotion, the motive of religious conflict is always related to division. Civil war statistics show that conflicts often occur in the religious minority population growth to about 10-20% of the total population. Analysts believe that this proportion of the religious minority groups have been sufficient to resist the pressure policy made by government to maintain religious harmony. Moreover, analysts also believe that the religious minority groups can even take the initiative to stand out against the existing state power and require for independence from the existing residential land (Thomas 2010)[13].

Samuel P. Huntington's far-reaching "clash of civilizations" gives a fundamental impression of international political analysis of religious conflict that religious rivals are static groups that follow the combination of theology, culture and territory plates. Huntington has a rationality in the modular analysis of religious conflict; but in the face of real politics, the clash of civilizations encounters the challenge of religious clashing. The concept of territoriality of a large religious group is constantly constructed and constructed. For example, The Ukrainian Eastern Rite Catholic Church hand the Russian Orthodox Church have territorial disputes in western Ukraine. Conflict occurs not only between civilizations, but also within civilization. So religious conflict research is not only a module analysis, but also a dynamic agglomeration analysis. Religious groups have a certain degree of cohesion when they engage in religious activities within certain institutionalized groups, but do not necessarily have equal loyalty when the whole group competes as a political force with certain competitors.

Second, the participants in religious conflicts mostly come from the religions no longer under control of governments yet threaten surroundings or religions that being threatened. Religious war in history can be national behavior. But since the Westphalian system began, states no longer set off foreign wars on the grounds of religion. Conflict parties are not national actors and religious groups, religious divisions religious extremist organizations and religious terrorist organizations can all be participants in conflicts. An effect of globalization is embodied in the hierarchical religious factions, where the threshold is slowly reduced. Monopolistic religions may be difficult to maintain an overwhelming influence on the quest for believers in areas of their own advantage. Believers as their own individual have

been increased their right of selectivity. The religious discord is another group of believers that are not subject to states but can influence international relations. The international armed forces represented by Muslim "foreign fighters"(Hegghammer 2010)[14] make the composition of religious conflict participants more complex and uncontrollable. In the aspects of conflicts means and conflict ability, the increasingly fast and convenient Internet and the lower cost of navigation make it easier for other countries to accept the cross-border appeals of the international extremist organizations or virtual Uma.

Thirdly, from the strategic point of view of religious conflict, the short-term separatism and the ultimate goal of establishment of religious kingdom often appear alternately. For instance, the Indonesian Peninsula (Ambon, Burling Island, Sailan Island) are facing separatist issues. The Dutch have brought Christianity to the locals, but the local Christian separatist movement today is not due to the economic sequelea of the complains about economic injustice in colonies. These Christian believers are worried about the growing "great migration" (Cohen 2015, 310)[15] of Muslim immigrants. And separatists want to build a country of Christian believers. In Indonesia, the separatism caused by religious identity is not only in the Christian community, but also in the majority of the Muslim population in Makassar.

Fourth, in terms of the degree of harm, religious conflict can be extended from the group tension to the war phase. Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett define the war as "armed conflict with more than a thousand deaths" for the refinement of "democracy and commentary" (Snyder 2007, 118)[16]. On a scale, the discussions of religious conflict are violent confrontations of less than a thousand deaths.

In summary, the attack and defense under religious confrontation are positive response instead of retreat. In the discussion of religious security, Chinese scholars noticed that negative security focuses on defense which means a passive elimination of security threats and risks while positive security tries to expand the development space actively (Xu 2017, 13-15).[17] The peace problem will be more

[13] Scott M. Thomas, "A Globalized God," Foreign Affairs, Nov/Dec 2010, Vol. 89 Issue 6, pp. 93-101.

[14] Thomas Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," International Security, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Winter 2010/11), pp. 53-94.

[15] Saul Bernard Cohen, Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), p. 310.

[16] Jack Snyder, "Democratization, Nationalism and War,"The Journal of International Studies, No. 4, 2007, p. 118.

[17] Xu Yihua, "Religion and National Security,"China Religion, No. 4, 2017, pp. 13-15.

likely to be settled when relative secure situation is satisfied under the premise of guaranteeing the right to survival. The contradiction is that if the religious groups concerned about the output of religion, then inevitably they will fall into the tricks of religious expansion. Because for the believer population, religious economic capital of the final encroachment is not only stay in the negative security. It is like the situation of the United States, it claims a series of values, such as export of freedom, civil society, democracy, social cohesion, economic development and etc.; still these values are accompanied by a lasting external military intervention.

The Middle East's Aggressive Religious Conflict

Religious Map of the Middle East

The Middle East is connected to three continents of Europe and Asia. And the traditional geopolitics is also competing for land and sea rights. For example, the land power Egypt fights for the Suez Canal's ownership and it also maintain friendly relations with sea powers to ensure stability of its own land power. Another example, Syria has become an important trade transit point historically because of its connection to the Mediterranean, the Arabian Peninsula and Mesopotamia. Meanwhile, Syria has also become the forefront of the civilization campaigns including religious civilization. Iran, for example, is a mountain plateau country and its land area is vast and almost no similar plain basin to neighboring Iraq. The ancient strong Persian Empire had benefited from Iran's mountain geography of east to hold but hard to attack. After the traditional warfare, the political game took the main competitive field of regional politics. The United Sates, in order to control Iran, not only make full use of US military presence around Iran, but also incite a small number of religious forces in Iran, such as support for the division of the Huzisitan area strength, with a view to complicating Iran's internal security situation.

Oil resources are an important factor affecting the geopolitics of the Middle East. However, it is becoming less important gradually. Saudi Arabia, that benefit most from the oil, launched the diversification development of "2030" industrial structure which is a new political direction of getting rid of the single oil economy. On the other hand, Iran, although has oil resources, does not obtain the economic and political benefits accordingly due to years of sanctions from both EU and US.

The Middle East is located on the front line of both Christian civilization and Islamic civilization.

And it contains the Islamic "Crescent Wo" of Syria and Iraq. In 2004 the King of Jordan Abdullah II proposed the west of Lebanon's Hezbollah which goes through the Syrian Assad family and half of the population of Shiite Iraq and reaches east to Iran's "Shiite crescent zone" (Wang 2009, 68)[18]. With the expansion of the Shi'ite crescent zone, the "new moon" is confronted with more and more obvious clashes, divisions, and sectarian struggles. Those religious minorities are not insulated from national political authorities. For example, Syrian Sunni accounted for the majority of the population, but the minority Shiite controls the military and political power. And Shiite Iran, by supporting the same Shiite Bashar regime strategy, balances Sunni power Saudi Arabia.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East has never risen to a strong, overwhelming Islamic state, nor a dominant hegemonic one. Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran and Israel are constantly striving for a broader geopolitical power. Any aggression, expansion, unity and other efforts to integrate geographical advantages may lead to more fragmented outcome.

The Dispute over religious living space in the Middle East

The colonial heritage of the postcolonial state includes religious blocks and the sovereign states of religious identity, which map the historical identity of the divided countries. There were no such regional hegemonic power that was similar to the history of the Ottoman Empire; the Middle East countries were always dominated by various external powers. But neither Britain nor the United States are the leading relatives of the Middle East countries' mainstream religions. The conflict logic of Middle East Islamic and Western civilizations that expand their own culture to preserve the cultural advantages is the cultural soil of Huntington's "civilized conflict".

The West is concerned about the religious life of the Christian community in the Middle East. For example, Samaritan's Purse, the evangelical organization of Franklin Graham, supported charity and development as the theme of "the people of God" (Hertzke 2004, 272)[19] in the Sudan. This organization is also very enthusiastic about Christians in the

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[18] WANG Bo,"The Religions and Political Influence of the Rising 'Shiite Crescent'in the Gulf Region,"Arab World Studies, No. 1, 2009, p. 68.

[19] Allen D. Hertzke, Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), p 272.

territory under the control of the "Islamic State".[20] The media are also sensitive to Christian activity in the volatile areas of the Middle East. For example, Christians of Qaraqosh in the southeastern part of Mosul held a commemoration of the crucifixion of Christ on April 9, 2017. And this activity was called the first public Christian activity since the "Islamic nation" occupied Mosul in 2014.[21]

Israel's national security not only depends on its own military strength and national political capacity, but also relies on the surrounding national turmoil and the support of the United States. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which was once caused by the irreplaceable territorial coverage of Gaza and the West Bank, was the main religious confrontation in the Middle East. However, in recent years, the importance of the faith conflict of Judaism in Israel and the Middle East Islamic countries began to decline compare to the internal battle within the Middle East Islamic religion. In the Israeli cabinet, the Muslim politicians who are close to the Islamic countries to the Middle East play a buffer role in the process of Israeli and other Middle Eastern countries. For example, Ayoob Kara, head of the Office of the Prime Minister of Israel and Minister of Communications Druze, signed an agreement on the development of trade plans in Israel and Jordan and Saudi Arabia on behalf of Israel. The earlier Minister of Raleb Majadele even asked the government to stop military operations in Gaza.

The fights of Sarafi and Shi'ite's between Saudi Arabia and Iran are the more urgent survival space battle in the Middle East religion. Wahhabi sects, Muslim brothers, conservative Muslim groups, and conservative Islamic parties are actively spreading faith to resist the secularization of the Islamic world. The most advantageous religious capital of Saudi Arabia's is Mecca and Medina. Saudi Arabia uses oil funds to build Islamic schools and mosques around the world. It dispatches priests and provides rich working opportunities to Muslims in other Islamic countries. This could be regard as trading economic support for more religious identity. It is closely related that Wahhabi sectarian thought can be spread rapidly in the Islamic world and Saudi Arabia is actively promoting cultural and foreign policy. But the Wahhabi foreign propaganda used in the teaching materials goes against the Sufi or any non-Wahhabi heretics. The harsh doctrines of the Wahhabi sects have, to a certain extent, destroyed the relative religious tolerance and religious coexistence in the Middle East.

Iran has also spared no effort in expanding the influence of the Shi'ites, which includes religious and cultural output, religious diplomacy and political and military support for religious members. Iran strongly supports Yemeni Husser and Syria's Shiite forces. And it funds the international Shi'ite militia group "Imam Ali camp" in Iraq. Iran actively promotes the radical Messianism of the Messianic, and militarily supports the sectarian movements of Hezbollah, Iraq, Palestine and other places. The Middle East Shiite forces obtain Iran's ideological, political, economic, military support as well as consuming Iran's national strength. Nevertheless, after the re-election, the presidency of the Iranian moderator leader Hassan Rouhani still faces the blame from hardcore domestic priest group that there is not enough support for the international Shiite movement from the government.

There also exists the fight of the dominance of the orthodox Salafi within Sunni. A typical example is the Qatar severance crisis under the lead of Saudi Arabia. The superficial reason is that there were some controversial remarks of so called Emir in the network homepage of NSA. These remarks include affirming Iran is the regional Islamic power which cannot be ignored and Hamas is the representative of the Palestinian people and so on. Severance did not stop the Qatar media criticizing Saudi Arabia, Egypt and other countries violated the basic Muslim Morality of Sunni by suppress the "Mu brother". In fact, the deeper reason is more likely to be religious competition. It is the ambition of Qatar, that shows a more and more clear desire to Sarah Fei orthodox,[22] that leads to the strong opposition of Saudi Arabia.

The Middle East Political Islamic Community under the Banner of Counter-terrorism

Political Islam in the Middle East has gone through the partisan of Islamic renaissance, reformists, moderates and radicals, and even traditional conservative religions may face passive reform efforts. It is precisely because of the rapid development of Islam in the Arab world and other regions, it has been

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[20] Samaritan's Purse International Relief, "Franklin Graham Preaches the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Iraq on Easter Sunday," Samaritanspurse.org, April 16, 2017, https://www.samaritanspurse.org/article/franklin-graham-preaches-the-gospel-of-jesus-christ-in-iraq-on-easter-sunday/.

[21] See, for example, "Celebrating Easter in an Iraqi Town That Has Lost Its Christians," The New York Times, April 17, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/17/world/middleeast/celebrating-easter-in-an-iraqi-town-that-has-lost-its-christians.html; "Iraqi Christians return to Qaraqosh amid fears for their safety," Reuters, April 16, 2017, https://wideimage.reuters.com/story/iraqi-christians-return-to-qaraqosh-with-fear-and-hope.

[22] Middle East Online, "Qatar embraces Wahhabism to Strengthen Regional Influence," Middle East Online, Dec 18, 2011, http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=49555.

difficult to accurately assess the specific influence of Islam, because it has been internalized to various changes in region's democracy, feminism, economic capital and so on. Differentiated Islam in the Middle East only has the possibility of high-level cooperation on anti-communist threats to terrorism and extremism.

After election, one of the purposes of Trump's first trip to the Middle East was to promote the adoption of a huge arms sales agreement to encourage Saudi Arabia to form a military alliance in the military sense with the GCC Israel to build the Middle East version of NATO. The Middle East policy of the United States shifted from focusing on value output in Obama presidency to pragmatism diplomacy in the name of concentrated anti-terrorism. The "Islamic anti-terrorism military alliance", established in 2015 by the lead of Saudi Arabia, is quite similar to NATO and with more religious unicity. This anti-terrorism military alliance, regarded as "Muslim NATO", is aware of the unavoidable role of religion in anti-terrorism and thus invites religious scholars to participate in the elimination of extremist influence beyond military cooperation. But the Islamic world's cross-border anti-terrorism efforts are considered only as the action of Sunni suppressed Shiite Iran, and will finally be criticized for becoming a sectarian conflict. The "Islamic Anti-Terrorist Military Alliance", which ruled out the strong Shi'ite of Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, had to face the criticism that the alliance only has the counter-terrorism shell, and its core is to go against the Shiite. The "United Nations Counterterrorism Center", which hosts greater ambitions of Saudi Arabia, was established and maintained with the support of Saudi Arabia. But the outside world has whined about its counter-terrorism effect, accusing the anti-terrorism alliance presided by the regional powers has shifted into sectarian alliance. This concern has been intensified since from 2015 Saudi Arabia organized a special GCC coalition force to combat the Hussein armed rebels supported by Iran in Yemen. The Muslim community can only be castles in the air since the political and military alliance did not abandon sectarian differences.

The Defensive Religious Conflict and Chinese Surrounding Religious Security

According to Ginsberg, the world model concept of Chinese is four concentric circles (Ginsburg 1968).[23] China's strategic geography has always been centered around the neighboring countries. In the view of historical geography researchers, China enjoys the gift from the land; so its dependence on the ocean is far less than coastal and island countries. For decades, China's land border is basically stable, so that China can devote more energy and resources into the construction of the Navy, which also brought the contention in the maritime land between China and Pacific countries.[24] At present, China's peripheral diplomacy focuses on the East China Sea, the South China Sea, the Taiwan Strait and the DPRK. The Middle East is an important source of energy for China, but in order to avoid being affected by the conflict in the Middle East, China is seeking to diversify the source of imports to break down the pressure of turbulence. Moreover, the surroundings of China are not very peaceful. There are religious conflicts in Southeast, West and Northeast Asia. Any surrounding religious conflict may spill over to affect or even undermine China's security situation. Compared with the offensive religious conflict in the Middle East, China's religious conflicts are mostly defensive.

At present, China's approach to international affairs is very different from that of the United States. There is no "armed missionary" mode of communication in China. China's external image is non-religious. Although it is generally believed that the Chinese social atmosphere is tolerant and friendly to religion, the general public does not attach importance to the status and role of religion in public life. China is not keen to spread the ideology, nor is it committed to the promotion of its political system to other places. China's focus on development issues makes China more inclined to deal with resource-rich countries (such as Sudan, Zimbabwe) to meet the huge domestic demand, thus promoting domestic stability. This is quite different from the United States that uses the settled west values to do a prior judgment of national communication. It is difficult to provoke a direct religious conflict with China by surrounding or far away religious forces. Only Chinese citizens may be victims of religious conflict in other countries because of other factors, for example, in 2018, the Chinese followers of Korean missionary team was kidnapped killed in Pakistan.

In the colonial era, it was the inherent concept of China's neighboring national culture that led to the phenomime that the Protestant European countries guided the colonial culture and territorial concepts

[23] Norton Ginsburg, "On the Chinese Perception of World Order," in Tang Tsou ed., China's Policies in Asia and America's Alternatives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 73-96.

[24] Robert D. Kaplan, The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate (New York: Random House Trade Paperback, 2013), p. 216.

through the Protestant perspective when they were facing unfamiliar Buddhism and Hindu groups. This phenomime promotes the colonial political elite to accept the political modernization of the nation states, but it has also laid the source of the trouble of heterogeneous cultural confrontation from the perspective of religion. It is difficult for oriental culture to as open and tolerant as American Christians on issues involving family ethics, such as same-sex marriage and abortion. On the issue of people's livelihood, ordinary people in the developing countries of the South are more concerned about economic justice. If there is no direct economic interest, they are more willing to accept more familiar and internationally recognized international organizations than foreign churches, even if they are with religion Friends.

There is a close relationship between defensive and religious conflicts in China's neighboring countries. Globalization gives religious groups opportunity to link local conflicts with global narratives. After large-scale interconnection, those postcolonial countries have become more conservative, rather than more open and secular. The development of Christianity in non-Western countries does not mean that Christians on those territories will embrace the United States without reservation. And some will go to more fundamentalism theological beliefs than the United States Pentecostal and Evangelical. And some will be compromised with local culture and form a faith with nationalist color. Power-centralism, state-centralism and extreme populism have risen to these nations. So it is defensive for those belief groups choose to use violence to prevent those conflicts that continue to be connected.

The defense of religious conflict reflects the anxiety of the demographic redistribution of the national structure caused by the growth of the religious population, which reflects the anxiety of the civil strife brought about by urbanization and the anxiety of the transformation of the global structure of religious authority. All of these ultimately have been internalized into social changes.

The Theory of both Offensive and Defensive Religious Conflicts

The Act of Destroying the Rational Actor

Religious clashes in the geopolitical sense are the violent confrontations that changing religious forces who undermine existing religious patterns and compete for both the territorial and the religious development opportunities. The offensive realist representative scholar John Mearsheimer pessimistically believes that the security dilemma

of safe competition between countries will inevitably move towards inter-State conflicts or even wars. The critique of the theoretical circle of offensive realism is too much emphasis on achieving national interests by the expansion of the conflict, while ignoring the high cost of conflict and war estimates within a country (Lake 2010, 15).[25] As criticism of offensive realism ignores domestic factors, it is indeed necessary to take into account the division within the religious community (Tang 2016, 164-165).[26] The important logic of constructivist interpretation of collective behavior is that the individual's behavior in the community is determined by the social environment in which the individual lives and the surrounding's perceptions of the individual. The means of education, management and religious dialogue within religious mechanisms can be linked to government related policies and have its impact.

The prerequisite for the interaction of state actors in international exchanges is that the state is a rational actor. In the realists' view, whether to choose the conflict, is based on the judge of interests and the national strategic choices of state of interactions between countries. Although there is a question of whether religious groups can be regarded as rational actors, the existing studies suggest that religious groups, splinter groups with religious backgrounds, religious extremist groups, and religious terrorist groups are rational actors when they are involving in international political realities, for they are making judgement based on current survival security and religious interests.

Even the rebel and suicidal behaviors of extreme and terroristic groups are the result of rational choices under specific logic. Discrimination against minorities is a reliable predictor of domestic terrorism. However, economic and political liberalization may further contribute to the mobilization of more of the population to be these injured parts. In interpreting the vulnerability of domestic terrorism, once economic and political liberalization is linked to discrimination against minorities, it shows that terrorism is a rational choice when ethnic minorities deprived public property, and that global economic integration and limited political openness promote

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[25] David A. Lake, "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War," International Security, 35:3 (2010/2011), P. 15.

[26] Tang Shiping, A Theory of Security Strategy for Our Time: Defensive Realism (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), pp. 164-165.

rebellion (Ghatak 2015).[27] Policymakers are also aware that the key to overcoming social tensions and reducing religious persecution and discrimination is to promote interreligious dialogue among religions (Hurd 2015, 85-89).[28] And the repeatedly suicide attacks of those armed groups can be explained as martyrdom, for martyrdom actions often meet the expectations of ideology or cultural expectations of the identity of certain groups. These groups may take suicide attacks to expand support or to strengthen position in a particular political environment. In addition, it indicates the unity of ideology with the associates of fighting groups when suicide attacks can be carried out (Acosta 2016).[29]

In the Name of Good with the Fruit of Evil

Faith enriches the political conflict for the sake of democracy, human rights and economic development. Provoking conflict requires certain reasons and publicly claimed reasons of conflict are often decorated to conform to the principles of goodness and justice. But any conflict must be resulted as evil at the expense of life, economy, security and environmental damage. In order to accurately describe the conflict in the world, international political realism has divided into two schools of the offensive realism and defensive realism. Both offensive realism and defensive realism recognize the lack of absolute authority in the international order. There is no absolute authority among religions, even within the same system of God, there are only agents and believers under the highest worship and the interpretation of the sacred text is not really unique. The revival and development of religion provided both the perfect welfare for the southern world and the breeding ground for terrorism and group conflict.

The offensive realism is more pessimistic about the behavior of the actors in the real world, and there is always the worst assumption for the other's intention. While defensive realism does not endorse a prior malicious speculation towards other countries. When facing a clear threat, both offensive and defensive realism support to maintain and secure national security through military balance from within and outside the country. In contrast, offensive religious conflict is more tolerant to strategies of external expansion and cultural conquest. Defensive religious conflicts reduce the willingness to attack and protect their independence and uniqueness by focusing on self-restraint.

Power Maximization and Relative Security

Different from the realism conflicts between countries, there is no country dare to admit directly that they are offensive countries after World War II. Nor did any territorial expansion at national level could be seen openly (Waltz 2010, 100).[30] The Bush administration's actively promoting the war in the name of anti-terrorism to different cultural countries makes scholars worry that the United States could become the world's rare potential offensive realistic countries. Obama's election was considered a sign of the return of the United States to a defensive realistic country, thus dispelling the concerns above. But religious conflict intervened the direct declaration of territorial attempts in the fight of critical religious space: the disputes of the land of God and the fights of religious holy land are always the case.

The goal of an offensive religious conflict is to expand, squeeze, and rob the other's space to maximize its right. Offensive religious conflicts are often provoked by the dominant side, and tend to maximize the power of survival by expanding their sphere of influence. But in fact, the religious forces with a simple exclusive military occupation cannot solve the current disputes of different separatists. Iraqi Shiite, Sunni, Kurds have a high degree of autonomy in the federal system which seems to be better than the Shiite dominance. Similarly, the loose federation separately ruled by Pashtun, Tajiks, Uzbek is also expected as one of the options for resolving the Afghan tribal dispute (Cohen 2015, 56).[31]

A pre-emptive conflict for defensive purposes is a precautionary use conflict. The non-advantageous side of religious power more actively promotes the defensive religious conflict and tend to get a rela-

[27] Sambuddha Ghatak, "Challenging the State: Effect of Minority Discrimination, Economic Globalization, and Political Openness on Domestic Terrorism," International Interactions, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2015, pp. 56-80.

[28] Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 85-89.

[29] Benjamin Acosta, "Dying for Survival: Why Militant Organizations Continue to Conduct Suicide Attacks," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 53(2), 2016, pp. 180-196.

[30] Kenneth N. Waltz, Theory of International Politics (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2010), p. 100.

[31] Saul Bernard Cohen, Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), p. 56.

tively safe living space for strategic objectives. The balance between the dominant and the non-dominant parties depends on the extent to which the living space is threatened and the degree of threat perception. In the choice of offensive and defensive strategies against sovereign states, the outside world generally appreciates the choice of using defense to support independence and peace; because the emphasis on the attack will only lead to the emergence of mass killings of wars and the arrival of empires (Quester 2002, 93).[32] But the ideal state is still cooperative, not any form of conflict.

The possibility of cooperation depends on the possibility of mediation between the interests of the parties to the conflict. Conflict parties always update the interpretation of the use of violent intentions for others; accepting reconciliation means the increase of each other's confidence of not using violence. Stability requires a modest peace in both the strong side and the weak. However, regional religious anarchy, fear between groups, insecurity, frustration will still lead to religious conflict if there are no external systematic norms.

Conclusion

The world's religious beliefs, values, and collective actions simultaneously carry out political motives. Faith enriches the connotation of political conflict, and the conflict of belief groups conforms to the realistic political interpretative framework. The secure living space of religious groups from the perspective of geopolitics is the confusion between myth and reality. Religious demographic changes, urbanization and global structural transformation have made the geopolitical "conquest" and "expansion" in today's religious sense still difficult to avoid, but it is not inaction.

According to the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies, there are often more children in the religious family than the secular families, and religious factors are more convincing as indicators of fertility than other cultural identities. Religion has become a driving force for population redistribution.

Urbanization provides a hotbed of urban riots for crime and terroristic networks, but urbanization also provides developmental opportunities for religions with good faiths. A gentle and friendly religion is an early warning and defense mechanism to deal with the threat of extreme terrorism.

After the independence of the former colonial states, immigrants can choose their old sovereign states. But except for economic immigrants, other forms of immigration would inevitably have the direct collision with local social structure. The external symbols such as costumes and behaviors are only a small part of the religious differences. Europeans believe that there are two reasons that heterogeneous immigrants are reluctant to integrate into society. First, the current political system in Europe does not guarantee that the influxes of immigrants obtain the right to vote, or they are difficult to obtain the right to vote, they will eventually be marginalized by the system. Second, those immigrants are not willing to integrate into the surrounding society, they prefer to isolate the surrounding community by maintaining the cultural characteristics of their group (Kaplan 2013; 239)[33]. They came to Europe for work opportunities, not holding the purpose of making contribution to European society. Traditionally, the West is closely linked to Christianity. However, the West is also losing its dominance in the Christian field. Christianity was born in Palestine and conquered the Western world. Nowadays, it is gradually becoming a "southern country" representative of religion. In the face of the «post-Western religion» phenomenon, Christian optimists argue that if the American policymakers see the Islamic world as the most urgent opponents; they from the perspective of politics, the global development and transformation of Christian can have the key influence on the United States.

The reason for the relief of religious conflict in geographical sense lies on deterrence and repression, effective communication and safe religious living space. The key to dealing with religious conflicts is to promote and stimulate the positive role of religion in increasing social cohesion. The outside world needs to be rational toward political participation of religion and understand the religious beliefs, values, how the beliefs of the group behavior patterns affect political goals, and motives and concrete actions. And it is also necessary to use external forces to ensure that religious forces and military forces are separated. But when the separation of autonomy in unordered areas is inevitable, it is necessary to distinguish whether religion is the only reason for incitement to conflict or independence; for political failure and economic policy misalignment are more closer to the fundamental summary of political research on conflict.

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[32] George H. Quester, Offense and Defense in the International System (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 93.

[33] Robert D. Kaplan, The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate (New York: Random House Trade Paperback, 2013), p. 239.

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