

On The Nympholept Mahdy and His Blocked Victory “An Inquiry on the Politic-Theology of a Conversion”

Mehmet Evkuran*

Abstract

What occurred in almost all Turkish cities during the coup attempt on 15th July 2016, entails to rethink on changes radically. Plan named as coup attempt but would go beyond invasion of country has been driven back with Turkish people's rapid, dense and determined reaction. We should get the message of this time course through studies run under religion-politics, military forces-state, NGOs-society-state relations, religious education, political culture, social theory and values headlines.

Gulen movement has a history of 50 years and has spread among religionist people due to religious purposes apparently. Through its policies the movement reached a wider impact different areas and it has become a global actor. They have worked with AK Party governments in harmony and gained significant acquisitions. Conflicts in assignments to critical positions, state management and institutionalization have turned into frustration in a short time.

In this article the process of conversion of community to a terrorist organisation and religious-theological concepts and arguments used in this period will be examined, and some suggestions will be presented on religious education, religion-politics relations, religious organisations and their activities for building a healthy and sustainable social order.

Keywords

Religion-politics relations, FETÖ/PDY, religious education, democracy, sects and communities

* Prof. Dr., Hitit University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Basic Islamic Studies - Corum/ Turkey
mehmetevkuran@hotmail.com

Introduction

The Islamic world is witnessing a return of Islam following a relatively short historical period of secular Western hegemony. Indeed, Islam was always "here," and it did not go anywhere during the period of attempted suppression; it only moved from opposition to rulership. Islam is a religion that has endogenized social and political matters since its foundation. The Prophet Muhammad, after 13 years of oppression and civil resistance in Makkah, moved to and settled in Medina. An Islamic community and society was established there immediately. Social and political management, as well as religious management, were based on Muhammad's authority. However, management was based on the active participation and support of the people as well as the ethical use of power. Clues about the perception of authority in the first period can be found in religious texts (*nass*) and applications. When relations between Muhammed and his companions entailed criticizing and even correcting Muhammed (Abasa Surah, Verses 1-3), it was understood that authority was not a blessed and unquestionable condition but one that was open to criticism and sharing (in Quran Abasa/1-3; Al-i Īmran/144; A'raf/188; Yunus/Jones/49; An'am/150; Kahf/110; Anbeya/34).

After the Prophet Muhammad, the most serious problem in Islamic society was director selection (Akbulut 2015: 49). Based on their old habits, Muslims tried to solve this problem using the methods of open consultation and discussion. The process concluded with Ebu Bakr being elected as director. It is understood that this decision was not accepted by Hashem's sons, who were close relatives of Muhammad. Though they felt resentful, they did not oppose the efforts that kept them away from management since it could have led to chaos. Their resentment was a major factor in the political sect identities that appeared in the period that followed (Fiğlalı 2011: 267, 268).

The sectarian identities that became evident during the period of building political institutions and social continuity formulated political values using theological language. While Kharijite and Shiism religionized values such as denial, opposition, and disobedience, stemming from worries over preserving the social and historical order, Sunnism attributed religiosity to values such as harmony, obedience, and permanence (Evkuran 2016: 263-274). It is obvious that the current sect identities are regarded as political

configurations rather than religious ones. Therefore, the strengthening of sect identities brings about political tension.

In studies related to Islamic sects, the great differentiations in Islam are addressed based on the concepts of sect and faction. In our country, the term sect is used both in scientific and popular discourse. However, when dealing with the subject of differentiation in the world of Islam, the term sectarianism is not descriptive enough on its own. The term sect expresses differentiation in terms of fiqh and theology, and it explains inter-Islamic polarizations. However, it does not explain sublevels of differentiation. For example, it is both a semantic and scientific mistake to debate the different tendencies that arise within a sect using the term sect. The terms religious order and sect are being used to explain these subdivisions.

The Shia sect has used the "imamah" concept in a special theological sense. According to Shias, imamah is a continuation or even a finisher of prophecy. Containing religious and secular authority, the imamate lent charismatic authority to Shia leaders. Sunni khilafat theory, on the other hand, is more secular, practical, and pragmatic. The secular and practical image of power has incited power struggles in the Sunni world.

The initial Sufistic agencies, as models of organization, were civil voluntary movements concerned with Islamization rather than power. It is said that the Islamization of Anatolia and the Balkans took place through Sufistic movements. However, regarding the later stages of Islamization, especially the stage of becoming a state, we need to talk about abstract religious orders rather than Sufism. Emerging as a social power, religious orders reached such a level that they could negotiate with the state and raise their voices to let their demands be known—so much so that the religious order-based riots were very severe, shaking the foundations of society and the state. The Seljuk and Ottoman rules illustrate the history of chequered relations with religious sects (Işık 2015: 100-113).

The new Republic of Turkey has prioritized solving religion-related problems and forming modern governance. The declaration of secularism, the abolishment of royalty and the caliphate, and the decisions related to monasteries and zawiyahs have been explained as based on a desire to build a society based on modern organizations. However, the power of the

religious orders never disappeared. With the transition to democracy, new "communities" started to have an effect on social and political life alongside the old religious orders. To form a complete picture, we need to consider Islamic groups that are discontent with both traditional Islam and secular Western values. Suleiman Helmah Tonahan (Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan in Turkish) and Saeed Noursy (Said Nursî in Turkish) are two important movements in terms of massification. Both left- and right-wing parties developed relations and solidarities with these structures. As in the case of February 28, government pressure was applied to all Islam-based movements to break their increasing social efficacy. Nevertheless, the efficacy of such structures further increased over a short period of time through "powerful comebacks."

Attempts to build a healthy and sustainable social order in the Islamic world face difficulties due to internal and external problems. The West's colonial practices in relation to the Islamic world, which adversely affect thought, culture, and society, cannot be ignored. However, past structural problems in the Islamic world, and their effects on the present, should be studied as a primary concern.

Religious groupings in the Islamic world pertain to not only political and social problems but also theological matters since the justifications for forming such groups involve religious and theological matters.

1. July 15 and Religious–Political Relations

The perception of authority and the relationship between religion and diplomacy are among the main problems in Islam. The way a Muslim community gains and uses power is not an intrinsically political problem but a religious one. Defining religion as involving political authority and emphasizing political power has resulted in identifying empowered Muslim structures with political authority. The use of religious/spiritual discourse by civil religious organizations at the beginning of the institutionalization of the Islamic world eroded the boundaries between religion and diplomacy/policy. The "make God dominant over the world" idea keeps the desire for power present, implicitly or explicitly, in each Muslim society's agenda.

Fethullah Gulen was initially a preacher working at the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Over time, he started to build a community around him

with the help of his oratory powers. Early on, he established his legitimacy as a student of Saeed Noursy, but he later created an "idiocratic" religious structure based on his own works and speeches. In fact, he became significantly dissociated from other "followers of Saeed Noursy" ("Nurcular" in Turkish) who defined themselves as pupils of Noursy. He has continued to develop a kind of social–theological autonomy.

The most significant characteristic of the act is the efficient use of the principle of "dissimulation" (a very important term in Shiism). Dissimulation developed as a principle of self-protection and "survival" in the face of danger in Shiite society, which remained oppositional throughout its history. As a religionized political principle, dissimulation was used as a tool to hide real identities and manufacture false ones (Fiğlalı 2011: 90, 275, 340, 588). It would be incorrect to use the term dissimulation to refer to the same act in Sunni and anti-Shiite contexts; the term "precaution" was used instead. Doing everything to hide identities and infiltrate institutions was legitimized by the concept of "tadbeer" (precaution; "tedbir" in Turkish), which became a masterful strategy that was used for many years.

In Shia belief, "taqiyya" (hypocrisy/dissimulation; "takiyye" in Turkish) appeared as a political measure. Over time, however, it became part of the actual belief. Expressed in a theological formulation, hypocrisy/dissimulation became a tactic implemented by the Shia against the "other." There remains a debate in the Shia tradition regarding the borders, quality, time, and place of hypocrisy.

In the history of Islamic sects, the concept of hypocrisy has been associated with the Shia (Atum 1987: 88), just as the Khawarij (Outsiders) were associated with being nonbelievers, the Murjiah with sending back, and the Mu'tazila with rationalism. However, this association became a problem for Shias as they were viewed as unreliable double-dealers by their opponents.

Sunnah-following scholars, on the other hand, are abstainers when it comes to hypocrisy. For them, hypocrisy can only be used under the threat of intimidation and when there is a fear for one's life. Thus, hypocrisy is used in exceptional situations. There are two reasons for this approach by Sunni thinkers. The first is that the term hypocrisy was embraced by the Shia and defined as a distinguishing characteristic of that sect. The second reason

has to do with the dominance of Sunni ideology as the majority sect. Since the Sunni approach does not like the idea of opposition, it has no need for hypocrisy theory.

In the history of Islamic sects, the term "Assassins" ("Hashashin" in Turkish) has been used to define the Shia Ismaili movement and, in particular, the Hassan Sabbah movement. Exhibiting ideological and military opposition to Sunni Seljuk dominance, Assassins killed many Sunni directors and scholars. The famous Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk died following an attack by an Assassin. As they terrorized the society, the members of this movement are believed to have hampered their free will by smoking poppy, turning them into killing machines. Assassins never questioned their leader's orders and were completely disciplined and obedient in their behavior. Sunni governments fought the Assassins both militarily and ideologically/theologically. Al-Ghazali's *Fedâihu'l-Bâtiniyye (The Infamy of Esoterism)* was written to decode and reject their true selves, thoughts, and methods.

The Gulen community tends to be associated with the Assassins because there is perfect discipline in the organization, the leader is believed to possess supernatural powers, and his orders are followed to the letter. The main reason, however, is that they formed parallel structures within the state and the society, and became involved in low-profile political struggles. This is why these two movements have been associated. Society has embraced this association in defining the damage the group has caused.

It is noteworthy that a Sunni religious group has transformed a main Shia principle, putting it to efficient and horrible use. This could be explained as a factor of political struggle and not an attempt to live by the religion. By such means, attempts have been made to capture public establishments and civil institutions. Other factors include the opportunities presented by democratization, periods of crisis, and sensitivities among religious and secular groups.

In truth, other Muslim groups were well aware of what the Gulen group wanted to do. Though it stretched the boundaries of fatwa a bit, the situation was viewed as a way for religious groups to infiltrate institutions controlled by Western secular groups. The act that has been tolerated and supported because of this perspective partly succeeded through the policy it followed.

However, in taking action against a government based on Islamic roots as well as democracy, the boundaries of caution started to erode. Unable to gain the positive support it had expected, the group attempted to use its power to overthrow the legitimate government. The leader asserted a policy regarding ' sleeper factors ' defined as structures that blossom over time, one by one, in a controlled manner without allowing any chance of being discovered. He was damaged as much as he caused damaged, but this struggle proceeded at the cost of dissolution and continued through violence; perhaps it should be regarded as pure violence postponed by unnecessary kindness, which was not recorded in the act's inventory, tricks, and plot tactics. Tensions increased day by day. The government described this structure as acting outside of legitimate authority and working only for the community's benefit without regard for public institutions; in the community hierarchy, it functioned as a "parallel state organization" and was declared illegal.

A prominent term in this framework is "Assassin." The Gulen community was associated with the armed structure of the "Shiite-İsmaili" community led by Hassan Sabbah. The act, which was defined in relation to the Assassins because of similarities in terms of religious understanding, gnostic relations, and organizational style, substantially lost social legitimacy.

2. Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, Precaution, Gloss (Takiyye, Tedbir, Tevil)

Using the methods of dissimulation and precaution as a survival style in the Muslim community can hardly be legitimized. In the case of Turkey, however, the community's obligation to use methods to save itself might be considered understandable in an atmosphere where secular and laicist policies are being enforced (there is a basic difference between "laiklik" and "laikçilik"; the second refers to extremism and repression in the name of secularism). Surely, there have been Islamic and traditionalist groups that chose resistance and defiance over dissimulation and precaution. This discrepancy has been tolerated by regarding it as a "community's or group's own action."

Yet, when the pressures on religion and its adherents are removed as a result of democratic developments, a community's persistence in using dissimulation and precaution raises serious doubts. Following religious logic, it is quite difficult to explain a Muslim group's use of precaution against other Muslim groups, outside of secular, antireligious contexts. It is pathological that

"periodic application," which was applied to resolve difficulties and put him on the safe side, became the community's main attitude and lifestyle over time. Furthermore, applying such methods against a society that shares the same belief system as the community cannot be seen as legitimate, understandable, or reasonable.

When dissimulation is the course of action, "ta'wel" (gloss; "tevil" in Turkish) mainly refers to statements or explanations. The gloss arose in the framework of text-comment relations in the Islamic tradition. Some intellectuals discussed gloss separately to avoid exorbitance in sects' comments on texts (nass). For example, Gazzali wrote a separate work on the rules of gloss. The philosopher, distinguishing the seriousness of the problem during his intellectual and theological struggle with the esoterics, discussed the ideological purposes and extreme interpretations of the verses (Gazzali 1998: 38).

Since religious language is full of emulations and abstractions in its talk of metaphysical subjects, gloss is an invaluable method for understanding religious texts. Such abstractions are not used exclusively for revelations; rather, they are preexisting features of language arts. Evaluating the emulations in verses literally without gloss or commentary creates a bigger problem: similitude and embodiment (anthropomorphism/tajsem, tashbeh). Aside from inhibiting the intelligibility of verses, this literal approach creates serious metaphysical problems, such as anthropomorphism (Maturidi 2012: 38, 108; Shahrastani 1996: 17, 21, 27, 107, 118, 121).

For these reasons, arguments about gloss have two dimensions. First, there is the Salafi approach, which focuses on concreteness in language and thought. This approach aims to reject esoteric theology, which separates words from their meanings and evaporates meaning using gnostic methods (Gazzali 1998: 5).

Rukhsah is a concept that evokes takiyya in Sunnite thought. Azimah and rukhsah are two concepts in Islamic jurisprudence that express religious provisions; they have opposite meanings. Principal and general orders mandated by Allah are called "azimah." Azimah covers all provisions, such as fard, wajib, sunnah, and mostehab. Azimah is valid in circumstances where the obligation is no excuse. Rukhsah is a freedom within the azimah expressing a general condition.

Rukhsah is permitted when there are obstacles to implementing general and substantive provisions (azimah) or excuses. It is a legitimate right granted to obligors when there are obstacles to implementing the provision. For example, fasting is a general and fundamental provision. However, people are patient during the fasting and later recover. If a person holds the fundamental fast and then leaves azimah, the God-given rukhsah would have been preferable. Rukhsah occurs in cases of necessity, hardship, and ikrah, and is regarded as Allah's bounty. Rukhsah falls under the generally permissible (mobah), and the obligor can do what he or she wants.

As stated in the Quran, "*He has chosen you and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship*" (Al-Hajj, 22/78), and, "*God desires for you, ease; He desires not hardship for you*" (Al-Baqara, 2/185). In these and similar verses, rukhsah (license) and permissiveness are highlighted, and ease is described as a feature of Islam (Abu Sahl Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad, *al-Mabsout* 24: 190-200).

This method, which was first evidenced in studies of the Quran from the modern period, manifested itself in "hermeneutics." A statement of apology, which states almost all scientific and technological inventions informed by the Quran, was popularized. This interpretative method has been evaluated in theology circles, and there is general consensus that it is invalid. As the West and the Islamic world continued to develop in different ways, it could be expected that such comments would be seen occasionally. Conversely, the esoteric gloss style is the traditional method of mysticism. This method is used for both understanding religious terms and commenting on current situations among the dervish orders. It was always criticized by kalam scholars (motakallemoun), Islamic law, and hadith for being extremely flexible and ecclesiastically unreliable.

It is clearly expressed in the Kalam (Islamic theology) tradition that methods such as "dreams, inspiration, [and] clairvoyance" used by mystics/Sufis cannot be considered ways of acquiring information (Maturidi 2012: 9-17, 45; Nesefti 2004: 34-37). Religious knowledge and life cannot be grounded in sources so mysterious, subjective, and uncontrolled; this approach could give rise to serious theological and social problems.

It is clear that the community operates in a gnostic–esoteric vein. The community leader’s sayings about having weekly meetings with the Prophet Muhammad and learning from him created a discipline and charisma similar to Shiism. All romanticism, irrationalism, and density in the relationship between leaders and crowds are rooted in this charisma. It should be noted that such relations are not intrinsic to the community and can be seen in dervish structures in a larger context. The difference lies in the use of the gnostic method against the values of Muslim society and geography. This situation is ‘unexplainable’ for a structure that has always had nationalist emphasis in its statements. However, a structure that masterfully uses gnostic methods would not slog on to find a gloss for this visible desultoriness. In fact, using tactics such as “adultery,” “fabricated evidence,” “threatening,” etc., was considered acceptable to rectify people viewed as obstacles to the act.

3. “Incontestable Community” or “Everywhere and Nowhere!”

Religion is substantially based on metaphysics. It is nourished by a belief in a world that is beyond perception and sense. Therefore, religious terms contain some mystery. Faith cannot be seen as a concept that could be discussed in a world where everything is explicit. However, the fact that faith contains mystery does not mean that Islamic society must live in mystery. A person who has faith maintains his or her spiritual and mental development individually through worship and science. Individual religious experience has subjective and objective factors. Though religious life enables individual experience, this cannot be considered a reason for degrading religious life to a subjective area.

As a religion, Islam is grounded in obvious and decisive texts and verses. The first Islamic society was established on the principles of openness, controllability, and accountability. Institutional rationalization efforts continued under the pressure of irritability policies after Muhammad. Principles that underline Islamic moral doctrine started to erode, such as the accountability of leaders, their openness to criticism, and making decisions based on consultation. Management perception transformed in a short period of time and started to be seen as God-given supremacy. Leaders started to see themselves as exclusives accountable only to God, not society. Reconstructing the word “destiny” to mean coercion, and transforming it into a faith principle, resulted in passivity among the people.

The idea that the leader was chosen by God became central to Shiism, which is an oppositional act (Fiğlalı 2011: 342-345). In fact, a belief principle was built in the name of imamah (in Turkish imâmet). The effect of Shiism on the Sunni people is an area for future research. However, it should be noted that the deviation in the relation between ruler and ruled is a common problem for both Shiism and Sunnite culture. The leader/ruler receives legitimacy from the people's approval and continues to manage with their consent. However, the sense of charismatic leadership, which is apparent in Shiism and culturally popular in Sunnism, is the theological root of raising leaders with "chosenness syndrome."

When the ruler-ruled paradigm is configured as the relationship between holy and unholy, governing becomes a holy right, and complying with that right becomes a holy assignment. In this political theology, where the ruler receives governing rights directly or indirectly from God, opposition is evaluated as not only riotous but profane (Evkuran 2016: 8-10). Since religion is intensely used as a tool of justification, democratic culture has trouble finding space to develop in the Islamic world. This is why social theory studies are tightly coupled with critical evaluations of theological accumulation.

Hence, the idea that the leader is a chosen person is prominent in the core of the FETÖ ("Fethullahist Terrorist Organization") or PDY ("Parallel State Structure"), which is the more reasonable description tendered to crowds. Many senior congregants believe their leader is a "mahdy." With such a position, anyone who tries to interfere with the mahdy and his movement can be regarded as soldiers of the devil/dajjal. All groups that adopt the notion of "chosenness" view their opponents in the context of a battle of good versus bad. Though this fight occurs at the level of thought as much as possible, the transformation into physical conflict is inevitable. In fact, the congregants in public institutions who tried to overthrow the government on July 15 adopted military tactics and did not hesitate to use weapons against civilians and public officials (Fiğlalı 2011: 219-244).

Such violence cannot be explained as simply releasing anger accumulated over time. Moreover, it involved suppressing democratic powers to preserve their theological fiction. Thus, we face a sacralized desire that is stronger and bigger than secular hatred or conflict.

Such gnostic and theological skidding underscores the fact that democratic culture is becoming stronger and more prevalent. These problems cannot be resolved through political and criminal measures alone. There is need for a strong citizenship education that contains a fine religious education as well. In fact, Ivan Illich's "society without school" project has been applied in our country for a long time (Illich 1971). Closing traditional educational institutions and establishing modern ones has created a need for new avenues among highly religious people. Secret educational methods were developed to teach the Quran and Islamic belief. The public supported these structures during the period when religious education was constrained. Institutionalization was perpetually developed by the religious groups whose roots were in the first years of the republic. Parallel to the strengthening of democracy, they increased their political and economic power. However, there have always been risks for open society's targets because of their introverted functioning and their use of the dissimulation method at one level or another.

Theology faculties situated under the umbrella of Turkey's university system have produced valuable accumulations in the theology field. Their contributions are not limited to scientific/academic studies. They have significant effects on the development of civil Islamic thought in Turkey (Evkuran 2012: 51-54). It has been observed that language discrediting theology education is popularized and even supported by the media as well as public and civil environments. However, the solutions provided by theology should be regarded as new paths opening up for the country. Approaches that deal intrepidly with theological problems and try to solve them in principled ways can only be developed in these institutions. Discrediting them, limiting their effectiveness, or converting them would, in the long run, cause the cultural ground on which democracy depends to disappear.

Individual-centered approaches should be a priority in state-society relations rather than identity-centered ones. Organizational freedom of religious community is a democratic right. However, there must be restraints on carrying such organizations into public institutions or imposing on individual rights and freedoms. Values-based education should certainly be emphasized, but the terms must be settled on common values regarding the difference between religious education and values education so it can be adopted by everyone.

Values-based education should internalize the idea of social responsibility and social belonging, without denying faithfulness to the group, as well as loyalty to society rather than the community. On the other hand, Islamic groups and communities need to emphasize the Islamic comment style, which considers open-society conditions and contains patriotism. We need to correctly understand the message delivered on July 15, 2016. Surely, there are groups excited for the road being opened for their own mahdy, while others that are closed exist as well. A free, modern society is not a weak one unable to defend itself against the theological manoeuvres of these classes.

The attacks of July 15, which made use of religionists' frailties as well as the opportunities presented by democracy, produced indignities, hatred, and social reactions. Indecisive constituents see the act as representing moderate and rational Islam in opposition to radical religious movements. This period will hasten the reconstruction of ignored government security policies and efforts to reorganize public policies. Hence, speedy and radical steps will be taken. It is obvious that a structure that is more resistant to closed socialization styles is becoming stronger. Revising the educational paradigm also emerges as a necessity. Specifically, there is a need for a paradigm that emphasizes open-society principles, especially in religious education.

4. Exhaustion of "Muslim Optimism"

It is nearly impossible to compete with a structure in which all members have experience hiding themselves, and every kind of dissimulation and permission is allowed for the sake of the group under "open-society" circumstances. Yet, democracy asks that all types of societal and ideological circles fairly express their ideas, wills, and demands. Democratic negotiation is based on transparent group behavior. Without such transparency, it is impossible to determine needs and demands. It should be noted that the nation-state's laicist policies have forced religious groups in particular to defend themselves. Therefore, when talking about the harm and damage dissimulation users have caused, the oppressive political system that forced them to behave that way should also be discussed.

Listing the bad actions of a structure that adopts secrecy and dissimulation as its principles produces a narrow-minded perspective. Besides, the sociocultural structure that is unable to defend itself against those bad actions and religious-theological traditions should be concerned as well.

Political power struggles occurring during the first era of Islam caused the emergence of sects and the political–theological values and concepts they produced. In particular, the Sunnite theological system developed some conformism to protect society and history. Over time, this conformist attitude became a basic mass-behavior model. With the help of powerful governments, Sunni constituents have been held together and purified of order-threatening attitudes. An understanding has developed that the people who created a Muslim identity cannot be declared nonbelievers.

In modern times, religious groups that have engaged in civil resistance against Western laicist governments have been tolerant of each other. In fact, each was well aware of what the others did. They used democratic methods and educational opportunities to uplift their own fellows and gain power. The Fethullah Gulen community used the respectability of the Nurist movement, and with the permission, support, and collaboration of Islamic circles, gained power and became a global power actor in a short period of time.

The community, which developed and empowered its structure in society and the state until the AK PARTİ (Justice and Development Party) government, periodically contradicted the government. Without political responsibility, the community continued using government opportunities for its own institutionalization. Power struggles were inevitable. Trying to deploy its followers to critical state positions, the community faced government resistance. Not only did the roads diverge but a hidden fight had started as well. December 17-25 was a low-density coup attempt. The community's intentions and its potential were well understood.

This power struggle could not be built on political discourse. It also needed a theological discourse because the community had theological depth. Within this framework, the "Assassin" characterization became an argument that diminished the theological legitimacy of the community and was accepted by the society.

The motto that a "man whose forehead hits kowtow cannot cause harm" has been empirically falsified. Muslim optimism has ended. The importance of thinking realistically and rationally in politics and bureaucracy, as well as making correct decisions, is well noted. An emphasis on governing the state

based on qualifications rather than religious criteria has become prominent. The need for policy with implications for every societal category has come to the forefront. The differences among the groups/factions who resisted the July 15 coup attempt have emphasized the need for a more inclusive social theory.

References

- Akbulut, Ahmet (2015). *Sahabe Dönemi İktidar Kavgası*. Ankara: Otto Yay.
- Atum, Muhammad Abdulkerim (1987). *al-Nazariyya al-Siyasiyya al-Muasira li al-Shiia al-Imamiyya al-Isna Ashariyya*. Daru'l-Bashir.
- Dalkılıç, Mehmet (2007). “Taqıyya (Dissimulation) and its Being Fundamental Belief in Shia Sect”. *Istanbul University Journal of Divinity Faculty* 15:183-217.
- Evkuran, Mehmet (2012). “Yüksek Din Öğretimi ve Dinî Kurumsallaşmanın Yakın Tarihi-İlahiyat Fakülteleri ve DİB Tartışmalarına Bir Bakış”. *Kelam Araştırmaları Dergisi* X (2): 31-52.
- _____ (2016). *Sünnî Paradıymayı Anlamak-Bir Ekolün Politik ve Teolojik Yapılanması*. 3. Ed. Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yay.
- _____ (2016). “Thinking about God, Power and State: An Inquiry into Theological Roots of the Modern Political Paradigm”. *Hittite University Journal of Social Sciences Institute* 9: 11-19.
- _____ (2009). “Political Thought in Sunnite Theology: An Analysis of Wujub al-Imamah”. *Rewiev of the Faculty of Divinity of Dokuz Eylül University* 30: 53-67.
- Fırlalı, Ethem Ruhi (2011). *Günümüz İslam Mezhepleri*. 2. Ed. İzmir.
- Gazzali, Ebu Hamed (1998). *Fadaih al-Batiniyyah, thk. Abdurrahman Bedevi, 1964*. (In Turkish: *Batımlığın İcyüzü*. trans. Avni İlhan. Ankara).
- _____ *Faisal at-Tafrekha Baina al-Islam wa az-Zandeka* (In Turkish: *İslam'da Müsamaha* (2013). trans. Süleyman Uludağ. İstanbul).
- Illich, Ivan (1971). *Deschooling Society*. London.

- Isfahani, Ragıb (1980). *az-Zerîa ilâ Makârim al-Shairah*, Beirut (In Turkish: *Erdemli Yol* (2009). trans. Muharrem Tan. Istanbul).
- _____ (1992). *al-Mofredat fî Garib al-Qur'ân*. Beirut.
- Işık, Zekeriya (2015). *Şeybler ve Şahlar-Osmanlı Toplumunda Devlet-Tarikat İlişkilerinin Gelişim ve Değişim Süreçleri*. Konya.
- Maturidi, Ebu Mansûr (2012). *Kitab at-Tawhed*. trans. Bekir Topaloğlu. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yay.
- Nesefi, Ebu'l-Muin (2004). *Tabsırtu'l-Edille fî Usûlu'd-Dîn*, I-II. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yay.
- Shahrestani, Abu al-Fath (1996). *al-Milel wa'n-Nihal*, I-II. Beirut.
- Shams al-Aimmah Abu Sahl Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad. *al-Mabsout*. trans. A. Hamdi Yıldırım. Ed. Mustafa Cevat Akşit, İstanbul.

Çılgın Mehdi ve Engellenen Zaferi “Bir Dönüşümün Politik-Teolojisi Üzerine Bir İnceleme”

Mehmet Evkuran*

Öz

15 Temmuz 2016’da darbe teşebbüsü esnasında hemen hemen Türkiye’deki tüm şehirlerde yaşanan şey, değişim konusunu köklü biçimde yeniden düşünmeyi zorunlu kılmaktadır. Darbe teşebbüsü olarak isimlendirilen ama tüm ülkenin istilasına yol açacak plan Türk halkının hızlı, yoğun ve kararlı tepkisiyle bastırılmıştır. Bu olayın mesajını din-siyaset, ordu-devlet, sivil toplum kuruluşları-toplum-devlet ilişkileri, dini eğitim, siyasal kültür, sosyal teori ve değerler başlıkları altındaki çalışmalar aracılığıyla değerlendirmeliyiz.

Gülen hareketi 50 yıllık bir geçmişe sahiptir ve görünüşte dinî amaçlarından dolayı dindar insanlar arasında yayılmıştır. Hareket izlediği politika sayesinde geniş bir etki alanına ulaşmış ve küresel bir aktöre dönüşmüştür. Onlar AK Parti Hükümetiyle uyum içinde çalışmışlar ve oldukça önemi kazanımlar elde etmişlerdir. Kritik pozisyonlara, devlet idare ve kurumlarına yapılan atamalarla ilgili çatışmalar kısa süre içinde gerilime dönüşmüştür.

Makalede Cemaatin terörist bir örgüte dönüşüm süreci ve bu süreçte kullanılan dinî-teolojik kavram ve argümanları incelenecek, din eğitimi, din-siyaset ilişkisi, dini örgütler ve onların sağlıklı ve sürdürülebilir sosyal düzen oluşumu için faaliyetleri üzerine tavsiyeler sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Din-Siyaset İlişkileri, FETÖ/PDY, din eğitimi, demokrasi, tarikatlar ve cemaatler

* Prof. Dr., Hitit Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi, Temel İslam Bilimleri Bölümü - Çorum/Türkiye
mehmetevkuran@hotmail.com

Сумасшедший Мехди и его Блокированная Победа “Исследование над одним политико-теологическим преобразованием”

Мехмет Эвкуран*

Аннотация

События, которые происходят практически во всех городах Турции во время попытки государственного переворота 15 июля 2016 года, требуют радикального изменения в вопросе перестройки. План, так называемый переворот, который откроет путь к вторжению всей страны был остановлен народом интенсивным и быстрым образом. Мы должны оценить сообщению данного события через работы с такими заголовками как религия-политика, армия-государство, неправительственные организации, общественно-государственные отношения, религиозное образование, политическая культура, социальная теория и ценности. Движение Гюлена имеет историю 50 лет и распространилась среди Верующих людей, так как имело религиозные цели. Благодаря своей политике движение достигло к более широкому влиянию в различных областях, и стало глобальным игроком. Они работали совместно с ПСР (партия справедливости и развития) и добились очень важных успехов. Конфликты, связанная с назначениями в критических позициях в органах государственной власти и организаций, за короткое время стало напряженным событием.

В статье рассматривается процесс преобразование джамаата к террористической организации, религиозно-теологические понятия и аргументы, используемые в этом процессе. Предлагает консультации по вопросам религиозных образований, отношении между религией и политикой, религиозных организациях, деятельности и их здорового, устойчивого развития.

Ключевые слова

Религиозно-политические отношения, ФЕТО/ПГС, религиозное образование, демократия, секты и джамааты

* Проф. Др., Университет Хитит, Богословский факультет, Основные исламские науки - Чорум / Турция
mehmetevkuran@hotmail.com