

The rupture in Religion and Politics in Anatolian Islam

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Abstract: The paradigm of Anatolian Islam in Turkey is at present facing a serious rupture of “Religion & Politics“. This rupture is resulted from the failure of in the unity and also power struggle among the current tribe of politicians such as Rajab Tayeb Erdogan from one hand and proponents of the Fethullah Gulen from other hand. Today, Gulen Movement in a new Turkey is recognized as one of the main intellectual currents in the field of political science in that country and the Middle East region as a whole.

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Introduction:

The Paradigm and pattern of “Anatolian Islam “in Turkey is encountered with the state of serious rupture between “Religion” & “Politics“. This rupture is a result of failure in unity and also a fresh power struggle among politicians of ruling class in the country leading by Rajab Tayeb Erdogan in one hand and proponents of the Gulenist religious leader, Fethullah Gulen, from other hand. Occurrence of new developments inside and outside of the country, imposed new conditions and positions on this unity and the religious, political pattern in Turkey, resulted in its collapse. The Gulenist ideology and movement, arising from their relations with the Justice & Development party, left some national and regional effects and thus, it can be anticipated that just like some experiences of collapsing other political & religious movements, ideologies and alliances, the quake in Anatolian Islam will leave important repercussions inside and outside of Turkey.

In spring of the year 2013, the militant leaders of the extremist group of Al-Nosrah in Syria introduced themselves as the “Shaam Branch “ of the group and announced that the “Ottoman branch “ of the group will manage to initiate its anti-Turkey government activities. They are claimant of the restoration of Islamic lands through renaissance or regenerating of the Ottoman Empire. After proclaiming this issue by the violent group of Al-Nosrah, followed by a series of suicide actions inside Turkey, instigated the laicism critics to start castigating the policies of the ruling party of Justice & Development. The critics are of this belief that the Islamist ruling party, through its mistaken and

extremist policies has automatically activated the fissure lines of Turkey in the continuation of regional challenges such as Syria crisis.

On the other hand, some political and intellectual elite of Turkey raised the issue of deviation from teachings of the fathers and founders of the both Islamist parties of “welfare”, and “Justice & Development“. Criticizing extremist policies of the government under Erdogan, they believe that the policy of domestic suppression and also foreign interference in line with the policies of Islamic radical currents outside of the country are tantamount to a backtrack and violation of the moderate Islam. Thus, in their opinion, there is no other choice but to return again to the teachings of the Gulen Movement, and via him to embrace the intellectual and belief-oriented approaches of Sheikh Noursi. Recent fluctuations in the government relationship with the Gulenists and also formal acknowledgement of the failure of this unwritten coalition have been entangled Turkey in some crises.

The financial scandal of some cabinet members, arresting some Gulen affiliates in security establishments and also the power struggle that can influence the upcoming elections in Turkey, are surely able to strike a major blow at the ruling liberal Islamist government which has ruled over the country with no challenge, during last decade. However, any fissure and fluctuation in the heart of an Islamic ideology with the claim of “good governance” over an Islamic country will surely play an undeniable role when analyzing different developments inside and outside Turkey.

Gülenism aroused from the heart of traditional strife between the two competing political orientations in developments of new Turkey, e.g. the interminable challenge of “Kamalists” and “Islamists”, that according to Barbara White¹, is created based on attempts for political mobilization of the Turkish-speaking people of Turkey and former Ottoman territories in the line of their own political plans and programs, utilizing the goals and slogans of today world.

Kamalists or political & intellectual heirs of “Kamal Atatürk” believe in a very powerful ruling over the country while influencing from western liberalism and also laic political systems together with restricting religious behaviors even in the fields of social fields and life styles. They consider themselves “Modern”, “liberal”, “Secular” and “individualist”. They also consider the Islamists as a block, void of intellectual diversity in political and social fields and label them as “traditional”, “authoritarian”, “religious – oriented” and “collectivist”. The two rival blocks, however, have common grounds between themselves in generalities of some issues such as: enjoying a non-confrontational view on globalization indicators, democratic advancement of political and cultural goals, as well as accountability towards the objectives and ideals of society such as putting an end to domestic political and ethnic challenges, sustainable development, expanding regional influence, and finally adhesion to the European Union.

All the common grounds mentioned above, of course, are formed within the aura of a concern for restoration of the authority of “Ottoman Empire” of which the Kamalists are following with a “power – oriented” approach, while Islamists do the same with an “ideological” point of view. After the laics had failed in promotion of the said national goals, the moderate Islamists took the reins of government, presenting a pattern characterized by an integration of liberal and religious values. In fact, the realization of this integrated pattern was made possible by Gülenism.

During past two decades, the overlapping of the objectives and ideals followed by the leaders of Justice & Development Party and also by its predecessors in Islamic Welfare Party, had created conducive grounds for the Gülenists & Noursists’s innovative plans and programs to be realized. Co-existence between “ Tradition & Modernism”, “ Wisdom & Religious Laws”, “Knowledge (Science) & Religion”, “ Religion(Faith) & Government”, defending based on religious ethics some liberalistic principles such as “ Moderation” and “ Tolerance”, “Democracy”, and finally a “belief-oriented” intervention and contribution to solve problems like “ Disunity in Islamic World “ as well as the “ Kurdish

issue “, are among the initiatives of intellectual heirs of Badiozzaman in today Turkey.

This research seeks to study intellectual effects of “ Gülenism” on developments occurred during recent past decade in Turkey and some regions resulting from some sorts of foreign interference made by Turkish government in virtue of the teachings of that movement. This is a gradually-appeared coalition whose main characteristics after roughly a decade, appear just in a time that is suffering from internal differences and analysts may analyze its past links and also its practical and political effects, using fissures taken place.

Our main hypothesis, here, is that the Gülenism Movement, has reacted towards “convergence-oriented” developments of the past decade in Turkey and outside of the country through the window of “Ideology”, and consequently, in time of encountering domestic tensions, its “diverging” effects will be unavoidable. The split and fissure within political and administrative levels in Turkey, and also the authorities’ confusion in foreign policy area particularly with respect to the regions considered to be under influence of “Anatolian Islam” will be among above-mentioned developments

Fethullah Gülen, and his proponents refer to the writings and statements of Noursi, in order to obtain more legitimacy and acceptability in their political and religious communities. Fethullah Gülen and Gülenists¹ in establishing their ideas and opinions and also taking intellectual and practical stances are profoundly influenced by the character as well as writings and manuscripts of Saeed Noursi, and the Movement has been always overshadowed by this impact, and this situation remains to be continued in future. Gülen and Gülenists believe to the following essentials in line with and influenced by Noursi thoughts:

The connection between Wisdom & Belief in intellectual and behavioral pattern of Sheikh Saeed Noursi.

Badiozzaman Sheikh Saeed Noursi was born in a Kurdish rural area called “ Nours”, in Betlis province in Turkey in 1876. He successfully managed to take in basic religious learnings from contemporary great Kurd Scholars and then pursued learning new sciences such as philosophy, math, physics and chemistry, in order to be able to deepen and complete his own intellectual plan, e.g. “ the connection between Wisdom & Belief “. His early proficiency and dominance over religious learning, as well as, his familiarity with contemporary new sciences caused him to be called as ‘ Badiozzaman ‘ or “ Novel of the time “. Noursi’s intelligence as sagacity in

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understanding and analyzing his own age events let him come to this conclusion that the European prejudice toward Islam is an obvious reality. He was feeling the signs of decline and downfall of Ottoman Empire, and was fully aware of the ever-increasing weakness, division and backwardness of the Islamic World in face of the aggressor's politics and culture. His thought was, in fact, a result of such life and time that he was witnessing. (Yavooz, 1392, 221)

Trying to make a convergence between the natural sciences and Islamic teachings, Noursi paid a visit to "King (Sultan) Abdol Hamid the second, in 1907 A.D, to woo and reap his support for establishing an university in Kurdish region of Van, east of Turkey. The king, however, rejected his plan to reconcile between the rational sciences with the Islamic thought. The behavior of the King in rejection of intellectual heresy of Badiozzaman was predictable. Noursi was a serious critic of the King's instrumental use of the religion and Islam that had been depleted to "government Ideology" and he was never concealing this intellectual & political position. (Mouksi, 2013, 68).

Noursi, finally joined the group of "Turkish Young" and actively contributed in constitutional reform movement and supported the revolutionary group of the "Turkish Young" called "Unity & Progress" movement² whose aim and intention was establishing a constitutional government.

Noursi, however, found rapidly himself as one of the daring critics of the suppressive policies of unity & progress movement and was convinced that his commitment to the concepts such as individual freedom and the constitutionalism is in real conflict with the movement exploitation from Turkish Islam and nationalism. Democracy & freedom as the prerequisites of establishing a justice-based society have been seriously considered by Noursi. In his trip to Damascus, Noursi made a polemical statement in Omavite great mosque, advocating the constitutionalism and Islamic reforms. (He bib, 2002, 23).

During the first world war, Noursi composed the most complex philosophical text of his own in Arabic, which is considered as "Signs of the miracle" or Esharat ol E'jaz. Contributing in the war, Noursi assumed leading and organizing Kurds against the open aggressions of Russian and American troops to the Kurdish regions. Noursi was captured by the Russian forces in 1916 A.D., spending two years & three months of his life as P.O.W in prison camp in Kustarma in western- most part of Oral region. (He meh Gharib, 2006, 49). After being released,

Badiozzaman, poited as a member of an important scientific & religious organization of the day, called "Islamic House of Wisdom" or "Dar ol Hekmah Eslami" in which Sheikhoeslam and some other prominent scholars of Stanbul proved to be active members. Since then, Noursi, was gradually inclined to introversion and found himself in a deep state of spiritual crisis. After passage of this period of suffering from internal tensions, Noursi became finally able to be winning over this crisis by means of the "writings of Ahmad Sarhendi & Fotuholgheib Abdolghader Gillani", and benefited from Holly Quran as his guide and mentor, so far as, Sufism turned in to the most powerful dimension in forming and creating his ideas, and character as well. (Noursi, 2008, 171).

By writing a detailed article titled "The Six Steps", Noursi expressed his objection toward the capture of Istanbul by British troops, labeling them as the "Satan" of the day. He mobilized anti-British religious thoughts and also in support of a new nationwide movement led by "Mustafa Kamal". In a trip to Ankara in August 1922, he turned in to one of the staunch supporters of a free Turkey, as well as the nationalist leaders with Kamal Mustafa as their core and pivotal figure.

Noursi's enthusiasm and his vehement support, however, abated when he learned about the extremist and anti-Islamic plans of the Republic's new leaders. In 1923, he travelled from Ankara to Kurdistan (Van), construed as a "Transitional trip" from old Saeed to the new one. He arrived at this conclusion that the renovation of the Islamic awareness should not be materialized at the governmental levels but at the individual levels. He, then concentrated on the spiritual dimension of human beings and also on their advancement in new Islamic knowledge, in order for them to proceed in the correct route, being able to restore the true belief in God in daily life. Meanwhile, in the Kurdish regions of Turkry, one of the great Kurd leaders called "Sheikh Saeed Piran" established a new resistance movement with an Islamic national nature opposing Ataturk belligerent nationalism and secularism. This movement, however, was violently suppressed in Kurdistan, in spite of some initial victories. Though, Badiozzaman Noursi, had no contribution in the movement, he was accused of supporting this uprising and was captured and exiled to the west of Anatoly. The government was thinking this movement had been influenced by the Noursi's anti-secularist thoughts. This 25-year exile period (1925-1950), considered as the Saeed new era, is characterized by some prominent elements as follows:

a) Noursi, has been continuously in exile, imprisoned and under surveillance and

persecution, for he had not agree with the policies and actions performed by Kamalist's elite in secularist and nationalistic fields and also their policy of subjugating religion. He has managed to challenge these suppressive policies.

b) While in exile, Noursi, wrote his eternal masterpiece called "The essentials of the Light (Nour) dissertation", comprising 130 papers. In these papers, Noursi considers "Religion eradication" as a main source of many problems and tensions. So, he was seeking the aim of returning God to social life, which necessitates giving a new form to the human character and his/her internal reform.

c) In this period, however, the foundation of the Light Movement, is gradually formed by means of Noursi's writings and books, as well as joining ever-increasing number of followers. That's an internal and spiritual movement aimed at human salvation, together with the belief in God in that high-tensioned era.

In 1950, upon establishing a multi-party system in Turkey and victory of "Democrat party" led by "Adnan Mondares" in elections, an appropriate atmosphere was created for Noursi and his disciples to act more freely than before. Many threats and restrictions were also removed. Noursi and his followers manage to support the ruling Democrat party in an effort to prevent the continuation of policies pursued by the People's Republic Party of Ataturk, since, Noursi was considering the Democrat Party of Turkey as a "Satan better than the previous one". (Noursi, 2012, 420).

Noursi had some correspondence with the then Turkish Premier, "Adnan Mondares", and also with president "Jalal Bayar" in which he encouraged them to follow Islamic policies. New Turkish rulers, were trying to respect Noursi's concerns and of the religious society, adopting and following a series of the religious policies. This time, however, necessity, prudence, and moderation were among the reasons for Noursi to return to the world of politics and society, in contrast with the old Saeed.

Noursi, finally passed away on 26, March 1960, due to decrepitude and pneumonia and according to his will, was buried in city of "Ourfeh" in Kurdistan. The coup d'état regime, however, which had come back to power after the Democrat party instructed his tomb to be exhumed and he was re-buried in an unknown place, with this intention that Noursi and his thoughts to be obliterated from the memory of Turkish people, however, the restoration of the Noursi supporters in 1990s proved that his thinking was indelible.

Gulen: The most prominent disciple of Noursi

Badiozzaman Saeed Noursi, the Light Movement and supporters of Noursi, Political & Social Islam in Turkey, Justice & Development Party and Islamic Democracy in political system of Turkey have a linkage to the post 1990s developments by means of Fithullah Gulen, the contemporary Islamic thinker.

He is considered to be the most prominent, the most veracious and meanwhile, the most dynamic follower and disciple of Noursi. In 2008, when asked by the both reputable magazines of "Foreign Policy", in US and "Prospect" of England to choose the most important intellectual or intelligentsia of their own view in the field of the world public policy, the readers of these two magazines, as well as many thinkers, chose Fithullah Gulen, the Turkish religious intellectual and highbrow and also spiritual leader of millions people in the world, as the most influential intellectual of the planet. In all his interviews, meetings, lectures, speeches and writings, Gulen refers to this expression at his introduction that: "I acknowledge to enjoy Saeed Noursi as my mentor and professor, and I'm proud of being his disciple". Gulen is considering himself as the Noursi of 21 century. In this regard, we had better pay attention to one of the Gulen's definitions on Noursi: "It is of my honor and appreciation that to be Badiozzaman's disciple". Noursi was a pragmatist person who was always thinking of Islam and humanity. He was a courageous hero and was in the service of knowledge, insight, wisdom and chastity. Noursi's thoughts have influenced me, just like the others, and I myself, have to say that I intend to devote all my wealth and belongings to my religion as well as my country". (Nouraddin, 2003, 188)

In another definition, Fithullah Gulen, has compared his mentor (Noursi) with divine prophet Abraham (P.B.U.H), in serving the nation and says:

"Holly Quran considers Abraham 9 (P.B.H.H) as a whole nation, since he did try his best for the salvation of the people and humanity and consented to embrace a pyre of conflagration for the sake of his goal." He shares this belief toward Badiozzaman Saeed Noursi, for Noursi was quoted as saying:

"I have no desire for the Paradise nor fear from the Hell and I found healthiness in the belief of my nation and I'm poised to burn in the Hell for this goal, since it is my body that is burnt and my heart is blooming just like a garden". (The same, 190)

Gulen: Life, Thoughts and the Movement

Though, Badiozzaman Noursi never designated his successor and instead, believed that his successor and future mentor of the Light Movement is the "Group character (collective wisdom)", in the

1960s, one of his loyal disciples called “ Zobeir Gundouzalp”, has led the Movement, but since the 1970s and after Fethullah Gulen, enjoying more capacity, authority and stronger charisma had led the Movement. Fithullah Gulen was born in a small village near Arzrum, east of Turkey in 1938. He learned Arabic language and also the teachings of holy prophet Muhammad from his father in his childhood. His father’s house was a venue for coming and going of religious scholars (Ulama) and thinkers of the city and he was brought up in such an atmosphere that made him seek for exploring the human’s spirituality and also the situation of the “ Belief “ issue in a modern world.

After cementing his thinking foundation by means of religious knowledge and also Nursi’s writings, Fethullah Gulen, like his mentor Nursi, gradually managed to learn new sciences such as philosophy, literature, history, physics, chemistry, biology and astrology, in order to be able to reply to the questions of new world and establishing a more proper relationship with it.

He also studied the writings of philosophers such as Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, Marcus Aurelius and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

In 1960, Gulen managed to duplicate and release his cassettes of speeches and held religious training courses for the youth. In these courses of summer camps, he was familiarizing the students with traditional Islamic teachings, as well as, Nursi’s writings and thoughts.

In 1971 and after the military coup in Turkey, Gulen was among those who were arrested due to delivering religious and spiritual speeches. He was forced to be incarcerated with no judicial trial or court procedure. Then, he was released provided that, no other public religious speech was delivered by him. In 1979, Gulen’s relevant political current concentrated on publishing a magazine titled “Sizinti” that in the pursue of the Nursi’s teachings, was seeking the aim of mingling and associating the scientific knowledge and Islamic principles. During the 1980s and 1990s, Gulen and his associated current concentrated on establishing private schools in Turkey and different parts of the world. The number of these schools, influenced by them is estimated to 500 schools of which 200 schools were in Turkey and other 300 schools were in different parts of the world. Due to closed political and cultural atmosphere in Turkey and being under pressure by the army and laic system of Turkey, Gulen was forced to migrate to U.S in 1999, settling in “Pennsylvania”, where he could draw the attention of politicians and thinkers.

Gulen, the Turkish religious and political activist, is one of the influential figures who is presently enjoying a high influence, not only in

Turkey, but also among many Muslims in Europe, Americas and also Africa. Today, Gulen’s Movement is construed as the most powerful movement of Turkey’s “Jamaat- Muslemin” (Muslim community) believed to be an opposing capacity against extremist Islamic groups. Jamaat- Muslemin believes in Democracy and Pluralism and through these thoughts has left major effects on Islamic Awakenings in Middle-East and North Africa.

Gulenists have established schools, universities, Culture Houses, and many religious activity centers in more than 140 countries of the world enjoying many disciples and supporters and also active & dynamic centers in hundreds of places from Erbil in Iraqi Kurdistan to Turkmenistan, Ukraine, the whole regions of Middle-East, Far East, Balkans, Australia, Pacific, America and horn of Africa. They are linked to each other through virtual space. It is estimated that there are roughly 4 million people, as proponents of Gulen. They are also named as “Partisans of Fithullah”, assuming the role of political and cultural missionaries and promoters of the Movement in political fields. (Ghahramanpour, 2011, 105).

Gulen Movement is publishing its plans and programs through “Zaman” newspaper. The newspaper, ranking as one of the three top newspapers with 500000 daily circulations nationwide, inaugurated in Turkey in 1986. It is also published at international level in 15 foreign countries. Zaman is also published in different weekly issues with diverse names of “ My Family “, “ University”, and also “ My Friend “, aiming at raising religious awareness in social fields. Furthermore, the weekly magazine of “Dot”, and magazines of “ Zafar”, “ Soor “, the two university periodicals of “ Yeni Umit “ and “ Funten “, the monthly of “ Sizinti”, the televised channels of “Samanieuylu” and “ Kahkashan(Galaxy)”, “ S. T.V”, as well as other mass communication media including Gulen Website, with the capacity to broadcast the programs in 12 languages, are assumed with the duty of preaching propaganda and inter-communications of the Gulenists.

Gulen: The Spiritual father of Justice & Development Party

Gulen and his supporters are now enjoying such an influential clout in different fields of politics, Bazaar, administrative, judicial system, constabulary and security forces, and also, some other fields of Turkish society that, the incumbent government of Erdogan and the ruling party of Justice & development are paying due attention to the Gulen or “Khajeh Afandi “, when taking strategic and crucial decisions, in the manner that Fetullah Gulen is now recognized as the spiritual and religious leader of the

Justice & Development party. Some others name “Necmetin Erbakan” as the father of “political Islam” and “Gulen” is also mentioned as the father of “Social Islam”.

After gaining the power, the party of Justice & Development whose leaders and members are among the major disciples of Gulen, found its educational activities, inside and outside of the country, to be hugely supported by the government. Thus, during the past recent decade, the Gulenism teachings raised many supporters in Turkey as well as, farthest parts of the world. It is, in fact, a process of attracting the Muslims in the whole globe which, of course, has now turned in to a major political and ideological rupture and rift with international dimensions, due to internal differences between Gulenists and their political allies.

Gulen intends to prove that Islam is entirely compatible with Modernity, Freedom, Democracy, and Human Rights. This is, in fact, the same political teaching that Justice & Development Party is in need of it in order to advance its own internal and external political goals.

Today, in political sphere of Turkey, the Gulen, from one hand and incumbent statesmen in the Justice & Development Party (such as Recep Tayyeb Erdogan, Abdullah Gul, Bulent Arinc, and Davoud Oglu) from the other hand, have recognized mutual interrelation and communication between each other. Then, it can be said if Gulen is mentioned as the stepfather of the Justice & Development party and incumbent government of Turkey, so, his master and mentor, Badiozzaman Saeed Noursi, also can be named as the great ancestor of this establishment. Gulenists are of this view that, Gulen is Saeed Noursi of the 21 century who according to the teachings of his mentor, has regulated his scientific and religious teachings, based on the necessities and circumstances of the time, and consequently provides needed intellectual foundations for the political, cultural and economic activities of the Justice & development Party.

Today, many laics, from military generals to intellectual elite are of this belief that Gulen is a political element and intends to establish an Islamic government in Turkey and in this line, he has managed to train enough cadre & staff, establishing schools and universities in order to reach his goals. This was an accusation brought regularly against Saad Noursi, in military courts during past century, leading to his imprisonment and torture.

The impact of Noursi’s political- Islamic thoughts on Gulen

In their political and religious argumentations and reasoning, Fithullah Gulen and

his supporters, refer to the speeches and writings of Noursi, trying to gain more legitimacy and acceptability in political and religious society. It can be said that Fathullah Gulen and Gulenists as well, (A 4- million population of his disciples and supporters), are hugely influenced by the character and also writings of Saeed Noursi, when taking intellectual and practical stances, and Gulen Movement is always overshadowed by this huge impact. Gulen and Gulenists, following Noursi’s reflections believe to some principles as their political and cultural guidelines, as follow:

1. “Synthesis of Science and Religion

Salvation in the Two Worlds, through correlation & linkage of “Islamic Morality” & “Secular sciences”

One of the most paramount teachings of Noursi, enjoyed by Gulen & his movement is that, there is no contradiction between Science and Religion. So every seminarian and disciple of theological school has to learn religious knowledge and at the same time new sciences, in order to strengthen his/her intellectual foundations and proceed to preach the thoughts and ideas of a modern Islam. The same Islam that puts its emphasis on the necessity of the important role of the religious beliefs in public life, while embracing the scientific and technological advancements.

This kind of Islam provides a fresh interpretation on religious and Quran-inspired teachings, in light of rationality and modern sciences. The synthesis of Islam & science and also the linkage of wisdom & revelation cause the augmentation of Islamic knowledge. Salvation in both present world and the afterlife depends upon this linkage and correlation. “Islamic intellectualism or enlightenment” is a result and fruit of the combination of Islamic ethics or morality and Secular learning. As the result of conciliation between Islamic traditional values and modern sciences, more and more addresses and supporters will be attracted. This new addresses continue to turn into supporters enjoying from wisdom in their Islamic beliefs.

While believing in just one reliable and valid Islam based on holy Quran and the traditions of the holy Prophet Mohammad, Gulen also recognizes different historical, cultural and social readings and interpretations from Islam in the modern world. This belief is, in fact, construed as the foundation of religious tolerance and laxity in Gulen’s thoughts and, moreover, provides the possibility and feasibility for political co-existence of Justice & Development Party and also its high power of attractive force and charisma in Turkish diverse society.

Beyond the Turkish society, Gulen, also, defends a progressive and leading interpretation of Islam, upon which, Muslims can enter in to interaction with the world by means of knowledge, training, philosophy, social sciences and technology. (The same, 105). As Saeed Nursi was thinking of the realization of this ultra-national idea through founding of “Al-Zahra” school, his disciple, Gulen, is also seeking the materialization of this goal through establishing 500 schools in all parts of the world.

Utilizing the more favorable conditions and more facilities, particularly more active supporters in his time, Gulen made efforts to fully materialize the ideals and innovations of Badiozzaman Nursi.

Preparing cultural products needed for influencing on the public and common people and also preaching Islamic ethics in daily life are among the methods followed by the Gulenists. The televised serial of “The key to mysteries” being broadcast from Iranian national T.V. is a sample of these cultural products. This film demonstrates that how a human being can trust to God and seek reliance to divine prophets and saints and pay attention to the excellences, such as virtue, honesty, telling the truth in social affairs, earning legitimate or Halal property, doing a noble and dignified work in life and respecting religious and belie-oriented issues.

The stories of the serial have been composed based on real events. It is also considering the divine forces in nature. This is, in fact, a certain cultural pattern that is rooted in the religious and idealistic thinking of Nursi, and construed as a foundation stone for social activities based on Islamic ethics of Gulenism.

2. Religious lenience and Moderation

There is no life in a place, where there is no difference.

One of the main challenges in Gulen’s thoughts, is building a bridge between the Islamic world and the West, based on principles of intellectual and political moderation and lenience. In line with this challenge, Gulen is emphasizing the importance of incorporating scientific and technological advancement to the contemporary Muslim society. His movement presents two major suggestions for realization of peace and tranquility in society, as well as, Moderation and Dialogue. From his viewpoint, if we can tolerate each other with open-mindedness, then, confidence, peace and tranquility will prevail in the country. Moreover, no one should curse and damn the others, due to his/her following of a certain religion and creed or humiliate and reproach any one for being an atheist. Gulen requests that the freedom of action and also a measure of freedom of individual and liberalism to be extended and made prevalent. Considering this note as

a principle that “there is no life in a place where, there is no difference in it.” Gulen, asks for the revision of Turkish political structure, alongside the realization of democracy, more freedom and flexibility, and also decreasing bureaucracy and more respect to individuals’ rights and functions.” (Nouraddin, 2004, 194)

Gulen’s ideas on lenience & moderation and dialogue are not restricted to Muslims, but they also include Christians and Jews. He had two meetings with Patriarch Parter lumeus of Greece in Istanbul, and also had several meetings with Christian and Jews leaders for the promotion of Inter-Faith dialogue. Gulen met Pope in February 1998 in Rome. In another meeting, he also received a senior Israeli rabbi in Turkey. Nursi, also has sent his dissertation to Vatican in 1952. The scope of his lenience and moderation was so extended that secularists and non-Muslims of Turkey are also included. In his view, this is an appropriate approach for restoration of cultural pluralism of Ottoman Empire, providing the stability of the country and also preventing any possible altercation and wrangling between Sunnites and Alavites”. (Aras, 2003, 64)

3. Approval and accentuation of Democracy & Democratic government.

“Islam & Democracy are compatible “

Gulen is a proponent of democratic governance and argues that democracy is the most effective and deserving form of governance in today world. He declares frankly that “Democracy & Islam are compatible and reconcilable. 95 percent of the Islamic laws refer to the private life and the family, and just the other 5 percent is related to the government issues.” According to Gulen, “this situation can be provided just under the auspices of democracy and if some people are thinking other than forming an Islamic government, then history and social situation of Turkey don’t allow this to be realized. Democratization is an unavoidable process in Turkey.”

Such kinds of thinking have led Gulen to oppose the method of government in Iran and Saudi Arabia. He is agreed to this viewpoint of his master Nursi that republicanism enjoys much conformity with the content of consultation, on which there are some discussions in Islamic references. Gulen seems to be much concerned that authoritarian regimes may strongly monitor and curb different & warring ideologies, beliefs and opinions. Gulen is opposed to any act or engagement of violence in rising to power and says: “ If we want democracy, then we should also act through democracy, just like that we all have only one religion, one creed, one race, then if we are supposed to agree on a problem unconditionally, it

must also be done based on democracy.” (Nouraddin, 2003,194)

In spite of this, however, there have always been a doubtful look in the West at this pattern of Islamic moderation in Turkey. Some western experts of Turkey affairs warn that Gulenism has prevailed an extended system of opinion inspection in the country under the aegis of liberalistic slogans. They say the relative dominance of Gulen’s supporters over the security, police force and judicial system have been established in line with this reality. This claim is made based on a formal report from Turkish ministry of Justice according which one citizen out of one thousand is usually eavesdropped by domestic security service, while the item is one out of 137000 in the U.S.A. Laics consider this as resulted from Turkish Islamist totalitarian ideology and are of this belief that such ideas are basically not consistent with any connection between “Gulenism & Democracy”. (Cagapaty,2009)

4. **Making an endeavor for the restoration and continuation of Ottoman values and heritage**

“ A return to the Ottoman utopia with no need to restoration of Caliphate “

Following the thoughts of Noursi, Gulen considers the life of holy Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H) and also the Ottoman Empire classical era as an utopia for Muslims today. He reminds his sympathizers in today Turkey of Ottoman heritage, in order for Muslims’ splendid role-playing in modern world to be restored. He is not speaking on or supporting the return of Caliphate but concentrates on major cultural values and also Ottoman deeds and behaviors such as a) The spirit of Dialogue and b) This reality that the Ottoman government was thinking of intellectual and cultural reconciliation between the Ottoman society and the West. Gulen supports the utilization of the Ottoman paradigm as a basis for the Islamic world to be returned to the Centre of global civilization as well as rapprochement with the West. He is hopeful to be able to make a connection between the religion and the government just like it was in the Ottoman era. Such thinking enables him to mobilize the public by means of Islam and Islamic teachings. In Gulen’s opinion, the excellences and values of Turkey are numerous. Also, the Ottoman heritage, secularism, economics and democracy are among the major clues to the Gulen’s identity. He considers his Movement in line with the restoration of the Ottoman cultural pluralism, since, Noursi was also recognizing the Ottoman Empire, due to its Islamic identity, as a source of identity for diverse cultures and tribes of the day and also as the source of unity in diversity. ” Recep Tayeb Erdogan”

and other followers of the Light Dissertations, however, did not follow their ancestor’s lead “ Necmeddin Erbakan”, as he managed to establish “ D8 Group” composing the 8 major Islamic countries in his short period of government and tried to take a congenial approach towards the converging strategy of a country like Islamic Republic of Iran. Meanwhile, other followers of that school took a splitting strategy, criticized even by Erbakan.

5. **The relationship between Religion & Government**

“Adhesion to the pattern of American Secularism vs. Jacobin’s pattern.”

Gulenists are seeking a political prescription which will be able to create a kind of combination or association between Islam and governance, thus they combine a series of religious principles justifying the intellectual & political moderation with the western ones relevant to the political lenience and use them to justify the liberal interpretation of the government. In this pattern, the starting point is “religious training” and then it is connected to the “morality-oriented social behaviors”. In fact, a kind of Islamic socialism based on “distributive Justice Perception” is realized, but in political field, the interference of religion in politics is too restricted to create a rupture and challenge in the laic system of Turkey. (Turam, 2006, 130)

Gulen, though, is not defending the establishment of an Islamic political system and is continuously reminding his followers of this famous expression from his mentor Noursi that “I seek refuge to God from Satan & Politics”. He is also reminding them of another advice given by Noursi that religion should not be limited to individual private realm, but it must be part of public life. He is supporting the separation of Religion & Politics (Church & State) in contemporary Muslim society. In Gulen’s view, the dominance of the government over religious affairs damages Islam and thus, the religion should be released of governmental control. Gulen takes the last advice of his master Noursi and warns his Movement to refrain from any confrontation with the government. Gulen stipulates: “ I always take both government and army’s side, for with no government, chaos and riot will reign everywhere”.

American-inspired secularism in which the limits of religious freedoms have been defined and are respected is preferred by Gulenists over French Jacobean secularism in which religion is under obedience of the government. They consider the first one as suitable and propitious for their country, Turkey. This is the same secularist system which had been implicitly confirmed by Noursi in Adnan Menderes democrat government too. It can be said the

implicit confirmation of this system by Noursi, was in fact, a kind of pragmatic policy aimed at the seeking of Islamic purposes in social & political areas within the framework of Turkey's secular system.

Moreover, with regard to the good relationship and also supportive approach of U.S toward Gulen, it must be mentioned that the U.S administration has supported the Gulenists in central Asia and Middle-East as a preemptive force against Salafi extremist currents, as well as, against the impact of Iranian Islamic Shiite Paradigm. The same policy is also pursued now by U.S in support of Noursi's disciples, namely, the leaders Justice & Development party.

Treatment or behavior of Noursi and also Gulenists as his followers towards the established government of the day is rooted in the layers of Sufism reflections in the second character of Saeed Noursi, or the same "New Saeed" and as we know, "The Sufism tradition" is considering itself based on a philosophy, according which, all the creatures as the physical manifestations of God & enjoyed by the love of The Creator, have to be loved". In this system, there is no room for "the enemies" or "the others". (Ars, 2003, 60)

In Gulen's Islamic insight, like in his mentor's, the crucial principle is "Invitation" instead of "Revolution", namely the establishing an Islamic society, is a plan which needs time to be realized. In his opinion, the important principle is Islamization of society's members, not revolutionizing the society, because upon correction of people, the society will automatically be reformed.

6. A "Belief-oriented" outlook toward the Kurdish issue.

"Mutual Moderation between Turks, Kurds and Arabs"

The Kurdish issue is construed to be one of the challenging issues in Turkey. The formal and explicit position taken by Gulen on the issue indicates that his perceptions are based on Islamic Unity and ethnic lenience.

In an interview with the Kurdish newspaper of "Roudav" (Event) in 2013, Gulen opines on the Kurdish issue:

"His Excellency Badiozzaman Noursi has precise and clear viewpoints about the whole problems of the Islamic world, and Turkey, in particular, and also South – Eastern of the country. He considers "ignorance" and "disunity" as the main source of problems. In Noursi's opinion, the ignorance issue is not intended just in religious issue, but he, also takes in to consideration the tremendous and fundamental issue of ignorance in intellectual and philosophical areas. Noursi is of this view that the

differences among the tribes and clans is rooted in ignorance and considers this as the source of disunity and discord, and for this reason, Sheikh Badiozzaman tried in all his life to establish a major religious school called "Al- Zahra" in city of "Van".

Noursi insisted the three languages of Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic to be applied in this religious school for education and training. He was following his intention of religious interpretation, together with the ethnical and language –related lenience and believed that based on religious teachings, the issue of diversification between different colors, races and languages are among the signs and miracles of Creation and every tribe and nation enjoy a particular language. As the God, the Almighty, has, in the Creation order, predetermined the differences not to be as a cause of separation and detachment but as a clear route for recognition, cooperation and co-existence of human beings with each other, so the cultures, languages and tribes should also be in correlation and co-existence with each other, based on the same sample followed by different craftsmen and merchants who are in cooperation and interaction with each themselves.

Noursi and his disciples moot the issue of the "Language" within the framework of the natural rights theory which has been previously propounded by theorists such as "John Lock". According to this theory, language is among the intrinsic and natural rights of every human and considers to be prior and preferred to the adopted laws. So, human beings cannot be denied from this natural right due to and within the frame work of adopted laws and consequent political decisions.

Gulen uses this philosophical reasoning of Noursi, as his foundation of ratiocination in justifying the language lenience and says:

"As mother tongue, is a natural and established speaking system for every human being, he /she is thinking more easily by mother tongue with no need to recall any word or sign, so mother language has to be learned and protected. "So, the right to learn and protect the mother language is a fundamental and basic right and no government should not forbid applying any mother tongue, since prohibiting a mother language is, in fact, tantamount to the fighting with the nature and essence of the human being and human society.

Presenting an interpretation based on necessity of the time from holy Quran, supporters of the Light (Nour) Party, are following the goal of adjusting and regulating present ethnic differences. In their view, language-related differences should not turn in to a pretext for an ultimate supremacy of a tribe over the other one, and as the assuming supremacy for a race over the other one is resulting in

oppression and cruelty, breaching the values of other languages and also making separation and detachment between the human beings under the pretext of language differences is unacceptable. Learning mother tongue is such a natural and inherent right that never should be bargained and debated. In fact, non-restricting of human beings in this area is a clear sign for a government to be considered as fair and equitable. (Gulen, 2013)

Fithulah Gulen, for the sake of decreasing ethnical tensions in Turkey, provides a recognition of great and prominent Kurdish figures in his ideological system as the masters of tradition and behavior in national unity and considers them as a symbol of peaceful co-existence between Kurds, Turks and Arabs in the country, from among, we can mention the names of personalities like “ Ahmad Khani “, “ Faqih Tayran “, “ Mullay e Jaziri “, “ Salah Aldin Ayoubi “, and “ badiozzaman Sheikh Saeed Noursi “. In this regard, Gulen refers to an statement from Mulla Mostafa Barzani, the great Kurdish Leader who has said to the Kurds that: “ Do establish good communications with Turks, Never create a problems or impediments for them, and be always confederate with them “.

In Gulen’s opinion such remarks are valuable and worthy to be paid due attention and can be simply define the route for the relations of Kurds and Turks in future. He says: I personally felt pity and cried for the kurd victims of the awful events of Halabche and Anfal (Kurds genocide, perpetrated by former Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussain). Regarding the issue of solving the Kurdish problem, Gulen believes that Turkey is assumed with heavy responsibilities. He opines: “ Turkey has to meet, not only, the needs of his own kurds, but also, it should manage to help the kurds in other parts of the world, trying to solve their problems. Turkey must protect the Kurds, based on the international means and regulations and consider itself as their representative and supporter. We should obviate all the reasons for separation and gap between the Kurds & Turks. Turks should manage to solve the Kurds’ problems, before they embark to do so, themselves. Finally, Turkey should be as a gate toward all the global fields for the Kurds.” (The same)

The role played by the supporters of Noursi in recent agreements between the Kurds and central government should not be ignored. Gulen, symbolically likened the new round of peace talks (2013) between the Erdogan government and “ Abdollah Ojalan “ as well as, P.K.K guerillas as the “ Hudaibieh Peace accord “ and encouraged the parties to respect and advance it. Due to this position, Ojalan, wrote a letter of thanks to Gulen from “ Imralli “ prison. Gulen, also, formally inaugurated 14 schools

and a university related to his movement in 1994 in Kurdish capital of “ Erbil “ (Holir) and also in some other cities of Kurdistan territory, in order to advance his influence among the Kurds.

These positions and viewpoints from Gulen on the Kurdish issue are so important and interesting, for Gulen and his supporters persisted before that there was no thing with the name of Kurdish Nationalism. They instead promoted and justified Turkish Nationalism. Now, however, there is a T. V station called “ Samaniolu “ related to the Gulen movement that is broadcasting a series of programs to show the commonalities between the Turkish and Kurdish peoples, and according to a Turkish analyst, the main characteristic of Gulen movement is “ nationalism in abroad and nation-orientation inside the country. “ (Olsun, 86, 2012)

Gulen and his movement are popular and enjoy a very high influence among the Turkish Kurds, and in fact, the Gulenists are now conceived as the intermediary circle between the Kurds and the ruling party of Justice & Development, since they enjoy good relationship with the both Kurds and the party. The social communications, as well as, rendering humanitarian assistance, regulate the form of this relationship. Taking advantage of his website and figurative networks, Gulen requests the public to send their alms and charities to the Kurdish regions in Eastern- south of Turkey in the occasions of Islamic celebrations. And in this manner, Gulen is establishing a sentimental relationship between different societies of Turkey and the needy peoples in the south –east of the country.

Gulen’s supporters build facilities, such as schools, study halls and also social and cultural centers in Kurdish regions and the teachers and tutors are going to these regions and embark in the training and health –related activities, voluntarily. The interesting reality, here is that Gulen movement and the party of Justice & Development do not perform these activities just merely for humanitarian and public-spirited intentions, but parts of their purpose are focused on tarnishing the image and undermining the position of Kurdish nationalist proactive parties and currents such as “P.K.K”, “ Peace & Democracy Party “, or former party of “ D. T.P “ among the Kurd inhabitants of the region, aimed at utilizing the economic situation and poverty of the masses of Kurd people in the run-up to the elections, reaching their relevant goals and according to Robert Olsson, prominent researcher on Turkish Kurdistan issues: “ Most of the time, the Gulen movement are supported in Kurdistan to be exploited as “ Alternative “ against the nationalistic goals of Kurdish (nationalist) parties and currents.

7. The Anatolian Islam

Tribal look toward the Religion and contradiction between Idea & Action in Gulen

In the end of this text, it is necessary for us to refer to one of the major issues denoting Gulen's diversion from his mentor and master, Noursi. Contrary to his master, Gulen is more focused on "Anatolian Islam", or "Turkization of Islam" and also "Islamization of Turkish nationalistic ideology". Gulen believes that Anatolian peoples' Islamic interpretations and experiences are different from the others', particularly, the Arabs'. He enjoys strong feelings and sentiments toward his national heritage and is proud of being a Turk. He refers, somehow nationalistically, to his Turkish roots and also Ottoman history as a bigger world than Turkey today. Gulen Nationalism is history-oriented and more based on common historic experiences and political realities relevant to the Turkey's national interest of the day, than based on blood and race. Some Gulen's critics are of this belief that his spirit of "Turkish-orientation" is one of the reasons that Gulen had never succeeded to meet his mentor "Saeed Noursi". From the beginning, he conceived that his master belong to Kurdish society, though, later he admitted his shortcoming and repented. Recognizing implicitly of this issue, Gulen says: "I had no chance of meeting with His Honor, the master when he passed away in 1960, later I asked myself whether my nationalistic feelings prevented me to do that?"

Briefly, the most important mutiny of this disciple against his master is as follows:

"Gulen's concentration on spirit of Turkish nationalism comparing to the thinness of Noursi's Kurdish nationalism.

Now, whatever can be conceived, however, is that Gulen and his supporters have retreated from this Turkish nationalism comparing to previous years and have further preferred Islamic identity over the Turkish one. Consequently, they have more approached the teachings of their mentor. This matter, was previously mentioned when discussing Gulen's attitude towards the issues of minorities and the Kurds. This subject is, however, related to the new relations of Gulenists within the political system of Turkey. Even some government ministers support the Noursi's Ideas. Both political and social areas play a supportive role toward each other, due to the said Noursi – Inspired dissertations and idea and also today's political exigencies of the government. Suppression of Kurdish political claims and motives and its substitution with the relations based on economic livelihood or at maximum, consenting by the government to perform some social duties relevant to 12 Kurdish provinces of the country, has created certain conditions towards the

Kurdish issue. In any case, despite the Noursi's intellectual influence and his distance from the politic area, Gulen enjoys more presence and appearance in pragmatic and political fields and adaptation of his teachings with the policies of Justice & Development party on "political Islam", from one hand, and Turkish nationalistic ideals, from the other hand, has provided him with a conducive ground to have meaningful presence and influence in both party and national levels in the country. In addition to this, with regard to the representation of the thoughts and reflections of Kurd Noursi and also the needs of the Kurdish regions to the social and economic supports, Gulenists have proved to be the most important civil intermediary circle for connection between the government and the Kurds. Moreover, now that "Abdollah Ojalan" as the symbol and leader of today's Kurdish nationalism is in jail, defining a non-Kurd leader for the populations that have routine concerns is considered as a government – supported strategy. This strategy is, in fact, functioning as a sedative, just in time of subsiding the Kurdish nationalistic desires.

The challenge of Capitalism pattern based on Islamic values:

Gulen's pattern of "Capitalism based on Islamic values" was faced with the economic scandals of the late 2013. This title was applied, not only by the Gulenists, but also by some economic advisors of the "George Walker Bush" Administration and also by experts of International Monetary Fund (IMF) on both Turkey's national economy and of some other Islamic countries. In their view, these economies enjoy the capacity to adapt and co-ordinate themselves with the healthy, transparent and anti-terrorist financial system of the world. In 2004, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution entitled "Combat against international financial sources of terrorism" that is considered an international instrument to fight money laundering. Referring to economic patterns of some countries like Turkey, the resolution encourages the Mid-East and also North African countries to consent with the cooperation within the framework of a kind of liberalistic system of economy which is compatible and harmonious with the Islamic values. (Henry & Wilson, 2004, 236)

The "economic transparency" and combating with the misconducts on international "money laundering" especially its economic and financial interactions with some terrorist countries and groups, prosecuted or prohibited under seventh chapter of UN Charter (as a threat to universal peace and security) are among the emphasis put in the resolution. The gravest financial corruption in Turkey's history, however, was criticized by public opinions inside the Turkey and of the world over, after political and intellectual allies of Gulenists ("

Fithullah Gulen” & “the ruling party of Justice& Developmen and government of Raceb Tayeb Ordogan”), had managed to challenge it, as well as, putting the blame on some one else. Gulenism or at least, the political current and relevant government had never encountered such a shock since 1970s when the movement took its first strides toward an influential presence in educational, cultural, social and political fields. Future political changes as well as, other developments regarding the incoming elections will demonstrate to what extent, the critical and exonerating positions taken by Gulen can help the fate of the movement to be separated from that of the falling government of the Justice & Development Party, though the heirs of Kamalism have been provided with best possible, opportunity to restore their presence and also political power during past two decades.

Authoritarian conduct, diminution of political moderation and lenience, domestic strategic misconceptions, economic corruption and harboring external ambitions of the government led by the Justice & Development Party, caused some developments, unmanageable for Ordogan government. Suppressing dissidents in “Gezzi “ park, “ Tiksim Square”,” Interference in bloody events inside Syria and Egypt “, “ Conformity and accompaniment with undemocratic Arab regimes of the region” and also “ Neglecting of the healthiness of the national economy and banking interchanges “ have created such conditions in today’s Turkey that are not presently comparable with the positive political indicators and development-related achievements obtained by the government in five years ago. Thus, the warning gave by “ Bulent Ecevit “ the laic premier of the day in the year 2000 against gradual domination of extremist Islam under the cover of its liberal pattern has now found serious supporters in both Europe and the US, (Guardian, 2010). Though, the fundamental and progressive values inspired by the Sheikh Saeed Noursi and followed by his disciples will be overshadowed in an unknown future through activating the fissure created in the late 2013 between the both intellectual and pragmatic parts of the Movement supporters. This future, however, will not be analyzable without the continued presence and influence of Gulenists.

Conclusion

The Islamic Movement of Fithullah Gulen is considered as one of the most important samples of Islamic liberal thought in Middle-East whose pragmatic influences in political system of Turkey and particularly the ruling party of “Justice& Development “ is not deniable. Gulen and his proponents are trying to manage their religious and

political Movement favoring modernization, pluralism, liberalism and democracy without sacrificing religious teachings or neglecting the exigencies of their national government. The capacity and caliber of the Movement in reconciling the Islamic- traditional values with the modern world and also sciences of the day, have attracted an extended range of addresses. This group has enjoyed an eye-catching capability to gather even diverse reflections and different people including rich & poor, educated & illiterate, Turk & Kurd and also Muslim & non-Muslim. Moreover, since the middle of 1990s, it has been able to turn into an ultra-national phenomenon, relying upon such capacities. Supporters are of this belief the Gulen Movement may be conceived as a pattern and paradigm for the Islamic movements in their future political & social activities. Fithullah Gulen and his extended Movement are vehemently influenced by Islamic- political ideas and thoughts of Saeed Noursi. In other words their intellectual framework was shaped based on his teachings. Undoubtedly, the reason for this can be found in his inclusive outlook upon the three major issues of his time and also of the Gulenists’: The unity of the Islamic World, The exigencies of the Turkish society and Kurdish issue.

The statement by “ Yasin Oktai”, a prominent researcher of Turkey issues on Noursi is an emphasis on the subject: “ In his books, Noursi has expanded a very suitable composition of elements of popular culture, mystical dialogues, traditional Islam, science and wisdom “.

Trying to adopt western science and technology and also believing in this note that religion is not opposing to science and knowledge, Noursi is construed as a pattern and pioneer for the Gulenists with regard to concepts and principles such as modernization of both Turkey and the whole Islamic world. As a matter of fact, the idea of Noursi was based on releasing secular teachings from faithlessness and unbelief as well as religious teachings from bias and prejudice pursued by him thanks to reconciliation between knowledge and belief. Like the Noursi, Gulen believes that a free and democratic society is in need of spirituality, and this, per se cannot be impressive without the religion. One of the prominent thoughts and reflections of Noursi, among others, respected and followed by Gulen Movement, is to believe in separation of politics and religion and also their mutual independence from each other. Justice & Development Party as the political arm of the Gulen Movement that recognize Gulen as their stepfather, however, is trying to refrain from direct interference in the affairs of the party and its relevant government. Their fear and concern is that political Islam may predominate over their desired

social Islam, and subsequently, their religious and cultural activities inside the country, as well as among Turkish nationals settling in West and the entire world over is limited. These differences, together with the state of activated fissure line between the upper parts of political & managerial layers and ideological & intellectual infrastructure of Noursi supporters in Turkey, will surely leave undeniable impacts on this Islamic country as well as, the whole Mid-East region. Laic parties and currents will be provided with new opportunities for their restoration of political and election power. Utilizing the available rift to fortify the theory of the failure of political Islam and at the same time, through relying on the ethnic dimensions of Gulenism, this political current will pursue the goal of taking full advantage of the split created among the competing political block (Justice & Development Party) for the upcoming elections. Furthermore, external presence & intervention of Turkish government, particularly, its interference with the Islamic awakening process will encounter more limitations. And finally, the possibility of standstill, halt and fluctuation in political agreements as well as, the implementation process of the truce between the government and Kurds will be augmented. Like any other ideological currents in Islamic World, and thanks to its grave advance, Gulenism caused fundamental developments in Turkey and also Islamic World, and is now poised to perceive its influence used for other paramount developments.

Footnotes:

1. Gulenists or Fithullah Gulen are estimated more than 4.5 million people. They are activating within a vast and extended cultural & educational framework in Turkey, communicating with the Movement leader in a virtual space. The Movement assumes a more political function in special situations such as elections time. These characteristics of “ Order “ and “ Prevalence”, have turned the Gulenism as one of the most powerful movements in Middle-East.

2. CUP

3. Sizinti

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