

Hukukun üstünlüğü, insan hakları, ulus-devletin önemi gibi aydınlanmacı ideallere bağlılığı hemen her satırında görülen kitabın derin düzeydeki stratejisini ise iki yönlü olarak tespit etmek mümkündür: Bir yandan diğer kültürlerle karşı, bir insan yapısı ve üst referans kurumu olarak “Hukuk”un, yasa fikrinin, hukuk devleti anlayışının kurucusu olarak Batı Avrupa medeniyetini Orta Çağ Hıristiyanlık devrindeki kazanımlarıyla beraber temayüz ettirme, diğer yandan Avrupa içinde Roma hukuk zihniyetinin vârisi ve mümessili olarak kara Avrupa (bilhassa Fransız) hukuk düşüncesini common law anlayışına karşı tebcil etme, hatta kıta Avrupa’sı içerisinde de sık sık Nazizm geçmişini (ve bu dönemdeki hukuksuzlukları) hatırlatmak suretiyle Fransa’yı Almanya karşısında öne çıkarma.

Modern devletin, insanın doğaya hakimiyetinin, bilim ve tekniğin önemini vurgulayan, hukukun bilim kadar önemli bir Batı kurumu olduğuna dikkat çeken Alain Supiot, bir bakıma modernliğin bitmemiş bir proje olduğunu iddia eden Habermas’ın yanında yer alırken, bir bakıma da siyasî değil, ama kültürel (en azından hukuksal) anlamda Fransız evrenselciliğinin çağdaş bir mümessili olarak kabul edilebilir.

A. Cüneyd Köksal

The Religion-Politics Distinction as Political Strategy: The Politics of Secularism in International Relations

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. xiii + 247 pp.

After 9/11, religion generally, and Islam specifically, has become a political issue in the international arena and as a consequence has been discussed almost as a political actor. However, to view religion as a political matter is to examine only a very small portion of the iceberg.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd presents a valuable analysis that goes beyond this kind of perception of religion. In her book, Hurd studies the relationship between religion and politics from a political science perspective within the context of the United States and Europe. In doing this, Hurd proposes that in the contemporary context it would not be appropriate to examine religion and politics as separate entities.

In this vein, Hurd approaches secularism as a factor that pertains to the relationship between religion and politics; she discusses this relationship from the point of view of three versions of international theory – realism, constructivism, and liberalism. In this discussion Hurd makes two discoveries: The first is that secularism perceives religion and politics as two separate entities, and is itself politics. The second is that the boundary that secularism has drawn between religion and politics functions as a normative tool of legitimization for the given regime.

If such features of secularism are ignored, then it becomes impossible to understand the role that religion plays in the national and international arena. At this point, Hurd draws a distinction between Judeo-Christian secularism and laicism. According to Hurd, laicism, with the heritage of Enlightenment, perceives religion as despotic, irrational, and the source of the abuse of power; and advocates the exclusion of religion from public sphere.

On the other hand, Judeo-Christian secularism has established a distinction between the divine and the human; unlike laicism, it has not distinguished religion from politics and has not excluded religion and religious institutions from the public sphere. Moreover, secularism is seen as the historical consequence of the Judeo-Christian tradition. For this reason, members of this tradition view laicism as the organizing principle of more authoritarian political regimes, whereas they view secularism as the organizing principle of more democratic regimes. Therefore, for laicists, it is not possible for Islamic societies to be secular.

The position that Hurd places Islam in via this description indicates not only Islam's functioning as a mere political strategy tool in both the U.S. and Europe, but also the influence of Islam in the construction of societal/political identities. Hurd examines this feature of Islam by grounding it in the more specific context of Turkey. She draws attention to some researchers (such as Oliver Roy) who evaluate Turkey's EU accession bid based on the distinction between Turkish laicism and Judeo-Christian secularism and the reasons for their denial of such this proposal. She states:

“... Oliver Roy argues that “Turkey will be rejected from the European Union not because the Turkish state fails to satisfy the EU's demands to democratize... but because Turkish society is not [European], meaning that it does not share the fund of Christianity that serves as the foundation of laicism itself” (p.91).

Hurd also adds that “...Turkey, though secular in some sense, will not be admitted to the EU because key decision makers in Europe and the majority of the European public do not believe it to be sufficiently secular in the European sense” (p. 91).

Hurd draws attention to discussions that pertain to the distinction between secularism and laicism in the case of Iran, and the organic bond between religion and politics in a non-Western society, as well as the functioning of Islam as a political-strategy tool. Thus, she reminds us that secularism is a historical and cultural construction. Furthermore, she emphasizes once again that the distinction between politics and the religious sphere is itself political. Indeed, the conclusion that she draws from these stands is as follows:

“...Religion and politics, like sacred and secular, are assumed to be stable and unchanging categories aligned with familiar division public and private. This is not the case. Religion and politics do not belong the distinct domains of power and authority. The designation of the religious and the political is itself a political act. It is not possible to make the contents of the religious sphere disappear by defining it out of existence as a political domain and refusing to acknowledge its constitutive role within modern politics” (p.153).

In short, Hurd's book enables us to question the Orientalist perspective which views the relationship between religion and politics completely from the perspective of “the West and the rest”, thus failing to appreciate the historical/cultural conditions, the process of emergence, and the various political consequences of this relationship.

Hurd's book contains a wide bibliography, makes use of interdisciplinary theoretical insights, and illuminates contemporary political events. If this book is read along with Roxanne L. Euben's *Enemy in Mirror* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) the reader will achieve deeper penetration into these issues.

Ali Yařar Sarıbay

İbn Meymûn Felsefesinde Tanrı

Atilla Arkan

İstanbul: Deęişim Yayınları, 2007. 283 sayfa.

Musa b. Meymûn'un (1135-1204) Tanrı tasavvurunu Yahudi ve İslâm felsefe geleneklerinin devamı olarak anlamaya yönelik bir giriş nitelięi taşıyan kitap, İslâm kelâmındaki tartışmaların Yahudi kelâmında nasıl devam ettirildięi sorusuna bir cevap verme iddiasındadır. Bu iki temel hedef doęrultusunda eser,