CONTESTATION OF ISLAMISM
OVER THE QUR'ANIC INTERPRETATION:
A STUDY OF AL-TAFSIR AL-TAUHIDI OF HASAN AL-TURABI

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:
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Dialektika,
Effective
history

Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis keterkaitan antara ideologi islamisme dan kelahiran sebuah karya tafsir. Hasan al-Turabi, seorang ideolog Islam di Sudan, melalui karya al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi memiliki pandangan dasar terhadap al-Qur'an dan metode penafsiran tersendiri. Dengan perspektif dialektika sejarah dan analisis effective history, studi ini menemukan bahwa islamisme bagi al-Turabi dipandang sebagai unified Islamic view. Islamisme—berdasarkan pandangan bahwa al-Qur'an merupakan kitab yang mengajak kepada tauhid dan setiap ayatnya menyatu (al-Wiḥdah al-Qur'aniyah)—dipahami sebagai bentuk penerapan seluruh nilai dan prinsip Islam; lebih mengedepankan nilai-nilai keadilan sosial. Dari sisi effective history, corak penafsiran al-Turabi menawarkan kritik metodologis-materi terhadap karya tafsir klasik dan modern. Model penafsirannya menekankan pada penggalian unsur-unsur kedalaman pesan dan dijadikan sebagai panduan kehidupan hari ini. Al-Qur'an diyakini tidak hanya memuat panduan tentang keyakinan dan ibadah, tetapi menyeluruh dalam berbagai dimensi kehidupan. Maka penafsiran al-Qur'an harus koheren dengan bertumpu pada nilai-nilai asasi dari kehadiran al-Qur'an itu sendiri. Kehadiran al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi menunjukkan bahwa corak penafsiran al-Turabi, tidak lepas dari konteks intelektual, ideologi dan gerakan politiknya di Sudan.

Abstract

Keywords:
Islamism,
Qur'anic
interpretation,
Dialectics,
Effective
history

This study examines the relationship between Islamist ideology and the birth of a tafsir. Hasan al-Turabi, an Islamic ideologue in Sudan, has a basic view of the Qur'an and his method of interpretation in al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi. This study found that Islamism was perceived as a unified Islamic view based on historical dialectical perspectives and effective historical analysis. Islamism is defined as applying all Islamic values and principles, particularly in advancing social justice values, based on the view that the Qur'an teaches tawhid and that every verse is united. From an effective historical perspective, al-Turabi's pattern of interpretation offers methodological-material criticism of the classical and modern tafsir. His model of interpretation emphasises the excavation of message elements and is used as a guide for living today. The Qur'an is a set of guidelines for faith, worship, and all aspects of life. As a result, Qur'anic interpretation must be consistent and founded on Qur'anic fundamental values. The presence of al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi demonstrates that al-Turabi's pattern interpretation is not separated from his intellectual, ideological, and political context in Sudan.

Introduction

Every work of interpretation (*Tafsir*) is not born from emptiness. The surrounding social, economic, political and cultural situation will significantly influence the pattern and model of interpretation. In Indonesia, during the New Order era, for example, the dialectics of interpretation appeared to be a ground for contestation.[1] Apart from the tendency to accommodate the interests of Muslims, the emergence of works of interpretation during this period of authoritarian rule tended to voice more sensitive themes, such as poverty, injustice, deliberation, Pancasila and others.[2]

By considering the political context, the model of the study of interpretation can be a model for developing dialectical research on Qur'anic interpretation.[3] The emergence of interpretation as a *product of*

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[1] Islah Gusmian, *Tafsir al-Qur'an dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia: Peneguhan, Kontestasi dan Pertarungan Wacana*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Salwa Yogyakarta, 2019), 7.; Ihsan Nursidik, "Tafsir Indonesia di Rezim Otoritarianisme," *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas* 1, no. 2 (2021): 198–203, https://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/jis/article/view/12072/pdf.

[2] Syamsul Wathani, "Tafsir al-Qur'an dan Kekuasaan Politik di Indonesia (Persfektif Analisis Wacana dan Dialektika)," *Nun: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir di Nusantara* 2, no. 1 (2016): 175–197, https://jurnalnun.aiat.or.id/index.php/nun/article/view/6.

[3] Dede Rodin, Rosihon Anwar, Dody S Truna, Wahyudin Sarmalaksana, "The State and the Holy Quran: Politic of the Quran Translation by the Ministry of Religious Affairs,"

knowledge and thought represents what Hans George Gadamer calls the *horizon*, the scope of understanding (*range of vision*) that encompasses everything that can be seen from a specific starting point.[4] That is, the interpretation of the Qur'an is the product of understanding within the scope of understanding itself. So understanding the surrounding social setting becomes important (*represents a standing point*) in understanding the scope of this understanding.[5]

In the history of the *philosophy of understanding*, the term horizon has been used by Nietzsche and Husserl to describe a condition that binds a mind—conditions where the scope of human vision can be developed.[6] Gadamer develops a more serious study of the *horizon*, as history influences a particular situation for a person.[7] Thus, apart from representing the interpreter's (*Mufassir*) horizon, the appearance of a work of interpretation is also the result of dialectics with the reality of the existence of interpreters in certain situations and periods.

In searching for the direction of Islamic revival in Middle Eastern Countries after the Crusades and the emergence of the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, Muslim figures were active in writing and re-introducing Islamic thought in law, theology, and philosophy to the interpretation of the Qur'an. In the context of state politics, since the first half of the 20th Century, many Muslim leaders have competed to present the concept of an Islamic State as an alternative to the caliphate system, which is no longer acceptable to most Muslims. In 1902, Saudi Arabia started by declaring itself an Islamic kingdom. Then Pakistan, Sudan and Iran declared themselves Islamic Republics. The platform for forming the Islamic State system has given rise to Islamism as an instrument of a

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Ilmu Ushuluddin 8, no. 1 (2021): 57–80, https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ilmu-ushuluddin/article/view/18344.

[4] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Continum, n.d.), 301.; Klaus Dockhorn and Marvin Brown, "Hans-Georg Gadamer's 'Truth and Method,'" *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 13, no. 3 (1980): 160–180, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40237149.

[5] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method, 301.*

[6] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 301-302.

[7] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 300-302.

political movement. Some developments were prominent in Islam during this revival, namely, making Islam a foundation of the state and the independence movement.[8]

In the context of interpretation studies, the rise of Islam and the Islamic State often shows contestation of interpretation. The emergence of interpretation works in this phase was born from the various scientific genealogies of figures and their roles in Islamic politics. Islamism as a new face of Islamic revival and contemporary Islamic political movements often shows contestation of interpretations within it. Islamist figures and activists are noted to be very familiar with the Qur'an; some even authored Qur'an interpretations. Like Sayyid Qutb, an ideologue of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt who wrote *"Tafsir fi Zilal al-Qur'an";* Sa'id Hawwa, an ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, wrote *"al-Asas fi al-Tafsir";* Abu' Ala Al-Maududi, Indian Islamist wrote *"Tafhim al-Qur'an"*; and Hasan al-Turabi, a Sudanese Islamist who authored *"al-Tafsir at-Tauhidi."*

As an initial thesis, the emergence of commentary books and the historical role of ideology—religion or political movement—cannot be separated. The development of patterns, genres of interpretation, and basic ideological views—built from reading verses of the Qur'an—cannot be separated from the agendas of Islamic revival spread in these countries. There is a connection between the emergence of Islamic figures and their thoughts and the context from which these figures and ideas came. A character grows not from an empty room but is bound by the dynamics of life's journey. Suppose it is contextualised in the interpretation study with the dialectic model of understanding. In that case, it becomes crucial to decipher the interpretation study data in the publication of this interpretation of works of Islamic activism. This study is a form of interpretation research that seeks formulation and continuity between the thoughts of interpretation and the thoughts of the political principles of interpreter figures.

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[8] Abdul Wahab eI-Efendy, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan* (London: Grey Seal, 1993), 145–160.

For the above reasons, this study outlines the emergence of the interpretation of the Qur'an as a home of ideas for an intellectual cum Islamic activist. By taking Hassan al-Turabi's object of study with his work, *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi*, this study analyses the dialectic and influence of al-Turabi's political ideology, recognising the contestation of interpretations of the Qur'an in response to practices, political situations, and ideology of contemporary Islamic movements.

The author sees that interpretation is the practice of understanding and an expression of interpreters in viewing the surrounding social reality and conditions. Tafsir al-Qur'an is not only seen as an obligation for Muslims to understand their religious texts. More than that, it can be seen in the contestation over individuals who convey their interests through interpretation, such as political interests, ideology, movement interests, etc. The factor driving the interpretation contestation is a response to a wave of ideas or criticism from the current contestation. The same thing can also be seen in Hasan al-Turabi when he wrote *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi*.

For this reason, this study will analyse the political history of Sudan and Hassan al-Turabi's Islamism and fundamental views on the Qur'an and Hasan al-Turabi's interpretation of the spirit of Islamism. From this, it can be seen the linkages of the ideology of Islamism with the birth of a product of thought or work of interpretation. Finally, the basic view of the Qur'an and the analysis method in understanding al-Turabi interpretation can be understood. This analysis can prove that there is a link between the ideology of the Islamic political movement and the product of interpretations of the Qur'an or prove the attachment of ideological principles to the understanding/interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an. This analysis is critical, considering the position of al-Turabi's relationship with the Islamist movement he is promoting. Islamism itself does not arise from empty understanding but is based on views on religious text.

This study will contribute, among others, as a research model for interpretation with critical social sciences; as an alternative to the development of interpretation research which does not only examine texts

but also examines the reality of the emergence of interpretations; As a model of interpretation research that analyses the global political cycle as a starting point in identifying the emergence of interpretation; and as a model of study that does not only place interpretation (the book) as religious discourse, but also as a political discourse.

As part of the analytical tools and arrangement of research arguments, this study's theoretical framework and research methods are related and mutually supportive: historical dialectics and methods of analysis of effective history. The historical dialectics in question is within the scope of the historical-critical theory[9] and the sociology of knowledge framework.[10] Because historical discussions and the sociology of knowledge start from historical records and the dialectics that occur, thoughts that emerge are understood relationally, that is, the relationship between ideas and their social realities.[11]

This analytical framework is based on the fact that Hassan al-Turabi has the reality of political history and the scientific scope surrounding it. Therefore, studying al-Turabi means studying the extent of his intellectualism and political activism. This theoretical framework helps examine and trace data (library), especially in the process of interpretation. This data will be seen as a historical fact or an authentic record of events.

Data analysis uses an analysis frame of the history of influence (effective history); one of Hans Georg Gadamer's hermeneutic theories rests on the fact that there is always a history of influences working in understanding activities.[12] In the history of influence, there are layers of

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9 Montgomery Watt, *Studi Islam Klasik: Wacana Kritik Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999), 2–6.

10 Muhyar Fanani, *Metode Studi Islam: Aplikasi Sosiologi Pengetahuan sebagai Cara Pandang* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 58–59.

11 Karl Manheim, *Ideologi dan Utopia: Sebuah Pengantar Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1991), 306.

12 Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method, 301.*

awareness, including awareness of the influence of tradition in every understanding. Understanding itself cannot be separated from the situation and condition of humans in tradition, which means the existence of readers in a certain space of time or *Vorurteil*.[13] *Effective history* will prove that human existence, the existence of readers in a certain millennium, also determines the pattern of understanding of something. That understanding will continue to develop freely in the understanding of readers with different existential facts.[14]

In the context of interpretation product, an interpreter must realise that he is inseparable from historical conditions that play a role in his interpretive activities. Awareness about *effective history* means awareness about something that the interpreter does not stand outside of it so that they can know an object objectively. In Gadamerian hermeneutics, the historicity that influences certain situations is understood by the term *horizon*, namely the *range of vision* encompassing everything that can be viewed from a certain point of view.[15]

In a study on the birth of contemporary interpretation, using this method of analysis means: *first*, positioning the book of interpretation as a product of historical thought and born of historical influence and, *second* placing the book of interpretation, in the form of a text, in the analysis as a living discourse. Regarding social semiotics, text cannot be separated from its context. Thus, the dialectic of the Qur'an is also not separated from these two sides. Effective history can prove that everyone is in history and never comes out of history. Because of that, it is impossible for anyone to understand or reflect on things by getting out of historical reality. This influence analysis carried out by Gadamer can be used as an analytical method in looking at the birth/emergence of the book of interpretations that is present as a strengthening of the projection of an Islamic political agenda of Islamism, as initiated by al-Turābī.

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[13] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* .301.
[14] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 299–301.
[15] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 300–301.

Sudan: State Political History and Hasan al-Turabi's Islamism

Regarding historical dialectics, the sociological study of knowledge of al-Turabi's ideas, he lives in historical facts as a figure and ideologue active in Sudan's political activities. Islamism as an Islamic political idea and movement in Sudan has occurred since the mid-19th century. The presence of al-Turabi in the political history of Sudan has offered/discussed a new Islamism, namely open Islamism or inclusive Islamism.

Al-Turabi accommodates the historical context as an intellectual cum Islamic activist on the one hand and as an interpreter of the Qur'an. During his life, al-Turabi not only voiced the practices and teachings of Islamic doctrine in state politics but also criticised several ideas of Islamic political conceptions, which he thought were erroneous. Al-Turabi himself can be noted as a figure who voiced the idea of a new Islamism from the womb of an Islamist who disagreed with the old ideas of Islamism.

The history of the country's politics or the search for the concept of the Sudanese Islamic State cannot be separated from three keywords: the Sudanese mahdism movement, the Sudanese secular state and Hassan al-Turabi's inclusive Islamism. Islam and Islamism are different, although related. Islam is an authentic idea, but when it becomes Islamism, it becomes a set of ideologies or even a political party which holds that Islam must be a guideline for human life, be it social, economic, political or cultural. This view makes Islamism a terminology of Islamic studies that is familiar with the issue of Islamic revival, or Islamic Mahdism.[16]

In various parts of the Islamic world, especially in Middle Eastern countries, crucial problems related to Islamism have taken root and have a long history. The term Islamism refers to, first, an ideological movement that must be carried out by focusing on the ideological meaning of its bearers. Second, it refers to a doctrine, group or movement with specific characteristics different from existing movements. Therefore Islamism is

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[16] M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), xv.

understood as the group orientation of the modern Islamic revival, whose traces can be found today.

In global political studies, Islamism is understood as a response to the multidimensional crisis of the Islamic community, so the revival of Islam is believed only to be born by reorienting Islamic values in all aspects of life. Historically, there are at least two notions; *first*, Islamism was born to respond to Western cultural imperialism, and *second* the rise of Islam as a natural response to a multidimensional crisis: a moral crisis, adultery, corruption, nepotism and acts of violating religion as experienced by Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco.[17] The backwardness of Islam is considered biased by the progress of Islam during the Caliphate. The meeting of social anxiety and the rise of social inequality pulled back the psychological side of Muslim society to miss the glory of Islam, especially the Ottoman Turks. So to overcome various humane-moral crises and revive Islam's glory, Islamism was strengthened in fighting for efforts to formalise Islamic Sharia into the public sphere through laws and state regulations (*al-Qanun*).[18]

Sudan is one of the many Islamic countries in the Middle East that has experienced the turmoil of establishing an Islamic State. The Mahdism movement plays a role in the journey of Sudanese Islamic politics. Mahdism became a reaction against imperialism which became a rival to the Ottoman caliphate. This movement represents Islam internationally, not just Sudanese and Arab.[19] The spirit of the Mahdist movement became the foundation for the rise of Sudanese Islam in the 1880s. The roots of this movement can be seen from the establishment of the Islamic Charter Front (ICF), which then developed into the National Islamic Front (NIF),

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[17] Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam dan Negara Sekuler: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syari'at* (Bandung: Mizan, 2007), 31–35.

[18] Taufik Adnan Amal dan Rizal Panggabean, *Politik Syari'at Islam: dari Indonesia sampai Sudan* (Jakarta: Alvabert, 2004), 14–20.

[19] Hasan at-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, ed. Yusuf al-Qardhawi (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1998), 142–143.

where al-Turābī became an important figure in his political movement.[20]

The Mahdism movement was founded by Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi around the end of the 19th century, before the birth of the 20th-century Islamic revolution of Sudan (Islamist revolution). The spirit of the Mahdism movement is to incorporate the *messianic message* of Islam into the political and religious system of the Sudanese Muslim community (the messianic doctrine of Islam to the political and religious community of the Sudanese Muslims).[21] The model for the early Islamism of the Sudanese State was the Mahdism movement. This movement's attachment to al-Turabi's Islamism can be seen in family ties, Sadiq al-Mahdi, the eldest son of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi, is Hasan al-Turabi's stepbrother. Although on his political journey, al-Turabi deviated and founded a new Islamic movement group.

In conceptualising the country's political model, Sudan was also driven by a group of supporters of the secular Islamic State of Sudan, led by Mahmud Muhammad Taha and his student, Abdullah Ahmed an-Na'im. Both are recorded in the liberal-religious group that carries the idea of the modern Islamic State of Sudan. Taha is of the generation that lived during the Sudanese political period with al-Turabi. The big idea is to oppose the Islamization of Sudan, which uses Islamic sharia as the state ideology.[22]

In the late 1930s, Taha joined the Islamic movement and was active in the movement for the independence of Sudan from Anglo-Egyptian colonial rule. But he disagreed with the Islamic movement's devotion to traditional, sectarian religious leaders. Taha formed the Republican Party in October 1945. This party was oriented towards modernist Islamic ideology or Islamic modernism. This party was criticised by many people,

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[20] Robert O. Collins J. Millard Burr, *Revolutionary Sudan Hasan al-Turabi and the Islamist State, 1989-2000*, vol. 2003 (Leiden: Briil, n.d.), xv.

[21] J. Millard Burr, *Revolutionary Sudan Hasan al-Turabi and the Islamist State, 1989-2000*, vol. 2003.

[22] Taufik Adnan Amal dan Rizal Panggabean, *Politik Syari'at Islam: dari Indonesia sampai Sudan*, 15–22.

driving him to be exiled in October 1951. After the exile, Taha gave rise to new thoughts, which he called the "second treatise of Islam" (*al-Risalah al-Taniyah min al-Islam*). Taha actively socialises his ideas through various lectures, books and newspaper articles. In the early 1950s, the Republican Party transformed from a political party to a more active role as an organisation that voiced Taha's thoughts. In 1969, when all political parties in Sudan were dissolved, and Ja'far Numeiri became president through a military coup, the Republican Party changed to the Republican Brothers).[23]

Taha's presence in Sudanese politics opposes the formalisation of shari'a in the public sphere and voices distinguishing between shari'a and religion. This idea was conceived as a creation of the Secular State of Sudan. For him, the West offers capitalism, and some Islamic activism offers absurd socialism. Therefore, he offers a new reading of Islam that can be used as a middle ground for capitalism and socialism. In matters of social life, according to Taha, Islam offers a reasonable relationship between individuals and society. In Taha's opinion, this new reading for Islam will show that Islam can make social regulations a means of freedom.[24]

For Taha, the country's political interest cannot be built on the formalisation of *Shari'ah* because many *Shari'ah* teachings currently developing are not pure Islamic teachings and goals. Taha put forward his idea to ground down the spirit of Islamic *Shari'ah*, not the formalism of his *Shari'ah*. For Taha, Islamic teachings are transitional with the limited capacity of the community. Therefore, subsidiary and transitional *Shari'ah* teachings and provisions must be replaced with *Shari'ah* teachings and conditions based on principles that refer to Islam's basic and pure teachings in the Makkiyya verses. The formation of *Shari'ah* offered must have a humane *Shari'ah* character; based on pure Islamic principles, such as individual freedom, joint property ownership, and equality between

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[23] Mahmud Muhammad Taha, *Shalat Pembebasan* (Yogyakarta: LKIs, 2001), 130.
[24] Mahmud Muhammad Taha, *Shalat Pembebasan,* 75.

men and women.[25]

Besides *Mahdism* and the idea of a secular Islamic State of Sudan, in conceptualising the country's political model, Sudan was also moved by Hasan al-Turabi's inclusive Islamism. The presence of al-Turabi is considered an influential figure and a critical contemporary Islamic political movement in Sudan. Al-Turabi was born in 1932 in the city of Kasala, Sudan.[26] The birth of al-Turabi expanded the record of reformers in Sudan, who planned the Islamization process in Sudan. As mentioned above, other figures are interested in al-Turabi in Sudan, Taha and an-Na'im. Al-Turabi is the phase before the birth of Ahmed an-Naim with the idea of the de-secularization of society.[27] Al-Turabi is a thinker and ideologue of the Sudanese National Islamic Front (NIF). He has been called one of the most influential figures in modern Sudanese politics. The presence of al-Turabi played an instrumental key in institutionalising the *Shari'ah* in the northern part of the State of Sudan, so the presence of al-Turabi is a crucial phase in the development of political discourse in Sudan.

Regarding Islamic intellectualism, al-Turabi was raised by the most prominent Arab tribal family in Sudan, who was very religious. His ancestors were Sufis and followers of the Qadiriyyah Order, Wad al-Turabi. From his family, al-Turabi received an excellent traditional Islamic education.[28] Al-Turabi is an Islamic thinker who conducted scientific research in developed European countries. Al-Turabi completed his undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Law, Khartoum University, Sudan (1955), completed his Master's Degree in law at University College, London (1957), and completed his Doctoral studies in law at the Sorbonne

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[25] Maḥmud Muḥammad Taha, *Ar-Risalah at-Taniyah min al-Islam*, 1969, 118–126.

[26] Hasan al-Turābī, *Fiqih Demokratis: dari Tradisionalisme Kolektif menuju Modernisme Populis* (Bandung: Arasy, 2003), 11–12.

[27] John L. Esposito, *Rethinking Islam and Secularism* (USA: The Association of Religion Data Archives, 2011), 5.

[28] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam*, *Fifty Key Figures in Islam* (London: Roudletge, 2006), 216.

University, France (1964).[29]

From the point of view of Islamic activism, al-Turabi's presence gave birth to a new concept of Islamism that bridged the many conflicting ideas about the Islamic State and the direction of its development. The author calls it inclusive Islamism. Abdullahi A. Gallab, in his book Hassan al-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016, portrays the long history of the birth of the revolution in Sudan and the role of Islamism and its leaders.[30] History records that the most prominent reformer from al-Turābī was renewal in the political sphere, which emphasised the Islamic State system and the resolution of social conflicts, which resulted in a civil war in Sudan.[31]

The Khartoum campus was instrumental in giving birth to one of the founders of Sudanese Islamism. Babikir Karrar is said to be one of the founders with significant influence. He initiated a nationalist movement against colonialism in Sudan. Al-Turabi started his scholarship at this campus. Islamism and this campus are the core of Islamism of al-Turabi. The uncertainty of identity and the social, moral and spiritual crises gave rise to the enthusiasm of the Islamist movement they are promoting.[32] *Harakah Tahrir al-Islami* (Islamic Liberation Movement, ILM), which Karrar founded, became a path for al-Turābī. They recruited young people and university graduates, spread anti-colonial sentiments, and were wary of the communist movement.[33] In 1954, this organisation united with the Sudanese branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood to form the Sudan Muslim Brotherhood.[34]

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[29] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam, 2016.*

[30] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan al-Turābī, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016* (London: Lexinton Book, 2018), ix.

[31] Richad C. Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richad C. Martin, *The Charleston Advisor* (USA: Macmillan Reference, 2004), 348.

[32] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hasan al-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016, 126.*

[33] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan al-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016*, 126.

[34] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam, 206.*

The idea of al-Turabi's Islamism was formed after mapping the political forces in Sudan then. For al-Turabi, this mapping is necessary. Because the Islamic revival movement must emphasise political attitudes in an implementable form so that they have political power, this experience was directly obtained by al-Turabi because his spirit of Islamic activism has grown since childhood. When he was 14, al-Turabi participated in demonstrations criticising colonialism in Sudan.[35]

Al-Turabi is a crucial part of ILM. Al-Turabi's Islamism is under the shadow of Sudanese secularism and colonialism. However, in the historian's records, al-Turabi seems to be in a dilemma with the struggle for Islamism at that time because it seems to be more against leftist tendencies—affiliated with the Communist movement—than the struggle against the existing colonial system. Al-Turabi, who lived during Taha's time,[36] saw that Taha's political flow was closer to communism, fighting colonialism through labourers, the new peasant movement and all Nationalists rather than fighting communists.

In this phase, al-Turabi saw the dilemma of the Sudanese Islamic political movement. The early Islamism movement and Taha's secularism provide unclear directions for the movement. Al-Turabi's early Islamist movement started by fighting communism. As a result, al-Turabi's early phase of Islamism was noted to have provided a chain of violence spread in small towns and corners of the country in Sudan, especially in southern Sudan. Because the relationship between religion and the state from Islamism led to violence, Islamism at that time was portrayed as violence against the state (violence as a phenomenon related to the Islamists and their state).[37]

The increasingly strong communist movement made al-Turabi strengthen the struggle with ILM. One of the manifestos of the ILM group

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[35] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam*, 206.

[36] Adang Djumhur Salikin, *Reformasi Syariah dan HAM dalam Islam; Bacaan Kritis terhadap Pemikiran An-Na'im* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2004), 21.

[37] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan al-Turābī, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016*, 128.

is an idea taken from Husen Haikal, Hayatu Muhammad; the concept of Islamic civilisation and the helplessness of European civilisation in providing happiness to humans and the idea of social justice in Islam. Social justice was the key to al-Turabi's manifesto of Islamism when he joined ILM. This manifesto can be read as a new direction against colonialism and a free Sudanese State from colonialism with the ideas of Islamic Society, Islamic State and Islamic Socialism. These three keywords become a new definition for al-Turabi's inclusive Islamism.[38]

Islamism must be inclusive by being open to knowledge about the economy, society and progress. If early Islamism tended to be an exclusive group, in the hands of al-Turabi, Islamism became inclusive, became "a unified Islamic view"; a unified view of Islam. Al-Turabi emphasised his Islamism as a phenomenon of idealism to rise and be together in unity *(at-tawhid)*. Al-Turabi wrote in a collection of writings with several other modern Islamic reformers around the world:

> Resurrection is a phenomenon of religious idealism. Muslims must always strive towards the point of unity of the Ummah (integrated) based on: (a) faith in Allah, (b) unity of basic principles, (c) unity of the future of humanity, (d) unity of purpose in life, (e) unity of *Shari'ah*, and (f) the unity of the movement of brotherhood and alliance in knowledge, wealth and power.[39]

As an ideologue, al-Turabi tries to combine Islam with his concept of renewal in his movement, as seen when al-Turabi revealed the idea of *tajdid*, which has revolutionary content. Until many call him the "founder of the Islamic state in Sudan." Along with the Ikhwan al-Muslimin.[40] This title is because al-Turabi has a connection with Egypt in every revolutionary idea he fought for.[41] Gallab, in Hassan al-Turabi, The Last

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[38] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hasan al-Turābī, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016*, 128.

[39] Hasan al-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 146.

[40] Ariel Cohen, "Power or Ideology: What the Islamists Choose Will Determine Their Future," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 22, no. 3 (2005): 1–10, https://www.ajis.org/index.php/ajiss/article/view/463.

[41] Abdul Wahab EI-Efendy, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan*.

of the Islamists, notes that the phase of al-Turabi's life journey gave birth to a new concept of Islamism once it came to power. However, his Islamism was not perfectly implemented due to political friction from his opponents.[42]

The analysis above leads to a thesis that discussing Islamism in Sudan means tracing the traces of al-Turabi's Islamic political movement.[43] Fundamentalist Islamic groups in the National Islamic Front, commanded by al-Turabi, have developed a decisive role in the Sudanese political arena, collaborating with the authorities. When affiliated with the ruling regime, NIF succeeded in pushing for the Islamization of all fields, including implementing Islamic law in the country.[44] Juergensmeyer noted that the religious nationalist movement, including al-Turabi, has succeeded in ushering in a succession of revolutions in Sudan and becoming a breed for other Islamic countries, such as Iran, Afghanistan and others.[45]

Al-Turabi: Meeting of Islam, State and *Shari'ah*

In the context of political and Islamic thought, the characteristics of contemporary Islamic political thought can be mapped into three groups: *first,* the Conservative group. This group is characterised by ideological axioms built based on Islamic teachings. Islam contains *Shari'ah* which is perfect, complete, comprehensive and universally applicable to all humankind in all places and times. This assumption has implications for the necessity to accept the superiority of Islam as the only ideology to construct a political system, government or state. This superiority is

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[42] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan at-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016.*

[43] Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, ed. Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought* (Australia: Balkwell Publising, 2007), 145–160.

[44] M. Zaki Mubarak, *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia (Gerakan, Pemikiran, dan Prospek Demokrasi)* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008), 6–7.; Wahyudin Hafid, "Geneologi Radikalisme di Indonesia (Melacak Akar Sejarah Gerakan Radikal)," *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 1 (2020): 31–46, https://jurnal.fai.umi.ac.id/index.php/tafaqquh/article/view/37/33.

[45] Mark Juergensmeyer, *Menentang Negara Sekuler: Kebangkitan Global Nasionalisme Religius* (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), 235–237.

carried out by reviving the political practices and thoughts of the Prophet's era, *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun* and the Islamic caliphate. This characteristic can be read in ideologues, for example, Sayyid Qutb, Rashid Rida, and Abu al-A'la al-Maududi, including Hassan al-Turabi.[46]

Second, the Modernist group. The characteristics applied to this group are their principled stance that *Shari'ah* regulates worldly and social issues, government and the State only at the level of values and general principles. Technically it can adopt other systems. This group voiced the belief that Islam is a religion that is in harmony with modernity. The principal establishment can be realised in two ways; carry out *ijtihad* continuously and re-examine the validity of political theory and practice during the time of the Prophet and the Caliphate while taking several substances relevant to the demands and spirit of the modern world. This characteristic can be read in ideologues such as Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad Husain Haikal and Muhammad As'ad.[47]

Third is secular groups. This group consider that Islamic law is only related to personal affairs, which includes the rules of human relations with God alone. All worldly matters, including the State, are temporal and profane. With all their capabilities, humans have the full right to determine and regulate without having to justify and be attached to religious doctrines. This characteristic is reflected in ideologues such as 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq, Mahmud Muhammad Taha, Ahmed an-Naim and others.[48]

Since being independent of the British colonisation on January 1, 1956, the search for a state ideology has become a fundamental issue that never ends for the people of Sudan. In Sudanese politics, there are three trends in political thought: *first*, the desire to make Sudan an Islamic State and an Islamic ideology, driven by Hassan al-Turābī. *Second*, the desire to

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[46] Masykuri Abdillah, "Gagasan dan Tradisi Bernegara dalam Islam: Sebuah Perspektif Sejarah dan Demokrasi Modern," *Tashwirul Afkar* 01, no. 07 (2000): 103.

[47] Masykuri Abdillah, "Gagasan dan Tradisi Bernegara dalam Islam: Sebuah Perspektif Sejarah dan Demokrasi Modern, 103.

[48] Masykuri Abdillah, "Gagasan dan Tradisi Bernegara dalam Islam: Sebuah Perspektif Sejarah dan Demokrasi Modern, 103.

become a secular state, England as a state ideology, was driven by colonial powers. *Third*, the desire to create a moderate Islamic ideology that agrees with the form of a republican state, driven by the Republicans with the main character Mahmud Muhammad Taha.[49]

Sudan's ideological parties fall into two models: Mahmud Muhammad Taha in the Republican party and Abdel Khaliq Mahjoub in the Communist Party. Al-Turabi came to create a third way. In Sudanese Islamism, al-Turabi is closer to the line of Karrar, the founder of ILM, on the point of Sudanization of the Islamic movement and concern for women and Islamic social justice.[50] Although on his way, al-Turabi shifted in the direction of his Islamic movement. Al-Turabi wants to fight for the status of women in Sudan, which has long been under colonialism and the rule of narrow Islamism. Since then, al-Turabi's Islamism has followed the Sudanese tradition more than Karrar's, which follows the Egyptian tradition. In addition, al-Turabi's Islamism was based on something other than the Ikhwan al-Muslimin, even though he collaborated in the initial phase. Establishing Islamism between the two party models above is vital for al-Turabi. Islamism must be a way of giving knowledge *(chief ideologue)* about how to act, live and scheme of Islamism that is considered relevant to the power in establishing the Islamic Republic after 1989.[51]

As an academic and politician from the Ikhwan, al-Turabi underlies all his movements with references to the Qur'an. Al-Turabi believes that the Qur'an is a complete guide to life. According to him, the Al-Qur'an not only contains guidelines on beliefs and worship but comprehensively deals with life's issues, including governance, the economy and methods of upholding justice. Thus, al-Turabi views that the Islamic State must implement all parts of Islam as contained in the Qur'an, including a government based on an Islamic constitution, an interest-free economic

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[49] Muhyar Fanani, "Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im: Paradigma Baru Hukum Publik Islam," in *Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*, ed. A. Khudori Soleh (Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2003), 6.

[50] Abdul Wahab EI-Efendy, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan*.

[51] Richad C. Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*.

system, concern for the welfare of people with low incomes and a legal system by implementing Islamic law.[52]

In the maturity phase after returning from France for his doctoral study, al-Turabi is mindful of the model of Islamism. Because often, the methods and forms of movement used by Islamism to achieve efforts to ground Islamic law are carried out with violence.[53] Through ILM, al-Turabi and Karrar tried to revolutionise aspects of Islamic Mahdism.[54] He is initiating an Islamic Revivalist ideology which promotes Islamic socialism as a way of life based on spiritual brotherhood, community and the moral economy of life.[55]

Developments after this phase, the National Islamic Front led by al-Turabi emerged with new and more progressive ideas. Al-Turabi seeks a platform for Islamism by blending Sudanese traditions with Islamic socialism. The concept of al-Turabi's Islamism can be read as an intellectual-progressive orientation. Meanwhile, the group that opposes al-Turabi is a conservative group that remains committed to the ties of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.[56]

With the idea of Islamism, al-Turabi tried hard to enter the political contestation in Sudan. He transmits his ideas of Islamism to young Sudanese people, aiming to show that Islamism is not understood narrowly without a solid religious understanding. Al-Turabi's Islamism emerged as an autonomous entity distinct from many Islamist groups in Sudan. With his new direction of Islamism, al-Turabi was heavily attacked, especially by traditionalist and neo-Salafist groups. [57]

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im explained and acknowledged that a

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[52] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam.*

[53] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan at-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016.*

[54] Muhammad Rafi, "An Islamic Renaissance," *Hamdard Islamicus* Vol. XXVII, no. No 3 (2004): 114.

[55] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan at-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016.*

[56] Abdullahi A. Gallab, *Hassan at-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists; The Man and His Times 1932–2016..*

[57] Abdul Wahab EI-Efendy, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan.*

highly accomplished academic leads the Sudanese Islamic National Front in the political field. An-Na'im described al-Turabi as a *Shara'ah* supporter familiar with fundamental constitutionalism, criminal justice and international law issues. He said al-Turabi had studied law at the University of Khartoum till France. In principle, an-Na'im differs from al-Turabi's ideas because An-Na'im is a student and successor of Taha, al-Turabi's political opponent. But for An-Na'im, what al-Turabi initiated was already a breakthrough among the Ikhwan.[58] With a new idea from the real conditions of the Sudanese people and integrated with Islamic socialism, this idea is widely accepted by the people of Sudan. Finally, in 1969, al-Turabi's ideology won in the political struggle of the State of Sudan.[59]

Islamism of al-Turabi and *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi*

Interpretation always emerges from the fundamental views of the figures regarding the Qur'an, likewise, with the arrival of al-Tafsir a-Tauhidi by al-Turabi. Apart from being an academic, al-Turabi is also active and directly involved in Sudanese politics. In the historical context, his interpretation is part of the media to voice the ideas and principles of his political movement. As he emphasised, al-Tauhidi is not only a method of interpretation that analyses the unity of meaning (*ittihad al-ma'na*) but also initiates all aspects of thought, social-religious goodness movements (*nahdah al-Islah*) and political movements.[60]

From the point of view of *effective history*, al-Turabi accommodates his intellectual context as an interpreter in *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi* by submitting material-methodological criticism of existing classical commentary works and then offering ideas for new interpretations. Also, from the point of view of *effective history*, he accommodates his ideological context and political movements as an ideologue-politician of Sudanese Islamism in his *Tafsir*. Al-Turabi offered an integral reading of the Qur'an (*Unity of the*

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[58] Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im, *Dekonstruksi Syari'ah* (Yogyakarta: LKIs, 1994), 78–83.
[59] Richad C. Martin, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*.
[60] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I* (Beirut: Dar as-Saqi, 2004), 4–5.

Qur'an) after reading the existing commentary works and quoting several verses regarding the functions of the Qur'an. Al-Turabi's contemplation reached the point of anxiety; why does the Qur'an seem to have no role, its values and principles, in today's life? This is where al-Turabi's anxiety responds to the interpretation of the Qur'an from classical Islamic orthodoxy.

The *Tafsir* was written in the late 1990s, 1994, to be precise, from the start of the discussion *(khalaqah)* with his friends and followers. This phase can be called the phase in which al-Turabi's Islamism is well-established in the government. Because in 1988, the Islamic National Front (NIF), which he led, created a coalition with the government of Sadiq al-Mahdi and led him to become Attorney General. In the 1996 elections, al-Turabi served as the speaker of parliament. However, this phase can also be noted as the turbulent phase of al-Turabi. Because in February 2001, he was arrested on charges of betrayal to the State.[61]

The name of this book of interpretation is centralised in its philosophical-ideological meaning. *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi* represents ideas in the form of methodology and ideology in the form of interpretation content. The term *al-Tauhidi*, in contemporary interpretation studies, refers to two things; technical-methodical, which means interpretation based on the thematic unity of the Qur'an (*al-Wihdad al-Qur'aniyah*); and ideological, whose author (al-Turabi) is an activist of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Al-Turabi criticises the existing works of exegesis, especially in the classical period, which were caught up in the debates and fanaticism of schools of thought, thus forgetting the main goal of an interpreter, namely to reach the guidance of the Qur'an (*Huda al-Qur'an*).[62] Al-Turabi also criticised classical interpretations, which according to him, did not accommodate existing knowledge, and only used purely a scientific interpretation. As a result, the method of interpretation moves away from

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[61] Hasan al-Turabi, *Fiqih Demokratis: dari Tradisionalisme Kolektif Menuju Modernisme Populis*, 11–12.

[62] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I.*

the objective of the interpretation, which provides a complete understanding of the Qur'an so that the understanding produced is far from the context of the verse (*ma'zulatun 'al-Siyaqiha*).[63]

Apart from that, al-Turabi's critique is also addressed to the works of interpretations in modern times, which according to him, fail to understand the message of the Qur'an practically and focus too much on partial themes of interpretation. According to him, the Qur'an has been misunderstood by some interpreters. They make the Qur'an God's message which is incomplete and separate. Many contemporary *mufassir* fail to show the interconnectedness between units in the Qur'an and fail to express the inner meaning of the verses.[64] Apart from that, al-Turabi also has questions about the authority and misorientation of the interpretation of the Qur'an in modern times. Such an interpretation only partially accommodates contemporary socio-cultural conditions. Al-Turabi also doubts the effort to unite things in life by separating them, while the Qur'an is systematically arranged and interrelated between verses, letters and contents.

From this building of criticism, al-Turabi projects his work, *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi*, as a medium for the context of togetherness and unity with the Qur'an and making the Qur'an a common guide in realising a good life.[65] Effective history in al-Turabi relates to misconceptions about the interpretation of the Qur'an that arise from interpretations distorted by elements such as method errors, interpretation of partial themes, and in viewing the Qur'an. As if it only contains matters of faith and law. Therefore, al-Turabi interprets the Qur'an using principles and touches on current issues, such as state politics, freedom, building society, women's rights and status, etc. The various issues considered as the basis for his commentary work, al-Tauhidi, have a fundamental meaning of the unity of the Qur'an's message, which teaches equality, progress, and anti-

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[63] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 5–6.
[64] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 5.
[65] Hasan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir at-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 5.

discrimination. This is because Islam, in al-Turabi's view, is inclusive monotheism.[66]

For al-Turābī, the understanding achieved from the Qur'an is not an empty/dead understanding but one that always lives as a guide and reference for human life.[67] Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi is a method of exegesis that is expected to reunite the various contexts of the Qur'an, both in the form of verses, letters and its contents within the framework of a unified whole.[68] It creates a horizon for al-Turabi as a reader.

Accommodation in the context of al-Turabi's ideology and political movement as an ideologue of Islamism can be seen in al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi and several other ideas in published works. As an ideologue born from the womb of Islamism, al-Turabi bases his political movement on the Qur'an. Al-Turabi believes that the Qur'an is a complete guide to life. Al-Qur'an covers issues such as aqidah, religious ceremonies, government, economics and methods of administering justice. Al-Turabi emphasises this in his commentary:

> The verses of the Qur'an revealed by Allah explain and provide a way to overcome all life's problems. The presence of the Qur'an is also to elevate the level of faith and reveal the veil of our faith in all matters of life, teach believers of the *Shari'ah ta'abbudi* from basic to perfect, clean up the principles of life by giving teachings slowly, perfect its instructions towards good morality, provide a balance of life by upholding knowledge and practices that clean up injustice, determine what good and bad is, justice, politics and rules for leaders with law, rasm and morals.[69]

Thus, al-Turabi said that awareness as a servant bound by monotheism must place oneself as a servant who realises that monotheism is the culmination of an invitation or *da'wah* of the Qur'an. The principle of Islamism, which is based on monotheism, is explained by al-Turabi in his commentary;

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[66] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam.*
[67] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir at-Tauhidi Jilid I.*
[68] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir at-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 5–7.
[69] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 8.

The entire Qur'an contains a call to monotheism. You can see its signs in the majesty of creation—visible to the five senses—the sky, the earth, the stars, the water, the plants, the animals, and the wind with which humans know his God, as the Creator, the Ruler, the Acter, the Almighty, and his movements which are called according to the sequence of time, alternate between death and life. Man needs to realise that he has a way of life for a specified time so that the time of resurrection comes when God equalises the justice of His judgment and separates people according to what they do in this world."[70]

Al-Turabi views that the Islamic State must apply all parts of Islam as contained in the Qur'an, including a government with an Islamic constitution. This economic system is free of interest and cares for the prosperity of the poor, a legal system that applies Islamic law.[71] With monotheism, the embodiment of Islamic values and concepts in the Qur'an relates to creating groups and uniting in bonds of commitment to goodness. For al-Turabi, this is proof of loyalty to Allah SWT, as explained in Q.S. al-Baqarah: 62, Q.S. Ali-Imran: 102, Q.S. al-Nisa': 135, Q.S. al-Anfal: 72, Q.S. al-Tauba: 117, Q.S. al-Mu'minun: 51-52 and Q.S. al-Hujarat: 8-11.[72]

Al-Turabi, who is not only a *mufassir* in Jasser Auda's observations, except offering a new interpretation methodology,[73] is also a politician and Muslim thinker who has created a movement for the renewal of religion, law, politics and social issues through his ideas of Islamism,[74] who designed the *Shari'ah* platform for government.[75] Unlike previous Islamism, al-Turabi is widely deemed as the bearer of a new concept of Islamism, for example, the idea of reviving qiyas, which was revived during

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[70] Hassan al-Turabi, *Al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I*, 6.

[71] Roy Jackson, *Fifty Key Fig. Islam*.

[72] Hasan al-Turābī, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 149–150.

[73] Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law A Systems Approach* (London: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2007), 172.

[74] Oliver Leaman, *The Quran: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London: Roudletge, 2006), 550.

[75] Andrew Rippin, *Muslims Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Roudletge, 2005), 278.

the time of Caliph Umar ibn Khattab to answer the challenges of modern life.[76] He emphasised that ushul al-fiqh must develop in facing the challenges of the reality of contemporary life, not only adhering to the textual meaning of the texts.[77]

With these interpretations and *ushul fiqh*, al-Turabi builds all the foundations of his thinking in various aspects, including conceptual knowledge, social movements, and daily practice.[78] For al-Turabi, at the beginning of the letter al-Isra', Allah SWT explained the awareness of the revival of Islam from the spirit of Islam itself - monotheism itself, namely: animating faith, activating thought and stimulating Islamic movements.[79] The moment is still remembered today as the Isra event, where the Prophet Muhammad received an advantage from Allah SWT with a vision not given to other prophets. After this occasion, the Prophet made changes that started from a profound belief in Allah SWT. In al-Turabi's notes, this event is understood as a momentum to strengthen monotheism as the foundation for an Islamic revival.[80]

Al-Turabi also emphasised that a scholar and *mufassir* must be able to formulate the concept of faith, which can give birth to a concept of political, economic and cultural thought that can apply religious law.[81] The interpretation of the Qur'an must be accompanied by the spirit of tajdid and mahdism (revival). Al-Turabi gave an example how the preservation of the Qur'an in recording the history of the struggle to establish the State of Medina by the Prophet Muhammad, as enshrined at the end of Q.S. al-

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[76] Hasan al-Turābī, *Fiqih Demokratis: dari Tradisionalisme Kolektif Menuju Modernisme Populis*, 59.

[77] Hasan al-Turabi, *Fiqih Demokratis: dari Tradisionalisme Kolektif Menuju Modernisme Populis*, 50.

[78] Hassan al-Turabi, *At-Tafsir at-Tauhidi Jilid I.*

[79] Hasan al-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 129.

[80] Hasan al-Turabi, *At-Tafsîr at-Tauḥîdî Jilid II* (Beirut: Dâr al-ʿArâbî lî al-ʿUlûm, 2011), 483–486.

[81] Hasan al-Turabi, *Fiqih Demokratis: dari Tradisionalisme Kolektif Menuju Modernisme Populis*, 13–29.

Anfal verses 72, 74 and 75.[82] For al-Turabi, Medina is a country that succeeded in surpassing the concept of a state in its era, the result of the struggle for the rise of Islam after *hijrah* and forming a new power based on the teachings of Allah SWT, and Muhammad PBUH as its leader. It is a country that transcends the region, recognised as a world civilisation in its time.[83] The key to this progress is a commitment to monotheism, *hijrah, jihad,* equal rights, social justice and deliberation on similar foundations and principles of life.

According to al-Turabi, ideally, ijtihad or a new understanding of the Qur'an should not only stop at a partial explanation of the Qur'an. Still, it should be able to integrate the text with a context that can describe it, the context in which verses were revealed, which are locus, and a culture that develops in a temporal environment. It is hoped to bring reality closer to religious doctrine, contextualising faith in the ideal form of reality and continuously developing religion towards the ideal point of perfection.[84] Another goal is to reach the perfection of *fiqh*, which should be broad, able to radiate vision and refresh ijtihad in every era, condition, and duration of life and add interpretations of the Qur'an that can provide enlightenment to humans to develop towards the most appropriate state continuously.[85]

From the analysis above, it can be understood that there is a balanced relationship between the principles of al-Turabi's Islamism and the paradigm and results of its interpretation in al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi. Such a relationship can be confirmed through a history of his influence as a *mufassir*, written during the heyday of his Islamism, NIF, with himself as an ideologue of Islamism. Al-Turabi's interpretation is based on the principles of his inclusive Islamist ideological movement towards the

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[82] Hasan al-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 132.

[83] Hasan al-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 132–133.

[84] Hasan al-Turabi, *"Kebangkitan Islam dan Negara-Negara Kawasan Arab", Kebangkitan Islam dalam Perbincangan Para Pakar*, 132.

[85] Hasan al-Turabi, *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi Jilid I.*

Qur'an. If using the classification from Sahiron Syamsuddin, al-Turabi is included in the category of subjective hermeneutics. That is, the main paradigm of its interpretation is to make the Qur'an effective and beneficial for today's human life without considering how previous generations interpreted the Qur'an.[86]

Conclusion

This study revealed a relationship between Sudanese Islamism and the birth of *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi* by Hasan al-Turabi. Three crucial points were found; First, the birth of Islamism was a response to cultural imperialism and the multidimensional crisis that hit many Islamic countries, including Sudan. For the political context of Sudan itself, there are three trends in political thought, i.e. the desire to make Sudan an Islamic State with an Islamic ideology, represented by al-Turabi; the desire to become a secular state driven by colonial powers; and the desire to make Sudan a republic with a moderate Islamic ideology, driven by Taha. The presence of al-Turabi gave birth to a new concept of Islamism which bridged many conflicting thoughts regarding the Islamic State and the direction of its development. Social justice is the key to al-Turabi's manifesto of Islamism. This manifesto led to a new direction against colonialism and freed Sudan from colonialism with the ideas of Islamic society, Islamic State and Islamic Socialism. These three ideas became the modern definition of al-Turabi's Islamism, namely Inclusive Islamism, which opens itself to the knowledge of economics, society and progress. Such Islamism becomes a unified Islamic view, a unified view of Islam in all respects.

Second, the Qur'an is the basic foundation for al-Turabi in proposing Islamism as a system or principle for building a country. Al-Qur'an by al-Turabi is seen as; (1) a complete life guide; (2) a book that invites monotheism, whose message is unified *(al-Wihdah al-Qur'aniyah)* so

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[86] Sahiron Syamsuddin, *Hermeneutika dan Pengembangan Ulumul Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawesea Press, 2009), 63.

that its interpretation must explore the elements of the depth of the message and understand it as a guide to life today; (3) contains not only guidelines on belief and worship but also comprehensive guidelines on government, economics and methods of administering justice. Therefore the interpretation of the Qur'an must be coherent and based on the fundamental values of the presence of the Qur'an itself, call for unity in the name of one monotheism and make changes based on a solid belief. (4) The Islamic State must implement all parts of Islam as contained in the Qur'an. The presence of the Qur'an explains good social life through stories of the development of the Medina community as a civilised society based on faith and following the values of the Qur'an.

Third, regarding effective history, al-Turābī accommodates his intellectual context as a *mufassir* in *al-Tafsir al-Tauhidi* by proposing a material-methodological critique of classical commentary works and offering new interpretation ideas. This is where al-Turābī accommodates his ideological context and political movement as an ideologue-politician of Sudanese Islamism. His interpretation is based on the principles of his inclusive Islamist ideological movement towards the Qur'an, which is understood as a book containing all life's issues. The presence of the Qur'an is seen as a mission of preaching monotheism, as it is the spirit and basis of Islamism. This view is sequential to the spirit and principles of Islamism built in the history of his intellectual journey and activism. That is why al-Turabi is categorised as a hermeneutic character of the subjective school, which in his interpretation, makes the Qur'an effective and beneficial for human life today.

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