

4. Germany (1936-1942): Propagating Salafism and Combatting Colonialism from Europe

4.1. Introduction

In his dissertation discussing the role of Al-Hilālī in the evolution of the Salafiyya, Henry Lauzière devotes a separate chapter to the time Al-Hilālī spent in Nazi Germany. He speaks about his personal relations and refers to the dissertation he successfully defended in 1940 under the supervision of Richard Hartmann (1881-1965).¹ He also draws attention to his article about the idea of caste and tribalism in the Arabian Peninsula, published in the German scholarly journal *Die Welt des Islams*.² Lauzière also mentions in passing the addresses of Al-Hilālī broadcast on Radio Berlin in 1939 about the Berber *Dhahīr* (Decree), Arab chivalry and *jihād*.

More recently, Umar Ryad has devoted a chapter to Al-Hilālī's life in Germany entitled 'A *Salafī* student, Orientalist Scholarship and Radio Berlin in Nazi Germany: Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and his Experiences in the West'.³ In this chapter, Ryad speaks about Al-Hilālī's collaboration with Orientalists and the influence some of their ideas exerted on him. This author pays special attention to his contacts with the well-known German Orientalist Paul Kahle (1875-1964), who was his first supervisor. Ryad also discusses Al-Hilālī's approval and his consequent defence of Bernard Moritz' (1859-1939) interpretation of the divine Quranic epithets *Al-Raḥīm* and *Al-Raḥmān* in the *Fatiḥa* (*Qur'ān 1:2*), in which the word *Al-Raḥīm* is translated as 'loving'. He then goes on to discuss Al-Hilālī's opposition to racism and his ideas about Western women. Religion and religious life in Germany are other topics Ryad, who ends his chapter with Al-Hilālī's role in the Nazi propaganda directed towards the Arab world, touches upon. He describes Radio Berlin as an anti-colonial weapon and also speaks about Al-Hilālī's anti-communism. Ryad also sets out the process Al-Hilālī had to undergo before joining the propaganda department. This involved an application to the Ministry of Education of the Third Reich asking that Al-Hilālī be able to take leave of absence from his post at the University of Bonn. Al-Hilālī's monthly salary for this new position in the Wireless Service as a 'translator, language specialist and advisor' was 550

¹ See his thesis, Al-Hilālī (1941).

² Al-Hilālī, *Die Kasten in Arabien*, 1940, 102-110.

³ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 107-141.

Reichsmark (RM) per month. Ryad adds that on May 9, 1939, Al-Hilālī signed a statement accepting the regulations which required a scrupulous performance of his duties and his commitment to obligations. In the summer of 1939, the State Secret Police screened him and reported that nothing negative could be discovered in his political attitudes. After these investigations had been completed, Al-Hilālī received a permit from the Ministry of Education to move to Berlin.⁴ At the end of his study, Ryad refers to the addresses which Al-Hilālī broadcast in 1939 on *Jihād*, the Berber *Dhahīr* and Arab chivalry.⁵

Against the background of these studies, the aim of the present chapter is to provide some additional information about the religious and political ideas Al-Hilālī expressed during this time he spent in Germany, especially those he chose to discuss in his *fatwas* and radio addresses dating from this period. Among his addresses in Arabic for Radio Berlin, I shall focus on his ideas about *jihād* and on those about Judaism and Jews. I shall also touch upon some biographical themes including the reason he travelled to Germany and why he left in 1942.

In 1936, after stirring up some controversy, Al-Hilālī left Iraq and travelled to Europe. In his unpublished paper *Min al-Zubayr ilā lā adrī* (From Zubayr to an Unknown Destination) dated 1936, he describes his journey from Iraq to Europe by way of Syria and Egypt.⁶ In Syria, he was the guest of Muhammad Bahjat al-Baiṭār (d.1976), one of Riḍā's associates. At Al-Baiṭār's house he met the Palestinian journalist Iḥsān Sāmī Ḥaqqī, the Assistant Secretary-General of the European Muslim Congress, which had been founded in Geneva in 1935 under the aegis of Arslān.⁷ Iḥsān Sāmī Ḥaqqī wrote him a letter of recommendation to the Swiss ambassador in Damascus, who helped organize his trip to Switzerland.⁸ In the autumn of 1936, Al-Hilālī arrived in Geneva from Alexandria via Italy. In Geneva, he was the guest of Shakīb Arslān (1869-1946),⁹ while he looked for opportunities to continue his graduate studies in Europe.¹⁰

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 136-137.

⁶ Al-Hilālī (1936).

⁷ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 112.

⁸ Al-Hilālī (1936). See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 112.

⁹ On Shakīb Arslān, see Cleveland (1985); Kramer (1987): 529-33.

¹⁰ Lauzière (2008), 242.

Al-Hilālī himself says that the reason he travelled to Europe despite the fact he was already forty was to obtain a university degree in the hope of finding a job at an Asian or African university. In his own words,¹¹ only with a degree from the West would he obtain the authority needed in the Islamic world to spread ‘Authentic’ Islam among teachers and students. Umar Ryad says that, having learned English in India, his first choice would have been to travel to England to finish his studies, but the university fees there were too expensive, so Al-Hilālī decided to go to Germany, which was cheaper and an attractive destination for many Arab students.¹²

Shakīb Arslān contacted the German Arabist Curt Prüfer (1881-1959), who was the head of a department at the German Foreign Office and recommended Al-Hilālī to him. Shakīb Arslān, who had close contacts in German official circles and had translated Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* into Arabic,¹³ must have been very much aware that the German Foreign Ministry¹⁴ was looking for well-educated Arabs to spread Arabic-language propaganda in the Arab world.¹⁵ Prüfer passed the letter on to the well-known Orientalist Professor Paul Kahle (1875-1964), who decided that Al-Hilālī would be welcome in Bonn.¹⁶ Therefore, in the autumn of 1936 he moved from Geneva to Bonn, where he began his academic career by obtaining a diploma of proficiency in the German language in 1937. In 1938 was appointed a lecturer in Arabic at the University of Bonn and commenced his academic studies proper.¹⁷ Kahle convinced Al-Hilālī to commence a doctoral thesis on the glossary of gemstones entitled *al-Jamāhir fī ma‘rifat al-jawāhir*, written by the Persian scholar and philosopher Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973-1048).¹⁸ In mid-April 1939 Al-Hilālī acquiesced in his suggestion and joined the company of three other Arab employees, Abdin Bey, Riad and Yūnus Bahri, who were also destined to play a role in spreading propaganda from Nazi Germany to the Arab world.¹⁹

¹¹ Al-Hilālī (2006a), 37.

¹² Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 112.

¹³ On the Arabic translation of *Mein Kampf* during the Nazi era, see Wild(1985):126-73.

¹⁴ In the period 1937-1939, Otto von Hentig was the head of Office VII, which dealt with the Middle East in the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry. See Herf (2009), 38; See also Schechtman (1965), 78.

¹⁵ Herf (2009), 25-26.

¹⁶ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 113; See Also Kahle (1992), 3.

¹⁷ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 113.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 136.

Al-Hilālī himself explained that Aldoner, the managing director of Radio Berlin, had told him that he was going to establish an Arabic Service at Radio Berlin, because the Arabic Service of the BBC, which had been founded in 1938, and the Italian Arabic Radio, founded in 1935, were giving misleading information about Germany. The Arabic Radio Service in Berlin would broadcast for about fifteen minutes each week to inform the Arabs about the true nature of what was happening in Germany and to demonstrate that this country had no colonial ambitions in Arab countries.²⁰ The long and the short of it was that this programme was to be used to combat the ideology which both the French and British had been propagating. Therefore, Aldoner invited Al-Hilālī to act as a *muṣaḥḥih* (proof-reader) and a *marji' lughawī* (a consultant for the Arabic language).²¹ Al-Hilālī also reports that he was selected on the recommendation of the German Orientalist Bernard Moritz (1859-1939), who was also employed by the German Foreign Office.²²

Al-Hilālī's life during the time he spent in Germany proved to be a unique experience since he found himself caught between two different worlds. On the one hand, he was living in a society tightly controlled by National Socialism; on the other hand, he was vigorously engaged in propagating anti-colonial ideas and Salafism, among other topics, through the Salafī journal *al-Fath* published in Egypt by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (1886-1969) and through the Arabic programmes of Radio Berlin.

4.2. *Fatwas from Europe*

4.2.1. *An Islamic ruling from Europe about drinking wine*

On 8 October 1938, Al-Hilālī published one of his *fatwas* in an article in the journal *al-Fath* which, among other subjects, reflects his personal experiences in Europe. He entitled his legal opinion: 'Is wine always forbidden?'²³ A question on this subject had been sent to him by the well-known Indonesian Muslim reformist writer Muḥammad Basyūnī ibn Muḥammad 'Imrān (1885-1953). In his question, Muḥammad 'Imrān mentioned that some of his countrymen drank alcohol in Europe, claiming that their European teachers taught them that it was possible to drink wine, because of the cold weather they encountered there. 'Imrān asked Al-

²⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 11.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 10.

²³ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr," 1938, 6.

Hilālī the following questions: Does Islam prohibit useful and non-harmful things? Is the claim accepted by these Indonesians valid? Is drinking wine useful and necessary to people living in Europe?²⁴

In his answer to the first question on the possibility of prohibiting useful things in Islam, Al-Hilālī argued that Islamic Law, which outshines all others in tolerance, justice and clemency, cannot prohibit only harmful things. Al-Hilālī pointed out that forbidden things in Islam fall into two categories: the first represents things which are purely and simply harmful, among them polytheism, killing innocent people and the like. The second category is made up of harmful things which might be useful in some cases or under some circumstances. Wine belongs to the second category. Al-Hilālī maintained that the harm wine can do is greater than the benefits it might convey (*Qur'ān*, 2:219). Therefore Al-Hilālī said that there is no disagreement among people, be they in Europe or in other places, about this fact. Al-Hilālī was aware of the attempt to prohibit alcohol in the United States between 1922-1929. He reported that:

The American leaders were sure that alcohol undoubtedly damages health. They also realized that the harm alcohol does is far greater than the benefit it might bestow. They have done all they can to prohibit alcohol. This prohibition continued for many years. However, Jewish merchants succeeded in spreading dissension among Americans and because of their political system they were obliged to legalize alcohol. All the same, not one of them, even those who were in favour of legalizing alcohol, pretended that it was not harmful to health, or that the harm it might cause was restricted to warm climates. Furthermore, medical men have written a great deal on the injurious effects to health of alcohol; they have provided many irrefutable pieces of evidence to support this fact.²⁵

Al-Hilālī described the claim mentioned in the second question, namely: that drinking alcohol might be lawful because of the extreme cold, as a great falsehood and an utterly ridiculous

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr," 1938, 6. It is worth mentioning that, according to a contemporary historical study, Jewish alcohol entrepreneurs were indeed among those who defended their industry from being banned by the law by exerting influence on the political system and the press (see Davis 2008). But Al-Hilālī's exclusive focus on the Jewish merchants is, of course, tendentious.

excuse. In support of his view, he provided two arguments: First of all, he wondered how a Muslim who believes in Allāh, in the *Qur'ān*, in the Prophet and in all his teachings could pretend that people who live in cold countries have a legitimate excuse to drink alcohol because of the cold weather in their countries? Actually, Al-Hilālī said, to hold such belief was to contest Islamic Law, and challenges both Allāh and His Messenger. Of course, people who live in cold places cannot live without things necessary to protect people from the cold, which is the reason it is inconceivable, according to both *Sharia* and Reason, that Allāh might prohibit something which the majority of the world's population, living in cold places, urgently needed.²⁶ He added that there are in fact many irrefutable religious texts which confirm the fact that the purpose of Islamic Law is that mankind might find happiness in this world and in the Hereafter.²⁷

In his second argument, Al-Hilālī mentions that all the medical doctors in the world have agreed upon the fact that drinking alcohol is not a necessary adjunct to health; on the contrary, people's health would improve, and all the mental and physical diseases such as tuberculosis would significantly decrease, were it not to be used. Al-Hilālī then listed some negative results of drinking alcohol, among them headaches, swollen eyes and insomnia.²⁸ Al-Hilālī answered the third claim which asserted that drinking alcohol is a necessity for Europeans because of the benefits it contains as follows:

O Allāh! Glorified are You! This is a great falsehood. We have never seen a European pretending that drinking alcohol benefits health, and consequently must be drunk. On the contrary, Europeans openly speak about the ill effects of alcohol on health. Likewise, the medical doctors there do not allow people, healthy or un healthy, who are suffering from any physical weakness to drink alcohol. Details on this issue are endless.²⁹

²⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr,"1938, 6.

²⁷ To support his argument, Al-Hilālī referred to (Qur'ān 2:185),(Qur'ān 5:6), (Qur'ān 7:157), (Qur'ān 13:17), (Bukhāri,8/146), (Bukhāri Volume 1, Book 3, Number 69).

²⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Shurb al-Khamr,"1938, 6.

²⁹ Ibid.

Al-Hilālī recalled that he once went to a university hospital to have a check-up because he was suffering from a stomach-ache. The doctor gave him a prescription,³⁰ as well as a list of prohibited food and drink. Alcohol was at the top of the list.³¹ Al-Hilālī also mentioned that his German friends did not drink alcohol, despite the fact that they did not have any religious belief, precisely because they feared its ill effects on their health.³²

In his *fatwa*, Al-Hilālī confirmed that nobody drinks alcohol in Europe thinking that this is necessary; on the contrary, it is used as a means of relaxation. He declared that people in Germany considered drunkenness a sign of insanity; they think that only uneducated people drink alcohol on some great occasions until they were inebriated.³³ Likewise, the belief that those Indonesian students in Europe had copied this habit from their professors was, according to Al-Hilālī, nonsense and a false allegation. He believed that university professors were moderate in their drinking habits.³⁴ At the end of his *fatwa*, Al-Hilālī stated that he had come to Europe in order to ‘expose’ the false reality of westernized Muslims.³⁵

4.2.2. *Living in Europe*

In 1938, during his time in Germany, Al-Hilālī clearly stated that living in Europe was only permitted in Islam *out of necessity*. Actually, a certain Mr ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Abū Samḥ had written the following to him:

I invoke Allāh, may He be exalted, to ensure we meet in Europe as we have already met in Africa and Asia’; Al-Hilālī replied: ‘I am likewise looking forward to meeting you, though I disagree with you about the place. I would rather see you in peace and

³⁰ According to Al-Hilālī, when the same doctor checked an young oriental man, he discovered that his body was very weak; so the doctor forbade him to drink any type of alcohol. The young man did not obey the doctor’s advice; as a consequence, he contracted tuberculosis in less than a year. Al-Hilālī knew another young German who contracted tuberculosis because he used to drink too much alcohol. When one of his lungs was removed, he recovered his health. The doctors had warned him against drinking alcohol. The young man enjoyed good health because he stopped drinking for one year. However, when he resumed his drinking habit, he immediately died of a heart attack. See Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7.

³¹ Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Shurb al-Khamr,” 1938, 7-8.

harmony in Egypt; because I prefer that country to Europe. In fact, I do not think that a wise man should choose to reside in Europe, except out of necessity and the time he spends there should not be excessive.³⁶

During his time in Europe, Al-Hilālī, deeply regretted the situation of the Muslim students living there. He explained that he certainly did not deny that knowledge useful to oriental countries might be found in Europe. What he would deny is the belief which states that all the students who come to Europe are true seekers after knowledge and bring back useful things when they return to their countries of origin; or at least what they learn would not harm them. For this reason, the government would have to be more careful about sending students to study abroad.

As he himself had neither the strength nor the power to improve this situation, he remarked: ‘If you ask me what I would do were I to have the strength and power (needed)? I would reply: “If I had more than enough money, which is one aspect of strength, I would not limit myself to such insipid articles when I give advice.”’ He added that he would prefer to react with deeds, not words. As a matter of fact, he would go back to Eastern countries and would have a look at the students. If he saw that a person was reliable, he would summon that person to test his abilities and decide in which field of research he would excel. Then, and only then, he would send him to study, after paying for everything he might need during his stay in Europe.³⁷ When he had completed his postgraduate studies, this person would return to work in either the private or the public sector. As the government would gradually improve the level of expertise needed in each sector, which would mean that the number of students sent to study abroad should tally with the needs of the country, and not with the wishes of the students or their sponsors.³⁸ Al-Hilālī stated that one of the reasons which drove him to reside in Europe was the desire to refute the claims of the secularists and the atheists, and expose their intentions.³⁹

Later, Al-Hilālī advocated a different point of view, when he challenged a person who pretended that it was not permissible to travel to non-Islamic countries to provide relevant

³⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hadiyya ila al-Qurrā,” 30 Shawwāl 1357/ 22 December 1938, 710.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 711.

³⁹ Ibid., 14.

proof, telling the petitioner that, if he had the possibility to obtain a passport, he should go abroad with Allāh's blessings.⁴⁰ This *fatwa* will be discussed in more details in Chapter 9.

⁴⁰ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Fatāwā al-Hilāliyya,” 1976, Vol. 2, 201.

4.3. Nazi Propaganda

A group of historians have studied the history of Arab-Nazi encounters,⁴¹ among of them Jeffrey Herf who looked extensively into the Nazi propaganda for the Arab world.⁴² He argues for an inherent affinity between Arab nationalism and Pan-Islamism on the one hand, and Nazi racist ideologies and anti-Semitism against the Jews on the other.⁴³ Like Al-Hilālī, many Arab and other Muslim students in interwar Europe joined a great Muslim transnational reformist network which advocated the unity of Islam against the colonial encroachment in the Muslim world.⁴⁴ Al-Hilālī's experience is a telling example of what Peter Wien has called the 'culpability of exile', 'a moral dilemma that affects foreigners who take up residence in a country such as Nazi Germany.'⁴⁵ In his study on the reception of National-Socialist ideologies in the Arab Near East, Stefan Wild briefly mentions the name of Hilālī in a reference to an anticommunist article by Al-Hilālī in the *al-Fath* during his stay in Bonn.⁴⁶

Al-Hilālī's role in the Arabic radio propaganda broadcast from Germany during World War II has not yet been fully documented and examined. Among those who were actively involved in this propaganda, Herf mentions the staff members of the German Foreign Ministry, the radio announcers, writers and editors. He also adds the name of Yūnus Bahri,⁴⁷ a well-known radio announcer, who was Al-Hilālī's friend and colleague. However, Herf only

⁴¹ Herf (2009); Herf (2006); Matthias Kuentzel, *Jihād and Jew-hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007); Wild, Stefan. "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939." *Die Welt des Islams* 25 (1985): 126–173; Peter Wien, "The Culpability of Exile: Arabs in Nazi Germany," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37 (2011): 332–358. Peter Wien, "Coming to Terms with the Past," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010): 311–321.

⁴² Herf (2009); Herf (2006).

⁴³ Herf, "Nazi Germany's Propaganda Aimed at Arabs and Muslims During World War II and the Holocaust: Old Themes, New Archival Findings," *Central European History* 42 (2009): 709–736; See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 107.

⁴⁴ Peter Wien, "Coming to Terms with the Past", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010): 311–312. See also Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 9.

⁴⁵ Peter Wien, "The Culpability of Exile: Arabs in Nazi Germany," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37 (2011): 332–358.

⁴⁶ Wild, Stefan. "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939." *Die Welt des Islams* 25 (1985): 126–173.

⁴⁷ Bahri (1955).

refers to Al-Hilālī and others as anonymous native Arabic-speaking announcers and writers.⁴⁸ Jeffrey Herf has said that the only documents in the German archives which were sources for the Arabic broadcasts were those of Kurt Munzel (1905-1982), who was employed in the Department of Radio Policy of the Foreign Ministry, in which he was responsible for Arabic broadcasts. However, these archives cover only a three-month period which extended from December 1940 to February 1941.⁴⁹ Hampered by the dearth of direct sources, Herf was not aware of Al-Hilālī's work or of his involvement in the Nazi Propaganda.

Actually, on many occasions, even before his move to Radio Berlin, Al-Hilālī had already been defending Nazism, for instance, in April 1937 in the magazine *al-Fath* he published an account of the discussion he had had with a fruit-seller, a seventy-year-old woman. She believed that Hitler was a man sent by God to the German nation after it had completely disintegrated and was on the verge of collapse to bring it back unity and allow it to survive. Al-Hilālī was impressed by her enthusiasm and her nationalism. Meanwhile, he was saddened by the fact that the majority of young Arab people did not have even one-tenth of the nationalist sentiments the woman displayed.⁵⁰

In October 1938, in one of his articles in *al-Fath*⁵¹ Al-Hilālī claimed that the enemies of Germany pretended that Adolf Hitler was ruling his people as an autocrat. Al-Hilālī compared the 'crimes' of the French radical Prime Minister Edouard Daladier (1884-1970) and his British counterpart, Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), with the record of the Nazi regime and Hitler, who, in his view, was neither an absolute tyrant nor as authoritarian as many people might have thought.

In fact, Al-Hilālī was convinced that anti-German propaganda was one huge lie and a downright defamation of Germany. To provide evidence for his claim, he drew a comparison between the rule of Hitler in Germany with that of the French colonizers in North Africa.⁵² First and foremost, Hitler was a pure German, whereas the imperialists in North Africa had no

⁴⁸ Jeffrey (2009), 8-9.

⁴⁹ Examples of these archives are the broadcasts of Kurt Munzel. On December 24, 1940, in his broadcast, he attacked the Balfour Declaration, and described it as the product of Jewish money and in the broadcast of January 8, 1941, in which he drew a parallel between Nazi Germany and the Arabs in their struggle for freedom.. see Jeffrey (2009), 44.

⁵⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Firansa Tasfikū al-Dimā' fī Tūnis," 10Ṣafar 1356/ 22 april 1937, 16-17.

⁵¹ Al-Hilālī, "Nabiyyān Rasūlān," 1938, 7.

⁵² Ibid.

links with the countries there. Secondly, Hitler was a Roman Catholic Christian⁵³ as all Germans were; he was not an imperialist intent on occupying the country of another people in order to give it to the Germans. Al-Hilālī believed that Hitler considered all the Germans equal and there was no room for discrimination in Germany. He added that nobody was above the law in Germany, unlike the regime exercised under the imperialists in North Africa who had given a group of people political and economic privileges, but turned the local citizens into slaves.⁵⁴ Thirdly, Al-Hilālī said that Hitler’s main objective was to serve his nation in a way he thought would lead them to glory and honour.⁵⁵

The article which Al-Hilālī published in *al-Fath* in November 1938 is another instance in which he pays tribute to Nazi Germany. In this article, Al-Hilālī praises the help Hitler had given to Sweden when the Swedish people were saved by the German soldiers from captivity and the torture, which were being inflicted on them by their enemies, Czechoslovakian soldiers.⁵⁶ This reminded Al-Hilālī of the suffering of Muslim prisoners in colonial jails. He regretted that Muslims had *no Hitler, no nation, and, no hope* to rescue them from the colonial oppression as Hitler had done for the people in the Sudetenland.⁵⁷

4.3.1. Source Materials

In all, Al-Hilālī gave approximately thirty-five talks for Radio Berlin in the period from 2 May 1939 up to the end of November 1940. His principal purpose was to expose the crimes of French, British and Jewish colonial powers. Usually, Al-Hilālī’s radio programmes combined anti-colonial rhetoric with a Salafī religious message. The different source materials which I shall be using here are respectively Al-Hilālī’s family archives and the journal *al-Fath*, in which Al-Hilālī later published several of his addresses. I have also tried to look at the French translations of Al-Hilālī Radio Berlin broadcasts, located in the archives of the Moroccan

⁵³ Hitler’s biographers agree that he was probably an atheist. However, in his *Mein Kampf* he made various statements about Christianity. See Hitler (1999), 65, 119, 152, 161, 214, 375, 383, 403, 436, 562, 565, 622, 632-633.

⁵⁴ Al-Hilālī criticized one Arab broadcaster of the French radio station *Paris Mondial*, who compared the role of the French Prime Minister Edouard Daladier and his British counterpart, Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), with prophets in history. See Further Al-Hilālī, “Nabiyyān Rasūlān,” 1938, 7.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Yā Allah lil ’Asrā,” 1938, 10.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

National Library in Rabat, which were consulted by Lauzière for his doctoral dissertation.⁵⁸ Unfortunately I could not gain access to these translations. The reason of this failure was technical: the curator says that at present it is impossible to trace the documents unless their shelf-numbers are provided. However, when I compared the themes I have discussed with those developed by Lauzière, my conclusion has to be that the contents of the translations in Rabat does not differ from the copies which I received from Al-Hilālī 's family or from the articles published in *al-Fath*. When I contacted Lauzière personally, he told me that he possessed no copies of the French translation of the RadioBerlin broadcasts, as it had not been possible to make copies of them at the time he consulted them in Rabat. All he could take with him were the notes he made when looked into these translations. He also could not provide any reference numbers.

An examination of Al-Hilālī 's personal archive reveals there can be no doubt that the addresses Al-Hilālī broadcast on Thursdays on Radio Berlin fall into four main categories: Arabic Literature, Islamic Jurisprudence, Anti-Colonial Politics and Islamic Theology. Al-Hilālī broadcast three addresses on *Tawḥīd*⁵⁹ (Monotheism), the major theme he discussed in the category of Islamic theology, and this choice might largely be explained by his eagerness to use Radio Berlin as a means to spread Salafism. He also also presented some lectures on *'Ibadāt* (matters of ritual and devotion), namely: three addresses in the month of Ramadan in the year 1940.⁶⁰ However, he also dealt with Arabic literary and cultural topics.⁶¹ For instance, he devoted some of his broadcasts to the Arab poet Al-Mutanabbī (d.965). The five talks on literature developed the themes of Arab chivalry and Al- Mutanabbī's aphorisms. Al-Hilālī also gave three addresses on alms-giving and charity.⁶² In the political field, five of his anti-colonial radio speeches focused primarily on Western imperialism and colonialism. Moreover, he gave some broadcasts which criticized Radio France International (RFI) and the Arab Syrian Bureau, including a defence of Shakīb Arslān against the campaign against him waged by the French radio station *Paris Mondial* in 1939.⁶³ Fifteen addresses were devoted to

⁵⁸ Lauzière (2008), 256-259.

⁵⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Ma'nā Lā Ilaha illa Allah," 1939, 1-3.

⁶⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Ḥādīth fī Aḥkām Ṣiyām Ramaḍān wa Ḥukmuh (I, II, III)," oktober 1940, 1-2.

⁶¹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Adab al-Maḡribī," 1939, 1-2.

⁶² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ṣadaqa ," 1939. 1-3.

⁶³ Al-Hilālī, "Radio Parīz Mundyāl al-Isti'mārī ," 19 July 1939.

Islamic jurisprudence, of which ten were on *jihād*. This was the most dominant theme throughout his broadcasts.

It was Al-Hilālī's grandson, 'Abd al-Ghānī Būzakrī, who provided the present author with the entire collection of the addresses he gave while he was broadcasting his weekly programmes on RadioBerlin. The first address took place on May 2 1939, one week after the Nazi regime began broadcasting in Arabic, and the last one was in December 1940. Most of the articles Al-Hilālī published in *al-Fath* were copies of his addresses broadcast by Radio Berlin. Al-Hilālī wrote several addresses under the umbrella title *Prophetic Guidance* and this umbrella title reappears in the articles in *al-Fath*. The Table below gives an overview of the addresses al-Hilālī wrote for Radio Berlin, together with the bibliographical data of those pieces which were published in *al-Fath*.

	Name of the Address for Radio Berlin	Translation of the Titles	Data concerning the documents in the Al-Hilālī Family Archive, followed by the relevant data of <i>Al-Faṭḥ</i>
1	Al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍa'	The True Path	Al-Hilālī archive, 2 May 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
2	Al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍa' Muḥaḍara La Silkiyya min Berlin,	The True Path: a (wireless) lecture from Berlin .	Al-Hilālī, <i>al-Faṭḥ</i> Rabi' al-Awwal, 1358 (May 11, 1939), 14, 653, pp. 20-21.
3	Amthāl al-Mutanabbī	<i>Al-Mutanabbī' s</i> Aphorisms,	Al-Hilālī archive, 11 May 1939, pp. 1-5, manuscript.
4	Dhikrā al-Dhahīr al-Barbarī	The Anniversary of the Berber Decree	Al-Hilālī archive, 16 May 1939, pp.1-5, Typescript.
5	Ḥadīth fī Intiqād al-Maktab al-Qawmī al-'Arabī fī Sūryā	A Discourse Criticizing the National Bureau in Syria.	Al-Hilālī archive, June 1939, pp. 1-6, Typescript .
6	Al-Adab al-Maḡribī: Mālik Ibn al-Muraḥḥil	Moroccan Literature: Mālik Ibn al-Muraḥḥil	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Jun 1939), pp.1-5, Typescript.
7	Al-Ḥadīth 1 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī	The First Discourse on Prophetic	Al-Hilālī archive, 7 July 1939, pp.1-2

	Faḍl al-Jihād	Guidance related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Typescript.
8	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (I)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (I)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (27 July 1939): 14, 664, pp.8-9.
9	Al-Ḥādīth 2 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	The Second Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 14 july 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
10	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (II)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (II)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 24 Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (August 10, 1939), 14,666, pp. 8-10.
11	Al-Ḥādīth 2 min al Al-Aḥādīth al-Adabiyya fī Amthāl al-Mutanabbī,	Second Discourse on the Literary Traditions in Al-Mutanabbī 's Aphorisms.	Al-Hilālī archive, 19 july 1939 , pp. 1-2, Typescript.
12	Al-Ḥādīth 3 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Third Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 21 july 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
13	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-ladhī ḍayya‘ahu al-Muslimūn (III)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (III)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 2 Rajab 1358 (18 August 1939), 14, 667, pp. 7-8.
14	Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-	Fourth Discourse on	Al-Hilālī archive, 28 july

	Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Prophetic Guidance related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
15	al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhī ḍayya ‘ahu al-Muslimūn (IV)	Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned (IV)	Al-Hilālī , <i>al-Fath</i> , 9 Rajab 1358 (25 August, 1939), 14.667, pp. 8-9.
16	Al-Ḥādīth 3 mina al-Aḥādīth al-Adabiyya fī Amthāl al-Mutanabbī.	Third discourse on the Literary Traditions in Al-Mutanabbī 's Aphorisms.	Al-Hilālī archive, 2 August 1939, pp.1-4, typescript.
17	Al-Ḥādīth 5 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād	Fifth Discourse on Prophetic Guidance Related to the Merits of <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 4 August 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
18	Al-Futuwwa ‘inda al-‘Arab(II)	Arab Chivalry	Al-Hilālī archive, 10 August 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
19	Al-Futuwwa ‘inda al-‘Arab(III)	Arab Chivalry (III)	Al-Hilālī archive, 17 August 1939, P, 1-2, Typescript.
20	al-Ḥādīth 17 fī Al-Ḥathth ‘Alā al-Ṣadaqa al-Wājiba wa al-Mustaḥabba	Seventeenth Discourse on the Merits of Compulsory and Recommended Alms-giving	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Sep 1939), pp. 1-2, Typescript.

21	al-Ḥādīth 18 fī Al-Ḥath ‘Alā al-Ṣadaqa al-Wājiba wa al-Mustaḥabba	Eighteenth Discourse on the Merits of Compulsory and Recommended Alms-giving	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately October 1939), pp. 1-2, Typescript.
22	Al-Ḥādīth 6 fī Al-Hady al-Nabawī fī Faḍl al-Jihād: Ghazwat Badr wa mā fīha min al-‘Ibar	Prophetic Guidance related to Matters concerning Jihād: The Moral Lessons of the Battle of Badr	Al-Hilālī archive, 4 November 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
23	al-Ḥādīth 20 fī Al-Ḥath ‘Alā al-Jihād.	Twentieth Discourse on Incitement to <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 10 November 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
24	al-Ḥādīth 21 fī Al-Ḥathth ‘Alā al-Jihād.	Twenty-first Discourse on Incitement to <i>Jihād</i>	Al-Hilālī archive, 17 November 1939, pp. 1-3, Typescript.
25	al-Ḥādīth 22 fī Naṣīhat al-Muslimīn	Twenty-second Discourse on advice to Muslims.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately Dec 1939), pp. 1-3. Typescript.
26	Yawm al-Naḥr	‘Aīd al-Aḍḥā	Al-Hilālī archive, 20 Jan. 1940, pp.1-3, Typescript.
27	Al-Di‘āyā al-Yahūdiyya al-Briṭāniyya al-Amrikiyya fī al-Maḡreb wa Asalībuha :	On the Means Used in Jewish, British and American Propaganda.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately February 1940), pp. 1-2, Manuscript.
28	Ma‘nā Lā Ilaha illa Allāh	The Meaning of There is no God save Allāh.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately March 1940), pp.1-3, Typescript.

29	Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī, Iḥyā' Al-Hady al-Nabawī	Anniversary of the Birth of the Prophet, Celebrating Prophetic Guidance.	Al-Hilālī archive, 16 April 1940, pp.1-3, Typescript.
30	Ḥadīth fī Tawḥīd Allāh wa Ittibā' Rasūlih	A Discourse on Monotheism and Compliance with the Teaching of Allāh' s Messenger	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., approximately May 194180), pp. 1-3, Typescript.
31	Radio Parīz Mundyāl al-Isti'mārī yashtumu Shaykh al-Mujāhidīn Nābigat al-'Arab al-Akbar al-Amīr Shakīb Arslān	<i>Radio France Internationale</i> Insults the Leader of the <i>Mujāhidīn</i> , the Great Arab Genius, Prince Shakīb Arslān.	Al-Hilālī archive, (n.d., pproximately July 1940), pp. 1-3, Typescript.
32	Al-Ḥādīth 29 fī Bayyān Aḥkām Ramaḍān:	Twenty-ninth Discourse on the Legal Rulings pertaining to Ramaḍān.	Al-Hilālī archive, Ramadan 1940/ Oktober 1939, pp. 1-2, Typescript.
33	Al-Ḥādīth 31 fī Aḥkām Şiyām Ramaḍān wa Ḥukmih	A Discourse on the Legal Rulings Related to Fasting and Ramaḍān	Al-Hilālī archive, End of Ramadan 1940/ November 1940, pp. 1-2, Typescript.

4.3.2. *Call to Jihād Against Colonialism and Imperialism*

On 25 April, 1939, from the town of Zeesen south of Berlin, the Nazi regime began broadcasting in Arabic. The main objective of Hitler and his assistants was to transmit their ideas to the Middle East and North Africa through, among other means, short-wave radio broadcasts.⁶⁴ As a radio announcer, Al-Hilālī was very well placed to promote trans-national Islam. Al-Hilālī saw the radio programmes as an instrument through which he could promote Salafism, with a special focus on *jihād* and resistance to colonialism. Radio broadcasting offered a means forby which the entire *‘ummah* would be able to achieve power through a *Jihād* against the Jews and imperialism.⁶⁵ Aware of the lack of anti-colonial radio broadcasting in Arabic, Al-Hilālī was prepared to accept and use Nazi propaganda as an instrument to serve the Muslim Arab cause in Palestine.⁶⁶ Lauzière says that the radio station was successful and gained Al-Hilālī a certain degree of international reputation because, within a month of its installation, Al-Hilālī was receiving letters from listeners in Morocco, Palestine, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, the Yemen and Bahrain.⁶⁷

On the 7 July 1939, in the first of a harshly polemical series of speeches under the title *Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Have Abandoned*, Al-Hilālī dedicated his broadcast for July 1939 to the concept of *jihād*. He called on all Muslims to participate in the *jihād* which was taking place in Palestine. In this broadcast he said:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to give a series of lectures on Prophetic Guidance to which we do not adhere as our predecessors who have bequeathed to us honour and glory did. Unfortunately, we have forfeited all this legacy, and consequently we are now overwhelmed by feelings of sorrow and regret. I would like to begin with the guidance of our Prophet in matters related to the *jihād*. The Islamic nation urgently needs to know much more about the guidance of the Prophet to do with *jihād*, more than it is in need of food and drink. A life without *jihād* would most certainly be a life full of hardship and trouble. Death would be better than this life without fighting a holy war.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Herf (2009), Herf (2006).

⁶⁵ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī,” 4 August 1939, 1-5.

⁶⁶ Ryad and Nordbruch eds (2014), 134.

⁶⁷ Lauzière (2008), 256.

⁶⁸ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī I,” 27 July 1939, *al-Fath*, 8.

On July 21 of the same year, Al-Hilālī spoke about the fact that Allāh had ordered His servants to undertake *jihād*. He believed this weighty task required highly efficient leadership and commitment. He gave a penetrating interpretation of the (*Qur'ān* 9:41), explaining that *jihād* was one of the most virtuous acts to be undertaken for Allāh, although not everyone was able to participate in it with his/her money. However, true *mujāhidīn* fight against the enemies of Islam in the name of the Allāh.⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī said:

In many instances in the (*Qur'ān* 9:91) Allāh has indeed ordered us to fight for His cause with our bodies and our wealth because to undertake *jihād* with a monetary contribution is an easy thing which everyone can do, be he a man or a woman, old or young, healthy or sick. In contrast, *jihād* with one's body [committed to a fight] is limited to a few people.⁷⁰ Allāh has made spending money for His cause a sign for the faithfulness of those who would claim that they fight for the sake of Allāh. Actually, he who pretends to be a Muslim but fails to defend his faith with money is indeed a liar. The Jews who have drawn upon themselves the wrath of Allāh with destitution cast upon them, but nevertheless they could wreak cause destitution among Muslims in a large part of the Holy Land without even waging a war against the Arabs. The only means they used to achieve their goal was money.... In fact, if the Muslims had spent only half of the sum that the Jews devote to their cause, they would have liberated the Palestinian lands, as well as all the occupied territories. This implies that all goodness and honour lies in *jihād* in the name of Allāh and all evil in ignoring it.⁷¹

On the 28 July 1939, in another broadcast, Al-Hilālī called upon all Muslims to take part in the *jihād* which was taking place in Palestine, asking them to contribute financially, saying:

O Believers! Verily, Allāh is the rich, the Worthy of All Praise. He is the All-Provider, Possessor of Power, the Strongest. He asks you to lend Him money so that your credit will be increased many times over in the life of this world and in the Hereafter.

Accordingly, if you truly believe in Allāh and in the Last Day, then you should spend money in the cause of Allāh. It does not matter whether your contribution is big or

⁶⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī," 10 August 1939, 9.

⁷⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Amthāl al-Mutanabbī," 6 August 1939, 1-6.

⁷¹ Ibid.

small. If you support the *Mujahidīn* in Palestine financially, you are taking part in this Holy War. Therefore, Allāh shall save this for you and increase your credit enormously. I implore everyone who listens to this discourse to do his best to send money, albeit just one penny, as soon as possible to the fighters, to their widows and orphans in Palestine. Anyone who sends money now will be registered as Allāh's money-lender. So let us sincerely promise Allāh to fight in His cause, using ourselves and our money as did our Prophet, his Companions and those who followed in the path of the Righteous Predecessors.⁷²

In another broadcast, Al-Hilālī explained the reason for the revelation in the (*Qur'ān* 9:38) which dealt with the people who had not participated in the *jihād* with the Prophet and about the superiority of martyrdom.⁷³

In his 1939 broadcasts, Al-Hilālī maintained that the war between the European countries was God's will. He believed that it was also a test for Muslims, allowing them the opportunity to repent before Allāh and follow His orders and the teachings of the *Sunna* of His Prophet. He said that the war was a great chance for all Muslims and the Arabs to unite and work very hard to liberate their homelands from colonialism.⁷⁴ In another radio programme in the same year, Al-Hilālī wondered why the protection of their own countries by Great Britain and France could be claimed by them as one of their rights whereas, if Muslims wanted to protect their homelands under similar circumstances, it was a crime and considered an act of extremism.⁷⁵ In a comparison of the English and the Germans armies, he said that that the Germans were famous for their honesty and loyalty, whereas the English were known for their perfidy, and for the fact that when they made a covenant they never honoured it.⁷⁶

Al-Hilālī believed that Allāh's anger and His curse had fallen upon the Jews. He produced evidence to support this claim by referring to such passages in the (*Qur'ān* 5:82)

⁷² Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-Hady," 28 July 1939, 1-2; See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhi dayya'a uhu al-Muslimūn," 23 Jumādā II 1358/ 10 augustus 1939, 8-9.

⁷³ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 21 fī Al-Ḥath 'Alā al-Jihād," 17 November 1939, 1-3

⁷⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Dhikrā al-Mawlid al-Nabawī, Iḥyā' Al-Hady al-Nabawī," 29 April 1940.1-4, typescript.

⁷⁵ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥath 'Alā al-Jihād," July 1939,1-6. Manuscript.

⁷⁶ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Di'āyā al-Yahūdiyya," Feb 1940, 1-2.

‘You will find those who are most hostile to the believers are Jews and idol worshippers.’⁷⁷ He said:

Those who pretend to be Muslims fight against their Arab and Muslim brothers in Palestine, helping the enemies of mankind and the brothers of the monkeys and swine, the criminal Jews, despite the fact that they are not their allies. In fact, all they are doing is using them to kill their brothers. Usually these are people who sell the lands to the Jews and drive their brothers out of their homes. Were the enemy to take their brothers into captivity, they would never ransom them; on the contrary, they would betray their brothers by capturing them themselves and delivering them to the Jews. If the Jews believe in a part of the Scripture and reject the rest; those people are rejecting all the Scriptures. I would even go as far as to say that some Muslims behave according to the Jewish traditions. Actually, we have yet to see any Jew who would drive his brother-in-faith out of his home or take his property; and the same might be said about the renegades in North Africa. Some of those who support the French and the Jews, the enemies of Allāh and mankind, even pretend to be scholars. Ignorance of Islam has led the populace to believe that these traitors whom the Koran cursed and declared to be unbelievers are in fact good Muslim leaders. Allāh says (*Qur’ān* 02:85): ‘What then is the reward of those who do so among you, except disgrace in the life of this world, and on the Day of Resurrection they shall be consigned to the most grievous torment.’ Now in fact the threat of Allāh has come true, since disgrace has fallen upon them in this world; and He shall undoubtedly punish them in the Hereafter. So, let us repent before Allāh by fighting the enemies of the Islamic Nation and those traitors who support them. In this way, Allāh shall give us back the honour and the glory which our predecessors enjoyed. Allāh, may He be exalted, has informed us that one sign of the fact that a nation has indeed bought the life of this world at the price of the Hereafter is when supporting their enemies and betraying their Muslim brethren prevail. The torment of such a nation is not to be alleviated nor shall it be helped. If you really want Allāh to take His punishment from us, let us clearly differentiate between the sincere Muslim and the hypocrites. Our nation will be divided into two

⁷⁷ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Hady al-Nabawī ,4 Augusts 1939, 1-4.

groups: the party of Allāh, the Believers and the *Mujāhidūn*; and the party of Satan: the enemies of the Islamic Nation and the traitors. This is how victory will be yours.⁷⁸

Al-Hilālī was convinced that one of the most important issues in Muslim life at that time was the conflict between Muslims and Jews.⁷⁹ In his eyes, it was a matter of life and death and involved all Muslims around the world. He also considered it a test and a chance sent by Allāh. Al-Hilālī thought that, if Muslims were to take full responsibility and rise in defence of the land stolen from them, they would win the blessing of Allāh and the respect of the countries around them, and vice-versa. He motivated and encouraged Arab youth to win this war against the Jews and strive in the way of Allāh with their money and wealth and make this their main goal. To do this, they had to take the Prophet Mohammed and his Companions as a model for a *jihād* in the name of Allāh against the Jews. If the Muslims lost now they would never get Palestine back.⁸⁰ Al-Hilālī said:

Palestine is the real issue which will determine the future of Arabs and Muslims. If they fight sincerely until Allāh is satisfied with them and they can reclaim their [birth] right, they will succeed reclaiming all their other rights; and consequently all the nations will respect them. If, however, they forsake this issue; they will never win. When some of them pretend to be courageous and chivalrous, the whole world will mock them and not believe them. Verily, Allāh has tried the Arabs and the Muslims (*Qur'ān* 29:01) with the Palestinian problem, so that this can be the source of their relief and their victory if they wholeheartedly assume their responsibilities; otherwise it will be the cause of their defeat and humiliation. ...O sincere Muslims! O Arab knights! Where are you? Make Palestine your ultimate target, and strive hard with your wealth and your lives in the cause of Allāh... By so doing, victory will be yours. However, if the Jews, the last and worst of mankind who have earned the anger of Allāh, defeat you; you will never be strong... Do you not have a good example in Muhammad and his Companions? Verily, they behaved perfectly in accordance with the principles of chivalry; they have shown you the true path to follow, and they have left you a useful legacy... One should know

⁷⁸ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Ḥādīth 4 fī Al-Hady," 28 July 1939, 1-2; See also Al-Hilālī, "Al-Hady al-Nabawī al-Ladhi dayya'a uhu al-Muslimūn," 23 Jumādā II 1358/ 10 augustus 1939, 8-9.

⁷⁹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Mutanabī," 6 Augusts 1939.

⁸⁰ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Futuwwa 'inda al-'Arab," 17 August 1939, 1-2.

that there is no Islam without a Holy War, especially at times in which the enemy has unjustly occupied our Holy Places... Let those who see themselves as knights tell us where their chivalry was when the Palestinian women were screaming, shouting to seek help and relief and urging Muslims to wage a Holy War in order to avoid bringing a shame on Muslims which would endure for eternity.⁸¹

Speaking out against imperialism, in another broadcast Al-Hilālī stated that when Morocco celebrated the anniversary of the 1930 Berber *Dhahīr*,⁸² the covert goal of France in Morocco was to convert the Berber people away from Islam. Al-Hilālī 's purpose was to show that the Berber *Dhahīr* was not just simply a Moroccan issue, it was also a significant event in the history of Islam. He was convinced that Allāh had ordered His servants to perform *jihād* in such situations.⁸³

Al-Hilālī reported that the French radio stations and the French newspaper *Le Temps* had begun attacking him, accusing him of being a *jasūs* (spy) for Hitler and Goebbels, the German Minister of Propaganda. Al-Hilālī denied this allegation, saying that he had never been in the pay of the Ministry, although he had accepted the job for a salary of 12,000 Marks a year.⁸⁴ He said that he was expected to give his radio addresses translated into German and had to pay the translator and make several copies at his own expense. These copies had to be submitted to the Director of the Radio in advance.⁸⁵ Al-Hilālī, stated that France had grown annoyed with him because of the programmes he was transmitting from the Berlin radio station. Consequently, French channels in Paris began to insult him. *Le Temps*, the Parisian newspaper, and many other papers in Algeria, Morocco and Egypt, had commenced publishing caricatures of Al-Hilālī, heaping grievous insults on him. Speaking of these developments after the war, Al-Hilālī remarked:

France claimed that I was an agent who was working for the Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. Yet, Allāh knows as also the Grand Mufti Ḥaj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī knows, that I had spent the 12,000 Marks of my personal salary on the Arabic Service

⁸¹ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Futuwwa 'inda al-'Arab," 17 August 1939, 1-2.

⁸² Al-Hilālī, "Dhikra," 16 May 1939.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī, "Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-'Isti'mār," 1947, 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid., see also Al-Hilālī (2005a), 101-102.

of Radio Berlin. Furthermore, I was never paid for the programmes I had broadcast on that station in Berlin; on quite the contrary, I had used my personal money because I was responsible for the translation of every article into German before its transmission. After this, using a typewriter, I had to make four copies of every single article which I had to provide to four different districts. If the latter gave their approval, I would take the Metro at the dead of night, sometimes as the war was raging, risking my life in air raids. Then I would openly broadcast these articles in order to criticize the enemies of Allāh and the enemies of Islam.⁸⁶

After Germany had occupied France in 1941, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to allow Al-Hilālī to speak out against France or against the High Commissioner in Morocco. Al-Hilālī said, in his own words in the year 1947:

I told the employee who officially informed me about this censorship: ‘You yourself transmitted in French on your station in Frankfurt before the occupation of France: Verily, the High Commissioner, Nougiss is a Jew, and you have attributed all the vices to him. Whereas, in my article, I have produced strong evidence that ‘Nougiss’ is indeed a Freemason. Truly, the fact I have established this serves both your interests and our own. Actually, I have mentioned Britain as an illustration of what France does. Meanwhile, you should be aware that we have nationalist sympathies as those you feel or even stronger; you have a Government which supports you both financially and psychologically, whereas we are fighting this holy war alone without any support. For the moment, I shall not broadcast any material which will criticize either Britain or another country.’⁸⁷

Then the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs employee told Al-Hilālī that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had decided that it was completely forbidden to criticize France openly on Radio Berlin. However, the employee informed Al-Hilālī that he could say whatever he wanted when speaking out against Britain. Al-Hilālī claimed that a while later the same employee called him and asked him to write an article on some issues related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Al-Hilālī replied that he would only write such articles for the

⁸⁶ Al-Hilālī, “Al-Islām yukāfīhu al-’Isti‘mār,” 1947, 12-13.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

sake of Muslims and that of the Arab nations.⁸⁸ Apparently, this was the end of Al-Hilālī's collaboration with Radio Berlin.

⁸⁸ Ibid.