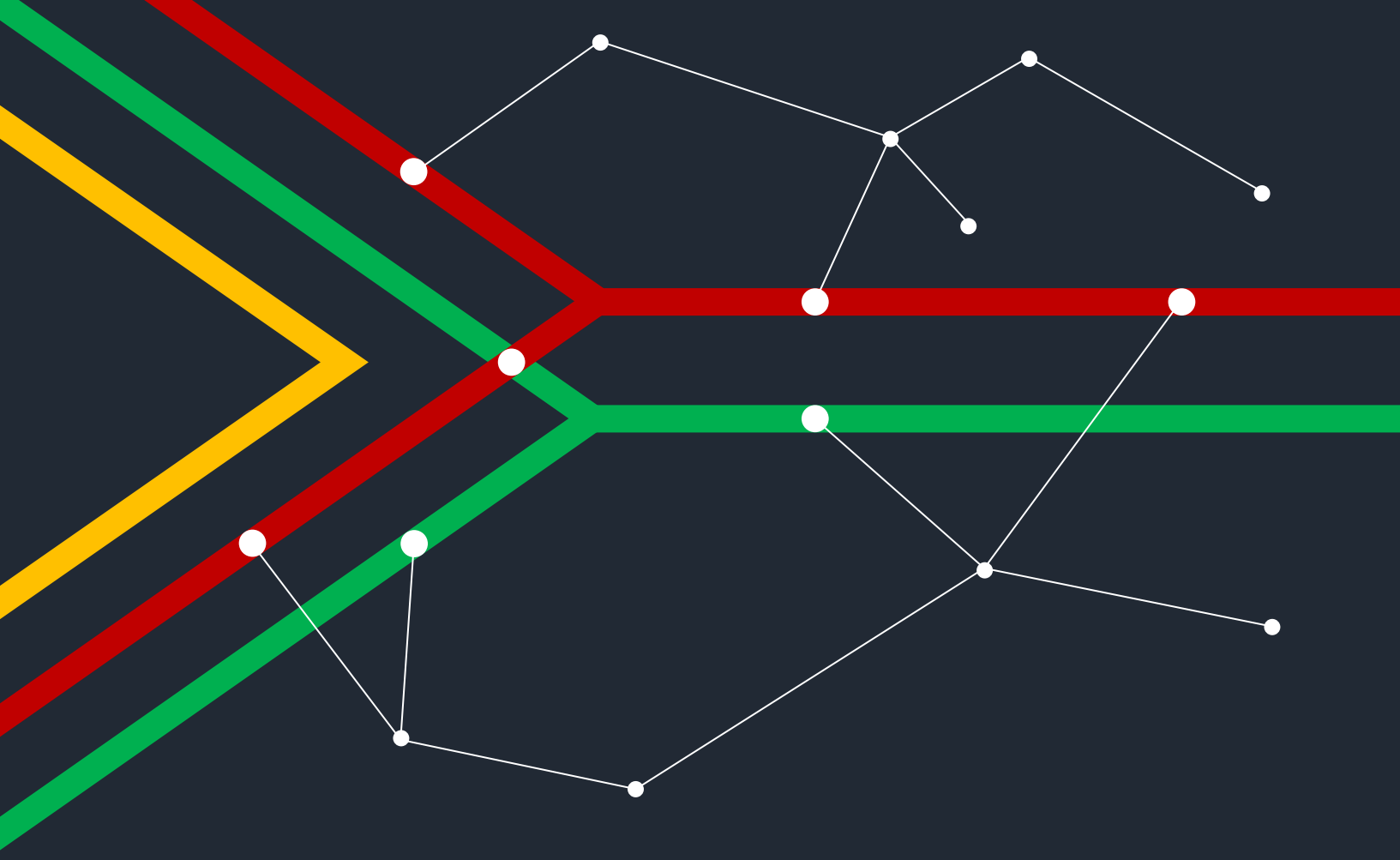

THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE'S SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION: GIFT OF THE GIVERS, THE COALITION FOR GOOD, AND IMTIAZ SOOLIMAN'S NETWORK

ISGAP / THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM & POLICY

ISLAMISM BEYOND ISLAMISTS

THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE'S SOUTH AFRICAN CONNECTION:

GIFT OF THE GIVERS, THE COALITION FOR GOOD, AND IMTIAZ SOOLIMAN'S NETWORK

November 2026

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The Red-Green Alliance's South African Connection:
Gift of the Givers, the Coalition for Good, and Imtiaz Sooliman's Network

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Executive Summary

The Gift of the Givers Foundation (GotG), founded by Dr. Imtiaz Ismail Sooliman in 1992, is South Africa's most prominent humanitarian organization, credited with launching relief operations in 47 countries. This report presents evidence that behind his humanitarian profile, Sooliman has spent more than three decades building an ecosystem of charities, funding channels, and political alliances that support Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and allied extremist networks.

Sooliman's first venture, the Al-Aqsa Foundation (founded 1991), was later sanctioned by the United States as a Hamas funding vehicle. GotG served as its strategic successor: a larger, more credible platform through which support for Islamist networks could continue under the cover of charity. Since establishing a permanent presence in Gaza in 2009, GotG has operated exclusively through Hamas-run authorities, and it was active inside Nasser Hospital during the period in which Hamas held Israeli hostages there after the October 7, 2023 massacre.

GotG's financial structure is opaque. The organization reports raising over $430 million but publishes no detailed accounts. It relies heavily on untraceable cash, in both fundraising and disbursement, and maintains a documented partnership with the Hayat Yolu Association, at least until it was designated by the US Department of the Treasury in March 2026 as a funding vehicle for Hamas's military wing and a financial hub for the Muslim Brotherhood.

Since 2024, Sooliman has moved from covert support to open political confrontation. Through the newly founded organization Coalition for Good, he coordinates lawfare and propaganda campaigns against Israel alongside prominent South African political figures, with rhetoric that repeatedly crosses from criticism of Israel into antisemitism. These activities enjoy the political protection of the government, led by the African National Congress (ANC).

The report concludes that Gift of the Givers and the Coalition for Good function as a militant support infrastructure operating under nongovernmental organization (NGO) cover. The US Department of the Treasury should investigate the extent to which GotG and its leadership may be acting directly or indirectly on behalf of Hamas.

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Introduction

This report investigates the financial, ideological, and operational networks surrounding the Gift of the Givers (GotG) Foundation and its founder, South African-born Dr. Imtiaz Ismail Sooliman. While widely praised for his humanitarian efforts, serious allegations have emerged indicating his sustained support, facilitation, and alignment with Islamist militant groups operating in Gaza, Yemen, Syria, and other countries where conflict is rife. Sooliman appears to operate with two faces: one as a respected relief figure and the other as a key enabler of radical movements.

South Africa is home to many pro-Palestine nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that are interlinked, covertly and overtly, through a complex, opaque network of shared funding, interlocking boards, joint advocacy campaigns, ideological alignment with lawfare strategies, and open support from terror organizations and terror-sponsoring states. These organizations operate in a coordinated manner to influence international policy, promote Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel, and, in most cases, maintain ties with designated terrorist groups. One of the leading and most aggressive NGOs in this space is Gift of the Givers.[1]

Since 1993, approximately R7 billion (US$430 million) has moved through Sooliman's networks with little to no scrutiny.[2] Much of this includes undocumented cash distributions in Gaza and financial flows that bypass international regulatory oversights. The evidence suggests that his humanitarian profile has been used to obscure deeper allegiances. Unpacking and mapping Sooliman's associations, conduct, financing architecture, ideological network, and public statements exposes a pattern of irregular behavior, one which requires immediate international attention. Among the South African population, Sooliman is more popular than any politician, with many calling on him to be South Africa's next president.[3] His hold over the country and its people, through his networks and popularity, makes this task even more urgent.

Since as far back as 2004, Sooliman has been suspected by several sources, some of whom are afraid to be named, of being an agent of the South African intelligence community.[4]

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1 Ilan Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?," *The Blogs*, *Times of Israel*, January 2, 2025, https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/humanitarian-organization-or-front-for-terror/.

2 Gift of the Givers, profile page, Instagram, 2026, https://www.instagram.com/gift.of.the.givers/?hl=en.

3 Dr. Imtiaz Sooliman for President of South Africa, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/groups/320982172557902/.

4 In March 2025, the author spoke to a journalist who interacted with Sooliman over time (A, name withheld at source's request). Another source (B, name withheld at source's request) was in a personal relationship with deceased journalist Suna Venter, who had contact with Sooliman before she passed away in June 2017.

He has, through his Gift of the Givers charity handouts, gained access to the South African National Defence Force, Customs and Immigration, the South African Police, the South African Revenue Service, and several other strategic government agencies.

After more than 30 years of operating with near-total protection in South Africa, Sooliman's alignment with terror-linked actors and undisclosed movements of hundreds of millions of dollars has become increasingly difficult to ignore. In the seemingly irregular and nontransparent use of funds managed by nonprofit organizations linked to Sooliman, clear indications are emerging that point to the diversion of collected charity funds toward terrorist entities.

Since October 7, 2023, Sooliman has been more transparent regarding his ideology and the true motivations behind GotG. Since late 2023, he has made several antisemitic statements in public, as well as openly calling for court action against Israel at the International Criminal Court (ICC) and International Court of Justice (ICJ).[5]

In 2024, Sooliman founded the South African nonprofit organization (NPO) Coalition for Good as a more radical offshoot that could directly target and demonize Israel in ways that were not possible for GotG. It is emerging as a key player in the pro-Hamas space in South Africa, with a board of directors that includes Dr. Naledi Pandor, who spearheaded South Africa's ICJ case against Israel.

All of this work requires funding. The GotG Facebook page claims the organization has raised approximately $430 million (R7 billion) in 33 years and is active in 47 countries.[6] Yet it provides no financial statements, no paper trails, and no audits to document exactly how, where, when, or with whom the funds have been used.[7] Only a select few who donate to or fund Gift of the Givers are openly disclosed on the NGO's website or social media platforms. While Sooliman claims to be transparent regarding his multi-million-dollar fundraising endeavors, he refuses to answer how the funds he raises are distributed. GotG does not publish audited annual financial statements online, unlike other major South African NGOs. The combination of large cash flows, no oversight, and operations in Middle East conflict zones, specifically Gaza, is alarming.

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5 Marika Sboros, "A Very Dark Side to Sooliman's Gift of the Givers," BizNews, November 24, 2024, https://irr.org.za/media/marika-sboros-a-very-dark-side-to-sooliman2019s-gift-of-the-givers-biznews; Shakirah Thebus, "Dr Sooliman Calls on Africa to Back SA's Genocide Case," *Cape Argus* (Cape Town, South Africa), January 10, 2024, https://iol.co.za/capeargus/news/2024-01-10-dr-sooliman-calls-on-africa-to-back-sas-genocide-case/.

6 Gift of the Givers, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/.

7 Steven Gruzd, "Humanitarian Icon Spouts Hate Speech as Allegations Swirl," *South African Jewish Report*, November 7, 2024, https://www.sajr.co.za/humanitarian-icon-spouts-hate-speech-as-allegations-swirl/.

His radicalism was exposed on October 5, 2024, when pro-Hamas organizations in Cape Town hosted a rally that celebrated the attack the year before. There, Sooliman took to the stage and said:

> "Every time we go against them, the Zionists were too clever. They were arrogant, acting with impunity, put fear into you. They put fear into corporate corporations, into universities, into communities, into governments, into political parties, into associations. They run the world with fear. They control the world with money. And every time you say something, they terrify you and they say it's antisemitic. Well I've got a message for them. Find a new narrative; this one is boring, dull, and stupid."[8]

He shared the stage with Ebrahim Gabriels, the national director of the Al-Quds Foundation, which is successor to the Al-Aqsa Foundation (South Africa) that Sooliman started. The Al-Aqsa Foundation was designated by the United States as a terror-funding entity in 2003.[9] On its website, Al-Quds Foundation (South Africa) used to refer to itself as a branch of the Al-Quds Foundation, which is headquartered in Lebanon.[10] The Al-Quds Foundation (officially known as Al-Quds International Foundation) was designated by the United States in 2012 as being controlled by, acting on behalf of, and helping raise funds for Hamas under the guise of charity.[11]

Also on the stage was Sheikh Riad Fataar Al-Azhari, President of the Muslim Judicial Council, who publicly stated "We are Hamas" in September 2024.[12]

Sooliman's extremism was further exposed two days later, on October 7, 2024, when he proudly declared in a Hilaal TV interview that he "only follows Koranic law, not international law or any human law."[13] He stated that "Allah himself" has instructed him and that "I don't need permission from anybody in the world to tell me what to do. I break the laws all the time. I follow Islamic law, and Islamic law overrides any other

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8 Tali Feinberg, "Outreach Organisation Gives Antisemitism a Platform," *South African Jewish Report*, November 21, 2024, https://www.sajr.co.za/outreach-organisation-gives-antisemitism-a-platform/.

9 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates Al-Aqsa International Foundation as Financier of Terror Charity Linked to Funding of the Hamas Terrorist Organization," press release, May 29, 2003, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/js439.

10 Al Quds Foundation South Africa, "About Us," archived at the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20240116120536/https://alquds.org.za/about-us/.

11 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Sanctions Two Hamas-Controlled Charities," press release, October 4, 2012, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/tg1725.

12 Salaamedia, "I Am Hamas; Cape Town Is Hamas!," video, Facebook, September 1, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=477914275118065.

13 Hilaal TV, "The Price for Freedom—Asserting Our Humanity," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hd56Y2doas.

law."[14] Despite his rejection of the law, he lobbied for South Africa's genocide case against Israel at the ICJ, and has contracted lawyers to pursue what he calls war crime charges against Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav Gallant.[15]

Sooliman has failed to condemn Hamas's actions, such as taking hostages. Instead, he publicly derided Israel after October 7, declaring that "the world knows that Israel are the baby killers, murderers of innocent civilians, journalists, health care workers, humanitarian aid workers,"[16] and insisted on continuing to provide aid to Gaza without calling for Hamas to release captives or offering any form of humanitarian aid to the hostages.[17]

Sooliman further revealed his ideological leanings when he targeted Jews and Christians in a TikTok video posted on GotG's social media platforms on February 4, 2026.[18] This follows a long record of GotG and Sooliman spouting antisemitic tropes and peddling conspiracy theories about Jews and Israel in interviews, mainstream South African media, and on his social media platforms, including the Coalition for Good's Instagram page.[19]

This report examines Sooliman's evolving global network, which constantly adapts to avoid detection. The investigative research traces his institutional footprint and follows the money and his networks. The findings are detailed, complex, and expose a system that Sooliman has built on access, ideology, and impunity.

As South African institutions refuse to act, the responsibility now falls on Western governments and international compliance bodies to scrutinize the evidence and hold Sooliman accountable. Without external intervention, these operations will continue to expand under his shield of humanitarian credibility.

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14 Africa Check, "Yes, Founder of NGO Gift of the Givers Imtiaz Sooliman Said 'I Follow Islamic Law, It Overrides Any Other Law,'" November 27, 2025, https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/meta-programme-fact-checks/yes-founder-ngo-gift-givers-imtiaz-sooliman-said-i-follow.

15 Newzroom Afrika, "Charge Netanyahu for War Crimes—Gift of the Givers," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fbXVaFSZVXw.

16 Faizel Patel, "Gift of the Givers Slams Terror Link," The Citizen, October 27, 2024, https://www.citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/imtiaz-sooliman-gift-of-the-givers-terrorism/.

17 Gift of the Givers, "The Ceasefire That Saved Israel," Facebook, January 16, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/read-the-ceasefire-that-saved-israelwhat-a-humiliating-defeat-for-the-fourth-lar/1021303143374388/; Gift of the Givers, "South Africa's Unprecedented Victory at the ICJ," January 26, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/share/p/18cJ44cP6g/.

18 Tali Feinberg, "Gift of the Givers Attacks Jews and Christians in 'Medieval' Video," *South African Jewish Report*, February 12, 2026, https://www.sajr.co.za/gift-of-the-givers-attacks-jews-and-christians-in-medieval-video/.

19 Coalition for Good, profile page, Instagram, 2026, https://www.instagram.com/thecoalitionforgood_/.

Chapter 1: Who Is Imtiaz Sooliman?

Born in 1962, Dr. Imtiaz Ismail Sooliman is a South African medical doctor (MBChB) and philanthropist, and considered among the most widely recognized and highly decorated private citizens in South Africa. He holds two national orders, a presidential award from Pakistan, ten honorary doctorates, eight parliamentary commendations, and in 2025 was appointed by South African President Cyril Ramaphosa to a body convened to guide a national political process. But beneath these honors, he has emerged as a key supporter and enabler of extremist movements. Sooliman's public standing helps explain why his activities have attracted so little official scrutiny.

1.1 Honors and awards

Gift of the Givers publishes a full record of Sooliman's honors on its website. The principal awards are the President's Order of the Star of South Africa, conferred by President F.W. de Klerk on October 19, 1993, and the Order of the Grand Counsellor of the Baobab in Silver, conferred by President Jacob Zuma on April 27, 2010. He also holds the Tamgha-i-Eisaar, a presidential award of Pakistan conferred in 2006 for the earthquake response, and the Global Citizen Award, conferred in 2016.[20]

Other recognitions include the Rotary Paul Harris Award in 2005, the Gandhi Development Trust Satyagraha Award in 2006, the South African Medical Association award for excellence in health care in 2008, inclusion in 2009 among 500 influential Muslims in a publication edited at Georgetown University, the Ubuntu Award of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation in 2015, and designation as South African Person of the Year by the *Daily Maverick* in 2021.[21]

He holds honorary doctorates from Tshwane University of Technology, the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban University of Technology, Rhodes University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, the University of Fort Hare, Vaal University of Technology, Stellenbosch University, and North-West University, along with the Chancellor's Medal of the University of Pretoria. The University of Cape Town conferred a further honorary doctorate of philosophy on March 30, 2026, although this was contested, with close to 300 alumni, staff, and students objecting and some donors withdrawing support.[22]

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20 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our Awards and Recognition," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us-3/recognition/.

21 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our Awards and Recognition."

22 Marvin Charles, "Big Names Turn on UCT for Awarding Imtiaz Sooliman Honorary Doctorate," News24, April 1, 2026, https://www.news24.com/southafrica/news/big-names-turn-on-uct-for-awarding-imtiaz-sooliman-honorary-doctorate-20260401-0829; Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our Awards and Recognition." On the

The Parliament of South Africa has passed eight motions of congratulation or commendation recognizing the work of Sooliman's organization, and President Jacob Zuma singled it out in his State of the Nation Address on February 11, 2010.[23] In 2017 Gift of the Givers was voted the leading nonprofit organization in South Africa by corporations and other nonprofits.[24]

On June 10, 2025, President Cyril Ramaphosa appointed Sooliman to the Eminent Persons Group of 31 figures convened to guide the National Dialogue. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies objected to the appointment and called for the Constitutional Court to replace President Ramaphosa as patron of the process. Membership in the Eminent Persons Group is advisory; Sooliman holds no office in any organ of state.[25]

As a medical doctor, Sooliman was closely involved in the activities of the Islamic Medical Association (IMA), which was established in 1981. Based on this work, the African Muslim Agency asked him to head a relief project in Mozambique, and then he went to Bangladesh with the Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA), today known as a charity called Feed the Poor.[26] He ran for election in 1994 as head of the African Muslim Party, which won no seats. He has never held elected or appointed public office.[27]

1.2 Founding Gift of the Givers

In August 1992, during a visit to Istanbul, Sooliman claims that he received instructions from the Sufi Sheikh Muhammed Saffer Effendi al-Jerrahi to form an organization to

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2026 award, see University of Cape Town, "Graduation Ceremony, Faculty of Humanities," March 30, 2026, https://uct.ac.za/media/776987; and Kamva Somdyala, "Dr Imtiaz Sooliman: From Saturday Squash to Humanitarian Example," University of Cape Town News, April 1, 2026, https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2026-04-01-dr-imtiaz-sooliman-from-saturday-squash-to-humanitarian-example.

23 Jacob Zuma, "State of the Nation Address," South African History Online, February 11, 2010, https://sahistory.org.za/archive/2010-president-zuma-state-nation-address-11-february-2010-0.

24 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our Awards and Recognition."

25 South African Government, "President Cyril Ramaphosa: Announcement on the National Dialogue," June 10, 2025, https://www.gov.za/news/speeches/president-cyril-ramaphosa-announcement-national-dialogue-10-jun-2025. On the objection, see Nicola Miltz, "Ramaphosa Not Neutral Enough to Oversee National Unity Project," *South African Jewish Report*, July 17, 2025, https://www.sajr.co.za/soolimans-appointment-nixes-national-unity-project/.

26 The leader of the African Muslim Party has helped victims from Bangladesh to Bosnia. *Mail & Guardian*, "Doctor with a Mercy Mission," August 5, 1994, https://mg.co.za/news/south-africa/1994-08-05-doctor-with-a-mercy-mission/.

27 Wikipedia, "Gift of the Givers," May 22, 2026, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gift_of_the_Givers. See also Lauren Isaacs, "Imtiaz Sooliman on Running for Office in 1994 Polls: 'I Didn't Ever Want to Be Involved,'" Eyewitness News, April 26, 2024, https://www.ewn.co.za/2024/04/26/imtiaz-sooliman-on-running-for-office-in-1994-polls-i-didnt-ever-want-to-be-involved.

be named Waqful Waqifin, rendered in English as Gift of the Givers (GotG), to serve people of any race, religion, color, class, or political affiliation without condition and without expectation of return. He founded the organization in Pietermaritzburg on August 6, 1992, and withdrew from private medical practice in 1994 to lead it.[28] Sooliman consistently describes the organization as spiritually rather than personally directed, and declines credit for its work on that basis.

Gift of the Givers is headquartered at 290 Prince Alfred Street, Pietermaritzburg. Sooliman has built GotG into Africa's largest indigenous disaster-response nongovernmental organization (NGO), with strengths in rapid response, medical aid, water provision, and operations in high-risk zones including Gaza. As of August 2026 it reported more than 600 employees and offices in nine locations, including Somalia, Yemen, Turkey, and Ramallah. It states that it has distributed approximately R7 billion in aid across 47 countries over three decades. These figures are self-reported; none of Sooliman's registered not-for-profit entities publish independently audited annual financial statements.[29]

Under Sooliman's leadership the organization developed the first containerized mobile hospital, which was designed in South Africa and deployed in Bosnia during the 1990s. It has since responded to the 2006 war in Lebanon, the Haiti earthquake of 2010, Somalia in 2011, the Nepal earthquake of 2015, the Turkey and Syria earthquake of 2023, and according to Sooliman, the war in Ukraine from 2022 and the war in Gaza. Domestically it is known for drought relief, its intervention in the Makhanda water crisis, and for supplying oxygen equipment to hospitals during the COVID-19 pandemic.[30]

In 2024, Sooliman also founded the Coalition for Good, a South African nonprofit organization (NPO) that serves as a more overtly political counterpart to GotG. Whereas GotG presents itself as a purely humanitarian organization, the Coalition for Good concentrates on advocacy and lawfare campaigns against Israel.

GotG's and the Coalition for Good's leadership are very much a family affair. Sooliman's immediate family members are embedded in their leadership, ensuring close personal control and continuity of his vision. Sooliman has two wives: Zohra Bibi

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28 The Presidency: Republic of South Africa, "Imtiaz Sooliman," n.d., https://www.presidency.gov.za/imtiaz-sooliman. See also Trialogue, "Dr Imtiaz Sooliman," March 19, 2024, https://trialogue.co.za/dr-imtiaz-sooliman/.

29 Wikipedia, "Gift of the Givers."

30 The Presidency: Republic of South Africa, "Imtiaz Sooliman"; Wikipedia, "Gift of the Givers."

Sooliman (his first wife) and Ayesha Sooliman (his second, younger wife).[31] Sooliman and his wife Zohra were both members of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) and the Muslim Youth Movement in the 1970s and 1980s, and were involved in community projects aimed at socioeconomic redress. Later he also married Ayesha, a qualified nurse who lives close to the main Sooliman household located at 21 Sterculia Crescent, Mountain Rise, Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. While less publicly visible, Ayesha works at GotG's Durban office and is associated with GotG activities and support.

Sooliman has one child with Ayesha and five children with Zohra, including a son, Muhammad Rayhaan Ismail Sooliman, who is directly involved in all of the company's activities. He is formally registered as a director of the Gift of the Givers Foundation alongside his father and appears as a director of the Coalition for Good. Zohra and her father, Muhammed Ismail, are also key figures in GotG. Zohra is listed as a director of GotG's Careline, a free 24/7 telephone and face-to-face counseling service for trauma and mental wellness, and is also actively involved in GotG's daily operations. She completed a master's degree in counseling psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2022.[32] The Companies and Intellectual Property Commission records list a director named as Muhammad Ismail holding active directorships in Gift of the Givers Foundation, Waqful Waqifin Foundation, the Coalition for Good, GOTG Jumpstart and Zakaat Housing Foundation, together with four for-profit companies. Sooliman and Zohra formally control the companies but do not necessarily hold office in all of them.[33]

The Sooliman family and a few close and trusted associates dominate leadership roles across the board of several affiliated entities, both nonprofit and for-profit, that support or supplement GotG's activities. There is a noticeable absence of unrelated, independent directors in key positions, which is unusual for a large charity and could be a point of concern for governance best practices. This hybrid structure—a constellation of nonprofits alongside revenue-generating companies—provides GotG with a self-sustaining financial model, albeit one that lacks transparency (as detailed

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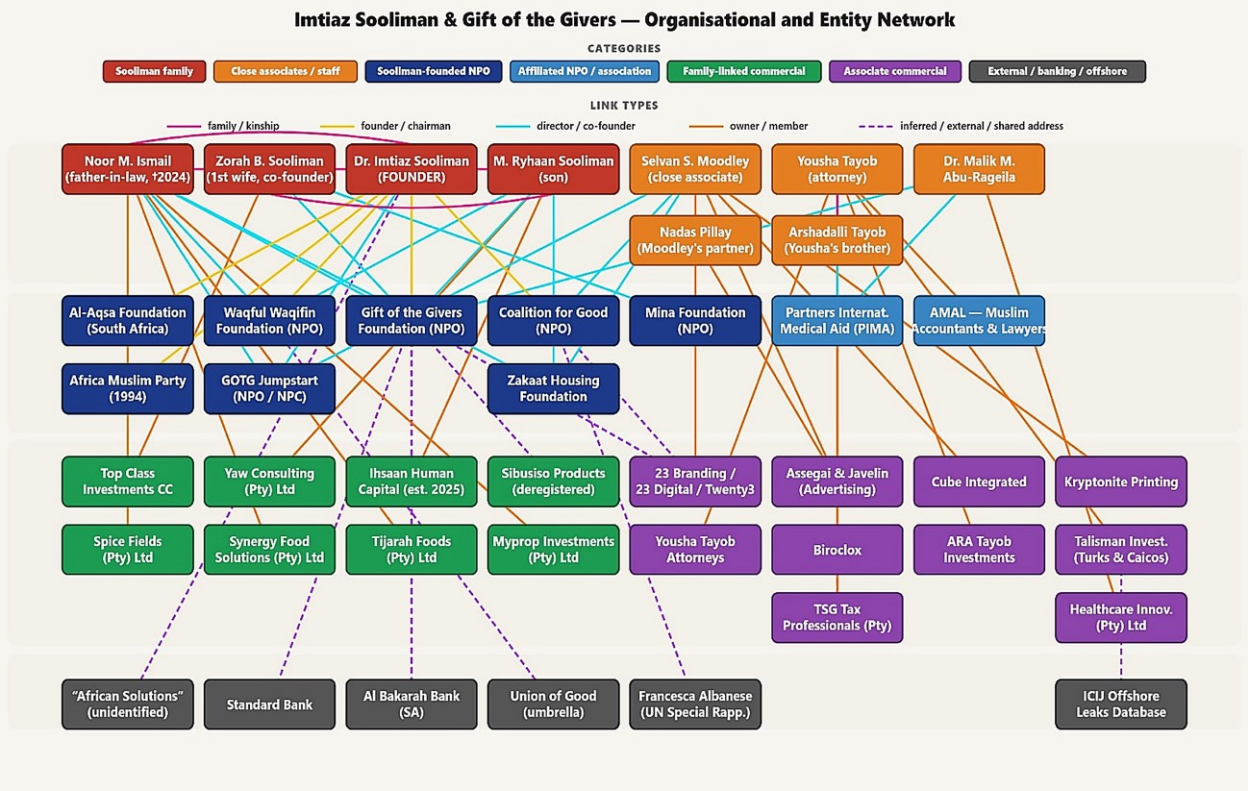
31 Sooliman married Ayesha in 2007 after meeting her on a Gift of the Givers mission. They have a six-year-old daughter named Rahmah. Roxanne Mooneys, "Meet the Woman Who Stood by Gift of the Givers' Imtiaz Sooliman and Helped Make It a Success," News24, August 29, 2022, https://www.news24.com/you/news/local/meet-the-woman-who-stood-by-gift-of-the-givers-imtiaz-sooliman-and-helped-make-it-a-success-20220829.

32 University of KwaZulu-Natal, "Master's for Gift of the Givers Co-founder," May 17, 2022, https://ukzn.ac.za/news/masters-for-gift-of-the-givers-co-founder/. See also Zahid Jadwat, "Zohra Sooliman, a Silent Hero at Gift of the Givers," Salaamedia, March 9, 2023, https://salaamedia.com/2023/03/09/zohra-sooliman-a-silent-hero-at-gift-of-the-givers/.

33 Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (withheld from this report—available upon request).

later in this document). Figure 1 outlines the relationships between key individuals and entities in the Gift of the Givers network, highlighting overlapping roles and connections.

Figure 1: The interconnected structure of Sooliman's core business operations



Source: Author.

1.3 More than meets the eye

Sooliman has an unmatched record of accomplishment in the field of humanitarian and medical relief to save and preserve human life, reduce human suffering, and bring comfort to distressed people in South Africa and internationally. He has received multiple local and international presidential and other awards, honorary doctorates, and parliamentary commendations. He is more popular among South Africans than many of the country's political leaders.

Yet an entirely different image is also visible, one that reflects more radical ideological, political, and religious parameters. Like the late Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who was a chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), Sooliman has put uniquely sophisticated mechanisms in place to covertly support and finance terror organizations. He has done this in the Hamas-led and managed Gaza Strip, where cash and physical aid conveniently

support the terror organization. The comparison between the two entities is clear: Al-Qaradawi established a huge organizational and economic infrastructure network of global Islamist organizations, including the US-designated Union of Good (UoG), along with an economic wing of charity organizations, to strengthen Hamas's political and military position in the Palestinian territories. Sooliman has followed this model, using a different methodology for the same cause.

In 2011, two years after establishing a permanent foothold for GotG in Hamas-controlled Gaza, al-Qaradawi honored Sooliman with an award for his "service to Palestine." Al-Qaradawi rarely bestowed such recognition on non-Arab figures, and his choice of Sooliman was highly symbolic. The awards ceremony, presided over by a cleric infamous for justifying suicide bombings and jihad against Israel, cemented Sooliman's standing among Islamist networks. It linked GotG's humanitarian image with al-Qaradawi's extremist ideological framework, casting doubt on Sooliman's claims of political neutrality. GotG evolved into something akin to a successor of al-Qaradawi's global charitable enterprise—in effect making Sooliman a new al-Qaradawi in terms of mobilizing charitable funds for the Islamist resistance front.

The UoG, a coalition of several dozens of Islamist charities from across the world, raised tens of millions of dollars a year from its affiliated organizations and facilitated the transfer of these funds to Hamas-managed organizations. It provided cover for Hamas's financial transfers. It diverted charitable donations to support Hamas members and the families of terrorist operatives, and dispensed social welfare and other charitable services on behalf of Hamas.[34] Sooliman's GotG and his linked Coalition for Good do precisely the same, while having the luxury of being supported and protected by South Africa's leadership. They themselves have funded and supported the multi-fronted lawfare efforts at the ICJ, and sponsored highly problematic organizations, such as the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in Gaza. Like the funds that the UoG transferred to the families of suicide bombers to compensate Hamas terrorists, GotG does the same with cash handouts in Gaza under the disguise of aid.

Sooliman has been associated with known terrorists. For example, he appeared alongside Leila Khaled, a Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist icon, during a 2006 relief mission in Lebanon, and, as detailed in his biography, he was escorted by Hezbollah members through their Beirut stronghold (Dahiya) in the midst of

[34] US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates the Union of Good," press release HP-1267, November 12, 2008, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/hp1267.

the 2006 Israel-Lebanon war.[35] Like terror organizations that promote martyrdom for causes, Sooliman celebrates becoming a martyr for the Palestinian cause and has encouraged loss of life and suffering in pursuit of destruction of the State of Israel.[36] Sooliman has not spoken out against the atrocities perpetrated by Hamas on October 7, 2023. He has failed to mention the hostages kidnapped from Israel by Hamas, call for their release, or offer provision of medical treatment, even with his teams active in Gaza.

Sooliman refused to draw on his vast network of diplomatic contacts or the direct contact he has with the Palestinian Red Crescent or the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to try and secure the release of the hostages and effect a ceasefire, even though he has experience negotiating other hostage releases in Africa and the Middle East. His actions have served quite the opposite: He promotes antagonism and incites hatred, both in the public domain and on the stages he frequents.[37] Sooliman and Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila, a director in the Coalition for Good, could have easily ensured that the Palestinian Red Crescent could see and treat injured or sick hostages in exchange for the food, water, fuel, clothing, and cash he provides for Hamas and its people. He clearly chose not to.

He is contemptuous of the grief and trauma suffered by Hamas's victims (Israeli, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim). "Israel likes to play the Sad Sack like they are the victim,"[38] he said, referring to the October 7 massacre carried out by Hamas. He has never supported peace or ceasefires and has repeatedly said the Gaza war would "end Israel."[39] His almost lifelong war against the Jewish State and the Jewish people, as shown in this report, demonstrates that this would be his greatest wish. Sooliman's humanitarianism ends on the horizon of his prejudicial belief in stereotypes about Jews, money, and power. His vision is clouded by classic and blatant antisemitic images of Jews as cunning manipulators of global economics and media houses: "For the first time, the Western public have realized they've been hoodwinked by the international media machinery that is controlled by the Zionist funding. They control all the finances, they control the companies, they control the narrative, they control the information,"[40] he has said.

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35 Shafiq Morton, *Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers: A Mercy to All*, 4th ed. (Bookstorm, 2024).

36 Muslim Central, "Gift of the Givers Current Situation in Gaza 12 Nov 2023," podcast, November 12, 2023, https://muslimcentral.com/imtiaz-sooliman-gift-of-the-givers-current-situation-in-gaza-12-nov-2023.

37 Africa Check, "Yes, Founder of NGO Gift of the Givers Imtiaz Sooliman Said 'I Follow Islamic Law, It Overrides Any Other Law.'"

38 Muslim Central, "Gift of the Givers Current Situation in Gaza 12 Nov 2023."

39 Tali Feinberg, "Sooliman Says Gaza War Will 'End Israel,'" *South African Jewish Report*, November 28, 2024, https://www.sajr.co.za/sooliman-says-gaza-war-will-end-israel/; Gift of the Givers, "The Ceasefire That Saved Israel."

40 Muslim Central, "Gift of the Givers Current Situation in Gaza 12 Nov 2023," 12:23–12:31.

Sooliman's dual role as relief worker and political operative has sparked debate in South Africa.[41] On the one hand, he is lauded for giving South Africa a prominent voice in international issues; but on the other, there is growing unease that GotG's humanitarian operations might be a cover or leverage for extremist politics, an indoctrinator of South Africa's poor and underprivileged, and a major voice of incitement against Israel.

1.4 Extremist Rhetoric and Antisemitism

For years, Sooliman managed to conceal his support for Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and has worked to undermine the State of Israel. Sooliman, like al-Qaradawi, has been quoted on several occasions calling for the lifting of the siege of Gaza, yet fails to mention that Israel disengaged from Gaza in 2005 or that Egypt has for years kept its own border with Gaza tightly restricted because of the security threat posed by Hamas. In carefully analyzing Sooliman and GotG, several startling truths emerge: Sooliman failed in 1994 to be elected to Parliament where, informed by the theory of "Jurisprudence of Muslim minorities" (*Fiqh al-Aqalliyat*) which al-Qaradawi helped to shape, he was motivated to imprint Islamic values on South African society. Instead, Sooliman has worked, unelected and unanswerable to voters, to achieve these aims through the humanitarian sector. He has concealed his true motivations for decades.

Sooliman is a devout Muslim who has openly expressed his desire to infuse Islamic values and law into public life. He has explicitly stated that he abides by "Koranic law" above any other authority, and he "breaks [non-Islamic] law all the time" in pursuit of what he views as a higher mandate.[42] He has also stated, "I know how to move cash."[43] Such statements reflect GotG's Islamist orientation, suggesting that its founder sees the organization's mission as one of religious duty, even if it conflicts with secular or international norms. Sooliman's public commentary has drawn fire for crossing into antisemitic territory,[44] especially since the October 7 attacks and his launch of the Coalition for Good. The organization uses its slick social media platforms to amplify these libels.

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41 Lawrence Nowosenetz, "South Africa's Soft State Capture: Gaza and Dr. Imtiaz Sooliman," *The Blogs*, *Times of Israel*, December 3, 2025, https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/south-africas-soft-state-capture-gaza-and-dr-imtiaz-sooliman/.

42 Hilaal TV, "The Price for Freedom—Asserting Our Humanity," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hd56Y2doas&t=525s.

43 Hilaal TV, "The Price for Freedom."

44 Feinberg, "Sooliman Says Gaza War Will 'End Israel'"; Tali Feinberg, "UCT to Honour Sooliman, Who Describes Himself as '5 000% Antisemitic,'" *South African Jewish Report*, March 27, 2026, https://www.sajr.co.za/uct-to-honour-sooliman-who-describes-himself-as-5-000-antisemitic/.

Sooliman has framed Israel in demonic[45] terms and has echoed Hamas's narratives in South African media.[46] He often invokes religion-based justifications in his crusade against Israel, casting it in civilizational terms rather than sticking to humanitarian concerns. For example, Sooliman has referred to conflicts with Israel as part of Muslims' broader struggle, and has minimized or excused Hamas's violence as justified resistance.

Sooliman denies having any terror links or funding diversion, and attributes scrutiny of him to politically motivated "Zionist smears" amid South Africa's pro-Palestine stance. He has distanced himself from jihadism while criticizing Israeli actions as "ethnic cleansing." No conclusive public evidence has resulted in legal action, sanctions, or designation against him personally. Yet critics highlight several of his actions, including his founding of the South African Al-Aqsa Foundation branch in 1991 (an international foundation designated by the US as a terrorist entity since 2003 that was headquartered in Germany for alleged Hamas financing);[47] continued early donations to it and the Union of Good; participation in rallies with Hamas/Hezbollah imagery (e.g., an October 5, 2024, Cape Town event under a banner that read, "We are Hamas"); and statements such as prioritizing Koranic law over human/international law, expertise in "moving cash," and describing himself as "5,000% antisemitic"[48] if opposing Zionism equates to that (interpreted by critics as antisemitic tropes about Zionists controlling the world with money and fear).

In an interview on Hilaal TV Sooliman said, "I'm a Muslim, I don't need permission from anybody in the world to tell me what to do. I break the laws all the time. I follow Islamic law and Islamic law overrides any other law."[49] It explains why GotG actively ignores conventional legal and regulatory frameworks, including anti-money laundering and counterterrorist financing regulations. This is part of a broader pattern in which GotG aligns its field activity with actors who reject the basic principles of humanitarian neutrality. Sooliman's continued silence in the face of terror, and consistent refusal to report or condemn such incidents, reflect deliberate positioning, not accidental oversight.

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45 Feinberg, "Gift of the Givers Attacks Jews and Christians in 'Medieval' Video."

46 Tali Feinberg, "Gift of the Givers' Big Bibas Lie Exposes Hamas Support," *South African Jewish Report*, March 6, 2025, https://www.sajr.co.za/gift-of-the-givers-big-bibas-lie-exposes-hamas-support/; Feinberg, "Sooliman Says Gaza War Will 'End Israel.'"

47 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates Al-Aqsa International Foundation as Financier of Terror Charity Linked to Funding of the Hamas Terrorist Organization."

48 Feinberg, "UCT to Honour Sooliman, Who Describes Himself as '5 000% Antisemitic.'"

49 Hilaal TV, "The Price for Freedom"; Africa Check, "Yes, Founder of NGO Gift of the Givers Imtiaz Sooliman Said 'I Follow Islamic Law, It Overrides Any Other Law.'"

GotG is not simply a service provider in high-risk environments. It is deeply embedded in a political and ideological network that includes Muslim Brotherhood–linked charities, Hamas-affiliated NGOs, and sympathetic diplomatic actors. Sooliman's Coalition for Good and GotG coordinate lawfare strategies through international legal institutions and actively work to delegitimize Israeli statehood and self-defense under the cover of human rights law and absurd accusations.

1.5 Al-Aqsa Foundation in South Africa

In 1991, a year before Gift of the Givers was founded, Sooliman established the South African branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation, an international charity founded in Germany. He transferred it to Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels in 1992. On May 29, 2003, the US Department of the Treasury designated the Al-Aqsa Foundation as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist entity under Executive Order 13224. The background attached to the designation lists the foundation's head office at Aachen, Germany, and names Johannesburg, South Africa, among its branch offices. The US Treasury statement names South Africa among the jurisdictions through which the foundation channeled money collected for charitable purposes to Hamas.[50]

The Al-Aqsa Foundation was one of the charities in the Union of Good coalition. The official Arabic website of the Union of Good, accessible via the Internet Archive on February 6, 2004, recorded the member organizations of the coalition. Several South African bodies appear on that listing, among them Jam'iyyat Waqf al-Waqifin, the registered Arabic name of Gift of the Givers.[51]

The Union of Good membership listing establishes affiliation with the coalition at the date of capture, four years and nine months before the designation of November 12, 2008.[52]

1.6 Al-Quds Foundation (South Africa) / Masjidul Quds

In South Africa, Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels, a senior Islamic cleric, is national director of the Al-Quds Foundation[53] and a former Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) president.

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50 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates Al-Aqsa International Foundation as Financier of Terror Charity Linked to Funding of the Hamas Terrorist Organization." The background attached to the release gives the head office as Aachen, Germany, and lists the branch offices as Rotterdam, Copenhagen, Brussels, Sana, Malmo, Johannesburg, and Islamabad.

51 Union of Good, official Arabic-language website, archived at the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, February 6, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20040206125900/http:/www.101days.org/arabic/index.htm. The 101days.org domain was created in May 2001 to coincide with the 101 Days Campaign of the coalition and is identified as a Union of Good domain in Steve Merley, "The Union of Good: A Global Muslim Brotherhood Hamas Fundraising Network," NEFA Foundation, 2009.

52 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates the Union of Good."

Gabriels and Al-Quds have played a significant role in mainstreaming the pro-Hamas narrative under religious auspices. Gabriels has appeared alongside Sooliman at high-profile rallies—notably, on October 5, 2024, in Cape Town, he was introduced as representing Islamic Relief South Africa and Al-Quds South Africa, and shared the stage with Sooliman and others, where slogans like "We are Hamas" were proudly declared.[54] The Al-Quds Foundation[55] and the MJC support the Islamic Relief South Africa branch.[56] All contribute resources to serve the same global Islamic support system.

The Coalition benefits from this partnership by cloaking its activism in interfaith solidarity and tapping into the MJC's grassroots influence. Al-Quds/Masjidul Quds provides the Coalition with a platform in mosques and Muslim community events. For instance, in 2018, the MJC and the Al-Quds Foundation facilitated[57] a visit by Hamas's Mahmoud al-Zahar to Cape Town, where he was photographed with prominent South African judge Siraj Desai (the father of the BDS South Africa co-founder Muhammed Desai, himself a BDS activist) and welcomed by local religious leadership.

Such encounters lend Hamas sympathizers an air of legitimacy. They reflect a troubling mix between religious entities and South African government leaders' direct implication in sponsoring terror by attending or endorsing these events.

Gift of the Givers also had a documented funding and implementing relationship with the Hayat Yolu Association of Turkey, including the funding of an aid convoy into northern Syria in November 2022 and a housing project in Idlib. Hayat Yolu was designated by the US Department of the Treasury on March 12, 2026, as part of Hamas's international funding network and as a financial hub for the Muslim Brotherhood. GotG continued to publish references to the partnership after the designation.[58]

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53 Al Quds Foundation South Africa, "Orphans and Widows of Martyrs," archived at the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, 2025, https://web.archive.org/web/20250209112328/https://alquds.org.za/; Al Quds Foundation South Africa, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/groups/42818087313/.

54 Tali Feinberg, "Top SA Muslim Leader Says: 'I Am Hamas,'" *South African Jewish Report*, September 5, 2024, https://www.sajr.co.za/top-sa-muslim-leader-says-i-am-hamas/.

55 Muslim Judicial Council (SA), "MJC-AlQuds Foundation News Conference," 2023, https://mjc.org.za/mjc-quds-news-conference/.

56 Islamic Relief South Africa, "IRSA and MJC Part of Community Regeneration Project," archived at the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20221004173421/https://www.islamic-relief.org.za/community-regeneration-project/.

57 Nicola Miltz, "SAZF Takes On Judge Desai for His Conduct," *South African Jewish Report*, June 17, 2021, https://www.sajr.co.za/sazf-takes-on-judge-desai-for-his-conduct/.

58 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Continues to Disrupt Hamas' Sham Charity Network as the Group Refuses to Disarm," press release SB-0415, March 12, 2026, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0415. On the pre-designation relationship, see Hayat Yolu, "Hayat Yolu Launches the Ihsan Convoy, Funded by Gift of the Givers Foundation," December 14, 2022, https://hayat-yolu.org/hayat-yolu-launches-the-ihsan-convoy-funded-by-gift-of-the-givers-foundation/.

No South African authority has opened an investigation into these matters, which is why external scrutiny is required.

Chapter 2: Gift of the Givers

Waqful Waqifin (وقف الواقفين), translated from Arabic as "The Endowment of the Givers" or Gift of the Givers, was founded in 1992 by Dr. Imtiaz Ismail Sooliman.[59] According to the GotG Foundation website, the inspiration for the organization's name and mission came from Sooliman's spiritual mentor, a Turkish Sufi Sheikh named Muhammed Saffer Effendi al-Jerrahi, who in 1992 instructed Sooliman to establish an Islam-inspired humanitarian organization called Waqful Waqifin and begin charitable activities in South Africa.[60] More than 30 years later, Sooliman remains the public face and driving force behind the organization, which identifies itself as Africa's largest disaster-response NGO.[61] Its early aim was to rally donations from Muslim communities (initially targeting mosques nationwide) to fund humanitarian projects.

2.1 Organizational and Entity Structure and Network

GotG operates as a South African nonprofit organization with associated entities that handle various aspects of its work. The primary entity, Gift of the Givers Foundation, is registered in South Africa with NPO registration 032-031 and Public Benefit Organization (PBO) number 930018993. Its registered legal name is Waqful Waqifin Foundation, which trades as Gift of the Givers Foundation.[62] Two separate nonprofit companies are additionally registered with the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission. Gift of the Givers Foundation was re-incorporated in 2022 under registration number 2022/613056/08. Waqful Waqifin Foundation was re-incorporated in 2024 under registration number 2024/614955/08. Both are recorded as active and share at least one common director, recorded as Muhammad Ismail, who also holds directorships in the Coalition for Good, GOTG Jumpstart, and Zakaat Housing Foundation, together with four for-profit companies.[63] The public record does not show which company holds the NPO and PBO registrations or receives donated funds, and neither publishes audited financial statements.

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59 Gift of the Givers Foundation, home page, https://giftofthegivers.org/; GlobalGiving, "Waqful Waqifin Foundation (Gift of the Givers Foundation)," 2025, https://www.globalgiving.org/donate/45571/waqful-waqifin-foundation-gift-of-the-givers-foundation/.

60 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our Inspiration," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us-3/our-inspiration/.

61 Gift of the Givers Foundation, home page.

62 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Terms of Use and Privacy Policy," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/terms-of-use-privacy-policy/. The page carries the line "Waqful Waqifin Foundation t/a Gift of the Givers Foundation" and the registration line "NPO 032-031, PBO 930018993." (The actual company records are available upon request.)

63 Companies and Intellectual Property Commission South Africa. (A director summary for Muhammad Ismail, who is a director in all companies, is available upon request.)

On the surface, Gift of the Givers enjoys a sterling reputation as a humanitarian organization. It has garnered widespread praise for its disaster response efforts, hunger relief, healthcare initiatives, and education projects. GotG's public messaging highlights values of compassion and altruism, emphasizing nonsectarian aid to the needy. Indeed, the organization presents itself as apolitical and purely humanitarian, and is often celebrated in media as an iconic South African aid NGO that saves lives across racial and religious lines. This well-crafted public profile is bolstered by active engagement with press and social media—Sooliman understands the importance of being seen as helping people, and GotG's branding heavily features its on-site charity work and success stories. The result is that for over three decades, GotG has been widely regarded by South Africans and others as a model NGO, a hero of humanitarian service.

However, while GotG publicly maintains a "white hat" image, multiple sources indicate that it concurrently operates as a "grey organization"—one that leverages the goodwill of charity to aid and abet internationally sanctioned terrorist organizations. A growing body of evidence suggests that while GotG performs genuine relief work, it simultaneously provides covert support to extremist and armed terror networks, essentially operating as a humanitarian front for terror groups like Hamas, PIJ, and the PFLP. This covert dimension includes channeling funds, material aid, and logistical support in ways that bolster these groups' activities under the cover of charity.[64]

For example, investigative findings[65] and Sooliman's own statements[66] reveal that in conflict zones such as Gaza, GotG projects have been deliberately structured to serve Hamas's strategic objectives: clinics treating Hamas fighters, infrastructure projects aiding Hamas-controlled municipalities, and cash distributed in ways that could finance Hamas operatives, their families, or their martyrs.

These actions, while publicly explained as aid, effectively further the agenda of designated terrorist organizations, raising serious ethical and legal questions about GotG's true nature. Reports point out that Sooliman has adeptly used the cloak of humanitarianism to access war-torn areas, only to selectively assist one side of the conflict—the side aligned with his Islamic ideological leanings.[67] A bona fide

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64 NGO Monitor, "Puppet Regime: Hamas' Coercive Grip on Aid and NGO Operations in Gaza," December 3, 2025, https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/puppet-regime-hamas-ngo-gaza/.

65 GovExtra, "The Connection between UNRWA and Hamas in Gaza," n.d., https://govextra.gov.il/unrwa/unrwa/.

66 Sboros, "A Very Dark Side to Sooliman's Gift of the Givers."

67 Marika Sboros, "Questioning the Motives behind a South African NGO," Jewish News Syndicate, January 21, 2025, https://www.jns.org/opinion/marika-sboros/questioning-the-motives-behind-a-south-african-ngo.

humanitarian outfit would not consistently organize its offerings along ideological grounds. In GotG's case, the pattern of choosing beneficiaries suggests a clear ideological, political, and religious motive: to aid populations or areas tied to Islamist militant groups, rather than neutrally aiding all in need.

In public forums, Sooliman has shed some of the neutral guise by making extremist statements.[68] He has propagated anti-Western and antisemitic conspiracy theories. For instance, Sooliman has described conflicts involving Islamist groups purely through a partisan lens, condemning Israel vehemently while ignoring or justifying violence by Hamas. His social media posts and speeches often demonize Israel and Zionism in absolutist terms, at times crossing into overt hate speech against Jews. For example, in Cape Town on October 5, 2024, he stated:

> "Every time we go against them, the Zionists were too clever. They were arrogant, acting with impunity, put fear into you. They put fear into corporate corporations, into universities, into communities, into governments, into political parties, into associations. They run the world with fear. They control the world with money. And every time you say something, they terrify you and they say it's antisemitic. Well I've got a message for them. Find a new narrative; this one is boring, dull, and stupid."[69]

In other interviews he has stated that Israel has lost its ethics and humanity, warning "the world is going to turn against you. … 76 years of lies have been exposed. You can't hide it anymore. … I've got a message for you Israel: This is your end. Not the end of Gaza."[70] Such statements suggest that Sooliman's humanitarian stance is, at least in part, a facade for mobilizing support against Israel and its allies, consistent with the narratives promoted by Hamas.

GotG also has a history of dealing with armed Islamist groups in multiple countries:

- In Lebanon, during the 2006 Israel–Hezbollah war, Sooliman led a GotG relief mission during which he appeared alongside PFLP terrorist icon Leila Khaled and was escorted by Hezbollah members through their stronghold in Beirut's Dahiya district.[71]

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68 Newzroom Afrika, "Charge Netanyahu for War Crimes."

69 Salaamedia, "Dr Imtiaz Sooliman addressed marchers in Cape Town Today," Instagram, October 5, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DAvyJyiN6yy/.

70 Gift of the Givers, "'76 years of lies have been exposed; you can't hide it anymore,'" Instagram, September 6, 2025, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DOQe43GDSE1/.

71 Morton, *Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers*.

- In Yemen, GotG negotiated directly with Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) for the release of South African hostages Pierre and Yolande Korkie, kidnapped in Taiz in May 2013. The foundation's Yemen office manager held repeated talks with AQAP and tribal intermediaries, securing Yolande's release in January 2014 and negotiating a "facilitation fee" for Pierre's release shortly before he was killed in a US rescue raid in December 2014.[72]
- In Mali, GotG acted as an intermediary with Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), sending a negotiator into remote parts of Mali and Niger from 2015 and speaking on several occasions with an Al-Qaeda intermediary about ransom demands before South African hostage Stephen McGown was freed in July 2017; a retired European intelligence official alleged that a €3.5 million ransom was negotiated with GotG as the intermediary, a claim Sooliman has denied.[73]
- In Syria, GotG ran hospitals in Idlib province, territory dominated by jihadist factions, and when South African photojournalist Shiraaz Mohamed was abducted near a GotG hospital in January 2017, Sooliman's team negotiated with his captors and met face-to-face with one of the kidnappers.[74]

These instances, spanning Hezbollah-controlled Beirut, Al-Qaeda strongholds in Yemen and the Sahel, and jihadist-held northern Syria, illustrate GotG's comfort operating within militant Islamist circles.

Mohamed Bedrealam "Badr" Kazi

Kazi is GotG's Director of Strategic Partnerships for Corporate and Government (see figure 2). Prior to working with GotG, as well as during his work with GotG in 2022, Kazi

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72 CBS News, "South African Hostage Killed in Failed U.S. Rescue Was Set for Release," December 6, 2014, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/south-african-hostage-killed-in-failed-us-rescue-was-set-for-release; *Christian Science Monitor*, "A Charity That Gives Food—and Frees Hostages," November 19, 2016, https://www.csmonitor.com/World/2016/1119/A-charity-that-gives-food-and-frees-hostages.

73 France 24, "South African Hostage in Mali Released by al Qaeda amid Ransom Allegation," August 3, 2017, https://www.france24.com/en/20170803-south-africa-hostage-stephen-mcgown-mali-released-al-qaeda-ransom-allegation; Associated Press, "Al-Qaida Branch Frees South African after Six Years," August 4, 2017, https://www.pressreader.com/usa/las-vegas-review-journal/20170804/281758449375554; Peter Fabricius, "SA Hostage in Mali: Stephen McGown Home after Six Years in Captivity," *Daily Maverick*, August 3, 2017, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-08-03-sa-hostage-in-mali-stephen-mcgowan-home-after-six-years-in-captivity/.

74 African News Agency, "SA Photojournalist Kidnapped in Syria, Says Gift of the Givers," IOL News, 2017, https://www.iol.co.za/news/sa-photojournalist-kidnapped-in-syria-says-gift-of-the-givers-7404513; IOL News, "Gift of the Givers 'Met with' One of Shiraaz Mohamed's Kidnappers," October 25, 2018, https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/gift-of-the-givers-met-with-one-of-shiraaz-mohameds-kidnappers-17633594; International Federation of Journalists, "South Africa: Kidnapped Journalist Returns Home after Three Years," January 7, 2020, https://www.ifj.org/media-centre/news/detail/article/south-africa-kidnapped-journalist-returns-home-after-three-years.

served as the lead coordinator managing emergency aid, food distribution, and sanitation logistics, while negotiating between the City of Cape Town, the Department of Home Affairs, and the leadership of the Cape Town Refugee and Migrant committee. Within GotG he is among those responsible for fundraising and securing strategic partnerships with corporate entities and government bodies. His role involves negotiating financial contributions and logistical support from various stakeholders, including entities in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. Some of the financial and in-kind contributions facilitated under Kazi's leadership span from July 2019 to June 2024, covering a period of approximately five years.

Kazi has represented GotG in various public forums and events, including the "Middle Beast Tour" with anti-Zionist, American-based comedian Bassem Youssef in Cape Town in February 2025. He has proven to be very financially lucrative for the organization, and is reportedly Sooliman's most trusted person.

Figure 2: Mohamed Bedrealam "Badr" Kazi



Source: http://pnyxltd.com/AADR21/Speakers.

2.2 Gift of the Givers' Links to the Muslim Brotherhood in South Africa

South Africa has become a critical global base for the Muslim Brotherhood.[75] While the Muslim Brotherhood is officially banned in several countries, including Egypt and Jordan,[76] South Africa certainly ranks above countries like Turkey and Qatar in strategic importance. The country's permissive environment, advanced financial infrastructure, and lack of cooperation with US counterterrorism policy allow it to serve as a safe operational base for Muslim Brotherhood-linked activities.

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75 Trends Group, "Trends Study: 'The Brotherhood in South Africa: The Organization's Base to Penetrate the African Continent,'" 2026, https://trendsresearch.org/news/trends-study-the-brotherhood-in-south-africa-the-organizations-base-to-penetrate-the-african-continent/.

76 Steven Stalinsky, "The Muslim Brotherhood Has Been Designated in Three Arab Countries but Not in the U.S.—What Should Come Next?," *MEMRI Daily Brief* 927, n.d., https://www.memri.org/reports/muslim-brotherhood-has-been-designated-three-arab-countries-not-us-%E2%80%93-what-should-come-next.

Over decades, Muslim Brotherhood operatives have embedded themselves in political structures, civil society, religious leadership, and media.[77] These networks actively enable Hamas to advance Muslim Brotherhood political objectives and export radical Islamist ideology into Africa and beyond.

The African National Congress (ANC)-led government provides political and diplomatic protection and support to the South African Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated organizations through South Africa's Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO). DIRCO engages directly with Hamas leaders[78] and amplifies Muslim Brotherhood-aligned narratives in multilateral forums, including conferences[79] and lawfare initiatives such as the co-founding of the Hague Group,[80] and submitting applications to the ICC and ICJ against Israel.

Operational synergy with the Hamas Gaza network is facilitated by key personnel, such as Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila,[81] GotG's Middle East Director of Operations, who identifies as a supporter of the Hamas infrastructure. For example, he has posted[82] in support of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the founder of Hamas, and maintains ties to the Sharing Hope Foundation, which has hosted Hamas figures and raised funds that could be directed to Hamas.

Sooliman seems to utilize an ideological strategy of concealment to embed MB objectives within a humanitarian framework. This allows his organization to participate in a broader *Ummah* alliance (a term often used by Islamists to describe efforts to unite the global Muslim community in various contexts, including political and strategic cooperation) against Western interests, while maintaining a facade of civil society neutrality. GotG has maintained a documented, continuous operational

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77 GovExtra, "The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe: Strategic Infiltration and the Erosion of Democratic Values," 2026, https://govextra.gov.il/mda/muslim-brotherhood/muslim-brotherhood/.

78 Reuters, "South Africa Says It Discussed Aid with Hamas Leader, Denies Reports of Support," October 17, 2023, https://www.reuters.com/world/south-africa-says-it-discussed-aid-with-hamas-leader-denies-reports-support-2023-10-18/.

79 Palestinian Information Center, "Hamas Delegation Arrives in South Africa for Anti-Apartheid Conference," May 11, 2024, https://english.palinfo.com/news/2024/05/11/318791/.

80 The Hague Group, "Launch of The Hague Group, January 2025: The Hague, Netherlands," n.d., https://thehaguegroup.org/meetings-hague-en/; Tali Feinberg, "The Hague Group's Terror Links Exposed," *South African Jewish Report*, May 14, 2026, https://www.sajr.co.za/the-hague-groups-terror-links-exposed/.

81 eNCA, "Gift of the Givers Staff Member Killed in Gaza," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yah3s_FQQxI.

82 Irina Tsukerman, "Unwrapping the Gift: An Intelligence Brief on Gift of the Givers' Alleged Support for Terrorist Networks," Washington Outsider Center for Information Warfare, December 9, 2024, https://www.thewashingtonoutsidercenter.org/unwrapping-the-gift-an-intelligence-brief-on-gift-of-the-givers-alleged-support-for-terrorist-networks/.

presence in Gaza since at least 2009. Its access to Gaza has never been facilitated through Israeli channels or multilateral platforms but rather exclusively through Hamas-run authorities, primarily the Ministry of Health, the Gaza-based Red Crescent, and the Gazan Disaster Management. Its medical and logistical operations include deep engagement at Al-Shifa Hospital, Nasser Hospital, and multiple additional facilities across Khan Younis, Rafah, and Gaza City. These hospitals have been repeatedly documented by international intelligence and military sources as key sites of Hamas military activity, command infrastructure, weapons storage, and in several cases, the illegal detention of civilians. It has also facilitated cash distributions in Gaza. These distributions were conducted across borders without any independent oversight or accountability mechanisms.

Despite claiming to have distributed approximately R7 billion ($430 million) in humanitarian aid across 47 countries over more than three decades, GotG has not published independently audited accounts. Sooliman has characterized financial scrutiny as a coordinated campaign by pro-Israel interests aimed at discrediting him and cutting off his funding. He has stated that he can account for every cent received and donated. However, this claim remains unverifiable in the absence of publicly audited financial records.

2.3 GotG, Global Operations, and Cooperation

GotG's ties to transnational Islamist networks are well-documented. In the early 2000s, Gift of the Givers was a member of the Union of Good (also known as I'tilaf al-Khayr; UoG), an umbrella coalition of Islamic charities founded by Muslim Brotherhood cleric Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi.[83] The Union of Good was created to raise and funnel funds to Hamas and affiliated Palestinian Islamist groups; it was designated by the US Treasury as a terrorist-financing entity in November 2008.[84]

GotG's membership is confirmed by the UoG's own records: The coalition's official website, now defunct but preserved by the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine, listed Jam'iyyat Waqf al-Waqifin (جمعية وقف الواقفين), the registered Arabic name of GotG, among its member organizations. This archived listing constitutes direct, primary source

[83] Amit Terrorism and Intelligence Research Institute, "The Union of Good," September 2, 2005, https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/19249/; Amit Terrorism and Intelligence Research Institute, "Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi and His Impact on the Dissemination of Radical Islam," October 23, 2022, https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/sheikh-yusuf-al-qaradawi-and-his-impact-on-the-dissemination-of-radical-islam/.

[84] US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Designates the Union of Good."

evidence tying Sooliman's foundation to a network created to fund Hamas. Notably, GotG's inclusion in this network indicates an early alignment with the Muslim Brotherhood's charitable front organizations. Shortly after the Union of Good was blacklisted, Sooliman intensified GotG's operations in Gaza—launching a formal Gaza visit and increased operations, essentially filling the vacuum left by the Union of Good's designation. This was made clear when Sooliman visited Gaza in 2009 with a team of 12 journalists and 25 medical staff posing as medical personnel (see figure 3).[85]

Figure 3: Gift of the Givers delegation arrives as guests of the Hamas-controlled Ministry of Health in Gaza, 2009



Source: https://giftofthegivers.org/disaster-response/palestine-2/793/.

Gift of the Givers' own recognition page lists an award received in 2011 from Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi for service to Palestine.[86] The award was accepted approximately three years after the designation of the coalition he chaired, and it is published openly by the recipient organization alongside its presidential and academic honors.[87]

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85 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Palestine," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/disaster-response/palestine-2/793/.

86 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Recognition," 2026. https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us-3/recognition/.

87 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Recognition." Recorded under international awards as "2011 Award from Sheikh Yusuf al-Qardawi for service to Palestine." The transliteration is that used by the foundation.

2.4 Foreign Footprint

Gift of the Givers has established a footprint in foreign jurisdictions, presumably to facilitate international fundraising and money flows. GotG has branches in Syria, Yemen, Turkey, and various African countries.[88] It also has partnerships with insurance entities like South Africa's Old Mutual[89] and affiliations with Islamic banking[90] facilities. Similarly, GotG's activities in the Middle East (Gaza, Yemen, Syria) sometimes involve moving funds through regional partners or NGOs—for example, the Coalition for Good,[91] Wings of Mercy,[92] Sharing Hope Foundation,[93] Poor Patient Fund,[94] and other affiliated entities might serve as conduits for international financing aligned with GotG missions. GotG cooperation with DIRCO[95] also allows for diplomatic unchecked baggage to be moved from South Africa to virtually anywhere in the world. It is clear that GotG's financial network extends beyond South Africa, even if the full extent of its offshore accounts or transfers is not publicly documented.

Neither the South African public nor regulators have a clear picture[96] of GotG's financial health or the ultimate use of its funds. This opacity, combined with evidence of cash[97] movement in Gaza and large unaccounted grants, raises red flags that GotG's finances could be co-opted to support activities outside the scope of legitimate charity. Ensuring financial transparency and compliance is thus a key challenge in evaluating GotG's bona fides as a humanitarian actor.

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88 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers teams across all our offices in South Africa and internationally (Zimbabwe, Somalia, Malawi, Syria, Palestine and Yemen) were in full #celebration of our '33 Years of Serving Humanity' Anniversary," Facebook, August 7, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/100064841345102/posts/1184038187100882/; Wikipedia, "Gift of the Givers."

89 Old Mutual, "The Old Mutual Gift of the Givers Life Fund: Transcending Investment," 2026, https://www.oldmutual.co.za/wealth/investing/responsible-investing/gift-of-the-givers/.

90 South African Consulate Jeddah, press release, Facebook, February 5, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/southafricanconsulatejeddah/posts/press-releasethe-islamic-development-bank-and-gift-of-the-givers-south-africa-si/1089292731250682/.

91 Coalition for Good, home page, 2026, https://www.thecoalitionforgood.com/.

92 Gift of the Givers, "Wings of Mercy presented Gift of the Givers with a beautiful map of Palestine in recognition of the years of partnership and support in assisting them with projects inside Palestine," Facebook, October 8, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/story.php/?story_fbid=946999964138040&id=100064841345102&_rdr.

93 Sharing Hope Foundation, home page, n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/.

94 Poor Patient Fund, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/PoorPatientFund/.

95 Department of International Relations & Cooperation, "South Africa Hands Over Humanitarian Package to Zimbabwe," media statement, March 12, 2019, https://dirco.gov.za/south-africa-hands-over-humanitarian-package-to-zimbabwe/.

96 Nicholas Woode-Smith, "Sooliman Must Come Clean," BizNews, January 10, 2025, https://www.biznews.com/rational-perspective/sooliman-must-come-clean.

97 Madinah, "1M+ Orphans in Shaam and 64,000+ in Gaza Are Struggling to Survive," 2026, https://madinah.com/SGI-Orphans.

With an office in Turkey,[98] Gift of the Givers has partnered with Ümmet Vakfı,[99] also known as Waqf al-Umma,[100] which is described as an Erdoğan-backed pro-Hamas charity.[101] Ümmet Vakfı and GotG are collaborative partners, particularly focusing on Gaza, which allows freedom of delivery and movement there. Promoting joint initiatives and what GotG calls its "emergency" projects, including the reconstruction of facilities such as Al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza,[102] are evidence of the cooperation and collaboration, as seen in a Facebook post from October 18, 2025. In this post, Sooliman is seen meeting with his Turkish partners at the Hyatt House in Rosebank, Johannesburg, stating "Together, we implement key relief projects in Gaza."[103]

Gift of the Givers signed a joint agreement and received $3 million in coordination with Wafaa Palestine, a branch of Wafaa International Group that is involved with the Islamic Development Bank and has been known to raise and distribute funds to Palestinians. The organization is run and directed by Mohasen Atawneh[104] and Hanin Barghouti, one of the people in charge of the Gift of the Givers office in Ramallah. GotG has received support or collaborated with governments and organizations in multiple Muslim-majority countries, including Hamas-controlled Gaza, the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah, Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan, Malaysia, Syria, Iraq, Somalia, and Indonesia.

In Lebanon, during the 2006 Israel–Hezbollah war, Sooliman led a GotG mission in the country. In a symbolic move, Gift of the Givers raised the South African flag in Beirut's Dahiya district—the heart of Hezbollah's stronghold. Sooliman, accompanied by South

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98 Gift of the Givers, "Captured: Dr Malik M Abou-Rageila, Gift of the Givers Middle East representative at the new office in Istanbul, Turkey," Facebook, September 5, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/captured-dr-malik-m-abou-rageila-gift-of-the-givers-middle-east-representative-a/2327693970711385/.

99 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers Founder, Dr Imtiaz Sooliman recently met with our Turkish partner, Ümmet Vakfi at Hyatt House Rosebank," Facebook, October 18, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/gift-of-the-givers-founder-dr-imtiaz-sooliman-recently-met-with-our-turkish-part/1247223440782356/.

100 Waseem Abu Mahadi, "Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood Networks' Ties Fractured as Millions of Dollars Earmarked for Gaza Missing," Media Line, November 29, 2025, https://themedialine.org/top-stories/hamas-muslim-brotherhood-networks-ties-fractured-as-millions-of-dollars-earmarked-for-gaza-missing/.

101 Levent Kenez, "Erdogan-Backed Pro-Hamas Charities Implicated in Gaza Aid Corruption Allegations," Nordic Monitor, February 6, 2024, https://nordicmonitor.com/2024/02/erdogan-backed-pro-hamas-charities-implicated-in-gaza-aid-corruption-allegations/.

102 Gift of the Givers Palestine, "Gaza Emergency Appeal," video, Facebook, October 23, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGiversPalestine/videos/gaza-emergency-appeal/1259886658350310/.

103 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers Founder, Dr Imtiaz Sooliman recently met with our Turkish partner."

104 Mohasen Atawneh (محيسن العطاونة) is the Director General of Wafaa Microfinance and Capacity Building (مؤسسة وافا للتنمية وبناء القدرات), a Palestinian nonprofit organization. Wafaa Palestine, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/WafaaCBM/.

African ambassador Mohammed Dangor,[105] was escorted by Hezbollah personnel, highlighting the trust and access he had to a US-designated terrorist organization in the midst of conflict. This incident not only showcased GotG's operational reach but also its willingness to cooperate with groups like Hezbollah under the banner of humanitarianism.

In Syria between 2012 and 2019, GotG provided supplies to Syrian civilians and refugees during the Syrian civil war, especially in the Idlib region. These operations required navigating a complex war zone with multiple militant factions. GotG Director for Syria, Dr. Ahmad Ghandour, met with the South African Ambassador to Syria, Ashraf Suliman (another DIRCO close friend of Gift of the Givers). GotG claimed that they had carried out "many interventions jointly with the Department of International Relations & Cooperation."[106]

Additionally, GotG has been active in various African disaster zones—from famine relief in Somalia to drilling water wells and providing medical care in Malawi, Mozambique, and beyond. It is often among the first responders to earthquakes or cyclones in the region, enhancing its public image as a pan-African relief agency.

In all these environments, GotG maintains a public narrative of impartial charity. However, its on-the-ground choices of partners and beneficiaries often align with political Islamist interests (e.g., aiding communities sympathetic to groups like Hamas, or working with Muslim Brotherhood-linked NGOs in foreign countries). As such, while GotG's geographic footprint is global, its core focus and loyalty appear tethered to Islamist-aligned causes, especially the Palestinian issue. This dual role—relief provider on one hand, facilitator[107] for extremist-controlled territories on the other—is at the crux of the controversy surrounding GotG.

Gift of the Givers cooperates with several other South African NGOs and activists that support the Palestinian cause, fund activities in Gaza, and are involved in fundraising for Hamas. The links to the Coalition for Good (founded by Sooliman), the Poor Patient Fund (directed by GotG Middle East director Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila) and the Sharing

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105 Beneath the Surface, "Mohammed Dangor—a Lifetime of Activism, Diplomacy, and Dedication to Justice," video, YouTube, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hhCW0RVpm40.

106 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers Director in #Syria, Dr Ahmad Ghandour met with South African #Ambassador to Syria, Ashraf Suliman (a close friend of Gift of the Givers)," Facebook, March 5, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/gift-of-the-givers-director-in-syria-dr-ahmad-ghandour-met-with-south-african-am/1057722173065818/.

107 South African Consulate Jeddah, "The Islamic Development Bank and the Gift of the Givers Foundation," Facebook, February 5, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1089292711250684&set=a.505510939628867.

Hope Foundation, which raised funds for Gaza while Hamas representatives were present, are explored in Chapter 4.

Global and local partners include:

- Africa4Palestine
- Al Ansaar Foundation
- Caring Sisters Network
- Coalition for Good
- Colours of Hope
- Ghirass Association for Society Development (Lebanon)
- Jamiatul Ulama South Africa (JUSA)
- Masjidul Quds
- Poor Patient Fund
- Roshnee Feeding Scheme
- Sawaed Association for Relief and Development
- South African National Zakah Fund
- Sharing Hope Foundation (SHF)
- Wings of Mercy Foundation

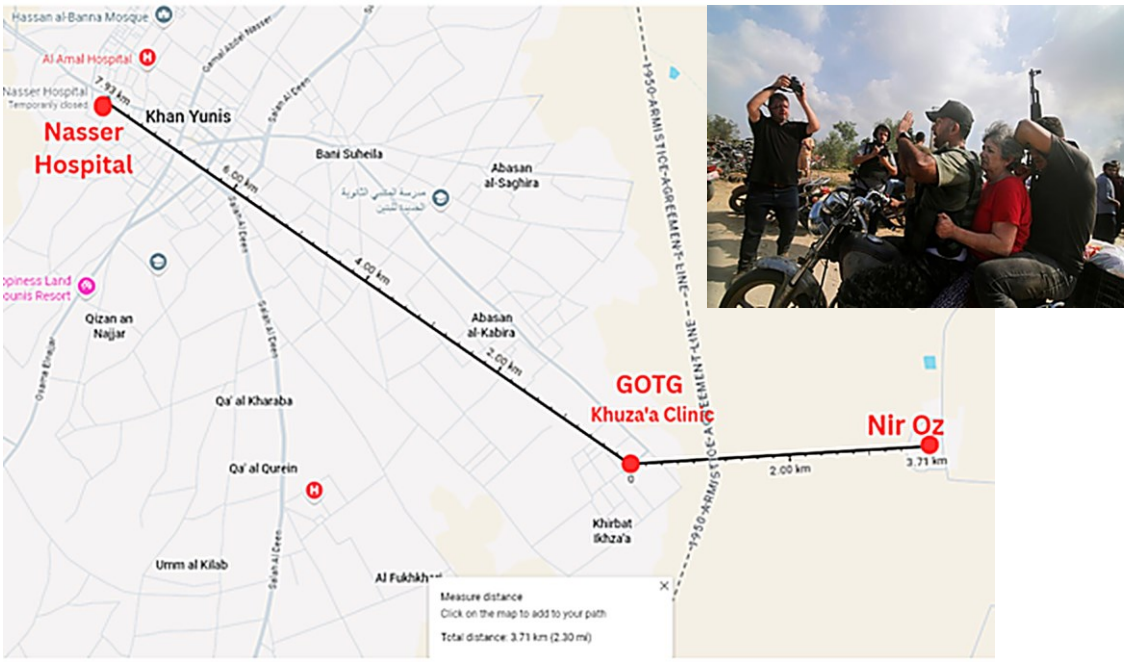
2.5 A Large Presence in Gaza Since 2009

GotG has a significant presence in the Gaza Strip. Operating in Gaza—an area controlled by Hamas since 2007—requires Hamas's blessing and cooperation. Every major GotG initiative in Gaza—from healthcare to housing—effectively supports the Hamas administration and would require permission from Hamas to carry out. GotG could not possibly operate in Gaza without Hamas's consent. By necessity, all GotG projects in Gaza function in coordination with or under permission from the Hamas authorities, effectively supporting the Hamas-controlled social infrastructure.

For example, consider the Khuza'a Clinic, which has been administered, funded, and managed by GotG since 2019.[108] The clinic was located in Khan Younis near the Israeli border and in close proximity to Kibbutz Nir Oz, which was brutally attacked on October 7, 2023 (see figure 4). The clinic's strategic location, less than 3 km from the Israeli border, made it a critical site on October 7 (and for events like the Hamas-affiliated "Great March of Return" protests).

[108] Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Khuzaa Clinic," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/healthcare/khuzaa-clinic/32885/.

Figure 4: Strategic location of GotG's Khuza'a Clinic



Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KxwBU6v2EEU.

Note: The red line indicates the distance between the Nasser Hospital area and Kibbutz Nir Oz, one of the communities hit hardest in the October 7, 2023, terror attack. GotG's medical center in Khuza'a is the nearest field hospital to Nir Oz. This location also sits along the corridor used to move hostages such as Nir Oz resident Adina Moshe (see picture inset) deeper into Gaza after the attacks.

The Khuza'a Clinic is among the network of offices, clinics, and programs that Sooliman's team has established throughout Gaza over the years. They have deliberately dispersed their sites to avoid concentrating their work in one location—a tactic Sooliman has noted is to "offset the risk of Israeli attention" by having multiple operational bases. "We know how Israel works, so we got multiple places where we can operate from," he has said. "We always plan in advance."[109] Such operations suggest a deliberate strategy to entrench GotG's operations even in a volatile conflict zone.

GotG also managed a Women and Childcare Center in Gaza City.[110] The fourth floor of this building was occupied by the Sawaed Association, a Gazan NGO partner of GotG, which was licensed by Gaza's Hamas-controlled Ministry of Interior.[111] Israeli intelligence identified that this center was integrated into Hamas's infrastructure; for

[109] Muslim Central, "Gift of the Givers Current Situation in Gaza 12 Nov 2023," 23:05–23:14.
[110] Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Women and Childcare Centre," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/education/women-and-childcare-centre/32874/.
[111] Sawaed, "About Us," 2021, https://www.sawaed.ps/about-us.

example, evidence has emerged of Hamas tunnels running beneath or nearby the clinic, suggesting it doubled as a cover for militant activities.[112]

Additionally, GotG managed the Hayfa Medical Center in Gaza. GotG entered into a formal partnership with the center, supporting its operations. Hayfa Medical Center was also registered with the Hamas-run Ministry of Health and was reportedly used by Hamas. During the Israel–Gaza conflict in 2023, the Hayfa hospital building was struck by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), which stated it targeted a terrorist facility inside.[113] This underscores how closely some GotG-supported centers are enmeshed with Hamas assets.

In addition to clinics, GotG has undertaken infrastructure and relief projects in Gaza that, while humanitarian in nature, have allegedly served potential dual-use benefits for Hamas. For instance, GotG provided three desalination plants to help alleviate Gaza's water crisis. It also built greenhouses in Gaza to boost food security. However, these greenhouses are covered and the inside contents cannot be seen from above. The IDF has stated that greenhouses have been strategically placed near the border and used to conceal underground tunnel construction from aerial surveillance.[114]

According to GotG social media accounts, their staff in Gaza have participated in rebuilding homes damaged in conflict. Hamas and other terror factions like PIJ have been documented by the IDF using many private homes for storage of weapons, tunnels, and safehouses.[115]

Activity at Kamal Adwan Hospital

Gift of the Givers and the Coalition for Good have actively supported Kamal Adwan Hospital in Jabalya, northern Gaza, through what GotG Facebook posts have claimed is "the provision of life-saving medical supplies, fuel, and financial aid."[116] But Ahmad

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112 Irina Tsukerman, "Unwrapping the Gift: An Intelligence Brief on Gift of the Givers' alleged support for terrorist networks," Washington Outsider Center for Information Warfare, December 9, 2024, https://www.thewashingtonoutsidercenter.org/unwrapping-the-gift-an-intelligence-brief-on-gift-of-the-givers-alleged-support-for-terrorist-networks/

113 Frances Vinall and Mohamad El Chamaa, "Mapping the damage to Gaza's hospitals," *Washington Post*, May 21, 2024. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/21/gaza-hospitals-attacks-bombed-israel-war/.

114 "Attack tunnels are dug starting at a site hidden within the Gaza Strip, most often private homes, greenhouses or public buildings." Quoted in Gov.il, "Behind the Headlines: Hamas' Terror Tunnels," July 22, 2014, https://www.gov.il/en/pages/hamas-terror-tunnels.

115 IDF Editorial Team, "Hamas Booby Traps Palestinian Houses," Israel Defense Forces, July 27, 2014, https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/hamas/hamas-booby-traps-palestinian-houses/.

116 Gift of the Givers, "WhatsApp Video 2024-11-13 at 10.26.27," video, Facebook, November 13, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/videos/whatsapp-video-2024-11-13-at-102627/1606773466619297/.

Kahalot, Director of Kamal Adwan Hospital, was apprehended on December 12, 2023, and admitted to IDF and Israeli security officials that Hamas had turned Gazan hospitals into military facilities under their control: "I was recruited to Hamas in 2010 with the rank of Brigadier General," he said. "There are employees in the hospital who are military operatives of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades—doctors, nurses, paramedics, clerks, and staff members."[117] Kahalot also revealed that at one point, a kidnapped Israeli soldier was held at the hospital.

Following a military raid on the hospital in December 2024, the IDF announced it had apprehended over 240 Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad operatives who were using the hospital facility. According to the IDF and Shin Bet, some of these individuals were involved in the October 7 massacre.[118]

2.6 United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)

Gift of the Givers has previously interacted with UNRWA officials. In July 2019, Sooliman met with Mehmet Kose, a UNRWA advisor. Sooliman complained that UNRWA funds were cut by US President Donald Trump. A post[119] stated that UNRWA requested a partnership with Gift of the Givers. Given the suspected connection between Hamas and UNRWA,[120] this adds to the many red flags already raised in the past few years regarding UNRWA's due diligence processes, its choices of partners and affiliates, and the general conduct of its staff.

Activity at Al-Shifa Hospital

Al-Shifa, the largest hospital in Gaza, has been used by Hamas as a military base since as early as 2006.[121] The hospital has served as one of Hamas's most prominent underground terror headquarters and hub of operations, and has an extensive track

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117 Quoted in Gov.il, "Apprehended Gaza Strip Hospital Director Admits Hamas Turned Hospitals into Military Facilities," December 19, 2023, https://www.gov.il/en/pages/hamas-turns-gaza-hospitals-into-military-facilities-19-dec-2023.

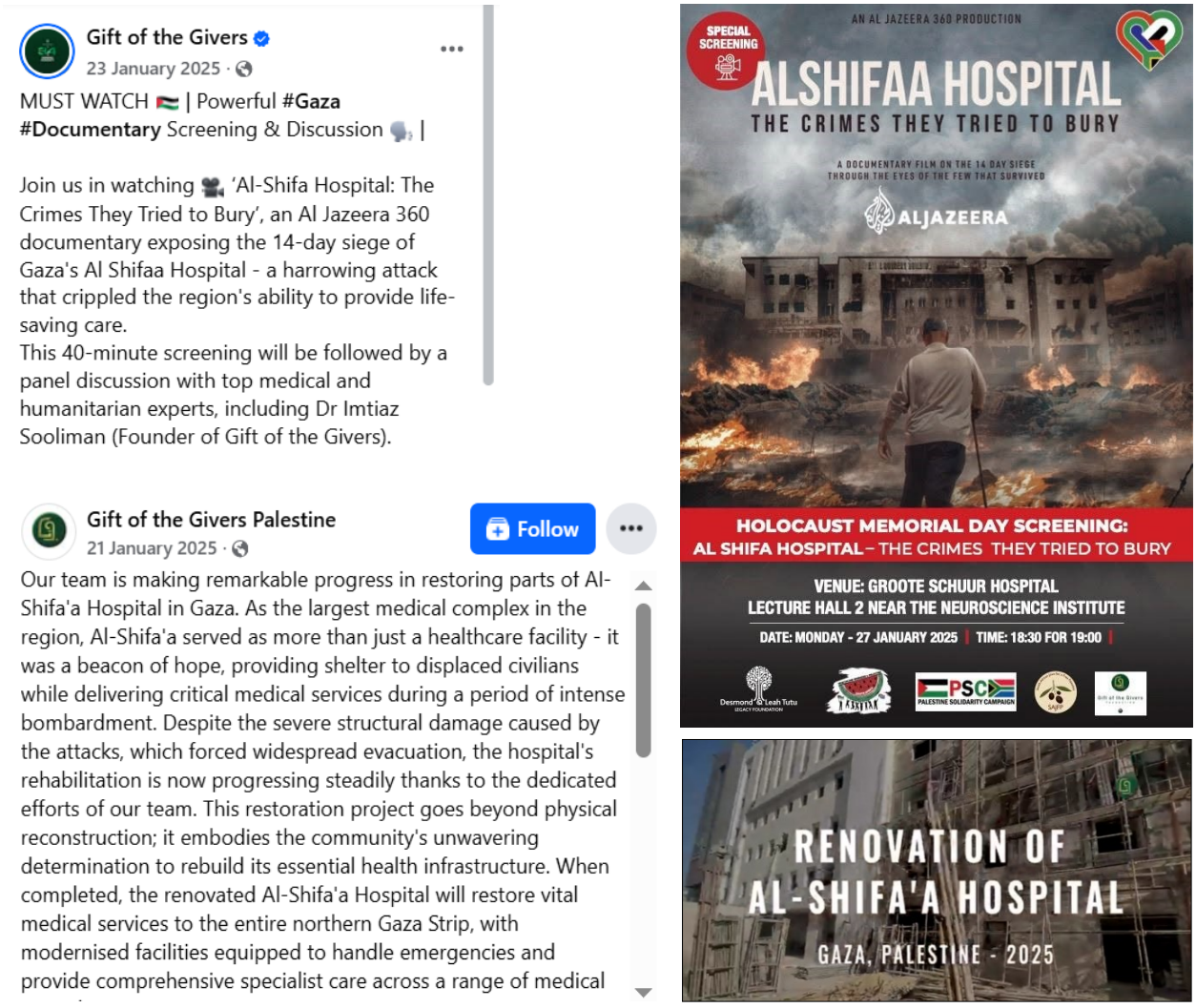
118 Israel Defense Forces, "The IDF and ISA Completed a Targeted Operation against a Hamas Command Center in the Kamal Adwan Hospital in Jabaliya," December 27, 2024, https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/idf-press-releases-israel-at-war/december24-pr/the-idf-and-isa-completed-a-targeted-operation-against-a-hamas-command-center-in-the-kamal-adwan-hospital-in-jabaliya/.

119 Gift of the Givers, "Then a meeting with Mehmet Kose, one of the UNRWA heads, whose focus is the suffering Palestinian people," Facebook, July 12, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/pfbid0JHXzwxjjK8hqedXApYUaQAZVAbQ9E21XisYjLuYHdiBoVUV6QXgvz6zLmefCbVXBl?rdid=gAmW9VHuvADClQNF#.

120 GovExtra, "The Connection between UNRWA and Hamas in Gaza."

121 Jonathan Schanzer, "The Real Gaza Hospital Crisis," Foundation for Defense of Democracies, October 23, 2023, https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2023/10/23/the-real-gaza-hospital-crisis/.

Figure 5: GotG Facebook posts about Al-Shifa Hospital



Sources: https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/photos/must-watch-%EF%B8%8F-powerful-gaza-documentary-screening-discussion-join-us-in-watching-/1026644699506899/; https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGiversPalestine/videos/renovation-of-al-shifaa-hospital/1609580573262404/.

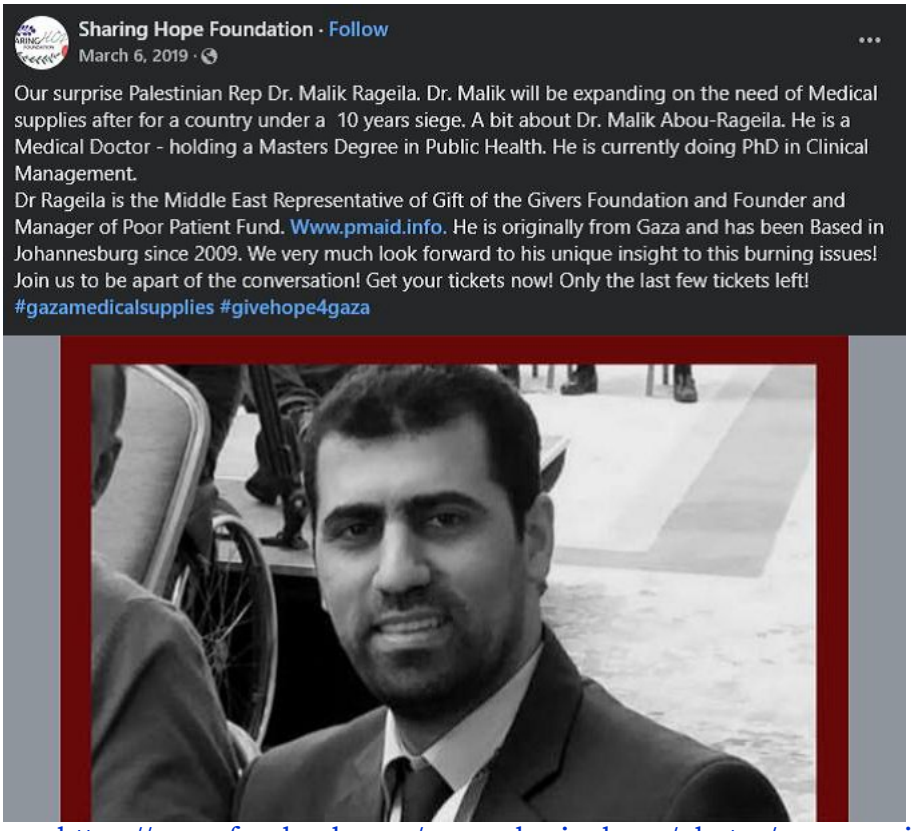
record of supporting Hamas's medical requirements.[122] A 2014 documentary showed Hamas operatives openly roaming the hospital's halls, interfering with its staff, and blocking access to parts of the hospital.[123] As far back as 2008, the *New York Times* reported that Hamas was operating openly in Al-Shifa, and that "Hamas leadership was

[122] Amit Terrorism and Intelligence Research Institute, "Hamas Exploitation of Hospitals for Military-Terrorist Purposes Shifa Hospital as a Test Case," December 12, 2023, https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/hamas-exploitation-of-hospitals-for-military-terrorist-purposes-shifa-hospital-as-a-test-case/.

[123] Staff Notes, "Top Secret Hamas Command Bunker in Gaza Revealed—and Why Reporters Won't Talk About It," *Tablet Magazine*, July 29, 2014, https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/top-secret-hamas-command-bunker-in-gaza-revealed.

located in a bunker under the hospital's burn ward, while the group fired rockets from areas near the hospital, in an effort to deter an Israeli response."[124]

Figure 6: Dr. Malik Mahmoud Abu-Rageila



Source: https://www.facebook.com/wearesharinghope/photos/our-surprise-palestinian-rep-dr-malik-rageila-dr-malik-will-be-expanding-on-the-/773055729739743/.

Gift of the Givers has operated at Al-Shifa since at least 2009 (see figure 5).[125] Abu-Rageila, GotG's Director for Middle East Affairs, has been directly associated with Al-Shifa Hospital (see figure 6).[126] Given their credentials and experience, it seems likely

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124 Taghreed El-Khodary and Ethan Bronner, "In the Midst of War's Horror, a Terrible Vengeance," *New York Times*, December 29, 2008, https://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/29/world/africa/29iht-gaza.4.18986499.html?module=Search&mabReward=relbias%3Ar.

125 Newzroom Afrika, "Gift of the Givers to Deliver Aid in Gaza," video, YouTube, April 2, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtG5sHnTzN0&t=32s; Gift of the Givers, "WhatsApp Video 2025-01-21 at 12.37.37," video, Facebook, January 21, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/videos/whatsapp-video-2025-01-21-at-123737/1605598520073111/; Gift of the Givers, "During the 2009 Gaza intervention, the Gift of the Givers medical team received support from trauma counsellors," Facebook, January 24, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/during-the-2009-gaza-intervention-the-gift-of-the-givers-medical-team-received-s/776701547834550/.

126 Gift of the Givers, "WhatsApp Video 2025-09-18 at 13.05.24," video, Facebook, September 18, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/videos/whatsapp-video-2025-09-18-at-130524/643782702122667/.

that both Sooliman and Abu-Rageila knew that Hamas was deeply embedded in the hospital. According to Sooliman's photographer and documented in his book, during his 2009 trip, Sooliman signed a long-term, still extant agreement with Hamas health authorities to provide medical services, including to train local doctors.[127]

Activity at Nasser Hospital during Hamas hostage operations

Since 2014, GotG has maintained an operational[128] relationship with Nasser Hospital in Khan Younis, Gaza.[129] Nasser Hospital has long been implicated in Hamas military activity. It has been used for weapons storage, as a base of operations, a shield for combatants, and a holding site for abducted civilians. In February 2024, the IDF raided the facility, detaining over 200 Hamas terrorists and uncovering ammunition and unused medical supplies intended for Israeli hostages they never received.

Reports confirm that GotG was active inside the hospital during a period when Hamas was using the facility as a detention site for Israeli civilian hostages,[130] including 75-year-old Ada Sagi and members of the Cunio family. There can be little doubt that GotG staff knew what was taking place.

Box 1: Timeline of GotG activity overlapping with hostage operations

- September 3, 2014 to 2023: GotG conducted recurring medical missions, surgeries, and pediatric outreach at Nasser Hospital, as documented in its own public posts and South African media.
- October to November 2023: Israeli hostages Sharon Aloni Cunio, her husband David, and their three-year-old twin daughters Emma and Yuli were detained at Nasser Hospital for over a month. In an interview with CNN, Sharon described being confined in a small room with other hostages, under the supervision of Hamas-affiliated medical personnel. David was disguised as a corpse upon arrival, and the children were concealed under sheets. Conditions included restricted food, unsanitary facilities, and threats from guards. David was removed from the hospital by Hamas on November 24, 2023. Sharon and the twins were released on November 27, 2023.

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127 Morton, *Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers*.

128 Gift of the Givers, "Updates from Dr Saira Hussain: Currently Volunteering at Naser Hospital in Khan Younis, Gaza Strip," video, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/reel/1080414790336403.

129 Foundation for Defense of Democracies, "Hundreds of Terrorist Operatives Found at Gaza Hospital," flash brief, February 19, 2024, https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2024/02/19/hundreds-of-terrorist-operatives-found-at-gaza-hospital/.

130 *Jerusalem Post* staff, "Former Hostage Ada Sagi to BBC: I Understand Hamas Doesn't Want Peace," *Jerusalem Post*, June 19, 2024, https://www.jpost.com/israel-hamas-war/article-806888.

- November 3, 2023: GotG's Palestine Facebook page posted that it had distributed financial rewards to the medical staff at Nasser Hospital. The pictures attached to the post clearly showed a male individual handling envelopes with cash in the form of US dollars.
- November 22, 2023: GotG publicly reported distributing cash "rewards" to Nasser medical staff for their "emergency efforts." This occurred two days before hostage Ada Sagi arrived at the facility. Sagi was held inside Nasser Hospital by Hamas from November 24–28, 2023, according to her July 2025 BBC testimony. Her captors included a nurse linked to the hospital staff. At no point did GotG acknowledge the presence of hostages, nor issue any statement condemning the hospital's use as a Hamas detention site. Instead, GotG continued global fundraising appeals framed around supporting Gaza hospitals.
- December 5, 2023: GotG received public praise from both Nasser Hospital and the Hamas-controlled Palestinian Ministry of Health in Gaza, acknowledging their delivery of medicines and other aid during the period hostages were present.

2.7 Conclusion

Gift of the Givers has cultivated international acclaim as a humanitarian NGO. However, detailed online information, financial inconsistencies, ideological affiliations, and strategic silence in the face of documented atrocities raise serious concerns.

GotG presents a dual identity: It is a public-facing charitable brand, while operating as a soft power and logistical platform for networks closely aligned with Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and political Islam globally. GotG has maintained a documented, continuous operational presence in Gaza since at least 2009. Its access to Gaza has never been facilitated through Israeli channels or multilateral platforms but rather exclusively through the administrative control of the Hamas-led local government, primarily the Ministry of Health and the Gaza-based Red Crescent. Gift of the Givers is a significant cog in the wheel of a Muslim Brotherhood-led, Iranian-influenced, "slow-boil" international campaign. It is part of a carefully constructed strategy to destroy the State of Israel through its use of incitement, propaganda, and lawfare. The sophisticated and incessant propaganda accompanying Gift of the Givers' humanitarian relief work has brilliantly masked and camouflaged the active engagement with terror organizations. But the Hamas massacre on October 7, 2023, and South Africa's accusations against Israel at the ICJ in January 2024, shed light on Sooliman's true agenda and GotG's ideological alignment, manifested in its collaborations with groups and individuals linked to Hamas and the broader Muslim Brotherhood network.

Chapter 3: The Coalition for Good

In 2024, Sooliman launched a new platform to directly delegitimize Israel called the Coalition for Good.[131] This was likely an echo of the name Union of Good (UoG), in tribute to the network of the Chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who died two years earlier. The Coalition for Good is registered as a nonprofit in South Africa and designed to coordinate pro-Palestinian activism, legal efforts, and fundraising on a global scale. Financially, the Coalition for Good reportedly has access to "undisclosed and unlimited" financing from certain Islamic charitable networks and donor money, allowing it to sustain campaigns[132] to mobilize anti-Zionist sentiment globally. This newly registered NPO, alongside GotG, is involved with several BDS activist movements in South Africa, and their banner and logo are seen at many events and protests. The Coalition's mission, much like GotG's recent focus, is to drive international action against Israel—whether through courts, United Nations forums, or public opinion. However, because it is not hindered by GotG's humanitarian profile, it can be much more extreme and direct in its anti-Israel and antisemitic rhetoric and goals.

3.1 The Coalition, GotG, and Sooliman

Sooliman is the driving force of the Coalition for Good, and its agenda is largely an extension of his Gift of the Givers Foundation. In fact, the Coalition is explicitly listed as one of GotG's affiliate or partner initiatives, and on social media the two logos often appear side by side. The Coalition's activities are effectively an outgrowth of GotG's Islamist-oriented "humanitarian" operation, sharing leadership, infrastructure, and ideology. Sooliman personally directs the Coalition, even though he is not listed as a director. He uses it as a vehicle for the more overtly political and lawfare-oriented aspects of his activism, while GotG continues to operate humanitarian missions in South Africa with an apparent aim of converting the less privileged to Islam.[133] The two entities work in tandem. Collaborating closely with GotG, an entity that, according to its social media pages has raised approximately R7 billion ($430 million),[134] the Coalition for Good and Sooliman's other affiliated entities have an undisclosed and unlimited source of financing to mobilize global anti-Zionist sentiment.

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131 SABC News, "Gift of the Givers Launch 'Coalition for Good' Movement to Eradicate the Injustices against Humanity," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T90x9J0Rzag.

132 SABC News, "Gift of the Givers' Abbasi Killed by the Israeli Defence Force while Returning from Morning Prayer," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZtI8rxZlhmg.

133 Israel in South Africa, "Gift of the Givers Wants to Change South Africa from a Christian Country into a Muslim One," video, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/share/v/1KEs7ChfLs/.

134 Gift of the Givers, profile page, Facebook.

From its inception, the Coalition for Good's ideological DNA has been tied to the MB, Hamas, and the PFLP networks. Sooliman effectively resurrected the UoG model under a new banner in South Africa. Indeed, South African links to the original UoG included GotG itself: archival records[135] show Gift of the Givers was listed as a member of al-Qaradawi's coalition alongside the Al-Aqsa Foundation, with a South African cleric and Sooliman's close associate, Ebrahim Gabriels,[136] on its board. Sooliman's leadership of both GotG and the Coalition ensures a seamless alignment of strategy. GotG provides on-the-ground relief efforts in South Africa and select conflict zones with a well-organized international donor appeal, which has helped Sooliman cultivate a positive public image. Meanwhile, the Coalition for Good allows him to pursue open political advocacy, propaganda, and legal campaigns against Israel. In this way, Sooliman uses the Coalition for Good to coordinate lawfare[137] and propaganda campaigns in lockstep with GotG's humanitarian deployments, all under his direct supervision.

3.2 Formation and Organizational Profile

The Coalition presents itself as carrying forward South Africa's anti-apartheid legacy into the Palestinian context, effectively merging the country's struggle against apartheid with the campaign to eradicate the State of Israel.[138] The Coalition's Instagram page functions as an online platform dedicated to delegitimizing the State of Israel, fueled by a narrative equating Israeli policies with apartheid.[139] The group's operational footprint appears transnational (mainly advocacy and legal activism), and it closely collaborates with Gift of the Givers. The Coalition spreads disinformation to vilify Israel and Jews. It falsely equates Israel with apartheid to manipulate public perception. Its leaders openly support terror groups and incite anti-Israel sentiment.

Leadership and coalition members

In addition to Sooliman, the Coalition for Good has four other leaders, chosen for their ideological, political, religious, and activist credentials. Sooliman deliberately selected these figures to maximize the Coalition's credibility and reach. He has chosen his co-founders with strategic precision, blending a government insider, a struggle icon, a high-

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135 الصفحة الرئيسية, archived at the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, n.d., https://web.archive.org/web/20040204202951/http:/www.101days.org/arabic/moassat.htm.

136 Salah, "Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels," January 2, 2024, https://salah.co.za/sheikh-ebrahim-gabriels/.

137 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "The Coalition for Good is the gathering of the people's of the world to eradicate the inhumanity of apartheid," LinkedIn, 2024, https://www.linkedin.com/posts/gift-of-the-givers-foundation_giftofthegivers-makeadifference-forthegreatergood-activity-7151160780678144001--d_7.

138 Coalition for Good, home page.

139 Coalition for Good, profile page, Instagram, 2026, https://www.instagram.com/thecoalitionforgood_/?hl=en.

profile cleric, and an international Palestinian figure to bolster the Coalition's influence. By bringing these figures together, Sooliman created a powerful lobby that merges political authority with civil-society activism, all under the moral banner of the "Good."

Ronnie Kasrils

A veteran South African politician and a former South African Minister for Intelligence Services, Kasrils is a long-time outspoken supporter of the Palestinians who is known for his staunch anti-Israel and anti-Zionist stance. His relationship with Sooliman goes back as far as 2004. Though now retired from government, he is extremely active and brings radical revolutionary credentials[140] and international activism experience to the Coalition for Good. Kasrils has always drawn controversy for his pro-Palestinian rhetoric, at one point comparing Israeli policies to Nazism.

He has openly expressed solidarity with Hamas, and was involved in inviting Ismail Haniyeh, who headed the Hamas-led government in Gaza, to South Africa, highlighting current positions that align with the Coalition's hardline stance.[141] His involvement with the Coalition signals its intent to invoke the legacy of "anti-colonial struggle" and offer full support for Western-designated terror organizations. His presence adds ideological weight among leftist and liberationist audiences. In a November 2023 speech in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Kasrils described October 7 as a "brilliant, spectacular guerrilla warfare attack," going on to say "they swept on them, and they killed them, and damn good. I was so pleased, and people who support resistance applauded it, absolutely."[142] On September 2, 2017, Al Jazeera screened a 25-minute interview with Kasrils titled, "The Jewish Top Spy Who Advised Hamas."[143]

Rev. Frank Chikane

A South African clergyman and former Director-General in the Presidency, Rev. Chikane was a prominent figure in the 1980s anti-apartheid church movement, the former Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, and later a top aide to President Thabo Mbeki. As a Coalition for Good co-founding member,[144]

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140 Newzroom Afrika, "Kasrils Backs EFF's Motion on Israel," video, YouTube, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M97yKd_Flho.

141 World Jewish Congress, "South African Minister Defends Hamas Invitation," May 8, 2007, https://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/news/south-african-minister-defends-hamas-invitation.

142 Quoted in Nicola Miltz, "Kasrils' 'Mask Slips' in Speech Glorifying Hamas Atrocities," *South African Jewish Report*, November 30, 2023, https://www.sajr.co.za/kasrils-mask-slips-in-speech-glorifying-hamas-atrocities/.

143 *Talk to Al Jazeera*, "The Jewish Top Spy Who Advised Hamas," video, Al Jazeera, September 2, 2017, https://www.aljazeera.com/video/talk-to-al-jazeera/2017/9/2/the-jewish-top-spy-who-advised-hamas.

144 Coalition for Good, "Join The Coalition for Good as we stand united with humanity, and in solidarity with the people of Palestine," Instagram, October 18, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/thecoalitionforgood_/p/DBQlt5KNYNM/.

Chikane provides a faith-based, moral voice and draws parallels between the apartheid regime and Israel's policies. His standing in ecumenical circles and experience in government lend the group domestic legitimacy and access. Chikane's role in the Coalition is presumably to help frame the anti-Israel campaign in moral and human rights terms, much as he once did against apartheid.

He is a moderator of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA) of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and declared "war" on Israel and its supporters during a February 6, 2021, Zoom call.[145] He leveled a hostile and incendiary assault on the legitimacy of the Jewish state, and an implicit threat against those who support it.[146] Speaking to an Internet audience of more than 300 Christian activists, Chikane portrayed Israelis as demons and said that the world will seek blood from people who support Israel in its fight against the Palestinians.

Rev. Dr. Munther Isaac

Isaac is a Palestinian Christian theologian pastor from Bethlehem. He is the pastor of Christmas Lutheran Church in Bethlehem and a prominent international voice on Palestinian Christian perspectives. He is a frequent visitor to South Africa. He claims to represent Palestinian Arab Christians and holds a master's degree from the conservative Westminster Theological Seminary and a PhD from the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.

His inclusion in the Coalition's council extends its interfaith and international reach. As a vocal critic of Israel's occupation from a Christian theological standpoint, Isaac provides the Coalition with representation from Palestinian civil society and global church networks. His presence underscores the group's attempt to unite diverse constituencies—Muslim, Christian, South African, and Middle Eastern—under an anti-Israel umbrella.

Munther Isaac's presentation at St. George's Cathedral in South Africa on May 5, 2024, where he shared his controversial views on Hamas, stirred significant unease among observers. He challenges the designation of Hamas as a terrorist organization. Instead, he labels them a resistance movement, arguing against the imposition of Western perspectives, and starkly overlooks the numerous acts of violence, suicide bombings, rocket attacks, and civilian assaults that Hamas has consistently carried out.

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145 Dexter Van Zile, "Church Official Declares War on Israel and Its Supporters," *Algemeiner*, February 10, 2021, https://www.algemeiner.com/2021/02/10/church-official-declares-war-on-israel-and-its-supporters/.

146 SABC News, "Palestine Rally in Cape Town Condemns Relocations: Rev. Frank Chikane's Address," video, YouTube, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gnT4c1y7fnQ.

Christians in South Africa have noted[147] that they should not support Munther Isaac's misleading narratives. Portraying himself as a moderate while defending a group like Hamas, Isaac emerges as a wolf in sheep's clothing, masquerading as a cleric while propagating extremist views. Some South African church leaders have criticized his stance and rejected the notion that either Isaac or Hamas represent anything other than a threat to peace and security, and that Isaac represents a potential endorsement of terror.[148]

Of critical importance is that Munther Isaac's documented participation in Sabeel and Kairos Palestine board activities places him in direct[149] institutional relationship with Friends of Sabeel UK (FOSUK), operating as Sabeel-Kairos UK,[150] which functions as the UK solidarity and funding arm for the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre in Jerusalem and for Kairos Palestine. Despite its small absolute footprint, FOSUK channels nearly 100 percent of its income directly to Palestinian institutional recipients with no retained UK overhead. Its named primary beneficiary, Kairos Palestine,[151] has documented governance overlap with individuals maintaining reported proximity to the PFLP, designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, the European Union, and Israel.

Dr. Naledi Pandor

Pandor is South Africa's former Minister of International Relations and Cooperation (Foreign Minister) and a Coalition co-founder. She is a senior ANC politician known for her strident anti-Israel stance, described in intelligence reporting as a "rabid anti-Israel" figure. She has used her official capacity to champion[152] the Palestinian cause, and in October 2023 she even held a direct phone discussion with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh, ostensibly offering South African "humanitarian support" to Gaza. Pandor's involvement in the Coalition for Good suggests a nexus between the nonprofit and South Africa's foreign policy apparatus.

Indeed, Sooliman publicly lobbied for Pandor's retention in government, indicating that the Coalition's leadership values her position as a conduit to influence state policy.

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147 Jewish Tim Flack 𝕏, "Controversial Cleric Munther Isaac Challenges Hamas Terrorist Label in Cape Town, Stirring Unease," X, May 9, 2024, https://x.com/tim_meh87/status/1788639986239025572.

148 Claudia Gross, "Visiting Palestinian Pastor Pushes Christians to Reject Zionism," *South African Jewish Report*, January 6, 2026, https://www.sajr.co.za/visiting-palestinian-pastor-pushes-christians-to-reject-zionism/.

149 Wafa, "Rev. Munther Isaac: Israeli Apartheid Policies Driving Displacement of Christians," September 26, 2025, https://english.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/161751.

150 Sabeel-Kairos, home page, 2025, https://www.sabeel-kairos.org.uk/.

151 Kairos Palestine, home page, 2018, https://kairospalestine.ps/.

152 Suné Payne, "South Africa: Gift of the Givers' Imtiaz Sooliman Calls On ANC to Consider Palestine Cause in Coalition Decisions," AllAfrica, June 12, 2024, https://allafrica.com/stories/202406130121.html.

Her presence on the council gives the Coalition both political cover and access to international forums—under Pandor, South Africa has led initiatives to refer Israel to the ICC and seek an ICJ advisory opinion on Israel's conduct.[153] In August 2025, Pandor called for "jihad when necessary."[154]

Pandor met with Hamas terror leaders Bassem Naim (now sanctioned by the US) and Emad Saber at the Anti-Apartheid Conference organized and managed by Coalition for Good member Frank Chikane and Jo Bluen (SAJFP) who was on the organizing steering committee, which took place in May 2024.[155] Central to the Coalition's infrastructure is the Nelson Mandela Foundation, currently chaired by Pandor. The foundation's CEO publicly thanked GotG for supporting and facilitating the 2025 South African visit of sanctioned UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese. Albanese has come under intense international criticism for antisemitic rhetoric, denial of hostage atrocities, and ongoing alignment with Hamas narratives.

GotG's alleged funding toward her visit is not a symbolic gesture. It is a clear example of ideological sponsorship, placing the organization at the heart of a broader ecosystem that launders extremist narratives through institutions of international diplomacy.

Every major figure in the Coalition for Good has intersected—directly or indirectly—with Al-Haq, Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights (Al-Mezan), or the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR), three Palestinian NGOs sanctioned by the US government in 2025. Bethlehem-based Munther Isaac is featured in its propaganda.[156] Naledi Pandor

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153 International Criminal Court, "Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Karim A.A. Khan KC, on the Situation in the State of Palestine: Receipt of a Referral from Five States Parties," November 17, 2023, https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-prosecutor-international-criminal-court-karim-aa-khan-kc-situation-state-palestine; Ewelina U. Ochab, "South Africa Taking Israel to the International Court of Justice," *Forbes*, December 31, 2023, https://www.forbes.com/sites/ewelinaochab/2023/12/31/south-africa-taking-isreal-to-the-international-court-of-justice/.

154 Hilaal TV, "It Is Our Obligation to Stand with Them in Their Time of Trouble," video, Facebook, August 31, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/hilaaltv/videos/it-is-our-obligation-to-stand-with-them-in-their-time-of-trouble/815747140882457/. See also Hilaal TV, "Dr. Naledi Pandor—Langa Masjid Fundraising Gala Speech," video, YouTube, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzpWmuJR51U&t=1s.

155 HIC, "Johannesburg Declaration on Israel's Settler-Colonialism, Apartheid and Genocide: Toward a Global Anti-Apartheid Movement for Palestine," n.d., https://www.hic-net.org/johannesburg-declaration-on-israels-settler-colonialism-apartheid-and-genocide-toward-a-global-anti-apartheid-movement-for-palestine/; Kailene Pillay, "Global Anti-Apartheid Movement to Be Launched at Landmark Conference for Palestinian Rights," *Daily News*, October 17, 2023, https://dailynews.co.za/news/politics/2023-10-17-global-anti-apartheid-movement-to-be-launched-at-landmark-conference-for-palestinian-rights/#google_vignette.

156 Dexter Van Zile, "Munther Isaac's New Book More about Conflict than Peace," *Camera*, July 17, 2020, https://www.camera.org/article/munther-isaacs-new-book-more-about-conflict-than-peace/.

incorporated all three NGOs into South Africa's official ICJ delegation.[157] Ronnie Kasrils praises Al-Haq publicly and sits on PCHR-orchestrated tribunals.[158] Frank Chikane platforms Al-Haq representatives and echoes its apartheid rhetoric while celebrating 47 years of Iran's Islamic Revolution. And Imtiaz Sooliman—the orchestrator, founder, and mastermind of Gift of the Givers and the Coalition for Good—is the integral link to a network serving terror and its organizations.[159]

The Coalition for Good's leadership is deeply embedded in—and often amplifies—the very NGOs that the US has sanctioned for fronting extremist lawfare campaigns. It is no coincidence that these NGOs were invited into South Africa's delegation and celebrated by Coalition leaders; they are all part of a coordinated effort to use "human rights" as cover for anti-Israel legal warfare, not only delegitimizing Israel but attempting to abolish it.

3.3 Support for Hamas

The Coalition for Good's alignment[160] with the Palestinian cause, including the Hamas terror faction, can be described as an active partner in an overall "soft power" strategy—using charity, civil society, and humanitarian aid as cover to advance the militant Palestinian group's objectives.

Through the Coalition for Good, Sooliman openly champions Hamas talking points. He has refused to condemn Hamas violence (e.g., taking Israeli civilians hostage) and instead echoes Hamas's narrative of justified "resistance." He also glorifies martyrdom: Sooliman praises his Gaza staff's willingness to die and frames Palestinian casualties as a victory of spiritual strength, reflecting Hamas's jihadist theology of martyrdom.

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157 Tim Flack, "How South Africa's Genocide Case at The Hague Is Now Built on Sanctioned Ground," BizNews, September 5, 2025, https://www.biznews.com/global-citizen/sa-genocide-case-hague-builtsanctioned-ground-tim-flack.

158 Ronnie Kasrils, "The Other Apartheid Regime," in *Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Re-Assessment of Israel's Practices in the OPT under International Law*, symposium proceedings, Palestinian Red Crescent Society, Ramallah, August 16, 2009, https://www.alhaq.org/cached_uploads/download/alhaq_files/images/stories/PDF/ronnie-kasrils-keynote-address-the-other-apartheid-regime.pdf; Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, "Third Session of Russell Tribunal on Palestine to Take Place from 5–7 November in Cape Town, South Africa," November 3, 2011, https://pchrgaza.org/third-session-of-russell-tribunal-on-palestine-to-take-place-from-5-7-november-in-cape-town-south-africa/.

159 Irina Tsukerman, "What's behind South Africa's Anti-Israel Lawfare Campaign? Part II," Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs, September 10, 2024, https://jcpa.org/article/whats-behind-south-africas-anti-israel-lawfare-campaign-part-ii/; Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?"

160 SABC News, "Gift of the Givers Launch 'Coalition for Good' Movement to Eradicate the Injustices against Humanity."

"Martyrdom or victory, both ways they have won," he has said, and has smiled about inevitable "retribution … that's the promise of Allah" against Israel.[161]

The South African Jewish community[162] and others have criticized Sooliman for spreading hate speech:[163] one report[164] noted that this "humanitarian icon" simultaneously "spouts hate speech" related to Israel.[165] His statements have included conspiracy theories about Zionist influence and remarks that appear to incite anger against Jewish supporters of Israel. The Coalition for Good's propaganda output has also produced numerous instances of antisemitic and extremist rhetoric. Sooliman and Coalition-linked speakers routinely invoke conspiracy[166] theories about Jewish or "Zionist" control of media, the economy and governments, crossing the line from legitimate criticism of Israel into classic antisemitism. For example, Sooliman claimed the Western public was "hoodwinked" by a "media machinery … controlled by the Zionist funding—they control all the finances, they control the companies."[167] On May 23, 2026, the Coalition for Good shared a video on its Instagram page saying Israel raped flotilla activists in its custody.[168] It continued to spread this libel with videos on its Instagram stories in the following days.

The Coalition for Good's messaging often glorifies resistance "by any means," and some members have justified violence. Coalition for Good board member Dr. Naledi Pandor recently claimed "we are permitted to engage in jihad when necessary."[169] Ronnie Kasrils has historically justified armed struggle against Israel,[170] signaling a tolerance for militant terrorism. These patterns of incitement should raise red flags for security services, as they can contribute to radicalization of South African youth or even inspire lone-wolf violence against Jewish targets abroad or at home. Western and

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161 Lawrence Nowosenetz, "To the Helen Suzman Foundation of South Africa," *The Blogs*, *Times of Israel*, October 23, 2024, https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/to-the-helen-suzman-foundation-of-south-africa/.

162 Feinberg, "Outreach Organisation Gives Antisemitism a Platform."

163 Miltz, "Ramaphosa Not Neutral Enough to Oversee National Unity Project."

164 Gruzd, "Humanitarian Icon Spouts Hate Speech as Allegations Swirl."

165 Ibid.

166 *South African Jewish Report*, "Gift of the Givers (GOTG) founder Dr Imtiaz Sooliman is a globally-recognised humanitarian, but his venom and hatred towards Israel and the Jewish people is becoming more and more overt and ugly," Instagram, November 28, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/p/DC8eJetsTgV/.

167 Muslim Central, "Gift of the Givers Current Situation in Gaza 12 Nov 2023," 12:23–12:31.

168 Coalition for Good, "Humanitarian activists carrying food and medicine to starving children were subjected to horrific abuse by Israeli soldiers, in yet another example of the brutality and impunity that continues to violate international and humanitarian law," Instagram, May 23, 2026, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DYrtI1BjAFL/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==.

169 *Jerusalem Post*, "Dr. Naledi Pandor, A South African politician from the African National Congress, claimed in an address at the end of August that despite Muslims being a 'peace-loving people,' 'we are permitted to engage in jihad when necessary,'" X, September 9, 2025, https://x.com/Jerusalem_Post/status/1965318049537347618.

170 Miltz, "Kasrils' 'Mask Slips' in Speech Glorifying Hamas Atrocities."

specifically US agencies are increasingly scrutinizing[171] such activist lawfare networks for their ties to designated terrorist organizations (like the PFLP). These are essentially Muslim Brotherhood/Hamas ideological positions being promoted via the Coalition's platform. Additionally, Coalition operatives coordinate with known Hamas representatives: for instance, GotG's Palestine coordinator, Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila, has met publicly with Hamas leaders like Bassem Naim in South Africa (May 2024), and the Sharing Hope Foundation (an allied NGO), which regularly hosts top Hamas officials (e.g., Khaled Mashal, Mahmoud al-Zahar) at events where Coalition-aligned activists are present. The Coalition's political messaging—calling Israel an illegitimate "apartheid" state, urging global action against Israeli "genocide"—aligns seamlessly with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood's propaganda campaigns.

3.4 Concerns and Red Flags

The Coalition for Good's activities, funding, and affiliations identify it as a potentially destabilizing and extremist-aligned entity and raise numerous red flags and concerns. These include:

- *Direct association with designated terrorists/extremists:* The Coalition (via Sooliman and GotG) has well-documented links to internationally sanctioned figures and organizations. It is associated with Yusuf al-Qaradawi and the Union of Good, a designated terror organization. Sooliman openly venerates al-Qaradawi—who was on Interpol's wanted list for a period—and received an award from him in 2011. Coalition operatives have also engaged with Hamas officials (e.g., by hosting or meeting sanctioned individuals like Ismail Haniyeh and Bassem Naim). The PFLP link, via Al-Haq, also implicates Coalition figures in associating with another US/EU-designated terrorist organization. In short, key members are consorting with members of listed terrorist entities, raising serious security concerns.

- *Politically exposed persons (PEPs) and state capture risk:* The Coalition's board includes former government officials (Pandor, Kasrils, and Chikane). The involvement of PEPs managing an NGO that operates in war zones and is sympathetic to terror groups is an oversight and blind spot that requires counterterror intervention and investigation. Because of these high-level connections, the Coalition for Good and GotG have largely evaded scrutiny or regulation. South African authorities have generally ignored, downplayed, or openly supported these NGOs' extremist

[171] US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Disrupts Sham Overseas Charity Networks Funding Hamas and the PFLP," press release, June 10, 2025, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sb0162.

liaisons—partly because some in government are part of the network. This raises the risk of a "state capture" by extremist interests: Indeed, one source in the South African Parliament observes that the ideological penetration is so deep it has essentially almost become the state policy in some respects. The collusion of state actors also means traditional checks, such as financial monitoring or enforcement of terror financing laws, have been lax. South Africa's security agencies have not acted against Coalition activities; as noted, no form of scrutiny has been applied to Sooliman or GotG, despite multiple risk factors that should trigger investigations under Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the US Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) guidelines. This permissiveness itself should be highlighted as a red flag internationally, especially now that South Africa was taken off the FATF grey list in 2025.

- *Opaque finances and covert terror financing:* A persistent red flag is the lack of financial transparency of the Coalition for Good and its sister entities, alongside the total lack of intention by the South African authorities to investigate allegations against Sooliman. GotG does not publish audited statements,[172] refuses to answer questions regarding where donors' funds are allocated, and provides minimal disclosure of donors, even though requests for financial information have been submitted by the Democratic Alliance party in South Africa and at least one civilian NGO. Because the Coalition for Good is a relatively new NGO, it has no public financial record at all. Yet it claims to access large sums and is seen sponsoring many events in South Africa. GotG has advertised on their website that they have raised approximately R7 billion ($430 million) to date—and the Coalition has "unlimited" funding via charitable obligations.[173]

3.5 International Lawfare Initiatives Against Israel

In recent years, Gift of the Givers and Sooliman have become embroiled in several public controversies that reveal the political undercurrents of their work, suggesting that Gift of the Givers is deeply enmeshed in geopolitical activism. Chief among these are GotG's involvement in international legal campaigns against Israel,[174] Sooliman's use of incendiary rhetoric, and the organization's role in South African domestic

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172 Qaanitah Hunter, "South African Humanitarian in Pro-Israeli Crosshairs over Palestine Support," Al Jazeera, January 21, 2025, https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2025/1/21/south-africa-humanitarian-in-israel-crosshairs-over-palestine-support.

173 Gift of the Givers Foundation, home page.

174 eNCA, "Middle East Conflict—Gift of the Givers Refers Israel to ICC," video, December 5, 2023, https://www.enca.com/videos/middle-east-conflict-gift-givers-refers-israel-icc.

politics and "lawfare" strategies. As described by journalist Marika Sboros, lawfare is the "strategic use of legal systems and principles to achieve military or political objectives. In the context of Middle East conflict, lawfare often focuses on civilian casualties and human rights violations to frame an adversary as an aggressor, thereby gaining leverage in diplomatic and media narratives."[175]

Sooliman has increasingly leveraged legal forums to pursue charges against Israel, blurring the line between humanitarian advocacy and overt political activism. In 2023, following the Hamas massacre on October 7, Sooliman publicly urged the South African government to expel the Israeli ambassador and close Israel's embassy in Pretoria.[176]

He also announced that Gift of the Givers was assembling a team of lawyers to help South Africa take Israel to the ICJ on accusations of human rights violations.[177] By December 2023, Sooliman boasted that he had "the best lawyers" working on an ICJ case against Israel. In parallel, GotG supported efforts to file war crimes complaints against Israeli officials[178] at the ICC. The organization engaged a legal team led by French attorney Gilles Devers, known for representing the Palestinian Authority in previous ICC proceedings.

This initiative was a high-profile example of Sooliman's lawfare agenda, essentially seeking to criminalize Israeli military actions through global judiciary mechanisms. Notably, the effort was coordinated with figures from the Palestinian NGO arena. Such collaboration underscores how Sooliman plugs into the broader Palestinian lawfare network (which includes NGOs with militant affiliations) to internationalize the conflict.

On the ICJ front, the influence of Sooliman's Coalition for Good is visible in South Africa's diplomatic posture. In late 2022, South Africa (under Minister Pandor's

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175 Sboros, "A Very Dark Side to Sooliman's Gift of the Givers."

176 Suné Payne and Queenin Masuabi, "South Africa: Gift of the Givers Backs Motion Seeking Closure of Israeli Embassy following Gaza Office Head Killing," AllAfrica, November 16, 2023, https://allafrica.com/stories/202311170049.html.

177 Marvin Charles, "Gift of the Givers Founder Warns ANC against Forming Govt with Parties That Do Not Support Palestine," News24, June 12, 2024, https://www.news24.com/southafrica/news/gift-of-the-givers-founder-warns-anc-against-forming-govt-with-parties-that-do-not-support-palestine-20240612; Shakirah Thebus, "Dr Sooliman Calls on Africa to Back SA's Genocide Case," *Cape Argus*, 2024, https://capeargus.co.za/news/2024-01-10-dr-sooliman-calls-on-africa-to-back-sas-genocide-case/.

178 International Criminal Court, "Situation in the State of Palestine: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber I Rejects the State of Israel's Challenges to Jurisdiction and Issues Warrants of Arrest for Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant," press release, November 21, 2024, https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-state-palestine-icc-pre-trial-chamber-i-rejects-state-israels-challenges.

leadership) co-sponsored[179] a UN resolution (A/RES/77/247) that was passed on December 30, 2022, which requested an ICJ Advisory Opinion on the legal consequences of Israel's prolonged occupation, settlement, and annexation of Palestinian territory.

This evolved into allegations of genocide. Sooliman actively lobbied support for South Africa's ICJ case accusing Israel of genocide, despite his proclaimed disdain for secular legal systems. He leveraged[180] his followers and partners to drum up public and political backing for the ICJ referral.

By January 2024, when South Africa submitted arguments to the ICJ, the Coalition for Good's narrative was essentially amplified as state policy—blurring lines between NGO advocacy and official diplomacy. Pandor's presence in the Coalition is a critical factor here: As Foreign Minister, she translated the Coalition's agenda into concrete foreign policy actions. Notably, after October 7, 2023, Pandor repeatedly called for Israel to be held accountable by international tribunals and welcomed the Hamas narrative of resistance.

In June 2024, Sooliman cautioned[181] the ruling African National Congress (ANC) against forming any government with parties that do not support Palestine or share the Coalition's hardline position on Gaza—a clear attempt to influence domestic politics and ensure continued alignment with the lawfare strategy. The Coalition's impact on South African foreign policy is thus evident: South Africa has positioned itself as one of the most vehemently anti-Israel voices on the international stage, from the UN Human Rights Council to the ICC.[182]

These efforts form part of a broader global strategy often championed by countries like Qatar, Turkey, and Iran, aligning South Africa with those states in venues like the

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179 United Nations General Assembly, "Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Including East Jerusalem: Revised Draft Resolution," A/C.4/77/L.12/Rev.1, November 10, 2022, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3993908 (South Africa is listed among the sponsors); adopted as A/RES/77/247 on December 30, 2022, voting record, https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3999158.

180 Thebus, "Dr Sooliman Calls on Africa to Back SA's Genocide Case."

181 Lindsay Dentlinger, "GOTG's Sooliman Urges ANC to Choose Political Partners with Same Position on Gaza," Eyewitness News, June 12, 2024, https://ewn.co.za/2024/06/12/gotgs-sooliman-urges-anc-to-choose-political-partners-with-same-position-on-gaza; Charles, "Gift of the Givers Founder Warns ANC against Forming Govt with Parties That Do Not Support Palestine."

182 International Criminal Court, "Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Karim A.A. Khan KC, on the Situation in the State of Palestine"; Michael B. Bishku, "South Africa's Anti-Israel Obsession," *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2023, https://www.meforum.org/middle-east-quarterly/south-africa-anti-israel-obsession.

United Nations. The Coalition's success in this arena is reflected in tangible outcomes, such as the ICC's receipt of submissions seeking Israeli indictments, and the ICJ being engaged on the question of Israeli "apartheid"—both outcomes the Coalition openly celebrates as steps toward delegitimizing Israel on the world stage.

GotG's deep involvement in these legal offensives against Israel marks a significant departure from typical NGO disaster relief work. It positions GotG as a central actor in direct lawfare using international law and courts as a battleground to delegitimize or pressure Israel. Sooliman's approach is driven by his one-sided ideology and is both politically and religiously motivated. It is not a neutral stance, but rather one aimed at advancing the cause of the Palestinian armed struggle through judicial means. The coordinated lawfare campaign and Sooliman's promotion of fake information and derogatory narratives on the Coalition for Good website constitute incitement and propaganda. He abuses international institutions, such as the courts, for ideological and political ends.

3.6 Global Connections and "Soft War" Campaigns

The activities of the Coalition for Good, while rooted in South Africa, are closely tied to broader regional and international "soft war" or influence campaigns led by states and movements sympathetic to Hamas. Multiple threads connect the Coalition and its members to Qatar, Iran, Turkey, and Palestinian extremist actors, indicating that the Coalition is a local player in a transnational strategy against Israel.

Ideologically, the Coalition sides with the more extremist forces: It celebrates figures of Hamas and the PFLP. The Coalition's social media and protests often echo Hamas slogans (e.g., "From the river to the sea …"), indicating synchronization with Palestinian hardliner messaging. One must also note South Africa's ANC has longstanding relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); individuals like Zane Dangor, Mohammed Dangor, Alvin Botes, Ronnie Kasrils, and Naledi Pandor maintain close ties with Palestinian representatives from almost all factions.

The Coalition leverages these ties. For instance, senior Hamas figure Bassem Naim visited South Africa multiple times by invitation of local groups, meeting with Coalition-associated people, specifically Naledi Pandor. After October 7, 2023, Haniyeh was in regular contact with South African officials (specifically Pandor), effectively giving Hamas a direct line to influence South African public statements—a synergy that the Coalition for Good helped facilitate through its advocacy (the Coalition was established in 2024 for the sole purpose of delegitimizing Israel).

The Coalition's international links are part of a larger pattern described as a soft-power reach, extending directly into the institutional frameworks of South Africa. Similar campaigns in other countries led by The Hague Group,[183] Hind Rajab Foundation in Europe,[184] Friends of Al Aqsa[185] and Palestine Action[186] in the UK,[187] the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR),[188] DAWN,[189] and Justice for All[190] in North America, as well as the global BDS campaign, are often associated with the Coalition network.

There are interviews and coordination with entities in the Muslim world (Organization of Islamic Cooperation countries) to amplify the anti-Israel campaign. For example, Coalition allies attended conferences with delegates from Iran, Qatar, Turkey, Jordan, and Kuwait. They interview individuals on their Instagram account, and figures like extremist Naeem Jeenah (Afro-Middle East Centre director and pro-Palestinian ideologue) bridge South African and Middle Eastern activist circles.

The information warfare aspect also shows global coordination. Sooliman's talking points about media manipulation mirror narratives pushed by Iranian and Turkish outlets, and social media campaigns around the ICC/ICJ have seen Coalition-related hashtags in multiple languages.

An example of how this network works comes from 2019, when Sharing Hope raised[191] funds in South Africa to distribute to the Federation of Islamic Medical Associations[192] (FIMA) and one of its pioneering member organizations, Islamic Medical Association South Africa[193] (IMASA). FIMA, through Islamic Medical Association North America (IMANA), was mentioned in a 1991 Muslim Brotherhood memo listing "our organizations and the organizations of our friends" and is a Muslim Brotherhood-linked group in the US.[194] This shows how local South African donations can be covertly redirected to foreign Islamist networks, even in the US, with no scrutiny.

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183 The Hague Group, home page, n.d., https://thehaguegroup.org/home/.
184 Hind Rajab Foundation, home page, 2026, https://www.hindrajabfoundation.org/.
185 Friends of Al-Aqsa, home page, 2026, https://www.foa.org.uk/.
186 Palestine Action, home page, n.d., https://palestineaction.org/.
187 BDS, home page, n.d., https://bdsmovement.net/.
188 Council on American-Islamic Relations, home page, 2026, https://www.cair.com/.
189 DAWN, home page, n.d., https://dawnmena.org/.
190 Justice for All, home page, 2026, https://www.justiceforall.org/.
191 Sharing Hope Foundation, "#GiveHope for Gaza Campaign—Medical Supplies," n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/campaigns/givehope-for-gaza-campaign-medical-supplies/.
192 Federation of Islamic Medical Associations, home page, 2018, https://fimaweb.net/.
193 Islamic Medical Association of South Africa, "Imasa Durban Protests against Israels Weaponisation of Hunger," video, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/reel/1416625842767759; Islamic Medical Association South Africa, home page, n.d., https://imasa.org.za/.
194 InfluenceWatch, "Islamic Medical Association of North America (IMANA)," 2026, https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/islamic-medical-association-of-north-america-imana/.

IMASA has partnered with GotG and PIMA.[195] The Sharing Hope Foundation[196] intersects with Sooliman and GotG. Entities such as PIMA (known and advertised as the Poor Patient Fund),[197] offshore shell companies like Talisman Investments Ltd.,[198] and high-profile NGOs such as the Essa and Fatima Moosa Foundation,[199] are all interlinked.

This web of associations includes known Hamas terrorists like Khaled Mashal, Emad Saber, and Bassem Naim, who have all been in South Africa on several occasions. South African activists like Naeem Jeenah, and enablers like lawyer Yousha Tayob[200] (who is a director and co-founder of PIMA, alongside Abu-Rageila) initiated lawfare proceedings against Israel since as far back as 2021, featuring the Gaza Docket from 2008–2009.[201] Tayob was a co-founder of Talisman Investments Ltd.

Qatar

Qatar's influence is indirectly felt through the legacy of Yusuf al-Qaradawi[202] and the presence of Hamas's external leadership. As noted, the Coalition for Good was launched as a tribute to al-Qaradawi, who was based in Doha, Qatar. During al-Qaradawi's funeral in Qatar (September 2022), Hamas politburo chief Ismail Haniyeh[203] eulogized[204] him as a champion of Palestine who "stood by Palestine and did not believe in giving up any inch

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195 Partners International Medical Aid, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/PIMAID/.

196 Sharing Hope Foundation, "#GiveHope for Gaza Campaign—Medical Supplies."

197 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Poor Patient Fund," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/healthcare/poor-patient-fund/32882/; Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?"

198 Talisman Investments Ltd. is an offshore investment company that was incorporated in Turks and Caicos Islands in 2009 and was suddenly deregistered in July 2024, only to be reregistered again that same year within the framework of a new South African law.

199 Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/p/Essa-Fatima-Moosa-Foundation-100078062347496/.

200 Hilaal TV, "Attorney at Law Yousha Tayob says that from 2008, there have police stations in South Africans that have been become bases to train citizens who want to fight for Israel," Instagram, October 15, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DBJnkrYsCpY/.

201 Salaamedia, "Illegal Recruitment of Locals for Deployment in Israel Army—24 November 2021," video, YouTube, November 24, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ix9vo0JiJ-8; Southern Africa Litigation Centre, "Gaza Docket: SA Must Tighten Policies on International Criminal Justice," August 21, 2009, https://www.southernafricalitigationcentre.org/south-africa-gaza-docket-sa-must-tighten-policies-on-international-criminal-justice/.

202 Amit Terrorism and Intelligence Research Institute, "Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi and His Impact on the Dissemination of Radical Islam."

203 Danny Citrinowicz, "Haniyeh's Elimination Damaged Iran's Sovereignty and Honor, Challenging Its Restraint," Institute for National Security Studies, August 1, 2024, https://www.inss.org.il/social_media/haniyehs-elimination-damaged-irans-sovereignty-and-honor-challenging-its-restraint/.

204 Agencies and TOI staff, "Muslim Brotherhood's Qaradawi, Who Endorsed Suicide Bombings against Israelis, Dies," *Times of Israel*, September 26, 2022, https://www.timesofisrael.com/muslim-brotherhoods-qaradawi-who-endorsed-suicide-bombings-against-israelis-dies/.

of it."[205] The creation of the Coalition can be seen as a continuation of al-Qaradawi's Qatar-supported initiatives. Furthermore, Qatar hosts many Hamas figures such as Khaled Mashal, who appeared in a 2021 Sharing Hope webinar from his base in Doha.[206] While not overtly stated, Qatari charitable fronts[207] and individuals are supplying funds to GotG-related initiatives. Qatar's media (e.g., Al Jazeera) has also amplified the voices of Coalition allies—for instance, Thembisa Fakude,[208] a South African Al Jazeera contributor, has participated in Hamas-glorifying panels with Coalition network members. This underscores a shared information space with Qatar.

Iran

Iran's connection to the Coalition for Good is ideological and strategic. As a patron of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, Iran benefits from groups like the Coalition, which weaken Israel through lawfare and global opinion. An investigative report explicitly frames GotG and Sooliman's work as part of "Iran's 'slow-boil' international strategy"[209] to destroy Israel via incitement, propaganda, and lawfare. Iran also practices lawfare—turning international law against Western powers and Israel—and thus it follows that Iranian media and diplomats hailed the ICC/ICJ moves that South Africa and partners like Sooliman have pushed. While Sooliman is a devout Sunni Muslim and does not favor the Shia Muslim sector or openly endorse Iran, it is evident that for over 30 years, South Africa has openly collaborated with the PLO as well as with Iran and its proxies (from Hezbollah to Hamas and the PFLP), providing a welcoming environment for Iranian influence.[210]

Sooliman has avoided criticizing Iran or Hezbollah; on the contrary, GotG has operated in proxy environments like Lebanon (during the 2006 Hezbollah-Israel war) and Syria,

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205 Middle East Eye, "Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Hamas and Qatar Officials Attend Funeral of Islamic Cleric in Doha," September 27, 2022, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/qatar-qaradawi-hamas-attend-funeral-egypt-cleric-doha.

206 Memrsme, "Sharing Hope Foundation," Facebook, June 25, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/memrsme/posts/677130759852604/.

207 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers met #Qatari Businessman of Palestinian origin, Ashraf Abuissa, who had investments in South Africa and was on the board of the USA-based Palestinian Children Relief Fund," Facebook, April 11, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/gift-of-the-givers-met-qatari-businessman-of-palestinian-origin-ashraf-abuissa-w/1088967363274632/.

208 Middle East Monitor, "Thembisa Fakude," n.d., https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/authors/thembisa-fakude/.

209 Editor BizNews, "Iran's Slow-Boil Strategy against Israel," BizNews, November 24, 2024, https://www.biznews.com/topic/irans-slow-boil-strategy-against-israel.

210 Islamic Republic of Iran Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Iran Acting FM, South Africa Top Diplomat Stress on Confronting Western Unilateralism," July 7, 2024, https://en.mfa.ir/portal/newsview/750539; Newzroom Afrika, "Charge Netanyahu for War Crimes"; Thebus, "Dr Sooliman Calls on Africa to Back SA's Genocide Case."

often aligning with Iranian interests; for example, during GotG's past operation alongside PFLP terrorist Leila Khaled[211] and pro-Iran figures in Lebanon. The Iranian embassy and cultural organizations have quietly encouraged the activism, antisemitism, and incitement of Coalition for Good-linked groups and individuals.[212] Additionally, key Coalition for Good ally Ebrahim Rasool was close to Iran-friendly Islamist networks.[213] In 2020, the Iranian regime listed Rasool as a speaker at the South African Al-Quds Day,[214] an annual event[215] meant to mobilize the "resistance" front against Israel. At the same event and alongside Mandla Mandela, Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif delivered an online speech.

Turkey

Under President Erdoğan, Turkey has been a vocal champion[216] of Hamas in international forums and frequently hosts Hamas operatives. The Coalition for Good's ties to Turkey come via conferences and personal contacts. In October 2019, the Sharing Hope Foundation[217] co-hosted a high-level symposium in Istanbul with participants from Turkey's Islamist circles and officials from Hamas-friendly states (Qatar, Kuwait, Jordan). This positioned South African activists among Middle Eastern Islamists, indicating the network's transnational reach. Sooliman has connections in Turkey dating back to his spiritual mentorship[218] under a Turkish Sufi cleric in the 1990s. There are also anecdotal reports of Coalition figures attending Turkish-sponsored events or receiving awards.[219] The presence of Turkish charities in Gaza that coordinate with GotG (e.g., via the Red Crescent or the İHH Humanitarian Relief

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211 Anti-Defamation League, "Leila Khaled: In Her Own Words," October 2, 2020, https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/leila-khaled-her-own-words.

212 Republic World, "Iran's Embassy in South Africa has joined the online battle by posting a series of humorous and biting memes against the United States and Israel," Instagram, March 26, 2026, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DWWe-7fCnVo/; Lawrence Nowosenetz, "Red Alert: Antisemitic Image Posted by Iranian Embassy in SA," *The Blogs*, *Times of Israel*, April 5, 2026, https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/red-alert-antisemitic-image-posted-by-iranian-embassy-in-sa/.

213 AFOSA, photo, Facebook, May 7, 2026, https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1406565158179208&set=d41d8cd9.

214 Mehr News Agency, "Zarif Main Online Speaker of Intl. Quds Day on May 22," May 16, 2020, https://en.mehrnews.com/news/158765/Zarif-main-online-speaker-of-intl-Quds-Day-on-May-22.

215 Sam Westrop, "South Africa's Terror-Tied Ambassador Returns to Washington," Middle East Forum, December 19, 2024, https://www.meforum.org/fwi/fwi-research/south-africas-terror-tied-ambassador-returns-to-washington.

216 Mehul Srivastava and Laura Pitel, "Erdogan and Hamas: 'He's Presenting Himself as Leader of Muslim World,'" *Financial Times*, September 9, 2020, https://www.ft.com/content/7447e141-3d3f-4d98-953d-179e15909a7e.

217 Sharing Hope Foundation, "About Us," n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/about-sharing-hope-foundation/; Sharing Hope Foundation, "#GiveHope for Gaza Campaign—Medical Supplies."

218 Anneliese Burgess, "Imtiaz Sooliman: South Africa's Fixer-in-Chief," *MiNDSPACE*, no. 2 (2022), https://www.oldmutual.co.za/campaign/ereaders/mindspace-2022-2/index.html#p=12.

219 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Recognition."

Foundation) ties in.[220] The ideological affinity is clear: Both Turkey's leadership and the Coalition for Good vociferously condemn Israel and speak of "liberating Al-Quds." Erdoğan's Turkey provides moral backing and occasional convening power for such actors.

On March 12, 2026, OFAC designated four NGO entities as sham charities that directly fund Hamas's military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades.[221] Among those was the Hayat Yolu Association, a Turkey-based nonprofit identified by OFAC as a charity involved in Hamas's international funding network and, critically, as an operational headquarters and financial hub for the Muslim Brotherhood. There is a direct, publicly acknowledged operational partnership between Hayat Yolu and GotG. The partnership is evidenced by the joint execution of the Ihsan Convoy (November 2022);[222] the joint construction of 200 homes in Idlib, Syria;[223] and GotG's own public acknowledgement of Hayat Yolu as "our partners"[224] in Turkey, Syria, and Palestine.

Additionally, open-source evidence demonstrates that Sooliman maintained a separate, concurrent partnership with Ümmet Vakfı, another Istanbul-based Turkish charity, to "implement key relief projects in Gaza."[225] Intelligence assessments further indicate that Hayat Yolu's role as an operational and financial hub is not confined to its relationship with GotG. A parallel operational node exists within Israel itself. An Islamic charity, registered in Israel's Palestinian-Arab sector, maintained a structured, multi-year financial relationship with Hayat Yolu during the same period.[226] It channeled more than US$650,000 in verified wire transfers to the identical Hayat Yolu Kuveyt Türk account used by GotG, with an additional contractual commitment of approximately US$1.85 million for joint infrastructure projects in northern Syria.

Critically, a written statement submitted by that same Israeli entity to a financial platform's compliance department explicitly identified South Africa as a territory in

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220 Steven G. Merley, *Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011), https://jcpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf.

221 US Department of the Treasury, "Treasury Continues to Disrupt Hamas' Sham Charity Network as the Group Refuses to Disarm."

222 Gift of the Givers, "Ceremonial cutting of the ribbon, representing the 22 trucks and 5 containers, with our partners, Hayat Yolu and AFAD, representing the Turkish Government for the Ihsan Campaign for #Syria," Facebook, November 9, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/ceremonial-cutting-of-the-ribbon-representing-the-22-trucks-and-5-containers-wit/2387380351409413/.

223 Gift of the Givers, "WhatsApp Video 2025-03-06 at 13.21.38," video, Facebook, March 6, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/videos/whatsapp-video-2025-03-06-at-132138/610752231757821/.

224 Gift of the Givers, photo, Facebook, November 21, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=549561050346595&set=pb.100064390820919.-2207520000&type=3.

225 Gift of the Givers, "Gift of the Givers Founder, Dr Imtiaz Sooliman recently met with our Turkish partner."

226 The name/identity is withheld but available to OFAC/IMPA on formal request.

which Hayat Yolu served as its operational intermediary for funds it could not deploy directly. This disclosure constitutes documentary evidence of a deliberate architecture: a source-protected Israeli Islamic NGO, GotG in South Africa, and Hamas-linked construction infrastructure in Syria were simultaneously channeling donor funds through the same Turkish financial hub, with South Africa expressly identified by one node as a territory within the Hayat Yolu operational perimeter.[227]

This provides the most direct evidential link thus far identified between GotG and a US-designated Hamas-supporting entity. Taken alongside the Ümmet Vakfı partnership, the Al-Aqsa Foundation history, the Union of Good connection, and unaudited cash distributions in Hamas-controlled Gaza, the cumulative profile warrants serious formal investigation by the relevant authorities.

Four social media posts have been identified as carrying the partnership paragraph after the Hayat Yolu designation of March 12, 2026. They were published on April 4, April 26, June 2, and August 21, 2026. The recurring text states that, in partnership with the Hayat Yolu Association, Gift of the Givers provided financial support to local municipal workers in Gaza who have worked under pressure, relentlessly, since the start of the war.[228]

3.7 Conclusion

This confluence of charity and extremism embodied by the Coalition is exactly what counterterrorism experts caution against—a "wolf in sheep's clothing" scenario threatening not only Israel but the integrity of South Africa's civil society, as well as the fight against global antisemitism and terrorism.

The Coalition for Good must be flagged as a high-risk organization. It is part of an extremist support infrastructure operating under NGO cover with several prominent and extremely influential individuals leading it. Its funding is opaque and suspect, its

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227 Gift of the Givers, photo, Facebook, November 12, 2022, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/we-received-a-gift-from-hayat-yolu-our-partners-in-turkey-syria-and-palestine-ca/2389947234486058/.

228 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Art, Hope & Shared Humanity," Facebook, April 4, 2026, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/1389319879906044/; Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Guided by the words of Nelson Mandela, we are reminded that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of others," Facebook, April 26, 2026, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/1408096491361716/; Gift of the Givers Foundation, video, "WhatsApp Video 2026-06-02 at 13.21.02," Facebook, June 2, 2026, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/1440440258127339/; Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Our team in Gaza is supporting the maintenance of a municipal vehicle to help keep essential local services operational," Facebook, August 21, 2026, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/1512571477580883/.

key players intermingle with designated terrorists and sanctioned individuals, and its political clout shields it from scrutiny in South Africa. Without external pressure, Sooliman and the Coalition for Good will continue to operate unchecked, advancing the objectives of radical Islamist movements under the guise of charitable activism.

Chapter 4: Other Organizations Relevant to the Network

Gift of the Givers and Coalition for Good do not operate in isolation; they are embedded in a network of South African Islamic NGOs and charities that share overlapping leadership, resources, and ideological aims.

4.1 Waqf al-Ummah / Ümmet Vakfı

In a recent investigation based on an internal audit, it has been alleged that half a billion dollars in donations raised in a single fundraiser in the name of "Gaza" to the Turkish-based Waqf al-Ummah (or alternately Ümmet Vakfı), closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, were siphoned into parallel private accounts, real estate holdings, and political operations rather than reaching intended recipients.[229] While the organizations frequently collaborate on different regional aid projects together, it is concerning that GotG partners with proscribed[230] terror groups like the Turkish-based İHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation (İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı),[231] which Israel has designated as a terrorist organization, alleging the charity acts as a financial and logistical front for Hamas. İHH has ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, and al-Qaeda, and is linked to other problematic entities operating in Gaza.

4.2 PIMA

The Partners International Medical Aid, also known as the Poor Patient Fund,[232] is interlinked to the many shadowy funding circuits. PIMA is a South African-registered nonprofit established in 2010.[233] It operates under a humanitarian mandate to provide medical aid to impoverished patients, particularly in conflict zones like Gaza. The organization's operational profile involves coordinating with international donors and local health providers. For example, PIMA received partial funding from the Al-Sawwaf Foundation and worked in cooperation with Gaza's Dar Al-Salaam Hospital, in

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229 Jerusalem Post staff, "Muslim Brotherhood Stole Half a Billion Dollars from Gaza Donations, Arab Sources Reveal," *Jerusalem Post*, November 17, 2025, https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-874233.

230 Jerusalem Post staff, "Muslim Brotherhood Stole Half a Billion Dollars from Gaza Donations, Arab Sources Reveal."

231 İHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, "About Us," n.d., https://ihh.org.tr/en/about-us.

232 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Poor Patient Fund"; Partners International Medical Aid, home page, 2026, https://pimapalestine.org/; Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?" Partners International Medical Aid, home page, YouTube, n.d., https://www.youtube.com/@pima_sa2832.

233 This is a South African entity, not to be confused with the British charity known as Palestine International Medical Aid (PIMA).

partnership with GotG and the Islamic Development Bank. PIMA also works with organizations like Jamiatul Ulama South Africa.[234]

The two key figures associated with PIMA are Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila and attorney Yousha Tayob, both of whom have served as directors of the organization since its early years. Abu-Rageila founded PIMA in 2010 and became its General Manager. Until 2020 he was an informal employee of GotG, serving as GotG's Palestine Country Manager and Middle East coordinator. In this capacity, he acted as a crucial link between GotG's South African operations and its projects in Gaza. He has been described as GotG's "fixer" on the ground, liaising between GotG activities in Gaza and the Hamas-controlled Ministry of Health. Abu-Rageila has ties to Bassem Naim, a senior Hamas figure and former Gaza Minister of Health, indicating direct interaction with Hamas officials in the course of his work.

Yousha Tayob is a South African lawyer who has been a director of PIMA since its founding. His profile is notable for a history of legal advocacy on behalf of individuals accused of terrorism, suggesting an ideological affinity or at least a working relationship with Islamist extremist circles. Tayob has repeatedly served as defense attorney in high-profile terrorism-related cases: For example, he represented Fatima Patel and Sayfudeen Aslam Del Vecchio, a duo arrested in 2018 for the abduction and murder of a British couple in a case that revealed ISIS affiliations (an ISIS flag was found in the suspects' home). He also defended Ziyadh Hoorzook, charged in 2025 with terrorism financing after allegedly donating funds via cryptocurrency to a designated terrorist entity (al-Sadaqah). Tayob's pattern of taking on clients from jihadist or extremist backgrounds has drawn surprisingly little public scrutiny, but it firmly positions him within a milieu that is sympathetic to Islamist militancy.

While formally an independent NPO, PIMA has significant overlap and affiliation with GotG. The most direct link is through Abu-Rageila, whose position as GotG's "point man for Palestine" has meant that PIMA's Gaza initiatives were effectively nested within GotG's humanitarian framework. Indeed, PIMA's flagship project—funding poor patients' care in Gaza—was executed in partnership with Gift of the Givers, blurring the line between the two organizations' activities.

Other PIMA personnel have been present at GotG-sponsored events, where Hamas officials were given a prominent voice—a scenario in which GotG's humanitarian brand

[234] Jamiatul Ulama South Africa, "Palestine: Poor Patient Fund," n.d., https://www.jamiatsa.org/palestine-poor-patient-fund-2/.

helped normalize the presence of Hamas-aligned figures. One such case was the December 2023 "Give Hope for Gaza" Gala, ostensibly a charity fundraiser co-hosted by the Sharing Hope Foundation. Abu-Rageila was involved alongside Sooliman, and the event prominently featured Hamas leader Bassem Naim and other Hamas representatives.

In December 2023, a leaked document showed a bank transfer of R250,000 from the Sharing Hope Foundation into PIMA's account (held by Abu-Rageila), followed just three days later by a near-identical sum being moved into an obscure investment/savings account.[235] Such rapid pass-through of donor money into a shell vehicle aligns with classic money-laundering and diversion tactics, triggering suspicion that PIMA is being used as a conduit for channeling funds to extremist networks. The following year, Tayob reregistered an entity called Talisman Investments Ltd. in a secrecy jurisdiction (Turks and Caicos). This could suggest there were other transactions, possibly structured to evade detection while routing money to Hamas beneficiaries.

Additionally, PIMA's own bookkeeping is opaque. The overlap of roles—with Tayob managing both PIMA and an offshore entity, and Abu-Rageila overseeing both PIMA and aspects of GotG's funding to Gaza—suggests an internal control environment where funds can be repurposed away from their ostensible charitable intent.

In sum, PIMA appears to function as a financial pass-through or laundering mechanism under the pretense of a medical aid nonprofit. South African authorities have not flagged this arrangement as a potential terrorism financing pipeline, which is especially concerning given that the ultimate destination of some funds is suspected to be Hamas operatives in South Africa and abroad. The organization is led by figures who have demonstrated support (tacit or active) for Islamist militancy. This goes beyond guilt by association; in Tayob's case, there is an evident fusion of legal, financial, and ideological support for extremist causes, exploiting the facade of charity to advance those causes.

Notably, the South African address[236] linked to PIMA's banking (Mint Road, Fordsburg) is significant: the Al-Aqsa Foundation in South Africa is registered at exactly[237] the same address. The continued monitoring of PIMA and GotG activities, funding streams, and

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235 The document can be provided to authorities upon request.

236 PM Aid, GoDaddy, n.d., https://pmaid.info/contact-us.php.

237 Open Sanctions, "Al-Aqsa Foundation," n.d., https://www.opensanctions.org/entities/NK-XFrRpPhTENsX3TzdBbMVxB/.

associations is therefore imperative from an intelligence perspective, as it exemplifies the intersection of charity and terror finance in South Africa's context.

4.3 The Sharing Hope Foundation

The Sharing Hope Foundation[238] is a South African-registered NGO based in Cape Town, positioned as an Islamic-oriented humanitarian charity, but with deep entanglements in extremist networks. Its activities have explicitly associated[239] the organization with senior Hamas figures and agendas. Sharing Hope presents itself as a relief charity,[240] yet it consistently operates in tandem with pro-Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood-aligned entities, raising significant security concerns.

Leadership and organizational structure

Sharing Hope's governance appears to be family-centric and closely tied to prominent Islamist activists. Fatima Wise serves as Chairperson and is the public face of the foundation.[241] Her family pedigree is noteworthy—she is the granddaughter of Judge Essa Moosa, known for his pro-Palestinian activism (the Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation has co-hosted events with Sharing Hope). Anika Moosa is also listed as a director, further underscoring the familial or ideological link to the Moosa network.[242] The inclusion of Ebrahim Wise (likely a close relative of Fatima) and the husband-and-wife team of Thabit Ishmail and Zahida Goulfarris-Ishmail on the board indicates that the foundation's control lies within a tight-knit circle.

This leadership cadre provides the organization with extensive connections in South Africa's Muslim community and political circles. However, their backgrounds also tie the foundation to figures sympathetic to Islamist causes. For example, Fatima Wise has promoted foundation events on social media under another name,[243] and invoked rhetoric of armed struggle, reflecting ideological leanings beyond mere charity. The foundation's structure, while legally that of a nonprofit, effectively functions as an advocacy hub for Hamas-aligned interests under the cover of humanitarian work.

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238 Sharing Hope Foundation, home page.

239 Sharing Hope Foundation, profile page, Facebook, n.d., https://www.facebook.com/weareshareinghope/.

240 Sharing Hope Foundation, "#GiveHope for Palestine," n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/campaigns/givehope-for-palestine/.

241 Sharing Hope Foundation, "Fatima Wise," n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/our_team/fatima-wise/.

242 Sharing Hope Foundation, "Anika Moosa," n.d., https://sharinghope.org.za/our_team/anika-moosa/. In addition, Anika's husband Faizel Moosa was South Africa's Ambassador to Qatar. South African Embassy, photo, Facebook, March 4, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/saembassydoha/photos/a.1096289837106563/2848764235192439/?type=3&_rdr.

243 She is also known as Fatima Khan-Wise; her maiden name is Moosa, and she is the daughter of Faizel Moosa.

Links to Hamas and affiliated entities

Since its inception, Sharing Hope Foundation has consistently provided a platform to Hamas officials and Islamist ideologues, integrating them into its events and campaigns. This pattern of engagement is neither incidental nor covert—it is overt and frequent, indicating a deliberate alignment with Hamas's political program. Key instances include when, in December 2018, only months after the foundation's launch, Hamas co-founder Mahmoud al-Zahar[244] received red carpet treatment[245] by the South African ANC-led government.[246] Additionally, he was invited to address a Sharing Hope audience in South Africa. His speech, delivered alongside local Muslim Judicial Council figures, publicly anchored Sharing Hope to Hamas's agenda and marked the NGO's role in amplifying Hamas narratives.

At a March 30, 2019, fundraising gala, Sharing Hope commemorated the anniversary of the Hamas-organized Great March of Return. Speakers included Dr. Malik Abu-Rageila (GotG/PIMA) and former US Ambassador Ebrahim Rasool, who used the platform to glorify Palestinian "resistance." While presented as a fundraiser for medical aid, the event doubled as a rally for Hamas's cause—with Rasool explicitly urging support to "equip brothers and sisters for a war that is surely coming."[247] Such rhetoric, endorsed on Sharing Hope's own Facebook page, effectively normalized the idea of supporting Hamas-led armed struggle under a charitable pretext.

In July 2021, Sharing Hope hosted a high-profile webinar entitled "Palestine and Her Road to Freedom" in collaboration with the Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation. The keynote speaker was Hamas's Khaled Mashal, appearing live from Qatar. The panel also included South African figures Naeem Jeenah, Rev. Allan Boesak, and Western Cape ANC legislator Khalid Sayed, who moderated the event. By featuring Mashal, the foundation brought a globally designated terrorist leader into a South African civic forum, framing Hamas's struggle in the language of the anti-apartheid movement (Mashal spoke about adopting "the Nelson Mandela ethos"). This event demonstrated Sharing Hope's role in rebranding Hamas as a legitimate liberation movement to local

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244 IDF Editorial Team, "4 Reasons Why Hamas Is a Terror Organization," Israel Defense Forces, June 12, 2017, https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/the-hamas-terrorist-organization/4-reasons-why-hamas-is-a-terror-organization/.

245 Ben Cohen, "ANC Leaders Roll Out Red Carpet in South Africa for Visiting Hamas Delegation," *Algemeiner*, December 4, 2018, https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/12/04/anc-leaders-roll-out-red-carpet-in-south-africa-for-visiting-hamas-delegation/.

246 Middle East Monitor, "BDS Hails South Africa ANC's Agreement with Hamas," December 5, 2018, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20181205-bds-hails-south-africa-ancs-agreement-with-hamas/.

247 Joy Theron, "Ebrahim Rasool: A Dangerous Trojan Horse in Washington," Washington Outsider, January 15, 2025, https://www.thewashingtonoutsider.com/ebrahim-rasool-a-dangerous-trojan-horse-in-washington/.

audiences. The involvement of respected locals (including an ANC politician and prominent church leader) gave Hamas unprecedented public relations exposure. Notably, this webinar was openly advertised, and its recording was shared online—evidence of the foundation's comfort in promoting Hamas propaganda.

The "Give Hope for Palestine" benefit dinner was brazenly held as the Israel-Hamas conflict escalated. Sharing Hope held the dinner in Cape Town on November 28, 2023, with Bassem Naim as the guest of honor. Naim is a senior Hamas member (former Health Minister in Gaza) and key architect of Hamas's militant medical strategy. The foundation did not obscure his identity; on the contrary, its promotional materials explicitly described Naim as a Hamas official who took over Gaza's health sector after Hamas seized power, noting even that his son died fighting in the al-Qassam Brigades. By candidly profiling Naim's Hamas credentials, Sharing Hope effectively legitimized a high-ranking Hamas operative on South African soil. The event, under the banner of humanitarian aid for Palestine, doubled as a political rally. Also in attendance was ex-ambassador Ebrahim Rasool, whose presence lent diplomatic gravitas to the gathering. Reports from that night indicate it served to openly coordinate support for Hamas, with fundraising intertwined with partisan speeches.

Through these and other events, Sharing Hope has consistently platformed and endorsed senior Hamas leaders, blurring any distinction between charitable work and militant advocacy. The foundation's programs function as propaganda vehicles, providing Hamas representatives a venue to speak to South African civil society and solicit sympathy, funds, and political support. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, individuals linked to Hamas financing (such as Yousha Tayob and PIMA) handle the funds and logistics, creating an end-to-end pipeline of influence. South African officials and ANC politicians have even participated in these forums, which helps to normalize Hamas whether they intend to do so or not. This convergence of actors was highlighted in 2021 when ANC leader Khalid Sayed moderated Khaled Mashal's webinar, and again in 2023 when Ebrahim Rasool shared a stage with Bassem Naim. Such involvement by public figures gives Hamas's agenda an appearance of legitimacy in South African discourse.

In this way, Sharing Hope has become a key node in Hamas's soft-power network: recruiting influential voices, raising funds, and spreading the group's extremist narratives under deceptive cover of interfaith dialogue and humanitarian concern.

Assessment

Sharing Hope does not operate in isolation; it functions within a broader ecosystem of Islamist charities in South Africa, chief among them GotG. A key connector is Dr. Malik

Abu-Rageila. He was an informal employee of GotG until 2020 and simultaneously a director of PIMA, which links him to Sharing Hope's projects. His dual role solidified an operational bridge: Abu-Rageila coordinated donations raised by Sharing Hope for Gaza, while leveraging GotG's logistics and contacts on the ground. This kind of collaboration indicates Sharing Hope effectively plugged into GotG's aid delivery infrastructure.

The Sharing Hope Foundation network represents a case study in how an NGO can be used as a front for extremist networks. Its organizational structure (dominated by individuals with personal or ideological ties to Islamist causes) and its track record of events leave little doubt about its true orientation. The foundation has leveraged South Africa's open civic space to inject Hamas-aligned propaganda and fundraising into mainstream discourse.

Financially, its unchecked international transfers and use of intermediaries like PIMA and Talisman Investments suggest clandestine funding channels that warrant urgent investigation. The clear and telling collaboration with GotG provides cover and logistical muscle to Sharing Hope—but also threatens to taint legitimate aid efforts with the stain of terror finance.

Ideologically, Sharing Hope functions as an arm of the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated global project, helping Hamas and its allies win hearts, minds, and wallets far from the Middle East. All these activities occur in plain sight via Facebook streams, gala dinners, and "solidarity" conferences—exploiting democratic freedoms to further a radical agenda.

The available evidence from 2018 through 2025 paints a cohesive intelligence picture: Sharing Hope Foundation is knowingly embedding Hamas operatives and narratives into its operations, making it a significant node in Hamas's international support network under the guise of charity. This presents a direct threat to South Africa's security and international counterterrorism frameworks, as the country's soil is used for extremist financing and recruitment behind a humanitarian front.

4.4 The Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation

The Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation[248] is a South African-registered nonprofit organization named after the late Judge Essa Moosa, a prominent anti-apartheid lawyer

[248] Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation, profile page, Facebook.

and later a High Court judge. In 2004 Moosa drew controversy for keeping an invalid warrant alive for 17 months in a bomb-plot investigation with al-Qaeda-linked suspects. His ruling obstructed the investigation and was overturned with a rebuke.[249]

The foundation bearing his name operates under the guise[250] of humanitarian and educational work, but social media evidence indicates it is part of a network[251] of NGOs that align with pro-Hamas and Islamist causes. Indeed, the Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation is cited as a high-profile NGO intersecting with entities like GotG and the Sharing Hope Foundation in a broader web of organizations sympathetic to Hamas. Open-source analysis suggests the Moosa Foundation's public activities are far from neutral charity; instead, they dovetail with a coordinated effort to legitimize and amplify Hamas-aligned figures under humanitarian or interfaith cover.

From an investigative intelligence perspective, the Essa & Fatima Moosa Foundation exhibits several red flags, starting with its direct association with Hamas terrorists. The foundation has directly facilitated appearances by designated Hamas leaders on South African platforms. Hosting Khaled Mashal (exiled Hamas politburo chief) is extraordinary for a domestic NGO. This demonstrates an unusual comfort with—or even endorsement of—a terrorist organization's top leadership. Such engagement goes beyond humanitarian sympathies and verges into open political support for Hamas.

The foundation is tightly interwoven with a cluster of entities (Sharing Hope, Gift of the Givers, PIMA, etc.) that intelligence reports link to Hamas's global support system. Social media and joint events show connections between the Moosa Foundation and these organizations, all of which propagate pro-Hamas agendas. Specific monitoring of Facebook/Instagram accounts shows the Moosa Foundation echoing content from Hamas-aligned groups. This kind of social media synchronization is often a marker of coordinated influence operations or at least shared ideological guidance. While concrete financial transactions of the Moosa Foundation are not documented, its close affiliation with fundraising bodies that have sent money into Hamas-controlled Gaza is alarming.

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249 Karen Breytenbach, "Muizenberg Property Search Illegal – Court," IOL, November 17, 2008, https://iol.co.za/news/south-africa/2008-11-17-muizenberg-property-search-illegal-court/; Full bench judgment (Moosa J majority), 2010, ZAWCHC 388, https://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAWCHC/2010/388.html; SCA judgment, *Minister of Safety and Security v. Mohamed*, 2011, ZASCA 134, https://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZASCA/2011/134.html.

250 Muslim Views, "Defying Injustice: Voices of Resistance and Hope from IPSA Researchers," February 24, 2025, https://muslimviews.co.za/defying-injustice-voices-of-resistance-and-hope-from-ipsa-researchers/.

251 Getrude Makhafola, "Moosa Foundation Wants SA Zionist Federation to Withdraw Complaint against Siraj Desai," News24, June 12, 2021, https://www.news24.com/amp/news24/southafrica/news/moosa-foundation-wants-sa-zionist-federation-to-withdraw-complaint-against-siraj-desai-20210612.

Appendix: GotG Financial Structure and Funding

Gift of the Givers presents itself as a nonprofit funded by donations and grants, but it has been criticized for a lack of financial transparency and accountability.[252] GotG operates a financial model[253] that mixes public generosity with private business income, and local fundraising with international channels. While this has enabled impressive growth and reach, it also creates significant opacity.

GotG donors

GotG's financial structure relies primarily on donations from various sources, including private donors (both individual and institutional), companies, and major partnerships (such as with Old Mutual Wealth through the Old Mutual Gift of the Givers Life Fund).[254] It is a nonprofit organization (NPO Registration: 032-031) and Public Benefit Organization (PBO: 930018993), registered in terms of section 18A of the Income Tax Act. There are no publicly available yearly reports, and no response is forthcoming when attempts are made to request where the foundation's funds are spent. A study titled "Non-Governmental Organisations and Xenophobia in South Africa: A Case Study of the Gift of the Givers" reports that Sooliman has acknowledged, "I don't like bureaucratic systems. I need a decision in five seconds, not five weeks."[255] This is backed up by Allauddin Sayed, head of GotG's Johannesburg office, who stated, "I pick up the phone, call Imtiaz and say I want to start something costing R250,000. There's no papers, no proofing. He just says, 'Allauddin go ahead!'"[256]

GotG also receives in-kind donations and supports itself through corporate sponsorships and community-based initiatives like the UCount Rewards program.[257] Additionally, in 2024, Massmart again partnered with the Gift of the Givers Foundation,

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252 Sboros, "A Very Dark Side to Sooliman's Gift of the Givers."

253 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Restoration Begins amid Gaza Genocide," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/countries/palestine/rebuilding-begins-after-gaza-genocide/87362/.

254 Old Mutual, "The Old Mutual Gift of the Givers Life Fund: Transcending Investment," n.d., https://www.oldmutual.co.za/v3/assets/blt0554f48052bb4620/bltace7c233d5517091/664dcebe50435d3c631cebf2/OM_Gift_of_the_Givers_Life_Fund_Client_brochure.pdf.

255 Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, "Non-Governmental Organisations and Xenophobia in South Africa: A Case Study of the Gift of the Givers (GOTG)," *Alternation* Special Edition 7 (2013): 256, https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/DC%20Metadata%20Files/Gandhi-Luthuli%20Documentation%20Centre/Alternation%20Special%20Edition%207%282013%29%20241-/Alternation%20Special%20Edition%207%282013%29%20241-.pdf.

256 Quoted in Desai and Vahed, "Non-Governmental Organisations and Xenophobia in South Africa."

257 UCount Business, "Gift of the Givers," n.d., https://ucount.standardbank.co.za/business/redeem-points/where-to-redeem-points/donate-or-sponsor/gift-of-the-givers/.

reinforcing a partnership dating back to 2014.[258] Engen supports Gift of the Givers operations annually.[259]

Table 1: Gift of the Givers Foundation: Partial Campaigns and Fundraising Details

Campaign or partner	Campaign type	Focus area	Region or country
South African government	Institutional grant	Hunger alleviation	South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal/Eastern Cape)
Anglo American	Corporate donation	Disaster response (flood recovery)	South Africa
Walmart & Massmart	Corporate commitment	Hunger alleviation	South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal)
Help Our Doctors Fight Coronavirus	BackaBuddy campaign	Health care	South Africa
Engen	Corporate partnership	Disaster response	South Africa
Xenophobic attacks response (May 2008)	Disaster response	Disaster response	South Africa (Cape Town, Johannesburg)
Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)	Institutional donation	Disaster response	South Africa
Independent Newspapers	Corporate donation	Disaster response	South Africa
Pots, Pans and Pancakes	Champion campaign	Disaster response	
Investec	Corporate donation/ BackaBuddy campaign	Disaster response	South Africa
Run 41 Palestine	Champion campaign	Disaster response	Palestine
Aid for Palestine	Champion campaign	Disaster response	Palestine
Large scale audiology testing	BackaBuddy campaign	Health care	South Africa
Gift of the Givers–Feed South Africa	BackaBuddy campaign	Hunger alleviation	South Africa
Momentum	Corporate donation	Disaster response	South Africa
Teachers' Unions	Institutional donation	Education	South Africa
Rainbow Nation Blanket of Hope	67 blankets for Nelson Mandela Day	Human development	South Africa
KZN Fund Relief	BackaBuddy campaign	Disaster response	South Africa (KZN)
House of Laser	Fundraiser	Disaster response (earthquake)	Turkey/Syria
Maxym Family Ukraine Relief	GlobalGiving campaign	Disaster response	Ukraine
Deputy Minister of Correctional Services	Individual donation	Disaster response	South Africa
Winter Warmth Project	Ongoing fundraiser	Human development	South Africa

[258] Massmart, "Massmart Marks 10 Year Partnership Milestone with the Gift of the Givers Foundation."

[259] South Africa: The Good News, "R6 Million Donated to Gift of the Givers," February 19, 2026, https://www.sagoodnews.co.za/r6-million-donated-to-gift-of-the-givers/.

Table 2: Additional GotG Donors

- ABSA
- African Development Bank
- Al-Tawheed Foundation[260]
- Anglo American
- Ashraf Abu Issa (Qatar)
- BMW South Africa
- Bonitas Medical Aid
- BP Southern Africa
- Capitec
- Daimler Truck
- Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO)
- Department of Trade and Industry
- Development Bank of Southern Africa
- Direct Relief
- Discovery's Move-To-Give
- Engen[261]
- Exxaro
- Ford South Africa
- GlobalGiving
- Islamic Development Bank
- Isuzu
- Kentucky Fried Chicken
- Massmart[262]
- McKinsey
- MySchool / MyVillage / MyPlanet
- Netherlands TV network
- Old Mutual Gift of the Givers Life Fund[263]
- Old Mutual Pension Fund
- Qatar Fund for Development
- Samsung South Africa
- Shoprite Group's Act for Change Fund
- South African Jews for a Free Palestine
- South African Muslim Charitable Trust
- South Africans for Ukraine
- Spar
- Standard Bank
- TFG (The Foschini Group)
- The Mauerberger Foundation Fund NPC[264]
- The Memon Foundation
- Tiger Brands
- University of Cape Town
- University of the Witwatersrand
- Volvo Trucks
- Walmart[265]
- Woolworths

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260 Gift of the Givers, "We have partnered with Al-Tawheed Foundation (led by Sheikh Abdel-Salaam Bassiouni) to expanded [sic] our Zakat programmes in #Gauteng," Facebook, September 12, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGivers/posts/we-have-partnered-with-al-tawheed-foundation-led-by-sheikh-abdel-salaam-bassioun/1214439377394096/.

261 Engen, "Engen Keeps on Giving in Support of Gift of the Givers and FoodForward SA," December 4, 2024, https://www.engen.co.za/media/media-release/engen-keeps-giving-support-gift-givers-and-foodforward-sa.

262 Massmart, "Massmart Marks 10 Year Partnership Milestone with the Gift of the Givers Foundation," August 21, 2024, https://www.massmart.co.za/news/2024/08/massmart-marks-10-year-partnership-milestone-with-the-gift-of-th.

263 Old Mutual, "Old Mutual Gift of the Givers Life Fund," 2025, https://www.oldmutual.co.za/v3/assets/blt0554f48052bb4620/blt8b25fb0276370fae/68c152500f3c8a296d9a4514/OM_Gift_of_the_Givers_Life_Fund.pdf.

264 News24, "Jewish Charity Donates R1 Million to Gift of the Givers for Humanitarian Aid in Gaza," Instagram, September 20, 2025, https://www.instagram.com/p/DO0lXELiANT/.

265 Walmart, "Walmart, the Walmart Foundation and Massmart Commit 13 Million Rand to Aid Recovery Efforts in KwaZulu-Natal Community," July 22, 2021, https://corporate.walmart.com/news/2021/07/22/walmart-the-walmart-foundation-and-massmart-commit-13-million-rand-to-aid-recovery-efforts-in-kwazulu-natal-community.

Sources: This information has been extracted from Gift of the Givers' public domain website over several years, and lists just some of the entities that have funded GotG projects and operations. There is no transparency regarding how donations have been distributed. See https://giftofthegivers.org/; https://giftofthegivers.org/partners/ champions/concluded-campaigns/.

Additionally, the South African government has on occasion provided substantial funding to GotG.[266] GotG was the first NGO in South African history to get such a large direct budget allocation from the state—and yet there has been no transparent accounting for how those funds were spent.[267] Media inquiries have found no evidence as to where the money went, fueling suspicions about financial mismanagement and/or diversion. To date, no credible media outlet or public document has reported on the whereabouts or outcomes of the R60 million disbursed to GotG. Searches turned up zero reference to any investigation, audit findings, or accountability measures related to the grant.

Zakat recipient

GotG is a recipient of Zakat funds. The obligation of Zakat[268] is a mandatory tax of 2.5 percent on all Muslims who possess a certain minimum wealth. According to the Quran (9:103), "of their goods take alms, so that thou might purify and sanctify them." While Muslims are permitted to give charity to non-Muslims, the issue of whether Zakat is to be confined to Muslims has not been settled among scholars. The giving of Zakat to an intermediary involves both trust and accountability, as the onus remains on the giver to ensure that his/her obligation has been fulfilled. The fact that so many people give their Zakat contribution to GotG reflects their faith and trust in the organization.

GotG faces strong competition for Zakat funds. Many Muslims are dealing with poverty and inequality on their doorsteps in the context of increasing inequality in South Africa. Many Muslims give Zakat to people they know personally, as well as to organizations like the South African National Zakah Fund, Al-Imdaad, Crescent of Hope, Darul Yatama, and the Women's Cultural Group. The ongoing situation in Palestine, as well as the devastation in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, has also created an urgent sense among Muslims to support Muslim countries, while simultaneously forging a local inwardness.

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266 "Imtiaz Sooliman," The Presidency: Republic of South Africa, n.d., https://web.archive.org/web/20260114095527/https:/presidency.gov.za/imtiaz-sooliman.

267 Ibid.

268 Islamic Relief, "What Is Zakat?," 2026, https://islamic-relief.org/zakat/.

Bank accounts and fundraising channels

GotG maintains multiple bank accounts to segregate funds for different purposes. Investigations found that Gift of the Givers holds accounts with at least one major South African bank (Standard Bank) and runs two primary accounts—one designated for "international projects" and another for "African projects."[269] This separation may be intended to keep funds for overseas operations (like Gaza or Middle East work) distinct from domestic/African relief funds. However, it also raises questions about internal controls and whether donors have a clear idea of how/where their money is being used. Notably, South African authorities have not imposed strict oversight on GotG's finances, unlike the scrutiny financial institutions applied to the designated and defunct Al-Aqsa Foundation.[270]

GotG has also embraced modern fundraising channels. For example, it was vetted and listed on the GlobalGiving online platform in 2017,[271] allowing it to tap into international crowdfunding for certain projects and local crowdfunding platform BackaBuddy for others.[272] It also collects money via direct bank deposits, credit card payments, mobile money, and even partnerships with retail loyalty programs (e.g., MySchool Card).[273] Corporate sponsorships and partnerships with businesses have contributed funds and in-kind resources, and GotG often publicizes donations from South African companies during disaster relief efforts.

Relying heavily on cash

A striking feature, and one used by many Islamist organizations globally, is that GotG's financial modus operandi relies heavily on cash.[274] Studies of charitable giving in the

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269 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Banking Details," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/make-a-difference/banking-details/.

270 US Department of the Treasury, press releases, 2026, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases.

271 GlobalGiving, "Waqful Waqifin Foundation (Gift of the Givers Foundation)."

272 Thabi Shomolekae, "Gift of the Givers Uses Crowdfunding to Bolster Aid for Gaza," Polity, October 20, 2023, https://www.polity.org.za/article/gift-of-the-givers-uses-crowdfunding-to-deliver-aid-to-gaza-2023-10-20; BackaBuddy, "Gift of the Givers 30th Anniversary," 2026, https://www.backabuddy.co.za/campaign/gift-of-the-givers-30th-anniversary.

273 EEMEA—Mastercard Newsroom, "Tap or Scan to Pay with Mastercard and Help the Gift of the Givers Foundation," July 6, 2021, https://www.mastercard.com/news/eemea/en/newsroom/press-releases/en/2021/july/tap-or-scan-to-pay-with-mastercard-and-help-the-gift-of-the-givers-foundation/; Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Donate with MySchool," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/make-a-difference/donate-with-myschool/; Gift of the Givers, "Donate to Gift of the Givers in 8 Easy Steps This Ramadan," Instagram, March 22, 2025, https://www.instagram.com/reel/DHf51E1tcPq/.

274 Nozima Kholmatova, "The Role 'Hawala' in Financing Terrorism and Money Laundering: The Nexus Between Informal Migrant Remittances in Europe and Funding of Terrorist Organizations," *JANUS.NET e-journal of*

South African Muslim community (a key donor base for GotG) found that about 63 percent of donors gave their contributions[275] in cash rather than via traceable instruments.[276] Gift of the Givers frequently collects these cash donations at events, mosques, or through community networks. Importantly, GotG also distributes aid in cash form in conflict zones. There is documented evidence of GotG representatives handing out physical cash (US dollars and Israeli shekels) directly to recipients in Gaza.[277]

Such cash disbursements are virtually untraceable and raise the risk that money ostensibly meant for humanitarian relief could be diverted to militants or illicit uses. Cash handouts in a Hamas-controlled environment can easily be taxed or appropriated by Hamas, or selectively given to families of combatants as a form of support. GotG's lack of detailed financial reporting (e.g., public audits or breakdowns of spending) makes it difficult to determine how much donor money goes to humanitarian aid, versus how much might be siphoned to extremist-aligned personnel or projects. This lack[278] of transparency is flagged[279] as a major concern in assessments of GotG.

International Relations 16 (2), 2025, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/397624431_THE_ROLE_'HAWALA'_IN_FINANCING_TERRORISM_AND_MONEY_LAUNDERING_THE_NEXUS_BETWEEN_INFORMAL_MIGRANT_REMITTANCES_IN_EUROPE_AND_FUNDING_OF_TERRORIST_ORGANIZATIONS.

275 Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?"

276 Abdalla Khair Gabralla, "Islamic Institution of Charity and International Disaster Relief: A Case Study of Gift of the Givers Foundation in South Africa" (master's thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2009), https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/server/api/core/bitstreams/cc9a6de7-3204-4f1f-83cf-2a489d802e30/content.

277 Gift of the Givers Foundation, "Palestine Relief," 2026, https://giftofthegivers.org/disaster-response/palestine-relief/26909/; Gift of the Givers Palestine, "We have distributed financial rewards to the volunteer medical staff at Nasser Hospital," Facebook, November 22, 2023, https://www.facebook.com/GiftoftheGiversPalestine/posts/pfbid0qPQ2m4YWS3Yz2qpCzSMQY5vL4hXyaPe1x77B7k6XmQN8PZKRC4sjqeCCrtccu9eYl.

278 Nicholas Woode-Smith, "Break the Silence About South Africa," Facebook, 2025, https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1003695298450816&set=a.632831908870492&id=100064310667287.

279 Preskovsky, "Humanitarian Organization or Front for Terror?"

Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
AQAP	Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
BDS	Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions
CCIA	Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FIMA	Federation of Islamic Medical Associations
FOSUK	Friends of Sabeel UK
GotG	Gift of the Givers Foundation
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
IMA	Islamic Medical Association
IMASA	Islamic Medical Association South Africa
ISRA	Islamic Relief Agency
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MJC	Muslim Judicial Council
MSA	Muslim Students Association
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPO	nonprofit organization
OFAC	US Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control
PBO	Public Benefit Organization
PCHR	Palestinian Centre for Human Rights
PEP	Politically exposed person
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PIJ	Palestinian Islamic Jihad
PIMA	Partners International Medical Aid
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
SHF	Sharing Hope Foundation
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
UoG	Union of Good
WCC	World Council of Churches