



BOARD *of* PEACE



CORRUPTION, COLONIALISM, CATASTROPHE

TRUMP'S "BOARD OF PEACE" AND
THE GAZA CEASEFIRE

WIN WITHOUT WAR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A ceasefire agreement has paused the worst of the Israeli government's genocide campaign in Gaza, but for Palestinians living through this devastation, there has been no real peace. Families are still going hungry, entire communities remain displaced, humanitarian aid continues to be blocked or severely restricted, and Israeli military violence is still a consistent feature of life in Gaza.

The ceasefire agreement did not end the suffering. It did make it easier for world leaders to claim the crisis was over, with the aftermath being managed by a new body — created by President Donald Trump — the so-called Board of Peace. In reality, the Board functions as a political project that legitimizes continued violence while consolidating power in the hands of the U.S. and Israeli governments and their wealthy political allies. Far from advancing peace, it obscures ongoing violence, strips Palestinians of political agency, and cements external control under the guise of neutrality and reconstruction.

Topline messaging:

- ★ Gaza is experiencing catastrophic shortages of food, medicine, and humanitarian supplies — not because the aid doesn't exist, but because the Israeli government is deliberately restricting or blocking it from entering Gaza.
- ★ Palestinians are being excluded from decisions about their own futures while foreign governments and political elites decide the path ahead. Palestinians know what they need — ask them.
- ★ The Board of Peace threatens to replace international law with backroom deals, billionaire influence, and political favoritism.
- ★ Trump's war on Iran and his Board of Peace follow the same playbook: create a crisis and then exploit the chaos to expand control.

INTRODUCTION

The Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict¹ (referred to in this report as the “ceasefire agreement”) between the Israeli government and Hamas went into effect on October 10, 2025. It outlines 20 key points, including:

- ★ **Military commitments:** Immediate ceasefire tied to hostage release, Israeli military withdrawal from Gaza to agreed upon lines and buffer zones, full demilitarization of Gaza, and the immediate deployment of a temporary International Stabilization Force to secure borders and serve as a long-term internal security solution.
- ★ **Humanitarian commitments:** Immediate surge of humanitarian aid, infrastructure rehabilitation, and equipment to remove the rubble and open the roads. Guarantee that aid will be provided to people in Gaza by international institutions without interference from the Israeli government or Hamas.
- ★ **Political commitments:** Transitional governance led by an apolitical Palestinian committee under the oversight of the international Board of Peace (or “Board”), chaired by President Donald Trump. A stated aim to work toward the redevelopment of Gaza and support a pathway toward Palestinian self-determination, statehood, and co-existence with Israel.

Months later, even with the ceasefire agreement in place, Palestinians in Gaza continue to face attacks and significant daily challenges, raising important questions about the effectiveness of the ceasefire agreement, and in particular, the Board of Peace’s ability to delivery security for Palestinians.

STATUS OF GAZA: 8 MONTHS POST-CEASEFIRE

Media coverage of what is happening in Gaza has lessened, but the conditions on the ground remain severe, with people facing ongoing violence, displacement, and restrictions on aid and movement.

Military

The ceasefire agreement states that all military operations would be suspended, but the Israeli military continues to conduct air strikes, shelling, and ground operations in Gaza, though at a lower frequency and intensity than before. The Israeli military is currently deployed in more than half of Gaza,² including north, west, and south of the Yellow Line indicated in the map on page 4. The Israeli military has also carried out airstrikes on both sides of the Yellow Line on a weekly basis. All of these actions are clear violations of the ceasefire agreement.

Since the start of the ceasefire agreement, the Israeli military has killed over 981 Palestinians and injured over 3,104 Palestinians.³ This brings the total dead to 72,996 and total injured to 173,246 since October 7, 2023.⁴

Boundaries and Buffer Zones in Gaza

Prior to October 7, 2023, the Israeli military conducted regular patrols and surveillance around the perimeter of Gaza. There was no permanent Israeli ground troop presence inside Gaza, but the Israeli government maintained control over goods and people moving in and out of the territory.

Following October 7, 2023, the Israeli government launched a large-scale military assault in Gaza during which the Israeli military entered and occupied large parts of Gaza at various points over the following two years.

After the ceasefire agreement went into effect on October 10, 2025, Gaza was divided by a demarcation known as the “Yellow Line,” marking the initial Israeli military withdrawal zone, leaving approximately half of Gaza under Israeli military control. However, that line has shifted during the ceasefire period — the Israeli military has progressively shifted the boundary more and more west, expanding the area that is under its control and further compressing the area available to Palestinians. In some areas, the line is marked physically with barriers, while in others, the boundary is unclear or inconsistently enforced, making way for a constantly changing perimeter.



Source: *“Gaza’s yellow line creeps forward as Israeli forces expand zone of control.”* *The Guardian*, April 22, 2026.

Infrastructure and Housing

Homes and businesses, along with water, waste, and sanitation infrastructure have been severely damaged in Gaza. Approximately 80% of Gaza's buildings have been destroyed, resulting in over 67 million tons of rubble.⁵ This includes over 2,500 buildings the Israeli government has destroyed since the ceasefire agreement, erasing entire blocks and large areas of farmland and agricultural greenhouses.⁶ In November 2025, the United Nations estimated that it would take 20 years to clear the debris.⁷ The UN Development Programme has more recently claimed that it could be cleared in seven years, but only under certain conditions — like crews having access to reconstruction locations, a functional permitting process for construction equipment, fuel being allowed into Gaza, and a consistent working schedule for reconstruction — which don't currently exist.⁸

The ceasefire agreement delineated the areas from which the Israeli military would withdraw (shown in the map on page 4). Territory east of the line — about half of Gaza — remains under the control of the Israeli government, which maintains that ongoing military operations and demolitions east of the Yellow Line are necessary to prevent Hamas from rebuilding militant infrastructure. There are growing concerns that this rationale is a pretext to gain control over land internationally recognized as Palestinian territory.⁹ Additionally, many of the buildings that were destroyed post-ceasefire agreement are to the west of the Yellow Line, an area where the Israeli military should have no activity.¹⁰

There is not a single hospital that is fully functioning in Gaza — and of the 36 hospitals that existed, only 18 are partially functional.

Almost the entire Gaza population of 2.1 million people has been displaced and forced into encampments in an area that measures only half of the Gaza Strip with no realistic and safe pathways for return.¹¹ Approximately 1.7 million Palestinians are living across 1,600 displacement sites, which are overcrowded and offer little protection from the elements.¹² Approximately 72% of these displacement sites are in Deir al Balah and Khan Younis, and the remaining 28% are in northern Gaza.¹³ Few people have been able to return home in the months since the ceasefire agreement.

Healthcare

Gaza's healthcare system has been decimated. Medical staff have been killed, and shortages of medicine, fuel, and electricity render surviving facilities unable to provide the care that is necessary to meet patient needs. There is not a single hospital that is fully functioning in Gaza — and of the 36 hospitals that existed, only 18 are partially functional.¹⁴

The collapse of the healthcare system has had devastating consequences for those with

severe injuries from the violence, including a growing number of children who have lost limbs and now make up the largest population of child amputees in the world.¹⁵ Without access to surgery, rehabilitation, or prosthetics, many of those injured suffer continued harm that could easily be prevented with proper care.

And the impacts go far beyond injuries caused directly by bombs or gunfire. People with pre-existing illnesses or chronic health conditions are unable to access routine or life-saving treatment, and preventable illnesses go undetected and untreated. Services supporting reproductive health, prenatal care, childbirth, postnatal care, and family planning have all been limited. At the same time, the mental and emotional toll has been harrowing. People are living with constant fear, grief, and repeated loss, while still being exposed to violence and with no space to process it. Mental healthcare, psychosocial support, and access to psychiatric medication are extremely limited.

There are approximately 20,000 people in Gaza waiting for medical attention abroad. However, since the ceasefire agreement, the Israeli government has partially opened the Rafah crossing to allow only 50 Palestinians per day to travel between Gaza and Egypt — the first time the crossing has been open at all since 2024.¹⁶ In April, the World Health Organization (WHO) temporarily suspended medical evacuations to Gaza after the Israeli military killed a contract worker.¹⁷ Additionally, Israeli authorities conducting thorough “security” checks has resulted in crossing numbers being far below expectations.

Humanitarian Aid and Workers

Food access in Gaza has been deliberately obstructed and aid workers have been repeatedly targeted by the Israeli military. Over 500 humanitarian workers and 1,500 health workers have been killed over the last two years.¹⁸

On December 30, 2025, the Israeli government banned 37 international aid groups¹⁹ from operating in Gaza, continuing its system of forced starvation and denying care. On February 27, 2026, Israel’s Supreme Court issued a temporary injunction allowing these groups to resume some activities.²⁰ However, the Israeli government is responsible for the implementation of the ruling, and there are still significant barriers in aid delivery to date.

Current levels of aid are woefully insufficient. In December 2025, UN agencies and NGOs delivered 14,600 tents. While this meant temporary housing for 85,000 people, it left 1.3 million people without shelter in the winter.²¹ There were 421 deaths related to malnutrition in 2025.²² Although food deliveries have improved in frequency and amount, 1.6 million people (77% of Gaza’s population) still face food insecurity, including over 100,000 children and



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37,000 pregnant and breastfeeding women. Borders remain tightly restricted, h²³alting the flow of food, clean water, and essential supplies. What enters is insufficient, inconsistent, and conditional.

Media

Since the start of the war, the Israeli military has killed and injured over 263 journalists in Gaza.²⁴ Despite the ceasefire agreement, international media outlets are barred by the Israeli government from entering Gaza, and local reporters continue to document events at immense personal risk. Even as appalling stories, images, and data gathered by local reporters and human rights observers have raised worldwide awareness of the genocide in Gaza, these restrictions limit independent and on the ground fact-checking as well as global visibility of the crisis.

Education

The education system in Gaza has been dismantled. 97% of schools have been damaged, destroyed, or rendered unusable and 91.8% of those buildings will need to be either fully reconstructed or require major rehabilitation.²⁵ Approximately 658,000 children haven't had consistent access to education for over two years.²⁶ Even where buildings remain standing, they are often repurposed as shelters or located in areas deemed unsafe, either because they may be targets of the Israeli military or because of chemical hazards and rubble. Since the ceasefire agreement, organizations like UNRWA and UNICEF have created learning centers to educate hundreds of thousands of children, but huge numbers of students lack stable access to schooling, higher education pathways are harder to reach, and an entire generation has been robbed of the tools necessary for recovery, self-determination, and day-to-day life.²⁷

Israeli Prisons and Torture

After the ceasefire agreement took effect in October 2025, the Israeli military released almost 2,000 Palestinians that were held in Israeli prisons and detention camps. Human rights groups and detainees have reported widespread mistreatment — including beatings, starvation, withholding of medication, and sexual assault — in these prisons.

Approximately 1,700 of these Palestinians were imprisoned over the course of the 2-year assault on Gaza and held without charge or trial.²⁸ As of December 2025, 1,477 Palestinians from Gaza — 9,128 total from across Palestine — remain in Israeli military custody.²⁹ At least 84 imprisoned Palestinians — 50 from Gaza alone — have died in those prisons since October 2023.³⁰

Attempts at accountability for abuses of Palestinians in detention have been systematically undermined for years; the ceasefire agreement has not changed this reality. Most notably, in March 2026, charges against five Israeli soldiers accused of violently sexually assaulting and torturing a handcuffed and blindfolded Palestinian detainee at the Sde Teiman

detention camp were dropped.³¹ That the assault took place is indisputable — the Israeli military’s own lawyer leaked the video footage to the press.³² Israeli officials celebrated the dismissal of charges, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu claimed that attempts to hold Israeli soldiers accountable for documented abuses amounted to “blood libel.”³³

BOARD OF PEACE

The ceasefire agreement refers to a “new international transitional body, a ‘Board of Peace,’” which will have oversight of governance in Gaza. While it is presented in the agreement as an organization of convenience for managing the ceasefire, in reality the Board’s authority has far-reaching effects both for people in Gaza and, potentially, for the global structure of international institutions.

Stated Mission and Composition

The Board of Peace³⁴ was established in January 2026 and has been framed by the Trump administration as a neutral, transitional authority intended to stabilize Gaza by managing the funding and redevelopment of Gaza and overseeing a temporary transitional committee responsible for the day-to-day running of public services in Gaza.³⁵ The Trump administration has also claimed that the Board will coordinate humanitarian assistance, prevent renewed conflict, and support a pathway toward long-term political resolution.

Approximately 60 countries were invited to join the Board of Peace, and 28 national leaders have accepted their invitations on behalf of their countries. The Board’s structure is as follows:

- ★ **Chairman:** The Chairman will have unilateral power to modify any entities that they deem necessary. This is a lifetime position and can only change at the will or incapacitation of the Chairman. The current Chairman is Donald Trump.
- ★ **Board of Peace:** Governing body made up of member states that vote on major decisions related to budgets, leadership appointments, policy directions, and peace-building initiatives. 23 of the 28 current member states have been listed in the State Department’s 2024 human rights reports for abuses like unlawful or arbitrary killings and torture — including Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Belarus.³⁶

- ★ **Executive Board:** Responsible for diplomacy and implementing the ceasefire agreement, and will regularly convene with the Board of Peace to discuss operations, decisions, and recommendations. They serve two-year terms. There are nine appointed members, including the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair.
- ★ **Senior Advisors to the Board of Peace:** Responsible for leading day-to-day strategy and operations and translating the Board’s mandate and priorities into disciplined execution. There are currently two advisors: Josh Gruenbaum (Commissioner of the Federal Acquisition Service at the General Services Administration) and Aryeh Lightstone (currently serving as Senior Advisor to U.S. Ambassador Steve Witkoff and the Peace Missions office).
- ★ **National Committee for the Administration of Gaza (NCAG):** Responsible for overseeing a technocratic, apolitical Palestinian committee charged with delivering basic government services.
- ★ **High Representative of Gaza:** Responsible for leading the NCAG and serving as the on-the-ground link between NCAG and the Board of Peace. This role is held by former Bulgarian defense and foreign affairs minister Nickolay Mladenov.
- ★ **Gaza Executive Board:** Responsible for supporting governance and delivery of services that advance peace, stability, and prosperity for the people of Gaza. There are 14 Trump-appointed individual board members — different from the member states in the Board of Peace itself — tasked with directing the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza.

There are no Palestinians on the main decision-making bodies of the Board of Peace.

What the Board of Peace Actually Is

If the world were to take the Board’s mission and its claimed responsibilities at face value, it would still fall short. Currently, it is failing even as the supposed governing authority charged with overseeing Gaza’s day-to-day operations. Nickolay Mladenov, the High Representative for Gaza, is engaged in high-level external negotiations in Cairo that are

still focused on implementing initial phases of the ceasefire agreement, like withdrawal lines and aid flow, instead of direct governance on the ground in Gaza. The Board also faces funding constraints that have effectively paused any steps that it could take to implement a transitional authority in Gaza — it has taken in less than \$1 billion of the \$17 billion that international donors pledged to fund its operations.³⁷ As a result, the ceasefire agreement is being maintained through external mediation and existing control dynamics, particularly the Israeli government’s continued operational control over parts of Gaza, and not the active, functioning Board-led governing body inside Gaza the world was promised.

The gap between the Board’s public presentation and how it operates in practice is important to distinguish. While it is presented as a humanitarian intervention, in reality it normalizes indefinite external control of Gaza and it takes agency away from Palestinians. The Board empowers Donald Trump as its self-appointed chairman, imposing him as the leader of what amounts to a personalist regime in Gaza. It also keeps Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu — the architect of the Gaza genocide — inside the decision-making and governance structures for Gaza while simultaneously excluding Palestinians, whether as civil society members, political leaders, or voters, from the most important discussions about their futures.

While the Board is presented as a humanitarian intervention, in reality it normalizes indefinite external control of Gaza and it takes agency away from Palestinians.

The Board’s potential reach also extends beyond Gaza. Despite being presented as a neutral authority born of the Gaza ceasefire agreement, the Board’s charter allows it to expand into other conflicts wherever it determines the stability or lawful governance is at risk, and it does so without clearly tying its mandate to Gaza — in fact, Gaza is not mentioned in the charter at all. Even scarier, Trump himself has suggested it could one day rival or even supersede the UN itself, claiming that it’s a stand-alone organization that can move quicker than the UN because it doesn’t rely on broad multilateral consensus to act.³⁸

The Board’s expanding authority becomes even more alarming when paired with Trump’s recent efforts to ensure that the U.S. government can sell arms to the Board. Trump designated the Board as a public international organization, entitling it to certain U.S. trade privileges, including U.S. foreign military sales.³⁹ In a presidential determination published on April 8, 2026, Trump laid out the justification for future arms sales to the Board of Peace, stating that the “furnishing of defense articles and defense services to the Board of Peace will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.”⁴⁰ Both the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act require a coalition of countries to be designated as an international organization in order to receive U.S. arms.

By imposing indefinite foreign power over people in Gaza, the Board recreates colonial logic that has failed so often around the world: outside powers claiming authority to govern another population in the name of stability, security, or liberation, while denying people control over their own political futures. Historical examples include the U.S. government's attempts to pursue externally imposed governance models in other countries, like Iraq and Afghanistan. In each case, stability was promised. Each time, the result was deeper instability, prolonged violence, and generational trauma. Ultimately, the Board of Peace is likely to consolidate power for its members, notably Donald Trump, instead of advancing safety or justice for Palestinians. This is not a vision for liberation; it's a management strategy for permanent control and subjugation.

Impact on the Global System & Rule of Law

The Board represents more than a transitional governing body for Gaza. It is a Trump-led effort to take authority over post-conflict resolution and reconstruction, undermining established international institutions. Although it doesn't formally replace the UN, it bypasses established multilateral organizations that draw their power from shared principles of sovereignty. In their place, the Board substitutes as an organization that operates under the personal control of Trump, who has given himself a lifelong appointment as chair of the board and personal veto power over all of its decisions.



The Board creates opportunities for political insiders and wealthy allies to profit from destruction and displacement.

The Board also allows Trump to invite or exclude participating states at his discretion: for example, he has excluded some governments altogether while welcoming authoritarian leaders like Russian President Vladimir Putin and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. This makeup guarantees consensus skewed in favor of Trump's policies and preferences.

The Board's structure reflects a model that is built on financial privilege. States that contribute more than \$1 billion are exempt from membership limits, creating a pay-to-play system in which only the wealthiest countries can dictate international policy outcomes. It increases the likelihood of long-term influence of the Trump administration on international matters, and risks normalizing the idea that political loyalty and personal networks are acceptable to determine who sets the rules after state violence. Today, the Board is focused on Gaza, but it is impossible to say where it will turn its attention in the future.

The Board creates opportunities for political insiders and wealthy allies to profit from destruction and displacement. Trump has already spoken about turning Gaza into the "Riviera of the Middle East," reducing the homeland of Palestinians into a real estate opportunity. With figures like Steve Witkoff and Jared Kushner — both with connections to luxury development, investment networks, and Gulf capital — playing central roles, the danger is so clear: reconstruction becomes less about justice for Palestinians and more about elite dealmaking, privatized redevelopment, and expanding political influence through war.

Gaza risks becoming a testing ground for a new model of conflict profiteering, where politically connected billionaires position themselves to benefit from devastation.

Additionally, the Board of Peace also raises concerns about precedent. It undermines international law by reintroducing colonial governance as an acceptable intervention and gives credence to the idea that indefinite management by foreign powers can substitute for resolving the underlying issues. It sends a troubling message that any state can commit atrocities and war crimes — like devastating civilian populations, restricting food and medicine, destroying infrastructure — and still retain international standing, so long as they participate in a post-ceasefire coordination effort.

The Board dismisses the principle of self-determination. It weakens global commitments to the foundation that the UN was built on — a shared system of collective decision-making that can maintain peace and security. This shift threatens people everywhere, particularly any population living under military oppression. It also increases the likelihood of long-term global insecurity. Although the Board of Peace is framed as a permanent institution with Trump designated as a permanent member, in practice, his authority is linked to a presidency that cannot continue indefinitely under the U.S. Constitution and creates a structurally unstable foundation. Additionally, systems built on forced authority and a denial of agency create resentment, instability, and eventual resistance, all of which lay the groundwork for future cycles of violence that will reverberate beyond Gaza.

The Shadow of the Iran War

The U.S.-Israeli war on Iran threatens to shred any credibility the Board of Peace might have claimed. One source told reporters that the Iran war “has affected everything” about raising money for the Board and the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza.⁴¹

For example, the Indonesian government, which had previously agreed to join the International Stabilization Force and had committed to sending 8,000 troops to Gaza, has withdrawn its participation.⁴² Other countries that are still technically involved have reportedly withheld promised funds for the Board’s work in Gaza as a result of the war on Iran. As noted above, of the \$17 billion pledged to support the NCAG, less than \$1 billion had actually been contributed as of April 10, 2026. Only the U.S., Moroccan, and Emirati governments have contributed any funds at all.

CONCLUSION

Even after the ceasefire agreement, Gaza remains unlivable due to the Israeli government’s deliberate failure to fully uphold its obligations under the agreement. Conditions on the ground remain catastrophic with no true path to redevelopment and recovery. The Board of Peace is not a solution to Gaza’s crisis — it’s a way to control that crisis indefinitely. It prioritizes optics and control over accountability and consent, perpetuating the very instability it claims to resolve. We must reject performative governance and confront the root causes of the devastating conditions in Gaza.

MESSAGING GUIDANCE

TALKING POINTS: CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT

Violence has lessened in Gaza, but the ceasefire agreement marked neither the end to the bloodshed nor the beginning of a durable plan for peace. Below are Win Without War's suggested talking points for striking the balance between the progress that has been made and the hard work still to be done:

The ceasefire agreement has slowed the violence, but the Israeli government is still killing people in Gaza.

Airstrikes, demolitions, and other military operations have not stopped. People — including women and children — are still dying every week, buildings are still being destroyed, and millions of people are still living with fear on a daily basis.

There isn't a *shortage* of aid — there's a *blockade* on aid.

Just outside Gaza, there are trucks waiting with food and medicine. Many aid groups are still not being allowed entry. Supplies like tents are limited and 1.6 million Palestinians are experiencing food insecurity. Despite claims to the contrary, the Israeli government is defaulting on its commitment to allow adequate aid into Gaza.

No one can go home, because there's no home to go back to.

The majority of Gaza's population has seen their homes destroyed. They are living in overcrowded shelters and temporary encampments with little protection from harsh weather conditions.

TALKING POINTS: BOARD OF PEACE

The Board is designed to look like help while actually continuing the harm. It not only undermines the rule of law, it also fails to confront the policies and power structures responsible for Gaza's destruction while denying Palestinians the self-determination required for an enduring peace. Below are Win Without War's suggested talking points:

The Board of Peace would replace global governance with global corruption.

The Board undermines established international institutions, notably the UN, replacing them with Trump's personal fiefdom. By sidelining traditional processes, it normalizes the idea that post-conflict governance can be managed through private deals and political favors.

Any real peace process must include Palestinians.

Excluding communities from decisions that impact them is not about building peace — it's about control. Any framework created without Palestinian participation would be illegitimate and all but assured to fail. Palestinians know what they need — ask them.

External governance has repeatedly failed to produce stability.

From Iraq to Afghanistan to Libya, forced systems of governance have only prolonged or deepened conflict and made people's lived experiences worse. International leaders, particularly the U.S. and Israeli governments, should not be recycling policies in Gaza that have been proven doomed elsewhere.

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BACKGROUND PHOTOS:

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