

Assessing One Year of Trump's Gaza Ceasefire:

October 2026



In late September 2025, the White House released the text of what became known as the Trump Gaza Peace Plan, which was subsequently agreed by both the government of Israel and Hamas and came into effect on 10 October 2025. The agreement touted as a ceasefire agreement ending the two-year genocidal assault on Gaza. However, within weeks Israeli violations of the agreement were commonplace.

Nonetheless, on November 17, 2025, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed Resolution 2803, to give effect to the plan announced by President Trump. Among its provisions, UNSC Resolution 2803 “Endorses the Comprehensive Plan...,” “Welcomes the establishment of the Board of Peace (BoP)...,” and “Authorizes Member states working with the BoP and the BoP to establish a temporary International Stabilization Force (ISF) in Gaza...”

In January 2026, the Board of Peace was formally launched.

Now, a year since the ceasefire agreement was reached and nine months since the establishment of the Board of Peace, with both the BoP and Israel creating new facts on the ground, AFSC presents this report card on the elements of the so-called Peace Plan and calls on the international community to take consequential and immediate action to compel Israel to halt its ongoing genocide in Gaza.

AFSC presents this report card to assess the three main actors who have responsibilities to implement the provisions of the ceasefire – the Palestinian stakeholders (primarily, but not only Hamas), the Israeli government and the U.S. government.

It should come as no surprise that there is no ceasefire for Palestinians in Gaza. Virtually every day since October 10, 2025, Israel has killed Palestinian men, women and children in Gaza. Global media attention has largely shifted away from Gaza and Israel has been exploiting the lifting of pressure since the ceasefire announcement to not only continue its genocide and prevent recovery, but also to expand control over the territory of Gaza.

The United States government has also seemingly lost interest in Gaza, after it turned the so-called Board of Peace into an enrichment scheme for President Trump and his associates, including his son-in-law, Jared Kushner.

One year on, Palestinians remain victims of Israel’s ongoing genocide, carried out in plain sight and on social media, but once again relegated to the margins of international attention.

This assessment is an effort to clarify the reality on the ground, to remind the international community of the consequences of its inaction and to challenge governments around the world to take consequential action.

Analysis

Life today in Gaza is not much different than on October 9, 2025, the day before the ceasefire came into effect. Most people are displaced and homeless. Most people queue in line daily for water, bread, medicine and toilets. Despite the incredible efforts of the community in Gaza, the struggle for life and health is a daily battle that requires an energy and focus that is unmatched by the international community's efforts to overcome Israeli impediments to humanitarian aid, security and reconstruction.

In October 2025, after two years of being pummeled by Israeli forces, Palestinians in Gaza welcomed President Trump's ceasefire announcement with an expectation of relief and the minimum of hope that they would not starve. There was little reason to trust either the U.S. or Israeli governments to fulfill their commitments, but what has materialized that with the exception of the first few days after the announcement, and certainly once the Israelis held in Gaza were returned, virtually no progress has been made on any provision of the ceasefire agreement.

The abject failure of the United States and the Board of Peace to initiate any reconstruction project in Gaza, to meaningfully improve the access of humanitarian aid and health care resources, or to stop Israel from continuing to kill Palestinians on a daily basis leaves over million Palestinians in precarity and vulnerable.

Today in Gaza, Israel continues its genocide.

That a ceasefire agreement sponsored by the most powerful nation in the world, backed by virtually every other country in the world and endorsed by the United Nations Security Council has made no difference to the execution of a genocide is an indictment of all involved.

Day by day, as the world watches, Israel is eroding Palestinian existence in Gaza.

AFSC calls on the international community to stop this madness and use its leverage and power – political and financial – to stop the genocide and ramp up humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people. States need to move past the Board of Peace and President Trump's "ceasefire" as failed initiatives. Palestinians cannot wait until President Trump is out of office and cannot wait for Israel to stop on its own. At minimum, Palestinians should be provided with the opportunity to chart their own future for recovery in Gaza, without Israeli interference and supported by the international community.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
1. Gaza will be a deradicalized terror-free zone that does not pose a threat to its neighbors	Currently, no Palestinian administration of Gaza in terms of any centralized governing body	Palestinians experience daily terror from Israeli military attacks; armed militias equipped and supported by Israel carry out attacks against Palestinian civilians.	The Board of Peace has not deployed any international security forces, nor arranged for the redeployment of Israeli forces out of Gaza.
2. Gaza will be redeveloped for the benefit of the people of Gaza, who have suffered more than enough.	In August 2026, the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza (NCAG) finalized a plan for 71 rehabilitation projects – all require approval by Israel, which is not forthcoming. As no redevelopment activity is allowed to occur, Palestinians have been left to their own devices to innovate and repurpose rubble and debris.	Israel prevents any reconstruction and rehabilitation projects, despite creating working groups to interface with the Board of Peace and the NCAG to enable implementation. According to officials from the BoP, it is Israel preventing any reconstruction.	The Board of Peace issued one construction contract (August 2026) to build an outpost for 150 Moroccan troops.
3. Israeli forces will withdraw to the agreed upon line to prepare for a hostage release. During this time, all military operations, including aerial and artillery bombardment, will be suspended, and battle lines will remain frozen until conditions are met for the complete staged withdrawal.	N/A	Israel's "yellow line" is an ever advancing and deadly border controlled by the Israeli military, in contrast to an agreed-upon temporary demarcation. While Israel agreed to retreat to 40% and then 15% of control in the Gaza strip, Israel expanded its control to 64.9% of the Gaza strip.	N/A

References

Provision 1:

[Associated Press](#) reported that on July 6, 2026, Hamas announced it had dissolved its governance role in Gaza and turned responsibility over to the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza, mandated by the UN.

[Al Jazeera Labs](#), which is tracking violations of the ceasefire agreement, reports that Israel has attacked Palestinians in Gaza every day since 10 October 2026, except for 36 days in which there were no attacks. Israel has killed at least 1,460 Palestinians and injured at least 5,116 since 10 October 2026.

Provision 2:

[The Times of Israel](#) reported that the NCAG has prepared a portfolio of 71 rehabilitation projects it will implement once it is allowed into Gaza and Israel permits the necessary equipment and materials. The NCAG plans to complete these projects within 6 months. According to officials cited in the reporting, Israel continues to block any rehabilitation and recovery efforts, including water, sanitation, etc.

[Wired Magazine](#) reports that Palestinians are repurposing rubble from destroyed buildings to make interlocking Lego-style bricks to rebuild shelters and other facilities

The 2026 [Earth Prize for the Middle East Region](#) was awarded to two sisters from Gaza who are also upcycling rubble to create bricks for reconstruction (reported by the [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – CBC](#))

[The Guardian](#) reports that in August 2026, the Board of Peace issued its first construction contract to a US firm to build a rudimentary outpost for Moroccan troops participating in the International Security Force. No arrangements had yet been made to reconstruct Gaza.

Provision 3:

On October 17, the Israeli Defense Minister ordered physical markers to be placed along the length of the Yellow Line in the form of yellow painted concrete blocks. However, not only was the marking never completed, the placement of the blocks deviated from the outset from the route agreed upon in the ceasefire. (See Gisha's report, [Updates: Between the Yellow and Orange Lines](#))

On December 17, the Israeli Chief of Staff was [recorded](#) in a briefing to soldiers claiming that “the Yellow Line is the new border,” in contradiction to the ceasefire agreement, according to which the line is meant to be temporary.

According to [UN OCHA](#), the current “Orange Line” places 64.9 per cent of the Gaza Strip under tighter and more direct Israeli control. Areas between the “Orange” and the “Yellow” lines include dozens of humanitarian facilities – water and sanitation infrastructure, food and health services, schools, and UNRWA sites – as well as tens of thousands of civilians, who are under pressure to leave.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
4. Within 72 hours of Israel publicly accepting this agreement, all hostages, alive and deceased, will be returned.	By 26 January 2026, after receiving an extension of the deadline, Hamas returned all living and deceased Israelis, confirmed by Israel.	N/A	N/A
5. Once all hostages are released, Israel will release 250 life sentence prisoners plus 1,700 Gazans who were detained after 7 October 2023, including all women and children detained in that context. For every Israeli hostage whose remains are released, Israel will release the remains of 15 deceased Gazans.	N/A	Israel released 250 prisoners and 1,700 detainees. Some of the prisoners were forced to leave Gaza for other countries under conditions set by Israel. Palestinian prisoners returned to Gaza have arrived frail, injured and, in several cases, unable to walk.	N/A
6. Once all hostages are returned, Hamas members who commit to peaceful co-existence and to decommission their weapons will be given amnesty. Members of Hamas who wish to leave Gaza will be provided safe passage to receiving countries.	On July 30, President Trump announced an agreement – “15 point plan” – reached with Hamas for the group to turn over its weapons in a phased process.	Prime Minister rejected the 15-point plan. Following an August 3 meeting with Board of Peace envoy, Nikolay Mladenov, Israel announced it would halt targeted assassinations and only carry out attacks against imminent threats.	In July, Board of Peace and US Administration officials negotiated with Hamas to reach the 15-point plan on Hamas’ weapons.

References

Provision 4:

On October 13, [NBC News](#) reported that the 20 surviving Israelis that had been held in Gaza were released to Israel.

On January 26, 2026, [The Times of Israel](#) reported that the last body of a deceased Israeli held in Gaza was returned to Israel. Because of the difficulty of locating the burial spots, due to the destruction that had taken place since the burials, the 72 hour deadline for return had been extended. All sides acknowledged that with this body returned, the terms of Provision 3 were met.

Provision 5:

[National Public Radio \(NPR\)](#) reported the release of nearly 2,000 Palestinian prisoners as part of the ceasefire deal on October 13, 2025.

In July, [AlJazeera](#) reported on the continued release of Palestinian detainees, including the abuses and torture they suffered in Israeli prisons.

Provision 6:

Despite this provision in the agreement, Israel has made no formal acknowledgement that it would abide not targeting any individual. Talks between Hamas, the Board of Peace and the United States about disarmament, and in July 2026, [BBC](#) reported that Hamas announced it agreed with the framework of the Board of Peace plan on its weapons.

On August 9, 2026, [USA Today](#) reported that Prime Minister Netanyahu rejected the Trump announced 15-point plan on Hamas' weapons and insisted that the Israeli military would remain inside Gaza. Israeli officials indicated that targeted assassinations would be stopped, and only carried out if there was an immediate threat.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
7. Upon acceptance of this agreement, full aid will be immediately sent into the Gaza Strip. At a minimum, aid quantities will be consistent with what was included in the 19 January 2025 agreement regarding humanitarian aid, including rehabilitation of infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage), rehabilitation of hospitals and bakeries, and entry of necessary equipment to remove rubble and open roads.	N/A	The average number of trucks entering Gaza since the start of the October 2025 ceasefire is 217 trucks per day, which is lower than the 500 trucks average that entered Gaza prior to October 7, 2023 and the 600 trucks per day agreed upon as part of the ceasefire agreement.	In July 2026, the Board of Peace disclosed it was planning a humanitarian zone in Gaza without providing details.
8. Entry of distribution and aid in the Gaza Strip will proceed without interference from the two parties through the United Nations and its agencies, and the Red Crescent, in addition to other international institutions not associated in any manner with either party. Opening the Rafah crossing in both directions will be subject to the same mechanism implemented under 19 January 2025 agreement.	N/A	The Karem Abu Salem/ Kerem Shalom crossing remains the only functional entry point to Gaza crossing. Zikim crossing witnessed no entries since May 22, while Kissufim crossing has been inactive since February 20. Israel continues to prevent access to Gaza by international humanitarian organizations and continues to limit what can enter.	N/A

References

Provision 7:

According to the [World Food Program](#), prices of most food items, in addition to non-food items including cooking gas and fuel, remain much higher than what they were before Oct. 2023. Many commercial food items are high monetary low nutritional value items.

[Reuters](#) reported in July 2026 that the Board of Peace was planning to create a humanitarian zone in Gaza, but no details were provided about location, timeline or how the zone would be operated.

Provision 8:

According to the September 2026 [UNOCHA](#) Humanitarian Situation Report for the West Bank and Gaza, “Most of Gaza’s 2.1 million are approaching the rainy season in overcrowded displacement sites, at risk of flooding and disease, while efforts to help them prepare are constrained by funding shortfalls and access restrictions.”

In August, [UN](#) spokesman Stéphane Dujarric said 94% of Palestinians in Gaza needed shelter and basic household supplies.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
9. Gaza will be governed under the temporary transitional governance of a technocratic, apolitical Palestinian committee, responsible for delivering the day-to-day running of public services and municipalities for the people in Gaza. This committee will be made up of qualified Palestinians and international experts, with oversight and supervision by a new international transitional body, the “Board of Peace,” which will be headed and chaired by President Donald J. Trump, with other members and heads of state to be announced, including Former Prime Minister Tony Blair. This body will set the framework and handle the funding for the redevelopment of Gaza until such time as the Palestinian Authority has completed its reform programme, as outlined in various proposals, including President Trump’s peace plan in 2020 and the Saudi-French proposal, and can securely and effectively take back control of Gaza. This body will call on best international standards to create modern and efficient governance that serves the people of Gaza and is conducive to attracting investment.	The National Committee for the Administration of Gaza (NCAG) was established on 16 January 2026. On July 6, 2026, Hamas announced it had relinquished governance of Gaza to the NCAG.	Israel has not permitted the members of the NCAG to enter Gaza.	The Board of Peace was established by charter on January 22, 2026. To date approximately \$17 billion has been pledged, not including the reported \$1 billion cost for a seat on the board of directors of the BoP.

References

Provision 9:

In January 2026, [Middle East Monitor](#) reported that the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza (NCAG) was formally established, though its members were located outside Gaza and were unelected. The NCAG is overseen by the Board of Peace.

In May 2026, [The Jerusalem Post](#) reported that the Board of Peace had received \$17 billion in pledges for Gaza reconstruction, with the US pledging \$10 billion. However, no money was registered to the World Bank account established for the reconstruction. Rather, a private account at JP Morgan, controlled by the Trump Administration, seems to where deposits are made, but there is no transparency as to how much has actually been deposited.

In September 2026, [The Times of Israel](#) reported that the NCAG had developed over 70 projects for implementation but that the Israeli government was preventing both the projects and the NCAG from entering Gaza.

In September 2026, the Board of Peace held meetings alongside the UN General Assembly in New York. [The Jerusalem Post](#) reported that Director-General Nikolai Mladenov presented a plan for the implementation of 66 projects, but said, “We are not working according to a timetable.” [Reuters](#) reported that the plan presented by the Board of Peace would cost \$2.45 billion, but acknowledged that despite the pledges that had been made, the Board of Peace had not yet secured the funds for this plan.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
10. A Trump economic development plan to rebuild and energise Gaza will be created by convening a panel of experts who have helped birth some of the thriving modern miracle cities in the Middle East. Many thoughtful investment proposals and exciting development ideas have been crafted by well-meaning international groups, and will be considered to synthesize the security and governance frameworks to attract and facilitate these investments that will create jobs, opportunity, and hope for future Gaza.	N/A	N/A	Jared Kushner presented a \$25 billion plan to develop Gaza's economy and reconstruction in January 2026 at Davos. To date, no action has occurred to advance this plan, nor have any funds been pledged or collected.
12. No one will be forced to leave Gaza, and those who wish to leave will be free to do so and free to return. We will encourage people to stay and offer them the opportunity to build a better Gaza.	The major issue facing Palestinians in Gaza is the inability to exit Gaza in order to receive medical treatment or to take up study opportunities or to reunited with family members. Additionally, once out, Israel is restricting the return of Palestinians to Gaza.	Israel continues to arbitrarily control entry/exit to Gaza, with Egyptian cooperation. Israeli officials repeatedly announce plans and/or intent to remove all Palestinians from Gaza.	N/A

References

Provision 10:

Since Jared Kushner's presentation at Davos of the 'master plan' for Gaza, as reported by [ABC News](#), no developments and no announcements have been made by the US government or the Board of Peace to suggest that there is any further development on this provision or that a committee of experts has been formed. The announcement of 66 projects in September 2026 (see references for Provision 9) were for emergency repair and humanitarian efforts, not reconstruction.

Provision 12:

According to Israeli media outlet, [All Israel News](#), citing Israeli government sources, approximately 10,500 Palestinians have left Gaza since the ceasefire was announced, with approximately 80% of those leaving for medical treatment along with family members. The news outlet also reported that 6,000 Palestinians had returned to Gaza in that time period.

[The Guardian](#) reported that on September 2, 2026, Israel Katz, Israel's Defense Minister, announced his government was seeking US approval for its plans to expel Palestinians from Gaza, and was "prepared to get them out by sea, by air, by every way possible."

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
13. Hamas and other factions agree to not have any role in the governance of Gaza, directly, indirectly, or in any form. All military, terror, and offensive infrastructure, including tunnels and weapon production facilities, will be destroyed and not rebuilt. There will be a process of demilitarisation of Gaza under the supervision of independent monitors, which will include placing weapons permanently beyond use through an agreed process of decommissioning, and supported by an internationally funded buy back and reintegration programme all verified by the independent monitors. New Gaza will be fully committed to building a prosperous economy and to peaceful coexistence with their neighbours.	On July 6, 2026, Hamas announced it had relinquished governance of Gaza to the NCAG. Hamas continues to negotiate the terms of demilitarization with the United States.	Israel continues to launch attacks against civilians in Gaza, who remain completely unprotected from Israeli aggression. Since the agreeing to this ceasefire plan and ceasefire, has killed over 1,300 Palestinians in Gaza.	N/A
15. The United States will work with Arab and international partners to develop a temporary International Stabilisation Force (ISF) to immediately deploy in Gaza. The ISF will train and provide support to vetted Palestinian police forces in Gaza, and will consult with Jordan and Egypt who have extensive experience in this field. This force will be the long-term internal security solution. The ISF will work with Israel and Egypt to help secure border areas, along with newly trained Palestinian police forces. It is critical to prevent munitions from entering Gaza and to facilitate the rapid and secure flow of goods to rebuild and revitalize Gaza. A deconfliction mechanism will be agreed upon by the parties.	N/A	Israel has not permitted the entry of the ISF and has not reached Status of Forces (SOF) agreements with any country regarding deployment in Gaza, effectively making it impossible for forces to deploy.	While various announcements have been made about countries committing troops, no deployment has taken place. announcements have been made about countries committing troops, no deployment has taken place.

References

Provision 13:

On July 6, 2026, [Associated Press reported](#) that Hamas announced it had dissolved its governance role in Gaza and turned responsibility over to the National Committee for the Administration of Gaza, mandated by the UN.

As reported by Israeli human rights organization, [Gisha](#), since September 3, 2026, according to the Gaza Ministry of Health, since directly after the ceasefire agreement went into effect, on October 10, 2025, 1,334 people have been killed and 4,429 injured in Gaza in Israeli attacks.

Provision 15:

In August 2026, the [Times of Israel](#) reported that the Office of the Prime Minister of Israel clarified that the government had not authorized the entry of the ISF into Gaza.

[Al Jazeera](#) reported that in September 2026, Kosovo became the latest country to announce its participation in the ISF, but Al Jazeera reports that Israel has not approved the deployment of the force.

CEASEFIRE PROVISION	PALESTINIAN PROGRESS	ISRAELI PROGRESS	U.S. PROGRESS
16. Israel will not occupy or annex Gaza. As the ISF establishes control and stability, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) will withdraw based on standards, milestones, and timeframes linked to demilitarization that will be agreed upon between the IDF, ISF, the guarantors, and the United States, with the objective of a secure Gaza that no longer poses a threat to Israel, Egypt, or its citizens. Practically, the IDF will progressively hand over the Gaza territory it occupies to the ISF according to an agreement they will make with the transitional authority until they are withdrawn completely from Gaza, save for a security perimeter presence that will remain until Gaza is properly secure from any resurgent terror threat.	N/A	Israeli forces retain full control of approximately 60% of pre-October 7 Gaza, with Prime Minister Netanyahu instructing the Israeli military to expand that to 70%.	N/A

References

Provision 16:

In May 2026, [Reuters](#) reported that Israeli Prime Minister order the military to expand its control to 70% of Gaza.

Other Provisions

There were 20 provisions of the October 2025 Ceasefire Plan. A number of the provisions are either not relevant until other provisions are completed or have not seen any progress whatsoever by any party to the agreement, primarily Israel and the United States.

These include:

Provision 11: A special economic zone will be established with preferred tariff and access rates to be negotiated with participating countries.

Provision 14: A guarantee will be provided by regional partners to ensure that Hamas, and the factions, comply with their obligations and that New Gaza poses no threat to its neighbours or its people.

Provision 17: In the event Hamas delays or rejects this proposal, the above, including the scaled-up aid operation, will proceed in the terror-free areas handed over from the IDF to the ISF.

Provision 18: An interfaith dialogue process will be established based on the values of tolerance and peaceful co-existence to try and change mindsets and narratives of Palestinians and Israelis by emphasizing the benefits that can be derived from peace.

Provision 19: While Gaza re-development advances and when the PA reform programme is faithfully carried out, the conditions may finally be in place for a credible pathway to Palestinian self-determination and statehood, which we recognise as the aspiration of the Palestinian people.

Provision 20: The United States will establish a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians to agree on a political horizon for peaceful and prosperous co-existence.