



Caabu Briefing

Gaza Reconstruction

Background	1
Next Steps	3
UK assistance so far	3
Key components of any viable Gaza recovery plan	4
Palestinian Agency	4
International Plans	5
Lifting the Israeli blockade and cancelling the dual use list	7
Gaza as a part of the State of Palestine	8
Appendix: Working within the UN Triple Nexus Framework	8
Best Principles and Practices for Post Conflict Reconstruction	9

Background

Following the first two years of genocide in Gaza, there is a great challenge ahead to rebuild the strip for a peaceful and sustainable future. According to the Gaza Ministry of Health, as stated by [OCHA](#), since 7 October 2023, Israel has killed over 70,000 people, including [20,000 children](#). There are over 167,000 people injured. Almost the entire Palestinian population of the Gaza strip has been displaced (over two million people).

According to estimates and as explained in the 2025 Arab proposal for the reconstruction of Gaza, [the total physical damage in Gaza amounts to \\$29.9 billion](#),

while the economic and social losses amount to \$19.1 billion, with the early recovery needs being \$3 billion. The total recovery and reconstruction needs are estimated to be at \$53 billion.



Additionally, estimates show that [68% of agricultural land has been damaged](#). Around [60 million tonnes of rubble](#) in Gaza needs to be removed. This rubble and [debris](#) includes human remains, and is contaminated with [unexploded ordnance](#) and other [dangerous substances](#) such as asbestos.

RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS

01. HOUSING

\$15.2 billion required - largest sector that needs funding



02. ROADS

\$3.45 billion required



03. HEALTH AND TRADE INDUSTRY

Each requires \$6.9 billion



04. EDUCATION

\$3.8 billion required



05. AGRICULTURE & SOCIAL PROTECTION

Each requires \$4.2 billion



06. TRANSPORT & WATER & SANITATION

\$2.9 billion, \$2.7 billion



07. DEBRIS REMOVAL

4 phases:
1 - clearance
2 - unexploded ordnance disposal
3 - recycling
4 - transformation process



Requires \$1.25 billion

08. ELECTRICITY

Requires \$3.8 billion



Next Steps

On 10 October 2025, a ceasefire in Gaza came into effect following the last two years of almost daily Israeli bombardment against the Palestinian population. It remains precarious, with Israel having killed over 350 Palestinians by 29 November 2025. Many, especially Palestinians, question whether a ceasefire exists at all.

Given the destruction, major international powers need to look at the future of Gaza and support in the rebuilding and reconstruction process. The UK government has expressed a desire to do but questions arise as to how this will be carried out.

UK assistance so far

So far, the UK government [has given £4 million to UNMAS \(United Nations Mine Action Service\) to help clear the rubble and unexploded ordnance, as well as a £20 million humanitarian aid package](#) that will deliver essential water, sanitation and hygiene services to civilians in Gaza. [This forms part of the UK's broader £116 million aid commitment](#) to the Palestinian people in 2025. The government also hosted a meeting in October 2025 held at [Wilton Park with Egypt and the Palestinian Authority on rebuilding Gaza and ensuring it reaches its economic potential](#).

Key components of any viable Gaza recovery plan

- 1) The reconstruction of Gaza must be Palestinian led and driven. Palestinians need to determine the priorities as to what gets rebuilt where and when. Palestinian bodies should determine which businesses and private sector companies take part in the reconstruction as well as which companies get which contracts.
- 2) Private companies that wish to be involved in the reconstruction must have had no role in the destruction of Gaza. Any company that has been found to have taken part in the genocide should be automatically disqualified from being given contracts. [Where relevant, they should be referred to lawyers to be tried for complicity in genocide.](#)
- 3) To boost the local Palestinian economy in the state of Palestine, Palestinian businesses should be given primacy in the reconstruction contracts. This will help to enable early recovery and address massive unemployment.
- 4) The UN should have a major role in the reconstruction of Gaza. There is a greater degree of trust, and the UN have mechanisms that already exist on reconstruction. There is also significant experience based on previous transitions both in post conflict and post natural disaster reconstruction and development.
- 5) Gaza cannot be rebuilt without **justice for the victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide**, and accountability for its perpetrators. This needs to be a central tenet of the reconstruction process.

Palestinian Agency

Palestinians should run the governance structure in Gaza, where security arrangements can put in place by a temporary international stabilisation force. An international stabilisation force is envisaged in [UN Security Council Resolution 2803](#). as the Trump proposals suggest. The make-up and mandate of any stabilisation force should be approved by local entities or bodies to maintain trust with the state of Palestine. It ultimately needs to be rooted in Palestinian self-determination, local agency and

sovereignty. The role of external actors should be that of a supportive advisory role, as well as potential donors.

The [Phoenix of Gaza](#) is a Palestinian led initiative that was envisaged while the genocide was proceeding at full pace. It sees a rebuilt Gaza following the years of destruction by Israel. [The plan was published in February 2025 and was worked on for over a year by around 700 Palestinian reconstruction experts](#) in Gaza, the West Bank, and abroad, as well as students at Birzeit University in the occupied West Bank. Hamas did not have any involvement in the Phoenix Plan.



These images conceive what a post “Phoenix” reconstruction of Gaza will look like.

International Plans

While it is vital that Palestinians are leading on governance in the long-term future of Gaza, [Egypt drew up the Arab Initiative for Early Recovery Reconstruction and Development in March 2025](#), which was [endorsed by the League of Arabs](#) (including the Palestinian Authority, as well as the UK, France, Germany and other European states, albeit rejected by the US and Israel. [The UK said that that this plan, which outlines a five year pathway for Gaza’s reconstruction, is realistic and “promises swift and](#)

sustainable steps to improve the catastrophic living conditions for Palestinians living in Gaza” . The committee envisaged would be responsible for being in charge of humanitarian aid and temporarily governing Gaza under the supervision of the Palestinian Authority. The overall cost would be around \$53 billion, with the bulk of it funded by the Gulf states.

On 29 September 2025, Trump introduced his 20-point proposal, which put in place this precarious ceasefire and the hostage/prisoner exchange. However, there are many pitfalls in this proposal, namely the lack of Palestinians involved and lack of Palestinian agency. A full Israeli withdrawal is not guaranteed in this proposal, while at this stage, Israel will directly control around half of the strip outlined via the yellow line of demarcation. Palestinians cannot cross this without being fired on by Israeli forces. For example, on 29 November 2025, two young boys, brothers Fadi and Juma Abu Assi, aged eight and ten, were killed in an Israeli strike. Their family say that they were killed while they were out collecting firewood. The IDF stated that “IDF troops identified two suspects who crossed the yellow line, carried out suspicious activities, and approached the troops in southern Gaza, posing as immediate threat. The IAF eliminated the suspects to remove the threat”.



The US – Israeli imposed demarcation lines in the Gaza Strip.

It also outlines that a Board of Peace, headed by President Trump and likely to include former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, would be responsible for the future governance of Gaza and in control of any Palestinian committee.

While [this plan has been endorsed by UN Security Council 2803](#), we reiterate that a sustainable solution needs to prioritise and centre Palestinians and that the UK should support the implementation of the Arab Initiative, over the Trump proposal.

Lifting the Israeli blockade and cancelling the dual use list

In order for the reconstruction process to be able to take place, imports must stop being contingent on Israeli permission. [Israel's ban on dual use items](#), such as cement or steel, should end. Israeli security concerns about future tunnels can be addressed through a system of monitoring by international experts.

Examples of items that have been banned by Israel (2007-2010) on the basis that they could be used for “military purposes” by Hamas and other armed factions. Illustration by Mona Chalabi.



Whatever plan is followed, the UK government must ensure that this is a transparent process, where instances of cronyism or corruption will not be tolerated.

Gaza as a part of the State of Palestine

The development of Gaza must be considered as part of the redevelopment of the state of Palestine. The state of Palestine, which the UK and other governments have recognised, has to be guaranteed as a viable, independent, and sovereign entity free from Israeli occupation.

To achieve this, there must be a safe passage between Gaza and the West Bank, as stipulated in the [1993 Oslo Accords](#) and [2018 Abraham Accords](#). Gaza must be able to rebuild both its seaport and airport, both also promised in the accords.

Gaza must not be allowed to return merely to the dire situation that existed in the years before 7 October 2023, and any suggestions of occupation – either by Israel or the US or any other foreign entity – must be categorically rejected and not be allowed to take place.

In short, external actors should not oversee the Palestinian governance structure and there should be no circumstance in which resource extraction and/or reconstruction profiteering can take place. Imposition of Israeli or US security arrangements so that they can enforce their own political and economic control needs to be wholly rejected by the UK government.

With that said, the reconstruction of Gaza needs to be rooted in principles of international law and humanitarianism.

Appendix: Working within the UN Triple Nexus Framework

Best Principles and Practices for Post Conflict Reconstruction

The best principles and practises for post conflict reconstruction are outlined in the [United Nations triple nexus framework](#). This approach focuses on working with populations affected by crisis to reduce humanitarian needs and external dependence, by addressing key root causes and decreasing risks and vulnerabilities faced.

There are four main components to the triple nexus, that should be adopted in the reconstruction of Gaza to bring about a sustainable peace:

1. **Coordination Complexity:** *Strong coordination is essential, supported by senior management and focused on programmatic alignment... Involving local communities, governments and NGOs in consultations promotes shared ownership of strategies and ensures inclusive decision-making, which supports long term sustainability*

This emphasises the importance of ensuring that future administration is rooted in Palestinian self-determination, local agency and sovereignty. The UK government should provide support based on its expertise in facilitating open dialogue and coordination to ensure that a reconstruction of Gaza actively involves Palestinians in Gaza and will enshrine long term sustainability.

A potential international stabilisation should also be multilateral, with an emphasis on peacekeepers from Arab or Muslim countries to maintain trust with the local Palestinian population. There should categorically not be Israeli or American soldiers given the level of distrust that would come about, particularly following the catastrophe of the [American-Israeli aid programme, which led to thousands of killings of Palestinian civilians](#) allegedly by mercenaries, as well as [reports that Israeli and American snipers were using teenagers and civilians for ‘target practice’ and as a way to “have fun”](#).

2. **Financing, Development Investments, Quality Funding and Climate Financing Comparative Advantage:** *Streamlining funding at the country level is crucial for improving coordination between development and humanitarian agencies and donors, enabling a unified response and better resource allocation. Flexible financing mechanisms, such as pooled funds, promote collaboration across humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding sectors.*

Using both the private sector as well as humanitarian aid is essential for the sustainable reconstruction of Gaza. It is welcome that the UK government is taking the steps to do so.

According to the assessments of the UK government and the World Bank, the scale of the required funds will be more than £50bn. The level needed for reconstruction will be so extensive that private finance will need to be used as well as international donors, primarily the Gulf states. However, the UK needs to take the relevant steps to ensure that businesses and private sector involved in the reconstruction, were categorically not complicit in the destruction of Gaza. It has a duty to work with international and Palestinian partners to ensure that Palestinians are involved in choosing which businesses and private sector companies take part in the reconstruction of Gaza.

A careful balance needs to be made between implementing privatisation and foreign investments with ensuring that Palestinians in Gaza can access funds to invest in their own future and control their political economy. Through continuous engagement with local authorities and citizens, the UK should support efforts that combine economic development projects and investment in governance, with the reconstruction of social infrastructure.

The UK needs to ensure that reconstruction of Gaza will include the strengthening of Palestinian institutional capacity, enhancing humanitarian and development assistance for sustainable recovery, and collaboration with international and Palestinian partners that focuses on diverse drivers of recovery. This should include human capital and Palestinian control and full ownership of natural resources.

3. **Risk Mitigation and Capacities:** *Support national authorities and local actors by adapting interventions to their capacities and investing in strengthening their skills, especially in conflict affected areas. Inclusive decision making ensures that responses are context appropriate. Conduct joint risk assessments and identify collective outcomes to ensure all three nexus pillars – humanitarian, development, and peace – are equally considered.*

This is one of the most important factors in ensuring long term sustainability and peace. The UK needs to support the establishment of a governance structure that not only includes and emphasises Palestinian political agency and control over their future, but also mechanisms in place that mitigate potential risks and blockers to sustainable

peace. Humanitarianism, development, and peace goals need to be met and actively worked towards.

There is the duty to establish grass roots building to support Palestinians in Gaza with the necessary tools for reconstruction capacity. By capacity building for the local communities in Gaza, Palestinians can therefore conduct their own risk and priority assessments, and ensure that reconstruction responses taken first, are appropriate to their needs and priorities.

[According to the UNDP, inclusive and bottom-up approaches promote the engagement of local stakeholders in planning and rebuilding better processes that contribute towards lasting results.](#) The UK needs to fully engage in needs assessments conducted by local Palestinian stakeholders at distinct stages of the response. By working in partnership, suitable financial instruments need to be set up to lead to a strong recovery.

In this respect, the governance processes should be an effective way to build blocks and assist in both recovery efforts and preventative mechanisms.

By working with experts in the field, there also needs to be the relevant international support and administration to monitor the overall demilitarisation process as well as the safe removal of unexploded ordinance.

Part of the Trump proposal insists that Hamas must disarm. In order to do this fairly and efficiently, international experts should transparently rebuild the security infrastructure of Gaza while overseeing the demilitarisation of Hamas and other armed groups, through independent verification. This can be done via weapons inspectors as well as the expected international stabilisation force to determine that there are not attack tunnels being built. However, this process would require complete and total transparency with the local population.

- 4. **Leadership and Accountability:** Aligning global policies with on the ground actions, while establishing clear accountability mechanisms. Develop measurement tools, such as HDPN index, to assess the progress and impact of Nexus initiatives. This provides data for informed decision making. Embed principles like conflict sensitivity, gender equality, and “do no harm” from the start, while systematically adopting principles programming. Include peacebuilding and prevention strategies within humanitarian and development responses to address conflict drivers and strengthen social cohesion for lasting peace.*

Accountable and inclusive governance systems are building blocks that cannot only help restore services and infrastructure, but also foster social cohesion, facilitate participation in public life, equitably distribute resources and opportunities. In this

respect, the UK must support the international community in creating a mechanism or process to ensure accountability and that Palestinians in Gaza are able to follow up.

Through a proper accountability mechanism, local people can ensure that money is not being funnelled into wrong places and that it is not being spent incorrectly. If for whatever reason, developments are not going to plan, then there has to be a mechanism to look at the reasons why, and where this can be improved.

It is Palestinians who must determine the priorities of what gets rebuilt first and where and who gets certain contracts for the reconstruction of Gaza. This should be done through a public consultation process. An audit system must be established for Palestinians and donors so that they can see that the money is being spent as designed.

Through working within the framework and recommendations of the UN Triple Nexus in the process of rebuilding Gaza, the UK government can support Gaza's reconstruction without sidelining Palestinian agency. We call on the government to take the above steps to bring about a sustainable and stable political future in the state of Palestine.