



**UK Funding to Civil
Society in the
Arab-Israeli Conflict**



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NGO Monitor's mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGOs claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas.

Introduction

- The British government funds numerous highly politicized non-governmental organizations (NGOs) directly through the [Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office](#) (FCDO), UK Integrated Security Fund (formerly the Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund - CSSF), and the [British National Security Council](#) (NSC), and indirectly via aid frameworks such as the [Norwegian Refugee Council](#) (NRC), [Christian Aid](#), [Catholic Agency for Overseas Development](#) (CAFOD), and [Oxfam GB](#), which all receive significant funding from the British government.
- FCDO has stated that its development funding is geared towards the objective of supporting “the building of Palestinian institutions and the promotion of economic growth so that any future state will be stable, prosperous, well run and an effective partner for peace with Israel.”¹
- In contrast, many FCDO-funded NGOs are involved in anti-peace activities such as incitement, BDS (boycott, divestment, and sanctions), and legal attacks (“lawfare”) against Israel. Some of these groups also have reported ties to terrorist organizations.
- Reflecting a lack of transparency, a comprehensive list of local third-party implementing partners is not available.
- Based on FCDO statements made during the course of FOI proceedings with NGO Monitor, it does not appear that the UK government vets third-party implementing partners. For instance, an FCDO official claimed, “The FCDO conducts its own due diligence process for its main project partners, and then relies on those partners to do their own due diligence for any subcontractors based on global criteria. In this particular case, FCDO did a due diligence exercise itself for NRC. FCDO did not directly vet NRC’s sub-partners, but instead provided them with criteria for assessing those sub-partners.” (Paragraph 49, 26 March 2024 First-tier Tribunal General Regulatory Chamber Information Rights decision, on file with NGO Monitor).

Developments Since October 7 Hamas Massacre

- In October 2023, in the aftermath of the brutal Hamas attack on October 7, the UK [announced](#) “£10 million humanitarian aid for civilians in Occupied Palestinian Territories,” and stating that “All UK aid funding to the OPTs

¹ Response of the FCDO to Freedom of Information proceedings with NGO Monitor. Documents on file with NGO Monitor.

undergoes rigorous oversight, and no funding goes to Hamas.” This claim is inconsistent with information provided to NGO Monitor in the course of our FOI proceedings with the FCDO.

- In October 2023-April 2024, the United Kingdom granted \$53.53 million to UN-OCHA’s [“OPT Flash Appeal”](#) that “addressed the most urgent needs of 1,260,000 people in the Gaza Strip (Gaza) and the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem.”
- In January 2024, the UK announced it would [pause funding](#) to UNRWA following reports of UNRWA’s employees involvement in Hamas’ October 7 massacre. The UK later [clarified](#) that it had already made all of its planned contributions to UNRWA for 2023-2024, [£35 million](#). (See UNRWA section below for more information.)

Direct UK Funding

The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)²

- According to FCDO’s [Development Tracker website](#), the UK has allocated a total of approximately £13.4 million to the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem for 2024-2025. Of this amount, [approximately 50% is allocated](#) to “Government and Civil Society.”
- FCDO is funding seven active projects in the West Bank and Gaza, with a total budget of [£1.4 billion](#).
- Information on projects funded by the FCDO is available in a [projects database](#). However, local NGO recipients and third-party recipients of UK funds via international organizations do not appear on the website.

FCDO Projects in Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank:

Project	Budget	Beneficiaries
Support to the Palestinian Authority to Deliver Basic Services, Build Stability and Promote Reform in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (SSRP)	£137,999,990 (2017-2024)	Georg Eckert Institute †; Ministry of Finance and Planning - Palestinian Authority †; Crown Agents Limited †; Oxford Policy Management †; Coffey International Development

² In September 2020, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Department for International Development (DFID) merged to form the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO).

Project	Budget	Beneficiaries
Supporting Economic Empowerment and Development in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (SEED OPTs)	£58,856,751 (2018-2025)	Cowater International Inc United ; Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) ; Cowatersogema International Inc ; IMC Worldwide ; European Bank for Reconstruction and Development ; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
Empowering Palestinian Institutions and Civil Society in the Occupied Palestinian Territories - EPICS OPTs	£34,999,984 (2023-2031)	The Coalition for the Integrity and Accountability- Aman ; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
UK Support to Palestinian Refugees(UKSPR)	£37,699,993 (2022-2025)	United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)
UK Humanitarian Support in the Occupied Palestinian Territories	£85,139,168 (2023-2026)	British Red Cross ; Department of Health and Social Care ; Jordan Hashemite Charity Org ; UNOPS-HQ ; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) ; UK-Med ; Palladium International Ltd (UK) ; International Committee of the Red Cross ; United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) ; United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) ; World Food Programme (WFP)
British Council: Official Development Assistance (ODA) support	£1,120,350,224 (2016-2025)	British Council
UN Population Fund (UNFPA) Core	£16,000,000 (2023-2025)	UN Population Fund

UK Integrated Security Fund (formerly the Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund - CSSF)

- The UK also funds NGOs through the [UK Integrated Security Fund](#), a “government-wide fund that addresses the highest-priority threats to UK national security, at home and abroad.”³ The fund “[invested over £830 million in financial year 2022 to 2023](#) through integrated programmes across 12 government departments and agencies.”
- In 2022-2023, CSSF provided [£6.9 million](#) to the “Occupied Palestinian Territories.”
 - According to a [2023 UK Parliament report](#), “In financial year 2022–2023, the Fund continued to prioritise spending on areas linked to conflict, stability and security overseas that pose the greatest direct threat to the UK including the Middle East and Africa...The Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territories programme was largely protected from previous reductions in overall allocations, given the fragility of the situation and the importance of this region to the UK’s security.”
- According to the CSSF Programme Summary of its “[Middle East Peace Process programme \(MEPP\)](#),” in [2021-2022](#), CSSF led 11 projects in the West Bank and Gaza.
 - All projects have FCDO listed as the lead department.
 - The implementing organizations are not listed. CSSF claims, “Information on all implementing organisations is withheld on international relations grounds.”
 - According to a [February 2024 Parliamentary question](#), “The Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF) OPTs-Israel Programme also supports Tech 2 Peace, I'lam - Arab Centre for Media Freedom, Physicians for Human Rights Israel, and Project Rozana which work to support engagement and dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, building stronger constituencies and prospects for peace. We also support local organisations such as COMET-ME who work to keep Palestinians on their land in Area C of the West Bank, protecting the viability of a two-state solution.”

³ On April 1, 2024, the UK Integrated Security Fund (UKISF) replaced the [CSSF](#), “a unique cross-government fund that tackles conflict, stability and security challenges overseas which threaten UK national security.”

CSSF Projects in the oPt

Project	Implementing Partner Type	Year	Amount	Notes
Legal Aid and Settlement Monitoring	Commercial Partner	July 2019 - March 2022	£2.2m	Independent NGO Monitor research has uncovered that the “ Legal Aid and Settlement Monitoring ” project also goes by the name “ Information, Counseling, and Legal Assistance (ICLA).” ICLA is a project implemented by Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). See below for more information on NRC.
Area C Infrastructure Construction and Area C Services and Infrastructure Provision	NGO	April 2019 - March 2022	£1m	
Gender Equality in OPTs	NGO	July 2019 - March 2022	£0.8m	
Palestinian Elections	NGO	April 2021 - March 2022	£0.5m	
Countering Discrimination in East Jerusalem	NGO	April 2021 - March 2022	£0.4m	
Constituencies for Peace – Religious Community Engagement	NGO	Nov 2018 - March 2022	£0.3m	Independent research has found that the “ Constituencies for Peace – Religious Community Engagement ” is

				implemented by Search for Common Ground.
Constituencies for Peace – Empowering Future Leaders	NGO	July 2019 - March 2022	£0.08m	
Constituencies for Peace – Independent Review	Commercial Partner	July 2019 - March 2022	£0.06m	
Support to Israeli NGOs	NGO	October 2019 - March 2022	£0/£0(Non-ODA pending in-year uplift) *in the previous fiscal year the project received £0.4m	
Monitoring and Evaluation	Commercial Partner	April 2020 - March 2022	£0.05m	
Programme Delivery Costs	N/A	April 2021 - March 2022	£1.1m(ODA)/£0.01m (non-ODA)	

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)

- According to the UN Financial Tracking Service, in 2023, FCDO granted [\\$5.4 million](#)⁴ to NRC for multiple projects, of which \$3,552,577 was earmarked for the [Information, Counseling, and Legal Assistance](#) (ICLA) project.
 - No information appears on the UK Devtracker Website regarding funding to NRC, despite the substantial amounts granted to the NGO.
 - ICLA, one of NRC’s principle projects in Israel, exploits judicial frameworks to manipulate Israeli policy, bypassing democratic frameworks.
 - Included in [ICLA’s program goals](#) is “supporting the PA both locally and nationally on casework” and [works](#) with “other NRC core competences,

⁴ The UN Financial Tracking Service (FTS) is a “[voluntary reporting mechanism](#),” where all “public and private organizations making contributions towards humanitarian outcomes in a given country are welcome to report to FTS”(emphases added).Therefore, the sum provided is not a full representation.

- West Bank Protection Consortium partners, and UN OCHA, as well as with local authorities and village councils.”
- As part of the ICLA program, NRC [provides](#) “legal assistance, including paralegal services, accompaniment, follow up or court representation in order to ensure the best possible individual legal protection outcomes” in “collaboration, coordination and partnership both internally within NRC and externally with NGO sector... and with the PA with a view to address some of the barriers to participation of the hard to reach population in ICLA response.”
 - A lawyer affiliated with the NRC program [stated](#) that the objective of these cases are an attempt to “**try every possible legal measure to disrupt the Israeli judicial system... as many cases as possible are registered and that as many cases as possible are appealed to increase the workload of the courts and the Supreme Court to such an extent that there will be a blockage**” (emphasis added).
 - According to its [2023 ICLA project response plan](#), “In 2023, NRC Information, Counselling and Legal aid team (ICLA) will target 17,583 Palestinians identified as affected by conflict-related violations and protection risks such as conflict-related violence, risk of forcible transfer, restrictions on freedom of movement and access to services, including livelihoods and settler violence.”
 - NRC receives funding from the [Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund \(CSSF\)](#), but this funding is not transparent. NGO Monitor has been able to confirm that these funds are received by NRC via this mechanism based on information received from the UK government in the course of Freedom of Information proceedings with FCDO. Additionally, a March 2024 [Parliamentary question](#) acknowledged that “The UK currently provides funding to the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) for projects in the Occupied Palestinian Territories including in the West Bank and East Jerusalem through the Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF).”
 - According to the [Parliamentary question](#), NRC has been receiving from the CSSF:
 - FY 22-23 - £3.07 million
 - FY 23-24 - £ 3.68 million
 - FY 24-25 - £ 2.7 million
 - Additionally, in response to the Parliamentary question, a government official claimed, “We are not currently supporting NRC work in Gaza.” However, a [2023 project on the UN Financial Tracking Service \(FTS\)](#), relating to ICLA, describes NRC’s activities in the West Bank and Gaza: “NRC Palestine launched a Digital Complaints and Feedback Mechanism, informative sessions on the use and application of NRC’s CFM were conducted for all staff and targeted populations in WB and

Gaza. Soft and hard copies of CFM information cards were distributed to targeted populations in WB and Gaza.” This project does not appear on the UK’s Development Tracker.

- According to FTS, five other projects for which NRC received funding from the UK in 2023 are implemented by the [West Bank Consortium](#) (run by NRC). The project descriptions on FTS includes data on the individuals the consortium serves in Gaza. Additionally, during a [November 2023 UK Parliamentary hearing](#), an NRC advisor testified “We have.. 54 staff working in our Gaza office. We have been operating in Gaza for almost 15 years.”
- Based on research obtained via freedom of information requests, UN reports and funding databases (FTS), publications from governments in Europe, NGO activity reports and financial statements, and filings with government regulators in the UK, Israel, the EU, and elsewhere, NGO Monitor has documented that NRC works with a narrow selection of political NGOs that promote a one-sided narrative of the conflict in implementing its legal aid and “public interest litigation” related programs. [NRC has partnered](#) with [UAWC](#), [HaMoked](#), [JLAC](#), [Society of St. Yves](#), [Terrestrial Jerusalem](#), [Yesh Din](#), CAC, [Bimkom](#), [Palestinian Centre for Democracy and Conflict Resolution](#) (PCDCR), [Palestinian Centre for Human Rights](#) (PCHR), and [Al Mezan](#), among others.
 - UAWC, PCHR, and Al Mezan are all [linked](#) to the PFLP terrorist organization.

UK Direct Funding to Israeli NGOs

Information for 2021-2024 taken from quarterly reports submitted to the Israeli Registrar of Non-Profits and information for 2020 taken from annual reports submitted to the Israeli Registrar of Non-Profits. These projects do not appear on the UK Devtracker Website, and it is unclear under which framework they are receiving these funds.

NGO	Source	Year	Sum (NIS)
Comet-ME	MFA UK	2024	420,118
		2023	5,072,718
		2022	4,003,451
		2021	1,195,938

		2020	2,659,142
Geneva Initiative	Embassy UK and MFA UK	2023	989,830
		2022	1,532,537
		2021	395,307
		2020	287,493
Gisha	Embassy UK	2020	237,614
Peace Now	Foreign and Commonwealth Office - UK	2020	180,393
Physicians for Human Rights - Israel	Embassy UK	2023	755,925
		2022	651,430
		2021	44,500
Public Committee Against Torture in Israel	United Kingdom	2023	17,792
Terrestrial Jerusalem	MFA UK	2023	46,985
		2022	126,054
		2021	119,175
		2020	63,903

Indirect UK Funding

Christian Aid

- In FY 2022-2023, Christian Aid [received £2.2 million](#) from FCDO. Reflecting a lack of transparency, Christian Aid does not specify how much of that funding was transferred to implementing partners on projects in Israel, Gaza, or the West Bank.
- Christian Aid does not [reveal all of their partners](#), nor funding to the organizations. Current and former partner organizations include [Zochrot](#), [Breaking the Silence](#), [B'Tselem](#), [Al-Haq](#), [Sabeel](#), [Adalah](#), [Palestinian](#)

[Centre for Human Rights \(PCHR\)](#), [Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees \(PARC\)](#), [Physicians for Human Rights – Israel \(PHR-I\)](#), [Alternative Information Center \(AIC\)](#), the [Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel \(EAPPI\)](#), [Women’s Affairs Centre](#), and the [Culture and Free Thought Association](#).

Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD)

- In 2022, CAFOD received [£824,000](#) from the FCDO. According to CAFOD, in that same period of time, CAFOD funded 9 projects totaling approximately £278,000 in the West Bank and Gaza.
- CAFOD has provided grants to a number of highly biased and politicized NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including: [Breaking the Silence](#), [Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel \(EAPPI\)](#), [Culture and Free Thought Association](#), [Wi’am](#), [Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center \(JLAC\)](#), [Trócaire](#), [Yesh Din](#), and [Islamic Relief Worldwide](#).

Oxfam GB

- In FY 2022-2023, Oxfam GB received [£231,000](#) from the United Kingdom.
- Under its 2023-2024 [emergency appeal](#) for Gaza, Oxfam GB writes it has been “responding with our partners” including: the [Palestinian Medical Relief Society \(PMRS\)](#), Juzoor, [Cultural & Free Thoughts Association](#), and [Palestine Agricultural Relief Committee \(PARC\)](#).
 - PMRS rhetoric includes accusations of “[ethnic cleansing](#),” “[apartheid](#),” “[collective punishment](#),” and “[war crimes](#).” Mustafa Barghouthi, founder and president of PMRS, [praised](#) the October 7th attacks and repeatedly [denied](#) the systematic rape of Israeli women during the atrocities.
 - In at least [2007–2014](#), Juzoor maintained a [Jerusalem Youth Parliament \(JYP\)](#), “...designed to actively engage young Jerusalemite Palestinians ages 12 to 17 (as well as their parents and teachers) in active citizenship and to raise awareness of their Palestinian identity.” JYP hosted events with convicted terrorists, members of the US-designated terrorist organization the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and their families, and held pro-BDS and anti-normalization activities for children. In addition to introducing children to PFLP terrorists, JYP staff also utilized social media to celebrate PFLP terrorists and promote the organization. (For more information, read NGO Monitor’s report “[USAID-funded Palestinian NGOs: Introducing Children to Convicted Terrorists](#).”)
- Oxfam GB draws an immoral symmetry between Israeli self-defense and illegal attacks by terror organizations, and [fails to](#) acknowledge Hamas’ exploitation of the civilian population of Gaza as human shields. Its [statements](#) refer to the

blockade of Gaza as the key impediment to peace, failing to mention that the purpose of Israel's blockade is to prevent the illegal flow of weapons to Hamas and other terror groups.

Indirect UK Funding to NGOs Active in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Amounts listed in NIS are taken from the 2021-2023 quarterly reports submitted to the Israeli Registrar of Non-Profits and information for 2020 taken from annual reports submitted to the Israeli Registrar of Non-Profits. Information in Euro are taken from the UK's development tracker.

NGO	Source	Year	Sum
ACRI	Christian Aid	2021	NIS 64,907
		2020	NIS 152,898
ACRI	NRC	2023	NIS 18,519
		2022	NIS 225,019
		2021	NIS 207,409
Adalah	Christian Aid	2023	NIS 346,345
		2022	NIS 409,200
		2021	NIS 428,911
		2020	NIS 196,338
Al Marsad	The British Shalom Salaam Trust	2023	NIS 70,789
		2022	NIS 52,058
Baldana	Galilee Foundation	2023	NIS 236,054

		2022	NIS 246,272
		2020	NIS 274,404
Bimkom	NRC	2024	NIS 66,164
		2023	NIS 853,365
		2022	NIS 851,072
		2021	NIS 225,232
Breaking the Silence	CAFOD	2024	NIS 92,600
		2023	NIS 181,300
		2021	NIS 173,738
		2020	NIS 89,710
B'Tselem	Christian Aid	2023	NIS 312,732
		2020	NIS 409,249
Culture and Free Thought Association	CAFOD	2021-2022	£29,663
EAPPI	CAFOD	2021-2023	£45,000
Gisha	NRC	2021	NIS 58,555
		2020	NIS 60,172
HaMoked	NRC	2024	NIS 29,083
		2023	NIS 1,121,213
		2022	NIS 1,365,140

		2021	NIS 1,174,010
Ir Amim	NRC	2022	NIS 454,246
		2021	NIS 173,949
Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC)	CAFOD	2019-2022	£90,000
Trócaire	CAFOD	2022	£720,000
		2021	£923,000
Wi'am	CAFOD	2018-2020	£50,284
Yesh Din	NRC	2023	NIS 687,397
		2022	NIS 1,032,768
		2021	NIS 656,060
Yesh Din	CAFOD	2021	NIS 194,484
		2020	NIS 150,266

Funding via the United Nations

In 2020-2024, the UK government provided millions of dollars to various UN bodies, including United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS), the World Food Program, United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and The occupied Palestinian territory Humanitarian Fund.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

- In 2023, the UK provided UNICEF with [\\$4.8 million](#).
- UNICEF spearheads a campaign to have Israel included on a UN blacklist of "grave" violators of children's rights. The list appears as an annex to

the UN Secretary-General's annual report on Children and Armed Conflict (CAAC). This political agenda is a primary facet of UNICEF's activities relating to Israel, completely inconsistent with its mandate of "child protection" and from its guidelines for neutrality and impartiality. (Read NGO Monitor's report "[UNICEF and its NGO Working Group: Failing Children](#)")

UN-OCHA oPt Humanitarian Fund

- In 2024, the UK provided [\\$12.8 million](#) to the UN-OCHA occupied Palestinian territory Humanitarian Fund..
- Several PFLP-linked NGOs, including [UAWC](#), [UHWC](#), and [PCHR](#), are regular recipients of disbursements from the "occupied Palestinian territory Humanitarian Fund."

Funding to the World Food Programme

- In 2024, the UK provided [\\$7.8 million](#) to the WFP. According to UN-OCHA's FTS, these projects are part of the WFP's Food Security Sector programs in the West Bank and Gaza.
- According to documents published by the Food Security Sector, the Sector [distributes funds and partners with UAWC, Ma'an Development Center](#), and [Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees](#) (PARC).