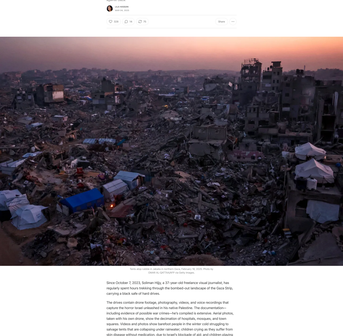
Archiving Gaza: The Race to Save Evidence of War Crimes and Mass Destruction

Journalists Hiba Al-Sarraj and Rami Al-Meghari are documenting the horrors of Israel's war on Gaza

Hiba Al-Sarraj
Rami Al-Meghari



Tents stay crowded in Gaza's southern city of Rafah, February 18, 2024. (Photo by Omar Al-Qattaa/AFP via Getty Images)

Since October 7, 2023, Soliman Hijjy, a 37-year-old freelance visual journalist, has regularly spent hours trekking through the bombed-out landscape of the Gaza Strip, carrying a black sack of hard drives.

The drives contain drone footage, photographs, videos, and voice recordings that capture the horror Israel unleashed in its native Palestine. The documentation includes footage of Israeli soldiers looting Palestinian homes and destroying factories, taken with his own drone, since the destruction of hospitals, mosques, and home squares. Videos and photos show bereaved people in the center crib struggling to feed their children, or people in the Jabalia refugee camp, in the north, who are left with disease without medicine, due to Israel's blockade of aid, and children playing with dolls pulled from rubble. He's filmed interviews with witnesses to attacks on civilians. As a journalist, he has also contributed to The New York Times's coverage of Gaza. All of this material is obsessively filed away using an archival system he invented on the fly.

Hijjy's archive shows the history of a place that is no more—and the process of its destruction, as it happened. Hijjy, who lost his home in the war, is one of a few people in the memorable third generation to stay with him. Some had drives for the behind or a private plot of land, under the care of one of his residents. He locked others he couldn't bear to part with in the small safe, trekking with it through multiple displacements.

"The main goal of my life," says Hijjy (via Signal), from his home in Nuseirat, "is to remember details of history you're bound to be erased."

Soliman Hijjy, carrying his hard drives in Deir al-Balah, Palestine.

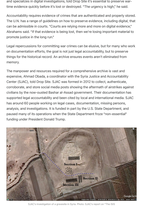
Hijjy was posting some material on Instagram and X. But there was no guarantee it would remain online and ongoing takedowns of Palestinian content. Wire three Gazans because internet, meanwhile, meant he couldn't post much of what he collected. He needed a safe place to store his archive. Hijjy's friend Ibrahim Al-Meghari was imprisoned by Israeli soldiers often forced him to rely on a SIM cards from abroad and 2G internet—left him unable to upload most of what he had. So he transferred what he considered his most important files to the internet hard drives and cassettes, filling more than a dozen.

Over the course of the 15 month war, Gaza's archive, which now stretches on January 19, Israel, along with Egypt, have imposed a total ban on the entry of unembedded journalists, independent humanitarian aid workers, and, for most Palestinians, Israelis, Meanwhile, Instagram, X, and Facebook have frequently removed and shadow-banned posts from Gaza—part of a wider pattern of censoring Palestinian content globally The companies have often said they remove posts that violate community guidelines or standards, such as promoting graphic content or expressing support for terrorism, but Meta, for its part, has admitted to "technical errors" that affect Gaza. On Instagram, free computerized, charged its guidelines for Gaza, some internationally, deleting photos and videos posted by journalists and activists.

In addition to what Palestinian journalists have published in the international press, photos and videos posted on social media have comprised nearly all of the war time visual record of Gaza. Hundreds of Gaza's journalists have been killed, and Israel has stepped up its raids pressure the genocide's history. They have been scraping, verifying, and storing information from social media before it can be removed, working on technological solutions for long-term search and storage, collecting witness testimony and other information from inside Gaza for submission to international courts, and preparing for future efforts to rebuild Palestinian institutions. It's a daunting and complicating institutionally monstrous task for individual journalists and military officials. Their efforts are loosely organized, under-resourced, and often not connected with one another.

As Palestinians return to what's left of their homes under the fragile ceasefire deal, they are searching for those who have been trapped under rubble for months, many reduced to bones. The war has left more than 60,000 Palestinians dead, per the Gaza Ministry of Health, and, by some estimates, has wounded tens of thousands of people who are missing, half of them are women, children, and the elderly, according to Palestinian health authorities, and the true number is widely believed to be higher. Critical infrastructure has been annihilated, and the United Nations estimates that 90% of Gaza's pre war population has been internally displaced.

Documentary-minded work outside of Gaza have worked to preserve the details of this carnage. Hijjy, who has been displaced seven times amid unrelenting airstrikes, said he hoped his files will eventually be incorporated into a large documentary project. He has spent his adult life dedicated to his journalism work in Gaza, which he hire is "more than a profession. It's my way to preserve my country's history and archive of your work." It was, he very similar to a father's care for his only son.

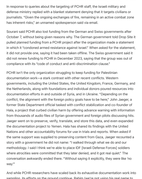


Examples of artificial reels, posted to Instagram, by Hijjy.

The Challenge of Documenting War Crimes

When Fred Abrahams, now an author and professor, traveled to war-torn Kosovo as a Human Rights Watch researcher in 1998, he found villages and homes ransacked by Serbian and Yugoslav forces, and forcibly displaced ethnic Albanians fleeing by foot. When he was dead bodies lying in a gully, including women and children, he photographed them and immediately began to search for their names. He interviewed survivors and witnesses, documenting the details of the massacre and other war crimes, and he wrote reports and written policy magazines for evidence of operations, which he dubbed "old school open-source work."

When former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević was tried for these war crimes in The Hague, Abrahams joined the prosecution as a witness. On the stand, he addressed Milošević directly. "Our evidence is overwhelming that the forces of the Serbian police and the Yugoslav Army did not adequately minimize damage and killing of civilians, and in many cases targeted them."



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Abrahams, who has spent nearly three decades conducting human rights research and specializes in digital investigations, believes The Hague's precedent can inform future efforts to hold Israel to account for its war crimes. The urgency is high, he says, because Israel's military is "not hiding what it's doing."

Legal repercussions for committing war crimes can be elusive, but for many who work on documentation efforts, the goal is not just legal accountability but to preserve things for historical record. An archive ensures events and information have not been forgotten.

The manpower and resources required for a comprehensive archive is vast and expensive. Ahmad Obeyda, a coordinator with the Syria Justice and Accountability Center (SJAC), told Drop Site. SJAC was formed in 2012 to collect, authenticate, corroborate, and store social media posts showing the alleged crimes committed against civilians by the now-ousted Bashar al-Assad government. Their documentation has been used in international courts to issue arrest warrants for Syrian officials. SJAC has had around 60 people working on legal cases, documentation, missing persons, analysis, and investigations. It is funded in part by the U.S. State Department, and passed many of its operations when the State Department from "now-essential" funding under President Donald Trump.

SJAC's headquarters in Lewisville in Gaziantep, Turkey. Source: SJAC's report on "The Red Thread of Memory"

SJAC built its own open-source technology to store the information it collects. The organization's database, which is not publicly accessible, currently has 2.5 petabytes of war crimes, text and voice interviews with victims and witnesses, government documents, and videos, including those posted on YouTube. Incidents are tagged and searchable for words like "explosion" and "barrel bombs," available in English and Arabic, and displays a chain of custody for each piece of information.

Yet, Obeyda said, SJAC's database is "not ideal." It can't handle incidents it has collected "in the hundreds," and he worries that it will be "very difficult" to migrate the data. Office October 7, he added, he spoke with a Palestinian rights organization interested in replicating SJAC's open-source database. But he worried that the intensity of Gaza's war meant it could take even longer for researchers to adequately archive it. "The data from there is never ending."

The Palestinian Centre for Human Rights

Documentation work with its predecessors in Gaza. The Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR), a well-known nonprofit established in 1995, has spent years contributing research and documentation to international inquiries into Israeli conduct in Gaza. Its founder, Raji Sourani, has been a recipient of the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. Israel has sought to shut PCHR down, imprisoned Sourani groups and their staff for allegations of terrorism. The PCHR's headquarters was bombed early in the war.

Sourani's team, PCHR's international advocacy officer, was also reportedly targeted. The Israeli military recorded and posted a phone call between Sourani and a friend, which it used to accuse each of being a "Hamas operative." has hours later, an Israeli airstrike hit his house. Sourani and his parents were in it halves when the bomb dropped, but they survived. Sourani said in a video, "I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I'm sorry," to the house rather than we were in, we should have been ashamed or critically injured." he told Drop Site. "At the end of the day, they can reach anyone, everywhere."

Sourani called the months since October 7 the most grueling and dangerous the organization has faced. A PCHR lawyer, Dane Nagel, and documentarist, Nour Nasir Abu Hoyo, were killed by airstrikes on their homes in February 2024, three days apart, along with members of their families. One third of the organization's staff left Gaza, and PCHR's remaining employees, who have been displaced from their homes, moved to Cairo in December 2023. "The amount of strikes compared to previous wars and offensives, and no electricity or water, all prevented us from working properly," he said.

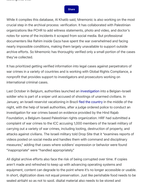
In response to queries about the targeting of PCHR staff, the Israeli military and defense ministry replied with a blanket statement denying that it targets civilians or journalists. "Given the ongoing exchanges of fire, occurring in an active combat zone [Gaza], any claim of a direct hit on a specific individual is premature."

Sourani said PCHR ahd lost funding from the German and Swiss governments, after October 7 without citing joint research. (The German government told Drop Site it pulled planned funding from PCHR ahead of the organization made a statement in which it "condoned armed resistance against Israel." When asked for the statement, it did not provide one, saying it had been taken offline. The Swiss government said it had "suspended" funding to PCHR because the organization was found to be not in compliance with its "code of conduct and anti-discrimination clause.")

PCHR isn't the only organization struggling to keep funding for Palestinian documentation work a dark contrast with other recent conflicts. Western governments, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, along with foundations and individual donors, poured resources into documentation efforts in and outside of Syria, and in Ukraine. "Depending on the conflict, there's a lot of money that's been poured into this," said Nagel, who left the Human Rights Department official seated with conflict stabilization and in Division of Hala, a project that curbed civilian harm by offering advance warning with information about airstrikes. Nagel said, "There's a lot of money that's been poured into documenting Russian war crimes to preserve, verify, translate, and store this data, and even expand the documentation project to Yemen. Hala has shared its findings with the United Nations and other accountability forums for use in trials and reports. When asked if the same support was supplied to preserving content from Gaza, Jaeger recounted a conversation he had with a donor who said, "Why would we do that? Israel is a democratic state." Israel's critics were able to place IDF Israeli Defense Forces videos where atrocities were committed that they later deleted, and it got real quiet." The conversation awkwardly ended there. "Without saying it explicitly, they were like this way."

Aid while PCHR researchers have scaled back its exhaustive documentation work into sampling, its efforts on the ground continue. Ibahim (we're not using his real name to protect his identity) is a PCHR employee who lives in Gaza City. He has been displaced and around 60 members of the extended family in the war. Although he rolls and children managed to evacuate Gaza after eight months, he remained in Gaza to archive the conflict. "Moving forward is the only option," he told Drop Site on WhatsApp in November.

More than a dozen PCHR field researchers like Ibahim have kept up the work of collecting and verifying accounts of airstrikes against civilians, torture by Israeli soldiers, and other crimes against Palestinians. The group has also provided legal services. They've prioritized evidence to provide directly to the International Criminal Court and International Court of Justice (ICJ), which have opened cases accusing Israel of genocide. Ibahim said he recently gave a PCHR report to a delegation of members of the South African delegation at the ICJ, and PCHR has assisted with ICC investigations into Israeli offensives and other human rights violations committed by Israel in Gaza since 2006, when Palestine became a member.



A PCHR employee compiling documents in Gaza City. Source: PCHR's report on "The Red Thread of Memory"

Before the ceasefire, Ibahim was hiding in a shelter in the center of Gaza and conserving himself only crossed when, which operated on limited fuel, to get to and from sites of incidents he was investigating. "If there's an airstrike or a drone house, I'll go speak to witnesses, count victims, take pictures of the destruction," he said.

He collected his evidence first on paper, then took photos of his notes on his phone. Then he walked for hours from his shelter in the south through destroyed streets and neighborhoods to the Gaza City office of his colleague, who had managed to preserve charging stations for his devices and a stronger internet connection. From there, he sent his files—painstakingly, over the still-sluggish connection—to his manager, also based in Gaza. The manager would review the material and send it to the PCHR team based in other countries.

That external PCHR team collaborates with other Palestinian rights organizations to submit verified research to the ICC, PCHR has also worked directly with the legal team representing South Africa at the ICJ, providing it with a database of witness and victim evidence, including on the ground testimony, the stories of survivors, and alleged war crimes. "You use your entire existence," Ibahim said. "To convey the picture of what's happening."

Digital Archives

Scores of Palestinians within Israel have been arrested for sharing content online that Israeli authorities deem "incitement" or "pro-terrorist" expressions of support for the war. The Committee to Protect Journalists has documented Palestinian journalists by Israel across the Palestinian territories since October 7—some held without charge, some subjected to mistreatment and even torture. Dozens of Palestinians in Israel were arresting journalists for their work, saying it had allegedly "individuals suspected of involvement in terrorist activity."

Archival efforts based outside of Palestine, meanwhile, have stepped in to help. One is Sohoon, a nonprofit that uses open-source investigation techniques to collect and preserve vulnerable digital evidence in conflict zones. Its databases for Ukraine, Syria, Yemen, and Sudan are all provided on its website. But Sohoon, which has been operating since 2021, has not uploaded any material from Gaza. Instead, it has been "Higher at critical attacks," Hadi Al-Khatib, its managing director, told Drop Site. "We want to do it then-priority." he said.

Whereas the information that Ibahim collects for PCHR is reviewed down to what can be submitted to international courts, Mehemmit. scrapes social media to collect all potential violations of international law that it can find. It aims to centralize the evidence collected by Palestinian organizations, journalists like Hijjy, and regular people who post to social media. Mehemmit. has gathered "tens of thousands of videos" and "several million data points from social media since October 7, 2023." There is a lot happening every hour," he said. "It needs a team of 200 people looking into this."

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While it complies this database, Al-Khatib said, Mehemmit. is also working on the most sophisticated tool for long-term storage of digital evidence of international crimes. Many organizations like PCHR to add witness statements, photos and video, and dictate's notes for some of the incidents it scraped from social media. But professional documentarians like Ibahim inside Gaza have spent the war unconstructed and facing nearly impossible conditions, making them largely unavailable to support outside researchers. Mehemmit. has thoroughly verified only a small portion of the crimes they've collected.

It has prioritized getting verified information into legal cases against perpetrators of war crimes in a variety of countries and is working with Global Rights Compliance, a nonprofit that provides support to investigators and prosecutors working on international criminal cases.

Later October in Belgium, authorities launched an investigation into a Belgian Israeli citizen who allegedly committed war crimes in Gaza. The Belgian-Israeli soldier, Tomer-Yerushalmi, was arrested, questioning in Brussel Pop the country in the middle of the night, with the help of Israeli authorities, after a judge ordered police to conduct an investigation for war crimes based on evidence provided by the Hind Rajab Foundation, a Belgian-based Palestinian rights organization. HRF had submitted a dossier of evidence to the ICC in 2023 that documented Israeli war crimes committed in Gaza carrying out a variety of war crimes, including looting, destruction of property, and attacks against civilians. The Israeli military told Drop Site that it "examines reports of violent protest on social media and handles them with command and control measures," adding that cases where soldiers' expression or behavior were found "inappropriate" were "handled appropriately."

All digital archive efforts also face the risk of being corrupted over time. It copies of copies of copies, for example, can degrade in quality and become illegible. Equipment, current, can degrade to the point where it's no longer accessible or usable. In short, digitization does not equal preservation. Just the permutable hard needs to be backed up and so not to quick digital material also needs to be stored and recovered or copied so that original material's entire something was taken, protect, and the information is preserved, not the original material's medium.

Another genocide documentation effort, the Rescuearchive Archive, created a decentralized repository of Gaza's digital archives, including PCHR's. It's also been a target of cyberattacks and of Israeli and other public figures that it determines to

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have expressed support for mass killings in Gaza. "We need to have a record of what people have said and how they justified violence on a massive scale," Alex Foley, one of the group's founders, told Drop Site, explaining the impetus for starting the archive. Since the crime of genocide must include intent, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and scholars of genocide have used statements by Israeli officials similar to the ones collected by the Accountability Archive to determine that Israel is committing genocide and other crimes against humanity. A volunteer effort with a core team based in the United Kingdom, the five-person project consists of three researchers, a developer, and an analyst. It has an advisory board of about a dozen more people.

They started by circulating a Google form, Foley said. But the team feared that Google could delete it, or that it could be lost to a virus or spyware. They now use a form—posted to their website—to which crowdsourced contributors can upload links to relevant statements. The form automatically creates an archived copy; while the team stores the information on private servers and back-up hard drives. By January, they'd stored over 53,000 data points.

"I start my day job and at 5, I do this until 10," said Foley, who was working in the charity sector at the time he was interviewed by Drop Site. "It's becoming a second full-time job."

Accidental Archives

> *Incident date: October 28–29, 2024*
> *Location: Beit Lahia, North Gaza*
> *Strike type: Airstrike*
> *Infrastructure: Apartment Building, Residential*
> *Civilians reported killed: 129–254 (42–60 children, 28–37 women, 29–38 men)*
> *Known belligerent: Israeli Military*

For more than a decade, the U.K.-based nonprofit Airwars has been creating online entries like the one above to document civilian harm from airstrikes across the world. It has compiled archives for Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, Yemen, and Ukraine. For Gaza, a team of 10, supported by 30 volunteers, has collected over 9,000 incidents, verifying close to 1,000. But funding remains the biggest obstacle—and an anomaly in Airwars' history, Emily Tripp, its director, told Drop Site. "I've had conversations with foundations where publicly they're very supportive of the cause, and then internally the politics of it means that they don't invest, they don't touch it," she said.

"We saw how easy it was for those funders to mobilize around Ukraine," she added. But when it came to Gaza, "suddenly all of them were hand-wringing and going through internal strategic conversations and deciding whether or not this was important."

Tripp also emphasized how integral social media is to their work. "You have, on any given strike, a [member of the] Palestinian diaspora saying, 'My relative was killed'; local journalists on the scene; family Facebook pages," Tripp explained. "We're deliberately looking for quite specific things." This information, which lives on social media, is essential to triangulating their sources and establishing the facts of what happened on the ground.

"Social media companies need to start seeing themselves as accidental archives," Tripp said. "You have tech companies who are willy-nilly in how they will regulate or not their own content, and they're also not seeing themselves as holders of this incredibly important, valuable information for humanity."

Companies like X have changed a lot in the years after the Syrian war. It used to be easy to pull large amounts of data from the site using search terms or other systems, like browser extensions and independent software that automatically scrape information. But since Elon Musk's takeover and business restructure, X has put limitations on how much content researchers can access at a large scale, which is a baseline requirement for an archive. X's strict anti-scraping measures block IP addresses attempting to pull data en masse and make mass information only available for purchase. In 2021, Facebook implemented AI machine learning tools, enabling it to quickly identify and block any type of scraping from its platforms, significantly slowing down the work of archivists.

Meanwhile, X suspended hundreds of accounts that it alleged to have been pushing hate speech, drawing critiques from digital rights groups that the platform had targeted accounts sharing important information about Israeli attacks. Within three months of the start of the war, according to Human Rights Watch, Meta was systematically censoring and suppressing Palestine-related content as well, tallying at least 1,050 takedowns from across 60 countries. In some cases, Meta alleged certain instances represented support for "terrorist groups" (Meta relies on the U.S. State Department, which designates Hamas as such, to make these calls). But Human Rights Watch found these posts did not even praise or support Hamas, but "instead were aimed at giving people context and information to understand the escalation in violence." In other cases, without giving a reason, Meta took down prominent Palestinian accounts, including those of journalists. Among them is a Palestinian news agency, Al Quds News Network, whose Facebook page was permanently deleted and whose Instagram was temporarily suspended.

Meta has also retroactively deleted content posted by journalists in Gaza. Most famously, photography by Motaz Azaiza that documented the immediate aftermath of airstrikes with images of dead children's limbs was found to go against guidelines of "sexual activity or nudity," and even "pornography," according to an AJ+ investigation, resulting in the takedown of dozens of his posts. In December 2023, Meta's independent Oversight Board criticized the company's automated takedown policy for Instagram posts with references to Hamas—a U.S.-designated terrorist organization, and also the local governance of Gaza. One post reinstated by the Oversight Board after being labeled as "hate speech" included videos of people killed and injured after an airstrike on a hospital. Meta's takedown of Palestinian content has continued through evolving policies, such as targeting keywords like "Zionist"—which Meta says can be a proxy for hate speech—that often appears alongside content with information about civilian harm from Israeli strikes.

Hijiy, who has 165,000 followers on Instagram and 1,400 on X, said his posts were blocked or throttled because they contained images of bodies mangled by Israeli strikes; sometimes, his content was deemed "political" and in violation of Meta's community guidelines. "I would avoid certain words like 'attack' and 'Palestine' out of precaution to ensure my posts wouldn't be taken down," he said. X, meanwhile, was purging dormant accounts. Hijiy wondered what would happen to his accounts if he joined the more than 200 journalists to be killed in the conflict.

To avoid triggering a takedown, activists have encouraged the use of coded language—spelling Palestine as Pale8tine, for example. As a consequence, search functions cannot yield productive results, because straightforward terms such as "Palestine" or "Gaza" won't bring researchers to all the relevant content on these platforms, if it still exists. Even emojis such as the Palestinian flag and the red triangle, which is associated with the Qassam Brigades, are now subjected to takedown or shadowbanning (limiting the reach of any given post). Meta and X did not respond to requests for comment from Drop Site.

mahmudhams

A post shared by @mahmudhams

Meta and X also don't offer added protections to accounts of journalists in Palestine or others serving a public information role in this conflict. Mahmud Hams, 44, is a photojournalist from Gaza with the French wire agency Agence France-Presse. He used to hold live broadcasts from his Instagram account that had 40,000 followers, showing the aftermath of airstrikes, or his team running from Israeli drone strikes, or children suffering from skin diseases. He'd stream from tents from Rafah to Nasser Hospital, and he'd convert those broadcasts into videos—a function offered and done wholly on Instagram—for users to share.

But in January, his account was hacked, the username changed, and all of the videos were deleted. He enlisted support from colleagues at AFP to help restore his account, but with no success. "I kept all of my work on this page so people would know what was happening in Gaza," Hams told Drop Site. He managed to find some of the live broadcasts he'd converted into video reels saved on his phone. But as for the rest: "We've lost it."

Gaza as It Was

Up until the ceasefire, Hijiy spent countless days alternating his focus between work and survival. When he wasn't researching and recording, he was looking for a meal. "Life here isn't stable," he told Drop Site in December.

After the ceasefire, Hijiy finally returned home to Gaza City to find his house still standing—but no electricity, water, or internet, prompting him to return to Deir al-Balah, where utilities were more available, if unreliable. The pause in airstrikes has made movement easier and safer, and people are more reachable than before. But rebuilding Gaza's destroyed infrastructure will be slow. Internet access remains shaky, because 75% of cell towers have been bombed, and there is a shortage of fuel to power those that remain operational.

The leveled landscape hinders travel, and many people are expected to remain in tents or otherwise displaced possibly for years, meaning that witnesses to past crimes would remain difficult to reach for documenters even with an end to the bombardment. Rebuilding efforts, such as clearing rubble, meanwhile, could result in lost evidence, while surveillance footage from facilities like hospitals and schools must be collected before it's deleted or lost. At the same time, documentation is competing with the desire to return home, learn the fates of loved ones, and mourn. After visiting Rafah the day after the ceasefire came into effect, Rahim, the PCHR researcher, told Drop Site, "The extent of the destruction in the city is staggering."

In the 20 years Hijiy spent reporting on Gaza before October 7, he captured and preserved images of Gaza's sea line, busy roundabouts, and streets stretching for miles. That Gaza is gone: the streets turned to rubble, the destroyed infrastructure leaving trash and sewage to collect along the coast. He sees the full scope of his work as one that also shows people what Gaza was like before. "I want people to know what life was like here for many years before this great devastation obscured the beauty, stories, and daily life of this beautiful spot on Earth and its residents," he said.

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