

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, increasing clouds, high 66.  
Tonight, showers, cloudy, low 52. To-  
morrow, clouds breaking for some  
sunshine, a shower early, cooler,  
high 56. Weather map, Page A20.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 59,975      © 2023 The New York Times Company      FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2023      Prices in Canada may be higher      \$4.00



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## ‘I Grabbed Our Baby and Escaped’

Survivors of the Hamas attack on Israel on Oct. 7 agreed to share their stories of that day.  
Above from left, Roni and Ovadia Keidar, Stav Nitzan and Shaylee Atary. Page A12.

## Jewish Celebrities Confront TikTok Over Antisemitism on Site

**By SAPNA MAHESHWARI**  
More than a dozen Jewish TikTok creators and celebrities confronted TikTok executives and other employees in a private meeting on Wednesday night, urging them to do more to address a surge of antisemitism and harassment on the popular video service.  
The meeting, held on a video call for about 90 minutes and joined by more than 30 people, included the actors Sacha Baron Cohen, Debra Messing and Amy

Schumer. It was led by Adam Presser, TikTok's head of operations, and Seth Melnick, its global head of user operations. The executives said they wanted to know more about what the creators were experiencing to improve the app, according to a recording obtained by The New York Times.  
The celebrities and creators described, sometimes with fiery rhetoric, how TikTok's tools did not prevent a flood of comments like “Hitler was right” or “I hope you end up like Anne Frank” under videos posted by them and other Jewish users.

### Accusations of Pushing Anti-Israel Content

“What is happening at TikTok is it is creating the biggest antisemitic movement since the Nazis,” Mr. Cohen, who does not appear to have an official TikTok account, said early in the call. He criticized violent imagery and disinformation on the platform, telling Mr. Presser, “Shame on you,” and claiming that TikTok

could “flip a switch” to fix antisemitism on its platform.  
Mr. Presser and Mr. Melnick of TikTok, who are also Jewish and based in the United States, were largely conciliatory in the meeting. “Obviously a lot of what Sacha says, there's truth to that,” Mr. Presser said, referring to Mr. Cohen's remarks that social media companies needed to take more action. Mr. Presser later said there was no “magic button” to address all the concerns raised.  
TikTok is urgently trying to

*Continued on Page A12*

## More Seniors Are Choosing Pot Over Pills

**By CHRISTINA CARON**  
Seniors are one of the fastest-growing populations of cannabis users in the United States. While some older adults have used pot for decades, studies suggest that others are turning to the drug for the first time to help them sleep better, dampen pain or treat anxiety — especially when prescription drugs, which often come with unwanted side effects, don't work as intended.  
In 2007, only about 0.4 percent of people age 65 and older in the United States had reported using cannabis in the past year, according to the National Survey on Drug Use and Health. That number rose to almost 3 percent by 2016. As of 2022, it was at more than 8 percent.  
Nancy Herring, 76, has been using cannabis recreationally for her entire adult life — she describes herself as “one of the hippies from the '60s.” But it wasn't until her husband was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease and dementia two years ago that she began to wonder about pot's medicinal use.  
During the course of his illness, her husband, now 79, had developed insomnia. Soon, neither of them was sleeping.  
Doctors prescribed pills to help him rest, but “nothing really

*Continued on Page A17*



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Thousands of Ukrainians have escaped Russian-controlled territory through a circuitous route.

## Fleeing the Fearful Limbo of Occupied Ukraine

*This article is by Andrew E. Kramer, Maria Varenikova and Matthew Mpoke Bigg.*

SUMY, Ukraine — The Russian soldiers turned up at her home close to midnight with an ominous message.  
“They said, ‘If in two weeks you don't have a Russian passport, we will talk to you in a different way,’” recalled Evelina, a social worker who until this month lived under Russian occupation in southeast-

### Late-Night Searches by Russian Soldiers

ern Ukraine.  
She didn't wait to have that conversation. Instead, she bundled a few possessions into a suitcase and left with her teenage daughter, heading for territory controlled by Ukraine.  
In the Russian-governed lands,

she said, it has become so tense that “you are afraid to look out your own window.”  
The military deadlock that has settled in across southeastern Ukraine poses a looming security threat to the rest of the country, and menaces Europe with a long period of instability. But for the estimated 4 million to 6 million Ukrainians living in Russian-held areas, as Evelina was, the stalemate means something more

*Continued on Page A6*

## Israelis Comb Gaza Hospital For an Enemy

### Seek Signs of Hamas; Allies Urge Restraint

**By PATRICK KINGSLEY and THOMAS FULLER**  
JERUSALEM — Israeli troops on Thursday scoured the largest hospital in Gaza for a second day, searching for a Hamas presence or any evidence that the armed Palestinian group had used tunnels beneath it as a secret base, even as Israel came under growing pressure from Western allies to curtail civilian deaths and ease the suffering of Gaza's population.  
Although the military has yet to present public documentation of a vast network of tunnels, an Israeli military spokesman, Rear Adm. Daniel Hagari, said troops had uncovered a Hamas tunnel shaft underneath the Al-Shifa Hospital complex, as well as a vehicle on the hospital grounds packed with weapons. Videos released by the military showed the tunnel shaft, as well as grenades, ammunition and assault weapons.  
“They have all this evil hidden here,” a soldier says in a video clip.  
The military earlier announced that in a structure “adjacent” to the hospital, which is in northern Gaza, it had found the body of Yehudit Weiss, 65, one of the hostages Hamas abducted during its cross-border attack in Israel on Oct. 7. Admiral Hagari said she had been killed by Hamas.  
Israel's claims that Hamas, which controls Gaza, operated from within the sprawling Al-Shifa complex have been central to its defense of its military campaign. Israel says the soaring number of civilian deaths — over 11,000, according to the Gazan authorities — has been caused in part by Hamas's decision to hide its military fortifications and command centers inside civilian infrastructure like Al-Shifa.  
The United States has backed Israel's assertions that Al-Shifa Hospital was used by Hamas's armed wing, with John Kirby, the U.S. National Security Council spokesman, telling reporters on Thursday that U.S. intelligence agencies had reached that conclusion independently.  
“We have our own intelligence that convinces us that Hamas was using Al-Shifa as a command-and-control node — and, most likely, as a storage facility,” CNN quoted Mr. Kirby as saying.  
On Thursday the Israeli military said troops were using scanners at the hospital to search for

*Continued on Page A11*

## SANTOS VIOLATED LAW IN CAMPAIGN, ETHICS PANEL SAYS

### ‘SERIES OF LIES’ CITED

### Push to Expel Republican Grows as He Halts Re-election Bid

**By GRACE ASHFORD**  
The House Ethics Committee on Thursday found “substantial evidence” that Representative George Santos violated federal law, setting the stage for another push to expel the embattled first-term Republican from New York and prompting him to declare that he would not seek re-election.  
House investigators concluded that Mr. Santos used campaign funds for personal purposes, defrauded donors and filed false or incomplete campaign finance and financial disclosures, according to a scathing 56-page report released on Thursday.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Representative George Santos has resisted calls to resign.

Mr. Santos “sought to fraudulently exploit every aspect of his House candidacy for his own personal financial profit,” the report said, adding that he sustained his campaign “through a constant series of lies to his constituents, donors, and staff about his background and experience.”  
The committee voted unanimously to refer its findings to the Department of Justice, saying that Mr. Santos's conduct “warrants public condemnation, is beneath the dignity of the office, and has brought severe discredit upon the House.”  
And while the panel refrained from recommending any punitive measures, its chairman, Representative Michael Guest, Republican of Mississippi, separately announced that he would introduce a new motion to remove Mr. Santos

*Continued on Page A16*

## In Public Causes, Kennedy Earns Acclaim, Criticism and a Fortune

**By SUSANNE CRAIG**  
In 2021, Robert F. Kennedy Jr. earned more than \$500,000 as the chairman and top lawyer at Children's Health Defense, the nonprofit organization that he has helped build into a leading spreader of anti-vaccine falsehoods and a platform for launching his independent bid for the White House.  
The compensation was almost three times as high as the amount paid to the organization's president, but it was not Mr. Kennedy's biggest source of income. Neither was his family's fabled wealth. Instead, most of his earnings around the same time came from law firms — a total of \$7 million for lending them his name, connections and expertise to sue major companies.

### Look at Finances Shows Benefit to Candidate

Throughout his long public life, Mr. Kennedy has cultivated an image as a man committed to a greater good, the blessing and burden of belonging to one of America's most storied political families. Whether cleaning up rivers as an environmentalist or railing against the purported dangers of inoculations, he has said he is driven by his family's legacy of civic duty and sacrifice.  
He built his presidential run around similar themes, even as his cousin dismissed the campaign as a “vanity project” and other relatives disavowed his be-

*Continued on Page A18*

NATIONAL A14-21

**Pelosi Attacker Found Guilty**  
Jurors convicted David DePape of federal crimes for breaking into the home of Nancy Pelosi and striking her husband with a hammer. **PAGE A15**

BUSINESS B1-5

**Erasing Student Loan Debt**  
Though the Supreme Court blocked the cancellation of some college debt, the Biden administration has still managed to eliminate billions in loans. **PAGE B1**

SPORTS B8-11

**The Best Long-Distance Teams**  
Northern Arizona has become a destination for endurance athletes and the home of dominant college cross-country programs. **PAGE B8**

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

**Return to the Middle Ages**  
The Monty Python musical “Spamalot” is back on Broadway, with its Trojan rabbit, clopping coconuts and self-flagellating monks intact. **PAGE C1**

OPINION A22-23

**Pamela Paul** **A23**  
0 354613 9



**PATEK PHILIPPE**  
GENEVE

TWENTY-4 AUTOMATIC  
BEGIN YOUR OWN TRADITION



**TIFFANY & Co.**

THE LANDMARK