



SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Waiting for treatment on Thursday at Al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza. “We are facing a huge disaster,” a U.N. humanitarian official said.

The Ex-General Who Grabbed His Pistol and Took On Hamas

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN
BE’ERI, Israel — Israel Ziv, a retired Israeli Army general, was taking a bike ride Saturday morning when a flood of alarming calls started coming in.
A huge barrage of rockets had been fired from Gaza. Gunmen from Hamas, the armed Palestinian group that controls the territory, were pouring across the border. Soon he would learn a friend’s son was trapped in a kibbutz.
He raced home, put on his uniform and grabbed his weapon, a nine-millimeter pistol.
Within minutes he was flying



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Israel Ziv leaped into action.

Personifying the Spirit of Israel, and Trying to Fix Its Failings

down a deserted highway in his new white Audi. As he neared the Gaza border, columns of black smoke rose in front of him, and the Israeli Army, at least at first, was nowhere to be seen. Hamas attackers were running across the landscape, hunched under the weight of heavy machine guns and rocket-propelled grenade launchers, shooting at him.
“They were all over,” he said. “Hundreds of them.”
Mr. Ziv, stocky, spiky-haired, a bit irascible, and the former head of the operations directorate of the Israel Defense Forces, is a well-known figure in Israel, especially now. His actions over the weekend — driving headlong into the battle zone armed only with a pistol, organizing a confused group of soldiers into a fighting unit and overseeing evacuations — have been

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Netanyahu Vows to Crush Foe. First Challenge Is How to Do It.

By STEVEN ERLANGER and RONEN BERGMAN
JERUSALEM — Israel, already bombing intensively in Gaza, is gearing up for a major military operation there unlike any in the past, warning the world that for Israel, after the massacre of its citizens by Hamas on Saturday, the rules have changed.
“Every Hamas member is marked by death,” Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Wednesday night, reflecting the government’s aggressive new vocabulary. On Thursday, standing with the U.S. secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, he compared Hamas to the Islamic State and said: “Hamas is ISIS, and just as ISIS was crushed, so too will Hamas be crushed.”
There is no disagreement in the new unity government, which must approve the military’s plans, on the need to dismantle Hamas — to ensure that it can never threaten Israel again and that those responsible for the killing of more than 1,200 Israeli civilians are hunted down, officials say.
That a major operation is com-

Seeking Permanent End to Threat, but Not a Reoccupation

ing is hardly in doubt. Already, near the border, there are massive, overt Israeli troop and tank deployments, and the country has called up 360,000 reservists.
But there are tactical arguments over how any operation should start, whether it will begin massively or with raiding parties, how best to coordinate Israel’s overwhelming strength in land, sea and especially air power, said Yaakov Amidror, a retired major general who served as national security adviser to Mr. Netanyahu in an earlier government and has spoken to government officials.
Any invasion of Gaza, a small, densely populated territory of 2 million people, would be daunting. Hamas, the Islamist organization that has ruled the enclave for 17 years, knows the terrain exceedingly well, operates in a complex

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300,000 HOMELESS IN BATTERED GAZA AS FOOD RUNS LOW

Hospitals Overwhelmed and Fuel Scarce as Israel Strikes Back at Hamas

By EDWARD WONG and HIBA YAZBEK
TEL AVIV — Six days of Israeli airstrikes have left more than 300,000 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip homeless, with two million residents facing critical shortages of food, water and fuel, while Israeli troops prepared on Thursday for a possible ground invasion after Hamas’s deadly weekend assault.
Retaliating for the bloodiest attack on Israel in 50 years, Israel is pummeling Gaza with a ferocity not seen in past conflicts and has cut off vital supplies to the coastal territory. Health officials in Gaza, home to two million people, said the Israeli bombardment had killed more than 1,500 people and injured over 6,600 others.
Israel’s military says that it is hitting places used by Hamas, which controls Gaza, including mosques, houses and other outwardly civilian locations. Gazans say the airstrikes are doing indiscriminate damage to civilians and civilian sites, and independent observers have confirmed that schools and ambulances have been destroyed.
The retaliatory strikes began after Hamas terrorists broke through the border fence with Israel on Saturday morning and attacked towns, kibbutzim and a military base, killing more than 1,200 people, most of them civilians, wounding about 3,000 others and kidnapping about 150 hostages, the Israeli government said.
Gaza’s only power plant stopped generating electricity on Wednesday for lack of fuel, shutting down everything from lights to refrigerators, and much of the region lacks running water. Hospitals are overwhelmed with wounded patients and running out of vital supplies; fuel for generators and vehicles is dwindling rapidly; food and water are growing scarce; and it is not clear when humanitarian aid might be allowed in.
“We are facing a huge disaster,” Adnan Abu Hasna, an official with the United Nations agency that aids Palestinian refugees, said by phone from Gaza. He described conditions as “absolutely horrible.”
With the United States stepping up its weapons shipments to Israel, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken joined Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at a military base in Tel Aviv to reinforce support for Israel “as long as America

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Israeli soldiers near the border, five days after the Hamas attack.

Scalise Departs Speaker’s Race As G.O.P. Feuds

By LUKE BROADWATER
WASHINGTON — Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana withdrew on Thursday from consideration for the speakership he was on the cusp of claiming after hard-line Republicans balked at rallying around their party’s chosen candidate, leaving the House leaderless and the G.O.P. in chaos.
After being narrowly nominated for speaker during a Wednesday closed-door secret-ballot contest among House Republicans, Mr. Scalise, their No. 2 leader, found himself far from the 217 votes needed to be elected on the House floor. Many supporters of his challenger, Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the right-wing Republican endorsed by former President Donald J. Trump, refused to switch their allegiance.
With no clear end in sight to the G.O.P. infighting that has left one chamber of Congress paralyzed at a time of challenges at home and

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Politics Made Them Feel Unsafe, So They Moved

By TRIP GABRIEL
Steve Huckins, a native of Oregon, was preparing to move across the country when he went on Facebook to post a goodbye letter of sorts to his home state.
“I had planned to die here,” Mr. Huckins, 59, wrote. “It’s a beautiful state. The mountains, the lakes, the rivers, the beaches. All are overshadowed by the societal and political climate.”
Mr. Huckins and his wife, Ginger, were leaving Portland, Ore., one of the most progressive cities in the United States. They said Portland’s tolerance of homeless encampments, along with the open use of hard drugs and rising crime, had filled them with despair. So they headed 2,000 miles east, to deep-red rural Missouri.
Driving around their new hometown in June, about an hour outside St. Louis, they admired the old Victorians and a tractor defying the minimum speed limit on a state road.
“One thing I do like about Missouri, there’s lots of American flags,” Mr. Huckins said as he steered around a traffic circle where the Stars and Stripes flapped crisply on a pole. “In Port-

land, the American flag was offensive.”
One day earlier, in a neighboring state, another couple making a politically motivated move had a different flag on display — a Pride flag on a T-shirt.
Jennie and Jeff Noble were packing their possessions into a 26-foot U-Haul truck in suburban

Iowa. Ms. Noble, 37, who was wearing the Pride T-shirt, and her husband were leaving Iowa for Minnesota.
Their only child, Julien, came out as transgender at age 11. Now 16, Julien uses prescription testosterone. After Iowa banned gender-affirming medical care for mi-

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Jennie and Jeff Noble with their son, Julien, who is transgender. They left Iowa for Minnesota and its L.G.B.T.Q. protections.

Onetime Friends Turn Witnesses Against Bankman-Fried in Court

By DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY and J. EDWARD MORENO
When Sam Bankman-Fried’s cryptocurrency exchange collapsed in November, one of his oldest friends sent him a message of support.
“I love you, Sam,” said Adam Yedidia, a college classmate of Mr. Bankman-Fried’s who went on to work for him at the exchange, FTX. “I am not going anywhere. Don’t worry.”
Within days, Mr. Yedidia had resigned from FTX. And last week, at Mr. Bankman-Fried’s fraud trial in federal court in Manhattan, Mr. Yedidia showed up to testify for the prosecution, and recounted the conversation to the jury.
Mr. Bankman-Fried’s trial has offered a vivid window into one of the most dramatic corporate collapses in recent history, a \$10 billion implosion that touched the worlds of Washington politics, Wall Street finance and Silicon Valley investing. But the case also has a deeply personal undercurrent: the rapid unraveling of a close social group that has ended

FTX Chief’s Fraud Trial Reveals a Dissolving of His Inner Circle

up pitting friend against friend.
At FTX’s headquarters in the Bahamas, Mr. Bankman-Fried lived and worked with an inner circle of more than half a dozen friends, including a former lover, a confidant from high school math camp and a childhood buddy of his younger brother. At least four of those allies have turned against him and agreed to cooperate with the government, after either pleading guilty or receiving immunity from prosecution.
In the courtroom, the personal dynamics between Mr. Bankman-Fried and his friends have become a vital component of the case. Prosecutors have shown photographs of Mr. Bankman-Fried socializing with Mr. Yedidia and other onetime confidants, seeking to draw out testimony about the

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Split Ruling in McClain’s Death
A jury convicted one officer and acquitted another in the case of Elijah McClain, an unarmed Black man. PAGE A20

Disputing Need for a Wall
A county in South Texas, where new border barriers are planned, has been relatively calm, locals said. PAGE A13



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Exterminators in France play the role of therapist to an anxious post-pandemic population that is panicking over recent bedbug outbreaks. PAGE A10

Battle for Global Opinion
Kyiv says Russia is looking to leverage the Israel-Hamas war to dampen support for Ukraine, while Moscow is calling it a failure of the West. PAGE A11

Ecuador’s Next President?
Daniel Noboa, a businessman whose family empire includes a global banana brand, is leading an establishment rival ahead of Sunday’s election. PAGE A12

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New tools that can readily clone human voices present the latest policing challenge for social media platforms trying to rein in disinformation. PAGE B1

Inflation Is Steady, for Now
Prices are rising at a pace that is much less rapid than in 2022, but signs of stalling progress are likely to keep Federal Reserve officials wary. PAGE B1

From Pop Star to Movie Star
Taylor Swift’s concert film, in theaters on Friday, is expected to break box office records. “The fever and scale is unprecedented,” one analyst said. PAGE B1

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“Gutenberg! The Musical!” is a satirical stage show about a stage show about the inventor of movable type. PAGE C1

Beyond ‘The Dinner Party’
A six-decade survey of the feminist artist Judy Chicago, “Herstory,” has opened at the New Museum. PAGE C1



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The 19-year-old just won the U.S. Open. Now she needs to make sure she doesn’t become a one-hit wonder. PAGE B7

Diamondbacks Soak It In
Arizona introduces itself to fans by sweeping a Dodgers team full of All-Stars and M.V.P.s. PAGE B10

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