



Several people were arrested at a traffic stop on Sunday in Washington, where polls show that residents say crime is a top concern.

Pulling the ‘Crime Card’ Proves Politically Dicey

By SHAILA DEWAN

It was an object lesson in the politics of crime.

After President Trump called Washington a city of “crime, bloodshed, bedlam and squalor,” and summoned the National Guard and the F.B.I. to patrol its streets, his opponents on the left reacted with righteous indignation. They called it a cynical move to exploit a crime crisis that they say does not exist, in a city where violent crime is at a 30-year low.

But whatever the statistics say, polls consistently show that many people in the nation’s capital — including in communities that typically vote Democratic — are deeply concerned about public

Left Walks Into a Trap That the Right Has Found Familiar

safety. That makes downplaying street crime politically perilous.

Mr. Trump’s opponents had walked into a trap. But it’s one that Republicans had also faced only a few days earlier.

A succession of high-profile shootings in broad daylight — on Park Avenue, outside the Centers for Disease Control, at a Target parking lot in Texas — drew attention and sparked anxiety this summer.

Each led to familiar calls for as-

sault weapon bans and other gun safety laws from the political left. It is a message that politicians on the right have long struggled to rebut, even though the statistics are on their side: mass shootings make up a tiny portion of gun crimes, and recent data from the Gun Violence Archive show that such shootings are falling nearly to pre-pandemic levels. (There were well over 600 mass shootings annually during the peak pandemic years; more than half-way through 2025, there have been 271.)

Statistics are far from the only factor in how people feel. Violence and crime can provoke intensely personal, emotional reactions, helping people decide where to

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For Economy, Clouds Darken But May Pass

By LYDIA DePILLIS

At the moment, the American economy feels a little bit like a hot August afternoon. The air is heavy and still, as lightning flashes on the horizon. The storm could sweep through and leave destruction in its wake. It could set in for a brief drizzle.

Or it could pass by in the distance, and take its fury elsewhere.

In this very humid metaphor, the electricity in the sky is the steep tariffs that President Trump has now imposed on most goods coming into the United States. It’s also his strict immigration curbs, mass firings of government employees and the pullback in government spending.

Economists have been waiting for that multifaceted storm system to start showing up in the economic data. The signs are now unmistakable, but the severity of the impact remains unclear.

“It’s a really tough call,” said James Egelhof, chief U.S. economist with BNP Paribas, an international bank. He thinks the most likely scenario is that the economy is going through a soft patch, rather than entering a deep recession.

“What we are looking for in a cyclical downturn is a change in corporate behavior, that they have lost confidence in the expansion and are getting more risk-averse,” Mr. Egelhof said. “They pull back on employment, and they reduce hiring. Thus far we haven’t seen this shift.”

Plenty of indicators suggest inflation and the labor market are headed in the wrong direction.

After slowly sinking back to close-to-normal levels, price growth has sped up again, partic-

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Monsoon, a Giver of Life, Also Brings Death
Devastation in Beshonai, Pakistan, from floods that have killed more than 300 in the area. Page A6.

A Puzzling, and Staggering, Link to Colon Cancer for Marathoners

By RONI CARYN RABIN

The three patients should have been portraits of health. They were young, lean and physically active. Unusually active, in fact: Two regularly ran 100-mile ultramarathons, and one had completed 13 half-marathons in a single year.

By the time they came to see Dr. Timothy Cannon, all three had advanced colon cancer. He was mys-

tified; the oldest of them was 40, and none had any known risk factors. The doctor couldn’t help wondering if extreme running might have played a role.

So Dr. Cannon, an oncologist with Inova Schar Cancer in Fairfax, Va., launched a study, recruiting 100 marathon and ultramarathon runners ages 35 to 50 to undergo a colonoscopy.

The results were staggering. Almost half the participants had pol-

A Study of 100 Runners Finds Inflated Rate

yps, and 15 percent had advanced adenomas likely to become cancerous.

The rate of advanced adenomas was much higher than that seen among adults in their late 40s in the general population, which

ranges from 4.5 percent to 6 percent, according to recent studies. The figure among extreme runners was even higher than the 12 percent rate among Alaska Natives, who are unusually prone to colon cancer.

The research was presented at an American Society of Clinical Oncology conference but has not yet been published in a medical journal.

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Trump Rejects Sending U.S. Troops to Ukraine As Part of a Peace Deal

NEWS ANALYSIS The Only Clarity on Putin: Ambiguity

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — In the annals of trans-Atlantic diplomacy, Monday’s meeting between President Trump and European leaders may go down as one of the stranger summits in memory. Historic, yet uncertain in its outcome; momentous, yet ephemeral in its effect on the war in Ukraine; choreographed, yet hostage to the impulses of a single man, Mr. Trump.

As Europe’s leaders began returning to their slumbering capitals, diplomats and foreign policy experts struggled to make sense of a midsummer’s meeting with Mr. Trump and President Volodymyr Zelensky that often had a dreamlike quality — with made-for-TV moments and unexpected interludes.

The seven European leaders put forward a show of support for Mr. Zelensky and unity with one another. They won a potentially vital, if vague, expression of support from Mr. Trump for postwar security guarantees for Ukraine and sidestepped a discussion of territorial concessions, according to Chancellor Friedrich Merz of Germany.

Still, they all but acquiesced to Mr. Trump’s abandonment of a cease-fire between Russia and Ukraine as a condition for further talks. Analysts said that put Europe’s leaders essentially where they were before Mr. Trump’s meeting with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in Alaska last week: subject to the president’s faith that he can conjure a deal with the Russian leader to end the grinding war.

“In Anchorage and in Washington, it was a triumph of empty vagueness and meaningless commitments,” said Gérard Araud, who served as France’s ambassador to the United States during Mr. Trump’s first term. “In both cases, no firm decision has been taken. Nothing has changed.”

Mr. Araud said Mr. Trump’s reassuring words about security guarantees, and the lack of a

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Suggests Air Support for Europeans on the Ground

This article is by Maggie Haberman, David E. Sanger, Neil MacFarquhar and Michael Levenson.

President Trump said on Tuesday that no American ground troops would be sent to Ukraine as part of a potential peace agreement with Russia, a day after a round of intense diplomacy in Washington yielded few details on how to stop the war and prevent future Russian aggression.

U.S. and European officials have raised the possibility of sending Western troops into Ukraine as postwar peacekeepers, and Mr. Trump said the United States could potentially back the forces with air support. But he said that the United States would not provide “boots on the ground.”

“You have my assurance, and I’m president,” he said on Fox News. Russia has flatly rejected the idea of an international force on its borders.

Mr. Trump’s comments came a day after seven European officials — including the leaders of Britain, France, Italy, Germany and NATO — met with Mr. Trump and President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine at the White House in an effort to forge an agreement that could end the war. And skepticism grew on Tuesday among some Europeans as to whether bilateral talks would take shape.

Their meetings — held after Mr. Trump welcomed President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia to Alaska last week — produced smiles and expressions of solidarity with Ukraine but few tangible signs of progress, three and a half years after Russia launched its full-scale invasion.

On several critical issues — including postwar security guarantees for Ukraine, potential territorial concessions and the need for

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RELIEF Ukrainian analysts took cautious encouragement from the meeting in Washington. PAGE A9

SECURITY Russia is unlikely to agree to allow Western troops in Ukraine. News Analysis. PAGE A10

Why Putin Thinks Russia Has the Upper Hand



A recruitment billboard in Moscow showcases the financial benefits, signing bonuses included, of joining Russia’s army.

This article is by Anatoly Kurmanaev, Josh Holder, Paul Sonne and Oleg Matsnev.

Early in the war, the Russian Army was teetering on the verge of collapse in Ukraine. Its tanks were being incinerated. Its soldiers were retreating. Its campaign was failing, in a grave threat to President Vladimir V. Putin’s rule. Then Russia overhauled the military, producing new weapons, like first-person view drones, and adopting new tactics. And the front stabilized. While a decisive victory remains elusive, Russia’s military resurgence is guiding Mr. Putin as he pushes for a peace deal on his terms.

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A.I. Raising Everyone’s Bills
Electricity rates could increase sharply as Big Tech builds data centers and moves into energy generation. PAGE B1

Race to Rescue Public Media
Philanthropies hope to provide \$50 million to the stations most at risk from the recent federal funding cuts. PAGE B1

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A judge ruled that asylum seekers must be moved out of a hotel in England in a case that highlighted an increasingly contentious issue in Britain. PAGE A4

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Louisville Complies With ICE
The Democratic mayor will give federal agents more time to detain immigrants who are held at the city’s jail. PAGE A14

Liberal Pastor Loses His Flock
The I.R.S. says churches can now back political candidates from the pulpit. A Wisconsin pastor paid a price. PAGE A19



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A Newer Nashville Sound
The rapper BigXthaPlug announced a country album on a whim. Luke Combs and others took him seriously. PAGE C1

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A.I.-enabled toys are being pitched to parents as alternatives to screen time, but potential issues abound. PAGE C1

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Coveted Prize in Rivalries
Traveling trophies remain a foundational part of Big Ten football. In many ways, they have become more iconic than the games themselves. PAGE B10

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He Fed Braciola to the Stars
Dan Tana, a former soccer player who defected from Communist Yugoslavia, drew Hollywood’s elite to his candlelit Italian restaurant. He was 90. PAGE B12

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Bret Stephens PAGE A23



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Strangely Delicious
Smithereens, a quirky East Village restaurant, conjures a thoughtful, sometimes dark, take on traditional coastal cooking. Above, its lobster roll. PAGE D1

