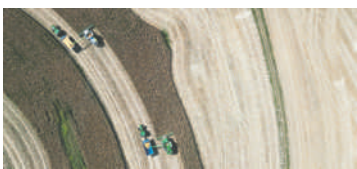


INSPIRED LIFE

A holiday collection of tales of joy and kindness. **SPECIAL SECTION**



FUTURE OF FARMING

U.S. agriculture and the climate change crisis. **SPECIAL SECTION**



LOCAL LIVING

The nonstop holiday blur, plus DIY decor projects. **HOLIDAY EDITION**

# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

RE V1 V2 V3 V4



Mostly sunny 58/41 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 54/35 **B6**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 2023 • \$5

## Altman's polarizing past lends insight

CEO's pattern of clashes hints at reason OpenAI's board initially fired him

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN AND NITASHA TIKU

Friday's shocking ouster of Sam Altman, who negotiated his return as CEO of OpenAI late Tuesday night, was not the first time the shrewd Silicon Valley operator has found himself on the outs.

Four years ago, one of Altman's mentors, Y Combinator founder Paul Graham, flew from the United Kingdom to San Francisco to give his protégé the boot, according to three people familiar with the incident, which has not been previously reported.

Graham had surprised the tech world in 2014 by tapping Altman, then in his 20s, to lead the vaunted Silicon Valley incubator. Five years later, he flew across the Atlantic with concerns that the company's president put his own interests ahead of the organization — worries that would be echoed by OpenAI's board.

Though a revered tactician and chooser of promising start-ups, Altman had developed a reputation for favoring personal priorities over official duties and for an absenteeism that rankled his peers and some of the start-ups he was supposed to nurture, said two of the people, as well as an additional person, all of whom

SEE ALTMAN ON A4

**The dust settles:** Altman's return caps days of corporate drama. **A4**



HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Circuitous path to deal was weeks in making

BY KAREN DEYOUNG

A little over a week ago, on Nov. 14, negotiations over the release by Hamas of hostages being held in Gaza appeared on the right track. Hamas had produced, as demanded by Israel and the United States, the names and identifying information of the 50 women and children held captive it was prepared to release.

Israel's war cabinet had agreed, in principle, to pause combat operations and trade 150 Palestinian prisoners.

In a one-on-one meeting in Tel Aviv that day between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Brett McGurk, the

White House's top official on the Middle East, "it was very clear" that the Israelis "were ready to move forward," a senior Biden administration official said.

As they walked together out of what had been a difficult session, Netanyahu, the official said, grabbed McGurk's arm and said, "We need this deal." Under extreme domestic pressure to bring the hostages home, he urged McGurk to have President Biden call the emir of Qatar, where negotiators were mediating the indirect talks with Hamas, and have him communicate Israel's "final" terms.

Just hours later, Israeli troops moved into Gaza's al-Shifa Hospi-

tal, and all communications with Hamas, and in Gaza, went dark.

"It had looked like towards the end of that day . . . that we were closing in and [then] everything stalled," said the senior official, one of several U.S. and foreign officials who provided an account of the five weeks of hard and often frustrating negotiations leading to the breakthrough hostage release deal and four-day fighting pause announced early Wednesday. They spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe sensitive details of the talks.

Hamas said it was breaking off all negotiations unless Israeli

SEE DEAL ON A24

**Protesters outside the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv on Tuesday night demand that the Israeli government make a deal with Hamas for the release of hostages. The next morning, the government would announce the approval of a captive-exchange deal and a four-day pause in fighting.**

**Hostage families:** Pressure a driving force behind deal. **A23**

**Gazans wait:** Planned pause brings relief — and fear. **A24**

**Anti-Israel posts:** Md. task force member suspended. **B1**

## Hope, dread in Gaza accord

BOMBS FALL AHEAD OF PLANNED PAUSE

Families hold breath awaiting hostage release

BY STEVE HENDRIX, HAZEM BALOUSHA, JUDITH SUDILOVSKY AND SUSANNAH GEORGE

JERUSALEM — War-shattered families in Israel and Gaza woke to a hopeful-but-agonizing limbo Wednesday after the early-hours approval of a deal between Israel and Hamas to pause fighting and exchange captives. The agreement allows the release of at least 50 Israeli hostages for 150 Palestinian prisoners during a four-day pause of combat operations in Gaza.

Israeli National Security Council Director Tzachi Hanegbi said the releases would not begin before Friday.

While Israel's Supreme Court reviewed the deal Wednesday, fighting continued for a 47th day. Bombs fell across the Gaza Strip while family members of hostages agonized over whether the longed-for day of release would include their particular loved ones.

"I am excited and hope that it will be my family," said Romina Shvalb, whose sister, brother-in-law and their two daughters are believed to be among the 240 abducted when Hamas fighters

SEE GAZA ON A22

## At affirmative action's end, college hopes diverge

Two teens' Ivy League ambitions are reordered after the Supreme Court's admissions shake-up



ALYSSA POINTER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**High school seniors Demar Goodman, left, and Cole Clemmons experienced fear and anxiety after the Supreme Court ruled that college admissions could no longer be race-based. Demar sees affirmative action's end as the fall of a clumsy but essential tool to right racial injustice. Cole wrestles with the possibility of an easier path to a selective but less diverse campus.**

BY HANNAH NATANSON

On the day affirmative action fell this summer, Demar Goodman phoned his best friend the second he got home from Georgia Tech, where the 17-year-old Black rising senior was conducting epidemiology research.

"So," Demar said. "Safe to say Harvard is out, right?"

The Supreme Court had ruled that morning in an ideologically split decision that colleges could no longer use race-based affirmative action when weighing applicants. A majority of the justices found that race-conscious admissions programs at Harvard and the University of North Carolina violated the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection.

The ruling upended the world of college applications, sending admissions counselors, teachers, parents and students scrambling to understand what the history-making decision meant, on a personal and practical level, for them.

SEE COLLEGE ON A16



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## He rescued a family from Vietnam in 1975. On Thanksgiving, they thank him.

BY CATHY FREE

A few days before Thanksgiving every year, Hoang Ly settles into a chair at his home in Fredericksburg, Va., to write a thank-you email to Stephen Greene, the lanky American who helped his family escape Saigon at the end of the Vietnam War in 1975.

"We wish you a healthy and happy Thanksgiving!" Ly wrote in last year's note to Greene, who now lives in Annapolis.

"Your help to evacuate my family out of war-torn Vietnam is always in my heart," Ly added. "I showed the photos of you and I in Phnom Penh to my children. They now know the man who helped bring them into this world."

Ly always ends his messages the same way: "Thank God and thank my great friend, Steve Greene."

Ly began his Thanksgiving ritual in 1976, when he'd call Greene and his wife, Kathy Greene, or mail them a handwritten note. He also writes them a note at Christmas, a tradition he



STEVE GREENE

**Hoang Ly and Steve Green reunited over lunch last year for the first time in 20 years.**

has continued for 47 years.

"I look at Steve as my Statue of Liberty," said Ly, 77. "Every Thanksgiving and Christmas, my family is reunited together. Without Steve, we might not be here."

Greene, 80, is a former Marine, wounded in action in Vietnam in 1967. He went on to hold the top position in the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration in Saigon, now known as Ho Chi Minh City. After returning home,

SEE THANKSGIVING ON A11

### IN THE NEWS

**A hero in the family** When her great-grandfather was reburied as a Korean patriot, Washington Post writer Michelle Ye Hee Lee set out to learn his legacy. **A21**

**Ecosystem on the brink** Successive droughts and deforestation threaten to transform the lush Amazon basin into a savanna. **A30**

#### THE NATION

**A new federal rule** requires states to set goals to cut carbon emissions from vehicles. **A3**

**The U.S. is pressing** India after a failed plot to kill a Sikh separatist on American soil. **A6**

#### A fiery crash

at a New York border crossing with Canada doesn't appear to have been terrorism, officials said. **A8**

**Rosalynn Carter** spent her last hours as she had most of her life, with the former president. **A19**

#### THE ECONOMY

**The legal profession** is turning to AI to save time and money, but that can also create an ethical minefield of high-profile errors. **A25**

**SpaceX's Starship** may be cleared for a third flight soon despite exploding in a recent try, the FAA says. **A26**

#### THE REGION

**A Park Police officer** was wounded and a suspect was killed in an exchange of gunfire in D.C., authorities said. **B1**

**D.C. high school** students who wrote about climate change, grief and extreme weather have become published authors. **B1**

#### STYLE

**ProPublica's latest** scoop is embroiled in a long-running strike at a partner newspaper. **C1**

#### SPORTS

**Thanksgiving in** St. Louis was part of the NFL's grand plan — till the mid-1970s "Cardiac Cards" faltered. **D1**

|                    |     |
|--------------------|-----|
| BUSINESS NEWS..... | A25 |
| COMICS.....        | C6  |
| OPINION PAGES..... | A27 |
| OBITUARIES.....    | B4  |
| TELEVISION.....    | C4  |
| WORLD NEWS.....    | A21 |

CONTENT © 2023  
The Washington Post  
Year 146, No. 53678



0 70628 21101 0