VOL. CLXXIII .... No. 60,237

cloudy, warm, humid, low 74. Tomor-

of afternoon thunderstorms, high 84. Weather map is on Page B6.

© 2024 The New York Times Company

MONDAY, AUGUST 5, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

# How Chinese Skirt U.S. Ban On Buying A.I.

## Networks of Smugglers and Shell Companies

#### By ANA SWANSON and CLAIRE FU

SHENZHEN, China — In the southern Chinese city of Shenzhen, a mazelike market stretches for a half-mile, packed with stalls selling every type of electronic imaginable.

It's an open secret that vendors here are offering one of the world's most sought-after technologies: the microchips that create artificial intelligence, which the United States is battling to keep out of Chinese hands.

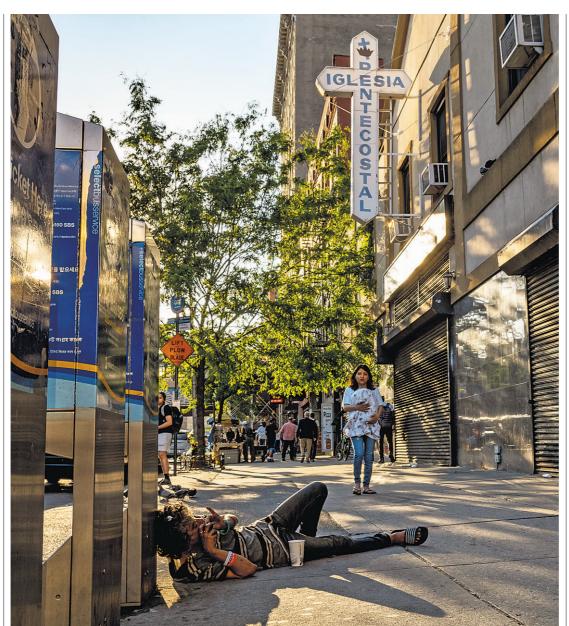
One vendor said he could order the chips for delivery in two weeks. Another said companies came to the market ordering 200 or 300 chips from him at a time. A third business owner said he recently shipped a big batch of servers with more than 2,000 of the most advanced chips made by Nvidia, the U.S. tech company, from Hong Kong to mainland China. As evidence, he showed photos and a message with his supplier arranging the April delivery for \$103 million.

The United States, with some success, has tried to control the export of these chips. Still, The New York Times has found an active trade in restricted A.I. technology — part of a global effort to help China circumvent U.S. restrictions amid the countries' growing military rivalry.

The chips are an American innovation powering self-driving cars, chatbots and medical research. They have also led to rapid advances in defense technology, spurring U.S. fears that they could help China develop superior weaponry, launch cyberattacks and make faster decisions on the battlefield. Nvidia chips and other U.S. technology have aided Chinese research into nuclear weapons, torpedoes and other military

Continued on Page A10

**CLOSING A.I. GAP** Chinese companies have unveiled technologies that rival U.S. systems. PAGE B1



DAVID DEE DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Near 125th Street is one of the first sanctioned supervised drug consumption sites in the country.

# In Harlem, a Hub of Despair, Drugs ... and Hope

## By SHARON OTTERMAN

Thousands of people walk along 125th Street between Park and Lexington Avenues each day and most do not linger. Commuters race to catch trains to Westchester, climbing up to the elevated Metro-North tracks. Others hurry down to the subway, bound for

Midtown Manhattan or the Bronx. They pass through a scene that conjures up all the worst stereotypes of urban disorder: closed storefronts, litter, public drug use, people nodding out. But on a deeper look, the block also reveals

# Some See City's Worst. Others See Outreach Doing Best to Help.

an ecosystem filled not just with despair, but fortitude and empathy, too.

Drug dealers. Drug users. Teachers. Doctors. Counselors. Police officers.

Some come to the block for help; others to help them. Some prey on the vulnerable. Others are

just trying to make a few bucks and survive. Some have come to accept people addicted to drugs as part of their community; others wish the block was cleaner, safer - and would make them disappear if they could.

Every borough in the city has a place like this one, where urban woes seem to cluster. In the Bronx, it's the commercial hub around 149th and Third Avenue. In Queens, parts of Jackson Heights.

But the scene around 125th draws particular attention be-Continued on Page A13

# To Vance, Gaining Power Means Breaking the Left

# Trump's Pick Is Blunt on Wanting to Rip Up Norms and Test Constitution's Limits

### By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

In September 2021, JD Vance offered two predictions about former President Donald J. Trump and one piece of advice.

Mr. Trump would run again in 2024, Mr. Vance said. He would

And when he did, Mr. Vance counseled, he needed the right

people around him this time. "Fire every single midlevel bureaucrat, every civil servant in the administrative state, replace them with our people," Mr. Vance

said on a podcast. He continued.

"Then when the courts stop you, stand before the country like Andrew Jackson did," Mr. Vance said, citing a (possibly apocryphal) quotation long attributed to America's seventh president, "and say: 'The chief justice has made his ruling. Now let him en-

In his U-turning path from anti-Trump author to MAGA-approved Ohio senator and running mate, Mr. Vance has developed a reputation for being ideologically pliable open-minded, supporters say; core-less, critics counter.

But he has been unswerving in recent years in his assessment of how Republicans should carry themselves when they win: Use every available lever of state, even if that means testing the bounds of the constitutional sys-

"We are in a late republican period," Mr. Vance said in 2021, stressing the need to counter what he described as the political ruthlessness of the left. "If we're going to push back against it, we have to get pretty wild, pretty far out there, and go in directions that a lot of conservatives right now are uncomfortable with.

For years, Mr. Vance has appeared entirely comfortable in far-out-there corners of his party, embracing thinkers and proposals on the so-called New Right. He has drawn from influences as varied as a monarchist blogger, "postliberal" conservative Catholics and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, according to a review of dozens of speeches, interviews and writings since Mr. Vance formally entered politics and interviews with people close

Through his bumpy early weeks as Mr. Trump's junior partner. Mr. Vance has strained to combat a Democratic attack line that he is not just wrongheaded but "weird" and retrograde, prone to meditations on "childless sociopaths" and "cat ladies" and the ills of the sexual revolution.

On a certain level, though, many of Mr. Vance's intellectual allies agree with his opponents on a core premise: He has ascended while advancing some ideas that fall well outside the traditional political mainstream, insisting that these zero-sum times require a zero-sum strategy.

He has urged Republicans to "seize the endowments" of leftleaning universities, punishing nominal ideological foes through dramatic changes to the tax code, and warmly quotes Richard Nixon's observation about higher education: "The professors are the enemy."

He has suggested that parents should receive extra votes in elections — one for each child in their — to dilute the electoral power of the left. (His team now Continued on Page A15



Senator JD Vance of Ohio in a hometown rally last month.





As the Games give locals a taste of the tourist life, the world's fashion capital is looking anything but right now. No, they regret nothing.

# Embracing French Pride and an Excuse to Look Uncool for Once

### By RORY SMITH and SÉGOLÈNE LE STRADIC

PARIS — Félix Lebrun has the crowd eating out of the palm of his hand. He raises his arms. They cheer. He pumps his fists. They roar. He struts around the sold-out arena, prowling the floor, basking in the noise and the adulation.

In that moment, that first flush of victory, Lebrun is not a bespec-

tacled 17-year-old table tennis player from Montpellier. For everyone present — up to and including the French former soccer hero Zinedine Zidane - he is a

This sort of thing has been happening a lot in Paris over the last week. At the fencing competition, held in the lavish surrounds of the Grand Palais, fans waving tricolors have produced enough noise

Disdain Over Olympics Was Fated to Fall

to echo down the Champs-Élysées. The Stade de France shook when France's men won gold in rugby sevens.

Each of Léon Marchand's triumphs at the swimming pool has

been greeted by unrestrained delirium, not just inside the arena at La Défense but across the city. The sound from the stadium at Invalides, home to archery, has been loud enough to wake Napoleon.

The test, for these Olympics, was always going to be whether Paris — a place that prizes chic and wears its aloofness as an impeccably accessorized badge of

Continued on Page A8

# Might Tighten Hamas's Grip

# By ERIKA SOLOMON

First came the death of its top leader abroad, Ismail Haniyeh, by a bomb planted in Tehran. Then came Israel's announcement that, only weeks earlier, it had killed Hamas's most elusive and revered military leader. All of this as Israel continues to wage the deadliest war Palestinians in the Hamasruled Gaza Strip have ever faced.

At first tally, the latest score in the 30-year struggle between Israel and Hamas looks like a devastating one for the Islamist movement, one that throws its future into question. Yet the history of Hamas, the evolution of Palestinian militant groups over the decades and the logic of insurgencies more broadly suggest that not only will Hamas survive, it may

even emerge politically stronger. Analysts and regional observers in contact with Hamas leaders see the latest blows it has suffered including Mr. Haniyeh's assassination, widely believed to be at Israel's hand — as offering Israeli forces a short-term victory at the cost of long-term strategic suc-

Continued on Page A6

GAZA STRIKE At least 30 died in an Israeli attack on a school serving as a shelter. PAGE A6

# Israeli Attacks | At Least 70 Die As Unrest Rises In Bangladesh

#### By SAIF HASNAT and MUJIB MASHAL

DHAKA, Bangladesh - At least 70 people were killed in clashes between security forces and protesters on Sunday in Bangladesh, as the country's leaders imposed a new curfew and internet restrictions to try to quell a growing antigovernment move-

The revival of student protests after a deadly government crackdown late last month, as well as a call by the governing party for its own supporters to take to the streets, has plunged the country of over 170 million into a particularly dangerous phase.

The exact number of deaths in the violence on Sunday was unclear, but it appeared to be the deadliest day since the protests began in July. A diplomatic official in Dhaka, the capital, said the toll across Bangladesh was at least 72, while tallies by local news media and the protest coordinators put the count at between 70 and 93. At least 13 of the dead were police officers, the country's Police Headquarters said in a statement.

Sunday's toll added to the more than 200 people killed in the crackdown on protesters last month by security forces under Bangladesh's increasingly authoritarian

Continued on Page A6



NATIONAL A12-17

# **Decades Feeding First Families**

Cristeta Comerford, the first woman and person of color to be White House executive chef, has retired. PAGE A12

# A Campaign's Corporate Ties

Kamala Harris's brother-in-law is a close adviser, but as the top lawyer for Uber, he makes some wary. PAGE A17 **INTERNATIONAL A4-11** 

# 'A Monument to Corruption'

A dilapidated hotel from the Soviet era in Moldova's capital is at the center of a tussle between developers and preser-

# Assessing Maduro's Strength

History shows that authoritarians fall when security forces betray them. What does that mean for Venezuela? PAGE A9

**OBITUARIES B5** 

# Trailblazer in Spaceflight

Joe Engle, who journeyed to the edge of space first as an X-15 test pilot and later as a NASA astronaut, was 91.



SPORTS D1-8

# A Quest Finally Fulfilled

Novak Djokovic won his first Olympic gold medal, the fifth player to win all four Grand Slams, and a gold. PAGE D2

# Youth in the Spotlight

Teens and preteens are grabbing medals and attention. Nowhere is this truer than at the skateboard park. PAGE D1

# **BUSINESS B1-4**

# 2024 Is the Zoom Election

Hastily assembled mega-rallies conducted online are raising millions to elect Kamala Harris, giving the videoconferencing app an unexpected role in this year's campaign.

# YouTube Wins by Being Itself

The platform first known for viral videos now attracts more TV viewers than Netflix, Disney+ or Amazon Prime Video, with 150 million people in the U.S. watching each month.

**OPINION A18-19 David French** 

# PAGE A19



#### The World of James Baldwin The author and activist was born a

century ago. A collection of photographs explores his life, from Harlem to Selma to Paris and beyond.

