

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, sunny, hot, high 91. Tonight, cloudy, warm, humid, low 74. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy, humid, a couple of afternoon thunderstorms, high 84. Weather map is on Page B6.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,237 © 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

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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-

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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 win.

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 enforce it.’”

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 system.

“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 Catho-

lics and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of Hungary, according to a review of dozens of speeches, interviews and writings since Mr. Vance formally entered politics and interviews with people close to him.

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 left-leaning 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 care — to dilute the electoral power of the left. (His team now

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JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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



WEIYI CAI/THE NEW YORK TIMES

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.



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Embracing French Pride and an Excuse to Look Uncool for Once

By RORY SMITH and SÉGOLENE 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 bespectacled 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 rock star.

This sort of thing has been happening a lot in Paris over the last week. At the fencing competition, held in the lavish surroundings 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

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Israeli Attacks 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 Hamas-ruled 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 success.

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

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 movement.

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

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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 preservationists. PAGE A4

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

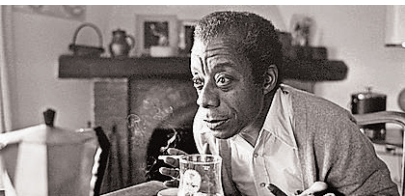
Hastily assembled mega-rallies conducted online are raising millions to elect Kamala Harris, giving the video-conferencing app an unexpected role in this year’s campaign. PAGE B1

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. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

David French PAGE A19



ARTS C1-6

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. PAGE C2

