

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, cloudy, humid with thunderstorms, high 77. Tonight, cloudy with storms, low 72. Tomorrow, late showers and thunderstorms, high 81. Weather map is on Page 22.

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DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Incursion Yields Growing P.O.W. ‘Exchange Fund’**  
Ukraine has custody of hundreds of Russian conscripts who surrendered or were captured and can be part of prisoner swaps. Page 6.

## Inside the Ascent of a V.P. Quietly Making Her Mark

By **PETER BAKER**  
and **ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS**  
WASHINGTON — When a draft of a blockbuster Supreme Court decision overturning Roe v. Wade leaked in 2022, Vice President Kamala Harris met with Ron Klain, then the White House chief of staff, in her West Wing office. He had an idea: She should lead a new task force on abortion rights. She seemed uncertain. “Why?” she asked.  
“We need a real leader, and you’re the leader,” Mr. Klain responded.  
Ms. Harris asked for time to

think about it. She did not want to just give a speech without substance. And she had spent much of the previous year and a half trying to avoid being typecast as the first female vice president. But as the White House began mapping out executive actions to defend access to abortion, she began to see the possibilities and accepted the role.  
It was a moment that captured the essence of the Harris vice presidency. Deliberate and disciplined, cautious and at times risk averse, she saw trapdoors around her and wanted to avoid them. She considered herself a team player, but could not always be sure the

### A Focus on Gun Safety and Abortion Rights

team had her best interests at heart. She gravitated to issues on which she thought she could make a difference without upstaging President Biden, but was rarely promoted as a critical player in the administration.  
The court’s Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization decision eliminating a constitutional right to abortion proved to be an issue on which Ms. Harris could

take the lead, one that Mr. Biden, a churchgoing Catholic, did not feel as comfortable addressing. She found her voice as the administration’s champion of abortion rights, changing some minds among Democrats who had harbored doubts about her. And she paved the way to the moment when she will accept her party’s nomination for president this week.  
Ms. Harris’s record as vice president is complex, as described in interviews with dozens of current and former administration officials and allies, some of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity.  
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## Behind Curtain, Dancers Detail A Toxic World

By **NICOLE HONG**  
and **MICHAEL ROTHFELD**  
They began appearing about two decades ago, often around the holidays, and often at high-end venues: troupes of Chinese dancers swirling gracefully in colorful costumes.  
First in New York City, then in Paris, Toronto and Taipei, the dancers — mostly teenagers and young adults — flipped and vaulted onstage in soaring routines meant to awe and entertain and also to spread the message of Falun Gong, the persecuted Chinese religious movement behind the performances.  
Since then, the dance group, Shen Yun Performing Arts, has grown into an economic engine for the movement and its leaders, with brisk ticket sales on five continents and holdings of more than \$265 million.  
But for the young people who powered the show, the success has come at a steep cost.  
In pursuit of ever larger audiences, Shen Yun has treated many of its performers as an expendable commodity, a New York Times investigation has found. It



TOP ROW AND BELOW LEFT: THE NEW YORK TIMES; BELOW RIGHT, GETTY IMAGES

Shen Yun Performing Arts has heavily advertised the productions it puts on around the world.

has routinely discouraged them from seeking medical care when their bodies have broken down, and commanded their obedience to grueling rehearsal and tour schedules through relentless emotional abuse and manipulation.  
In interviews, some former

dancers recounted performing through dislocated kneecaps, sprained ankles or other serious injuries, unwilling to seek medical treatment because the group’s belief system regarded such care as a crutch of the unfaithful.  
Others were racked with emotion as they recalled being made

to participate in regular weigh-ins by instructors who publicly berated them for being too fat.  
Most described feeling used by a religious movement that was focused on spreading its views even if performers were harmed in the process — while raking in money  
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## Trump’s Vision For the Border: Send In Troops

### Allies Seek Legal Way to Deploy at Home

This article is by **Charlie Savage**, **Jonathan Swan** and **Maggie Haberman**.

WASHINGTON — During the turbulent summer of 2020, President Donald J. Trump raged at his military and legal advisers, calling them “losers” for objecting to his idea of using federal troops to suppress outbreaks of violence during the nationwide protests over the police murder of George Floyd.  
It wasn’t the only time Mr. Trump was talked out of using the military for domestic law enforcement — a practice that would carry profound implications for civil liberties and for the traditional constraints on federal power. He repeatedly raised the idea of using troops to secure border states, and even proposed shooting both violent protesters and undocumented migrants in the legs, former aides have said.

In his first term in office, Mr. Trump never realized his expansive vision of using troops to enforce the law on U.S. soil. But as he has sought a return to power, he has made clear that he intends to use the military for a range of domestic law enforcement purposes, including patrolling the border, suppressing protests that he deems to have turned into riots and even fighting crime in big cities run by Democrats.

“In places where there is a true breakdown of the rule of law, such as the most dangerous neighborhoods in Chicago, the next president should use every power at his disposal to restore order — and, if necessary, that includes sending in the National Guard or the troops,” Mr. Trump said at a conservative conference in Dallas in August 2022, shortly before announcing that he was running to be that next president.

During his time out of power, allies of Mr. Trump have worked on policy papers to provide legal justifications for the former president’s intent to use the military to enforce the law domestically — particularly on immigration. In public, they have talked about this in the context of border states and undocumented immigrants. But  
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## HARRIS IS LOOKING LIKE A CONTENDER IN THE SUN BELT

### 4 STATES BACK IN PLAY

### Times/Siena Polls Show Trump’s Lead There Has Evaporated

By **SHANE GOLDMACHER** and **RUTH IGIELNIK**

Vice President Kamala Harris has stormed into contention in the fast-growing and diverse states of Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and North Carolina, not long after Donald J. Trump had seemed on the verge of running away with those states when President Biden was still the Democratic nominee.

The new polls from The New York Times and Siena College show how quickly Ms. Harris has reshaped the terrain of 2024 and thrust the Sun Belt back to the center of the battleground-state map.

Ms. Harris is now leading Mr. Trump among likely voters in Arizona, 50 percent to 45 percent, and has even edged ahead of Mr. Trump in North Carolina — a state Mr. Trump won four years ago — while narrowing his lead significantly in Georgia and Nevada.

Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris are tied at 48 percent across an average of the four Sun Belt states in surveys conducted Aug. 8 to 15.

That marks a significant improvement for Democrats compared with May, when Mr. Trump led Mr. Biden 50 percent to 41 percent across Arizona, Georgia and Nevada in the previous set of Times/Siena Sun Belt polls, which did not include North Carolina.

The new polls provide more evidence that Ms. Harris is successfully consolidating parts of the Democratic base that had been waffling over supporting Mr. Biden for months, particularly younger, nonwhite and female voters.

A week ago, Times/Siena polling showed that Ms. Harris had pulled ahead of Mr. Trump by a narrow margin in the three northern battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Those states are generally considered the linchpin of any  
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## Lafayette Bids Adieu Again, 200 Years After Farewell Tour

By **JENNIFER SCHUESSLER**

On a recent sultry Monday, Mark Schneider pulled up to a stable in Williamsburg, Va., ready to get back to the grind, 18th-century style.  
He was already wearing his leather breeches and ruffly linen shirt. After preparing his horse, he went back to the car for his waistcoat, swords, wig and plumed hat, before hoisting himself into the saddle and heading toward a grassy field near the town’s restored colonial-era courthouse.  
Tucked in his jacket was a cellphone, for emergencies. He also carried a period-correct flask full of water, for discreet hydration.  
“I wouldn’t want people to see the Marquis de Lafayette drinking from a flask and get the wrong idea,” he said.  
For the past 25 years, Schneider has worked at Colonial Williams-

burg portraying the French aristocrat who arrived in America at age 19 and became a hero of the American Revolution. But for “Marquis Mark,” as friends jokingly call him, this has been an especially historic summer.  
He was just back from a battle re-enactment in the Czech Republic, part of his side hustle as an in-demand Napoleon. Now, his sights were on Lower Manhattan, where he landed on Friday to kick off a 13-month 200th-anniversary recreation of Lafayette’s triumphant 1824 farewell tour of the United States.  
Crowds fell short of the estimated 80,000 New Yorkers who lined the streets to see Lafayette, the last surviving major general from the Revolution, who had helped secure the decisive victory at Yorktown. And instead of trav-



Mark Schneider

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-11

#### A Boy in Gaza

After an October airstrike killed their parents, Khaled Joudeh, 9, would comfort his badly injured brother, Tamer, 7. Then came another strike. PAGE 8

### NATIONAL 12-21

#### Santos Is Set to Plead Guilty

The former congressman has told prosecutors that he intends to enter the plea and avoid a federal trial, according to people close to the case. PAGE 19

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Unraveling of a Crypto Dream

Brock Pierce, an entrepreneur, moved to Puerto Rico in 2017, looking to revitalize the economy. Legal rifts with local partners have derailed him. PAGE 4

### ARTS & LEISURE

#### More or Less Famous

Over 40 seasons, “The Challenge” has become the grandfather of reality-competition shows, helping to create permanent semi-stardom. PAGE 10

### SUNDAY OPINION

#### Timothy Shenk

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