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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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# China’s repression extended to U.S. soil during Xi’s visit

This article is by *Shibani Mahtani, Meg Kelly, Cate Brown, Cate Cadell, Ellen Nakashima and Chris DeGhanpoor*

Chinese diplomats and pro-China diaspora groups based in the United States organized demonstrations in San Francisco that harassed and silenced protesters opposed to Beijing’s policies, including through violence, during Chinese leader Xi Jinping’s visit to the city in November, a six-month investigation by The Washington Post shows. The events in San Francisco illustrate how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is willing to

## VIOLENT CLASHES AT CALIF. SUMMIT

Organized effort to snuff out anti-Beijing voices

extend its intolerance of any dissent into the United States and target people exercising their First Amendment rights in an American city. It is part of a broader global pattern of China attempting to reach beyond its borders and suppress parts of its diaspora advocating against the CCP and ongoing rights abuses in

Tibet, Xinjiang, Hong Kong and mainland China, the U.S. government and human rights groups say. A number of diaspora group leaders have long-standing links to Beijing, according to Chinese state media, photos of high-level events and interviews, including with Chinese activists, former FBI officials and researchers. These include ties to the United Front Work Department, an arm of the Communist Party that uses non-state actors to further China’s political goals overseas, blurring the line between civilians and state officials. This investigation into Xi’s

visit to San Francisco during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit is based on an analysis of more than 2,000 photos and videos from Students for a Free Tibet, the Hong Kong Democracy Council, the China Democracy Party, observers, social media and live streams; as well as interviews with more than 35 witnesses, U.S. officials and analysts; text messages from American security guards working with Chinese diplomats, messages shared in Chinese diaspora WeChat groups, medical reports and police reports obtained by The Post.

SEE CHINA ON A12



JOSH EDELSON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Pro-Tibet protesters and supporters of Xi Jinping clash during demonstrations at the APEC summit in San Francisco in November.

## Netanyahu blamed for blocking a cease-fire

Inside and outside Israel, his border demands are seen as main obstacle

BY CLAIRE PARKER, LOVEDAY MORRIS AND JOHN HUDSON

CAIRO — As he fights for his political survival, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s insistence on keeping troops on a narrow strip of land along the Gaza-Egypt border has become the main obstacle to a cease-fire and hostage-release agreement with Hamas, according to current and former officials from mediating countries. After many months of inconclusive talks, President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris discussed with advisers on Monday how to move forward with a final “take it or leave it” proposal to present to Israel and Hamas, potentially as soon as this week. For the families of Israeli hostages still hoping to bring their loved ones home alive — and for the more than 2 million Palestinians in Gaza grappling with displacement, hunger, disease and Israeli bombardment — the

SEE ISRAEL ON A10

Arms exports: Britain defends its move to restrict sales to Israel. A9

## U.S. charges Hamas leaders with terrorism in Oct. 7 attack

BY DEVLIN BARRETT AND PERRY STEIN

U.S. officials unsealed charges Tuesday against senior Hamas leaders, accusing them of conspiring to provide material support to a terrorist organization, conspiring to murder Americans and conspiring to use weapons of mass destruction. The criminal complaint against Hamas leader Yehiya Sinwar and others was made public as U.S. diplomats are preparing to present Israel and Hamas with a final hostage-release and cease-fire proposal, potentially as soon as this week. The charging document — filed under seal in February in federal court in New York — cites the group’s large-scale attack in southern Israel on Oct. 7, which killed approximately 1,200 people,

SEE HAMAS ON A14



PATRYK JARACZ/AF/GETTY IMAGES

Medical personnel offer assistance Tuesday in the Ukrainian city of Poltava after a Russian missile attack. More than 50 people were killed and hundreds were injured in one of the war’s single deadliest attacks. Many were caught while trying to reach bomb shelters.

## Russian strike kills dozens in Ukraine

Campus and hospital hit; Kyiv calls on allies to lift restrictions on weapons

BY LIZZIE JOHNSON, TETIANA BURIANOVA, SIOBHÁN O’GRADY AND JENNIFER HASSAN

POLTAVA, UKRAINE — More than 50 people were killed and hundreds injured in a Russian missile attack on the central Ukrainian city of Poltava on Tuesday, which struck a military educational institute and a nearby hospital, making it one of the deadliest single bombardments of the war. By Tuesday evening, scenes of horror now familiar in cities across Ukraine had emerged: Volunteers with search-and-rescue dogs arrived to help locate victims under the rubble. A small excavator pushed aside debris from a hollowed-out building. Air raid sirens blared yet again around 6:30 p.m., forcing rescuers to pause for half an hour and seek

SEE UKRAINE ON A15



MIKALA COMPTON/AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN/USA TODAY NETWORK

Travis and Taylor Edwards drove from Texas to Colorado last year for an abortion after tests showed the fetus had a fatal condition.

More speak out on reproductive rights after a wife or partner’s harrowing experience

## A louder voice in fighting abortion bans: Men in red states

BY EMILY WAX-THIBODEAUX

Thomas Stovall grew up in a strict Baptist family in Mississippi and always believed that anyone involved with abortion was destined for hell. But his lifelong conviction crumbled when his wife, Chelsea, was 20 weeks pregnant with their third child. Tests showed a severely malformed and underdeveloped fetus, one that was sure to be stillborn if carried to term. There was other devastating news, too. Continuing with the pregnancy could threaten Chelsea’s health and future fertility, doctors warned. The couple live in Arkansas, which has a near-total ban on abortion and is surrounded by states with their own highly restrictive laws. So they drove 400 miles to reach a clinic in Illinois where they could end the pregnancy. As they did, Stovall says he’d decided he was “dead wrong about abortion be-

ing a sin.” He began knocking on doors, hoping to change other men’s minds and help get an abortion measure on the state ballot this fall. Two years after the Supreme Court toppled federal protections for the procedure, growing numbers of men in red states are speaking out in defense of reproductive rights because of the harrowing experiences they’ve seen wives or partners go through when pregnancies went tragically awry, endangering their health or ability to bear children. Some, like Stovall, had been staunch abortion opponents; others concede they’d given the issue little thought until it hit close to home. “It’s like an ocean change for men, and conversation has shifted to include men in high-profile

SEE ABORTION ON A22

HHS funds: Court refuses to restore grant over abortion referrals. A22

ELECTION 2024

## Trump eyes federal power over teaching of history

BY LAURA MECKLER

On a weekend day in the summer of 2020, President Donald Trump phoned his education secretary, Betsy DeVos, out of the blue. DeVos’s focus that summer was the mass disruption the pandemic had inflicted on students, but Trump was worked up about something else: the 1619 Project, a set of essays published in the New York Times that centered slavery in understanding the founding of the nation. In a “rant,” DeVos recalled, Trump wanted to know how the administration could ban it from classrooms. “I had to remind him that the United States does not have a national curriculum, and for good reason,” DeVos wrote in her 2022 memoir, “Hostages No More.” She told him directly: “The federal government can’t ban the 1619 Project.” That wasn’t what Trump wanted to hear, and he didn’t drop the idea of a national curriculum.

SEE TRUMP ON A6

## IN THE NEWS

**Abusive officer** A former deputy in South Carolina who admitted to sexually abusing two students was sentenced to probation after a judge partially accepted a plea deal. A3

**10-year-old’s killing** A D.C. jury convicted the final three defendants charged in connection with the 2018 shooting of Makiyah Wilson. B1

**THE NATION** “Pinnacle Man,” found dead in 1977 in a cave in Pennsylvania, has been identified. A2

**The reparations** movement seeks to gain traction with Vice President Kamala Harris. A8

**THE WORLD** At least 12 people died after a boat carrying migrants capsized in the English Channel. A10

**Democrats** asked Donald Trump whether he illegally accepted \$10 million from Egypt. A11

**THE ECONOMY** The Harris campaign will have to balance the interests of her longtime backers in Silicon Valley against resentment of Big Tech’s power. A17

**Do allowances** help children become good money managers? It depends, Michelle Singletary writes. A18

**THE REGION** Maryland Gov. Wes Moore’s administration is proposing to delay an expansion of the American Legion Bridge and other transit projects. B1

**The attorneys general** of D.C. and Maryland sued three firearms dealers, arguing they ignored suspicious activity. B1

**STYLE** Mark Greaney, author of the Gray Man thriller novels, takes up arms to add authenticity to the characters he writes. C1

**FOOD** With back-to-school schedules underway, here are five tips for family dinners on hectic weeknights. E1

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