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THOMAS CRISTOFOLETTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Learning About the ‘Pol Pot Time’**  
A bus is a mobile history museum in Cambodia, teaching students in the countryside about the horrors of the Khmer Rouge. Page 7.

## Inside Israel’s Pursuit of the Phantom Who Guides Hamas’s War

This article is by **Mark Mazzetti, Ronen Bergman, Julian E. Barnes and Adam Goldman.**

WASHINGTON — In January, Israeli and American officials thought they had caught a break in the hunt for one of the world’s most wanted men.

Israeli commandos raided an elaborate tunnel complex in the southern Gaza Strip on Jan. 31 based on intelligence that Yahya Sinwar, the Hamas leader, was hiding there, according to American and Israeli officials.

He had been, it turned out. But Mr. Sinwar had left the bunker beneath the city of Khan Younis just

days earlier, leaving behind documents and stacks of Israeli shekels totaling the equivalent of about \$1 million. The hunt went on, with a dearth of hard evidence on his whereabouts.

Since the deadly Oct. 7 attacks in Israel that he planned and directed, Mr. Sinwar has been something of a ghost: never appearing in public, rarely releasing messages for his followers and giving few clues about where he might be.

He is by far Hamas’s most important figure, and his success in evading capture or death has denied Israel the ability to make a foundational claim: that it has won the war and eradicated Ha-

### Sinwar Staying a Step Ahead of Enemies

mas in a conflict that has decimated the group’s ranks but also destroyed the Gaza Strip and killed tens of thousands of civilians.

U.S. and Israeli officials said Mr. Sinwar abandoned electronic communications long ago, and he has avoided a sophisticated intelligence dragnet. He is believed to stay in touch with the organization he leads through a network of human couriers. How that system works remains a mystery.

It is a playbook used by Hamas leaders in the past, and by other terrorist leaders like Osama bin Laden. And yet Mr. Sinwar’s situation is more complex, and even more frustrating to American and Israeli officials.

Unlike bin Laden in his last years, Mr. Sinwar is actively managing a military campaign. Diplomats involved in cease-fire negotiations in Doha, Qatar, say that Hamas representatives insist they need Mr. Sinwar’s input before they make major decisions. As the most respected Hamas leader, he is the only person who can ensure that whatever is decided in Doha is implemented in Gaza.

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## Colleges Target Gaza Protesters With New Rules

By **ALAN BLINDER**

NASHVILLE — Less than 10 minutes had passed before Daniel Diermeier, Vanderbilt University’s chancellor, told hundreds of new students what the school would not do.

The university would not divest from Israel.

It would not banish provocative speakers.

It would not issue statements in support or condemnation of Israeli or Palestinian causes.

Before the hour was up on Monday, he added that Vanderbilt would not tolerate threats, harassment or protests “disrupting the learning environment.”

This month, Vanderbilt required all first-year undergraduate students to attend mandatory meetings about the university’s approach to free speech, with the hope that clear expectations — and explanations for them — would help administrators keep order after protests rocked American campuses toward the end of the last academic year.

“The chaos on campuses is because there’s lack of clarity on these principles,” Dr. Diermeier said in an interview.

There is no guarantee that the pre-emptive, plain-spoken meetings will work. Many student activists and professors at Vanderbilt have condemned the university’s rules as suppressing their speech, and even universities with histories of hard-nosed tac-

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JUN MICHAEL PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cho Seong-hoan said he envies the honeybees that can zigzag into North Korea from his farm.

## By the Grim DMZ, Farming Exceptional Honey

By **MIKE IVES and YOUMI KIM**

CIVILIAN CONTROL ZONE, South Korea — Cho Seong-hoan’s father liked to say that the honeybees on his farm were lucky. Unlike typical South Koreans, they could cross into North Korea, as he had done before war divided the peninsula.

“I also really envy them,” Mr. Cho, 59, said over the drone of bees on a searing summer morning at the family farm he took over when his father died in 2022. He was sitting about half a mile from

the Demilitarized Zone, the 155-mile-long strip of land separating the Koreans that is littered with land mines and sealed by razor-wire fences.

Mr. Cho is one of roughly two dozen South Korean honeybee farmers working in a six-mile-wide patchwork of rice paddies, forests, graveyards and firing ranges beside the 71-year-old DMZ. The area is known as the Civilian Control Zone and is heavily militarized and closed to most civilians.

The work hasn’t made them

rich, but the honey tastes great, thanks largely to the area’s exceptional biodiversity.

Some of the farmers are motivated by something that transcends business. In a land where a 1953 armistice divided many Korean families for generations, they are seeking closure for wartime traumas that have never quite healed.

Mr. Cho’s ancestral village in the western part of the zone was evacuated during the war and abandoned. It is now subsumed

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## In Catholicism, Vance Adopts A ‘Resistance’

*Political Core Defined by His Conversion*

By **ELIZABETH DIAS**

CINCINNATI — From his new home in Cincinnati, JD Vance would go to St. Gertrude to meet the friar.

It was a fitting place for the millennial aspiring politician, who was drawn to the Roman Catholic Church’s ancient ways. For years he had flirted with joining the church. Now he wanted to explore the desire in earnest.

St. Gertrude Church was led by the Dominican Friars from the Province of St. Joseph, part of a religious order founded in 1216. Its sanctuary smelled of incense but felt modern, its concrete walls pierced with bright stained-glass rectangles in reds and blues.

Mr. Vance would meet with Father Henry Stephan. For months, they read works of theology, mysticism, and political and moral philosophy. Sometimes they went to coffee or lunch. It was bespoke private instruction, a hallmark of Dominicans who are known for their lives of intellect and study.

Then, one summer day in 2019, Mr. Vance, then 35, returned to St. Gertrude, this time to be baptized and receive his first communion in the Dominicans’ private chapel. The friars hosted a celebratory reception for his family with doughnuts. He chose as his patron Saint Augustine, the political theologian whose fifth-century treatise “City of God” challenged Rome’s ruling class and drew Mr. Vance to the faith.

“It was the best criticism of our modern age I’d ever read,” Mr. Vance later explained in a Catholic literary journal. “A society oriented entirely towards consumption and pleasure, spurning duty and virtue.”

Much has been made of Mr. Vance’s very public conversion to Trumpism, and his seemingly mutable political stances. But his quieter, private conversion to Catholicism, occurring over a similar stretch of years, reveals some core values at the heart of his personal and political philosophy and their potential impact on the country.

Becoming Catholic for Mr. Vance, who was loosely raised as an evangelical, was a practical

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**THE WEATHER**  
Today, sunny to partly cloudy, lower humidity, high 85. Tonight, mainly clear with a moonlit sky, low 69. Tomorrow, partly sunny and humid, high 83. Weather map is on Page 20.

## ABORTION RIGHTS FACE STIFFER TEST ON BALLOT IN FALL

MEASURES IN 10 STATES

G.O.P. Digs In to Try to Stop Winning Streak Since End of Roe

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

Ballot measures on abortion rights have succeeded beyond what even their proponents imagined when the United States Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade two years ago.

They have not only enshrined a constitutional right to abortion and restored access to the procedure in red and purple states. They have also converted what had been a voter mobilization advantage for Republicans into one for Democrats.

Now the strategy — and an unbroken winning streak — faces its biggest test ever, with 10 states asking voters whether to establish a right to abortion in their constitutions. On Friday, Nebraska became the final state to certify — it will be the only state with two measures, one sponsored by abortion rights supporters and the other by opponents.

Democrats, coming out of a convention where they highlighted reproductive rights like never before, are counting on the measures across the country to both expand abortion access and help them win in battlegrounds for the presidential race and control of the House and Senate, with key races in states including Arizona, Nevada and Montana.

And while voters have sided with abortion rights in all seven states where the question has appeared on the ballot since Roe’s reversal, this year’s map poses far steeper challenges, with citizen-sponsored abortion rights measures in five red states, two with near-total bans and all with aggressive opposition from Republican governors, courts or legislatures.

The ballot amendment in Florida alone will pose a test no other abortion proposal has faced: State law sets the threshold for passage at 60 percent, rather than a simple majority. In other red states, abortion rights groups have won with

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## How Can an Anti-Police Group Hold Its Founder Accountable?

By **DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD**

WASHINGTON — Jasmine Banks’s disillusionment started with a credit card bill.

She was proudly, fervently dedicated to the radical mission of the nonprofit where she worked, that police everywhere should be abolished. She reported to the group’s founder, a charismatic activist with a compelling life story: His fiancé had been killed by an abusive cop. She believed their nonprofit would show the world it did not need law enforcement.

Then her boss went on vacation, and left her, as deputy director, in charge. Sitting at her desk at home, she saw in the accounting system that he had just used the nonprofit’s card to pay a \$1,536 hotel bill — a big bill for such a small organization.

At first, she was not worried, just curious. Why would he do that?

“He knows we’re running out of money,” Ms. Banks remembered thinking.

She dug deeper into the nonprofit’s bank records and found much more that concerned her. Mansion rentals. Vet bills. Luxury clothes. Finally, a stay at a Cancun resort. Ms. Banks scrolled back



SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Brandon D. Anderson denies misusing his nonprofit’s funds.

through Facebook to the week that resort bill was paid. She saw her boss, Brandon D. Anderson, posing in a pool.

The photo was tagged: “Cancun.”

She stewed for a few days, then sent an email to members of the nonprofit’s board: “I am reaching out to you regarding a confidential issue that requires immediate attention.”

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-10

**Knife Attack in Germany**  
The police arrested a man on Saturday, but declined to say whether they believe he was the attacker in the deadly stabbings at a city festival. PAGE 7

**Mexico’s Failing Oil Industry**  
The president-elect wants to pivot to clean energy, but her mentor’s fossil fuel policies stand in her way. PAGE 4

### SPORTS 24-27

**Shade Is Hottest Commodity**  
The U.S. Open tennis tournament, like the rest of New York City, is trying to adapt to climate change. PAGE 24



**METROPOLITAN**  
**Going for Gold, Finally**  
After surviving two car crashes and a brain tumor, a swimmer will be competing in the Paralympic Games. PAGE 1

### THE NEW YORK TIMES FOR KIDS

**The Great Homework Debate**  
The debate isn’t new, but it has been a hot topic since the pandemic. As students head back, more schools are adopting no-homework policies. PAGE 5

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**Must-Hate TV**  
Some television series are expensively made and highly touted, but they’re still lousy. So why do so many of us grimace our way through them? PAGE 7

### SUNDAY OPINION

**James Pogue** PAGE 10



### SUNDAY STYLES

**This Boot’s Made for Driving**  
Boot up: Hitting the road for a singular trip from Maine to Massachusetts in L.L. Bean’s Bootmobile. PAGE 1

### Politics in Living Color

The Republican and Democratic National Conventions revealed a fashion divide between the parties. PAGE 10

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

**Home-Shortage Microcosm**  
To find out what the housing crisis for middle-income Americans looks like, a reporter visited Kalamazoo, Mich. What he learned offers a picture of what the entire country has experienced. PAGE 4

### Elon Musk Is Kind of Blue

Twitter Blue, a revamped subscription service that let users buy verified badges, was the first big test for the platform’s new owner. Things did not go all that well. PAGE 1

