



MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Will They Ever Return Home?

Remarks by President Trump and his defense secretary dim the hopes of Ukrainians who have fled Russian-occupied areas. Page 6.

Another Swap
Helps Sustain
Truce in Gaza

This article is by Aaron Boxerman, Fatima Abdulkarim and Johnatan Reiss.

JERUSALEM — Hamas freed three more Israeli hostages on Saturday as Israel released 369 Palestinian prisoners, prolonging a fragile cease-fire in the Gaza Strip that appeared to be teetering only days ago.

The hostages — Alexander Troufanov, 29, known as Sasha; Iair Horn, 46; and Sagui Dekel-Chen, 36, one of the few Americans still held in Gaza — were noticeably thinner and paler after spending 16 months in captivity. They had been abducted from the Israeli border village of Nir Oz during the Hamas-led attack on Oct. 7, 2023, that ignited the war in Gaza.

But they did not appear as emaciated as the three hostages released last Saturday, whose condition prompted outrage and horror in Israel.

Palestinian militants once again used the exchange, the sixth carried out under the first phase of the cease-fire, to stage a show intended to demonstrate that they still dominate Gaza, despite Israel’s devastating bombardment and ground invasion in response to the 2023 attack.

Dozens of gun-toting fighters affiliated with Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad forced Mr. Troufanov, Mr. Horn and Mr. Dekel-Chen to mount a stage in the southern Gaza city of Khan Younis and to give speeches in Hebrew, with portraits of Hamas

Continued on Page 10

A Crisis of Care at Planned Parenthood Clinics

By KATIE BENNER

Nakara Alston was leaving her boyfriend when she learned she was eight weeks pregnant. In desperation, she got an abortion at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Albany, N.Y., and moved with her two daughters into a homeless shelter.

But something was clearly wrong. Several weeks after the procedure, she was still bleeding heavily and suffering from painful cramps. She took another home pregnancy test, and when it came back positive, the clinic staff assured her that they had seen the aborted fetus and there was nothing

Undertrained Staff and
Botched Procedures

to worry about. It was only after she went to an emergency room that she discovered the problem: The baby was still in her womb.

Twelve weeks after the failed abortion, Ms. Alston went into labor and delivered a baby who quickly died.

Ms. Alston filed a malpractice suit against Upper Hudson Planned Parenthood, one of several complaints about patient care

at the New York clinic that women have brought to her lawyer, Louis B. Oliver. “Planned Parenthood provides a very important area of medical care,” Mr. Oliver said. “But I speak out and have sued them because even disadvantaged people deserve good care.”

Planned Parenthood is synonymous with the fight to preserve abortion rights. But it is also the health care provider of last resort to millions of the poorest Americans. Its clinics offer cancer screenings, birth control, annual gynecological exams and prenatal care, regardless of whether patients can afford to pay. The organization

Continued on Page 18



ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“One by one, there was no staff,” said Deanna Evans, a former Planned Parenthood clinic manager.

How a Senator
Arrived at ‘Yes’
From ‘Hard No’

Tillis Ran Into G.O.P.
Wall on Hegseth

This article is by Annie Karni, Sharon LaFraniere, Carl Hulse, Kate Kelly, Jonathan Swan and Karoun Demirjian.

WASHINGTON — Four days after President Trump was sworn in for his second term, his nominee for defense secretary was teetering on the brink of defeat on the Senate floor, and the president was on Air Force One talking about political retribution.

Mr. Trump had gotten word that Senator Thom Tillis, a North Carolina Republican, planned to oppose Pete Hegseth, the former “Fox & Friends” weekend host who was his choice for Pentagon chief, and who faced accusations of excessive drinking and abusing women. If Mr. Tillis could not be brought to heel by that night, there would be enough Republican “no” votes to sink Mr. Hegseth’s confirmation, a humiliating defeat at the dawn of Mr. Trump’s second term.

Turning to a group of North Carolina lawmakers who were flying with him to survey storm damage in their state, Mr. Trump noted Mr. Tillis’s impending defection and posed a question: Which of them wanted his endorsement for a primary challenge to the senator next year?

The implication was clear: Mr. Tillis’s refusal to back Mr. Hegseth could cost him his seat. By that night, Mr. Tillis, who had been toiling behind the scenes for days to kill Mr. Hegseth’s nomination so he could avoid having to publicly cross Mr. Trump, would vote to confirm Mr. Hegseth to control the most powerful military force in the world.

The story of Mr. Tillis’s secret effort to persuade fellow Republicans to join him in opposing Mr. Hegseth — and his sudden turnabout when it became clear he would be the deciding vote to defeat the nominee — is a tale of political calculation and capitulation by a single G.O.P. senator.

But it also helps explain a broader dynamic at play with Mr. Trump back in the White House, as Republicans in Congress, fearful of reprisal by the president and his supporters, have put aside grave reservations and surrendered to his demands.

The trend was on display this past week in the Senate, where Republicans almost unanimously fell in line to confirm Tulsi Gabbard as the director of national intelligence and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. as health secretary, elevating them despite serious concerns about their fitness for their posts.

This article is based on interviews with more than a dozen people familiar with Mr. Tillis’s maneuvering and his change of heart, most of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to detail private discussions.

In a statement from his office, Mr. Tillis disputed the premise of this story and insisted that he was simply performing careful vet-

Continued on Page 16

GERMAN LEADER
REBUKES VANCE
OVER FAR RIGHT

FIRM ON ‘NEVER AGAIN’

Europe Already Uneasy
About Trump’s Tariffs
and Ukraine Policy

By JIM TANKERSLEY
and ANDREW E. KRAMER

MUNICH — Chancellor Olaf Scholz of Germany accused Vice President JD Vance on Saturday of unacceptably interfering in his country’s imminent elections on behalf of a party that has played down the atrocities committed by the Nazis 80 years ago.

A day after Mr. Vance stunned the Munich Security Conference by telling German leaders to drop their so-called firewall and allow the hard-right Alternative for Germany, or AfD, to enter their federal government, Mr. Scholz accused Mr. Vance of effectively violating a commitment to never again allow Germany to be led by fascists who could repeat the horrors of the Holocaust.

“A commitment to ‘never again’ is not reconcilable with support for the AfD,” Mr. Scholz said at the conference on Saturday morning,

in an address opening the gathering’s second day.

Mr. Scholz said the AfD had trivialized Nazi atrocities like the concentration camp at Dachau, which

Mr. Vance visited on Friday. The chancellor said Germany “would not accept” suggestions from outsiders about how to run its democracy — or directives to work with such a party.

“That is not done, certainly not among friends and allies,” Mr. Scholz said. “Where our democracy goes from here is for us to decide.”

Attendees at Mr. Vance’s speech had been expecting to hear details of the Trump administration’s plans for Ukraine peace talks and NATO defense policies. On Saturday, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine himself put the focus on the Ukraine war in his remarks, starkly laying out the threat from Russia’s battle-hardened military and making an impassioned appeal for Europeans to take their security into their own hands, including by forming an “Army of Europe” that would supplement U.S. power on the continent.

His speech drew standing ovations, in contrast to Mr. Vance’s speech the day before.

Mr. Scholz’s comments underscored a growing unease among Europe’s leaders about their rela-

Continued on Page 9

FANNING FLAMES Vice President JD Vance and Elon Musk have challenged a German consensus on political extremism. PAGE 9

As Brazilians Flock to the Pharmacies for Weight-Loss Drugs, So Do the Bandits

By SETH KUGEL
and FLÁVIA MILHORANCE

SÃO PAULO, Brazil — Around 10:30 p.m. on a Friday in late January, David Fernando, a pharmacist, was working behind a counter at a drugstore in São Paulo when a man walked up to him and flashed a gun. “He asked for money from the register and

medications from the refrigerator,” Mr. Fernando said.

These days, pharmacists in São Paulo — Brazil’s largest city — know exactly what thieves mean when they say “medications from the refrigerator.”

They’re after Ozempic, Wegovy and Saxenda, the injectable weight-loss drugs many Brazilians covet but that most can’t af-

ford, in a country obsessed with body image but where obesity is on the rise.

The thief made off with five boxes, each of which typically holds a month’s supply and costs 700 to 1,100 Brazilian reais, or about \$120 to \$190, while the average monthly income is about \$300.

Though the armed robbery unnerved Mr. Fernando, 36, it was

not exactly a surprise. The same pharmacy was held up for the same drugs twice in late 2024, he said. Now a security guard is posted outside.

Four blocks north, another pharmacy has taken even greater precautions after a police officer interrupted an Ozempic robbery in August, resulting in a shootout that left an older woman injured.

On a recent afternoon, two armed guards stood watch, one inside the front door and the other by a back room where the refrigerated weight-loss drugs are kept.

While a smattering of media reports show thieves are after Ozempic elsewhere in the world — including late-night break-ins at pharmacies in Michigan, and in

Continued on Page 13



VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A São Paulo pharmacist keeps a machete behind the counter.

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

When Pilgrims Need Directions

A lost-and-found center in India helps people who become separated from relatives amid the throngs at the world’s largest religious gathering. PAGE 12

METROPOLITAN

A Devotion to a Cemetery

For a Brooklyn man, the desecration of hundreds of graves was a particularly disturbing crime. He wanted to do something about it. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Shedding Stigma Around Fur

After years of protests and strides in fake skins, there is a re-emergence of vintage pieces being worn proudly as the taboo eases. PAGE 11

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Spirituality in Silicon Valley

Peter Thiel and other tech gurus have been unabashedly embracing religion in a culture that has often shied away from talk of faith. PAGE 6

SUNDAY OPINION

Ezra Klein

PAGE 14



SNL 50 ONE NIGHT 50 YEARS IN THE MAKING
THE ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL
LIVE TONIGHT 8ET/5PT
THE RED CARPET 7ET/4PT
streaming on NBC peacock