storms, high 49. Tonight, increas-

ingly windy, cloudy, low 27. Tomorrow, windy, mixture of clouds and sun, high 35. Weather map, Page 26.

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SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

# GERMAN LEADER

OVER FAR RIGHT

REBUKES VANCE

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

Olaf Scholz

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 de-

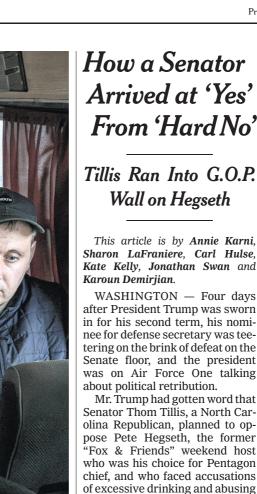
Attendees at Mr. Vance's speech had been expecting to hear details of the Trump administration's plans for Ukraine peace talks and NATO defense policies. Saturday, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine himself put the focus on the starkly laying out the threat from Russia's battle-hardened military 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



women. If Mr. Tillis could not be

brought to heel by that night,

there would be enough Republi-

can "no" votes to sink Mr.

Hegseth's confirmation, a humiliating defeat at the dawn of Mr.

Turning to a group of North Car-

olina 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 pri-

mary challenge to the senator

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 toil-

ing 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 story of Mr. Tillis's secret

effort to persuade fellow Republi-

cans to join him in opposing Mr.

Hegseth - and his sudden turn-

about when it became clear he

would be the deciding vote to de-

feat the nominee — is a tale of po-

litical calculation and capitulation

But it also helps explain a

broader dynamic at play with Mr.

Trump back in the White House,

as Republicans in Congress, fear-

ful of reprisal by the president and

his supporters, have put aside

grave reservations and surren-

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 in-

telligence and Robert F. Kennedy

Jr. as health secretary, elevating

them despite serious concerns

about their fitness for their posts.

views with more than a dozen peo-

ple familiar with Mr. Tillis's ma-

neuvering and his change of

heart, most of whom spoke on the

condition of anonymity to detail

In a statement from his office,

Mr. Tillis disputed the premise of

this story and insisted that he was

private discussions.

This article is based on inter-

by a single G.O.P. senator.

dered to his demands.

Trump's second term.

next year?

### 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

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

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 noth-

### **Undertrained Staff and Botched Procedures**

ing 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

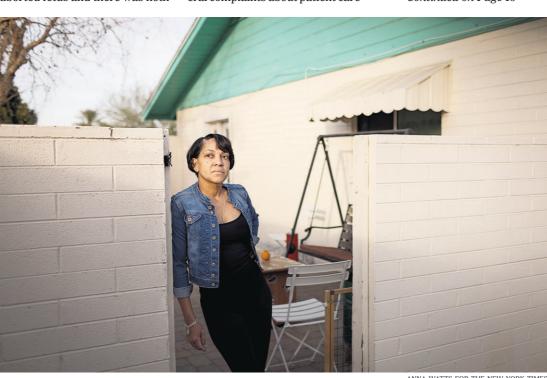
abortion, Ms. Alston went into labor and delivered a baby who quickly died. Ms. Alston filed a malpractice

suit against Upper Hudson Planned Parenthood, one of several complaints about patient care

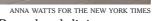
at the New York clinic that women have brought to her lawyer, Louis B. Oliver. "Planned Parenthood provides a very important area of medical care," Mr. Oliver said. "But I speak out and have sued them because even disadvantaged people deserve good care."

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 orga-

Continued on Page 18



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



### simply performing careful vet-Continued on Page 16

# 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 afford, in a country obsessed with not exactly a surprise. The same 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

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



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.

**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.

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.

### 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.

**SUNDAY OPINION** 

Ezra Klein

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