



A Holocaust survivor, center, during a ceremony at Auschwitz on Monday commemorating the liberation of the Nazi death camp.

On Auschwitz Anniversary, ‘Great Sorrow’ for Rising Nationalism

By ANDREW HIGGINS
WARSAW — Dozens of world leaders, including Britain’s king and the president of Ukraine, joined a dwindling group of Nazi death camp survivors on Monday in southern Poland to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the Red Army’s liberation of Auschwitz, where more than 1.1 million people, mostly Jews, were murdered.
A day of solemn ceremony held

near former gas chambers and crematories in the Polish town of Oswiecim, whose name was Germanized to Auschwitz during Hitler’s 1939-1945 occupation of Poland, was shadowed throughout by a resurgence of nationalism in Germany and other European countries.
“In a place where the technique of mass and industrial murder was introduced, I feel great sorrow and regret very much that in many European countries, including our country, people in uni-

80 Years Later, Warning of the Path That Led to Death Camps

forms similar to Nazis and proclaiming Nazi slogans march with impunity,” Leon Weintraub, a 99-year-old Polish Auschwitz survivor, told a gathering of presidents, royalty and other dignitaries.

Speaking in a large tent erected at the entrance to Birkenau, an annex to the Nazis’ original extermination camp, Auschwitz I, he added: “Let us take seriously what the enemies of democracy preach. They really want to put into practice what they preach, these slogans that they propagate, if they manage to come to power.
“Let us avoid the mistake of the 1930s, when the German Nazis were not believed, their intentions to create a state free of Jews,
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Foes in Mideast Bend to Uphold 2 Fragile Truces

By PATRICK KINGSLEY
JERUSALEM — The cease-fires in Gaza and Lebanon will most likely hold for now, despite being tested to their limits over the weekend, because all sides want to avoid full-scale fighting at least for a few weeks, analysts said.
In southern Lebanon, Israeli troops remained in position past the deadline on Sunday for their withdrawal, amid Israeli claims that Hezbollah had broken its own pledge to leave the area. In Gaza, Hamas failed to release a female hostage who Israel had hoped would be freed on Saturday, prompting Israel to delay the agreed return of displaced Palestinians to their homes in northern Gaza.

But even as each side accused the other of reneging on deals, analysts said, both Israel and its opponents had reasons to remain flexible and temporarily overlook the other’s transgressions.
Hezbollah, though angry at Israel for keeping troops in southern Lebanon, would risk a devastating Israeli counterattack if it renewed its rocket strikes on Israeli cities. Hamas wants to retain power in Gaza and risks losing it if war returns. And Israel needs to maintain the current arrangement in Gaza long enough to free at least two dozen more hostages. Israeli leaders have also appeared eager to placate President Trump, who campaigned on a promise to keep peace in the Middle East.
Illustrating their desire to prolong the Gaza truce, Israel
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Vast Canadian Art Fraud, With Colorful Figures

By NORIMITSU ONISHI
THUNDER BAY, Ontario — Tim Tait put two and two together when he went to sell some of his paintings to a law firm in downtown Thunder Bay two decades ago. He spotted one of his other works already there — but with somebody else’s signature on it.
And not just anybody’s. It read “Copper Thunderbird,” a.k.a. the “Picasso of the North.” Real name Norval Morrisseau, Canada’s most famous Indigenous artist whose original style shattered the country’s idea of art and elbowed its way into its most important museum.
“I called the cops,” said Mr. Tait, a local artist in Thunder Bay, Ontario, who is also Indigenous. “All they did was laugh at me and ridicule me on the phone.”
“And I said, ‘When it comes out, I’ll be singing like a bird!’”
By the time it all came out — decades later — two criminal rings in Thunder Bay had knocked off thousands of bogus Norval Morrisseaus that collectively fetched millions of dollars across Canada. The fakes, which included rebranded paintings by Mr. Tait and other Indigenous artists, made it onto the walls of the country’s top galleries and universities. They were purchased by retired schoolteachers, billionaire art collectors and even a rock star.
The leaders of the Thunder Bay rings have pleaded guilty to fraud in the past year and are now imprisoned. Thunder Bay — an isolated city on Lake Superior’s north shore that drug dealers from Toronto have turned into Canada’s homicide capital — has also emerged as the center of the biggest art fraud in the country’s history.
The convictions came a quarter-century after the authenticity of many Morrisseaus was first



A painting by Norval Morrisseau, Canada’s famed Indigenous artist, whose works were forged for decades, fetching millions.

publicly questioned — and only after a series of unusual events linking the rock star; a cold-case murder of a teenager; his aging, grieving parents; and the hard-boiled homicide detectives initially skeptical of art fraud. The detectives ended up mastering the finer points of Mr. Morrisseau’s Woodlands style of art.
“None of us knew anything about art,” Det. Jason Rybak of the Thunder Bay Police Service said during a recent drive through the city, whose muted colors were fur-

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Fast Escalation With Colombia Sent a Message

Trump Opts for Bluster Over Backchannels

By DAVID E. SANGER
WASHINGTON — In the end it took only about 12 hours for President Trump’s first head-to-head confrontation with one of the United States’ closest allies in Latin America, a blowup over Colombia’s rejection of U.S. military flights to return illegal immigrants, to result in a complete retreat by the target of Mr. Trump’s threats.
It wasn’t much of a contest. Colombia depends on the United States for more than a quarter of its exports. And while the specifics of the dispute will probably be quickly forgotten, the rapid-fire threat by Mr. Trump to impose crushing tariffs, and the quick surrender by President Gustavo Petro, are likely to encourage Mr. Trump as he contemplates how to make use of the same weapon against new targets.
There is little mystery about whom he has in mind: Denmark, whose prime minister told him Greenland was not for sale during a heated, expletive-filled conversation almost two weeks ago, and Panama, where Secretary of State Marco Rubio is supposed to land in a few days to demand it return control of the Panama Canal to the United States — the country that built it, 120 years ago.
Welcome to the age of what Fred Kempe, the president of the Atlantic Council, a Washington think tank, characterized as the era of “more mercantilism, less free trade and more big-power swagger.”
The Sunday diplomatic debacle with Colombia had elements of all three. But it was also instructive about how foreign-policy decision-making in the Trump White House happens: There were no policy papers, or Situation Room meetings to weigh options, or talk of a quiet mission to de-escalate tensions with an ally whose cooperation America needs on a variety of problems. That would be how a dispute over returning Colombians, deported because they were in the United States illegally, would be resolved in an ordinary presidency, whether the president was a Democrat or Republican.
In this case, perhaps there wasn’t much need for internal debate:
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PUTIN AND TRUMP The two men are exchanging jabs, flattery and openness to broad talks. **PAGE A8**

Threatening His Enemies Yet to Come

Trump Looks Ahead With Acts of Payback

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman and Michael S. Schmidt.
WASHINGTON — In his first week in office, President Trump made clear that his promises to exact revenge on his perceived enemies were not empty campaign pledges — and that his retribution is intended not just to impose punishment for the past but also to intimidate anyone who might cross him in the future.
By removing security protections from former officials facing credible death threats, he signaled that he was willing to impose potentially profound consequences on anyone he sees as having been insufficiently loyal. That included his former secretary of state, Mike Pompeo, and Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, who helped lead the pandemic response.
Mr. Trump’s decision to try to scale back civil service protections was aimed at culling federal employees he believes slowed or blocked his first-term agenda and replacing them with loyalists. That initiative, developed in Mr. Trump’s first term but never fully enacted, is intended to create a chilling effect so that career employees know they could be fired if they are not compliant, one senior aide said.
By ordering the Justice Department and intelligence agencies to begin scouring their ranks in a hunt for political bias, he started a process of dismissing or sidelining officials deemed to have participated in investigations he has sought to cast as “witch hunts” against him. And on Monday the acting attorney general, James McHenry, fired more than a dozen prosecutors who worked on the two criminal investigations into Mr. Trump. [Page A14.]
His decision to grant clemency to even the most violent Jan. 6 rioters and those convicted on sedition charges for plotting an assault on democracy freed top leaders of far-right groups. Shortly after being released, two of the most prominent of those leaders asserted, unrepentantly, that they wanted Mr. Trump to seek revenge on their behalf.
A week into Mr. Trump’s sec-
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How a Former Democratic Star Found a Home in Trump’s Orbit

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON and CHARLES HOMANS
HONOLULU — It was a moment of triumph.
At a rally in Honolulu in 2002, Tulsi Gabbard wore an orchid lei as she celebrated her victory as the youngest-ever member of the Hawaii State Legislature. She had dropped out of community college to run, and Ms. Gabbard, then 21, was embarking on what would become a dizzying political journey from anti-gay conservative to Democratic Party star to a celebrity in President Trump’s world.
Ms. Gabbard, who grew up in a fringe spiritual movement and was a darling of the left during her early years in Congress, has ricocheted across nearly the entire ideological spectrum of American politics, fueling questions about what she stands for and truly believes. Ms. Gabbard, 43, is now the president’s choice to oversee the nation’s 18 spy agencies as the director of national intelligence.
In what is likely to be a rocky



Tulsi Gabbard could oversee the nation’s 18 spy agencies.

confirmation hearing on Thursday, senators from both parties are certain to ask about her trip to Syria in 2017 to meet with Bashar al-Assad, the country’s dictator who has since been deposed. They are also expected to question her parroting of Russian falsehoods about Ukraine and her lack of relevant experience for the job.
In Hawaii, colleagues, friends
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INTERNATIONAL A4-13
Rebels Take Key City in Congo
The M23 militia, funded and directed by Rwanda, said it had seized Goma, terrifying its people. **PAGE A12**

Autocrat Cruises to New Term
President Aleksandr G. Lukashenko of Belarus claimed victory in a contest widely seen as rigged. **PAGE A9**

NATIONAL A14-21
Minority Enrollment Drops
Data shows that fewer Black and Hispanic students are going to college since the Supreme Court ended affirmative action. **PAGE A20**

A New Battle Over Abortion
A bitter, expensive contest for control of Wisconsin’s top court could determine the fate of an 1849 ban. **PAGE A17**

BUSINESS B1-6
A Challenge for Nvidia
The chipmaker’s pre-eminence may take a blow from a Chinese A.I. startup that does more with less. **PAGE B1**



ARTS C1-6
Keeping the Funk Alive
The comeback for the British group Cymande, shown above circa 1970, is complete with its new album. **PAGE C1**

The Way to ‘Paradise’
The sci-fi thriller is sort of a homecoming for the actor Sterling K. Brown and the show creator Dan Fogelman. **PAGE C1**

SPORTS B7-10
Going for 3 in Super Bowl
Kansas City, led by quarterback Patrick Mahomes, has won the past two N.F.L. titles. The opponent on Feb. 9 will be Philadelphia in a rematch from two seasons ago. **PAGE B7**

High-Tech Balls and Strikes
During spring training, Major League Baseball will experiment with allowing players to appeal pitch calls from umpires, with an automated system being the arbiter. **PAGE B9**

OPINION A22-23
Ezra Klein **PAGE A23**



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8
A Clearer View in Mozambique
A doctor is showing nurses, teachers and parents how to spot eye problems, some of them easily treated. Above, a young patient with her father. **PAGE D8**

