

## FROM EMERGENCY TO DEADLY CRASH IN FOUR MINUTES

### KOREAN JET DISASTER

Early Questions Emerge About Accident That Killed 179 People

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — Already 30 minutes behind schedule, the pilot flying the Jeju Air jet with 181 people on board was preparing to land at his destination in southwestern South Korea on Sunday morning when the control tower warned him about flocks of birds in the area.

Two minutes later, at 8:59 a.m., the pilot reported a "bird strike" and "emergency," officials said. He told the air traffic control tower at Muan International Airport that he would do a "go-around," meaning he would abort his first landing attempt and circle in the air to prepare for a second attempt. But he apparently did not have enough time to go all the way around.

Instead, just a minute later, the veteran pilot — with nearly 7,000 flight hours in his career — was approaching the runway from the opposite direction, from north to south. And three minutes later, at 9:03 a.m., his plane, Jeju Air Flight 7C2216, slammed into a concrete structure off the southern end of the runway in a ball of flames.

All but two of the 181 people on board were killed, most of them South Koreans returning after a Christmas vacation in Thailand. The crash was the worst aviation disaster on South Korean soil and the deadliest worldwide since that of Lion Air Flight 610 in 2018, when all 189 people on board died.

As officials race to investigate the crash, a central question has emerged among analysts: What happened during the four minutes between the pilot's urgent report of a bird strike and the plane's fatal crash?

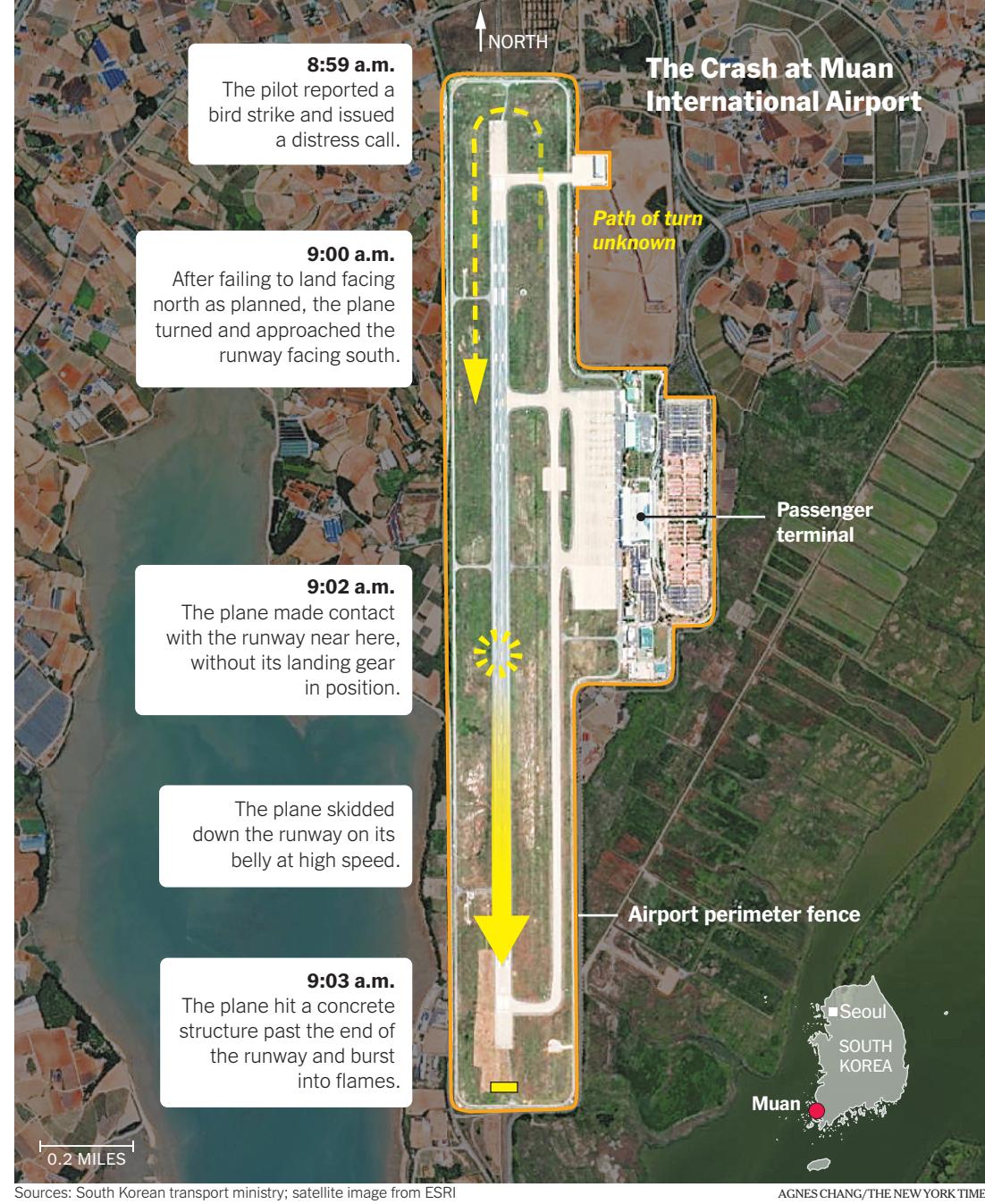
Footage of the Boeing 737-800 landing at the airport showed it skidding down the runway without its landing gear deployed. As it hurtled along on its belly, engulfed by what looked like clouds of dust, smoke and sparks, it did not seem able to slow its speed before slamming into the concrete structure 820 feet after the end of the runway.

"A big question is why the pilot was in such a hurry to land," said Hwang Ho-won, chairman of the Korea Association for Aviation Security.

Continued on Page A8



Paying respects on Monday in Muan, South Korea, for those killed on Jeju Air Flight 7C2216. CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Sources: South Korean transport ministry; satellite image from ESRI

AGNES CHANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Shen Yun Needed Good Press. One Paper Always Provided It.

By NICOLE HONG  
and MICHAEL ROTHFELD

Steve Klett was so glad to have landed a job as a reporter at an up-and-coming newspaper in New York that he stuck with it even after his managers made him watch a disturbing video about the torture of a religious group in China.

Another reporter at the publication, The Epoch Times, found it odd that when she joined in 2022, her supervisor directed her to sit at her desk and read two 300-page books about the evils of communism.

But one of the strangest things about the workplace, former employees said, was its apparent obsession with a touring dance group called Shen Yun.

When Shen Yun was performing in town, employees were regularly given free tickets. Reporters were sent to cover the show and often huddled afterward in hotel

rooms near the venue, working all night to publish stories. One former reporter recalled colleagues' taking quick naps on the floor.

### Epoch Times Churned Out 17,000 Articles on Dance Troupe

rooms near the venue, working all night to publish stories. One former reporter recalled colleagues' taking quick naps on the floor.

Alongside its regular news coverage, The Epoch Times has published more than 17,000 articles about Shen Yun since 2009 — most of them full of glowing testimonials from audience members, with headlines describing the show as "heavenly," "incredibly touching," "flawless" and "the most disciplined performance of any kind."

The fawning coverage was not a product of quirky editorial judgment or an unusual commitment

Continued on Page A15

## Social Media Companies Locked In Tug of War Over Free Speech

By CECILIA KANG  
and ADAM SATARIANO

President-elect Donald J. Trump and his allies have vowed to squash an online "censorship cartel" of social media firms that they say targets conservatives.

Already, the president-elect's newly chosen regulators at the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission have outlined plans to stop social media platforms like Facebook and YouTube from removing content the companies deem offensive — and punish advertising platforms like X in protest of the lack of moderation.

The censorship and advertising boycott cartel must end now! Elon Musk, the owner of X, whom Mr. Trump has appointed to cut the federal budget, posted on his site last month.

### Trump Vows to Unleash Content and Europe Wants It Reined In

In Europe, social media companies face the opposite problem. There, regulators accuse the platforms of being too lax about the information they host, including allowing posts that stoked political violence in Britain and spread hate in Germany and France.

Mr. Trump's return to the White House is expected to widen the speech divide that has long existed between the United States and Europe, setting up parallel regulatory systems that tech policy experts say could influence elections, public health and public discourse. That's putting social media companies in the middle of

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Moscow's Search for Conscripts

From murder suspects to immigrants to an Olympic gold medalist, Russia pressures men to fight in Ukraine. PAGE A10

### Inside a Fentanyl Lab

New York Times reporters witnessed the dangerous production process run by the Sinaloa cartel. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A13-19

### Musk Settles In at Mar-a-Lago

The billionaire has been staying at a \$2,000-a-night cottage at the Florida club, giving him easy access to the president-elect. PAGE A19

### Fight Over Tribal Casino Plans

Three projects in California and Oregon are awaiting a final go-ahead from the Interior Department. PAGE A13

SPORTS B6-9, 12

### Running Away From the Pack

Boise State's Ashton Jeanty enters the College Football Playoff 131 yards shy of the season rushing record. PAGE B6

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

### A Battle With Schizophrenia

Early intervention tries to rein in disorders before they can ruin lives. For one man, everything is on the line. PAGE D1

### Busy Winning Our Hearts

Nibi, below, a real diva of a beaver, and a pygmy hippo were among the animals who charmed us in 2024. PAGE D8



BUSINESS B1-5

### Nine Charts That Explain 2024

Rate cuts, stock surges and tariff threats are among the biggest forces shaping the business sector and the economy. PAGE B5

### Trump's Agenda Stirs Worries

Small investors who are tempted to make major portfolio moves would do well to revisit 2020. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B10-11

### Star on Broadway and 'Alice'

Linda Lavin, a Tony Award-winning actress best known for starring as a waitress on a sitcom, was 87. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-6

### He's Raising the Stakes

The filmmaker Robert Eggers discusses his vampire tale, female desire and a maggot-infested actor. PAGE C1

### Visualizing the Costs

The video game industry is learning that investing in realistic graphics may yield diminished returns. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

### Samantha Power

PAGE A21

