

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, sunny, brisk, not as cold as recent days, high 32. Tonight, clear, cold, less wind, low 16. Tomorrow, sunshine mixing with clouds, high 32. Weather map is on Page D8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Thousands marched in streets of Minneapolis on Friday to protest the federal immigration crackdown. Alex Pretti was not the first American citizen to be killed by federal agents there, but his death broke through with the public as the government’s story collapsed.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Pretti’s Killing  
Burst a Dam

A Victim Who Inspired  
What Others Had Not

By KURT STREETER

Renee Good was killed on Jan. 7. Alex Pretti on Jan. 24. Federal agents killed both of them, and the administration labeled both of them terrorists — labels that quickly fell apart when the public learned more about each case and saw videos of the shootings.

Yet it was Mr. Pretti’s death that broke the dam, galvanizing public sentiment against the federal government’s tactics and forcing a remarkable retreat by the Trump administration.

Gun-rights groups turned on the White House. Republican senators called for investigations. One poll found that support for abolishing ICE had nearly doubled among independent voters.

Both deaths provoked outrage. But Mr. Pretti’s reached further — into conservative circles that had defended the crackdown, and among independents, who had been willing to look away. Why did his death cross political lines that Ms. Good’s, for all the anger it generated, didn’t?

It is never possible to say with certainty why one tragedy widens the circle of outrage and another does not. History offers precedents.

George Floyd was not the first Black man to die at the hands of police in 2020. The searing video of his death, however, and the moment it arrived — during heightened unease around police misconduct — turned his killing into a movement. Rosa Parks was not the first person to refuse to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus; a 15-year-old named Claudette Colvin had been arrested after performing the same act months earlier. But it was Parks, for reasons both strategic and circumstantial, whose case became a catalyst. Tipping points are often visible only in hindsight.

Kevin Drakulich, a criminologist at Northeastern University who studies race, crime and public opinion, put it simply: “Renee Good’s death was tragic. Alex Pretti’s is a trend.”

The federal crackdown had already produced casualties elsewhere, including a Mexican

Continued on Page A10

Courts Put Brakes on Trump’s Mass Deportations

A Deluge of Lawsuits  
for Habeas Corpus  
Speeds Releases

By MIRIAM JORDAN  
and DEVLIN BARRETT

The Trump administration has gone to great lengths to arrest and detain as many people as possible during its immigration crackdown. But in recent weeks, a deluge of court cases has led federal judges to release hundreds of immigrant detainees back into the country, and threatens to overwhelm the court system.

In case after case, federal judges have found that the Trump administration has been ignoring longstanding legal interpretations that mandate the release of many people who are taken into immigration custody if they post a bond.

The surge in such cases has dominated the court dockets in

some districts, overwhelming government lawyers who have to defend the detentions. And the wave of people who have been set free has upended the Trump administration’s effort to keep detained immigrants locked up indefinitely, even if they do not pose a public safety threat.

Lawyers representing detainees have been filing rafts of what are known as habeas corpus petitions — court filings that compel the government to justify holding someone in custody. In the vast

majority of cases, judges are siding with the detainees and ordering their immediate release, or ordering immigration judges to hold bond hearings, according to 10 lawyers interviewed by The New York Times, who said their practices had filed dozens of habeas petitions over the last couple of months.

Jessie Calmes, an immigration lawyer in Atlanta, said that she had filed at least 40 petitions since November. Every one had been granted, she said.

“A lot of these people have been here more than 10 years and have U.S.-citizen kids,” she said. “They’re people who were picked up on the way to work, at their job site or for a traffic violation.”

The surge in habeas petitions

Continued on Page A12



Duke University’s K-pop dance team, left. Learning Korean may start with a passion for “KPop Demon Hunters,” but it can lead to a deeper understanding of the country. Language institutes like the Korean American Center in Irvine, Calif., right, are seeing a surge.



JENNA SCHOENEFFEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

K-Pop Stokes a Fire in Fans to, However Difficult, Learn Korean

By AMY QIN

To properly sing along to “Golden,” the inescapable hit song from the movie “KPop Demon Hunters,” it helps to know Korean, which is sprinkled into the lyrics.

The internet, apparently, agrees. The song is the subject of many YouTube and TikTok videos breaking down the pronunciation of its Korean words and lyrics. Combined, the clips have millions of views.

The U.S. obsession with Korean pop culture has now reached the point where more and more

Americans, with little personal connection to the country, are learning the Korean language or alphabet, or hangul.

Demand is so high that universities from California to Arkansas are expanding their courses in Korean language and culture. Duolingo, a language learning app, saw a 22 percent growth in Korean learners in the United States over a one-year period last year. Language institutes are recruiting teachers to accommodate what they say is a surge in demand.

“We are limited only by our own capacity,” said Tammy Kim, the

A Student Surge Traces  
to ‘Gangnam Style’

executive director of the Korean American Center, a nonprofit language institute in Irvine, Calif.

Brecken Hipp, 35, was watching a Korean game show on Netflix and eating Korean takeout with his wife one night when he got frustrated with the subtitles. He decided to start studying Korean.

“I just thought, ‘Boy, it’d be a lot easier if I knew what they were

Files Rebut Elites’ Denials  
Of Cordial Ties to Epstein

Business and Political Leaders Stayed Close  
Even After His Conviction as Sex Offender

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

They said they didn’t really know Jeffrey Epstein that well. They were disgusted by him right off the bat. They were just drawn to his intellect or love of science or business acumen. They didn’t know about his abuse of women and girls. They deeply regretted associating with him.

In the years since Mr. Epstein’s 2019 arrest and death by suicide in a Manhattan jail, some of the world’s wealthiest and most powerful people have hastened to distance themselves from the disgraced man with whom they once did business, dined in lavish settings or flew on private jets.

But a slow drip of document releases and other revelations over the last several months — culminating in Friday’s release of nearly three million pages of Epstein-related records — has underscored the depth, intensity and persistence of his connections to the global elite, contradicting or undermining years of careful denials.

So far, at least, the new documents have not fundamentally altered the public understanding of Mr. Epstein or his crimes. Instead, they are replete with chummy exchanges, warm invitations and financial entanglements. Together, the documents show how Mr. Epstein’s connections with people in Hollywood, Wall Street, Washington and fashion thrived even after he became a convicted sex offender in 2008.

In some cases, the documents shed greater light on Epstein associates whose connections to him were already known. Others revealed relationships that had remained hidden for years.

Elon Musk, among the world’s richest men, once not only denied visiting Mr. Epstein’s island, but framed his decision as an act of principle. In a social media post in September, Mr. Musk wrote that Mr. Epstein “tried to get me to go to his island and I REFUSED.” But

the documents released on Friday suggested that Mr. Musk was at one point eager to visit. “What day/night will be the wildest party on your island?” Mr. Musk emailed Mr. Epstein in November 2012.

Mr. Musk wrote Saturday in a social media post: “I had very little correspondence with Epstein and declined repeated invitations to go to his island or fly on his ‘Lolita Express,’ but was well aware that some email correspondence with him could be misinterpreted and used by detractors to smear my name.”

On a podcast last year, Howard Lutnick, the secretary of commerce, described being so revolted by a mid-2000s visit to Mr. Epstein’s Manhattan mansion that he decided to “never be in a room with that disgusting person ever again.”

Mr. Lutnick’s disgust appeared to prove temporary. In 2012, he emailed with Mr. Epstein to arrange a visit with his wife and children to Mr. Epstein’s private island just before Christmas. An assistant to Mr. Epstein later forwarded Mr. Lutnick a message from Mr. Epstein: “Nice seeing you,” it said. (On Friday, Mr. Lutnick said that “I spent zero time with him.”)

Kathy Ruemmler, a White House counsel under President Barack Obama who is now general counsel of Goldman Sachs, has said she provided Mr. Epstein with professional services and legal advice. But in newly released emails with Mr. Epstein and others, she analyzed troubling dreams and arranged to accept the delivery of expensive gifts from him. A Goldman spokesman said that it was “well known that Epstein often offered unsolicited favors and gifts to his many business contacts.”

A 2013 email exchange with the

Continued on Page A9

Outcry on ICE  
Brought Trump  
Closer to a Deal

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat and minority leader, knew things were moving in his direction in the spending showdown on Wednesday afternoon when he got a surprise phone call in his Capitol office suite.

It was President Trump, not a frequent contact in these days of hyper-polarized politics.

“He says, ‘Chuck, I hate shutdowns. I don’t like shutdowns. We’ve got to stop them,’” Mr. Schumer said in an interview as he recalled his conversation with Mr. Trump. “And I said, ‘Well, Mr. President, the thing you have to do is rein in ICE.’”

The call touched off a rapid series of events that culminated in a rare compromise between a president who hates to give in and Democrats in Congress who have struggled to use what little leverage they have to counter his agenda. The deal, which did not come together in time to avert a brief shutdown of a large portion of the government starting on Saturday, is fragile and could yet fall apart. The spending package needed to restore funding is set to reach the House on Monday, where approval is not yet certain.

But the agreement to freeze homeland security spending and negotiate over new restrictions on

Continued on Page A9



NATIONAL A8-13, 16

**Tanks Soon to Be a Memory?**

The U.S. Army unveiled the M1E3 Abrams, which, in the era of the attack drone, could be the last one. PAGE A13

**Staying in Campaign Mode**

In his first month as New York mayor, Zohran Mamdani used showmanship to spotlight policy moves. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

**U.A.E. Stake in Trump Crypto**

The \$500 million deal raises concerns about the president negotiating foreign policy with business partners. PAGE A7

**Myanmar’s Shadow Leaders**

The National Unity Government was formed as an alternative to the junta. Critics say it has largely failed. PAGE A4

OBITUARIES B5-6

**Bluesman Everyone Covered**

Jimmy Reed’s most enduring hits were recorded by Aretha Franklin and the Grateful Dead. But his own career faded from view. Overlooked. PAGE B6



ARTS C1-6

**Her Monologue Casts a Spell**

In “Oedipus,” Lesley Manville delivers a speech that leaves audiences rapt in a rare kind of hush. PAGE C1

**Offering Its Works to Others**

The Hirshhorn Museum has started a lending program open to institutions across the United States. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-4

**Economic Gap at Busiest Port**

In China’s port city of Ningbo, its shipping traffic and factories never stop. But residents who have seen the value of their homes plummet have cut back on their spending. PAGE B1

**The New Trade on Wall Street**

Investors are increasingly souring on the United States, as illustrated by the declining dollar, the stagnant stock market and escalating government borrowing costs. PAGE B1

OPINION A14-15

**Michelle Goldberg** PAGE A14



SPORTS D1-8

**Building His Own Legend**

With a comeback in the Australian Open final, Carlos Alcaraz earned his seventh Grand Slam singles title by defeating Novak Djokovic. PAGE D1

