VOL. CLXXII . . . No. 59,863 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 28, 2023

Today, mostly sunny, humid, warm, high 95. **Tonight,** partly cloudy and humid, low 79. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sun, gusty afternoon storms,

\$4.00

On the Way to the Front

Kyiv's offensive against Russian forces is making small gains, analysts said, but the scope of the attack remained unclear. Page A8.

Who Gets In? Elite Colleges Prefer Wealth.

This article is by Aatish Bhatia, Claire Cain Miller and Josh Katz.

Elite colleges have long been filled with the children of the richest families: At Ivy League schools, one in six students has parents in the top 1 percent.

A large new study, released this week, shows that it has not been because these children had more impressive grades on average or took harder classes. They tended to have higher SAT scores and finely honed résumés, and applied at a higher rate — but they were overrepresented even after accounting for those things. For applicants with the same SAT or ACT score, children from families in the top 1 percent were 34 percent more likely to be admitted than the average applicant, and those from the top 0.1 percent were more than twice as likely to

The study — by Opportunity Insights, a group of economists based at Harvard who study inequality — quantifies for the first time the extent to which being very rich is its own qualification in selective college admissions.

The analysis is based on federal records of college attendance and parental income taxes for nearly all college students from 1999 to 2015, and standardized test scores from 2001 to 2015. It focuses on the eight Ivy League universities, as well as Stanford, Duke, M.I.T. and the University of Chicago. It adds an extraordinary new data set: the detailed, anonymized internal admissions assessments of at least three of the 12 colleges, covering half a million applicants. (The researchers did not name the colleges that shared data or specify how many did because they promised them anonymity.)

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Sharing Pain of Massacre, Split on Punishment

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

PITTSBURGH — Nearly a year after 11 people were murdered in the Pittsburgh synagogue where he worshiped, Stephen Cohen wrote a letter to the U.S. attorney general. The Justice Department had not yet declared its intent to seek a death sentence in the case, and Mr. Cohen, the co-president of New Light, one of the three congregations that met in the Tree of Life synagogue, wanted to weigh in.

"In consideration of the significant injury to our congregation," he wrote, "I request that the parties agree to a plea deal in which the perpetrator would accept a sentence of life imprisonment."

Amid Pittsburgh Trial, Jews Debate Justice and Revenge

The issue for Mr. Cohen was that pursing a death sentence, rather than taking a plea, would mean a trial and an excruciating revival of the trauma that his fellow congregants had been struggling to overcome. Weeks later, Justice Department announced it would seek the death penalty, and the trial that has unfolded in a federal courthouse over the past three months has been even more harrowing than he anticipated.

But his view of the issue has changed. "I was wrong," he said last week. "Whether he gets put to death or not, I leave in the hands of 12 men and women who will make that decision, and God bless them for whatever decision they make. But we have the facts now."

Over the nearly five years since the deadliest antisemitic attack in the country's history, the question of justice has loomed, unresolved. Within days, the jury in the federal trial will make a decision that is central to that question of justice: whether Robert Bowers, the man who carried out the attack, should be condemned to death.

Most of the families of those who were killed have maintained that a death sentence would be the Continued on Page A15



When Mist Is a Must

Cooling off in Philadelphia, which declared a health emergency as the region sweltered. Page A14.

A Closer Look Into Santos's Schemes to Get Rich Through Politics

By GRACE ASHFORD

About a year before George Santos was elected to Congress, he and three other men approached a loyal campaign donor with a potentially lucrative oppor-

A wealthy Polish citizen wanted to buy cryptocurrency, they said, but for reasons unclear, his fortune was frozen in a bank account. They asked the donor, a wealthy investor in his own right, for help,

The donor was immediately skeptical. He was not told the Polish citizen's name. The men's plan having the donor create a limited liability company to gain access to the funds - made no sense to him.

And while they hadn't yet asked

Congressman Used His Ties to G.O.P. Donors

for money, he was struck by how much their pitch resembled the classic Nigerian prince email scheme, in which a rich, potentially fictitious, foreigner asks an

outsider to help free up frozen as-

In the years since Mr. Santos first ran for the House in 2020, he has become adept at finding ways to extract money from politics. He founded a political consulting group that he marketed to other Republicans. He sought to profit from the Covid crisis, using cam-

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Memphis Faces **Broad Inquiry** Over Policing

Nichols's Beating Spurs Justice Dept. Review

By RICK ROJAS

ATLANTA — The Justice Department said on Thursday that it had begun a sweeping civil rights investigation into policing in Memphis, digging into allegations of pervasive problems with excessive force and unlawful stops of Black residents that were amplified by the fatal beating of Tyre Nichols in January.

In announcing the investiga-tion, officials specifically cited Mr. Nichols, a 29-year-old Black man who died after a traffic stop escalated into a brutal confrontation in which Memphis police officers kicked, pepper-sprayed and pummeled him, even as he was restrained, and then failed to render

The beating, which was captured by body camera and surveillance footage, brought intense scrutiny onto how the Memphis Police Department operates. Residents and activists argued that Mr. Nichols's case was anything but an isolated episode and was instead reflective of an aggressive approach that officers routinely took with Black people — particularly officers from specialized units patrolling high-crime areas, like those who stopped Mr. Nich-

A preliminary review by the Justice Department lent credence to those claims, officials said.

"We received multiple reports of officers escalating encounters with community members resulting in excessive force," Kristen Clarke, the assistant attorney general for the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, said in a news conference on Thursday in Memphis. "There are also indications officers may use force punitively when faced with behavior they perceive as inso-

The investigation is the ninth so-called pattern or practice inquiry that has been pursued by the Biden administration, following in the mold of other sprawling inquiries that were started across the country after high-profile cases of deadly police violence, including in Minneapolis after the death of George Floyd and in Louisville, Ky., after the fatal shooting of Breonna Taylor.

These investigations, which can be exhaustive and stretch on for years, often result in searing accounts that detail patterns of misconduct and in court-enforced agreements known as consent decrees, which are designed to substantially overhaul police practices and add layers of accountability.

In Memphis, officials said the preliminary review revealed in-Continued on Page A15

U.S. ALLEGES PUSH AT TRUMP'S CLUB TO ERASE FOOTAGE

NEW CHARGES IN CASE

Filing Asserts Aide Said the 'Boss Wanted the Server Deleted'

This article is by Alan Feuer, Maggie Haberman and Glenn Thrush.

Federal prosecutors on Thursday added major accusations to an indictment charging former President Donald J. Trump with mishandling classified documents after he left office, presenting evidence that he told the property manager of Mar-a-Lago, his private club and residence in Florida, that he wanted security camera footage there to be deleted.

The new accusations were revealed in a superseding indictment that named the property manager, Carlos De Oliveira, as a new defendant in the case. He is scheduled to be arraigned in Miami on Monday.

The original indictment filed last month in the Southern District of Florida accused Mr. Trump of violating the Espionage Act by illegally holding on to 31 classified documents containing national



Boxes of documents that had been stored at Mar-a-Lago.

defense information after he left office. It also charged Mr. Trump and Walt Nauta, one of his personal aides, with a conspiracy to obstruct the government's repeated attempts to reclaim the classified material.

The revised indictment added three serious charges against Mr. Trump: attempting to "alter, destroy, mutilate, or conceal evidence"; inducing someone else to do so; and a new count under the Espionage Act related to a classified national security document that he showed to visitors at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J.

The updated indictment was released on the same day that Mr. Trump's lawyers met in Washington with prosecutors in the office of the special counsel, Jack Smith, to discuss a so-called target letter that Mr. Trump received this

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Supreme Court's Side Hustle: Millions' Worth of Book Deals

This article is by **Steve Eder**, **Abbie** VanSickle and Elizabeth A. Harris.

Only three months into Justice Ketanii Brown Jackson's first Supreme Court term, she announced a book deal negotiated by the same powerhouse lawyer who represented the Obamas and James Patterson.

The deal was worth about \$3 million, according to people familiar with the agreement, and made Justice Jackson the latest Supreme Court justice to parlay her fame into a big book contract.

Justice Neil M. Gorsuch made \$650,000 for a book of essays and personal reflections on the role of judges, while Justice Amy Coney Barrett received a \$2 million advance for her forthcoming book about keeping personal feelings

Some Justices Get Aid From Staff Members

out of judicial rulings. Those newer justices joined two of their more senior colleagues, Justices Clarence Thomas and Sonia Sotomayor, in securing payments that eclipse their government sal-

In recent months reports by ProPublica, The New York Times and others have highlighted a lack of transparency at the Supreme Court, as well as the absence of a binding ethics code for the justices. The reports have centered on Justice Thomas's travels and relationships with wealthy bene-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Korean Truce, 70 Years On

A photographic look back at a war that ended without a peace treaty, or an official declaration of its end. PAGE A10

U.K. Sanctions Barely Sting

Despite tough talk, Britain's limits against Russian oligarchs appear to penalize them on paper only. PAGE A9 **BUSINESS B1-7**

Tweaking Facebook's and Instagram's algorithms doesn't change political beliefs, studies found, suggesting there is no easy fix for the platforms. PAGE B1

No Social Media Silver Bullet

A.I. Safety? Not So Safe.

The guardrails for chatbots can be thwarted, a new report says, leading to an increasingly unpredictable environment for the technology.

How Modelo Beat Bud Light For a decade, Modelo Especial has been

gaining on the No. 1 spot. Changes in marketing and tastes began long before a conservative backlash.



SPORTS B8-10

Channeling Her Anger

Infuriated by Dutch bullying, Lindsey Horan scored a game-tying goal to buoy U.S. hopes in the World Cup. PAGE B8

Bronny James Goes Home

LeBron James worked out with a young star after his son was released following care for his cardiac arrest. PAGE $\ensuremath{\mathtt{B10}}$ NATIONAL A12-20

Is Miami English a Dialect?

A linguistics professor found that after generations of Hispanic influence, even Miamians who aren't fluent in Spanish use or understand phrases that are direct translations.

Arrest in 1975 Murder of Girl

After decades of mystery, a former church leader in Broomall, Pa., was charged in the killing of Gretchen Harrington, 8, who vanished on her way to summer Bible school.

OPINION A22-23

Christopher F. Rufo PAGE A22



A Less Anxious Edvard Munch The creator of "The Scream" had a

livelier side that is rarely explored in American museums, as an exhibition at the Clark Art Institute shows. PAGE C1



Spared the Worst of Summer Until Now, the Northeast Joins a Nation Scorched

The heat index reached the triple digits across the nation's most populous region, and could peak on Friday. Many cities took precautions to help vulnerable residents.







By Jenna Russell, Erin Nolan and Judson Jones

Jenna Russell reported from Plymouth, Mass. Judson Jones is a reporter and meteorologist

New York City's power company asked customers to cut back on electricity use Thursday afternoon, and Philadelphia declared a health emergency as the dangerous heat that has scorched other parts of the country for more than a month spread to the nation's most populous region.

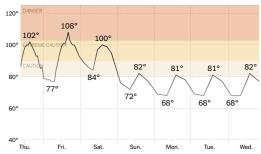
Soaring temperatures and a blanket of oppressive humidity prompted widespread warnings in New England and the Mid-Atlantic States. The heat will probably peak in the region on Friday, forecasters said, before easing over the weekend — a respite not seen in other, longer-suffering parts of the country.

About 118 million Americans, more than a third of the population, were expected to be in the "danger" zone on Friday, with the heat index — a measure that combines temperature and humidity - rising into the 100s, according to a New York Times analysis of National Weather Service and U.S. Census Bureau data. That's among the largest proportions of the U.S. population to be threatened at the same time by extreme heat so far this year.

Cities have responded with emergency measures aimed at preventing heat-related illnesses and deaths. In Philadelphia, where the temperature hit 93 on Thursday and a high of 98 was predicted on Friday, city leaders extended the hours at 32 air-conditioned sites, where local residents can seek relief, and added extra outreach to people without housing.

Heat index forecast for Philadelphia

Data is as of July 27, 8:44 a.m. Eastern. See more detailed maps and charts >



For many, staying indoors was not an option. Working on a gas line on a South Philadelphia street, Randy Robison, 51, said his welding crew was used to enduring discomfort in the heavy, protective clothing required for the job. "They have to wear that all year round, so they take the worst of the heat," he said.

New York City, placed under an excessive heat warning by the National Weather Service and facing three straight days of temperatures in the 90s for the first time this year, also took preventive measures, opening hundreds of cooling centers to residents.

"Heat kills more New Yorkers every year than any other kind of extreme weather event," Mayor Eric Adams said at a news conference. "Access to cooling is a matter of life and death."



Welders working on a job site in Philadelphia on Thursday. Hannah Beier for The New York Time



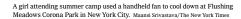
Sisters playing in the art installation "Pulse" by Janet Echelman at Philadelphia City Hall on Thursday, Hannah Beier for The New York Times

The power company Con Ed sent text alerts to New York customers on Thursday asking them to limit their energy use between 2 p.m. and 10 p.m. "to help keep service reliable," as air-conditioning use rose citywide.

Dozen of Mets fan boarded the subway in Times Square Thursday evening bound for the game in Queens, where temperatures were expected to remain around 90 for the first pitch. "I think we will be OK as long as we stay hydrated and drink lots of water," Aaron Korn, 40, said. "And Gatorade!" his 8-year-old son, Kingston Nahm-Korn, added.

Baltimore declared a "code red" extreme heat alert, its first of the season, as temperatures there hit 96 on Thursday. Mary Beth Haller, acting health commissioner, said the alert would remain in place through Saturday in hopes of convincing residents to take precautions.







A subway commuter dabbed his forehead with a napkin while waiting for the train in New York City. Maansi Srivastava/The New York Times

Despite the heat, Antoine Breckenridge, 62, still planned to try and jog several miles in Baltimore's Druid Hill Park while wearing a white shirt wrapped around his head for protection from the harsh midday sun. "I got this stomach I'm trying to get rid of," he said with a laugh, patting his waistline.

Severe thunderstorms packing damaging wind gusts, torrential rain, hail and the possibility of a brief tornado were expected to sweep through New England on Thursday afternoon and evening, and scattered flood watches were in effect. Among the places at risk for flooding was Montpelier, Vermont's capital city, which was inundated with several feet of water earlier this month after heavy rainfall pushed rivers over their banks.

Providence, R.I., was so hot on Thursday that even the state's favorite summer drink wasn't selling. Rebecca Griffiths, who sells Del's frozen lemonade at a stand near the Providence River, said she had made few sales. "It's just too hot," she said. "People are either inside or at the beach."



Employees of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston during their shift on Thursday. Billy Hickey for The New York Times



 $People\ sat\ in\ the\ shade\ in\ Federal\ Hill\ Park\ in\ Baltimore\ on\ Thursday.\ Rosem\ Morton\ for\ The\ New\ York\ Times$

The planet has warmed by about two degrees Fahrenheit since the 19th century and will continue to grow hotter until humans essentially stop burning oil, gas and coal, scientists say. The warmer overall temperatures contribute to extreme-weather events and help make periods of extreme heat more frequent, longer and more intense.

In the Midwest and Southwest, which are already reeling from heat, residents will continue to swelter. In Phoenix, scorching high temperatures of up to 113 degrees were forecast through Saturday, continuing a long stretch of torrid, life-threatening weather. The city did see a welcome milestone on Wednesday night, when the temperature at Phoenix Sky Harbor Airport dipped below 90 degrees for the first time since July 9.

For at least some parts of the country, relief is in store next week, with temperatures and humidity levels in the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast expected to fall back into a normal range — if not below average — on Sunday and Monday.

Reporting was contributed by Donna Owens and Adam Bednar from Baltimore, Joel Wolfram and Jon Hurdle from Philadelphia, and Colleen Cronin from Providence, R.I.

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A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 14 of the New York edition with the headline: Oppressive Heat Spreads to Northeast, Putting Millions More in Danger