

Public Health
Fails for Youth
At the Border

Court May Tell U.S. to
Give Care at Camps

By EMILY BAUMGAERTNER

JACUMBA, Calif. — To Dr. Theresa Cheng, the scene was “apocalyptic.”

She had come to Valley of the Moon, an open-air holding site in San Diego’s rural Mountain Empire, to provide volunteer medical care to asylum seekers who had breached the United States-Mexico border wall and were waiting to be apprehended by American authorities.

Among the throngs at this and other sites, she found children with deep lacerations, broken bones, fevers, diarrhea, vomiting, even seizures. Some were hiding in dumpsters and overflowing porta-potties. An asthmatic boy without an inhaler was wheezing in the acrid smoke from brush and trash fires, which had been lit for warmth.

With the capacity at immigration processing centers strained, migrants, including unaccompanied children, are waiting for hours — sometimes days — in outdoor holding areas, where a lack of shelter, food, and sanitation infrastructure has triggered an array of public health concerns for the most vulnerable.

“From a public health standpoint, there are communicable diseases and outdoor exposures that would strike anyone down, much less this medically vulnerable population,” said Dr. Cheng, an emergency room physician at Zuckerberg San Francisco General Hospital and Trauma Center.

A Federal District Court judge in California could rule as early as Friday on whether the government is legally required to shelter and feed the children as they wait.

In a court filing, lawyers for the Department of Justice argue that because the children have not yet been formally taken into custody by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, they are not obligated to provide such service.

“Minors in these areas — close to the California-Mexico border — have not been arrested or apprehended by C.B.P. and are not in the legal custody of C.B.P.,” the lawyers wrote.

“C.B.P. has been apprehending and transporting minors to safe and sanitary U.S. Border Patrol facilities in a prompt manner. But until that occurs, plaintiffs are not in D.H.S. custody,” they wrote, referring to the Department of Homeland Security.

When asylum seekers enter the United States between official ports of entry, they often present themselves to Border Patrol agents near the wall with the intention of being apprehended. They are taken to a processing facility, where they receive a medical screening, a background check and basic provisions as they begin the legal claims process.

But unlike at those immigration processing facilities, the open-air sites have no shelters, meals or government-affiliated medical staff. Some sites have no restrooms, causing people to defecate outdoors in the open, according to Erika Pinheiro, the executive director of the legal and humanitarian nonprofit Al Otro Lado, who



ARIANA DREHSLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Unaccompanied children at open-air immigration centers are suffering from unsanitary conditions, a lack of medical care and illness.

Thomas Took Her In. Now She’s His Law Clerk.

By STEVE EDER and ABBIE VANSICKLE

The email went out to members of Justice Clarence Thomas’s law clerk network late last month celebrating his newest addition to an exclusive club. The justice’s selection needed no introduction.

“Crystal Clanton’s clerkship for OT ’24 was announced by Scalia Law today!” wrote an assistant to Virginia Thomas, the justice’s wife, who is known as Ginni. The email referred to the 2024 October term of the court, and the tone was jubilant: “Please take a look at these posts of congratulations and

Claims of Favoritism in
Hiring of an Activist
Accused of Racism

support. Consider reposting, replying or adding your own!”

The Thomases and Ms. Clanton, a 29-year-old conservative organizer turned lawyer, have built such a close relationship that the couple informally refer to her as their “nearly adopted daughter.” Ms. Clanton, who was previously accused of sending racist text mes-

sages, including one that read “I HATE BLACK PEOPLE,” has lived in the Thomas home, assisted Ms. Thomas in her political consulting business and joined her in a “girls trip” to New York.

In 2019, at the Thomases’ urging, Ms. Clanton enrolled at Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason University in Virginia, where Justice Thomas has taught. She received a full merit scholarship, according to another judge who later hired her.

Her upcoming Supreme Court clerkship, one of the most coveted jobs in the American legal profes-

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Trump Venture
Opens the Door
To Ethics Issues

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

When former President Donald J. Trump’s social media company went public this week, supporters and investors betting on Mr. Trump’s political success helped drive the value of a loss-making firm through the roof. Mr. Trump ended the first day of public trading \$4.6 billion richer on paper.

If Mr. Trump is elected president, it may not be the last time the company is used as a vehicle to benefit Mr. Trump’s pocket-book, experts said.

Trump Media & Technology Group — the owner of Truth Social, the site Mr. Trump uses to rally his backers and blast his opponents — could present a new, fairly straightforward route for foreign leaders or special interests to try to influence him. Should he retain his control of the company while in office, the ethical questions that arose from Mr. Trump’s hotels and other properties in his first term as president would only multiply when applied to a publicly traded media company, they said.

“This will be a very easy vehicle for foreign governments that want to curry favor with the president to throw money at him in a way that benefits his financial bottom line,” said Jack Goldsmith, a law professor at Harvard University and a top Justice Department official under President George W. Bush.

Corporations and other players wanting to sway Mr. Trump could buy advertising on Truth Social, other experts said. They could try to get on his radar by buying

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FOUNDER OF FTX
GIVEN 25 YEARS
IN CRYPTO SCAM

FORFEITING \$11 BILLION

He Apologizes, but Judge
Says, ‘He Knew It
Was Criminal’

By DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY and J. EDWARD MORENO

Sam Bankman-Fried, the founder of the FTX cryptocurrency exchange who was convicted of stealing billions of dollars from customers, was sentenced to 25 years in prison on Thursday, capping an extraordinary saga that upended the crypto industry and became a cautionary tale of greed and hubris.

Mr. Bankman-Fried’s sentence was shorter than the 40 to 50 years that federal prosecutors had sought after a jury found him guilty of fraud, conspiracy and money laundering — charges that carried a maximum penalty of 110 years behind bars. But the punishment was far above the six and a half years requested by his defense lawyers.

Mr. Bankman-Fried, 32, did not visibly react as Judge Lewis A. Kaplan handed down the sentence in Federal District Court in Manhattan. His parents, the law professors Joe Bankman and Barbara Fried, sat two rows from the front, staring at the floor.

“He knew it was wrong. He knew it was criminal,” Judge Kaplan said of Mr. Bankman-Fried’s actions.

Before the sentence was delivered, Mr. Bankman-Fried, clean-shaven and wearing a loosefitting brown jail uniform, apologized to FTX’s customers, investors and employees.



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The judge said Sam Bankman-Fried had lied on the stand.

“A lot of people feel really let down, and they were very let down,” he said. “I’m sorry about that. I’m sorry about what happened at every stage.” He added that his decisions “haunt” him every day.

Mr. Bankman-Fried was also ordered to forfeit about \$11 billion in assets.

At the sentencing, Judge Kaplan pointed to testimony from Mr. Bankman-Fried’s trial that showed the FTX founder’s extreme appetite for risk, saying it was his “nature” to make colossally dangerous bets. “There is a risk that this man will be in a position to do something very bad in the future,” he said.

Judge Kaplan also said Mr. Bankman-Fried had lied on the

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LAUREN DECICCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Where Floodwaters Are Welcome

An architect eyes nature-friendly designs like constructed wetlands to manage surges. Page A9.

The Blind Spots in Russia’s Vast Security Network

This article is by Paul Sonne, Eric Schmitt and Michael Schwartz.

A day before the U.S. embassy in Moscow put out a rare public alert this month about a possible extremist attack at a Russian concert venue, the local C.I.A. station delivered a private warning to Russian officials that included at least one additional detail: The plot in question involved an off-

Foreign Distrust Is Cited
as Factor in Attack

shoot of the Islamic State known as ISIS-K.

American intelligence had been tracking the group closely and believed the threat credible. Within days, however, President Vladi-

mir V. Putin was disparaging the warnings, calling them “outright blackmail” and attempts to “intimidate and destabilize our society.”

Three days after he spoke, gunmen stormed Crocus City Hall outside Moscow last Friday night and killed at least 143 people in the deadliest attack in Russia in nearly two decades. ISIS quickly

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Harvard Removes Book Binding of Human Skin

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER and JULIA JACOBS

Of the roughly 20 million books in Harvard University’s libraries, one has long exerted a unique dark fascination, not for its contents, but for the material it was reputedly bound in: human skin.

For years, the volume — a 19th-century French treatise on the human soul — was brought out for

U.S. Collections Under
Intensifying Scrutiny

show and tell, and sometimes, according to library lore, used to haze new employees. In 2014, the university drew jokey news coverage around the world with the announcement that it had used new

technology to confirm that the binding was in fact human skin.

But on Wednesday, after years of criticism and debate, the university announced that it had removed the binding and would be exploring options for “a final respectful disposition of these human remains.”

“After careful study, stakeholder engagement, and considera-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Star in Eye of Olympic Storm

Reports that Aya Nakamura, a French-Malian singer, might perform at the Games have caused debates. PAGE A4

No Solution for GPS Sabotage

Satellite signals run modern life, and yet there is no Plan B should they get knocked out in an attack. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A11-21

Tracking America’s Diversity

New survey questions in federal forms aim to draw a more detailed portrait of racial and ethnic origins, but the changes could face a backlash. PAGE A13

Senate Tussle Is a Throwback

The current Senate leaders didn’t have to fight too hard for their jobs, but Republicans now face a real contest to replace Mitch McConnell. PAGE A15

Steep Cost of Covid Closures

Experts say the longer students were instructed remotely with shutdowns that did little to stop the spread, the further they lagged. PAGE A13



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A \$20 Fast-Food Wage Nears

Owners and employees in California are sizing up the impact of the nation’s highest state minimum wage. PAGE B1

Can a 3% Cash Back Card Last?

The new Robinhood Gold Card has an enticing offer, but no guarantee of longevity, Ron Lieber writes. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-10

More Drama in Sweet 16?

As the women’s N.C.A.A. tournament heads into the next round, a breakdown of how to watch and what to expect. Could there be surprises? PAGE B10

OBITUARIES B11-12

Black Panther Activist

Lee Berry, one of the Panther 21 in New York and whose account of abuse in jail was a catalyst for Leonard Bernstein’s famous fund-raiser, was 78. PAGE B11

OPINION A22-23

Pamela Paul PAGE A22



WEEKEND ARTS C1-14

Museum-Quality Retailing

The Tiffany flagship store uses expensive artworks to help sell the jewelry. Above left, “Bronze Eroded Venus of Arles” by Daniel Arsham. PAGE C1

