

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, mostly sunny with low humidity, high 83. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 66. **Tomorrow**, intervals of clouds and sun, low humidity, high 81. Weather map is on Page B12.

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## JUSTICES GIVE TRUMP SUBSTANTIAL IMMUNITY


### How They Voted


The Supreme Court ruled that former presidents are entitled to at least a presumption of immunity for official acts. The vote was 6 to 3 along partisan lines, with the liberal justices issuing vehement dissents.


CONSERVATIVE BLOC


LIBERAL BLOC


  
Roberts


  
Alito


  
Barrett


  
Gorsuch

  
Kavanaugh

  
Thomas

  
Jackson

  
Kagan

  
Sotomayor



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The court’s majority questioned whether Donald J. Trump’s statements on Jan. 6, 2021, amounted to official or unofficial conduct.

## Jan. 6 Trial Delayed, but Chance for a Revealing Hearing Is Set

By ALAN FEUER

The Supreme Court’s decision on Monday about executive immunity makes it all but certain that former President Donald J. Trump will not stand trial on charges of seeking to overturn the last election before voters decide whether to send him back to the White House in the next one. But the ruling also opened the door for prosecutors to detail much of their evidence against Mr. Trump in front of a federal judge — and the public — at an expansive fact-finding hearing, perhaps before Election Day. It remains unclear when the hearing, which was ordered as

part of the court’s decision, might take place or how long it would last. But it will address the big question that the justices kicked back to the trial court, which is how much of Mr. Trump’s indictment can survive the ruling that former presidents enjoy immunity for official actions they take in office. And it will be held in Federal District Court in Washington in front of the judge, Tanya S. Chutkan, who was handling the case before it was frozen more than six months ago as a series of courts considered his immunity claims. Almost from the moment that Judge Chutkan was assigned the case, she moved it forward expeditiously, showing little patience

### An Airing of More Facts Could Still Happen Before November

for Mr. Trump’s efforts to delay it — or his complaints that it was getting in the way of his campaign. At one point, she told the former president that his “day job” as a candidate would not affect her administration of the case, later declaring, “This trial will not yield to the election cycle.” Mr. Trump’s lawyers will no doubt seek to narrow the scope of the proceeding and push it off for

as long as possible. And if he wins the presidency again, he could avoid the proceeding altogether by ordering his Justice Department to drop the entire case. But if Judge Chutkan sticks to her practice of dealing quickly with procedural matters and is able to schedule the hearing for September or October, it could lead to something extraordinary: a mini-trial of sorts unfolding in the nation’s capital in what could be the homestretch of the presidential campaign. Whenever the hearing is ultimately held and however it ends up being structured, it will focus on the question at the center of the Supreme Court’s decision:

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## Landmark Ruling in Jan. 6 Case Expands Presidential Power

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that former President Donald J. Trump is entitled to substantial immunity from prosecution on charges of trying to overturn the last election, a blockbuster decision in the heat of the 2024 campaign that vastly expanded presidential power. The vote was 6 to 3, dividing along partisan lines. Its immediate practical effect will be to further complicate the case against Mr. Trump, with the chances that it will go before a jury ahead of the election now vanishingly remote and the charges against him, at a minimum, narrowed. The decision amounted to a powerful statement by the court’s conservative majority that presidents should be insulated from the potential that actions they take in carrying out their official duties could later be used by political enemies to charge them with crimes. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., writing for the majority, said Mr. Trump had at least presumptive immunity for his official acts. He added that the trial judge must undertake an intensive factual review to separate official and unofficial conduct and to assess whether prosecutors can overcome the presumption protecting Mr. Trump for his official conduct. If Mr. Trump prevails at the polls, the issue could become moot since he could order the Justice Department to drop the charges. The liberal wing, in some of the harshest dissents ever filed by Supreme Court justices, said the majority had created a kind of king not answerable to the law. Broad immunity for official conduct is needed, the chief justice wrote, to protect “an energetic, independent executive.” “The president therefore may not be prosecuted for exercising his core constitutional powers, and he is entitled, at a minimum, to a presumptive immunity from prosecution for all his official

acts,” Chief Justice Roberts wrote. “That immunity applies equally to all occupants of the Oval Office, regardless of politics, policy or party.” The alternative, the chief justice wrote, is to invite tit-for-tat political reprisals. “Virtually every president is criticized for insufficiently enforcing some aspect of federal law (such as drug, gun, immigration or environmental laws),” he wrote. “An enterprising prosecutor in a new administration may assert that a previous president violated that broad statute. Without immunity, such types of prosecutions of ex-presidents could quickly become routine.” In dissent, Justice Sonia Sotomayor wrote that the decision was gravely misguided. In a rare move and sign of deep disagreement, she summarized her dissent from the bench, making off-the-cuff remarks that underscored her frustration. “Today’s decision to grant former presidents criminal immunity reshapes the institution of the presidency,” she wrote. “It makes a mockery of the principle, foundational to our Constitution and system of government, that no man is above the law.” In her own dissent, Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson wrote that “the court has now declared for the first time in history that the most powerful official in the United States can (under circumstances yet to be fully determined) become a law unto himself.” Mr. Trump embraced the outcome on social media, celebrating the ruling. “Big win for our constitution and democracy,” he wrote in all-capital letters. “Proud to be an American!” Mr. Biden’s campaign focused on the events of Jan. 6 and nodded to Mr. Trump’s recent conviction in New York on falsifying business records to cover up a sex scandal.

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**REJECTED** The justices declined to rule on a pair of cases challenging laws aimed at social media platforms’ rights to free speech. PAGE B1

## Fighters in Refugee Camps Are Switching to Hard-Line Factions

By STEVEN ERLANGER

TULKARM, West Bank — The alleys are cast in permanent semidarkness, covered by black nylon tarpaulins to hide the Palestinian fighters there from Israeli drones overhead. Green Hamas flags and banners commemorating “martyrs” hang from the buildings, many badly damaged during Israeli raids and airstrikes to try to tamp down a growing militancy in the territory, fueled by the war in Gaza. This is not Gaza or a traditional Hamas stronghold. It is a refugee camp in Tulkarm, a town in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, where the relatively moderate Palestinian faction of Fatah had long held sway. I recently met a local commander of these young militants, Muhammad Jaber, 25, in one of those dusty, shattered alleyways. One of Israel’s most wanted men, he and other fighters like him say they have switched allegiances from the relatively moderate Fatah faction, which dominates the Israeli-occupied West Bank, to more radical groups like Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad since the Hamas-led attack on Israel on Oct. 7. Asked what lesson he had taken from the war in Gaza, Mr. Jaber paused for a moment to



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tarpaulins above the streets in Tulkarm, West Bank, hide Palestinian fighters from Israeli drones.

think. “Patience,” he said. “And strength. And courage.” Refugee camps in the northern West Bank, like the one in Tulkarm, have been hotbeds of militancy for years, well before the war in Gaza, as fighters pushed back against ever-increasing Israeli settlement activity and the failure of the peace

process to produce a Palestinian state. After Oct. 7, Hamas urged Palestinians to join its uprising against Israel, a call that seems to have been heeded by some in these camps. Militants like Mr. Jaber want to push the Israelis out of the West Bank, which Israel occupied after the 1967 war, and some, like Hamas, want to push

the Israelis out of the region entirely. More weapons and explosives are being manufactured in the West Bank, according to both the fighters themselves and Israeli military officials. They say the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority, which runs parts of the West Bank, is losing ground

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## Macron Risked It All, and Now He’s Marooned

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — An era has ended in France. The seven-year domination of national politics by President Emmanuel Macron was laid to rest by his party’s overwhelming defeat in the first round of parliamentary elections on Sunday. Not only did he dissolve Parliament by calling a snap vote, he effectively dissolved the centrist movement known as “Macronism.” The far-right National Rally, in winning a third of the vote, did not guarantee that it will win an absolute majority in a runoff six days from now, although it will likely get close. But Mr. Macron, risking all by calling the election, did end up guaranteeing that he will be marginalized, with perhaps no more than a third of the seats his party now holds. “The decision to dissolve the National Assembly has, in fact, put an end to the political configuration that emerged from the presidential election of 2017,” said Édouard Philippe, one of Mr. Macron’s former prime ministers.

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## How Democrats Let Biden’s Run Build Into Crisis

By JIM RUTENBERG  
and ADAM NAGOURNEY

In the aftermath of Thursday’s presidential debate, as Jill Biden led President Biden off the stage, former Senator Claire McCaskill, the Missouri Democrat, raised what she called a “hard and heart-breaking” question. “You have to ask,” she said on MSNBC, “how did we get here?” Barely seven weeks before Democrats gather in Chicago to formally nominate Mr. Biden for a second term, the Democratic Party is in crisis. Many party leaders, donors, activists and ordinary voters, stunned by the president’s faltering debate appearance, now fear he will lose to former President Donald J. Trump and drag Democrats to devastating defeats in congressional and state elections. The answer to Ms. McCaskill’s question is a complicated mix of historical circumstance and structural deficiencies, a party struggling with ideological and generational fissures, and an aging Democratic president who spent his life battling for this job. Mr. Biden is surrounded by a tight circle of longtime aides and family members who have en-

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### A.I.-Powered Bionic Hand

As a woman who lost an arm learned how to use her new prosthetic limb, it was also learning from her. PAGE B5

### Boeing Agrees to Buy Supplier

The multibillion-dollar deal will reverse a decision made two decades ago to outsource parts production. PAGE B1

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A battle over the complicated history of Britain’s prized country houses offers a window into the national mood before a pivotal election. PAGE A7

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If the city of El Fasher, home to 1.8 million people, falls, little will stop a slaughter, officials warn. PAGE A8

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### Baseball’s Speed Limit

Pitchers may have already hit maximum fastball velocity, but one theory says 125 m.p.h. is possible. PAGE B6

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### A Cube Turns 50

Mathematicians and hobbyists have had a half-century of fun exploring the 43 billion billion permutations of what Erno Rubik invented. PAGE D5

### China Brings Back Moon Rocks

The Chang’e-6 mission’s sample, which might hold clues about the origins of both the moon and Earth, represents the latest achievement of the Chinese lunar exploration program. PAGE D1



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### Understanding Rural America

A group of scholars who are urging more empathetic analyses of rural culture often feel that politicians and pundits extract the wrong lessons from their research. PAGE A11

### Bannon Goes to Prison

The longtime adviser to Donald J. Trump surrendered and began serving his four-month sentence. He spent his final morning recording his podcast, which he says will continue. PAGE A16

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### Laurence H. Tribe

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### Finding Fantasy in Reality

With her new book, “Children of Anguish and Anarchy,” Tomi Adeyemi is wrapping up her West African-influenced Legacy of Orisha series. PAGE C1

