



Hanging the Texas state flag in the community of Hunt. At least 27 people from a girls’ summer camp were killed in the flood there.

LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cuts Endanger U.S. Response To Calamities

This article is by **Lisa Friedman, Maxine Joselow, Coral Davenport and Megan Mineiro.**

In an effort to shrink the federal government, President Trump and congressional Republicans have taken steps that are diluting the country’s ability to anticipate, prepare for and respond to catastrophic flooding and other extreme weather events, disaster experts say.

Staff reductions, budget cuts and other changes made by the administration since January have already created holes at the National Weather Service, which forecasts and warns of dangerous weather.

Mr. Trump’s budget proposal for the next fiscal year would close 10 laboratories run by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration that research the ways a warming planet is changing weather, among other things. That work is essential to more accurately predicting life-threatening hazards. Among the shuttered labs would be one in Miami that sends teams of “hurricane hunters” to fly into storms to collect critical data. The proposed budget would also make major cuts to a federal program that uses river gauges to predict floods.

The president is also envisioning a dramatically scaled-down Federal Emergency Management Agency that would shift the costs of disaster response and recovery from the federal government to the states. The administration has already revoked \$3.6 billion in grants from FEMA to hundreds of communities around the country, which were to be used to help these areas protect against hurri-

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Weary and Waterlogged, With Eyes on Horizon

By **RICHARD FAUSSET**

HUNT, Texas — Robert Brown, a Dallas businessman, owns what used to be a handsome five-building vacation estate in Hunt, Texas, set above a sloping bank on the Guadalupe River. Last week, a work crew was hauling away river mud from the buildings, and tearing out drywall and waterlogged insulation.

The July 4 flooding, the worst anyone can remember in the small Hill Country community of Hunt, has left at least 129 people dead in Central Texas, with scores more still missing. The grief is particularly acute in unincorporated Hunt, where at least 27 people from a girls’ summer retreat,

Rebuilding Begins in Rural Texas Retreat With Open Arms

Camp Mystic, were killed.

Much of the town is now trashed, with debris lodged in the branches of the trees and heaps of soggy junk along Highway 39, the main road that runs along the Guadalupe. On Wednesday, skilled horse-riders in cowboy hats and ball caps were searching Mr. Brown’s property for bodies.

But Mr. Brown, who grew up in coastal Corpus Christi, Texas, is not giving up on Hunt. After the workers gut his buildings, he said

he wants them to renovate them. It is a decision colored by the deep connection he feels to the Hill Country, a region in the middle of Texas that is also central to the state’s history, spirit and western mythology.

“We always had a major love for the Hill Country growing up in Corpus Christi, down on the water,” Mr. Brown said last week. “It was our so-called Colorado, I guess, for us. We considered those mountains back in the day,” he said of the Texas hills.

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MOURNING THE LOST Across Texas, funerals and memorial services were held for victims both young and old. PAGE A12



GLYN KIRK/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A Breakthrough on Grass

Jannik Sinner of Italy triumphed over Carlos Alcaraz of Spain at Wimbledon on Sunday. Page D1.

Democrats Lost Voters on Trans Rights. Can They Be Won Back?

By **CHARLES HOMANS**

Lanae Erickson, a senior vice president of the center-left think tank Third Way, has studied the politics of transgender rights for four years. But it was only this past December that she had cause to utter the phrase “genital check” in the presence of a Democratic representative.

“Now I’ve done it many times,” she said, and with many lawmak-

ers. When she does, she added, “their faces squish up.”

At the time, Ms. Erickson was meeting with Democratic lawmakers in hopes of blocking a Republican bill to enact a blanket ban on transgender athletes’ participation in women’s sports. Awkward conversations, to her mind, were a necessary first step in escaping what many in Democratic politics had come to see as a sort of paralysis over the issue.

A Disconnect With the Party’s Direction

Stuck in a widening gulf between the views of the party’s liberal voters and advocacy organizations on one side, and those of the broader American electorate on the other, many Democratic politicians had resolved to say as lit-

tle as possible about the subject. In surveys, Ms. Erickson and other public-opinion researchers had found that this allowed Republicans, who spent hundreds of millions of dollars on ads attacking Democrats on transgender rights in 2024, to define voters’ perceptions of Democratic policy positions.

“What they thought, in November, was that Democrats thought

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Bruising Tariffs Threaten To Curb America’s Reach

Trump’s Devotion to Completing Deals Seems to Fade

By **ANA SWANSON**

WASHINGTON — Even after President Trump announced sweeping global tariffs in April, some investors and supporters comforted themselves by arguing that the president’s goal was still to open global markets, not close them off.

The belief, promoted by Mr. Trump himself, was that he was using his tariffs as a lever to crack open commercial opportunities and the administration would soon deliver dozens of deals that would increase U.S. exports and help American businesses flourish abroad.

Three months later, that optimism is being replaced by doubts that Mr. Trump’s goal was ever to strike the kind of trade deals that would open up markets.

Instead, the president is making new announcements daily about bruising tariffs that will come into effect against dozens of trading partners in just a few weeks. On Saturday, Mr. Trump announced on social media that he would place a 30 percent tariff on goods from the European Union and Mexico, starting on Aug. 1. That followed similar threats last week warning Canada, Japan, South Korea, Brazil, and numerous other nations large and small, of forthcoming tariffs.

Administration officials continue to describe the president’s tariff threats as a gambit aimed at getting more concessions from foreign countries in trade negotiations. But, according to Mr. Trump’s timeline, the window to strike deals and avoid punishing tariffs is rapidly diminishing. So far, the administration has only announced two preliminary deals, with Britain and Vietnam, and the status of the Vietnam deal is now in question.

While handshake agreements with India, Taiwan and other governments could soon be pending, they are likely to be limited pacts that leave much to be negotiated. And even when deals have been announced, Mr. Trump has left double-digit tariffs in place, and promised that more levies on foreign products are on the way.

With less than a month before the Aug. 1 tariffs are supposed to kick in, the Trump administration

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E.U. Offers Itself as a More Reliable Trade Partner

By **JEANNA SMIALEK**

BRUSSELS — Trade chaos is forcing America’s allies closer together, and further from the United States. And as that happens, the European Union is trying to position itself at the center of a new global trade map.

The bloc learned this weekend that Washington would subject it to 30 percent tariffs starting Aug. 1. Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the E.U. executive branch, responded with a pledge to keep negotiating. She also made it clear that while the European Union would delay any retaliation until early August, it would continue to draw up plans to hit back with force.

But that was not the entire strategy. Europe, like many of the United States’ trading partners, is also looking for more reliable friends.

“We’re living in turbulent times, and when economic uncertainty meets geopolitical volatility, partners like us must come closer together,” Ms. von der Leyen said on Sunday in Brussels at a news conference alongside the Indonesian president, Prabowo Subianto.

Just as President Trump threatens to put hefty tariffs on many countries, including Indonesia, the European Union is working to relax trade barriers and deepen economic relations.

“In hard times, some turn inward, toward isolation and fragmentation,” Ms. von der Leyen said. Then, in a message implicitly extended to world leaders who have been jolted by Mr. Trump’s tariffs, she added, “You are always welcome here, and you can count on Europe.”

It is a split screen that is becoming typical. On one side, the United States sows uncertainty as it blows up weeks of painstaking negotiations and escalates tariff threats. On the other, the 27-nation European Union and other American trading partners are forging closer ties, laying the groundwork for a global trading system that revolves less and less around an increasingly fickle United States.

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COFFEE PRICES A possible 50 percent levy on Brazilian imports will raise the cost of java. PAGE B1

ICE Prepares to Expand Scope With \$20 Billion Budget Spike

By **ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS and HAMED ALEAZIZ**

WASHINGTON — Thousands of new deportation agents deployed into American cities. A doubling of detention space to hold tens of thousands of immigrants before they are expelled. Miles of new border wall, along with surveillance towers equipped with artificial intelligence.

That is the expansive plan that President Trump’s top immigration officials now intend to enact after months of struggling to overcome staffing shortages and logistical hurdles that have stymied his pledge to record the most deportations in American history.

After weeks of pressuring members of Congress into supporting his signature domestic policy legislation, Mr. Trump has secured an extraordinary injection of funding for his immigration agenda — \$170 billion, the vast majority of which will go to the Department of Homeland Security over four years.

The annual budget of Immigra-



JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ICE expects to add 10,000 agents with the new resources.

tion and Customs Enforcement alone will spike from about \$8 billion to roughly \$28 billion, making it the highest funded law enforcement agency in the federal government.

The new resources will fuel an intense initiative to recruit as

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DEPORTATIONS The United States is expected to send more migrants to third countries. PAGE A9



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A Stained-Glass Innovator

Brian Clarke took an art form that was associated with religion to secular settings. He was 71. PAGE A20

A Modern Dance Catalyst

Charles Reinhart, 94, oversaw the growth of diverse traditions with the American Dance Festival. PAGE A17

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Cold War Relics in Canada

Strings of radars were built to warn of Soviet bombers coming over the Arctic. The region now faces a new era of militarization. PAGE A4

South Africa Corruption Query

The police minister has been accused of protecting figures with ties to a criminal syndicate. PAGE A9

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A First L.P.G.A. Major Title

Grace Kim eagled the 72nd hole and the second playoff hole to capture the Evian Championship. PAGE D8



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A Supermischievous Pet

For the sidekick Krypto in “Superman,” the director James Gunn found inspiration in his own unruly dog. PAGE C1

New Perspective on Black Life

Stars of “The Gilded Age” on HBO discuss the show’s take on late-19th-century Black families. PAGE C1

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Fed Renovations Under Fire

The Federal Reserve defended its chair, Jerome H. Powell, after President Trump and his allies accused him of misleading Congress over the project at the central bank’s headquarters. PAGE A16

Increases for Delivery Workers

The New York City Council is expected to pass a package of bills to include nearly 20,000 grocery delivery workers in legislation to improve their working conditions and raise wages. PAGE A13

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Jessica Grose

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Long-Distance Power Players

Deep-sea cables, which are spooled in big stacks on a boat before being buried in an underwater trench, are crucial in transmitting electricity. PAGE B1

