



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARTER JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The flooded Guadalupe River in Kerrville, Texas, on Friday. At least 20 girls were missing from Camp Mystic in nearby Hunt, Texas.

## Pre-Dawn Flash Flood in Central Texas Leaves at Least 13 Dead

This article is by **Edgar Sandoval**, **Ruth Graham** and **Aimee Ortiz**.

KERRVILLE, Texas — A rain-swelled Guadalupe River swept through a summer camp and nearby areas before dawn on Friday in Central Texas, killing at least 13 people and setting off frantic searches for missing children and others.

Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick said that, as of midafternoon, about 20 girls from a camp along the river in Hunt, Texas, were missing.

Hundreds of emergency personnel were searching for stranded people using 14 helicopters, but ground crews were struggling to navigated flooded roads, officials said. They warned the death toll was likely to rise.

“It’s going to be a mass casualty event,” said Freeman F. Martin, the director of the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Some stranded children from Camp Mystic, a Christian camp for girls, were rescued throughout the day, but reuniting them with their parents proved difficult because many roads were impassable.

On social media and in text messages, parents circulated photos of some of the missing girls, and exchanged hopeful stories that they were hearing about dramatic rescues: girls clinging to trees, or floating downriver to a boys’ camp five miles away.

“I know there are anxious parents watching, wanting information,” Mr. Patrick said. “We have

the best rescue teams and response teams in the world.”

Gov. Greg Abbott activated the National Guard. Kristi Noem, the Homeland Security secretary, deployed the U.S. Coast Guard and Federal Emergency Management Agency, a spokeswoman for the agency wrote on X.

In the city of Kerrville, some flood survivors huddled inside a

### Frantic Search for Girls Swept Away From a Summer Camp

church’s activity center, and others looked distraught, shivering under blankets.

Brian Eads, 52, was hoping for information about his wife, Katherine, after aggressive floodwaters ravaged their trailer around 3:30 a.m.

“I have no idea if she’s made it,” Mr. Eads said. “We both got swept away, and then I lost her.”

The couple had been awakened by rushing waters, and managed to escape with a man driving a recreational vehicle. But the water caught up with them about 20 feet away, Mr. Eads said, and the vehicle’s engine died. Both he and his wife were swept underwater. He tried to swim toward her voice, he said, but lost her when he was struck in the head by debris. He survived by holding onto a tree and making his way to dry land.

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The scene in Kerrville. In Hunt, the river rose from seven feet at midnight to over 29 feet at 4 a.m., according to the NOAA.

## As U.S. Banks on Fossil Fuels, China Pulls Away in Green Energy

This article is by **David Gelles**, **Keith Bradsher**, **Somini Sengupta** and **Brad Plumer**.

In China, more wind turbines and solar panels were installed last year than in the rest of the world combined. And China’s clean energy boom is going global. Chinese companies are building electric vehicle and battery factories in Brazil, Thailand, Moroc-

### POWER MOVES

Investments for the Future

co, Hungary and beyond.

At the same time, in the United States, President Trump is pressing Japan and South Korea to invest “trillions of dollars” in a project to ship natural gas to Asia. And General Motors just killed plans to make electric motors at a

factory near Buffalo, N.Y., and instead will put \$888 million into building V-8 gasoline engines there.

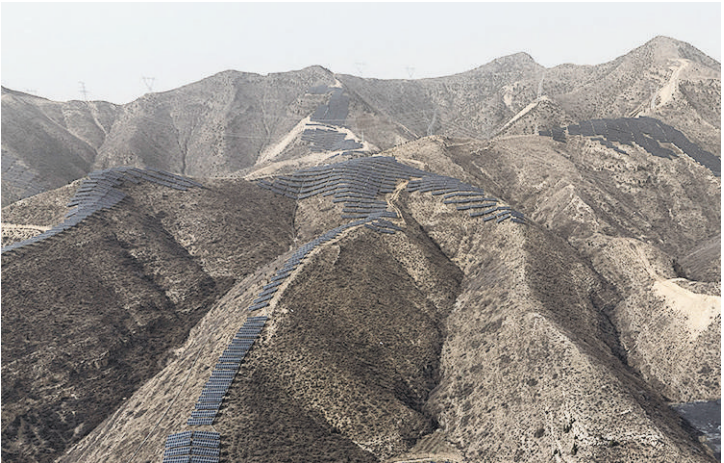
The race is on to define the future of energy. Even as the dangers of global warming hang ominously over the planet, two of the most powerful countries in the world, the United States and China, are pursuing energy strategies defined mainly by economic and national security concerns, as

opposed to the climate crisis. Entire industries are at stake, along with the economic and geopolitical alliances that shape the modern world.

The Trump administration wants to keep the world hooked on fossil fuels like oil and gas, which have powered cars and factories, warmed homes and fueled empires for more than a century.

The United States is the world’s

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GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**CHINA** A solar farm next to an abandoned coal mine in Shanxi Province highlights Beijing’s pivot to cleaner energy sources.



J. EMILIO FLORES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**U.S.** An oil field in California, one of the oldest and most productive in America. Washington aims to keep oil and gas flowing.

## Voucher Effort Widens Reach In Trump Plan

### States Must Opt In for Private School Funds

By **SARAH MERVOSH** and **DANA GOLDSTEIN**

Congress has approved the first national school voucher plan, which will help all but the wealthiest families pay for private school and other educational expenses.

The plan, passed on Thursday as part of the domestic policy bill and signed into law by President Trump on Friday, is the culmination of a long campaign by private-education advocates, religious conservatives and some parents, who argued that families should have the freedom to choose the best K-12 school option for their children and get help paying for it.

“This is the biggest advancement of that goal that we’ve ever had,” said Tommy Schultz, the chief executive of the American Federation for Children, a group that supports private-school choice.

Families who earn up to 300 percent of their area’s median income, equivalent to more than \$300,000 in some parts of the country, will be eligible, including those who already send their children to private schools.

But in a significant concession during last-minute negotiations in the Senate, the program will be limited to states that opt in. That could allow liberal states like California and New York to avoid participating, a win for Democrats and teachers’ unions, who contend that vouchers leech students and government dollars, leaving public schools with the most disadvantaged students who cost the most to educate.

Congressional estimates suggest the program, which is structured as a tax credit, could result in as much as \$4 billion in lost revenue a year. But there is no cap, and some critics fear runaway costs.

“This is an unprecedented and uncapped tax credit that could cost taxpayers over \$50 billion a year — nearly double what the federal government spends on helping poor kids and kids with disabilities,” said Randi Weingarten, president of the nation’s second-largest teachers’ union.

Most Republican-led states already have or are planning to roll out some kind of voucher program, and over 1 million American students participate in them. That number could quickly expand over the next decade as state-level programs grow and the federal program kicks into gear starting in 2027.

But the federal plan differs significantly from some of the most popular models used in Republican-led states.

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## HOW G.O.P. WOVE TRUMP’S AD LIBS INTO TAX POLICY

### TARGETING KEY VOTERS

### Populist Vows Like Break on Tips Merge With Conservative Cuts

By **ANDREW DUEHREN**

WASHINGTON — When Republicans last set out to change taxation in America, they spent years combing through the details of the internal revenue code. They traveled the country, held hearings and drafted early versions of a bill, eventually passed in 2017, that they hoped would transform a sclerotic tax system with long-held conservative principles.

This time around, as Republicans prepared for another opportunity to change how taxes in the world’s largest economy are collected, their core ideas came not from a Washington think tank or a corporate accountant. Instead, in President Trump’s telling, a waitress at his hotel in Las Vegas complained to him about having to pay taxes on her tips while he dined there during the 2024 campaign.

Soon, the seemingly offhand remark became a centerpiece of Mr. Trump’s successful campaign back into office. Republicans on Capitol Hill embraced the idea, too, and Congress this week voted to create a new tax exemption for tipped income for the next few years. At an event at the White House last month promoting the legislation, Mr. Trump credited the waitress with helping him win Nevada, where many people work for tips.

“A legend was made,” Mr. Trump said. “We won Nevada by so much. Republicans don’t win Nevada. We won Nevada. So I want to thank that young, beautiful waitress. Thank you very much.”

The tips provision, while ultimately only a sliver of the sprawling package that lawmakers passed this week, marked an important evolution in how the Republican Party, long dedicated to

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PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The president nudged his party.

## YouTube Pirates Cashing In On Hollywood’s Blockbusters

By **NICO GRANT** and **TRIPP MICKLE**

SAN FRANCISCO — After spending about \$100 million on “Lilo & Stitch,” a live-action remake of a 2002 animated film, Disney had plenty to celebrate. The film pulled in \$361 million worldwide on its opening weekend in May and bested “Mission: Impossible — The Final Reckoning” at the box office.

But the company also had cause to be concerned. In the days after the Disney film’s opening, a pirated version of “Lilo & Stitch” proved to be a hit on YouTube, where more than 200,000 people viewed it, potentially costing Disney millions of dollars in additional sales, according to research from Adalytics, a firm that analyzes advertising campaigns for brands.

The findings of the research shed new light on the copyright issues that once threatened to upend YouTube’s business. They also show how advertisers have unwittingly supported illicit content on YouTube, and they provide rare data about piracy on the platform.

YouTube has long tried to tamp down piracy, but users who upload stolen films and television shows have employed new tactics to evade the platform’s detection tools, the research showed, including cropping films and manipulating footage.

YouTube then recommended the uploaded videos to users on its homepage, promoting pirated streaming of box office releases

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### Hamas Signals It Will Deal

The militant group responded positively to a proposal for a 60-day Gaza ceasefire with Israel. PAGE A8

### IDs for Vietnam’s War Dead

Breakthroughs in DNA analysis offer a chance to identify more remains, but U.S. funding cuts loom. PAGE A5



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For Independence Day, we asked voters what they value about the U.S., and what worries them. They circled around some foundational principles. PAGE A12

### Less Beef for Your Buck

Smaller cattle herds and a decade of headwinds for the industry are expected to push up the cost of burgers and steaks for several years. PAGE A15

### Reclaiming the Mustard Belt

Joey Chestnut, who was barred last year, and Miki Sudo easily won their respective contests at Nathan’s Famous Hot Dog Eating Contest. PAGE A15

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United Airlines has started a seasonal, nonstop flight from Newark to the capital of the Arctic island that President Trump wants to acquire. PAGE B1

### Nixing Law Justices Backed

In setting aside a ban of TikTok, President Trump has put forward a new precedent, legal experts say. PAGE B1

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Turkey’s largest city offers the ancient and the contemporary amid the activity of 16 million residents. PAGE C8

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Some worry that political polarization will derail America’s 250th-birthday celebrations next summer. PAGE C1

### Thrills, and Lots of Spills

Charlize Theron and Uma Thurman, stars of “The Old Guard 2,” discuss their experiences in action roles. PAGE C1



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### Previewing the Tour de France

This year’s race, which starts in Lille on Saturday, has an exceptionally deep field of sprinters. PAGE B8

### Seeking a Boxer’s Deportation

Mexico’s president hopes the U.S. will send Julio César Chávez Jr. to his home country to face charges. PAGE B7

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### Jessica Grose

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