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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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DOGE blitz sets stage to privatize services

Musk's effort promotes a longtime goal for Silicon Valley and conservatives

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN, JEFF STEIN, HANNAH NATANSON AND JACOB BOGAGE

Mail delivery. Real estate. Foreign aid grants. The Trump administration is moving to privatize a sweeping number of government functions and assets — a long-standing Republican goal that's being catalyzed by billionaire Elon Musk.

The slash-and-burn approach of Musk's U.S. DOGE Service is paving the way for a new shift to the private sector, reducing the size and power of the federal bureaucracy in a real-world test of the conservative theory — a version of which is also widely popular in Silicon Valley — that companies are better than government at saving money and responding to people's needs.

Examples are popping up across Washington and in proposals from President Donald Trump's allies, though the plans are at various stages of development and, in some cases, have already encountered resistance.

At the DOGE-allied General Services Administration, officials are quietly moving ahead with a push to sell hundreds of publicly owned buildings to private companies — which can then lease them back to the government, theoretically saving maintenance and upkeep costs for taxpayers, according to two people briefed on internal deliberations who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not

SEE DOGE ON A6



HEIDI LEVINE/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

In West Bank, a worsening crisis

A months-long Israeli military operation has displaced tens of thousands of Palestinians in the northern West Bank, a crisis that local authorities say shows no signs of abating as humanitarian groups, hamstrung by Israeli restrictions and funding challenges, struggle to respond.

Israel launched the operation in January, deploying troops, tanks and armored bulldozers under the stated goal of combating terrorism. They began in the Jenin refugee camp, a symbol of armed Palestinian resistance against Israel's occupation, tearing up roads, demolishing homes and preventing residents from coming back. By that point, the dozens of militants who had holed up there earlier had largely fled or been captured or killed.

The operation has resulted in the forced

Aid groups facing funding woes, Israeli restrictions struggle to help thousands displaced in Jenin operation

BY CLAIRE PARKER AND HEIDI LEVINE IN JENIN, WEST BANK

Displaced Palestinians register at the temporary office of the Popular Services Committee of the Jenin refugee camp on March 13.

displacement of more than 40,000 people from the refugee camps and surrounding communities in Jenin and Tulkarm, according to the United Nations. Israeli forces have since demolished or severely damaged hundreds of houses and residential units, also according to the U.N., local authorities, videos and testimony from residents.

The Israeli military said it was working to "prevent terrorists from re-establishing themselves in the area" by "opening routes, including in the Jenin camp, which requires the demolition of several buildings."

The scale of the displacement now is unprecedented since the start of Israel's occupation in 1967, according to Roland Friedrich, the West Bank director of UNRWA, the U.N. Relief and Works Agency

SEE WEST BANK ON A10

Tariffs touted to raise trillions

WHITE HOUSE MULLS HISTORIC TAX HIKE

Global investors brace for sweeping new plan

BY JEFF STEIN

White House aide Peter Navarro claimed Sunday that President Donald Trump's new tariffs would raise more than \$6 trillion in federal revenue over the next decade, a figure that experts said would almost certainly represent the largest peacetime tax hike in modern U.S. history.

Appearing on Fox News, Navarro said the president's tariffs on auto imports, set to take effect Wednesday, would raise \$100 billion per year. Meanwhile, a regime of additional tariffs — details of which have yet to be released — would raise another \$600 billion per year, or \$6 trillion over the next decade, Navarro said.

Navarro's remarks suggest Trump is preparing dramatic new measures for Wednesday, which the president has referred to as "Liberation Day." Navarro is among the most hawkish voices on trade in the president's inner circle, and it was not immediately clear whether he was previewing official administration policy or speaking for one side of an internal debate over the tariffs.

Also speaking on Fox News on Sunday, Kevin Hassett, director of the White House National Economic Council, declined to outline Trump's tariff plans.

"I can't give you any forward-SEE TARIFFS ON A5

Cuts put scientific research in peril

As Trump seeks waste in academia, critics say advances will be lost

BY DAN DIAMOND AND DAN KEATING

In his presidential campaign last year, Donald Trump vowed to supercharge U.S. scientific research efforts, pledging to "unleash the power of American innovation" to combat cancer, Alzheimer's and other diseases.

But Trump has instead unleashed cuts and chaos that are paralyzing ongoing research, prompting layoffs and threatening America's perch as a global scientific leader, researchers and scientists warn.

The brunt of the pain stems from changes at the National Institutes of Health, which provides the bulk of biomedical research funding in the United States and supports more than 300,000 researchers across the country. Since Trump's inauguration on Jan. 20, NIH funding has dropped by more than \$3 billion compared with grants issued during the same period last year, according to a review of publicly

SEE SCIENCE ON A4

How social media helps immigrants evade ICE

Undocumented residents and their allies are working together to track officers in real time

BY TATUM HUNTER

NEW YORK — When Sheidriany Pomales was scrolling TikTok during a break from her job at a kindergarten, she came across a video that made her stomach sink. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers were hanging around the entrance to the subway at 125th Street and Lexington Avenue — right next to where Pomales, her mother and many of their friends live.

She quickly exited the app and called her mom with a warning and a request that she pass the information along. Her mom used WhatsApp to reach out to undocumented friends and co-workers who made plans to take alternate routes to work or skip errands such as grocery shopping. Pomales made her own video about the alleged sighting on her go-to social platform, TikTok, using the algospeak code phrase "ice cream truck" instead of ICE or the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency.

"I get my news from TikTok, so if I learn something about ICE, I'm going to share it there," said Pomales, 20, who immigrated legally to the United States in 2014.

Amid a crackdown on illegal immigration by the Trump administration, immigrants and their advocates are using social media platforms to share real-time locations of ICE vehicles and officers. The social media effort is helping some people avoid run-ins with ICE, but it has also led to



CAROLINA HIDALGO/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Sheidriany Pomales, 20, has used her TikTok account to warn people in her community about the presence of ICE officers.

a flurry of unverified reports as well as backlash from activists who favor President Donald Trump's aggressive approach.

In the first two weeks of March, conversations surrounding ICE amassed almost 300,000 mentions on the platforms X, Reddit and YouTube — a more than fivefold increase compared with the same period in February, according to data from analytics firm Sprout Social.

"These organic online networks and movements have now become as impactful as community organizations," said Julia Jean-Francois, co-executive director of the Brooklyn-based social service organization Center for Family Life.

A spokesman for ICE referred a question to the Justice Department when asked whether tracking ICE activity online is against the law. The Justice Department declined to comment.

White House spokesman Kush Desai said Trump "was elected with a resounding mandate to secure our borders and mass deport criminal illegal migrants," adding that the administration plans to fulfill that mandate and send a message that U.S. immigration law must be enforced and respected.

People online are rushing to post and re-share alleged sightings. Martin Alfaro, 33, uses Facebook and WhatsApp groups to keep track of ICE activities in Philadelphia, where he lives. In the group "PHI Latinos," he has

SEE ICE ON A7

Foreigners have gripes about U.S. tariffs, too

Before Trump's recent trade moves, levies had long shielded some goods

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

To hear President Donald Trump tell it, the world is full of crafty foreigners who use "unfair" tariffs and other trade barriers to steal jobs and wealth from hapless Americans.

But foreigners have their own complaints about the United States.

Brazilians grumble about U.S. limits on imported sugar. Koreans bemoan U.S. tariffs on light trucks. And the Chinese gripe about restrictions that prevent their smartphone makers from selling in the U.S. market.

Before Trump's recent trade moves, the U.S. had one of the most open economies on Earth — unless you were trying to sell Americans foreign-made pickup trucks, clothing, tobacco, cereal or several dozen other products. In that case, the U.S. government charges double-digit import taxes designed to discourage consumers from buying foreign goods and to protect domestic

SEE TRADE ON A6

IN THE NEWS

DEI flip Civil rights agencies that once promoted diversity and inclusion programs are now working to wipe them out. A13

Tariffs on booze Wine and spirits can be markers of national identity — which could make a coming trade fight between the U.S. and Europe on alcohol more emotional. A11

THE NATION Wisconsin's Supreme Court declined to hear a suit to stop Elon Musk from paying voters. A3
Sandy Hook Promise's "Say Something" tip line has stopped 18 school shootings since 2018. A8

THE WORLD Exiled Tibetans in India worry about the future of U.S. aid to their community. A9
Trump said he was "angry" at Putin's remark questioning Zelensky's legitimacy in office. A11

THE ECONOMY Several states have rushed to hire federal workers left jobless by recent DOGE cuts. A13

THE REGION The General Services Administration gutted its office overseeing child-care centers in federal buildings. B1

The Prince George's County Council elected a new chair and vice chair in a surprise vote amid a budget deficit. B1
Maryland lawmakers are weighing whether to eliminate a decades-old immigration enforcement program allowing work with ICE. B1

STYLE The price of eggs, like gasoline, has become a gauge of Americans' discontent. C1
Comedian Amber Ruffin's headlining performance at the annual White House correspondents' dinner has been canceled. C1

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