

DOGE holds keys to sensitive data that could benefit Musk

BY DESMOND BUTLER, JONATHAN O'CONNELL, HANNAH NATANSON AND AARON GREGG

For months, Elon Musk's U.S. DOGE Service plumbed the federal government's information systems, scouring arcane internal records that the billionaire said were guiding his hunt for waste. Now that Musk has stepped away from his government role, some of that data could be valuable in another way — by giving the world's richest man a competitive advantage over his rivals in the private sector.

Competitors see danger of exposing trade secrets, contract details and more

A Washington Post examination found that in at least seven major departments or agencies, DOGE secured the power to view records that contain competitors' trade secrets, nonpublic details about government contracts, and sensitive regulatory actions or other information. The Post found no evidence

that DOGE has viewed or misused government information to benefit Musk's business empire, which spans industries including artificial intelligence, space exploration and medical devices. But some competitors are alarmed about the possible exposure of their proprietary information or other private data. "So much of the data that we submit to the government is competitively sensitive," said one executive from a firm that competes with Musk's aerospace company, SpaceX. "When we do that, we assume it's protected. And now, it feels that we are vulnerable."

The company has held internal high-level meetings to discuss DOGE's access to federal contracting data but has not made those concerns public for fear that its government contracts could be targeted for cancellation, said the executive, who like others interviewed for this article spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of retribution. The Post examination sheds light on the scale of Musk's overlapping interests during his more than four months leading DOGE. It also underscores Musk's unprecedented view into the inner workings of a federal bureaucra-

cy that has both aided his rise as a businessman and served as a check on his ambitions. DOGE had the ability to access data systems in at least seven agencies that experts say could benefit Elon Musk's companies. When President Donald Trump issued an executive order on his first day in office to establish DOGE, which stands for Department of Government Efficiency, he called for federal officials to provide the new unit with

Nothing in writing: Government's new culture of secrecy. A11

Senate slogs through tax bill

ATTEMPT TO WIN OVER GOP HOLDOUTS

Passage not guaranteed given thin majority

BY JACOB BOGAGE, THEODORIC MEYER AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

Senate Republicans inched toward passing their massive tax and immigration bill Monday, working to win over the final holdouts as they sought to deliver the first major legislative victory of President Donald Trump's second term. Trump's One Big Beautiful Bill Act would extend tax cuts passed in 2017, enact campaign promises such as no tax on tips, spend hundreds of billions of dollars on immigration enforcement and defense, and slash spending on social benefit programs. The \$3.3 trillion legislation survived a brief GOP revolt over the weekend to allow the chamber to move forward with debate on the measure — but its passage remains far from certain. Trump has pressed Congress to pass the bill by July 4, and White House press secretary Karoline Leavitt implored Republicans on Monday to "stay tough and unified" as they rushed to meet the deadline. "The White House and the president are adamant that this bill is passed, and that this bill makes its way to his desk," Leavitt told reporters. But with a 53-47 majority, Senate Republicans can lose only three votes — and two Republicans have already indicated they will oppose it. Sen. Thom Tillis (R-North Carolina) took to the Senate floor twice

SEE BILL ON A18

New audiences: Democratic groups start an organizing push. A8

Inside the largest U.S. health care fraud bust

\$10.6 billion global scam swamped Medicare with a flood of phony claims

BY DAN DIAMOND AND LAUREN WEBER

Gerald Quindry was facing a quandary. The 73-year-old retired engineer received a statement last year that Medicare, his health insurance provider, had been billed \$15,500 for urinary catheters — but his doctor had never ordered them, and Quindry never wanted nor received them. Quindry complained to Medicare. But he said the representatives seemed nonplussed by his complaint, and he could find little information about the incident himself beyond news reports of catheter-related fraud in the government program. "Obviously, somebody deserves to be in jail," Quindry told The Washington Post in February. Four months later, several people are — and they are facing criminal charges in what the government says is the largest health

SEE FRAUD ON A6

In London, a summer staple comes in hot



CLIVE BRUNSKILL/GETTY IMAGES

Umbrellas offered little relief from the heat Monday on the first day at Wimbledon, where the mercury reached 91 degrees, making it the hottest opening day in the tournament's history. The afternoon had one notable near-upset, with defending champion Carlos Alcaraz holding off journeyman Fabio Fognini in five sets. Story, B8

Retirements muddle effort to keep GOP in majority

BY PATRICK SVITEK AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

Two of the best-known GOP lawmakers who have split with President Donald Trump in his second term said in a span of 24 hours this week that they would not seek reelection — illustrating how little room there is in the party for dissenting voices and complicating the GOP's path to keeping its majorities in the mid-term elections. Rep. Don Bacon (R-Nebraska) — who has taken issue with Trump's tariff policy, his posture toward Russia and Elon Musk's U.S. DOGE Service, among other things — announced his retirement Monday, calling himself a "traditional conservative" caught in a "tug of war" in his party over issues such as foreign policy and trade. A day earlier, Sen. Thom Tillis (R-North Carolina) declared that he would not seek a third term, after drawing Trump's wrath for opposing the president's priority legislative package. The developments emboldened Democrats in their efforts to

SEE REPUBLICANS ON A9

Fight over statue roils town that tried to heal divides

What began as effort to promote racial unity energized Confederate supporters in N.C. instead

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

EDENTON, N.C. — Confederate supporters arrived first, establishing a Saturday morning base near the town waterfront with "Save our history" signs and Civil War information sheets. Some sported red MAGA hats and shirts that proclaimed, "America First," or, in one case, "If you don't like Trump then you probably won't like me and I'm OK with that." The opposition showed up about two hours later carrying stark white signs with black letters: "Remove this statue." For the next two hours, as they've done nearly every Saturday for the past three years, the groups mingled with confused tourists in a seemingly unending fight over a Confederate monument at the heart of this historic town, which is nearly 60 percent Black. What started as an effort to promote racial unity in Edenton by reconsidering its most prominent downtown symbol has done the opposite. A chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, long extinct locally, sprang to life. The forgotten Confederate Memorial Day was resurrected and commemorated again in May with a wreath-laying and roll call



JOHN C. CLARK/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Debra Miller, a longtime resident of Edenton, N.C., protests a Confederate statue in the town.

of the rebel dead. And the town council, which had formed a Human Relations Commission in 2020 to consider steps for racial reconciliation, last fall came up with a novel way to handle the statue of a generic

Confederate soldier: Take it down from the waterfront. Add it to the courthouse. Facing north, the green-patina figure of the soldier — one of many that were once found throughout the South — stands

atop a stone column on a grassy traffic median where the town market once stood. Enslaved people were bought, sold or offered for hire on that spot. The Civil War is a small part of

SEE EDENTON ON A22

Republicans add \$3 trillion in debt — but don't count it

BY JACOB BOGAGE

Senate Republicans' vote Monday to advance President Donald Trump's massive tax and immigration agenda through an unusual accounting maneuver that circumvents the filibuster creates a new precedent in Congress that may constrain lawmakers' ability to control the nation's poor financial health. Major tax cuts from Trump's first term are set to expire at the end of the year, and the GOP hopes to extend them as part of its One Big Beautiful Bill Act. The GOP moved to utilize a bookkeeping ploy that zeroed out the multitrillion-dollar cost of those policies on federal balance sheets. The legislation, though, will still require the federal government to borrow an additional \$3.3 trillion over the next decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office, regardless of how Republicans mark down the cost of their bill. Investors in U.S. government debt remain concerned about skyrocketing spending, which is why the bond markets have showed

SEE ACCOUNTING ON A18

IN THE NEWS

Idaho ambush Authorities identified the man who they said intentionally set a blaze and then fatally shot two firefighters. A2

Handgun sales ban upheld A federal appeals panel ruled that buyers under 21 cannot purchase the firearms, setting up a potential Supreme Court battle. B13

THE NATION The Supreme Court accepted a case challenging limits on political party spending. A6

The Trump administration said it found Harvard in violation of federal civil rights law. A7

THE WORLD Russia has begun its summer push in Ukraine's east with its army mired in woes. A14

India's call centers offer a glimpse into artificial intelligence in the workplace. A15

THE ECONOMY The stock market ended the first half of 2025 with back-to-back record highs, defying months of economic uncertainty. A16

President Trump again criticized Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell for not cutting short-term interest rates. A17

STYLE Several themes emerged during the seven weeks of testimony in Sean "Diddy" Combs's sex-trafficking case. B1

SPORTS The WNBA will add expansion teams in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Detroit as the league's popularity grows. B7

THE REGION The Prince George's county executive named a new fire chief, whose predecessor will take on a new public safety role. B13

New townhouses were unveiled in D.C. as the former McMillan filtration site continues to be developed. B13

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