

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

RE V1 V2 V3 V4



Mostly sunny 58/43 • Tomorrow: Afternoon rain 55/52 **C20**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 2025 • \$4

Trump and his base at odds over AI policy

President's embrace of tech, push to preempt regulation open rift

BY GERRIT DE VYNCK

SAN FRANCISCO — President Donald Trump faces an unexpected rift in the MAGA movement as Republican officials from statehouses to Capitol Hill warn his full-throated embrace of the tech industry's artificial intelligence boom risks undermining Americans' economic security and exposing their children to new harms.

Trump has appointed influential tech investors and entrepreneurs to key positions in his administration and backed the sector's ambitions for AI, scrapping regulations introduced by President Joe Biden and facilitating huge investments from foreign companies and governments into American AI firms.

This past week, the White House explored using an executive order to quash state regulation on AI. The president has trumpeted the billions of dollars in investments flooding into the technology, which has propped up U.S. economic growth this year, as evidence that his plan to reboot the American economy is working.

But a growing cohort of Republicans

SEE AI ON A17

Developers win big on housing deal in D.C.

Firms with Bowser ties to net more than normal for project in Southeast

BY STEVE THOMPSON

A short drive from the soon-to-be redeveloped RFK Stadium site in Southeast Washington, a red-brick building known as the Ethel has been lauded by Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) as the kind of development needed to solve an affordable housing crisis in one of the most expensive regions in the country.

All 100 one-bedroom units come with social services for the formerly homeless people who live there, mostly rent-free — a response to the intense needs in a city where tent encampments have been common.

But it's not only residents who have benefited.

The building's developers are collecting millions of dollars more than housing finance experts say would normally go to developers for such a project — money flowing from a cascade of government subsidies approved by city officials, a Washington Post investigation found.

Based on interviews, project budgets, financial statements, tax paperwork, loan documents and other records, The Post found that:

- After acquiring the land for the Ethel from the District for a nominal \$10, the developers sold it for \$7.1 million in a complex transaction that still allowed the

SEE BOWSER ON A6



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

The woods they can't forsake

After DOGE hollowed out the U.S. Forest Service, these retirees came back to fill the void

BY HANNAH NATANSON IN LANDER, WYO.

Bill Lee slowed his truck by the spot where a sign should have stood, warning drivers on the mountain road about the sharp curve ahead.

He remembered erecting it five years earlier, one morning out in the forest alongside Del Nelson, who had become his best friend during a half-century working

together for the U.S. Forest Service, even though they disagreed on politics. Now he and Del were retired, President Donald Trump's cuts to government meant there was no one to cover their old jobs, and the sign lay askew in the dirt.

On that sunny Friday in late August, Bill felt like the only one left in the 2.5-million-acre Shoshone National Forest to stand the sign back up again. He still had his tools,

tucked in the back of the truck. He gripped the steering wheel and fought the impulse to get out.

It won't help, he told himself.

Since the start of the year, the Forest Service has lost nearly 6,000 staffers through firings, resignations and retirements encouraged by the Trump administration, according to internal figures obtained

SEE WYOMING ON A8

Del Nelson, left, and Bill Lee repair an object marker at a bridge in Shoshone National Forest in Lander, Wyoming.

Seven trillion-dollar tech companies are carrying the S&P 500's gains

BY AARON GREGG AND FEDERICA COCCO

On its face, 2025 has been a good year for the stock market. The S&P 500 was dragged out of its tariff-induced springtime slump by a small subset of AI-forward power players whose spectacular gains defied an otherwise softening economy. Even now, despite a rocky November, the benchmark index is up more than 12 percent since the start of the year.

Outside of the AI investment boom, index is relatively weak

A group of trillion-dollar brands known as the "Magnificent Seven" — Alphabet, Amazon, Apple, Meta, Microsoft, Nvidia and Tesla — has been at the forefront of those gains, thanks in large part to corporate spending and intense interest in artificial

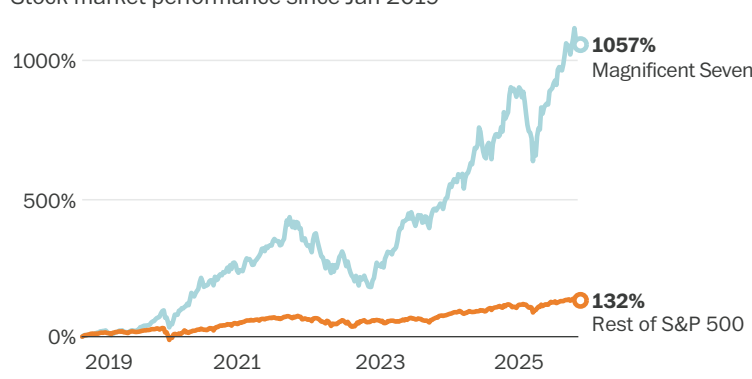
intelligence. But economists and investors are raising concerns about the companies that aren't part of the AI investment boom — in other words, most businesses in the United States.

An index that leaves out the seven high-flying tech firms — call it the S&P 493 — reveals a far weaker picture, as smaller and lower-tech companies report lackluster sales and declining investment.

"You have the headwind of de-globalization and tariffs, and the

SEE S&P ON A20

Stock market performance since Jan 2019



Source: Bloomberg 500 index

THE WASHINGTON POST

Hiroshima survivor finds her vision under threat

Koko Kondo has seen the U.S. as an ally, but Trump's nuclear talk complicates her peace quest

BY MATT VISER

HIROSHIMA, JAPAN — Koko Kondo was returning from the Vatican, where she had sat beside Pope Leo XIV and delivered the closing words at a three-day international meeting about peace, when President Donald Trump announced that he wanted to resume testing of nuclear weapons for the first time in decades.

Kondo, one of the few surviving victims of a nuclear blast, is able to provide a firsthand account of the destruction that collapsed her home and obliterated her community. She has dedicated her life to the task, believing

that remembering painful history is the best way to prevent it from repeating itself. And over time, she has come to see the United States and its people as among her primary allies in that endeavor.

A woman whose country went to war against the U.S., whose hometown was annihilated by that war, who for years wanted to meet the co-pilot who dropped the bomb to tell him he was evil, now looks upon Americans with deep affection. She would come to love the U.S., to study at its universities and to consider it a second home.

SEE HIROSHIMA ON A14

IN THE NEWS

Into 'the wedge' An ICE crackdown in Charlotte reverberates in the city's country clubs and upscale establishments. **A3**

Go-go keeps going A new generation of D.C. teens is discovering the power of go-go music, thanks to a revival effort in local schools led by some of the genre's original artists. **C10**

THE NATION

A Jewish group seeks to open the nation's first religious charter school in Oklahoma. **A2**

JFK's granddaughter revealed in an essay that she has been diagnosed with terminal cancer. **A2**

THE WORLD

Japan's sacred sumo ring is still off-limits to women — even its new prime minister. **A11**
An Israeli airstrike killed Hezbollah's military chief of staff in Beirut. **A13**

THE ECONOMY

A recent report said the average first-time home buyer is 40, but the story is more complicated than that. **A16**

STYLE

"911: Nashville" showcases the city's charm by bombarding it with absurd disasters, and city officials are on board. **B1**

SPORTS

Trinity Rodman is a free agent. Signing her to a new deal will be complicated for the Spirit and the NWSL. **C1**

THE REGION

U.S. Attorney Jeanine Pirro's charging powers have been expanded by a D.C. federal court ruling. **C10**

A complaint about a

Virginia home addition has kicked off a neighborhood dispute. **C10**

HEALTH & SCIENCE

With perimenopause having a moment, separate what's fact and what's fiction. **D1**

BUSINESS NEWS.....A16
COMICS.....B4
OBITUARIES.....A13
OPINION PAGES.....A18
TELEVISION.....B6
WORLD NEWS.....A11

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