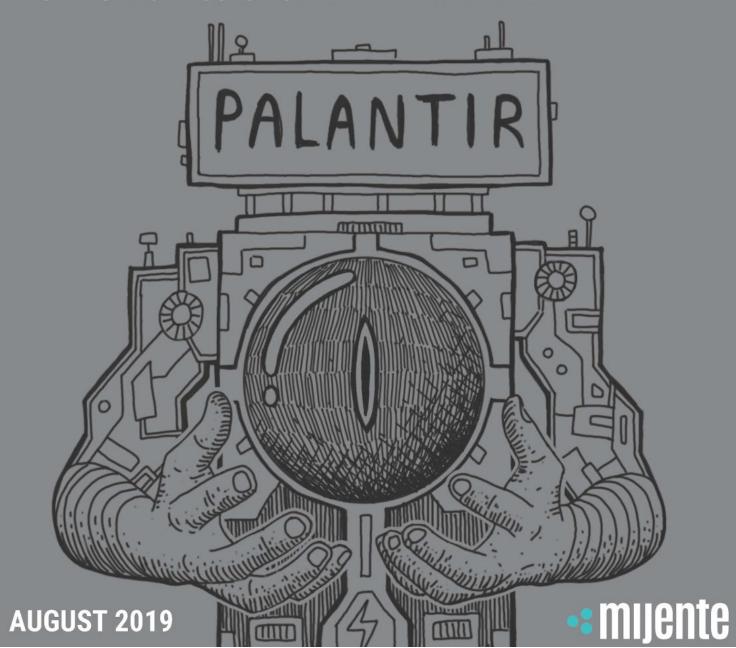
# THE WAR AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR



# **The War Against Immigrants**

# Trump's Tech Tools Powered by Palantir

The Trump administration's war on migrants has been turbocharged by big tech. With the willing collaboration of Silicon Valley, the US government has accelerated and expanded its crackdown on migrant communities, unleashing federal immigration agents on a mission to carry out mass raids and deportations. There's also no denying that the treatment of migrants along the southern border, from separating families, returning asylum-seekers to Mexico, tear-gassing migrants, to caging children in sprawling desert encampments, is nothing short of cruel and inhumane. Tech companies have chosen to do the government's bidding and directly enable gross human rights abuses.

The infrastructure set up under the Obama administration has been multiplied to great effect with the technology provided by a new generation of law enforcement and military contractors. Companies like Palantir, Amazon, Salesforce, Microsoft, Dell, Hewlett-Packard, and dozens of others have doggedly pursued federal government contracts to sell a wide array of digital tools indispensable for the Trump administration's detention and deportation machine. In short, arming agencies like Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) with military-grade digital tools they need to commit atrocities along the southern border and the interior, is now big business.

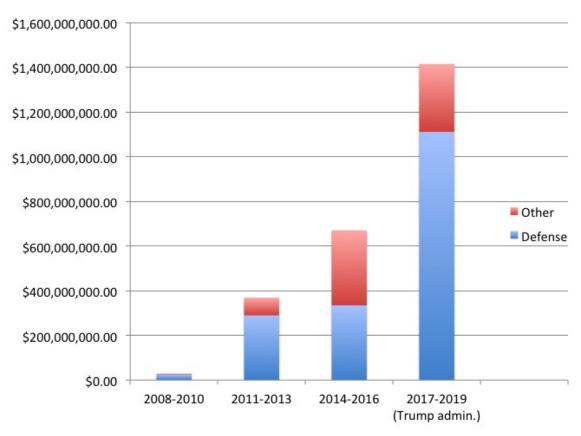
Our report delves into great detail about these lucrative contracts and the web of insider connections bankrolling Palantir, in particular, the private data firm at the center of ICE operations. This is a disturbing reality that has largely evaded public scrutiny until now.

# Silicon Valley Joins the Military-Industrial Complex

Co-founded in 2003 by Silicon Valley's most vocal Trump supporter, Peter Thiel, Palantir has for years supported the federal government's enforcement efforts, cutting its teeth working with intelligence agencies and the military supporting our foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan before turning home and winning contracts to build software for federal immigration enforcement. The company now has dozens of contracts worth hundreds of millions of dollars with several agencies and departments throughout the government.

Palantir won a contract worth more than \$800 million to build a real-time intelligence system for the Army this spring, the second time it beat a traditional military contractor for such a major project. It has received over \$150 million from ICE alone, and has contracts worth some \$1.5 billion with different federal agencies or departments, like the FBI, Navy, and Census Bureau.

#### **Palantir Federal Contracts**



Our report exposes the ways in which Palantir, in particular, has ingrained itself into the Washington, D.C. ecosystem in a bid to supplant legacy military contractors and enter the military-industrial complex. We show how Peter Thiel, from his role in the Trump administration's transition team, helped to staff agencies that went on to award major contracts to Palantir, and seeded the federal government with appointees in department- and cabinet-level positions including U.S. Chief Technology Officer.

Palantir's history with the defense and intelligence community is much longer, starting with the company's start-up funding from the CIA venture capital fund In-Q-Tel, without which the firm's future with the federal government would have been unattainable. We show, for the first time in a comprehensive manner, how deep this collaboration is and how the same players who were involved during Palantir's founding continue to guide the company along from within the government, writing policy recommendations that favor awarding contracts to both Palantir and now Anduril, the tech firm founded by veterans of Palantir. The growing consensus that the federal government should favor commercial off-the-shelf products is a boon for Palantir and Anduril, which specialize in such software.

And just last week, Thiel wrote an op-ed in The New York Times accusing Google of treason for withdrawing from its work with the military but pursuing an artificial intelligence campus in China — despite the fact that the same rank-and-file employees who protested Project Maven were equally critical of Google's work for China, codenamed Project Dragonfly.

Thiel's real aim, of course, is to place Palantir as the only company within Silicon Valley "patriotic" enough to work on government contracts, a lucrative, stable business. The Googles of the world have rebellious employees and Chinese spies, Thiel's argument goes; Palantir does not. Indeed, Palantir was sued for discriminating against Asian applicants and hires relatively fewer immigrants compared to other tech companies. Thiel implies that Palantir, with its lily-white and mostly male employees, has a reduced "threat" of subversion from workers or a foreign power.

This is how Palantir will join the Raytheons of the world. Years of contacts between Palantir executives and Department of Defense (DoD) officials, boosted by Thiel's seeding of the administration with ex-Palantir employees and Thiel associates, have led to a silent coup within the Pentagon planned to move the center of defense contracting to Silicon Valley, with Palantir and other Thiel projects as the pick of the litter.

Tech companies are, indeed, poised to become permanent defense contractors as never before. Amazon and Microsoft are bidding on a \$10 billion contract to build a unified cloud computing system for the Department of Defense. Microsoft already won a \$480 million contract to build a virtual reality system for the Army last year, outfitting soldiers with headsets in the battlefield. Project Maven, an artificial intelligence drone targeting program, was first awarded to Google before employees objected and got the company to cancel the contract; it has now been subdivided, with its first part awarded to Anduril.

As Palantir and other companies develop technology for the military, this technology is quickly making its way stateside, used against immigrant communities in their homes, workplaces, and more. Anduril, for example, first developed surveillance towers to be used by CBP — before contracting out that same tower design to the U.S. Marine Corps and the U.K.'s Royal Marines.

# Militarized Spyware: Inside ICE's Tech Backbone

In our last report, "Who's Behind ICE? The Tech Companies Fueling Deportation," we laid out how Silicon Valley was profiting from immigration enforcement and the different tools tech firms like Palantir and Amazon were providing the Department of Homeland Security. In that report and follow-up revelations, we showed how immigration enforcement has come to rely on a growing digital infrastructure, expanding its reach into communities with the help of different software tools.

Palantir, for instance, provides Immigration and Customs Enforcement with a case management tool that has been called "mission critical" to the agency's efforts. That same software — Investigative Case Management, or ICM — was used to target and arrest family members of children who crossed the border alone, we showed in a government document released in May. Under the operation, sponsors — mothers, fathers, uncles, and aunts — of unaccompanied children were targeted as part of "anti-smuggling" investigations, but any undocumented people encountered by ICE agents during their investigations were arrested as well. Over 90 days, 443 people were arrested for deportation in this operation.

The ICM contract is worth \$53 million and is up for renewal on September 25, 2019.

A different Palantir tool, FALCON Search and Analysis, was used in workplace raids across the country. In July, we showed how all agents participating in the biggest planned immigration raid in history — Operation Mega — were told to download a mobile version of Palantir's FALCON software for use during the raid. Further reporting showed that this pattern repeated in another raid that targeted 7-11s across the country, the largest move against a single employer under the Trump administration; 21 people were arrested in the raid. It's likely Palantir's FALCON software plays a similar role in all workplace raids, which have grown dramatically under the Trump administration and resulted in 2,304 arrests from fiscal year 2017 to 2018, a 640% increase from the year before.

The current FALCON contract is worth \$42 million and is first up for renewal on November 27, 2019, with the potential of running through 2021.

In effect, Palantir is only the most prominent supporter of the deportation machine in Silicon Valley.

Meanwhile, Amazon is the backbone for this enforcement tool. The company supports Palantir by running its software on Amazon Web Services, the trusted cloud provider of the federal government. Amazon is therefore a crucial part of the federal intelligence and law enforcement, with more authorizations to store confidential data than any other tech company. Without Amazon's cloud services, the digital infrastructure of immigration enforcement would be dealt a serious blow. Amazon makes hundreds of thousands of dollars every month providing this service to Palantir, alongside millions more for other federal intelligence and law enforcement agencies.

# Challenging the Immorality of Powering the Trump Agenda

Dozens of other companies are profiting handsomely from similar work — and many are facing fierce resistance. Employees at Google, Salesforce, Amazon, Palantir, and other tech companies have written letters and protested their work for immigration enforcement. Last week, the public relations giant Edelman dropped its work for CBP after internal opposition, and employees at another public relations firm, Ogilvy, have protested their own work whitewashing CBP's image. At Wayfair, hundreds of employees signed a letter and then walked out of work to protest the company's sale of furniture for ICE detention centers. Increasingly, workers at these companies are saying they will not build the tools that jail immigrants and rip families apart.

Today, IBM's work for Nazi Germany is universally condemned as the failings of a company immune to the ethics of a decision that killed countless people. The same is happening now within tech firms across the country. As Jewish allies have strongly expressed in recent months while mobilizing against concentration camps at the border, saying "never again" means recognizing historical analogies and opposing human rights abusers — and their enablers — at every step of the way.

Groups like ours have been consistent in calling out these companies, and we have been joined by ordinary people across the country in fierce protests at headquarters from Seattle to New York.

Our work is only beginning. The executives at these companies distance themselves from our country's human rights violations by claiming their particular software does not enable suffering. We know that is false, that companies like Palantir have misled the public about what their software does for immigration agents. We also know that providing any support for a fascist agenda is complicit with fascism, that there is no neutral ground at a time like this. Hugo Boss is not exculpated from Nazi atrocities because they only designed the uniforms; neither are Salesforce or Microsoft ridden of guilt because they only help with hiring or email.

Fascism functions by dividing work, so that no one person is responsible for the atrocities carried out by the regime in power. We are seeing this logic play embraced by Silicon Valley today. The main adherent of this philosophy, Palantir, seeks to ingrain itself into the military-industrial complex and become a permanent addition to the federal government's crackdown on immigrants.

Dismantling the relationship between Silicon Valley and Washington, D.C. is key to pushing back against a white supremacist enforcement agenda, and it starts with Palantir. A victory against Palantir would send a clear message throughout Silicon Valley — to employees in Amazon, Google, Microsoft, and other firms less-committed to the military machismo embedded in Palantir's work culture — that collaboration with human rights violators is a losing proposition and that workers and their allies have the power to change the future.

# Conclusion

As more tech companies seek to do the government's dirty work and as the tools developed by these companies become increasingly sophisticated, we will bear the brunt of enforcement in ways unimaginable today. We could not 20 years ago have envisioned a world in which immigration agents could scour national databases to build sophisticated profiles of us and pinpoint our locations for arrest, or in which border patrol agents could man all-seeing surveillance towers to fully monitor the frontier with Mexico, immediately spotting anyone walking in the desert. If we are not careful, we will not know what we will be fighting in 20 years. We must understand, document, and oppose these dangerous partnerships today.

Yet, this is not the first time military technology has been redeployed domestically. We have already seen how BearCats and assault rifles were used against Black Lives Matter protesters in the streets of Ferguson, or how facial recognition that was first developed as an anti-insurgency tool for Iraq and Afghanistan was redeployed against protesters in Baltimore. If we are not vigilant, this cozy arrangement will continue unimpeded, as tech companies train their technology on our victims abroad — Black or brown people in the Middle East and Africa — and then redeploy them against us at home, turned against Black and brown people at the border or in the interior of the country.

The opposition to tech companies' disavowal of responsibility must continue. There is no other way. If you are a tech worker at one of these companies, history will ask what you did. You will have to explain to your children what role you played when the government was raiding homes and caging children and whether you did all in your power to prevent suffering on your watch. Every investor, consumer, and worker in Silicon Valley must ask whether they are on the side of the white supremacist agenda dictated from the White House or whether they will stand up and fight against it. This moment is one of the most difficult we have endured, but it also presents us with opportunities to seize power in ways that will have dramatic effects on the future of our country. We must be quick, smart, and determined and respond to every new threat with vigor and resolve.

# **Table of Contents**

Executive Summary	<u>8</u>
Palantir: The Tech Backbone of ICE	<u>10</u>
Palantir's Federal Contracts	<u>12</u>
Palantir Ties California Police to the ICE Dragnet	<u>16</u>
Peter Thiel's Web of Influence in the Trump Administration	<u>19</u>
The Shadow President	<u>22</u>
Thiel and the Kushners	<u>25</u>
Registered Lobbyists	<u>25</u>
How the CIA Made Palantir a Viable Business	<u>28</u>
Founders Fund Takes on the Department of Defense	<u>30</u>
The Border Is a Military Testing Ground for Founders Fund Investments	<u>33</u>
Annex 1. Key Personnel	<u>34</u>
Annex 2. Funding and Valuation	<u>38</u>
Annex 3. Subsidiaries and Direct Investments	<u>43</u>

Research completed by Empower, LLC and current through June 2019.

Cover art by Alejandro W. Poler (@alejandrosrealm).

# **Executive Summary**

Palantir Technologies has received over \$150 million in federal contracts to design and run ICE's Integrated Case Management (ICM) system and FALCON analytical platform, which form the backbone of ICE's tech toolkit to track down, persecute, and detain families and individuals. Both ICM and FALCON are hosted on Amazon Web Services.

As of July 2019, Palantir had at least 29 active contracts with the U.S. federal government worth a combined \$1.5 billion, at agencies including ICE, FBI, U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, U.S. Special Operations Command, and the Census Bureau. Palantir's ICM contract with ICE is an Indefinite Delivery Vehicle set to expire in September 2019, but, if renewed, it will mean millions more in federal dollars for the company.

This report presents key information on Palantir's role in executing the Trump administration's immigration agenda. It also maps the web of corporate interests that advocate for Palantir in Washington D.C., many of them from within the Trump administration. This web of influence is centered around Founders Fund, Peter Thiel's influential Silicon Valley venture capital firm, and has mounted a behind-the-scenes campaign to overhaul federal technology acquisition practices at the Departments of Defense and Homeland Security for the benefit of Founders Fund investments. Thiel's July 2019 comments accusing Google of treason for working with the Chinese government are the public messaging that accompany this defense lobbying campaign.

The report includes information about Palantir executive personnel, the company's international footprint, its political campaign contributions and lobbyists, and key federal and state contracts.

A summary of key information from the report follows.

#### Palantir: The Tech Backbone of ICE

Palantir is a dragnet for mass deportation. Its 2011 test run with ICE was supposed to target "transnational criminal networks and terrorist organizations," but, of the 1,416 resulting arrests, fully 634 were for non-criminal immigration violations.

Palantir's ICM system was used to track down and arrest 443 family members of migrant children in a 2017 precursor to the current family separation policy.

ICE agents use FALCON software in mass raids such as Operation Cross Check VII - MEGA in 2017, which targeted "all aliens who are present in the United States in violation of the Immigration and Nationality Act." Such raids often result in the detention of as many "collaterals" as "targets."

ICE's Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) leans on immigration status to avoid justifying "gang tags," for which it uses Palantir's ICM to classify subjects. Of 32,200 arrests of "gang members and associates" under ICE's umbrella Operation Community Shield since 2005, 13,370 have been for administrative violations. ICE Field Guidance on ostensibly gang-related operations has allowed for the arrest of individuals classified as "No Gang Involvement" if they are not U.S. citizens or Lawful Permanent Residents.

ICE agents use Palantir's FALCON mobile app during workplace and other mass raids, for which Palantir support staff at ICE facilities in Northern Virginia provide real-time technical support. Such raids have resulted in the separation of hundreds of family members in raids across the country.

In executing any upcoming raids and mass deportations ordered by the Trump administration, ICE will likely rely on Palantir's ICM and on Palantir's FALCON for mobile use in the field.

Palantir's ICM system ingests commercial license plate reader (LPR) data shared by local law enforcement in at least 80 jurisdictions across the country, violating local law and ICE policy, according to the ACLU.

The ICM system explicitly provides for the collection of Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter activity, as well as historical and live telephone call monitoring, SMS and multimedia text monitoring, monitoring of web surfing activity and web account login information, and commercial LPR data with over 5 billion data points to physically track individuals.

#### **Palantir Ties California Police to the ICE Dragnet**

Palantir software has been used for predictive policing by major cities around the United States. In April 2019, its Operation LASER program in Los Angeles was discontinued after an audit found "significant inconsistencies" in the targeting of so-called Chronic Offenders.

All of California's Fusion Centers currently use Palantir technology, facilitating DHS and ICE information sharing with sheriff and police departments across the state.

#### **Peter Thiel's Web of Influence in the Trump Administration**

Peter Thiel's contributions of more than \$1 million to Donald Trump got him a Trump Tower office on the transition team executive committee, working overtime to staff the new administration with employees and associates including:

Trae Stephens, an early Palantir executive who co-founded Anduril and is now a Founders Fund Partner, got a seat on the Department of Defense (DoD) transition team, where Palantir and Anduril have since won major contracts.

Michael Kratsios left his position as Principal and Chief of Staff at Thiel Capital to take a position as Deputy Assistant to the President for Technology Policy, and in early 2019 was promoted to U.S. Chief Technology Officer (CTO).

Kevin Harrington was Principal and Managing Director at Thiel Macro when he took a position on the National Security Council as Deputy Assistant to the President for Strategic Planning. Harrington also formed part of the Trump transition "landing team" to staff the Department of Commerce, where Palantir has a contract to provide economic data to the Census Bureau.

Trump's first Secretary of Defense, James mattis, himself an early Palantir supporter, had three key staff members with Palantir ties, including registered lobbyist Justin Mikolay, who returned to Palantir after his time at the DoD.

#### The CIA Made Palantir a Viable Business

The CIA's venture capital fund, In-Q-Tel, provided funding and government contacts to Palantir when Silicon Valley venture capital was not interested in the start-up.

In-Q-Tel founding CEO Gilman Louie sketched out for Palantir's Peter Thiel and Alex Karp how they could turn their ideas into a viable defense and intelligence software product.

Palantir has been In-O-Tel's most successful investment to date. The CIA remains a Palantir shareholder.

#### **Founders Fund Takes on the Department of Defense**

In March 2019, In-Q-Tel's Gilman Louie co-authored DoD-commissioned software acquisition policy recommendations with early Palantir executive Trae Stephens, now of Anduril and Founders Fund, calling for "purchasing existing commercial software whenever possible." Anduril and Palantir are currently selling commercial software to the DoD.

Palantir successfully sued the DoD to win a \$876 million contract for the Army's "system of systems" battlefield intelligence software (DCGS-A), establishing a precedent for the adoption of other commercial off-the-shelf (COTS) products in the defense space. This is a contracting coup for Thiel's Founders Fund, which has numerous investments in defense tech start-ups peddling COTS products to agencies including DoD and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

#### The Border Is a Military Testing Ground for Founders Fund Investments

Palantir and its younger sibling, Anduril Industries — started with funding from Peter Thiel's Founders Fund and managed by former Palantir employees — are using immigration at the U.S.-Mexico border as a testing ground for war technologies.

Anduril has third-party contracts with Customs and Border Protection (CBP) for its Lattice drones and sentry towers at the U.S.-Mexico border, and in June 2019 Anduril received contracts for the same technology from the UK's Royal Marines Commando Force.

In July 2019, the U.S. Marine Corps awarded Anduril a \$13.5 million contract for a "counter intrusion" system that can "autonomously detect, identify, classify, and track humans on foot, wheeled and tracked vehicles on land, surface swimmers, and surface vessels and boat" at USMC bases and the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range in Arizona, which covers over 30 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border.

#### **Palantir: The Tech Backbone of ICE**

Palantir Technologies has attracted protests and controversy for its central role in the application of the Trump administration's draconian immigration policies. Its ICE contracts for the development and maintenance of the agency's FALCON analytical platform and Integrated Case Management (ICM) system, currently projected to amount to over \$150 million for Palantir, make it a key tool in the implementation of the administration's policies. It was revealed in May 2019 that Palantir's ICM system had been used to track down 443 family members of migrant children in a 2017 precursor to the family separation policy, undercutting the company's earlier statements on its work with ICE.<sup>1</sup>

Palantir's ICM system is paired with its FALCON analytical software. Recently released ICE communications reveal that Palantir's FALCON mobile app is a critical tool used in ICE raids in conjunction with the agency's EAGLE booking application on agents' mobile devices. Palantir does not just passively sell ICE its software. Rather, its support staff works at ICE facilities in Northern Virginia to provide real-time technical support for raids. Recently released ICE communications reveal that its agents were instructed to activate FALCON mobile for raids just before a six-day April 2018 raid in New York City that resulted in the arrest of 225 people and an ICE raid at a Tennessee meat factory that same month, which led to the arrest of 97 individuals.

In June 2019, Donald Trump announced plans for the mass deportation of over 2,000 family members with removal orders. ICE will rely on Palantir's ICM system to identify family members for any such operations, as it did for the 2017 identification of family members of migrant children, and on Palantir's FALCON software for mobile use in the field, as it does in other ICE raids.

Palantir's ICM system, in addition to ingesting massive amounts of law enforcement data from the FBI and local and state agencies around the country, explicitly provides for the collection of Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter profile information, as well as historical and live phone call monitoring, SMS and multimedia text monitoring, monitoring of web surfing activity and web account login information, and other commercial data surveillance. ICM also contains commercial license plate reader (LPR) data from Vigilant Solutions, providing access to over 5 billion data points for physically tracking individuals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sam Biddle and Ryan Devereaux, "Peter Thiel's Palantir was used to bust relatives of migrant children, new documents show," *The Intercept*, May 2, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/05/02/peter-thiels-palantir-was-used-to-bust-hundreds-of-relatives-of-migrant-children-new-documents-show.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The first period of performance for the ICE FALCON contract ends in November 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Public records obtained by George Joseph, "Data Company Directly Powers Immigration Raids in Workplace," WNYC, July 16, 2019, https://www.wnyc.org/story/palantir-directly-powers-ice-workplace-raids-emails-show.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Justification for Other than Full and Open Competition for software from Pen-Link, Ltd. for ICE contract HSCETC17C00001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Privacy Impact Assessment Update for the Acquisition and Use of License Plate Reader (LPR) Data from a Commercial Service, DHS/ICE/PIA-039(a), December 27, 2017.

In addition to the ICE contract for commercial LPR data, local law enforcement in at least 80 jurisdictions across the country has granted ICE access to license plate location information, violating local law and ICE policy according to the ACLU. ICE's use of Vigilant Solutions technology is contracted through a subsidiary of Thomson Reuters, which has a corporate partnership with Palantir for use of its CLEAR platform.

Palantir sells itself as a precision tool for the targeting of migrants and enemy combatants, but the mass data collection that supports Palantir's ICM and FALCON lends itself to dragnet operations. This has been the case since the company's very first test run with ICE in 2011, Operation Fallen Hero. The operation was an explicitly "personal" retaliation by ICE for the killing of one of its agents in Mexico. While the operation was supposed to go after "transnational criminal networks and terrorist organizations," of the 1,416 resulting arrests in the first phase of implementation, fully 634 were for non-criminal immigration violations. Despite its counter-terrorist rhetoric, Palantir has been used as a mass deportation tool by ICE from the very start.

ICE agents use FALCON software in mass raids such as Operation Cross Check VII - MEGA in 2017, which targeted "all aliens who are present in the United States in violation of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA)." Such raids often result in the detention of as many "collaterals" as "targets."

ICE's HSI also leans on immigration status to avoid having to justify "gang affilation" or "gang association" tags, for which it uses Palantir's ICM to classify subjects. ICE Field Guidance documents on alleged gang operations have been shown to include instructions for entering "Gang Associates," who are not gang members but determined to exhibit "indications of gang association" by ICE or other law enforcement. ICE Field Guidance on such operations allows for the arrest of individuals classified as "No Gang Involvement" if they are not U.S. citizens or Lawful Permanent Residents. Of 32,200 arrests of "gang members and associates" under ICE's umbrella Operation Community Shield since 2005, 13,370 have been for administrative violations. In such operations, HSI agents are instructed to use Palantir's FALCON platform to investigate subjects, as FALCON houses all gang information collected through ICM and the Enforcement Integrated Database (EID) from ICE's Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) division.

Examples of dragnet "gang" operations that have led to more civil arrests than criminal include the ongoing Operation Matador in New York, which has led to 248 administrative arrests of 475 total arrests, <sup>14</sup> and the nationwide Operation Raging Bull in 2018, one phase of which led to 121 arrests for administrative immigration violations out of 214 total arrests. 64 of those arrested in Operation Raging Bull had crossed the border as unaccompanied children.

Palantir's role as the technological backbone of ICE raids and policies that separate families has drawn condemnation from tech workers who refuse to accept Silicon Valley's participation in such practices, as well as human rights and privacy advocates concerned that Palantir's mass integration of commercial and law enforcement data adds a new and dangerous dimension to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Vasudha Talla, "Documents Reveal ICE Using Driver Location Data From Local Police for Deportations," ACLU of Northern California, March 13, 2019, www.aclu.org/blog/immigrants-rights/ice-and-border-patrol-abuses/documents-reveal-ice-using-driver-location-data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ICE contract 70CDCR18P00000017, www.usaspending.gov/#/award/8288562.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Palantir data and device partners, www.palantir.com/partnerships/data-providers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Statement of Kumar C. Kibble, Deputy Director, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security, May 2, 2011,

www.dhs.gov/news/2011/05/02/statement-kumar-c-kibble-deputy-director-us-immigration-and-customs-enforcement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Public records obtained by Detention Watch Network and Mijente, "Blueprint for Terror: How ICE Planned its Largest Immigration Raid in History," https://mijente.net/icepapers/.

Public records obtained by Detention Watch Network and Mijente, "Blueprint for Terror: How ICE Planned its Largest Immigration Raid in History," https://mijente.net/icepapers/.

<sup>12</sup> ICE, Operation Community Shield overview,

https://www.ice.gov/national-gang-unit?fbclid=lwAR0FsjIUU L74ZNEi8c9KoCQGy3M2CU5u06vfzzF9Ip8zQVuaHPquxoWS5Y#tab1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> ICE Memorandum, Operation Raging Bull Field Guidance, documents obtained through FOIA request.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> ICE, "Joint Operation nets 24 transnational gang members, 475 total arrests under Operation Matador," March 29, 2018,

https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/joint-operation-nets-24-transnational-gang-members-475-total-arrests-under-operation.

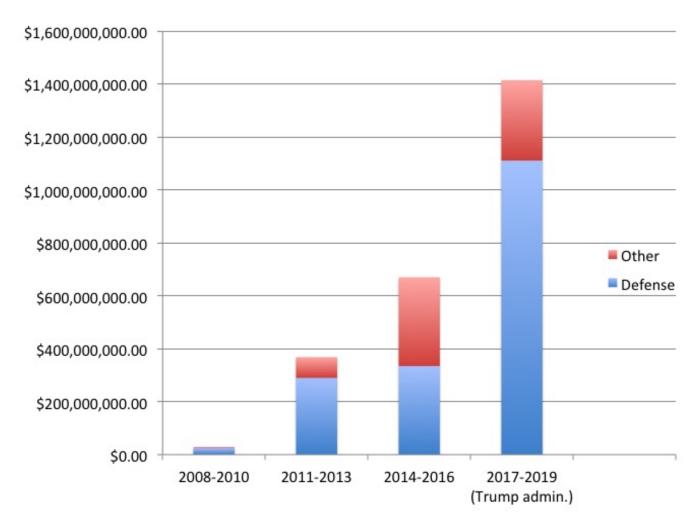
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Public records obtained by Detention Watch Network and Mijente, "Blueprint for Terror: How ICE Planned its Largest Immigration Raid in History," https://mijente.net/icepapers/.

U.S. government's discriminatory immigration policies. The current ICE contract for ICM, which, like Palantir's FALCON platform, is hosted on Amazon Web Services, is an Indefinite Delivery Vehicle set to expire in September 2019, though it will likely be renewed if the current administration has its way.

#### **Palantir's Federal Contracts**

As of August 2019, Palantir had at least 29 active contracts with the U.S. federal government worth a combined \$1.5 billion. Over \$1 billion of this money is directed to DoD agencies, led by the Army (\$876 million) and Special Operations Command (\$218 million). The Department of Justice accounts for \$175 million, and DHS money for the ICM and FALCON systems at ICE accounts for \$94 million in active contracts.

#### **Palantir's Federal Contracts**



#### **Palantir's Active Federal Contracts**

Award ID	Contractor	Awarding Agency	Awarding Sub- Agency	Potential total value (USD)	Start Date	End Date (Potential end date)	Description
2032H519F0 0270	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of The Treasury	Internal Revenue Service	31,424,436.0 4	2019-04-04	2023-09-23	Discover replacement support software licenses software licenses O&M professional services (cloud hosting)
75N95018F0 0001	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Health And Human Services	National Institutes Of Health	960,000.00	2018-08-31	2021-08-31 (2021-08-31)	2018 NCATS Scientific Computing Platform
1331L519P1 3210031	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Commerce	Office Of The Secretary	1,125,000.00	2019-01-31	2019-12-31	Economic data subscription
N6227116F1 083	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Defense	Department Of The Navy	99,555.00	2016-03-04	2020-12-06	Navy Postgraduate School Base year and four additional option years for maintenance and support
70CTD019C0 0000001	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Homeland Security	U.S. Immigration And Customs Enforcement	42,301,750.0 0	2018-11-28	2019-11-27 (2021-11-27)	FALCON operations and maintenance (O&M) support services and optional enhancements
15JPSS18F00 000843	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	1,500,000.00	2018-10-01	2019-09-29	Palantir intelligence amplification solution for criminal division
47QFCA18F0 091	Palantir Technologies Inc.	General Services Administration	Federal Acquisition Service	5,680,200.00	2018-08-08	2019-08-08 (2023-08-08)	Palantir intelligence amplification solution for criminal division
W56KGY18D 0003	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Defense	Department Of The Army	876,000,000. 00	2018-03-08	2028-03-08	Combined hardware and software solution [DCGS-A]

# THE WAR AGAINST MAINTENANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

47QFCA18F0 012	Palantir Technologies Inc.	General Services Administration	Federal Acquisition Service	27,074,941.4 4	2017-11-02	2019-09-30 (2022-09-30)	Support and maintenance for Palantir software currently in use
DJF171200S0 008254	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Federal Bureau Of Investigation	39,259,711.4 8	2017-09-29	2023-09-28	FBI enterprise Palantir platform (FEPP)
DJF171200D 0003027	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Federal Bureau Of Investigation	8,272,903.48	2017-09-29	2019-12-31 (2022-12-31)	FEPP BPA, to # 1, ESOC Palantir maintenance service
AG32KWD17 0106	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Agriculture (USDA)	Animal And Plant Health Inspection Service	6,565,677.00	2017-09-26	2020-02-01 (2022-02-01)	COTS software for marketing and regulatory programs business services
HHSF223201 710345G	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Health And Human Services	Food And Drug Administration	451,249.30	2017-08-31	2020-08-31 (2022-08-31)	Palantir Gotham annual maintenance and support
DOCYA13231 7CN0010	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Commerce	Office Of The Secretary	5,694,000.00	2017-05-19	2018-12-31 (2021-12-31)	Purchase of commercial sales/revenue data for enterprise services office and Census Bureau
DJJ25080007	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	6,736,706.17	2016-09-26	2019-09-30	Palantir support for U.S. Attorney's office, Southern District of New York. Assets forfeiture fund
H9222216C0 078	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Defense	U.S. Special Operations Command	218,422,320. 19	2016-05-24	2020-05-25	Palantir All Source Information Fusion (ASIF) software. Palantir Gotham monthly term licenses. Fixed site licenses: Qatar
SECHQ115A0 025	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Securities And Exchange Commission	Securities And Exchange Commission	84,703,856.9 7	2015-06-18	2020-06-17	For other functions provide and implement a COTS solution for the agency's enterprise data analytics

# THE WAR AGAINST PALANTIR IMMIGRANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

DJJ25080003	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	13,485,992.3 3	2014-11-06	2019-11-10	Palantir CRM. Assets forfeiture fund
DJJ25080005	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	36,555,704.1 6	2015-09-22	2019-09-30	Palantir intelligence amplification solution
DJJ25080002	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	23,453,235.3 5	2014-09-30	2019-09-29	Palantir intelligence amplification solution
DJJ25080001	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Justice	Offices, Boards And Divisions	59,200,000.0 0	2014-09-30	2019-09-30	Palantir intelligence amplification solution for criminal division
HSCETC14C0 0002	Palantir USG, Inc.	Department Of Homeland Security	U.S. Immigration And Customs Enforcement	51,577,791.3 9	2014-09-26	2019-09-25	ICE COTS based, web-enabled investigative case management (ICM) system for ICE TECS MOD program office
75D30118F0 0001	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Health And Human Services	Centers For Disease Control And Prevention	947,000.00	2018-08-23	2019-09-29	Software & hardware licenses
2032H518F0 1178	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of The Treasury	Internal Revenue Service	9,948,432	2018-09-28	2019-09-27	Employment tax program and operations and maintenance
N6523617F0 874	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Defense	Department Of The Navy	35,750,000.0 0	2017-09-28	2019-09-27 (2020-09-27)	SSC Atlantic Palantir Configuration Control Board
75N95018F0 0002	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of Health And Human Services	National Institutes Of Health	1,250,000.00	2018-09-27	2019-09-27	NCATS
2032H518F0 1231	Palantir Technologies Inc.	Department Of The Treasury	Internal Revenue Service	4,500,000.00	2018-09-27	2019-09-23	Tax workflow and importer enhancements support
47QFCA18F0 091	Palantir Technologies Inc.	General Services Administration (GSA)	Federal Acquisition Service	5,680,200.00	2018-08-08	2019-08-08 (2023-08-08)	Software Operations and Maintenance

Source: Federal contracting data

In Washington, Peter Thiel has sold Palantir as a defense contractor loyal to U.S. interests, and he recently brought this talking point to a wider audience. In July 2019 at the National Conservatism Conference, Peter Thiel publicly called Google a treasonous company, alleging that it works with the Chinese military and calling out the company's hesitancy to work on the DoD's Project Maven after extensive public pressure.

The following day, the U.S. Navy announced a \$143.8 million contract award to Palantir for work on the Pacific branch of the Naval Information Warfare Center (SPAWAR) in San Diego. Palantir already has a \$35 million Navy contract for SPAWAR Atlantic, in Charleston, South Carolina, also awarded under the Trump administration.

#### Palantir Ties California Police to the ICE Dragnet

Palantir provides customized data systems for government and law enforcement agencies, including ICM and FALCON for ICE. However, most of these government products are based on its Gotham software, described by Palantir's CTO as a tool for "needle-in-haystack" analysis to identify "bad actors hiding in complex networks." <sup>17</sup>

The dangers of this model were glaringly evident in Operation Fallen Hero, Palantir's first ICE project in 2011, when a search for "transnational criminal networks and terrorist organizations" resulted in the arrest of at least 634 people for non-criminal immigration violations. ICE didn't just look for the needle — it also used the vast amount of data collected by Palantir to go after the haystack.

Palantir software is also used for predictive policing and has been implemented by the New York Police Department, the New Orleans Police Department, the Cook County Sheriff's Office in Chicago, the Virginia State Police, the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington D.C., and a dozen law enforcement agencies in Utah. However, it has not always been able to get lasting contracts; its NYPD contract and the New Orleans deal were eventually canceled.

The algorithms used by Palantir software to identify "bad actors," which for ICE's purposes includes anyone with irregular immigration status, can reinforce discriminatory assumptions made by police officers, as the variables used in such programs, including police contacts, prior arrests, and gang affiliations, "directly correlate with racially discriminatory law enforcement practices." In New Orleans, Palantir software, secretly used by the city for six years, "was used to identify potential [gang] members" based on analysis of data clusters.

The Stop LAPD Spying Coalition characterizes this as a "racist feedback loop," one that was seen in the LAPD's Operation LASER (Los Angeles Strategic Extraction and Restoration), which used Palantir software to track "a person's criminal history, gang affiliation, previous detentions, and associations" across divisions. Operation LASER was discontinued in April 2019 after an audit found significant inconsistencies in the data used for the program's Chronic Offender component. The audit concluded that Operation LASER "lacked clarity" in its goals, despite a stated focus on gun violence, and often used informal referrals to select Chronic Offenders. Nearly ten percent of the Chronic Offenders in the LASER database did not have any "quality police contacts" recorded in its points system, and 84 percent of Chronic Offenders in the database were Black or Latino.

<sup>16</sup>U.S. Department of Defense, "Contracts for July 12, 2019," https://dod.defense.gov/News/Contracts/Contract-View/Article/1903937/#NAVYdlt071519.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Ouora post by Palantir CTO Mark Elliot, www.quora.com/What-are-the-main-differences-between-the-Palantir-Metropolis-and-Gotham-platforms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Mark Harris, "How Peter Thiel's Secretive Data Company Pushed Into Policing," *Wired*, August 9, 2017,

www.wired.com/story/how-peter-thiels-secretive-data-company-pushed-into-policing; Ali Winston, "New Orleans ends its Palantir predictive policing program," *The Verge*, March 15, 2018, www.theverge.com/2018/3/15/17126174/new-orleans-palantir-predictive-policing-program-end.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Andrew G. Ferguson, *The Rise of Big Data Policing*, NYU Press, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Ali Winston, "New Orleans ends its Palantir predictive policing program," *The Verge*, March 15, 2018, www.theverge.com/2018/3/15/17126174/new-orleans-palantir-predictive-policing-program-en.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Craig D. Uchida et al., "Los Angeles, California Smart Policing Initiative," Bureau of Justice Assistance, October

<sup>2012,</sup> newweb.jssinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Spotlight-on-Operation-LASER.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Office of the Inspector General, Los Angeles Police Commission, "Review of selected Los Angeles Police Department data-driven policing strategies," March 12, 2019, accessible at: https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/5766472/bpc-19-0072.pdf.

For its predictive policing program, the LAPD used Palantir software to evaluate data sources, including "crime incidents, arrests, field interviews, calls for service, license plate readers, vehicle recovery, and citizen tips," and then targeted individuals and places for investigation and intervention. While Operation LASER has been discontinued, the LAPD, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, and most major law enforcement agencies throughout California still use Palantir to analyze these same data points, coordinating analysis with ICE and other federal agencies through the state's six Fusion Centers, every one of which depends on Palantir software. Meanwhile, ICE employs a points systems to determine gang affiliation, using Palantir software in much the same way that Operation LASER used a similar system to identify Chronic Offenders.

Palantir has become indispensable to DHS fusion centers in California. In a 2014 request for Palantir software by the Central California Intelligence Center, the County of Sacramento Sheriff's Department argued: "The Central California Intelligence Center (CCIC) is the only intelligence center within the California State Threat Assessment System [STAS] that currently does not utilize Palantir. In order to maintain connectivity with STAS intelligence centers the CCIC needs to purchase Palantir systems." Palantir won the contract, giving it contracts with all six of the state's six fusion centers, in addition to the southern California border's Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARJIS) for law enforcement information sharing.

# Palantir Software Use: ICE LEIS Network<sup>25</sup> and Fusion Centers in California

DHS information sharing modality	LEISI Regional Participant	Local member agencies (in addition to DHS, FBI and other federal partners)	Palantir software funded by
LEIS Network	Automated Regional Justice Information System (ARJIS) <sup>26</sup>	Carlsbad Police Department Chula Vista Police Department Coronado Police Departmental El Cajon Police Departmental Escondido Police Department La Masa Police Department National City Police Department Oceanside Police Department San Diego Police Department San Diego Harbor Police San Diego Sheriff's Department	
LEIS Network/Fusion Center	Los Angeles Sheriff's Department as fiduciary for Joint Regional Intelligence Center <sup>28</sup>	Memorandum of Agreement for Palantir data sharing between: Los Angeles Sheriff's Department Los Angeles Police Department	Homeland Security Urban Areas Security Initiative Grant, distributed through the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Craig D. Uchida et al., "Los Angeles, California Smart Policing Initiative," Bureau of Justice Assistance, October 2012, www.newweb.jssinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Spotlight-on-Operation-LASER.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>This was the case in ICE's Operation Raging Bull, for example, as outlined in ICE Field Guidance documents obtained in a FOIA request.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>ICE Law Enforcement Information Sharing network.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>ARJIS has access to Palantir software, presumably through the San Diego Sheriff's Department and San Diego Law Enforcement Coordination Center. See: Alison Brooks, "Digital Evidence Management and Analysis in the Cloud," IDC Canada Consulting, April 2016, http://cradpdf.drdc-rddc.qc.ca/PDFS/unc232/p804106 A1b.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>ARJIS Agencies, www.arjis.org/SitePages/ARJISAgencies.aspx.

# THE WAR AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

## TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

		Long Beach Police Department  Burbank Police Department  Glendale Police Department  Torrance Police Department  Gardena Police Department  Orange County Sheriff's Department  Santa Monica Police Department  West Covina Police Department  Alhambra Police Department <sup>29</sup>	California Governor's Office of Emergency Services
Fusion Center	San Diego County Sheriff's Department for San Diego Law Enforcement Coordination Center <sup>30</sup>	JRIC includes municipal police departments throughout Los Angeles, Riverside, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura Counties  San Diego County Sheriff's Department Imperial County Sheriff's Department California Department of Corrections Municipal police departments throughout San Diego and Imperial Counties	Homeland Security Urban Areas Security Initiative Grant, distributed through the California Governor's Office of Emergency Services
Fusion Center	Sacramento County Sheriff's Department on behalf of Central California Intelligence Center <sup>31</sup>	Sacramento County Sheriff's Department Sacramento Police Department California Department of Justice California Highway Patrol Governor's Office of Emergency Services	Homeland Security Urban Areas Security Initiative Grant, distributed through the California Governor's Office of Emergency Services
Fusion Center	Orange County Intelligence Assessment Center	Orange County Sheriff's Department  Municipal police departments throughout Orange County	

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Contract by and between the County of Los Angeles and Palantir Technologies Inc. for Software Maintenance and Application Support, accessible at: http://file.lacounty.gov/SDSInter/bos/supdocs/102501.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Second Amendment to Memorandum of Agreement between Los Angeles Sheriff's Department and Los Angeles Police Department for Data Sharing between Palantir Instances, 2014, accessible at: www.muckrock.com/foi/burbank-3129/palantir-technologies-reports-and-documents-31877/#file-117125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>License and Services Agreement between the County of San Diego, through the Sheriff's Department on behalf of the San Diego Law Enforcement Coordination Center, accessible at: www.muckrock.com/foi/california-52/palantir-technologies-reports-and-documents-31876/#file-121759.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>County of Sacramento, Request for Exemption to Competitive Bidding Process and Disclosure Statement, April 8, 2014, accessible at: www.muckrock.com/foi/california-52/palantir-technologies-reports-and-documents-32440/#file-120256.

Fusion Center	San Mateo County Sheriff's Office for Northern California Regional Intelligence Center <sup>32</sup>	Sheriff's departments and municipal police departments throughout Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma, Napa, Marin, San Francisco, Contra Costa, Alameda, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, San Benito, and Monterey Counties	Recovery Act Grant from United States Department of Justice - Office of Justice Planning to Combat Criminal Narcotics Activity Stemming from the Southern Border
Principal California Fusion Center	California State Threat Assessment System	California Governor's Office of Emergency Services California Highway Patrol California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation California Department of Motor Vehicles California Department of Justice California Department of Public Health County Sheriff's Offices City Police, Fire and Emergency Management Departments	

Source: Diverse contract and procurement documents

## Peter Thiel's Web of Influence in the Trump Administration

Palantir Co-founder and Chairman Peter Thiel was a major Trump campaign contributor and an Executive Committee Member of his transition team, but Palantir's Washington influence runs much deeper. The company is at the center of an effort to break down the door for certain tech companies — namely, those in which Thiel's influential Founders Fund holds a stake — in the notoriously bureaucratic and territorial defense contracting space. Palantir likes to cast itself as a disruptor, but its technological innovations pale in comparison to the web of corporate and political power it has constructed to profit from border militarization and the war industry by leveraging its ties to the Trump administration.

#### **Political Campaign Contributions**

Palantir executives have made federal campaign contributions across the political spectrum. Palantir Chairman Peter Thiel has a history of supporting Republican candidates, while CEO Alex Karp has a reputation as being more liberal. However, one recent series of coordinated contributions totaling \$29,000 to the Defend America PAC by Palantir executives and lobbyists, including Karp, point to considerable political expediency in the pursuit of defense contracts. Defend America PAC is a Republican leadership PAC based in Alabama. Its largest contributors are defense contractors including Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, General Atomics, and Boeing, among others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Agreement between the County of San Mateo and Palantir Technologies Inc., January 10, 2012, accessible at: www.muckrock.com/foi/california-52/palantir-technologies-reports-and-documents-30858/#file-113858.

#### **Campaign Contributions by Palantir Executives to Defend America PAC**

Contributor	Position at Palantir	Committee	Year	Amount
Edward A. Burkhalter	Registered lobbyist	Defend America PAC	2019	\$1,500
Douglas S. Philippone	Global Defense Program Lead	Defend America PAC	2019	\$2,500
Anthony W. Kitzmiller	U.S. Navy and USMC sales	Defend America PAC	2019	\$1,000
Edward A. Burkhalter	Registered lobbyist	Defend America PAC	2018	\$4,000
Shyam Sankar	President	Defend America PAC	2018	\$5,000
Alexander C. Karp	CEO	Defend America PAC	2018	\$5,000
Gavin Hood	Chief of Staff	Defend America PAC	2018	\$5,000
Greylyn K. Boscia	Executive Assistant	Defend America PAC	2018	\$5,000

Source: Federal Election Commission data

However, these campaign contributions pale in comparison to those made by Peter Thiel, who is the real political force behind the company. Thiel was a major supporter of the Trump presidential campaign, donating \$1,227,700 to Trump campaign PACs in the 2016 general election. In July 2018, he donated another \$252,700 for Trump's 2020 reelection.

## Peter Thiel's Federal Campaign Contributions Since 2016

Committee	Candidate	Year	Amount
Congressional Leadership Fund	-	2018	\$100,000
Club For Growth Action		2018	\$1,000,000
Donald J. Trump For President, Inc.	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2018	\$2,700
Trump Victory	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2018	\$250,000
Republican National Committee	-	2018	\$101,700
Republican National Committee		2018	\$7,300
Facebook Inc. PAC	-	2018	\$5,000
Ivan Raiklin For US Senate	Sen. candidate Ivan Raiklin (R-VA)	2017	\$2,700
Kevin McCarthy For Congress	Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA 23rd)	2017	\$2,700

# THE WAR AGAINST PALANTIR IMMIGRANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

McCarthy Victory Fund	Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA 23rd)	2017	\$44,300
Majority Committee PAC (MCPAC)		2017	\$5,000
National Republican Congressional Committee		2017	\$33,900
Josh Hawley For Senate	Sen. Josh Hawley (R-MO)	2017	\$2,700
National Republican Senatorial Committee		2017	\$33,900
National Republican Senatorial Committee		2017	\$16,100
National Republican Congressional Committee		2017	\$66,100
Facebook Inc. PAC		2017	\$5,000
58th Presidential Inaugural Committee	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2017	\$100,000
National Republican Congressional Committee		2016	\$33,400
Majority Committee PAC (MCPAC)		2016	\$33,400
Kevin McCarthy For Congress	Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA 23rd)	2016	\$2,700
McCarthy Victory Fund	Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA 23rd)	2016	\$41,400
National Republican Congressional Committee		2016	\$300
Make America Number 1	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2016	\$1,000,000
Donald J. Trump For President, Inc.	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2016	\$2,700
Trump Victory	Pres. Donald Trump (R)	2016	\$250,000
Republican National Committee		2016	\$13,500
Republican National Committee		2016	\$100,200
Republican National Committee		2016	\$33,400
Hurd Victory Fund	Rep. Will Hurd (R-TX 23rd)	2016	\$2,700
Hurd For Congress	Rep. Will Hurd (R-TX 23rd)	2016	\$2,700
Fighting For Ohio Fund	Sen. Rob Portman (R-OH)	2016	\$1,000,000
California Republican Party Federal Acct		2016	\$3,600
Paul Babeu For Congress	Congressional candidate Paul Babeu (R-AZ 1st)	2016	\$2,700

Paul Babeu For Congress	Congressional candidate Paul Babeu (R-AZ 1st)	2016	\$5,400
California Republican Party Federal Acct		2016	\$900
Ro For Congress Inc.	Rep. Ro Khanna (D-CA 17th)	2016	\$2,700

Source: Federal Election Commission data

Thiel's support for the Trump administration may be ideological, but above all it is strategic, evidenced by his generous contribution of \$56,400 to Democrat Gavin Newsom's successful 2016 run for Governor of California, despite subsequent rumors that Thiel himself might run against Newsom in 2018. Palantir has contracts worth over \$50 million with major sheriff's departments and DHS fusion centers throughout California, connecting it to numerous police departments for information sharing.

#### The Shadow President

Thiel has leveraged his support for Donald Trump to gain considerable influence in the administration. Though Thiel turned down an offer to lead the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, he was named to the President's transition team executive committee. During this time, he had a staff of between four and six people working out of an office in Trump Tower to staff government agencies, and many of his employees reportedly took to calling him "the shadow president."

Thiel has managed to install key allies in the new administration without having to leave the private sector himself, including:

**Michael Kratsios**, U.S. Chief Technology Officer (CTO)

Kratsios left his position as Principal and Chief of Staff at Thiel Capital to take a position as Deputy Assistant to the President for Technology Policy, and in early 2019 was promoted to CTO, the President's principal technology advisor. He is overseeing artificial intelligence initiatives for the White House in coordination with the DoD, an area where Palantir and Founders Fund investments like Anduril are already benefiting from federal contracts.

**Kevin Harrington**, Deputy Assistant to the President for Strategic Planning

Harrington was Principal and Managing Director at Thiel Macro when he took this position on the National Security Council. He also formed part of the Trump transition "landing team" at the Department of Commerce, where Palantir has a contract to provide economic data to the Census Bureau.

**Trae Stephens**, Department of Defense transition team

Stephens was en early Palantir executive and is a Partner at Peter Thiel's Founders Fund. In 2017, he co-founded Anduril Industries, making a major investment in the company through Founders Fund. In March 2019, Stephens co-authored a set of software acquisition policy recommendations commissioned by the DoD's Defense Innovation Board, as Anduril and Palantir sold software to the DoD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>See report by Mijente, National Immigration Project and Immigrant Defense Project: "Who's Behind ICE? The tech and data companies fueling deportations," https://mijente.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/WHO%E2%80%99S-BEHIND-ICE\_-The-Tech-and-Data-Companies-Fueling-Deportations\_v3-pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Rosie Gray, "Peter Thiel Turns Down a Senior Intelligence Role," *The Atlantic*, November 29, 2017,

www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/peter-thiel-doesnt-want-intelligence-advisory-post/547100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Eliana Johnson, "Donald Trump's 'shadow president' in Silicon Valley," *Politico*, February 26, 2017, www.politico.com/story/2017/02/donald-trumps-shadow-president-in-silicon-valley-235372.

Mark Woolway, Department of the Treasury transition "landing team"

Woolway was managing director at Thiel Capital and Clarium Capital. Palantir has multiple active contracts with the Department of the Treasury.

Justin Mikolay, Special Assistant and Director of Communications for Secretary of Defense

Mikolay was a registered Palantir lobbyist <sup>38</sup> prior to his job as Special Assistant to Secretary of Defense James mattis, an early Palantir advocate. Upon leaving in October 2017, Mikolay immediately returned to Palantir, where he continued to work until August 2018.

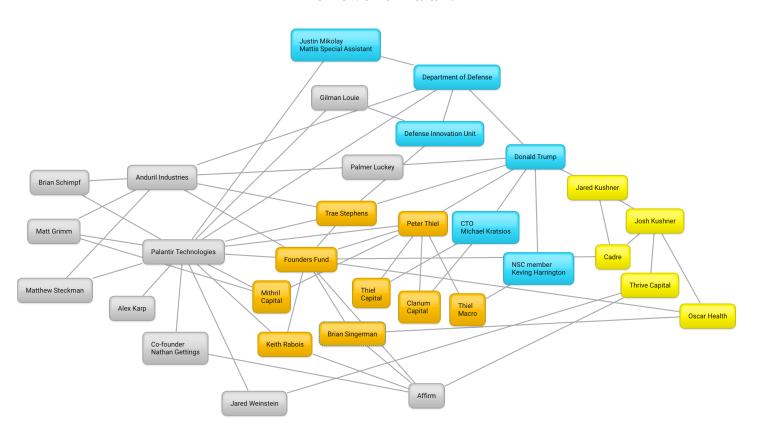
Anthony DeMartino, Secretary of Defense Deputy Chief of Staff

DeMartino disclosed that he was a paid Palantir consultant when he joined the staff of Secretary of Defense James mattis.<sup>40</sup>

Sally Donnelly, Secretary of Defense Senior Advisor

Donnelly disclosed that she was a paid Palantir consultant when she joined the staff of Secretary of Defense James mattis.<sup>41</sup>

#### The Power of Palantir



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Mark Woolway LinkedIn profile, www.linkedin.com/in/mark-woolway-8331.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Eliana Johnson, "Donald Trump's 'shadow president' in Silicon Valley," *Politico*, February 26, 2017, www.politico.com/story/2017/02/donald-trumps-shadow-president-in-silicon-valley-235372.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>U.S. Lobbying Disclosure Act database records.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Justin Mikolay LinkedIn profile, www.linkedin.com/in/erasmusj1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>U.S. Government Office of Ethics Form 278e, accessible at: www.documentcloud.org/documents/3766125-DeMartino-Anthony.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>U.S. Government Office of Ethics Form 278e, accessible at: www.documentcloud.org/documents/3766126-Donnelly-Sally.html.

#### **Key relationships:**

- Palantir's Peter Thiel was a major Trump donor and member of the Trump transition team's executive committee. From
  this position, he got key business partners into positions of power that are benefiting Palantir and other Thiel
  investments in Defense and Homeland Security contracting:
  - Early Palantir executive and Founders Fund Partner Trae Stephens was on the DoD transition team. Stephens has recently advised the DoD on software acquisition policy.
  - Michael Kratsios, Principal and Chief of Staff at Thiel Capital and CFO at Thiel's Clarium Capital, is now U.S.
     Chief Technology Officer, in charge of tech policy for the executive branch, where he is leading AI initiatives that will benefit Palantir and other Thiel investments.
  - Kevin Harrington, Managing Director at Thiel Macro, is now a National Security Council member and Trump's Deputy Assistant to the President for Strategic Planning.
- Former Palantir executives Trae Stephens, Brian Schimpf and Matt Grimm co-founded Anduril Industries in 2017 along
  with Trump donor Palmer Luckey, with a major investment from Thiel's Founders Fund. Anduril has received contracts
  under the Trump administration with Customs and Border Protection for border surveillance towers and drones, with
  the U.S. Marine Corps for autonomous surveillance systems along the U.S.-Mexico border, and with the DoD for its
  secretive Al initiative, Project Maven.
- Palantir got off the ground as a company because of early funding and counsel from Gilman Louie, founding CEO of In-Q-Tel, the CIA's venture capital arm. Louie and Trae Stephens, an early Palantir executive and now Founders Fund Partner with Peter Thiel, co-authored a March 2019 set of policy recommendations commissioned by the DoD's Defense Innovation Board that call for purchasing commercial off-the-shelf software products, which Stephens is currently selling to DoD on behalf of Anduril Industries, and which Founders Fund investment Palantir also sells to the DoD.
- Trump's first Secretary of Defense James Matthis had three Palantir-linked individuals on his staff, including Palantir lobbyist Justin Mikolay, who returned to Palantir in 2018 upon leaving the DoD.
- Peter Thiel's Founders Fund and Josh Kushner's Thrive Capital jointly run two companies, insurer Oscar Health and fintech microlender Affirm, with equity and board representation at both. Josh Kushner is Co-founder of Oscar and Palantir Co-founder Nathan Gettings is Co-founder of Affirm. Founders Fund has also invested in Cadre, co-founded by Jared and Josh Kushner.
- Palantir Co-founders Peter Thiel and Alex Karp are both members of the secretive Bilderberg Meetings Steering Committee. In May and June 2019, they attended the annual Bilderberg Meeting in Switzerland along with Jared Kushner, to discuss subjects including Artificial Intelligence.

#### Thiel and the Kushners

Thiel's connection to the Trump administration first came through Jared Kushner and his brother, Josh Kushner. Founders Fund has participated as lead investor in multiple funding rounds of Josh Kushner's insurance company Oscar Health, and both Palantir co-founder Joe Lonsdale and Founders Fund partner Brian Singerman are board members of Oscar.

Josh Kushner also has his own investment firm, Thrive Capital. Thrive board member Jared Weinstein was a Palantir advisor from 2011 to 2015 after working as Special Assistant and Personal Aide to President George W. Bush.

Founders Fund and Thrive Capital are both investors in fintech microlending company Affirm. Affirm was founded in 2012 by Palantir co-founder Nathan Gettings and Max Levchin, Peter Thiel's PayPal co-founder. Founders Fund partners Keith Rabois and Brian Singerman are both board members of Affirm, and it was announced in April 2019 that Josh Kushner's Thrive Capital would get a seat on the board after leading a major investment round.

Jared Kushner himself was a board member of Thrive Capital until January 2017, when he was appointed Senior Advisor to the President. Jared Kushner co-founded real estate investment platform Cadre in 2014 with his brother and Ryan Williams, attracting investment from Founders Fund. Though Kushner is not involved in the operation of the company, he retains his equity stake.

Jared Kushner attended the Bilderberg Meetings in Switzerland from May 30 to June 2, 2019, as did Alex Karp and Peter Thiel. Both Karp and Thiel are members of the Bilderberg Steering Committee. 46 Key topics for discussion included "the ethics of artificial intelligence."

# **Registered Lobbyists**

Palantir and Peter Thiel's considerable influence over the executive branch, both from within the Trump White House and through business ties outside of it, does not in itself guarantee contracting favors. The appropriations process means that Palantir must gain access to Congress, and for this the company has spent \$14.96 million on federal lobbying since 2006, including \$8.6 million on Palantir in-house lobbyists.

## **Palantir In-house Lobbyists**

Lobbyist	Years	Entities lobbied	Most recent issues lobbied
Edward Burkhalter Former Defense Intelligence Agency, CIA and Joint Chiefs of Staff	2015-19	U.S. House Of Representatives, U.S. Senate	Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform through intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations; IT acquisition reform; Broader commercial item preference; Technology appropriations; Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform through intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations; H.R. 2810, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Crunchbase data. See also: Founders Fund portfolio, https://foundersfund.com/portfolio.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Jared Weinstein LinkedIn profile, www.linkedin.com/in/jared-weinstein-3b22b538.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>"Affirm Announces Series F Round of Equity Funding, Led by Thrive Capital," *Business Wire*, April 3, 2019, www.businesswire.com/news/home/20190403005643/en/Affirm-Announces-Series-Equity-Funding-Led-Thrive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Julie Segeal, "The Startup Trying to Disrupt Private Equity Firms," *Institutional Investor*, October 15, 2018, www.institutionalinvestor.com/article/b1bd8ckb2qzk0v/The-Startup-Trying-to-Disrupt-Private-Equity-Firms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Bilderberg Meetings, Steering Committee, www.bilderbergmeetings.org/background/steering-committee/steering-committee.

James Atkin Former Communications Director, Congressmember Kurt Schrader	2012-19	U.S. House Of Representatives, U.S. Senate Defense - Dept Of (DOD), Homeland Security - Dept Of (DHS)	S. 1519, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018  Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform through intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations; IT acquisition reform; Broader commercial item preference; Technology appropriations; H.R. 2810, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018; S. 1519, National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018; tax reform related to equity compensation; H.R. 5719, Empowering Employees through Stock Ownership Act; S. 3152, Empowering Employees through Stock Ownership Act
Justin Mikolay  Former Special Assistant and Director of Communications for Secretary of Defense, Trump administration	2015-17 Subsequently Palantir employee not registered as lobbyist, 2017-18	U.S. House Of Representatives, U.S. Senate, Defense - Dept Of (DOD), Homeland Security - Dept Of (DHS)	Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform throughout intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations; acquisition reform; technology appropriations and authorizations
Douglas Philippone	2012-13 Currently Global Defense Program Lead at Palantir	U.S. House Of Representatives, U.S. Senate	Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform throughout intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations
Lisa Gordon	2011-12 Currently Head of Global Corporate Communications and Media Relations at Palantir	U.S. House Of Representatives, U.S. Senate	Procurement/deployment of the Palantir Government software platform throughout intelligence, defense and regulatory organizations

Source: Lobbying Disclosure Act database

Palantir also hires third-party lobbying firms to push for the acquisition of its products by federal agencies.

## **Lobbying Firms Recently Hired by Palantir Technologies**

Lobbying firm	Lobbyists	Latest reporting period	Entity lobbied	Subjects lobbied
Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld	Ryan Thompson Former staff, U.S. Sen. Jim Inhofe John Gilliland Former international trade counsel for the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance	2019 Q1	Agriculture - Dept of (USDA)	Issues related to information technology at U.S. Department of Agriculture
American Defense International Inc.	Michael Herson  Former Spec Asst to the Asst Sec of Def for Force Mgmt & Personnel	2019 Q1	U.S. House of Representatives	Issues relating to information technology acquisition
Capitol Tax Partners, LLP	Lawrence Willcox Former Staff Director of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, former staff for Sen. Jon Kyl and Rep. Sam Johnson Richard Grafmeyer Former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, Deputy Republican Staff Director of the Senate Finance Committee	2019 Q1	U.S. Senate, U.S. House Of Representatives, Treasury - Dept Of	Legislative and regulatory services related to employee stock ownership, Public Law 115-97 (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act), and H.R. 1994, the SECURE Act
J.A. Green and Company	Jeffrey Green Former Counsel, House Armed Services Committee	2019 Q1	U.S. House Of Representatives	Issues relating to Information Technology Acquisition, National Defense Authorization Act FY20, Defense Appropriations Act FY20
Hannegan Landau Poersch & Rosenbaum Advocacy, LLC	Timothy Hannegan Former U.S. Federal Accounting Office Daniella Landau	2019 Q1	U.S. Senate	Issues related to DOD software technology procurement. IG Acquisition Issues. H.R.4477/S.2135: Fix NICS Act of 2017
ATS Communications, Inc.	Alexander Silbey Former Senior Policy Advisor, office of the House Majority Whip	2019 Q1	U.S. Senate, U.S. House Of Representatives	NDAA and Defense Appropriations

Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Terry Paul Former USMC Captain and liaison officer in the Senate, Pentagon General Officer for Senate and House	2018 Q3	U.S. Senate, U.S. House Of Representatives, Defense - Dept Of (DOD)	Introduction of product and services to Department of Defense FY18 & FY19 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R.5513 & S.2987) FY18 & FY19 Department of Defense Appropriations Act (H.R.6147 & S.3159) Issue: Discussions concerning the use of Palantir products with DoD entities

Source: Lobbying Disclosure Act database

#### How the CIA Made Palantir a Viable Business

The backdrop for Palantir's current push for software contracts at ICE, DoD, and other federal agencies begins with its early funding from the CIA's In-Q-Tel venture capital fund. It is well known that the CIA has a stake in Palantir, but less well known is the relevance of that relationship in the current political environment.

In-Q-Tel was founded in 1999 under the direction of CIA director George Tenet, who would later become a Palantir advisor. Tenet hired In-Q-Tel's first CEO, video game executive Gilman Louie, who proposed that the agency take the form of a 501(c)3 venture capital fund. The idea met political skepticism, particularly because of the potential fallout of a successful investment providing money to the CIA that could be viewed as providing increased independence from congressional funding and, therefore, oversight, or an invitation to corruption in the form of a slush fund. Louie ultimately sold the idea as a way to cut through bureaucracy in funding technological innovation for the CIA, by providing seed funding to promising start-ups and then contracting the services of the the program's success stories. The most successful of those stories was Palantir.

As Louie tells it, he made Peter Thiel and Alex Karp's initial idea for Palantir a practical reality:

Palantir was Peter Thiel and Alex [Karp] basically meeting with me and saying, 'We got these algorithms on fraudulent transactions. We think there might be some value for the intelligence community.' We brainstormed, they came back and I kind of said on the blackboard, 'It needs to look like this.' The team went away and did a mock-up in two weeks, and then immediately we took that team and put them inside the building to work what we call a CT (counter-terrorist) problem, and they just learned that business, and that became Palantir.

But the CIA's contribution was not just conceptual. Louie explains that he took the Palantir meeting as a favor to a venture fund that didn't see the value in Palantir but valued its relationship with Thiel:

I had a venture fund call me up and say 'Peter Thiel we really like, and he's a big time dude, he did PayPal, we made a lot of money off of him, but he's talking about using algorithms for PayPal to solve terrorist things, and we don't even know what Peter is talking about, and we don't want to do that deal, but we want to keep the relationship, can you please meet with him? And if you can just do something with him so we can preserve the relationship?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Stanford lecture, "Gilman Louie: In-Q-Tel and Funding Start-Ups for The Government," YouTube video, www.youtube.com/watch?v=DfUm0RxXWxI&list=PL9R62sJQBPeIFb3ci6KUVg5TicOvl-bjo&index=15&t=0s.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Alex Karp remembers Palantir's funding problem similarly, saying about the venture capital firms' lack of interest, "We believed it would work. No one else did."

In-Q-Tel was the perfect match in culture and personnel for Palantir, founded in 2004 by Stanford graduates. Louie explains, "At In-Q-Tel we had folks who had been involved in venture capital and we had a bunch of kids from Stanford who kind of grew up here who we hired literally right out of the school." In 2005, Thiel founded his venture capital firm Founders Fund, which has itself invested in Palantir and currently has over \$3 billion in funds under management.

The next stage of business development for Palantir involved a massive sales effort to federal government agencies. Co-founders Alex Karp and Stephen Cohen, in particular, had hundreds of meetings in Washington over the next several years. As Cohen remembers, "We were every other week basically flying out to Washington, D.C. trying to meet with folks inside the government, get as close to our potential customers as possible."

Getting government contracting turned out to be difficult and Palantir still did not have any contracts or revenue outside the CIA by mid-2008. However, they had begun to develop a network of contacts and advocates in Washington that would soon lead to contracting opportunities.

One of those advocates was Trump National Security Advisor Michael Flynn, who in December 2017 pleaded guilty to making "false, fictitious and fraudulent statements" to the FBI about conversations with the Russian ambassador. In 2010, Flynn, then Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence and Director of intelligence of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, wrote a memo advocating in thinly veiled terms for the adoption of Palantir software. The person responsible for introducing Flynn to Palantir software was Doug Philippone, currently Palantir's Global Defense Program Lead and from 2012 to 2013 the company's registered in-house lobbyist. Philippone had been an Army Commander in Iraq and Afghanistan. Hired at Palantir in 2008, he played a key role in getting Palantir its first significant contracts in 2009 and 2010 by selling the software to Special Forces, Marine, and Army units abroad.

Another early advocate for Palantir was H.R. McMaster, Flynn's successor as National Security Advisor in the Trump administration, who requested Palantir for a task force he previously directed in Afghanistan. In 2015, McMaster testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee about the use of Palantir for DCGS-A, the Army's "system of systems" for battlefield intelligence and visualization.

One of the most influential early advocates was James mattis, the Trump administration's Secretary of Defense until his December 2018 resignation. As head of the Central Command overseeing Iraq and Afghanistan, many of the units operating under mattis' authority obtained Palantir software thanks to recommendations and funding requests from his personnel. No less than three staffers under mattis during his time as Trump's Secretary of Defense had ties to Palantir.

Key Palantir advisers in its early years included:

55Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services, March 19 and April 14, 2015, www.qovinfo.qov/content/pkq/CHRG-114shrq99656/html/CHRG-114shrq99656.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Shane Harris, "Killer App: have a bunch of Silicon Valley geeks figured out how to stop terrorists?" *The Washingtonian*, accessible at: www.palantir.com/\_ptwp\_live\_ect0/wp-content/static/pg-analysis-blog/2012/03/WashingtonianArticle2.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Stanford lecture, "Stephen Cohen: The Path to Palantir," YouTube video, www.youtube.com/watch?v=g\_6\_kGDdjwl. See also: Shane Harris, "Killer App: have a bunch of Silicon Valley geeks figured out how to stop terrorists?," *The Washingtonian*, accessible at:

www.palantir.com/\_ptwp\_live\_ect0/wp-content/static/pg-analysis-blog/2012/03/WashingtonianArticle2.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Michael T. Flynn, Unclassified Joint Urgent Operational Need Statement, July 2, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Steven Brill, "Donald Trump, Palantir, and the crazy battle to clean up a multibillion-dollar military procurement swamp," *Fortune*, April 1, 2017, http://fortune.com/palantir-pentagon-trump.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>U.S. Lobbying Disclosure Act database records.

<sup>54</sup> Ihio

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Steven Brill, "Donald Trump, Palantir, and the crazy battle to clean up a multibillion-dollar military procurement swamp," *Fortune*, April 1, 2017, http://fortune.com/palantir-pentagon-trump.

**George Tenet**, responsible for the In-Q-Tel support that effectively launched Palantir in Washington D.C. Tenet now works at the influential investment bank Allen & Co., a Palantir investor. His son John Tenet leads national security and defense investments for venture capital firm 8VC, a Palantir investor founded by Palantir Co-founder Joe Lonsdale. John Tenet formerly worked at Peter Thiel's Valar Ventures. Salar Ventures.

**Michael Leiter**, former director of the National Counterterrorism Center, who left that job in 2011 to join Palantir as Head of Global Government and Cyber Operations, and Senior Counselor to CEO Alex Karp from 2011 to 2014. <sup>59</sup>

Condoleezza Rice, former National Security Advisor and Secretary of State. 60

Christian Brose, Rice's policy advisor and chief speechwriter, who would go on to be John McCain's National Security Advisor and then Staff Director for the Senate Armed Services Committee, is currently Head of Strategy for Founders Fund investment Anduril Industries.

**Bryan Cunningham**, Deputy Legal Advisor to Condoleezza Rice when she was National Security Advisor, drafted significant portions of the Homeland Security Act. He was a registered lobbyist for Palantir from 2006 to 2010 and is a member of the Palantir Advisory Board. He is Executive Director of the UC-Irvine Cybersecurity Policy & Research Institute.

**Michael Hurley**, former CIA senior operations officer and Special Advisor to the U.S. State Department, has been a member of the Palantir Advisory Board since 2007. He is also Special Advisor to fintech microlender Affirm, co-founded by Palantir's Nathan Gettings.

## **Founders Fund Takes on the Department of Defense**

Under Gilman Louie's direction, In-Q-Tel was a very successful experiment and he was able to advance his vision for Silicon Valley collaboration with the CIA. But this vision, while limited in scope at the CIA, had the potential to be truly disruptive if implemented at the much larger Department of Defense. And in 2015, the DoD first launched its own Defense Innovation Unit (DIU), a funding arm designed to build on In-Q-Tel's Silicon Valley successes at the CIA. When the DIU commissioned a software acquisition study for publication in early 2019, its co-authors included Gilman Louie, Google's Milo Medin, and Trae Stephens, an early Palantir employee and Founders Fund partner.

Trae Stephens started his career working for an unidentified intelligence agency <sup>61</sup> before moving to Palantir in 2008, where he worked as a Forward Deployed Engineer on projects in the intelligence and defense industries. He characterized his work there as "running the sales function for Palantir for six years."

Building on his new relationship with Peter Thiel, Stephens moved to Founders Fund in 2014.<sup>63</sup> This relationship got Stephens a 2016 position on Trump's DoD transition team, where Thiel was an executive committee member.

At Founders Fund, Stephens was charged with looking for the next Palantir to invest in, "the next big tech company focused on the government." However, in initial research on the subject, he did not find any convincing prospects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Shane Harris, "Killer App: have a bunch of Silicon Valley geeks figured out how to stop terrorists?" *The Washingtonian*, accessible at: www.palantir.com/ ptwp live ect0/wp-content/static/pq-analysis-bloq/2012/03/WashingtonianArticle2.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Epirus Systems, John Tenet biography, www.epirussystems.com/john-tenet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Michael Leiter LinkedIn profile, www.linkedin.com/in/michaelleiter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Andy Greenberg, "How a 'Deviant' Philosopher Built Palantir, a CIA-Funded Data-Mining Juggernaut," *Forbes*, September 2, 2013, www.forbes.com/sites/andygreenberg/2013/08/14/agent-of-intelligence-how-a-deviant-philosopher-built-palantir-a-cia-funded-data-mining-juggernaut/#12b 7ea547785

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>Georgetown University Walsh School of Foreign Service, Trae Stephens biography, https://sfs.georgetown.edu/trae-stephens-sfs06.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Trae Stephens interview with Anduril investor Katherine Boyle at Startup Global Grind Conference 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBV82v8nFq0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>Founders Fund, Trae Stephens biography, https://foundersfund.com/team/trae-stephens.

<sup>64</sup>Trae Stephens interview with Anduril investor Katherine Boyle at Startup Global Grind Conference 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBV82v8nFq0.

In 2016, Stephens met Palmer Luckey, a young Facebook employee who had recently sold his virtual reality company Oculus to Facebook. From his perch at Founders Fund and the DoD transition team, Stephens had access to the political capital and funding necessary to found a defense tech startup with Luckey, who himself was a major Trump campaign contributor and has since become a major contributor to Republican candidates across the country. Together, they founded Anduril Industries, aiming to make it the next Palantir.

The name Anduril, like Palantir, is taken from the Lord of the Rings trilogy, and the company's leadership has a similar set-up. Stephens is the board chair with access to venture capital funds and the Trump administration, while Luckey is the newly rich operational leader of the company with big ideas for product development and implementation.

In addition to Founders Fund money, Stephens brought a whole team from Palantir to Anduril:

**Brian Schimpf**, Anduril Co-founder and CEO, had been Palantir's Director of Engineering.

**Matt Grimm**, Anduril Co-founder and COO, had most recently been a Principal at Peter Thiel's Mithril Capital Management (a Palantir investor) and, before that, a Forward Deployed Engineer at Palantir.

**Matthew Steckman**, Anduril's Head of Government and Corporate Affairs, had been head of international business operations at Palantir, managing relationships with the company's largest customers.

Given its Founders Fund connections, Anduril has not taken nearly as long as Palantir to get off the ground. Founded in 2017, by September 2018 the company had already secured contracts totaling some \$5 million with Customs and Border Protection for drone and tower surveillance technology in the San Diego area. In July 2019, the company secured a \$13.5 million contract with the U.S. Marine Corps for autonomous "counter intrusion" and surveillance systems at bases including a stretch of the Arizona–Mexico border. Anduril is also working on undisclosed terms with the Department of Defense's Project Maven, a highly secretive artificial intelligence initiative, which Google claims to have pulled out of in response to employee pressure, though it will be providing cloud services for the project.

Trae Stephens's role as a policy advisor to the Defense Innovation Board during this pivotal time in Anduril's early development as a defense contractor could not be more strategic. Stephens is writing policy recommendations on DoD software acquisition practices while he is selling software to the DoD. In fact, the conclusion of the May 2019 software acquisition report that he co-authored with Gilman Louie includes a talking point about Palantir and SpaceX that is taken straight from Trae Stephens' Anduril pitch 70:

DoD seems to love the idea of innovation, but does not love taking sizeable bets on new entrants or capabilities. It is interesting that Palantir and SpaceX are the only two examples since the end of the Cold War of venture-backed, DoD-focused businesses reaching multi-billion dollar valuations. By contrast, China has minted around a dozen new multi-billion dollar defense technology companies over the same time period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Luckey made a \$100,000 contribution through a shell company named Wings of Time, LLC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>These contracts were awarded to third parties Govplace (Contract no. HSHQDC13D00022) and Impres Technology Solutions (Contract no. HSHQDC13D00015). Empower, LLC has obtained copies of both.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Contract Award No. M95494-19-C-0012,

https://www.fbo.gov/index?s=opportunity&mode=form&tab=core&id=0453afb1373e6a06cc33f746a2eb52eb&\_cview=0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>Lee Fang, "Defense tech startup founded by Trump's most prominent Silicon Valley supporters wins secretive military AI contract," March 9, 2019, https://theintercept.com/2019/03/09/anduril-industries-project-maven-palmer-luckey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Lee Fang, "Google hedges on promise to end controversial involvement in military drone contract," March 1, 2019,

https://theintercept.com/2019/03/01/google-project-maven-contract/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>See, for example, Trae Stephens interview with Anduril investor Katherine Boyle at Startup Global Grind Conference 2019, www.voutube.com/watch?v=vBV82v8nFq0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Defense Innovation Board, "Software Is Never Done: Refactoring the Acquisition Code for Competitive Advantage," May 3, 2019,

https://media.defense.gov/2019/Apr/30/2002124828/-1/-1/0/SOFTWAREISNEVERDONE\_REFACTORINGTHEACQUISITIONCODEFORCOMPETITIVEADVANTAGE\_F INAL.SWAP.REPORT.PDF.

# THE WAR AGAINST MAINTS

#### TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

The other thing that Palantir and SpaceX have in common, in this case with Anduril, is that they are heavily funded by Founders Fund. Furthermore, SpaceX founder Elon Musk was a co-founder of PayPal with Peter Thiel. LinkedIn founder Reid Hoffman, a former PayPal board member who forms part of the "PayPal mafia" diaspora, sits on the Defense Innovation Board that commissioned the software acquisition study from Gilman Louie and Trae Stephens. Indeed, one of the requisites that Stephens identifies for tech startups having success in government contracting is that, "in order to build a lasting business with the government, you have to actually have a billionaire on your founding team," due to the fact that contracting cycles are longer than venture capital fundraising cycles.

Founders Fund, along with Palantir and Anduril, is developing a new Washington business model for its portfolio of companies and for defense tech startups hungry for venture capital, and the DoD's bloated budget is the ultimate goal. However, SpaceX and Palantir's sizeable defense contracts have not been won solely on the merits of their product offerings; both companies sued the U.S. government and, recently, won. In doing so, they have carved out space for Silicon Valley in the defense industry, in a fashion that is heavily dependent on the backing of Peter Thiel's venture funding and political influence with the new administration.

Palantir's government lawsuit began in 2016, after the company was blocked from competing for the DCGS-A system developed by established defense contractors including Raytheon, Lockheed Martin, and Northrop Grumman. Palantir won the right to compete in an October 2018 ruling, and in March 2019 was awarded the \$876 million DoD contract.

SpaceX sued the Air Force in 2014 over the right to participate in Pentagon military satellite launch contracts, setting foot on territory that had been claimed by Boeing and Lockheed Martin's United Launch Alliance (ULA). Both Palantir and SpaceX were represented in their respective cases by Hamish Hume, a partner of the high-profile law firm Boies, Schiller & Flexner. The Palantir victory was tremendously important for the company. Palantir's defense lobbyist, Doug Philippone, reflecting on the case, said, "We decided to go all in with Boies Schiller," even though "we figured we had a 1% chance." The company spent upwards of \$2 million in lawyer's fees on the case, but the potential rewards, both in Palantir's new DCGS-A contract and potential future contracts, have made it a historically good bet.

Palantir's argument was based on the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act, a 1994 law requiring that "offerors of commercial items ... are provided an opportunity to compete in any procurement..." The rallying cry of Palantir, and now of Anduril, has long been about the virtues of their commercial off-the-shelf (COTS) products. It is no coincidence that one of Gilman Louie and Trae Stephens' key recommendations in their DoD software acquisition study on behalf of the Defense Innovation Board is that "DoD and industry must change the practice of how software is procured and developed by [...] purchasing existing commercial software whenever possible."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Defense Innovation Board members, https://innovation.defense.gov/Members.

<sup>73</sup> Trae Stephens interview with Anduril investor Katherine Boyle at Startup Global Grind Conference 2019, www.youtube.com/watch?v=yBV82v8nFq0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>Steven Brill, "Donald Trump, Palantir, and the crazy battle to clean up a multibillion-dollar military procurement swamp," *Fortune*, April 1, 2017, http://fortune.com/palantir-pentagon-trump.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>S.1587 - Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act of 1994, www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/senate-bill/1587/text/enr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>Defense Innovation Board, "Software Is Never Done: Refactoring the Acquisition Code for Competitive Advantage," May 3, 2019, https://media.defense.gov/2019/Apr/30/2002124828/-1/-1/0/SOFTWAREISNEVERDONE\_REFACTORINGTHEACQUISITIONCODEFORCOMPETITIVEADVANTAGE\_F INAL.SWAP.REPORT.PDF.

# The Border Is a Military Testing Ground for Founders Fund Investments

Palantir's new \$876 million contract to develop the Army's DCGS-A system was an important step in the company's quest to become a major defense contractor. Palantir beating out the more established Raytheon was particularly symbolic, given that it had also displaced Raytheon for its 2014 contract to develop ICE's Integrated Case Management system. Palantir's parallel contracts with ICE and the DoD follow in the footsteps of traditional defense contractors, but with a new business strategy: the push for COTS technology from tech start-ups with Founders Fund investment.

In a recent article for *Foreign Affairs* that was widely cited and circulated, Anduril's Head of Strategy, Christian Brose — formerly Chief Speechwriter for Condoleezza Rice, National Security Advisor to John McCain and Staff Director of the Senate Armed Services Committee — wrote that the U.S. military is in desperate need of a technological revolution, and that the revolution starts with the acquisition of cheaper COTS products:

[The U.S. military has] squandered hundreds of billions of dollars trying to modernize in the wrong ways. Instead of thinking systematically about buying faster, more effective kill chains that could be built now, Washington poured money into newer versions of old military platforms and prayed for technological miracles to come (which often became acquisition debacles when those miracles did not materialize).

"The money currently invested in one legacy system," Brose writes, "could buy dozens of autonomous systems that add up to a superior capability." Palantir and Anduril are currently developing these commercial military solutions on the U.S.-Mexico border, a testing ground for war technologies in which migrants are treated as the enemy. These new defense contractors have sold themselves as the arrival of Silicon Valley innovation to Washington D.C., but they are in fact a corporate interest group bringing artificial intelligence and more efficient "kill chains" to a government that can provide billions in defense funding for the benefit of investors.

In July 2019, the Marine Corps awarded Anduril Industries a \$13.5 million contract for an Autonomous Surveillance Counter Intrusion system that can "autonomously detect, identify, classify, and track humans on foot, wheeled and tracked vehicles on land, surface swimmers, and surface vessels and boat" at several USMC bases, including the western portion of the Barry M. Goldwater Air Force Range in Arizona, which covers over 30 miles of the U.S. Mexico border. The contract is significant in that it will be used in border surveillance but was not awarded by Customs and Border Protection (CBP), which has also awarded a contract to Anduril for surveillance technology, but rather through a military agency.

Marines have recently been reported to collaborate with CBP in patrolling the border, as a form of training for combat operations abroad. Anduril offers an autonomous alternative to these patrols, one that will also serve as training for combat missions, but in the form of machine learning and artificial intelligence. Palantir and Anduril are not just bringing Silicon Valley to Washington — they are introducing new forms of militarized surveillance to the Trump administration's inhumane immigration policy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Christian Brose, "The New Revolution in Military Affairs," *Foreign Affairs*, April 16, 2019,

 $www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/new-revolution-military-affairs? utm\_campaign=reg\_conf\_email\&utm\_medium=newsletters\&utm\_source=fa\_registr ation.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Chris Jones, "The Marine Corps is quietly monitoring sections of the US-Mexico border to stop migrants and drug traffickers," *Business Insider*, September 12, 2018

www.marine corpstimes.com/news/your-military/2018/09/13/the-marine-corps-is-quietly-monitoring-sections-of-the-us-mexico-border-to-stop-migrants-and-drug-traffickers.

# Annex 1. Key Personnel

	Name	Current position	Year joined	Bio
	Peter Thiel	Co-Founder Board Chair	2004	Co-founder of PayPal Co-founder of Mithril Capital Management Co-founder and Partner at Founders Fund Co-Founder and Partner at Valar Ventures Founder of Clarium Capital Founder of Thiel Capital Facebook board member and early investor Executive Committee Member of Trump transition team Member of Bilderberg Meetings Steering Committee Stanford University (1989) and Stanford Law School (1992) graduate and co-founder of Stanford Review
	Alex Karp	Co-Founder CEO Board Member	2004	Member of Bilderberg Meetings Steering Committee Board member of The Economist Supervisory Board of BASF SE Supervisory Board of Axel Springer SE Stanford Law School (1992) graduate
	Joe Lonsdale	Co-Founder	2004	Founder of venture capital firm 8VC Co-founder of defense tech company Epirus Systems Founder of fintech company Addepar Co-founder of public-sector software company OpenGov Board member of Oscar Health Co-founder and board member of Hyperloop One Board member of data center and cloud security company Illumio Board member of database software company Radius Stanford University graduate (2003) and former Editor-in-Chief of Stanford Review (co-founded by Peter Thiel)
Q	Nathan Gettings	Co-Founder	2004	Co-Founder and Chief Risk Officer of fintech microlender Affirm Inventor of several patented Palantir technologies

# THE WAR AGAINST PALANTIR IMMIGRANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

	Stephen Cohen	Co-Founder External Vice President Board Member	2004	Formerly worked at Peter Thiel's Clarium Capital Inventor of several patented Palantir technologies Stanford University graduate (2005) and former Editor-in-Chief of Stanford Review (co-founded by Peter Thiel)
	Shyam Sankar	President/Director	2006	Allegedly founded a Florida front company to steal core trade secrets from i2 Limited for use by Palantir, violating license terms prohibiting the sharing of proprietary information with a competitor 79
	Adam Ross	Independent Board Member	2015	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Goldcrest Investments Board of Directors, Republican Jewish Coalition Stanford University graduate (1995) and former Editor-in-Chief of Stanfordpalantir Review (co-founded by Peter Thiel)
	Colin Anderson	Former CFO	2011	Formerly worked at Peter Thiel's Clarium Capital Management Stanford University graduate
Q	Matthew Long	Legal Counsel	2009	Director of many of Palantir's foreign subsidiaries Stanford University graduate
	Fabrice Brégier	CEO, Palantir France	2018	Former President and COO of Airbus Board member of insurance company SCOR SE Board member of energy company ENGIE SA

<sup>79</sup>United States District Court, Eastern District of Virginia, Civil Action 1:10-CV-00885-LO-JFA.

# THE WAR AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

Gavin Hood	Chief of Staff	2012	UK legal adviser to the British Embassy in Washington, DC (2009-12) First legal adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq (UK Foreign Office)
Mike Speirs	Business Operations and Strategy	2019	UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2017-2019), Head of Europe and North America Team at Joint International Counter-Terrorism Unit UK Home Office (2015-2017), Senior Strategy Adviser Based in Palantir's London office
Doug Philippone	Global Defense Program Lead	2008	Army Commander in Iraq and Afghanistan Palantir registered lobbyist (2012-13)
Akash Jain	Director of Engineering	2005	Inventor of several patented Palantir technologies Stanford University graduate (1999-2003)
James Atkin	Director of Public Affairs	2011	Palantir registered lobbyist (2012-19)
Lisa Gordon	Head of Global Corporate Communications and Media Relations	2009	Palantir registered lobbyist (2011-12) Stanford University graduate (1978-82)

# THE WAR AGAINST MAINTENANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

	Brian Rowen	Head of Corporate Development	2014	Venture Partner at Great Oaks Venture Capital Co-founder and CEO of start-up Propeller, which was bought by Palantir in 2014 Stanford University graduate
	Noam Perski	International Government Lead	2012	Based in Stockholm, Sweden
	Mehdi Alhassani	Internal Operations	2012	Special Assistant to the National Security Council (2009-11)
	Karin Knox	Business Development Executive & Product Marketing Lead	2013	Formerly Head of Philanthropy Engineering Team at Palantir
	Mark Elliot	Commercial CTO (Chief Technology Officer)	2011	Formerly an engineer at Lockheed Martin (2006-11)
	Anthony Kitzmiller	US Navy and USMC sales	2018	Former Oracle sales manager for business intelligence and analytics to Navy, USMC and DoD
Q	Alex Berke	DHS partnerships	2018	Also Head of DHS Partnerships and Engagements for Dataminr, Inc.

## **Annex 2. Funding and Valuation**

#### **Share structure**

Palantir Technologies has a total of 4,912,445,666 authorized shares, according to its December 2015 Amended and Restated Certificate of Incorporation.

#### **Palantir Authorized Share Structure**

Share class	Number of authorized shares	Original issue price
Class A Common Stock	2,200,000,000	
Class B Common Stock	1,800,000,000	
Preferred Stock, including:	912,445,666	
Series A Preferred Stock	(1,425,000)	\$0.10
Series B Preferred Stock	(171,078,560)	\$0.06338
Series C Preferred Stock	(78,815,194)	\$0.576
Series D Preferred Stock	(121,750,000)	\$0.80
Series E Preferred Stock	(117,886,772)	\$1.3742
Series F Preferred Stock	(44,595,912)	\$1.98
Series G Preferred Stock	(58,189,543)	\$3.06
Series H Preferred Stock	(35,002,700)	\$3.51
Series H-1 Preferred Stock	(42,735,043)	\$3.51
Series I Preferred Stock	(103,705,430)	\$6.13
Series J Preferred Stock	(44,994,376)	\$8.89
Series K Preferred Stock	(92,267,136)	\$11.38

Source: Delaware Secretary of State

All or nearly all of Palantir's preferred shares are outstanding, but most of its common stock is not. Based on Palantir valuation figures, Palantir investor SharesPost estimates that approximately half of the company's outstanding shares are common stock, amounting to slightly less than one million of the authorized four million common shares.

There is not currently much difference between preferred and common share valuations on secondary markets, or between preferred shares from different funding rounds, with average share valuations hovering just under \$6.00 according to SEC filings by mutual funds with Palantir stock.

# **Funding Rounds**

Date	Transaction	Money raised	Raised to date	Pre-valuation	Post-valuation	Investors (incomplete)
Sep 2017	Secondary Transaction	\$3.23M	\$2.75B	-	-	-
Jun 2017	Secondary Transaction	_	\$2.75B	_	-	Manhattan Venture Partners
Mar 2017	Private Equity	-	\$2.75B	-	-	Binux Capital
Jan 2017	Secondary Transaction	-	\$2.75B	-	-	SharesPost Oceanic Partners Oakhouse Partners
Nov 2016	Venture Round	\$20.00M	\$2.75B	-	-	-
Feb 2016	Secondary Transaction	_	\$2.75B	-	-	All Blue Capital
Dec 2015	Series K	\$879.8M	\$2.73B	\$19.65B	\$20.63B	Kortschak Investments, L.P. (lead) TJNS Capital Nima Capital Dover Madison Capital Management
Dec 2014	Series J	\$400.00M	\$1.85B	\$14.95B	\$15.35B	-
Nov 2014	Series I	\$635.71M	\$1.45B	\$8.56M	\$9.20B	BlackRock MicoVenture Marketplace GSV Ventures Mithril Capital Management Artis Ventures Scott Cohen
Apr 2014	Series H1	\$74.36M	\$816.88M	\$4.93B	\$5.00B	Broad Beach Ventures
Jan 2014	Secondary Transaction	-	\$742.52M	-	-	-
Sep 2013	Series H	\$198.50M	\$742.52M	\$4.73B	\$4.93B	Founders Fund Broad Beach Ventures

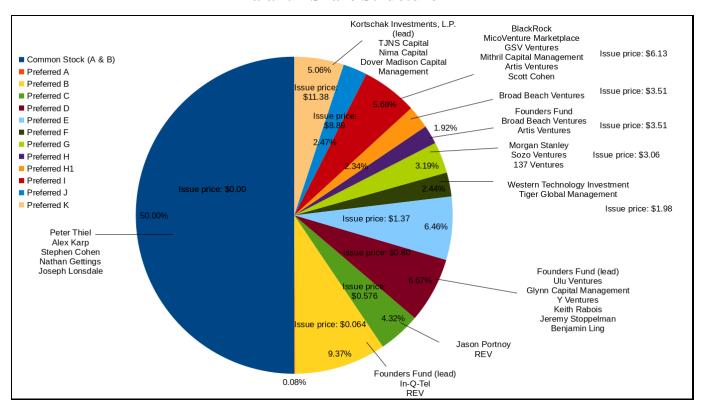
# THE WAR AGAINST IMMIGRANTS

# TRUMP'S TECH TOOLS POWERED BY PALANTIR

						Artis Ventures
Oct 2012	Series G	\$164.25M	\$544.02M	\$3.86M	\$4.03M	Morgan Stanley Sozo Ventures 137 Ventures
Oct 2011	Series F	\$70.00M	\$379.77M	\$2.43B	\$2.50B	Western Technology Investment Tiger Global Management
May 2011	Series E	\$162.00M	\$309.77M	\$1.51B	\$1.67B	-
Jan 2011	Secondary Transaction	-	_	-	-	-
Jun 2010	Series D	\$90.00M	\$147.77M	\$640.00M	\$730.00M	Founders Fund (lead) Ulu Ventures Glynn Capital Management Y Ventures Keith Rabois Jeremy Stoppelman Benjamin Ling
Apr 2009	Debt Financing	\$8.30M	_	_	-	-
Feb 2008	Series C	\$45.25M	\$57.77M	\$354.75M	\$400.00M	Jason Portnoy Reed Elsevier Ventures
Nov 2006	Series B	\$10.52M	\$12.52M	\$24.55M	\$35.08M	Founders Fund (lead) In-Q-Tel Reed Elsevier Ventures
Jul 2006	Series A	\$2.00M	\$2.00M	\$5.00M	\$7.00M	Founders Fund (lead) In-Q-Tel
Jan 2004	Seed Round	-	_	_	_	-
May 2003	Common shares issued	_	_	-	-	-

Sources: Data compiled from Pitchbook, Crunchbase, SharesPost

#### **Palantir Share Structure**



Sources: Delaware Secretary of State; SEC filings; Sharespost; Crunchbase

#### Valuation

Pitchbook places Palantir's value at \$20.53 billion, a figure it has not updated since the company's last major funding round in December 2015. SharesPost, which holds a small stake in Palantir, has published different valuation scenarios, most recently in January 2019, arguing that a \$20 billion valuation seems reasonable based on SharesPost's current, very speculative 2019 and 2020 revenue projections for Palantir. It should be noted that SharesPost has recently valued its own Palantir preferred shares in SEC filings at around \$8.00 per share, a figure placing the current enterprise value at approximately \$14 billion as of early 2019. This is, by a significant margin, the highest estimate by any investor in SEC filings since late 2017.

Since the last major funding round in December 2015, Palantir shares have seen a significant drop in value on secondary markets such as EquityZen, as well as a drop in share values reported by mutual funds to the SEC.

<sup>80</sup>Sharespost, Palantir: Ready for an IPO?, January 2019, https://sharespost.com/insights/research-reports/palantir-ready-for-an-ipo-preview/.

#### Palantir Valuation (mutual fund holdings and secondary market transactions)



Source: SharesPost graphic

Mutual funds' estimated share prices have dropped from as high as \$11.38, reported by BlackRock in January 2016, to an average of about \$6.00 in early 2018, implying an enterprise valuation of around \$11 billion. Early 2019 saw a continuation of this drop-off, since 2016, of Palantir share valuations by funds reporting to the SEC.

Palantir investors that have recently reported to the SEC include:

#### **Fund Holdings of Palantir Stock (public filings)**

Company	Total shares	Latest per-share valuation (date)
BlackRock (multiple funds)	20,386,899	\$6.19 (4/30/19)
Alger (multiple funds)	4,170,654	\$5.75 (4/30/19)
GSV Capital	5,773,690	\$5.22 (3/31/19)
Hercules Capital	2,085,421	\$4.95 (4/19/19)
Allianz (multiple funds)	1,322,622	\$5.80 (9/30/18)
SharesPost 100	280,000	\$7.35 (3/31/19)
Morgan Stanley (multiple funds)	212,879	\$4.18 (12/31/18)

Source: Securities & Exchange Commission

## **Annex 3. Subsidiaries and Direct Investments**

#### **Direct investments**

Investment	Investment date	Ownership	Company notes
Syntropy	November 2018 announcement	Joint venture with Merck KGaA	Cancer research using Palantir Foundry platform
Silk Co.	August 10, 2016	Subsidiary	Data visualization platform
Kimonolabs, Inc.	February 15, 2016	Subsidiary	Turns websites into structured APIs
FT Technologies, Inc.	February 6, 2015	Subsidiary	Hardware and software for retailers
Propeller Inc.	July 31, 2014	Subsidiary	Online platform to create mobile applications
Markover Inc.	July 29, 2014	Subsidiary	Platform to conduct Twitter polls, etc.
Sourcery Technology, Inc.	September 13, 2016	Undisclosed investment	Electronic invoicing platform for wholesale food buyers and sellers

Source: S&P Capital IQ

#### **Core subsidiaries**

Subsidiary	Jurisdiction	Incorporation date	Directors	Shareholders
Palantir USG, Inc. 81	Delaware, USA	04-07-2008		Palantir Technologies, Inc.
Palantir International, Inc. <sup>82</sup>	Delaware, USA	04-07-2010		
Palantir Technologies UK, Ltd. <sup>83</sup>	United Kingdom	10-14-2009	Daniel Lincoln Bethlehem Alexander Caedmon Karp	Palantir International, Inc.
Palantir Technologies UK - Eagle, Ltd. <sup>84</sup>	United Kingdom	12-07-2016	Alexander Caedmon Karp Matthew Long	Palantir Technologies UK, Ltd.
Palantir Technologies QFC LLC <sup>85</sup>	Qatar	02-04-2018		Palantir Technologies UK, Ltd.

Registry link: https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/Ecorp/EntitySearch/NameSearch.aspx.
 Registry link: https://icis.corp.delaware.gov/Ecorp/EntitySearch/NameSearch.aspx.
 Registry link: https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/07042994.
 Registry link: https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/10515288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Registry link: www.qfc.qa/en/Operate/CRO/Pages/PublicRegister.aspx.

Palantir Technologies France	France	03-23-2015	Fabrice Bregier Alexander Karp Matthew Long Gautier Cloix	
Palantir Technologies GmbH 87	Frankfurt am Main, Germany	06-08-2012	Matthew Aaron Long	
Palantir Technologies Switzerland GmbH <sup>88</sup>	Zurich, Switzerland	03-27-2014	Matthew Aaron Long Christian Siess	Palantir International Inc.
Palantir Technologies Geneva Sàrl <sup>89</sup>	Geneva, Switzerland	09-12-2017	Matthew Aaron Long	Palantir Technologies, Inc.
Palantir Technologies Denmark ApS <sup>90</sup>	Denmark	04-25-2016	Matthew Long Alexander Karp	Palantir International Inc.
Palantir Technologies Norway AS <sup>91</sup>	Norway	01-24-2017	Alexander Caedmon Karp  Carl Christian Marthinussen  Matthew Aaron Long	
Palantir Technologies Australia Pty Ltd.	Canberra, Australia	06-30-2010	Michael Ahrens	Palantir International Inc.
Palantir Technologies New Zealand Limited <sup>93</sup>	New Zealand	07-27-2012	Michael Clifton Ahrens Alexander Caedmon Karp Matthew Aaron Long	Palantir International Inc.

www.infogreffe.com/entreprise-societe/810492124-palantir-technologies-france-750115B065780000.html?typeProduitOnglet=STATUT\_A\_JOUR&afficherretour=true.

RegistrySearch/faces/landing/panelSearch.jspx?searchText=144948309&searchType=OrgAndBusNm&\_adf.ctrl-state=p8igdwa89\_15.

<sup>86</sup> Registry link:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Registry link: www.handelsregister.de/rp\_web/charge-info.do.

<sup>88</sup> Reqistry link: https://zh.chregister.ch/cr-portal/auszug/auszug.xhtml;jsessionid=a39131728d27674631bac8a7b505?uid=CHE-494.525.737#.

<sup>89</sup>See Registry link: https://ge.ch/hrcintapp/externalCompanyReport.action?companyOfrcld13=CH-660-2647017-0&ofrcLanguage=4.

<sup>90</sup> Registry link: https://datacvr.virk.dk/data/visenhed?enhedstype=virksomhed&id=37654205&soeg=Palantir&type=undefined&language=en-gb.

<sup>91</sup> Registry link: https://w2.brreg.no/enhet/sok/detalj.jsp?orgnr=918448446.

<sup>92</sup> Registry link: https://connectonline.asic.gov.au/

<sup>93</sup> Registry link: https://app.companiesoffice.govt.nz/companies/app/ui/pages/companies/3919581/detail.

Palantir Shakti Technologies Private Limited <sup>94</sup>	Mumbai, India	08-21-2010	Deep Omprakash Shukla Matthew Aaron Long Gavin William Hood	
Palantir Technologies Singapore Pte. Ltd. <sup>95</sup>	Singapore	06-20-2012		
Palantir Technologies Hong Kong Limited <sup>96</sup>	Hong Kong	03-06-2017		
Palantir Technologies Japan <sup>97</sup>	Japan	_	_	
Palantir Tecnologia Do Brasil Ltda 98	Brazil	01-06-2014	Alexandre Marcelo Marques Cruz	Palantir International Inc.

Source: Diverse corporate registries

#### Palantir office locations

As of June 2019, there were some 550 Palantir staff in London, making it the company's largest office, followed by Palo Alto with 500. New York City is home to Palantir's third largest office.



Source: Company website

Registry link: www.mca.gov.in.
 Registry link: www.acra.gov.sg.
 Registry link: www.icris.cr.gov.hk/csci.

Registry link: www.houjin-bangou.nta.go.jp/henkorireki-johoto.html?selHouzinNo=9010403010990.
Registry link: www.receita.fazenda.gov.br/PessoaJuridica/CNPJ/cnpjreva/Cnpjreva\_Solicitacao.asp.

<sup>99</sup> Sam Shead, "Peter Thiel's Palantir Now Employs More People In London Than It Does In Silicon Valley HQ," Forbes, June 11, 2019, www.forbes.com/sites/samshead/2019/06/11/peter-thiels-palantir-now-employs-more-people-in-london-than-it-does-in-silicon-valley-hq/#33d10b8d44d5.

# **Annex 4. Campaign Contributions**

Palantir Technologies has a political action committee, but the PAC has only contributed \$35,750 to political candidates. These have been a mix of business-friendly Democrats and Republicans.

#### **Palantir Technologies Inc PAC Campaign Contributions**

Committee	Candidate	Year	Amount
Catherine Cortez Masto For Senate	Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto (D-NV)	2018	\$1,500
Heller For Senate	Sen. Dean Heller (R-NV)	2017	\$2,000
McCaskill For Missouri	Sen. Claire McCaskill (D-MO)	2017	\$2,000
Martin Heinrich For Senate	Sen. Martin Heinrich (D-NM)	2017	\$2,000
Angus King For U.S. Senate Campaign	Sen. Angus King (I-ME)	2017	\$2,000
Friends Of Mark Warner	Sen. Mark Warner (D-VA)	2016	\$1,000
Hoyer For Congress	Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD 5th)	2016	\$3,000
Carper For Senate	Sen. Tom Carper (D-DE)	2015	\$1,000
National Republican Congressional Committee		2015	\$5,000
Physicians Mutual Insurance Company PAC		2015	\$5,000
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee	-	2015	\$5,000
Friends Of Mark Warner	Sen. Mark Warner (D-VA)	2014	\$2,000
Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee		2013	\$2,000
Promoting Our Republican Team PAC		2012	\$1,000
Walden For Congress	Greg Walden (R-OR 2nd)	2012	\$250
Technology Network (TECHNET) Federal PAC		2012	\$1,000

Source: Federal Election Commission