WTF

The Rise of the Tech Broligarchy

A POLITICAL EDUCATION TOOLKIT

MediaJustice ≡

Table of Contents

AN OFFERING

Thank you for checking out our *WTF: The Rise of the Tech Broligarchy* toolkit, a companion resource to our political education webinar series. We created this toolkit to support community conversations about the hostile tech billionaire takeover at the onset of the second Trump administration, specifically during the first 100 days.

Having accumulated more wealth than any group of individuals in human history, tech billionaires are using a familiar playbook to wield their wealth for political power. In just these first 100 days, we've seen the theft of public resources, destruction of civil rights protections, weaponization of media for hate, and an endless nightmare of tech fueling the surveillance, anti-immigration enforcement, and war machine.

This moment demands that we build solidarity and fight in ways we have never imagined. We hope that this can be a grain of sand in that struggle.

In community,
The MediaJustice team
May 2025

Workshop One:
WTF IS THE TECH BROLIGARCHY?
(a 90 minute workshop)

Description:

This workshop **examines the collusion of tech capital and political power at the onset of Trump's second administration**. Participants will be introduced to the defining features of an oligarchy and the 14 faces of the current Tech Broligarchy. A trivia game will help participants explore key business affiliations, investments, and political connections between the Tech Broligarchy and the Trump administration.

Essential Question: What is the Tech Broligarchy?

Key Points:

- Tech billionaires have accumulated more wealth than any group of individuals in human history. Source
- Beyond regular wealth inequality, oligarchies are formed by those who use their wealth as a form of political power.
- The 14 Tech Broligarchs are utilizing their economic and monopoly power over the digital world to exert control over our government and society to expand their wealth.

Workshop Activities:

1. Defining Oligarchy & Introducing the 14 Tech Broligarchs *(15 mins)*
2. Tech Broligarchy Trivia Game *(35 mins)*
3. Group Discussion *(20 mins)*
4. Sharing Resources *(5 mins)*
5. Closing "Head, Hand, Heart" *(15 mins)*

Tip! If you see Source or text in blue, click on it for more info!

Materials:
Newsprint, markers, tape, post-it notes. *Printout 1: The 14 Faces of the Tech Broligarchy. Printout 2: Assets and Aspirations. Printout 3: Broligarchy Connections to the Trump Administration.*

Key Terms:

- **Collusion –** A cooperation between two or more entities, typically with a deceitful purpose and for some form of gain for the involved parties.
- **Oligarchy –** Oligarchy represents rule by a small, wealthy elite over the many. The distinguishing feature of oligarchs is not just their wealth, but how they use that wealth as a form of political power. Their primary motivation is protecting and expanding their wealth through political influence.
- **Monopoly –** A complete control of something, especially an area of business, so there is no economic competition.
- **Social Media Algorithms –** A technical means of sorting posts based on relevancy instead of publish time, to prioritize which content a user sees first. Source
- **Misinformation –** Information whose inaccuracy is unintentional, and spread unknowingly.
- **Disinformation –** Information that is deliberately false or misleading, often spread for political gain, profit, or to discredit a target individual, group, movement, or political party.
- **Cloud services –** Application and infrastructure resources that exist on the Internet. Third-party providers contract with subscribers for these services, allowing customers to leverage powerful computing resources without having to purchase or maintain hardware and software. Source
- **Big Tech –** A blanket term for the world's largest and most influential technology companies. The "Big 5" often refers to five companies – Amazon, Apple, Alphabet (which includes Google), Meta (formerly Facebook), and Microsoft. The "Malicious 7" can be expanded to include Nvidia and Tesla. The concept of Big Tech can also extend to the major Chinese technology firms— Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, and Xiaomi—collectively referred to as BATX. Source

Agenda:

Defining Oligarchy & Introducing the 14 Faces of the Tech Broligarchy
(15 mins)

1) Ask folks if they have heard the term "tech broligarchy." Where have they heard it and what has been said? If it's unfamiliar, **what comes to mind when you hear the term "tech broligarchy"?**

2) Break down the terms:
What do we mean by Oligarchy? *Oligarchy represents rule by a small, wealthy elite over the many. The distinguishing feature of oligarchs is not just their wealth, but how they use that wealth as a form of political power. Their primary motivation is protecting and expanding their wealth through political influence.*

> **Facilitator Note:** Make sure to emphasize that while wealthy people may lobby and try to influence politics, oligarchs are distinguished by their monopolies in key industries, which give them economic power that they wield for political power.

What do we mean by Tech Oligarchy? *The Tech Broligarchy are the billionaire owners, CEOS, and investors of the world's largest and most influential technology companies that are wielding their unprecedented wealth for political power. They are bros because their capitalist wealth-building project is rooted in white supremacy, patriarchy, and cis-white, male power.*

3) Proceed to give ***Printout 1: The 14 Faces of the Tech Broligarchy*** (see next page!)**.** Explain that contrary to any liberal tendencies Silicon Valley may have espoused in the past, these tech billionaires are moving in lockstep with Trump's MAGA agenda since the results of the 2024 elections.

4) Ask participants to call out the names of the Broligarchs they recognize.

Tim Cook

Larry Ellison

Elon Musk

Mark Zuckerberg

Sundar Pichai

David Sacks

Satya Nadella

Jeff Bezos

Sam Altman

Peter Thiel

Mark Andreessen

Masayoshi Son

Joe Lonsdale

Palmer Luckey

Tech Broligarchy Trivia Game

(35 mins)

1) Let folks know that we will play a trivia game to connect the dots on how the Tech Broligarchy are using their wealth to secure political power in Trump's administration.

2) Divide folks into groups of 3-5 people. Explain that you will ask a question, and the groups must consult together before raising their hand with an answer. If one group doesn't answer correctly, another team can have a chance to guess the question.

3) Briefly process the answers before proceeding to the next question.

Facilitator Note: The trivia game is designed to draw connections between the source of the Tech Broligarchy's wealth and what they have gotten — or are trying to get — out of a favorable relationship with the Trump administration. The examples will introduce the 14 Broligarchs and break down their key businesses and investments (e.g., social media, AI and data centers, defense tech, crypto, aerospace, etc.). It is important to note the symbiotic relationship between the Tech Broligarchs and Trump (i.e. lucrative government contracts for the tech bro companies, Twitter/X being a platform for the global right, Trump's investment in the Big 5 Tech companies, etc.)

Trivia Questions & Answers

Question	Answer
As of Dec 2024, the world's 20 richest billionaires account for $2.7 trillion. What percentage of this is tech CEO wealth – is it 20%, 50%, 70%, or 90%?	70% Source

Question	Answer
Who were the 4 Tech Broligarchs who were front and center, flanking Trump, during his inauguration? *Bonus:* What other well-known Tech Broligarch (a CEO of a major tech company) was at Trump's inauguration?	Jeff Bezos (Amazon Founder/CEO); Mark Zuckerberg (Meta Founder/CEO); Sundar Pichai (Alphabet/Google CEO); and Elon Musk (Tesla CEO/Space X Founder & CEO) *Bonus Answer:* Tim Cook, Apple CEO. [Source]
Which Tech Broligarch was the largest donor to Trump's 2024 election, giving a total of over $290 million and founding a large pro-Trump super PAC that raised over $260 million in 2024? *Bonus:* What is the name of the Trump initiative, created by an Executive Order on Jan 20, 2025, that Musk has been associated with?	Elon Musk. [Source] 9 of the other Tech Broligarchs also donated directly to Trump's 2024 campaign (Credit: Empower LLC) *Bonus Answer:* Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), an acronym that is an apparent wink to the dog-themed cryptocurrency dogecoin that started as a joke and skyrocketed after Musk promoted it. [Source]
Since Elon Musk acquired Twitter/X in 2022, it has lost nearly 80% of its value. 2.7 million people have departed X since the US presidential election, yet it is as popular as ever. Why is this?	X has become the global right's supercharged front page. Engineering X's algorithms to his preferences, political content is now almost entirely rightwing and ranges from conservative-leaning centrists to neo-Nazis. [Source]

Question	Answer
Another Tech Broligarch who owns social media – Mark Zuckerberg with Facebook and Instagram – was once a vocal critic of Trump in his first administration – criticizing Trump's comments about the Black Lives Matter movement, his immigration policies, and even going as far as to remove his Facebook page following the January 6, 2021 riot at the U.S. Capitol, when Trump supporters violently protested the 2020 election results. What changes did Zuckerberg announce to Facebook and Instagram in January 2025, demonstrating his move to align politically with Trump and his MAGA base?	Any and all answers: Zuckerberg announced Facebook and Instagram: 1) Would no longer use professional fact-checkers but rather resort to a user-generated community notes system similar to that on X. (Conservatives celebrated this as a victory for "free speech" while others raised concerns that this could catalyze the spread of misinformation* to the more than 3 billion people who use Facebook.) Source *When media outlets are controlled by a small number of corporate owners with no accountability to the public, inaccurate information is often labeled "misinformation" to suggest inaccuracies are unintentional and spread unknowingly. A critical analysis of these power dynamics would use the term "disinformation" to acknowledge deliberately false or misleading information, often spread for political gain, profit, or to discredit a target individual, group, movement, or political party.* 2) Have disbanded their DEI team and hiring practices. Source 3) Updated its "Hateful Conduct" policy, so that it now allows for posts that call LGBTQ people mentally ill. Source

Question	Answer
What is the name of the social media platform that several of the Tech Broligarchs are vying to purchase, that has become a proxy for US-China relations?	TikTok. 5 Tech Broligarchs have put in bids: Larry Ellison/Oracle; Jeff Bezos/Amazon; Marc Andreessen/Andreessen Horowitz; Satya Nadella/Microsoft. Source
Following e-commerce, what is the second most profitable aspect of Tech Broligarch Jeff Bezos's company, Amazon? *Bonus:* In 2022, The Department of Defense awarded a five-year, $9 billion cloud contract to these four tech companies.	Amazon Web Services (AWS), which provides cloud services to businesses, government agencies, and academic institutions, enables them to store information and deliver content. Netflix, for example, uses AWS, as does the National Security Agency (NSA), through its $10 billion government contract "The Wild and Stormy Cloud Contract." Source *Bonus Answer:* Amazon (AWS), Google (Google Cloud), Oracle and Microsoft (Microsoft Azure) Source

Chicago President's Day 2025 Protest. A protest sign reads: "The only dangerous minorities are billionaires"

Question	Answer
Three of the Tech Broligarchs – Elon Musk, Peter Thiel, and David Sacks – know each other from their roles in founding this online payment system company. *Bonus:* These three bros spent formative years living under the apartheid regime of this country.	Paypal. Musk, Theil and Sacks, along with former PayPal employees and founders are known as the "Paypal Mafia." Members have gone on to start and/or develop additional technology companies such as LinkedIn, Palantir Technologies, SpaceX, Affirm, Slide, Kiva, YouTube, Yelp, and Yammer. Most of the members attended Stanford University or the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Source *Bonus Answer:* South Africa. The South Africa into which Musk was born in 1971, and to which Thiel moved as a child from Germany, was led by prime minister John Vorster, who had been a general in a fascist militia three decades earlier that allied itself with Hitler. Elon Musk has taken an interest in genetics while backing claims of a looming "white genocide" in his South African homeland and endorsing posts promoting the racist "great replacement" conspiracy theory. Source
Tech investors and Broligarchs Peter Thiel, David Sacks, and Joe Lonsdale were the money behind a company named Palantir, which provides a platform that allows cops and immigration officials to process large quantities of data for surveillance. Which member of Trump's administration has direct ties to these bros?	JD Vance, the Vice President, has direct ties to these names since he made his money working for a venture capital firm run by Peter Thiel. Source

WORKSHOP 1: WTF IS THE TECH BROLIGARCHY?

Question	Answer
How many contracts did Palmer Luckey's military technology company, Anduril, secure in the first three months of 2025?	Five. 1. $14 million from Department of Defense to Expand Sources of Solid Rocket Motors (January 2025) Source 2. $99 million from the US Air Force for Thunderdome Project (February 2025) Source 3. $22 billion from U.S. Army the virtual headset contract (Feb 2025) Source 4. $642 million from the US Navy for Counter-Drone Tech (March 2025) Source 5. $86 million from the US Special Operations Command for the development and deployment of mission autonomy software (March 2025) Source
Twelve of the 14 Tech Broligarchs have deep investments in this highly-publicized technology, which enables computers and machines to simulate human learning, comprehension, problem solving, decision-making, creativity, and autonomy. What industry is this? *Bonus:* How many tech companies or Broligarchs can you name who are invested in AI and building data centers, the core physical infrastructure behind AI? (one point for each company or bro you can name)	Artificial intelligence. *Bonus Answer:* Tech Broligarchs and their AI company affiliations include: • xAI - Elon Musk, Marc Andreessen • Open AI - Sam Altman, Peter Thiel • Trump's Project Stargate AI - Masayoshi Son (also invests in Open AI) • Marc Zuckerberg/Meta; Jeff Bezos/Amazon; Larry Ellison; Sundar Pichai/Google; Satya Nadella/Microsoft; David Sacks
What role in the government did Trump give to Tech Broligarch David Sacks, a venture capitalist who hosts a hit podcast and has historically called for a looser hand in regulating emerging technologies?	AI and Crypto czar. It's a role where he'll get to advise on AI and crypto policy without having to get approval from the Senate, similar to Elon Musk and his role with DOGE.

Question	Answer
How many of the tech bro companies does Donald Trump have direct investments in? *Bonus*: Name the five companies.	Five. Source *Bonus Answer:* It's the "Big 5" Tech companies – Amazon, Apple, Alphabet (which includes Google), Meta (formerly Facebook), and Microsoft.
How many appointed positions in Trump's administration have direct ties to the 14 Tech Broligarchs?	At least 20. See Source and Printout 3: Broligarchy Connections to the Trump Administration

Group Discussion

(20 mins)

- What stood out to you in learning about the Tech Broligarchy?
- What are some of the sources of the Tech Broligarchy's wealth?
- In what ways are they using their wealth to expand their political power?
- How are the moves of the Tech Broligarchy showing up in your community?
- Have you seen organizing efforts against this oligarchy, or other authoritarian regimes globally, that you would like to share? *(If folks have trouble with this question, let them know we will explore how communities are fighting back in the next workshop.)*

Sharing Resources

(5 mins)

1) Pass out copies of the two Printouts – *Printout 2: Assets and Aspirations*, and *Printout 3: Broligarchy Connections to the Trump Administration*.

2) Explain that:
- *Printout 2: Assets and Aspirations* breaks down the key businesses and investments of the 14 Tech Broligarchs and what they want from the Trump administration.
- *Printout 3: Broligarchy Connections to the Trump Administration* lists at least 20 people in the administration who have a direct connection to the 14 Tech Broligarchs.

3) Say that you hope the information can help **break down the source of the Tech Broligarchy's wealth and inspire strategy and organizing to stop the destruction and devastation they cause.**

Closing "Head, Hand, Heart"

(15 mins)

Prep: On a newsprint, create three sections – Head, Heart, Hand. (Another option is to draw a person and write the words "Head, Heart, Hand" by the corresponding body part).

1) Instruct participants to take three post-it notes, and write a thought for each body part:

Head: What is something new that you learned today?

Heart: What is something you felt today?

Hand: What is something that you'll take with you from today?

2) As they finish writing, participants can put their post-it notes on the newsprint and read what others have written.

Key business affiliations / investments:
Tesla (CEO/Shareholder), SpaceX (CEO/Founder), xAI (CEO/Founder), X Corp. (Majority owner), Neuralink (Founder), The Boring Company (Founder), Excession, LLC (Family office), PayPal (Co-founder, "Paypal Mafia")

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Termination of DOJ probe into Tesla self-driving claims; elimination of autonomous driving car crash reporting by National Highway Traffic Safety Administration
- Implementation of a lax federal regulatory framework for autonomous driving to override state-by-state regulations.
- Limitation of tariffs, particularly against China, that might affect Tesla international supply chain; exclusion of Chinese EV companies from US market.
- More and larger federal contracts for SpaceX, in particular NASA, Air Force, and Defense Information Systems Agency; this entails a continued reconfiguration of federal contracting in favor of Commercial Off-The-Shelf (COTS) model pushed by VC to beat established prime military contractors.
- Federal spending cuts to agencies that are not of strategic importance to Musk via DOGE, as well as appointment of Musk allies to government posts.
- Elimination of CFPB due to potential oversight of X Money and Tesla Finance.
- Slow down momentum of xAI competitor OpenAI by regulatory or any other means.
- Consideration by Trump for major private-sector business deals, such as full or partial acquisition of TikTok or X Corp. merger with Trump Media & Technology Group (speculative).
- Federal regulatory and policy action in favor of widespread cryptocurrency adoption.

Elon Musk

Key business affiliations / investments:
Founders Fund (Co-founder/Partner), Thiel Capital (Founder), Mithril Capital (Co-founder), Palantir (Co-founder/Chairman), Anduril (VC investor), SpaceX (VC investor), Scale AI (VC investor), OpenAI (VC investor), Oklo (VC investor), Helion Energy (VC investor), PayPal (Co-founder, "Paypal Mafia"), Early Facebook investor, Many other VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- More and larger federal contracts for Palantir, SpaceX, and Anduril (among other portfolio companies), in particular Department of Defense; this entails a continued reconfiguration of federal contracting in favor of Commercial Off-The-Shelf (COTS) model pushed by VC to beat established prime military contractors.
- Continued federal government support of VC-backed military start-ups through initiatives like the Defense Innovation Unit.
- Appointment of key allies to government posts to further policy objectives.
- Federal regulatory and policy action in favor of widespread cryptocurrency adoption and AI (sidenote: Thiel is an investor in Crusoe Energy Systems, which will be building Texas AI data center as part of Project Stargate).
- Permitting and regulatory easing for VC-backed nuclear power start-ups.
- Protecting carried interest loophole for PE/VC that Trump supports Congress eliminating.

Peter Thiel

David Sacks

Key business affiliations / investments:
Craft Ventures (Co-founder/Partner), Yammer (Founder), PayPal (Former Head of Product, "Paypal Mafia"), Palantir (VC investor), SpaceX (VC investor), X Corp. (VC investor), Solana (Indirect VC investor), Many other VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Establishment of an industry-friendly regulatory framework for cryptocurrency in his role as Special Advisor for AI and Crypto, with early emphasis on stablecoins.
- Establishment of strategic bitcoin reserve to promote adoption.
- More passive support for contracting efforts of Thiel, Musk, and others that would provide revenue to companies such as Palantir and SpaceX where Sacks is an investor.

Key business affiliations / investments:
OpenAI (CEO), Oklo (Chairman/Investor), Helion Energy (Chairman/Investor), Y Combinator (Former president), Hydrazine Capital (Co-founder), Reddit (Major shareholder via Hydrazine Capital), Many other VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Favorable outcome in FTC and DOJ probes into OpenAI deal with Microsoft over potential monopolistic practices.
- Establishment of an industry-friendly regulatory framework for AI and favorable regulatory treatment in initiatives like Project Stargate.
- Permitting and regulatory easing for VC-backed nuclear power start-ups.

Sam Altman

Key business affiliations / investments:
Andreessen Horowitz (Co-founder/Partner), Netscape (Co-Founder), SpaceX (VC investor), X Corp. (VC investor), Anduril (VC investor), xAI (VC investor), Meta Platforms (Board member), Many other VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Establishment of an industry-friendly regulatory framework for AI and cryptocurrency; in particular, Andreessen is a major investor in Solana.
- Elimination of CFPB due to oversight of Andreessen Horowitz portfolio companies, including shutting down LendUp Loans in 2021.
- More passive support for contracting efforts of Thiel, Musk, and others that would support companies such as Palantir and SpaceX where Sacks is an investor.
- Favorable outcome for Meta in FTC antitrust lawsuit over Instagram and WhatsApp acquisitions, as well as other federal cases involving Andreessen Horowitz portfolio companies.

Mark Andreessen

Key business affiliations / investments:
Oracle (Co-founder/Executive Chairman), Tako Ventures (Co-founder), X Corp. (Investor), Tesla (Former board member), Ellison Medical Foundation (Founder)

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- More and larger federal government cloud contracts for Oracle.
- Under consideration by Trump for leading a full or partial acquisition of TikTok.
- Regulatory approval for pending, embattled merger of CBS Paramount and Skydance Media, controlled by Larry's son David Ellison.
- Favorable regulatory treatment for data center and AI projects (including Project Stargate).
- As an investor in X Corp., his interests are ostensibly aligned with Musk's in the social media space.

Larry Ellison

Key business affiliations / investments:
SoftBank (Founder/CEO), Arm Holdings (Chairman), OpenAI (Investor via SoftBank), ByteDance (Investor in TikTok parent via SoftBank), Helion Energy (Investor via SoftBank), Many VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Favorable regulatory treatment for US investments after making massive investment commitment in Project Stargate.
- A close relationship with Trump will help Son continue to raise money from major international investors.
- As the controlling shareholder of Arm Holdings via SoftBank, Son is reportedly positioning the chip design company from producing CPUs to also producing GPUs and thereby becoming a competitor to NVIDIA.
- SoftBank is positioning itself to make major investments in solar power, which will reportedly be an important energy source for US data centers constructed as part of Project Stargate.

Masayoshi Son

Key business affiliations / investments:
Meta Platforms (Co-founder/CEO), Chan Zuckerberg Iniative (Co-founder)

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Favorable outcome for Meta in FTC antitrust lawsuit over Instagram and WhatsApp acquisitions.
- Protection against EU Big Tech regulation, in particular via Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, that may be heightened in retaliation for US tariffs on EU imports.
- Wants to prevent reforms to Section 230 (led by Trump's FCC Chair Brendan Carr) that might expose Meta to user-generated content liability and/or create controversy resulting in reduced advertising revenue. Also relevant is the status of AI-generated "user" content under content moderation.
- Favorable regulatory treatment for data center and AI projects, especially their energy requirements.

Mark Zuckerberg

Key business affiliations / investments:
Amazon (CEO/Founder), Blue Origin (Founder), Bezos Earth Fund (Founder), Bezos Expeditions (Family office)

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?

- More and larger federal cloud contracts for Amazon Web Services.
- More and larger contracts for Blue Origin, which currently holds contracts with NASA and Space Force.
- Favorable outcome for Amazon in FTC case alleging monopolistic practices in online retail and technology.
- Protection against EU Big Tech regulation, in particular via Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, that may be heightened in retaliation for US tariffs on EU imports.
- Retroactive reinstatement by Congress of R&D expensing tax break included in 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that ended in 2022, or at least favorable treatment under any extension of the Act.
- Favorable regulatory treatment for data center and AI projects and related energy projects, including nuclear; Amazon is an investor in nuclear start-up X-energy.

Jeff Bezos

Key business affiliations / investments:
Alphabet (CEO), Pichai Family Foundation (Board Chair/President)

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?

- More and larger federal cloud contracts for Google Cloud.
- Wants Alphabet to maintain ownership of Chrome in case brought by DOJ looking to mandate a sale of the browser and end default browser deal with Apple.
- Protection against EU Big Tech regulation, in particular via Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, that may be heightened in retaliation for US tariffs on EU imports.
- Retroactive reinstatement by Congress of R&D expensing tax break included in 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that ended in 2022, or at least favorable treatment under any extension of the Act.
- Favorable regulatory treatment for data center and AI projects and related energy projects, including nuclear; Alphabet has a development-oriented power supply agreement in place with nuclear start-up Kairos.
- Implementation of a lax federal regulatory framework for autonomous driving to override state-by-state regulations, in support of Alphabet subsidiary Waymo.

Sundar Pichai

Key business affiliations / investments:
8VC (Founder/Partner), Palantir (Co-founder/Shareholder), Addepar (Co-founder), Epirus (Co-founder), Other VC investments

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?

- More and larger DOD and DHS contracts for Palantir, Anduril, and Epirus; this entails a continued reconfiguration of federal contracting in favor of Commercial Off-The-Shelf (COTS) model pushed by VC to beat established prime military contractors.
- Protecting carried interest loophole for PE/VC that Trump supports Congress eliminating.
- As an investor in X Corp., his interests are ostensibly aligned with Musk's in the social media space.

Joe Lonsdale

Key business affiliations / investments:
Apple (CEO), Nike and the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice & Human Rights (Board member)

Tim Cook

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- Protection against EU Big Tech regulation, in particular via Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, that may be heightened in retaliation for US tariffs on EU imports.
- Influence in limiting EU and US taxes; Cook called Trump about a dispute with Ireland in October 2024, and lobbied him on US tax policy in 2017.
- Retroactive reinstatement by Congress of R&D expensing tax break included in 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that ended in 2022, or at least favorable treatment under any extension of the Act.
- Limitation of tariffs against China that might affect Apple international supply chain.
- Wants favorable outcome in DOJ case looking to mandate an end to default browser deal between Google Chrome and Apple.

Key business affiliations / investments:
Microsoft (CEO), University of Chicago (Board of Trustees)

Satya Nadella

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- More and larger federal cloud contracts for Microsoft Azure.
- Favorable outcome in FTC and DOJ probes into OpenAI deal with Microsoft over potential monopolistic practices.
- Protection against EU Big Tech regulation, in particular via Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, that may be heightened in retaliation for US tariffs on EU imports.
- Microsoft is under consideration to acquire TikTok in Trump-mediated negotiations.
- Retroactive reinstatement by Congress of R&D expensing tax break included in 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act that ended in 2022, or at least favorable treatment under any extension of the Act.
- Favorable regulatory treatment for data center and AI projects and related energy projects, including nuclear; Microsoft has a deal with Constellation Energy to restart Three Mile Island, while founder Bill Gates is backing nuclear start-up TerraPower.

Key business affiliations / investments:
Anduril (Founder), Oculus (Founder), acquired by Meta

Palmer Luckey

What are the key things they want from the Trump administration?
- More and larger DOD and DHS contracts for Anduril; this entails a continued reconfiguration of federal contracting in favor of Commercial Off-The-Shelf (COTS) model pushed by VC to beat established prime military contractors.
- Permitting and regulatory help for $1 billion investment in Ohio for new Anduril autonomous weapons manufacturing facility.
- Placement of allies and business partners in positions of influence

The following are people with a connection to one of the Tech Broligarchs – either through professional collaboration or through company affiliation.

Appointed Person	Business Affiliations / Work History	Agency	Position	Key person / Company Ties
Michael Kratsios	Scale AI, Managing Director (2021-24) Under Secretary of Defense (2020-21) US CTO (2017-21) Thiel Capital, Principal (2010-17)	Executive Office of the President	Office of Science and Technology Policy, Director	Peter Thiel (Scale AI and Thiel Capital)
Elon Musk	SpaceX, Founder Tesla, Founder xAI, Founder Twitter, majority owner	Department of Government Efficiency	Special Government Employee	**Key person**
Amanda Scales	xAI, Talent (2024-25) Human Capital, Talent & HR Operations (2022-24) Uber, Talent Acquisition (2014-22)	Office of Personnel Management	Chief of Staff	Elon Musk (xAI)
Chris Wright	Oklo, board member (2024-25) Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, Board of Directors for the Denver Branch (2020-24) Liberty Energy, Founder	Department of Energy	Secretary	Sam Altman (Oklo) Peter Thiel (Oklo)
David Sacks	Craft Ventures (Co-founder/Partner) Yammer (Founder) PayPal (Former Head of Product, "Paypal Mafia") Palantir (VC investor) SpaceX (VC investor) X Corp. (VC investor) Solana (Indirect VC investor) Many other VC investments	Executive Office of the President	Special Advisor for AI and Crypto	**Key Person**
Luke Farritor	Thiel Fellowship (2024-26) SpaceX, Intern (2023)	Department of Government Efficiency	DOGE engineer	Intern at SpaceX and part of the Thiel Fellowship
Chris Young	Musk advisor	Executive Office of the President Consumer Financial Protection Bureau DOGE	Undisclosed	Elon Musk

Appointed Person	Business Affiliations / Work History	Agency	Position	Key person / Company Ties
Jacob Helberg	Palantir Foundation, Fellow (2024-present) Palantir, Senior Advisor to the CEO (2023-present) Center for a New American Security, Senior Adjunct Fellow (2022-present) U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Commissioner (2023-24) Stanford University, Senior Advisor at Center on Geopolitics & Technology (2020-22) Google, Policy Advisor on Global Policies and Standards (2016-20)	Secretary of State	Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy and the Environment	Peter Thiel Sam Altman
David Keeling	UPS, safety executive (2011-18) Amazon, safety executive (2021-23)	Department of Labor	Occupational Safety and Health Administration	Amazon
Marko Elez	X (undisclosed) SpaceX (undisclosed)	Treasury Department DOGE	"Administrative"	X, SpaceX
Christopher Stanley	X (undisclosed) SpaceX (undisclosed)	Executive Office of the President DOGE	Pending	X, SpaceX
Thomas Shedd	Tesla (2016-25, approx.)	General Services Administration DOGE	Federal Acquisition Service Deputy Commissioner and Director of Technology Transformation Services	Elon Musk
Michael Russo	Shift4 (2006-25, approx.)	Social Security Administration DOGE	Chief Information Officer	Shift4 is both an investor in SpaceX and a payment processor for StarLink
Nikhil Rajpal	X (undisclosed) Tesla (undisclosed	Consumer Finance Protection Bureau National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration DOGE	"Expert"	X, Tesla

Appointed Person	Business Affiliations / Work History	Agency	Position	Key person / Company Ties
Justin Monroe	SpaceX, Senior Director for Security U.S. Navy, Information War Office	FBI	Advisor to Director	Elon Musk
Sriram Krishnan	Andreessen Horowitz, General Partner (2020-24) X, Senior Director of Product Management (2017-19) Meta, Product Manager (2013-16)	White House Office of Science and Technology Policy	Senior Policy Advisor for AI	Marc Andreessen X Meta
Scott Kupor	Andreessen Horowitz, Managing Partner (2009-present) Silicon Valley Community Foundation, board member (2022-present)	Office of Personnel Management	Director	Marc Andreessen
Brian Quintenz	Andreessen Horowitz, head of crypto policy (2021-present) Crypto.com, Advisory Council (2021-22) U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission, Commissioner (2017-21)	Commodity Futures Trading Commission	Chairman	Marc Andreessen
Steve Davis	SpaceX (pending dates) The Boring Company (pending dates) X (pending dates)	Executive Office of the President DOGE	Undisclosed	Elon Musk (long standing collaborator)
Brian Bjelde	SpaceX (2003-present)	Office of Personnel Management DOGE	Senior Adviser	Elon Musk (long standing collaborator)
Riccardo Biasini	Tesla (2011-16) Comma.ai (2016-19) The Boring Company (2019-present)	Office of Personnel Management DOGE	Senior Adviser to the Director	Elon Musk
Ryan Riedel	SpaceX (2020-present)	Department of Energy DOGE	Chief Information Officer	SpaceX
Ethan Shaotran	None as of February 2025	General Services Administration DOGE	Undisclosed	Elon Musk (participated in a "hackaton" sponsored and organized by Musk)

Workshop Two:
WTF IS THE TECH BROLIGARCHY UP TO?
(a 90 minute workshop)

Description:

In this workshop, participants will review headlines from Trump's first 100 days in office to examine **how the Tech Broligarchy are exerting power through economic, political, and social control**. The group will also explore what resistance to this power looks like.

Essential Question: What does it look like for the Tech Broligarchy to exert power?

Key Points:
- Oligarchies exert power through economic, political, and social control.
- The Tech Broligarchy exercises economic control through digital data collection and monopolizing digital infrastructure.
- Their political control derives from strategic campaign contributions, securing positions in government, and providing tech weapons for policing, anti-immigration enforcement, and the military.
- Methods of social control include surveillance, controlling media narratives, and the ownership of communication platforms.

Workshop Activities:

1. The Oligarchy Playbook: How to Exert Power (20 mins)
2. The Nightmare that is the Tech Broligarchy (20 mins)
3. Group Discussion (20 mins)
4. The People Fight Back: Creating Our Own Headlines (30 mins)

Materials:
Newsprint, markers, tape. *Printout 4: Definitions. Printout 5: Headlines.*

Key Terms:

- **Racial Capitalism –** Our current economic system, capitalism, is driven by profit-making through the exploitation of workers, the extraction of resources, and the hoarding of wealth by the few. Racial capitalism is a way of understanding how racism and capitalism work together to create the unjust conditions that we live under.

- **Digital data collection –** The process of gathering information electronically. Whenever we use the internet or even a digital streaming service, our data is collected by companies, and that data is sold for profit.

- **Digital infrastructure –** The physical hardware, labor, and software-based technologies that enable digital services. This includes cloud computing services and physical data centers that take up our land, water, and energy sources. It also includes the extraction of raw materials and minerals used to create digital technologies that are mined through extremely exploitative conditions in the Congo and assembled in harsh factories in China and elsewhere.

A sign from the Tesla Takedown protests in early 2025 that reads, "Fire Elon Now"

Facilitator Note: There may be moments in this workshop that are hard for participants as we will be discussing ways in which Trump and the Tech Broligarchy are exerting their power and inflicting harm and devastation on our communities. For the Nightmare that is the Tech Broligarchy activity, we encourage facilitators to choose headlines that work best for your group, and to take the time to breathe and share offerings of hope and stories of resistance, as needed.

Agenda:

The Oligarchy Playbook: How to Exert Power

(20 mins)

1) Remind participants that in the first workshop, we defined oligarchies as distinct from typical rich people because oligarchs are strategically using their wealth as a form of political power, seeking to rule society in order to guard and expand their wealth.

2) Ask if anyone recalls any examples of how the Tech Broligarchy are using their wealth to gain power. *(If folks don't remember any examples, say it's okay because we're going to be taking more about this today).*

3) Explain that while the Tech Broligarchs are unique to this time in history, they are also following the rules of the Oligarchy Playbook, passed on from oligarchs of the past and present, which is that:

Reveal the definition:
> **Oligarchies exert their power through economic, political and social control.**

Remember, this is what makes them distinct from just regular rich folks – oligarchies are trying to rule society at large.

4) Let's break down the Oligarchy Playbook.

Number 1: What does it mean when oligarchs have economic control? *(i.e. control over the supply chain, owning the means of production, mass privatization, securing a monopoly to dictate price-setting, harsh labor practices, etc.)*

Facilitator Note: A hallmark of oligarchy economic control is the heavy hand of monopolizing critical infrastructure and domination of labor conditions that lead to concentrated wealth in the hands of a small ruling class. The robber barons of the Industrial Revolution monopolized key infrastructure of oil, steel, and finance when the US transitioned from an agriculturally-based economy into one based on mechanized manufacturing and large-scale industry. Racist laws enacted after slavery that undermined the rights and freedoms of Black folks, combined with the harsh exploitation of immigrant labor, allowed the robber barons to amass immense wealth, which they used to wield power over society at large. Source

The Tech Broligarchy's rise comes during the Digital Revolution, when our society is moving from a mechanical and analog world into one where everything is digital. Parallels to the robber barons include their monopolization of digital resources and infrastructure, including cloud computing services and physical data centers that take up our land, water, and energy sources. It also includes the extraction of raw materials from indigenous lands, and exploitative labor conditions in the Congo, in factories in China, and elsewhere.

So what does economic control under the Tech Broligarchy look like today?

Reveal the definition and ask someone to read it aloud:

> **The Tech Broligarchy controls the ECONOMY through digital data collection and monopolizing digital infrastructure.**

Can anyone break this down?

Digital data collection is the process of gathering information electronically. So anytime you use Google Maps, count your steps, search for something online – companies are collecting that information (which they call data) and selling that information (or data) for profit.

Digital infrastructure includes everything from the actual devices and software created to the labor of all the people along the supply and production chain who help create these digital technologies. *We'll explore this further in our next activity....*

When we say the Tech Broligarchs have economic control, it's all of this. Having control over the supply and distribution of items, the use of natural resources, and the labor that makes these digital technologies.

5) Okay, moving on to the next form of control.

Number 2: What does it mean for an oligarchy to have political control? *(i.e., not even pretending to have accountability to the masses, deciding the rule of law — who's criminalized, who's allowed to vote, which countries are recognized, securing government positions, power to wage imperialist projects and wars, etc.)*

> **Facilitator Note:** A striking feature of oligarchy rule is that they are not accountable to the masses – they move with impunity, deciding the fate of humanity and the planet without care.

And what does this look like under the Tech Broligarchy? Reveal the definition:

> **The Tech Broligarchy controls POLITICS through political contributions, holding government positions, and providing tech infrastructure to the police, anti-immigration enforcement, and the military.**

In the first workshop, we discussed examples of political power such as the Tech Broligarchy's contributions to Trump's 2024 campaign, the 20 appointed positions in the Trump administration with direct ties to the Tech Broligarchy, and the massive government contracts many of the Tech Bros have.

6) Lastly, **Number 3: What do we mean by an oligarchy having social control? What are the means by which a small group of people could control the masses, and what does that look like?** *(i.e. police and prisons, surveillance, banning of gender-neutral bathrooms and books, cultural attire, use of media to promote dominant interests and values, using algorithms to facilitate consumerism, etc).*

> **Facilitator Note:** Social control is about ensuring that the systems and institutions that hold up society (i.e. court system, media, schools, libraries, hospitals, etc) are working to promote the ideology and economic projects of the oligarchy. In the society that we live under – racial capitalism – race, gender, class, and ablelism become the vulnerabilities and battlegrounds on which the oligarchs seek to create hierarchies to justify their elite superiority and control the masses.

And what does social control look like under the Tech Broligarchy? Reveal the definition and ask someone to read it aloud.

> **The Tech Broligarchy implements mechanisms of SOCIAL CONTROL through surveillance, controlling media narratives, and ownership of communication platforms.**

We've been seeing social control with the ways states are trying to criminalize women seeking reproductive care by tracking their phones, or ICE grabbing folks off the street and trying to disappear or deport them without any due process. Together, these three forms of control are the ways the Tech Broligarchy are exerting their power, attempting to have control over all these aspects of society.

7) Explain that we're going to move into an activity that will allow us to take a closer look at the ways the Tech Broligarchy have been trying to exert power during Trump's first 100 days.

Directions: These definitions can be printed and hung up for Workshop 2: Oligarchy Playbook

Oligarchies exert their power through economic, political and social control.

The Tech Broligarchy controls the ECONOMY through digital data collection and monopolizing digital infrastructure.

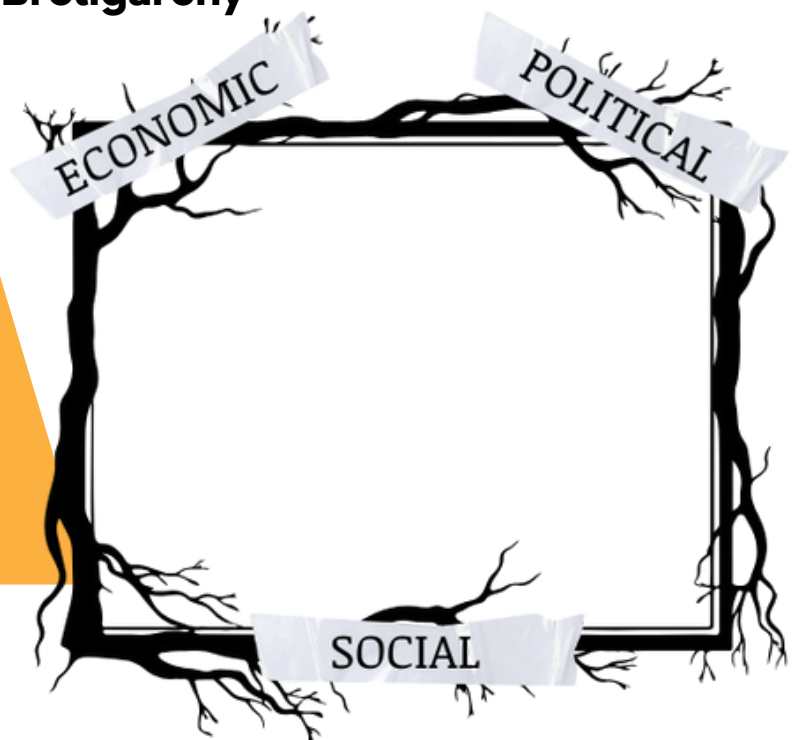The Tech Broligarchy controls POLITICS through political contributions, holding government positions, and providing tech infrastructure to the police, anti-immigration enforcement, and the military.

The Tech Broligarchy implements mechanisms of SOCIAL CONTROL through surveillance, controlling media narratives, and ownership of communication platforms.

The Nightmare that is the Tech Broligarchy

(20 mins)

Prep: On a newsprint, draw a shadowy box and write the three arms of control around the frame: economic, political, and social. The goal is to create a "nightmarish" container to place the headlines for this activity. Here is an example, but feel free to make it your own.

ECONOMIC

POLITICAL

SOCIAL

1) Introduce the 'Nightmare that is the Tech Broligarchy.' Show folks that it's comprised of three arms of control – economic, political, and social control.

2) Explain that we are going to be looking at headlines from Trump's first 100 days in office and discuss the ways in the which the Tech Broligarchy are exerting power through these three arms of control – economic, political, and social control.

3) Explain that a volunteer will pick out a headline, read it aloud, and share their thoughts on the type of control the headline demonstrates. Let them know that some headlines might reveal multiple methods of control as it's all one nightmarish monster, and the forms of control inform each other.

4) After sharing their reflections on what type of control the headline reveals, they can tape the headline onto the newsprint by the form of control it evokes.

5) Model an example:

Read the headline:
(this is the first of the headlines that were cut up).

> Google's former CEO: AI advances are more important than climate conservation

Share that this headline demonstrates "economic and social control" because economically – Google is saying it's prioritizing it's profits above any considerations for the climate crisis that we've unleashed onto the earth. The economic control leads to "social control" because the opinion of Google's former CEO is given space in a mainstream media source (a popular, corporate blog), so that narrative is enforced that AI development supercedes our planet.

Tape the headline somewhere into the Nightmare frame.

Ask if anyone see any other ways different forms of control are showing up in this headline.

6) Take a moment for any clarifying questions about the activity.

7) When ready, ask a volunteer to pick out a headline to read aloud. Remind the volunteer to share what type of control they see through the story of the headline, and to place it into the Nightmare frame by the kind of control.

8) Give the group a moment to add any comments about other forms of control that might be showing up in this headline.

9) Continue with other volunteers until you feel the group's energy is ready to transition to the next activity.

Google's former CEO: AI advances are more important than climate conservation

———————————————————————————————————

An Algorithm Deemed This Nearly Blind 70-Year-Old Prisoner a "Moderate Risk." Now He's No Longer Eligible for Parole.

———————————————————————————————————

Welcome to the New Military-Industrial Complex: An assortment of new firms, born in Silicon Valley or incorporating its disruptive ethos, have begun to challenge the older ones for access to lucrative Pentagon awards.

———————————————————————————————————

Technology being used to identify, report student protesters for possible deportation.

———————————————————————————————————

DOGE's 'god-tier' access to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) data opens door to market manipulation, experts say.

———————————————————————————————————

Commercial AI Has Become a Key Enabler of Israel's Mass Killing of Palestinians.

———————————————————————————————————

Trump's War on Immigrants Wouldn't Be Possible Without Big Tech.

Directions: Print out and cut up these headlines for the Workshop 2 headline activity.

Data workers detail exploitation by the tech industry in DAIR report.

_____

The Five Biggest Corporations Represented at Trump's Inauguration Could Save $75 Billion from One Tax Break Before Congress.

_____

Three Mile Island nuclear plant will reopen to power Microsoft data centers.

_____

Generative AI chatbots fail to adequately reflect fossil fuel companies' complicity in the climate crisis, a Global Witness investigation has found.

_____

With Attack on Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), Musk Removes Obstacle to His 'X Money' Vision.

_____

Judge rules lawsuit over UnitedHealth's AI care denials can move forward

_____

Why Congo Is Suing Apple: Kinshasa has accused the tech giant of tainting supply chains with tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold smuggled by Rwanda.

Facilitator's Notes for Headlines:

click the headline to read more

[An Algorithm Deemed This Nearly Blind 70-Year-Old Prisoner a "Moderate Risk." Now He's No Longer Eligible for Parole](#)

Extended description: A computerized scoring system adopted by the state Department of Public Safety and Corrections had deemed the nearly blind 70-year-old, who uses a wheelchair, a moderate risk of reoffending, should he be released.

[Welcome to the New Military-Industrial Complex: An assortment of new firms, born in Silicon Valley or incorporating its disruptive ethos, have begun to challenge the older ones for access to lucrative Pentagon awards.](#)

Extended description: Tech companies are competing with the traditional titans of the military-industrial complex, such as Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Northrop Grumman, to secure lucrative government contracts.

Extended description: When a protester was caught on video in January at a New York rally against Israel, only her eyes were visible between a mask and headscarf. But days later, photos of her entire face, along with her name and employer, were circulated online.

[Technology being used to identify, report student protesters for possible deportation](#)

[DOGE's 'god-tier' access to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) data opens door to market manipulation, experts say](#)

Extended description: In Feb 2025, DOGE gained access to vast amounts of data stored at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) that puts financial institutions at risk and potentially exposes details about law enforcement investigations, trade secrets and other exceptionally sensitive corporate proprietary information stored at the agency.

Extended description: Israeli forces have been using artificial intelligence and cloud services sold by OpenAI, Google, Amazon, and Microsoft. Israel's military has called AI a "game changer" in yielding targets more swiftly.

[Commercial AI Has Become a Key Enabler of Israel's Mass Killing of Palestinians](#)

Extended description: President Trump ran on a sweeping promise of mass deportations, and in the first months of his presidency, he has set about expanding the infrastructure for this project. This

Trump's War on Immigrants Wouldn't Be Possible Without Big Tech

expansion has been both physical (expanding detention capacity across the United States, Guantánamo Bay, and even El Salvador) and digital (gaining access to government troves of personal data and leveraging contracts with private firms to support mass roundups

Data workers detail exploitation by the tech industry in DAIR report

Extended description: The ever-expanding scope of AI applications is built by necessity on human expertise, and that expertise is bought to this day for the lowest dollar value companies can offer without incurring a public relations problem. When you report a post, it doesn't say "great, we'll send this to a guy in Syria who will be paid 3 cents to take care of it." But the volume of reports (and of content deserving of report) is so high that solutions other than mass outsourcing of the work to cheap labor markets don't really make sense to the companies involved.

The Five Biggest Corporations Represented at Trump's Inauguration Could Save $75 Billion from One Tax Break Before Congress

Extended description: Five of America's biggest corporations—Alphabet, Amazon, Apple, Meta, and Tesla—could win $75 billion in tax breaks if Congress and the President satisfy demands from corporate lobbyists to reinstate a provision repealed under the 2017 Trump tax law.

Three Mile Island nuclear plant will reopen to power Microsoft data centers

Extended description: Three Mile Island, the power plant near Middletown, Pa., that was the scene of the worst commercial nuclear accident in U.S. history, will reopen to power Microsoft's data centers, which are responsible for powering the tech giant's cloud computing and artificial intelligence programs.

Generative AI chatbots fail to adequately reflect fossil fuel companies' complicity in the climate crisis, a Global Witness investigation has found

Extended description: AI is not neutral – it is being fed data by people who have their own biases, and can be used to distort the truth, as in the case of the Generative AI chatbots that failed to adequately reflect fossil fuel companies' complicity in the climate crisis.

[With Attack on Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), Musk Removes Obstacle to His 'X Money' Vision](#)

Extended description: One of the most promising ways Mr. Musk can increase profits is through a payments business, which could charge fees for transactions. Building out that business would be easier without having to contend with a regulator like the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), which has a recent track record of bringing cases against payment companies.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

[Judge rules lawsuit over UnitedHealth's AI care denials can move forward](#)

Extended description: Medicare Advantage beneficiaries who are suing UnitedHealth Group over allegedly wrongful denials of care that were based on artificial intelligence scored a victory Thursday, as a judge ruled their case could move forward.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

[Why Congo Is Suing Apple: Kinshasa has accused the tech giant of tainting supply chains with tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold smuggled by Rwanda](#)

Extended description: One of the most promising ways Mr. Musk can increase profits is through a payments business, which could charge fees for transactions. Building out that business would be easier without having to contend with a regulator like the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB), which has a recent track record of bringing cases against payment companies.

> *[Technology] was gonna make it so that we could go and visit another country or planet and have other beings visit here. We were going to solve the issue of climate, and not have issues about people being hungry. There would be no poverty. **These are the ideas of what we thought technology was going to do... Instead, it's just an extension of Empire**, and a way for Empire to continue to consume, exploit, and gain in violent ways to the harm of all of us.*

Nana Gyamfi, Executive Director of Black Alliance for Just Immigration (BAJI)

Group Discussion

(15 mins)

- What themes or patterns stood out to you?
- How does economic control influence the ways the Tech Broligarchy implement political and social control?
- How do these forms of control create varying levels of harm to us as individuals and in our communities?
- How does the role of technology in enhancing surveillance impact our society as a whole?

We all get caught in the web of digital harms as it touches us 24/7, an intrusion unprecedented in human history.

How do we break free from the digital control of the tech oligarchs? Explain that **people are resisting, and always have. Oligarchies have been toppled before.**

Invite folks to share any experiences surviving or helping topple oligarchies in other places.

The People Fight Back: Creating Our Own Headlines

(30 mins)

1) Explain that for our closing activity, participants will work in groups to create a headline foregrounding how they would like to imagine people fighting back.

2) Read some real-life examples to inspire the group:

[Texas Governor Threatens San Marcos with Fund Cuts After City Moves to Redirect Millions in Tax Dollars from Israel to Local Priorities](#)

Extended description: The small city of 70,000 residents discovered that millions of their tax dollars are funneled to Israel annually. In response, the city council suggested reallocating the funds to essential services like housing, healthcare, and education. Governor Abbott quickly condemned the move, calling it "antisemitic" and a violation of Texas state law, which bans government entities from supporting any boycott or embargo against Israel

Mutual Aid in the Age of Fascism: As people are being deputized to do violence, building connections is political resistance.

'Don't open the door': how Chicago is frustrating ICE's campaign of fear Months of know-your-rights work has Trump's border czar complaining.

3) Split participants into groups of 3-5 people. Let folks know they have 15 minutes to convene and imagine an intervention they would wage against the Tech Broligarchy. Once they have an idea, they can create a headline capturing their intervention, and they will present it back to the large group.

Invite folks to get creative—they can perform a skit, make a collage, or use whatever medium suits their needs.

4) After 15 minutes, convene everyone in one large group. Invite each group to present their headline and/or presentation of their intervention against the Tech Broligarchy.

A large crowd gathered to listen to a panel at Take Back Tech, a convening co-hosted by MediaJustice and Mijente in June 2024.

JEOPARDY GAME

Instructions:

This game is an interactive way to review key concepts from the *WTF: The Rise of the Tech Broligarchy Toolkit*.

1) Split participants into teams of 3-5 people. Give them a moment to choose a team name.

2) Explain that the team that controls the board will get to choose a Category and Point Value (*the lower the point value, the easier the question*). Let them know that they can pick a box in any order. They should consult as a group, and the first team to raise their hand will get a chance to answer. Give them 10 seconds to respond. If that team answers incorrectly, another team can raise their hand and try to answer. (*If you want to play like the original game, you can deduct points if the team answers incorrectly.*)

The team that answers correctly controls the board and gets to choose the next Category and Point Value.

3) Select one team to choose the first Category and Point Value, and play until all the questions have been answered.

4) Once the board is empty, explain that it is time for **Final Jeopardy**. For this, all the teams will have a chance to respond to the same question. They must wager a point value that will be either added to or deducted from their score based on whether they answered correctly.

5) When ready, read the Final Jeopardy Question and give 30 seconds for the teams to write their answer.

6) Have teams share their answer and award or deduct points based on their wager. The team with the highest score wins!

JEOPARDY GAME

Tech Bros Have the Hookup	Attack of the Killer Robots	Data Centers & the Environment	The State is Watching	All Power to the People
100	100	100	100	100
200	200	200	200	200
300	300	300	300	300
400	400	400	400	400
500	500	500	500	500

Tech Bros Have the Hookup

(Themes: Tax Breaks, Gutting Federal Agencies, Lawsuits Against the Tech Broligarchy)

100 In March 2025, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) asked a federal judge to delay the trial of **this tech giant** for using deceptive practices in its Prime subscription program, citing FTC staffing shortages and budgetary challenges. Source

What is... Amazon

200 In March 2025, shortly after the Trump administration fired hundreds of Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) employees, the FAA directed staff to locate tens of millions of dollars for a deal with Starlink, the satellite company owned by **this Tech Broligarch**. Source

Who is... Elon Musk

300 In April 2025, the Trump administration loosened regulations on driver-assist and self-driving car systems accident reporting, which sent the stock soaring for **this Tech Broligarch's car company**, which accounted for 40 of the 45 fatal crashes reported in 2024. Source 1, Source 2

What is... Tesla

400 **These 5 Tech Broligarch companies**, all present at Trump's inauguration, could win $75 billion in tax breaks if Congress and the President satisfy demands from corporate lobbyists to reinstate a provision repealed under the 2017 Trump tax law. Source

What are... Alphabet, Amazon, Apple, Meta, and Tesla

500 Before Trump and Musk's DOGE terminated 1,700 workers from **this federal watchdog agency** that monitors corporate fraud, it was looking to expand its oversight power over peer-to-peer payment platforms, a business Elon Musk is looking to incorporate into his social media platform X/Twitter. Source 1, Source 2

What is... The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB)

Attack of the Killer Robots

(Themes: AI, Immigration & Warfare)

100 In March 2025, **this Big 5 Tech company** announced an AI partnership with Lockheed Martin, the world's largest military company. This same Big 5 Tech company, just days before, had also announced a government contract with the U.S. Customs & Border Protection to "upgrade the so-called virtual border wall." Source 1, Source 2

What is... Google

200 No other nation has been as active as **this country** in experimenting with AI tools in real-time battles, including combining AI with facial recognition software to match partially obscured or injured faces to real identities, using AI to compile potential airstrike targets, and creating an Arabic-language AI model to power a chatbot that could scan and analyze text messages, social media posts, and other Arabic-language data. Source

What is... Israel

300 In April 2025, **this company**, founded by Tech Broligarchs Peter Thiel and Jon Lonsdale, with investment by David Sacks, was awarded a $30 million contract from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to create an immigration Lifecycle Operating System for facilitating deportations. Source

What is... Palantir

400 Clearview AI is a secretive company that compiled a massive database with billions of images that the company illegally scraped off the internet and social media without user consent. Local and state law enforcement have used this company's facial recognition software since 2017 and today, ICE is one of its biggest customers, thanks to a relationship cemented under the Biden administration. **This Tech Broligarch** was a key investor in Clearview AI, which has been recently exposed to intentionally target migrants and the political left. Source

Who is... Peter Thiel

500 For decades, a handful of giant defense contractors have garnered the lion's share of Pentagon arms contracts. In April 2025, **this company**, founded by Tech Broligarch Palmer Lucky, beat out three of the country's largest and most powerful defense contractors — Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Northrop Grumman — to secure the Pentagon's Collaborative Combat Aircraft (CCA) contract, one of the Pentagon's costliest projects. Source

What is... Anduril

Facilitator Note: As noted in the Trivia Game from Workshop One, Anduril also secured five new government contracts in the first three months of 2025. (Credit: Empower LLC)

Data Centers & the Environment

(Themes: Natural Resources & Labor)

100 A filtered version of **this natural resource** is crucial for cooling data centers, which puts tremendous strain on local systems relying on this limited natural resource for residential and agricultural uses. Source

What is... Drinking water

> **Facilitator Note:** Data centers must use drinking water to avoid contaminants corroding their systems. The drinking water used in data centers is often treated with chemicals to prevent corrosion and bacterial growth, rendering it unsuitable for human consumption or agricultural use. This means that not only are data centers consuming large quantities of drinking water, but they are also effectively removing it from the local water cycle.

200 In April 2025, Trump announced a plan to slash 65% of **this federal agency**'s staff and activities, whose responsibilities include investigating environmental impacts and imposing regulations that protect communities. Source

What is... Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

300 In 2025, **this state** went back on its 2021 pledge to retire most of its coal plants to reach a net-zero emissions goal by 2050. This is the same state where Elon Musk has been quietly working to build a major data center to expand xAI's operations beyond its existing facility in Memphis. Source 1, Source 2

What is... Georgia

400 Many states and towns aim to attract corporations to build in their locale by awarding millions of dollars in tax breaks, hoping that the corporations will spur local economies. Big Tech promises the creation of "**these**" to sell the idea that data centers are good for local economies, but the reality is that very few of "these" are permanent once a data center is built. Source

What are... Jobs

> **Facilitator Note:** Once data centers are constructed, they can operate with as few as 18 permanent jobs, as in the case of a X/Twitter facility in Hillsboro, Oregon. With tax breaks, communities can effectively pay $2 million per single job. Source 1, Source 2

500 **This tech giant**, intent on finding a power source for its data centers, is trying to reopen Three Mile Island, the infamous power plant near Middletown, Pennsylvania, that was the scene of the worst commercial nuclear accident in U.S. history. Source

What is... Microsoft

The State is Watching

(Themes: Tech & Surveillance)

100 This is **the name** for all the bits of information collected and sold for profit by tech corporations when we use a digital device, app, or program.

What is... Data

200 **This biometric technology** uses an image of a person's face to identify them. It's used in everything from unlocking phones and identifying activists to waging warfare.

What is... Facial Recognition

300 **This federal agency**, created by Trump in January 2025, used AI to snoop on U.S. federal workers, claiming they were monitoring anti-Trump sentiment. Source

What is... DOGE

400 In March 2025, the Customs and Border Protection (CBP) refused several travelers from entering the U.S. based on searching **these personal devices** that they were carrying. Source

What are... Cell Phones

500 **This Tech Broligarch**'s company, Oracle, proudly partners with law enforcement and has sold its CIA-backed Endeca software that it used against protestors from Chicago to China. Source

Who is... Larry Ellison

Tesla Takedown protesters in Michigan. Photo by Nic Antaya.

All Power to the People

(Themes: Solidarity, Resistance & Organizing)

100   **This practice,** rooted in solidarity and collective support, involves sharing resources and services to overcome social, economic, and political barriers to meeting everyday needs. We often see this in the face of systemic failures, such as during the pandemic, or in this moment of attack against undocumented, trans, and other targeted groups in our community. Source

What is... Mutual Aid

200   **This type of community-level patrol**, modeled after the Black Panther Party Copwatch patrols of the 1960s that protected community members from police, has been organized in communities nationwide as one tactic to support and defend migrant community members from ICE. Source

What are... Anti-ICE Patrols

300   Organizers fight for **this demand** when they want money withdrawn from something they stand against. Student activists have been organizing for their college campuses to meet this demand against Israel. Residents of San Marcos, Texas, also recently got their city to do this from Israel, redirecting city funds to local priorities. Source 1, Source 2

What is... Divestment

400   In May 2025, thousands of teachers in Los Angeles joined the "Fight for Our Schools" protest outside **this Elon Musk rocket manufacturing company** to keep school spaces safe from ICE Raids and oppose federal budget cuts for students and Department of Education programs. Source

What is... Space X

500   **This Big 5 Tech company** is being sued by the Congo for laundering minerals that were smuggled into Rwanda from conflict areas. Source

What is... Apple

Final Jeopardy!

No Tech for Apartheid is a worker-led campaign of tech workers from **these two tech giant companies** to stop their $1 billion Project Nimbus cloud computing contract with the Israeli government and military. Source

What are... Google & Amazon

Resources

WTF: The Rise of the Tech Broligarchy Webinar Series

Check out our **seven-part political education webinar series** tracking and resisting the Tech Broligarchy over Trump's first 100 days. There are accompanying viewing guides that are linked in the descriptions of each episode.

Toolkits

- The Costs of Data Centers to Our Communities – And How to Fight Back – Kairos Fellows & MediaJustice
- Data Center Resources – Athena Coalition
- Digital Security on the Go – 18 Million Rising
- Immigration KYR Resources – Muslims for Just Futures
- #NoTechForIce Resources – Mijente
- Stop Gaza Genocide Toolkit – US Campaign for Palestinian Rights
- Legal Resources for Activists Advocating for Palestine Across the U.S.
- Block & Build: But Make It Abolitionist – Interrupting Criminalization

Additional Reading

- The DOGE and the neoreactionaries
- Automating Deportation: The Artificial Intelligence Behind The Department Of Homeland Security's Immigration Intelligence Behind Immigration Enforcement Regime
- AI and Racial Discrimination in U.S. Border Enforcement
- Headed for Technofascism: The Rightwing Roots of Silicon Valley
- We Went To The Town Elon Musk Took Hostage
- The Shocking Far-Right Agenda Behind the Facial Recognition Tech Used by ICE and the FBI
- Understanding the connections between the Congo and Palestine genocides
- Click Captives. The Unseen Struggle of Data Workers
- The Fascism Barometer

About Us

MediaJustice ≡

MediaJustice provides strategic and narrative leadership that advances a liberatory vision for media and technology. By aligning more people towards a shared vision, we will arm social movements with the capacity to shape the media and technology terrain to move us closer to liberation.

We envision a world where media and technology amplify the voices of oppressed people, serve the many rather than the few, and empower social movements to create lasting change.

mediajustice.org

We need your feedback!

After using this toolkit, please take a moment to **share your experience using this brief survey.**

Curriculum Writer: Christine Peng

Contributors: Jai Dulani, Rumsha Sajid

Research Support: Empower LLC ◎ EMPOWER.

Design: Jack Bowes