

November 14, 2018

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Rich Lesser
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Dear Mr. Rozanski, Mr. Lesser, and Ms. Foutty:

I write to request information on the scope of the services that Booz Allen Hamilton (Booz Allen), Boston Consulting Group (BCG), and Deloitte provide to the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, including any Saudi government-affiliated entity. In the aftermath of the brutal and apparently “premeditated”¹ killing of journalist and U.S. resident Jamal Khashoggi by Saudi government officials,² the apparent efforts of the Saudi government to cover up this murder,³ and the reported use of consulting firm McKinsey & Company’s work to silence critics of the government,⁴ it is important for your firms to be transparent about your services to the Saudi government.

According to your firms’ own materials and public reports, Booz Allen, BCG, and Deloitte have significant business ties with the Saudi government or Saudi government-affiliated entities. For example, a recent *New York Times* report observes that:

¹ CNN, “Khashoggi killing was premeditated, Saudi attorney general says,” Laura Smith-Spark and Hamdi Alkshali, October 25, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/25/middleeast/saudi-turkey-khashoggi-investigation-intl/index.html>.

² Washington Post, “Saudis blame ‘fistfight’ for Jamal Khashoggi’s death,” Suzan Fraser, Sarah El Deeb and Jon Gambrell, October 20, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/for-1st-time-saudis-say-jamal-khashoggi-killed-in-consulate/2018/10/19/6552f7ac-d3fe-11e8-a4db-184311d27129_story.html?utm_term=.293aeefd992.

³ Washington Post, “New footage appears to show Saudi suspect wearing Jamal Khashoggi’s clothing,” Erin Cunningham, October 22, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/saudi-consulate-employees-talking-to-turkish-prosecutors-in-khashoggi-inquiry/2018/10/22/ba5980da-d3d2-11e8-a4db-184311d27129_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.bf16c728b8c0.

⁴ New York Times, “Saudi’s Image Makers: A Troll Army and a Twitter Insider,” Katie Benner, Mark Mazzetti, Ben Hubbard, Mike Isaac, October 20, 2018 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/20/us/politics/saudi-image-campaign-twitter.html>; Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “Warren Examines McKinsey & Company’s Services to Saudi Government, press release, October 24, 2018, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-examines-mckinsey-and-companys-services-to-saudi-government>.

[I]n addition to standard consulting work like doling out economic advice and helping burnish Prince Mohammed [bin Salman]'s image, they have taken on more unconventional assignments. Booz Allen trains the Saudi Navy as it runs a blockade in the war in Yemen, a disaster that has threatened millions with starvation. McKinsey produced a report that may have aided Mr. Qahtani's crackdown on dissidents. BCG advises Prince Mohammed's foundation.⁵

Booz Allen reportedly advises the Saudi army, winning "a contract to help with logistics, including maintaining the Saudis' Abrams tanks," and has an agreement with the Saudis to protect government systems from cyber-attacks.⁶ The *Times* report also recounts that, after Mohammed Bin Salman became Defense Minister in 2015, "BCG landed a contract to help overhaul the ministry's procurement systems and improve its handling of finances and personnel."⁷ In February 2016, BCG and McKinsey shuttled five Saudi royals to meetings with Washington, D.C. think tanks where they "informed Gulf experts about Mohammed bin Salman's grand goals to remake Saudi life while the consultants, who outnumbered the Saudis, quietly took notes."⁸

Public documents reveal that Deloitte is a significant contributor to the Saudi government's Vision 2030,⁹ a multi-billion dollar effort led by the Saudi Crown Prince to diversify the country's oil-dependent economy.¹⁰ The firm is a "professional services provider" for Saudi Arabia's financial services industry¹¹ and in March 2018 announced a "a significant investment" – supported by the Ministry of Community and Information Technology (MCIT) – "to build a state-of-the-art Deloitte Digital Center in Riyadh ... [to] provide employment and training opportunities for hundreds of Saudi nationals, as well as attracting the best digital talent from abroad."¹² In addition, Deloitte joined BCG as "knowledge partners" for the Saudi government-

⁵ New York Times, "Consulting Firms Keep Lucrative Saudi Alliance, Shaping Crown Prince's Vision," Michael Forsythe, Mark Mazzetti, Ben Hubbard, Walt Bogdanich, November 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/04/world/middleeast/mckinsey-bcg-booz-allen-saudi-khashoggi.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share>.

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ New York Times, "Consulting Firms Keep Lucrative Saudi Alliance, Shaping Crown Prince's Vision," Michael Forsythe, Mark Mazzetti, Ben Hubbard, Walt Bogdanich, November 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/04/world/middleeast/mckinsey-bcg-booz-allen-saudi-khashoggi.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share>.

⁹ Deloitte, "Transform KSA," https://www2.deloitte.com/xe/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/transform-saudi-arabia/transform-ksa.html?id=me:2sm:3tw:4Transform+KSA::6abt:20181015110000:ME+PoV&utm_source=tw&utm_campaign=Transform+KSA&utm_content=abt&utm_medium=social&linkId=58201100.

¹⁰ Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, "Vision 2030," <https://www.saudiembassy.net/vision-2030>.

¹¹ Deloitte, "SAMA and Deloitte to develop Fintech ecosystem in line with Saudi Arabia Vision 2030," Deloitte, May 1, 2018, <https://www2.deloitte.com/sa/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/sama-deloitte-develop-fintech-ecosystem-inline-sa-vision-2030.html>.

¹² Deloitte, "Deloitte establishes a Digital Delivery Center in Saudi Arabia," Deloitte, March 4, 2018 <https://www2.deloitte.com/sa/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/deloitte-establishes-digital-delivery-center-sa.html>.

sponsored Future Investment Initiative (FII),¹³ a summit that brings together government leaders, investors, and other stakeholders to promote lucrative investments in the Kingdom.

Booz Allen and BCG have reportedly placed some limits on their work for the Saudi government. Last year, Booz Allen reportedly ended its contract to assist the Saudi navy's "operations, maintenance, intelligence, and electronic warfare, as well as logistics and financial management," and BCG reportedly "declines projects that involve military or intelligence strategy."¹⁴ But, as the *Times* observes, "while Mr. Khashoggi's death prompted investors from around the globe to distance themselves from the Saudi government, Booz Allen and its competitors McKinsey & Company and Boston Consulting Group have stayed close after playing critical roles in Prince Mohammed's drive to consolidate power."

The government of Saudi Arabia brutally silences critics, including Jamal Khashoggi, and continues to engage in a bombing campaign in Yemen that has killed thousands of civilians, brought millions to the brink of starvation, and sparked near-worldwide condemnation. Given the Kingdom's recent actions, your firms' continued business relationships with this government appear to be inconsistent not only with American values but with your stated principles.¹⁵

In order to have a full, transparent accounting of your firms' consulting services to the Saudi government or any Saudi government-affiliated entity, I request answers to the following questions and requests for information:

1. Please provide, in electronically searchable form, all consulting services contracts between your firms and the Saudi government, or entities affiliated with the government, in which compensation was received between 2013 and 2018. Please include the amount of payments received under these contracts.
2. Please provide, in electronically searchable form, all reports or other deliverables provided under the contracts referenced in question 1.
3. Please describe which, if any, current or former Trump Administration officials were involved in any aspect of the negotiation or performance of the contracts referenced in question 1 in which compensation was received by your firms between January 20, 2017 and the present.

¹³ Bloomberg, "Saudi 'Davos in the Desert' Attendees Are Dropping Out," Zainab Fattah, Annie Massa, October 11, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-10-11/saudi-davos-prep-overshadowed-by-outcry-over-writer-s-fate>.


¹⁴ New York Times, "Consulting Firms Keep Lucrative Saudi Alliance, Shaping Crown Prince's Vision," Michael Forsythe, Mark Mazzetti, Ben Hubbard, Walt Bogdanich, November 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/04/world/middleeast/mckinsey-bcg-booz-allen-saudi-khashoggi.html?smprod=nytcare-ipad&smid=nytcare-ipad-share>

¹⁵ Booz Allen's values include "ferocious integrity" and "unflinching courage." See <https://investors.boozallen.com/static-files/f708a2e9-5fb1-4ba2-9850-0233b683716c>. BCG's values include "integrity," which "means distinguishing right from wrong and doing the right thing," and "tak[ing] the time to consider our actions and ask whether we can defend them openly today and tomorrow." See <https://www.bcg.com/en-us/about/mission/values.aspx>. Deloitte boasts of a "powerful, living compass intended to guide us all toward the right decisions and correct actions, whatever situations we may encounter, whenever and wherever we are," as well as an "underlying belief that ethics and integrity are fundamental and non-negotiable." See <https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/about-ethics-independence.html>.

4. Do your consulting firms intend to continue providing any consulting services to, or for the benefit of, the Saudi government or any entity associated with the Saudi government? If yes, please describe your plans to do so.
5. How do your firms evaluate which foreign governments to accept as clients? If available, please provide any official firm documents, in electronic form, that explain this process.
6. Do your firms have a review or risk management process in place to evaluate prospective business projects with foreign governments that could lead to potential human rights abuses or other adverse consequences? If available, please provide any official firm documents, in electronic form, that explain this process.

I request answers to these questions by November 30, 2018.

Sincerely,



Elizabeth Warren
United States Senator