

October 23, 2018

Kevin Sneader
Global Managing Partner
McKinsey & Company, Inc.
55 East 52nd Street, 21st Floor
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Sneader:

I write to request information on the nature of McKinsey & Company's (McKinsey) consulting services provided to, or for the benefit of, the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In the wake of the recent brutal killing of journalist and U.S. resident Jamal Khashoggi by Saudi government officials,¹ and the apparent efforts of the Saudi government to cover up this murder,² it is important for McKinsey to be transparent about its consulting services used by the Saudi government and how these services may have enabled the Kingdom to limit dissent.

According to the *New York Times*,³ McKinsey prepared a nine-page report on public perception of Saudi "economic austerity" policies in 2015 that found that "negative sentiment far outweighed positive reactions on social media." McKinsey's report found that this sentiment critical of Saudi government policies was led primarily by three individuals, which the firm's report allegedly named. After reviewing the McKinsey report, Saudi government officials reportedly arrested one of these critics, imprisoned two family members of the second critic, and shut down the Twitter account of the third critic.⁴ Despite the apparent use of the report by the Saudi government, McKinsey claims that it was "an internal document based on publicly available information and not prepared for any government entity" and suggests it was a "remote" possibility that the information in their report "could have been misused."⁵ The firm also claimed that "we were never commissioned by any authority in Saudi Arabia to prepare a report of any kind or in any form to identify critics."⁶

¹ 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=.293aeefdf992.

² 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.

³ New York Times, "Saudis' Image Makers: A Troll Army and a Twitter Insider," Katie Benner, Mark Mazzetti, Ben Hubbard, and Mike Isaac, October 20, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/20/us/politics/saudi-image-campaign-twitter.html>.

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ Tweet by McKinsey & Company, October 20, 2018, <https://twitter.com/McKinsey/status/1053838356826808320>.

It appears that this report on public perception in 2015 is only one example of the services provided by McKinsey to, or for the benefit of, the government of Saudi Arabia. According to one of the firm's publications, McKinsey "started serving clients in Saudi Arabia in 1957 and ha[s] had a dedicated focus there since 2000."⁷ Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman observed in January 2016 that "McKinsey participates with us in many studies," and a *Financial Times* report described Saudi businessmen referring sarcastically to the Saudi government's Ministry of Planning as the "McKinsey Ministry."⁸ The killing of Jamal Khashoggi has led to greater scrutiny of the lobbying and other services provided to Riyadh by American companies, and some firms have canceled these contracts.⁹

I am concerned that McKinsey's report on public perception may have been weaponized by the Saudi government to crush criticism of the Kingdom's policies, regardless of McKinsey's intended purpose for the information. The reported circumstances surrounding the 2015 report raise serious questions about whether the Saudi government used information prepared by the firm to crack down on multiple critics of the regime, whether McKinsey should have reasonably known that an authoritarian regime would use such information to repress dissidents, and whether the firm should reconsider the consulting services it currently provides at the direction, or for the benefit, of the Kingdom.

In order to have a full, transparent accounting of McKinsey's consulting services to, or for the benefit of, the Saudi government and how this work may have enabled the repression of critics, I request answers to the following questions and requests for information:

1. For whom was the 2015 report on the Saudi public's views of the Kingdom's economic austerity policies prepared?
2. What was the rationale for the preparation of this report?
3. To whom was the report distributed? Was it labeled or treated as a restricted access document?

⁷ McKinsey & Company, McKinsey Global Institute, "Saudi Arabia Beyond Oil: The Investment and Productivity Transformation," December 2015, https://www.mckinsey.com/~/_media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Employment%20and%20Growth/Moving%20Saudi%20Arabias%20economy%20beyond%20oil/MGI%20Saudi%20Arabia_Executive%20summary_December%202015.ashx.

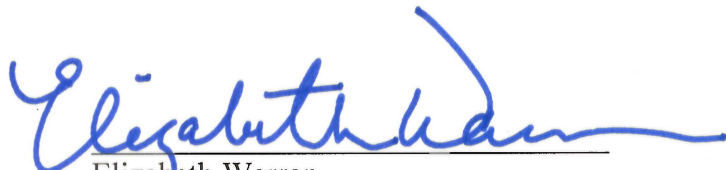
⁸ The Economist, "Transcript: Interview with Muhammad bin Salman," January 6, 2016, <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2016/01/06/transcript-interview-with-muhammad-bin-salman>; Brookings, "Saudi Arabia's McKinsey Shuffle," Adel Abdel Ghafar, May 11, 2016, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/05/11/saudi-arabias-mckinsey-reshuffle/>.

⁹ Washington Post, "Two more Washington lobbying firms drop representation of Saudi Arabia in wake of alleged killing of Jamal Khashoggi," Tom Hamburger, October 15, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/two-more-washington-lobbying-firms-drop-their-representation-of-saudi-arabia-in-wake-of-alleged-killing-of-jamal-khashoggi/2018/10/15/97ef1a38-d0b6-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e9c3c120afb3; Politico, "Gibson Dunn will no longer lobby for Saudi Arabia," Marianne Levine and Theodor Meyer, October 19, 2018, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/politico-influence/2018/10/19/gibson-dunn-will-no-longer-lobby-for-saudi-arabia-381279>; Roll Call, "Saudi Lobbyists in D.C. Caught in Pompeo Pickle," Kate Ackley, October 17, 2018, <https://www.rollcall.com/news/politics/saudi-lobbyists-pompeo/>.

4. Specifically, are you aware of any Saudi officials who obtained this report? If so, please provide a complete list and explain how they received the report.
5. Please provide a full and unredacted copy of this report.
6. Please provide copies of any written communications related to this 2015 report, including, if they exist, communications between McKinsey employees and Saudi government officials or any entity associated with the Saudi government in relation to the report, or any internal McKinsey communications regarding the Saudi government's use of this report.
7. Please provide a complete list of all McKinsey contracts with or for the benefit of the Saudi government or entities affiliated with the government, including all currently valid contracts. Please include copies of all contracts, and the amount of payments received under these contracts, for each year from 2013 to 2018.
8. Please provide a complete list of all reports or other deliverables provided under these contracts, and electronic copies of each report or other deliverables.
9. Was McKinsey ever commissioned by any individual or entity associated with the Saudi government – either in Saudi Arabia or outside of the country - to prepare a report or any other material related to identifying critics or any other indicators of public perception of the government?
10. Does McKinsey intend to continue providing any consulting services to, or for the benefit of, the Saudi government or any entity associated with the Saudi government?
11. How does McKinsey evaluate which foreign governments to accept as clients? If available, please provide any official McKinsey documents, in electronic form, that explain this process.
12. Does McKinsey 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 McKinsey documents, in electronic form, that explain this process.
13. In an official statement on October 20, 2018, McKinsey announced that “we are urgently investigating how and with whom the document was shared.”¹⁰ Please provide an electronic, unredacted copy of this investigation when it is complete.

I request answers to these questions by November 7, 2018.

Sincerely,



Elizabeth Warren
United States Senator

¹⁰ Tweet by McKinsey & Company, October 20, 2018, <https://twitter.com/McKinsey/status/1053838356826808320>.