

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 17, 2024

**VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION**

Mr. Andy Jassy  
President and Chief Executive Officer  
Amazon.com, Inc.

Dear Mr. Jassy:

As the former head of Amazon Web Services during the relevant time period, you likely know I've never relented in my pursuit of the truth about the ill-fated Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure (JEDI) cloud contract.<sup>1</sup> Although this contract ultimately was canceled, Amazon was a main contender for that massive \$10 billion planned award in the 2017-18 time period.<sup>2</sup> Since April 2019, I've raised questions about conflicts of interest infecting that contracting process.

The leading figure in this saga, Ms. Sally Donnelly, a senior advisor to Secretary of Defense James Mattis in the early stages of the procurement, was at the time of her employment at DOD a recent Amazon consultant who should have been recused from advancing Amazon's interests.<sup>3</sup> Ms. Donnelly also continued to receive payments for the divestiture of her consulting business, SBD Advisors, from an Amazon business partner, C5 Capital, and its head, Mr. Andre Pienaar, when she entered DOD service.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Pienaar was a longtime business associate of Donnelly's and now the husband, then the boyfriend, of Amazon's then Vice President for sales to DOD, Teresa Carlson.<sup>5</sup> Ms. Carlson had conversations with Donnelly during her employment at DOD related to Amazon's interest in obtaining cloud business at DOD.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> LinkedIn Profile, Mr. Andy Jassy, CEO, Amazon Web Services (AWS) from May 1997 – July 2021, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/andy-jassy-8b1615/>.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Rosalie Chan, *As bidding closes, Amazon's cloud is the favorite to win a \$10 billion defense deal. Here's why everybody else is so mad about it*, BUSINESS INSIDER (Oct. 12, 2018), <https://www.businessinsider.com/heres-why-amazon-is-heavily-favored-to-win-the-10-billion-jedi-contract-2018-10#:~:text=The%20Department%20of%20Defense%20is,as%20the%20other%20major%20contender.>

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Dep't of Defense, Off. of Inspector Gen., Interview of Sally Donnelly (August 15, 2019) at 9 (when Ms. Donnelly was asked what years she was a consultant for C5 Capital, she responded, "I believe I started . . . the beginning of 2013 . . . [t]hrough when I went into the government and sold the company"), [https://www.dodig.mil/Portals/48/DODOIG-2020-001050%201st%20Interim%20Response%20records\\_1.pdf](https://www.dodig.mil/Portals/48/DODOIG-2020-001050%201st%20Interim%20Response%20records_1.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Senator Charles Grassley, Ranking Member, U.S. Senate Comm. on the Judiciary, to Lloyd Austin, Secretary, U.S. Dep't of Defense, and Sean O'Donnell, Acting Inspector Gen., Dep't of Defense, Off. of the Inspector Gen., especially Exhibit A, Sally Donnelly, New Entrant Report, OGE Form 278e, and Exhibit B, Sally Donnelly, Termination Report, OGE Form 278e, (October 24, 2022), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_to\\_defense\\_deptdefenseinspectorgeneralsbdadvisorsllcconflictsofinterestreview1.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_to_defense_deptdefenseinspectorgeneralsbdadvisorsllcconflictsofinterestreview1.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Sara Sirota, *Pentagon Audit Found Connection Between Mattis-Era Defense Department And Amazon-Linked British Consultant*, THE INTERCEPT (June 14, 2021), <https://theintercept.com/2021/06/14/pentagon-defense-department-amazon-mattis/>.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., email from Teresa Carlson to Sally Donnelly, Subject: AWS Fact Sheet, emailed on January 17, 2018, the day of a Washington, D.C. dinner Ms. Donnelly helped organize, attended by Secretary Mattis, Ms. Donnelly, Mr. Pienaar, Ms. Carlson, and Mr. Bezos, which took place as DOD was finalizing draft bid specifications for the JEDI contract; the "fact sheet" included

Facts I've learned in the course of my investigation have raised serious questions about Ms. Donnelly's clear advocacy for Amazon in its bid to obtain a DOD cloud contract.<sup>7</sup> I've also scrutinized the efforts of Ms. Donnelly and Mr. Pienaar to hide the source of payments from C5 Capital to Donnelly during her tenure at DOD; the true purpose of intimate dinners Ms. Donnelly helped arrange that included Donnelly, former Secretary of Defense James Mattis, Ms. Carlson, Mr. Pienaar, and one of which included former Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos; as well as serious misrepresentations and omissions in the DOD Inspector General's (OIG) report on the JEDI procurement.<sup>8</sup> It's unacceptable that nearly seven years after Ms. Donnelly finished her role at DOD, there are still as many unanswered questions as there are answers, and there's an official report on the matter that isn't worth the paper it's printed on. That must change, so the American people can be confident corruption hasn't taken root in a contracting process funded by the taxpayer.

Since you were at the time the CEO of AWS as it attempted to gain the JEDI contract, you may have personal knowledge of Amazon's interactions with Ms. Donnelly during her tenure at DOD. So that Congress may continue to investigate this public integrity matter, I request that you produce the following records without redactions no later than December 31, 2024:<sup>9</sup>

1. A list of all individual sums paid by Amazon to Ms. Sally Donnelly, Mr. Andre Pienaar, C5 Capital, and SBD Advisors from January 1, 2017, to the present, along with a complete summary of the reason for each payment, all services performed in exchange for each payment, and a list of all individuals who performed those services;<sup>10</sup>

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ten bullet points about AWS apparently designed to promote AWS, including mention of how many new "services and features" AWS has since 2011, how AWS had "been continually expanding its services to support virtually any cloud workload," and how AWS offers a "robust, fully featured technology infrastructure platform in the cloud . . ."), on file with Committee staff.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Sen. Charles E. Grassley, address on the floor of the U.S. Senate, *During Sunshine Week, Grassley Discusses Lessons Learned from the JEDI Cloud Procurement*, YouTube (March 15, 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPF8-kXa7G0>.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, to Michael N. Levy, Partner, Ellerman Enzinna Levy PLLC (attorney for Ms. Donnelly) (October 10, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley\\_mace\\_to\\_michael\\_levy\\_sally\\_donnelly - jedi\\_oversight.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/grassley_mace_to_michael_levy_sally_donnelly - jedi_oversight.pdf); Letter from Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Ranking Member, Sen. Comm. on the Budget, to Mr. Christopher J. Armstrong, Partner, Holland & Knight (attorney for Mr. Pienaar) (October 10, 2023), [https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2023-10-10\\_grassley\\_mace\\_to\\_chris\\_armstrong\\_andre\\_pienaar - jedi\\_oversight.pdf](https://www.grassley.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2023-10-10_grassley_mace_to_chris_armstrong_andre_pienaar - jedi_oversight.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> The term "records" includes any written, recorded, or graphic material of any kind, including letters, memoranda, reports, notes, electronic data (e-mails, email attachments, and any other electronically-created or stored information), calendar entries, inter-office communications, meeting minutes, phone/voice mail or recordings/records of verbal communications, and drafts (whether or not they resulted in final documents).

<sup>10</sup> Whenever Amazon, C5 Capital, or SBD Advisors, or any other company is mentioned in this request, the request includes all employees, officers, affiliates, divisions, subsidiaries, portfolio companies, or any agents whatsoever acting on behalf of the entity, whether the numbered request mentions that or not. For example, a request referencing C5 Capital would include Andre Pienaar, members of the C5 Board of Directors, ITC Secure, ITC Global Advisors, VMAP Investor LLC, etc., "Amazon" includes Amazon Web Services (AWS) and its officers and employees during the relevant time period, etc. Moreover, where the request names any individual, the request includes any company or organization for which that individual is an officer, employee, or agent. For example, a request for Sally B. Donnelly would include SBD Advisors when she was in any way associated with that firm and Pallas Advisors after its formation.

2. All records of communications between and among Amazon, Ms. Sally Donnelly, Mr. Andre Pienaar, C5 Capital and SBD Advisors from January 1, 2017, to April 15, 2020;<sup>11</sup>
3. A complete and unredacted copy of all agreements, formal or informal, entered into by Amazon between and among Ms. Sally Donnelly, Mr. Andre Pienaar, C5 Capital, and SBD Advisors, a detailed explanation of all services provided for each agreement, and a list of all individuals who performed those services.<sup>12</sup> Where the agreement is for consulting or other services performed related to public sector cloud services, or was entered into between January 1, 2017 and April 1, 2018, include all contemporaneous records and communications related to the agreement;
4. All communications between and among Ms. Teresa Carlson, Mr. Jeff Bezos, Mr. Andy Jassy, or any Amazon officers or sales executives, and Ms. Donnelly, Mr. Pienaar, C5 Capital, and Mr. Anthony DeMartino, related in any way to public sector cloud business; and
5. All communications between and among Amazon, Mr. Pienaar, Ms. Carlson, Ms. Donnelly, and their representatives or agents, to prepare the response to this letter.

In responding to this request, if you determine you do not possess responsive records to a given request, please note that in your response along with a detailed description of your search, the terms used to search for records, and what record systems were searched and not searched. Finally, I ask that you make a thorough search of any backup systems that may contain responsive records to assure that the response is complete and includes all records responsive to the request. Thank you in advance for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley  
Ranking Member  
Committee on the Budget

CC: Mr. Jeffrey P. Bezos,  
Founder, Executive Chairman, and former President and CEO of Amazon

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<sup>11</sup> The term “communications” as used in this letter includes communications by any means, including, but not limited to communications by encrypted means, letter, facsimile, email, text/sms or messaging apps, phone call and voice mail, whether or not the means of communication used official Amazon-issued devices, servers, or accounts.

<sup>12</sup> The term “agreements” as used in this letter includes contracts, master services agreements, work orders, memoranda of agreement, memorialization of oral agreements, and other instruments and agreements of any kind entered into by the referenced parties.