



Militaries, Intelligence Agencies, and Law Enforcement Dominate U.S. and U.K. Government Purchasing from U.S. Tech Giants

The U.S. government is dramatically underrepresenting its procurement from tech giants. And, while Amazon & Google won Nimbus, Microsoft licenses are the bulk of EU & Canadian spend.

Jack Poulson, Tech Inquiry

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“How do we make sure that we create [European cloud businesses] using public procurement...in the U.S. we hear about this JEDI contract which is worth gigantic amounts of money and is being challenged as we speak. So, these things will create giants, or reinforce giants, and we do not have such a thing.”

Yann Lechelle, CEO of French cloud provider [Scaleway](#), [July 12, 2021](#).

“Now imagine that an organization like the International Criminal Court wants information on [Israel Defense Forces] soldiers. It doesn’t have to ask Israel for anything. All it has to do is get an order in the country where the data are stored. It’s not Google or Amazon’s fault, it’s just the way the world works. Running any cloud outside of Israel, storing Israeli data outside Israel, is dangerous.”

Eran Feigenbaum, Head of [Oracle](#) Israel, [Aug. 2021](#).

1 Summary

While reporting on relationships between U.S. tech giants and militaries and intelligence agencies is common, it generally focuses on one or two large contracts rather than attempting a holistic analysis. Readers therefore might not have even a vague sense of which companies are receiving the most money and from which governments despite being aware of numerous recent multi-billion dollar contracts – perhaps the U.S. Army’s augmented reality goggles **contract** with Microsoft, the National Security Agency’s **WILDANDSTORMY** cloud contract with Amazon, or the Israeli government’s **Nimbus** cloud contract with Alphabet and Amazon. This report boils down the combination of more than a thousand public contracting records with reporting on classified contracts to produce estimates of overall financial flows between three U.S. technology companies with market capitalizations over one trillion dollars (Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet) and the governments of the United States and several of its closest allies (the UK, Canada, Australia, Israel, and the European Union and European Free Trade Association).

Several factors combine together to obscure analysis of money flows between tech companies and governments:

- Despite being the subject of widespread reporting, many of the largest known contracts with U.S. tech companies are classified and withheld from public procurement databases such as **USASpending.gov**. For example, Amazon’s potential \$10 billion WILDANDSTORMY contract with the NSA is withheld from USASpending despite Amazon and Microsoft’s bids being in a **public legal decision**.^[674] Figure 1 explains the several order of magnitude divergence between USASpending.gov’s reporting on Amazon’s U.S. federal revenue and what is easily publicly accounted for.
- Due to technicalities in U.S. transparency legislation, the official government website for aggregating U.S. federal contracting data excludes whole classes of contracts, including Microsoft’s largest known unclassified government contract (the U.S. Army’s Integrated Visual Augmentation System contract has an upper bound of \$22 billion).¹
- Even in the case of unclassified awards, there is immense ambiguity as to how much of the potential spend is feasible or likely. In April, the Assistant Secretary for Acquisition of the U.S. Army **responded** to Inspector General critique of potential waste in Microsoft’s augmented reality goggles contract by arguing “*Less than half of [the \$22 billion] total is possible for the U.S. Army [to eventually spend]*”, and that the full total included “*all possible sales to sister services, Foreign Military Sales and all maximized service contracts*”. And for the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise contract, there is the further ambiguity as to how the “tens of billions” of potential dollars will be split among the five reported recipients.
- Billions of dollars in contracts flow through intermediaries rather than directly to the tech companies whose products are being purchased. This appears to be less relevant for post-2018 American cloud computing procurement than it was in previous years, but the U.S. government has awarded Dell more than \$2 billion for Microsoft software licenses since 2018. (And, in Europe and Australia, the majority of Microsoft’s government revenue appears to be through intermediaries.)

We have found that an exclusion of even a single one of these categories leads to qualitatively incorrect results when analyzing moneyflows between American tech giants and allied governments. One must include reporting on classified contracts, compensate for even unclassified blindspots in federal procurement databases, account for loose upper bounds on contract values which are ambiguously split between multiple companies, and estimate income from intermediated contracts. (To the author’s surprise, U.S. federal subcontracting data made an insignificant contribution to this study.²)

¹As we later explain, Other Transaction Agreements are not covered by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act (FFATA) which dictated the creation of USASpending.gov.

²Subcontracting data was central to the author’s **previous report** on U.S. military and intelligence analysis of “Publicly Available Information”, such as cellphone location-tracking datasets, and how it relates to the Pentagon’s “Project Maven” surveillance initiative.

Transactions Over Time

This graph shows trends over time for all transactions to this recipient. Hover over the bars for more detailed information.

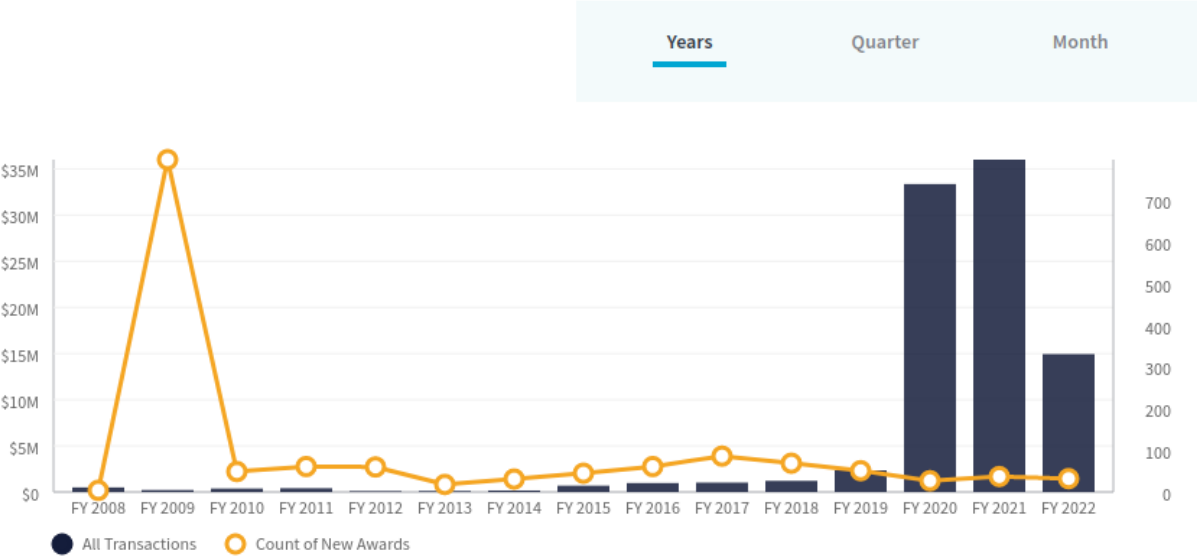


Figure 1: A screenshot from August 19, 2022 of the [USASpending.gov](https://www.usaspending.gov) overview of Amazon’s contracts with the U.S. federal government. We note the difference in scale of USASpending’s listed total of \$92.3 million in per-year obligations (\$14.9 million in 2022, \$36.0 million in 2021, \$33.4 million in 2020, etc.) relative to the Government Accountability Office’s [public summary](#) of the \$10 billion ceiling [WILDANDSTORMY](#) contract awarded to Amazon Web Services on July 7, 2021 (Amazon’s listed bid was \$482.3 million), the U.S. Intelligence Community’s [Commercial Cloud Enterprise](#) (C2E) award to Amazon et al. for “tens of billions”, and the earlier U.S. IC [Commercial Cloud Services](#) (C2S) award to Amazon for \$600 million.[674, 10, 3, 12]

Draft Scope



- **Service types:** All types of cloud services (including Infrastructure as a Service (IaaS), Platform as a Service (PaaS), and Software as a Service (SaaS), and associated professional support services.
- **Security levels:** All security levels including UNCLASSIFIED, SECRET, and TS/SCI with intelligence overlays.
- **Locations:** Worldwide – both terrestrial and satellite/space – with both on- and off-government premises options.
- **Users:** Supporting all components of the IC and other partners that the IC components sponsor for use.
- **Estimated Value:** Tens of billions.



Figure 2: The fifth slide from a March 22, 2019 industry day presentation on the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) given by the CIA’s Directorate of Digital Innovation.[3] The event ostensibly took place at a MITRE facility: “*In the case of an emergency...exit through MITRE 4 front lobby.*” Bloomberg Government published the slides alongside news of the award in November 2020 and cited Federal News Network and Nextgov reports that the awardees were: AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM.[15, 14] FedScoop reported based on “earlier contracting documents” that C2E would have a 15-year period of performance.[16]

Carefully accounting for each of the above-mentioned obstacles results in our finding that more than 98% of Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet’s post-2018 awards from the U.S. federal government are from militaries, intelligence, or law enforcement contracts.³ Whereas in the UK, roughly half of Microsoft and Amazon’s public contracts are security related, and Google has essentially none (though we are at the mercy of investigative reporting for classified contracts).⁴ Despite the Israeli government’s **Nimbus** cloud computing award to Google and Amazon being estimated at roughly \$1.2 billion and explicitly involving cloud computing and artificial intelligence support for the Israel Defense Forces, the percentage of the contract going towards military and intelligence is unclear. Similar ambiguity exists in Microsoft’s billion dollar whole-of-government Canadian Microsoft 365 contract and in Amazon’s contracts with the Australian **Digital Transformation Agency**. In the European Union and European Free Trade Association, public security-related contracts with U.S. tech giants appear to be relatively rare beyond Microsoft licenses to police and interior ministries (for example, of the Czech Republic and Germany).⁵ This situation may change given recent “sovereign cloud” partnerships such as **between** Google and French defense contractor **Thales**.

On an international level, we conclude that Google and Amazon’s recent Nimbus award is worth more than all of the combined public contracts between said companies and all of the governments of the European Union, European Free Trade Association, and Canada since 2018. Further, our analysis finds that, since 2018, Microsoft has been awarded more than fifteen times as much from the governments of the European Union and European Free Trade Association as Amazon and Alphabet combined. (Microsoft’s European government income is primarily from software licensing.)

Overall, this report aggregates the public contracts awarded since the beginning of 2018 between American cloud computing giants Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet and the governments of the United States and several of its closest partners:

- The United Kingdom, which enjoys a “**special relationship**” with the United States,
- Canada, which **jointly** runs “the world’s only binational military command” with the United States (the North American Aerospace Defense Command, or **NORAD**),
- Australia, which joined the United States and the United Kingdom in the **AUKUS** military partnership in September 2021,
- Israel, who partners with the U.S. on **tactical drones** and “**anti-tunnel work**” and further **received** more than \$1.6 billion in U.S. funding for its **Iron Dome** missile defense system (another \$1 billion was **committed** in September 2021),⁶ and
- The 27 countries of the **European Union** and four additional countries – Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein – which make up the **European Free Trade Association**. According to the **European Parliament**: “*The EU and U.S. are the biggest economic and military powers in the world, dominate global trade, play the leading roles in international political relations, and whatever one says matters a great deal, not only to the other, but to much of the rest of the world.*”

³Amazon’s 11 year, potentially \$5.5 billion, **contract** with U.S. Communities (which has since been **renamed** OMNIA Partners) is not included in this study for two reasons: (i) the contract was signed in 2017, and (ii) we have restricted our U.S. analysis to federal contracts due to the fragmentation of state and local records.

⁴While several classified contracts have been made public, such as through the Government Accountability Office’s **summary** of Microsoft’s bid protest of the **National Security Agency’s WILDANDSTORMY** cloud computing award to Amazon Web Services,^[674, 10] we cannot rule out non-public, classified European contracts.

⁵Due to time constraints, European contracts were only partially categorized as to whether they related to national security or law enforcement.

⁶The Israeli government’s most recent bulk procurement dataset, located at data.gov.il/dataset/exemptions, was last updated in February 2021. However, the website itself was also manually searched for more recent contracts using mr.gov.il/ilgstorefront/en/search/.

	Microsoft	Amazon	Alphabet	Total
US	\$13.5B	\$10.2B	\$4.26B	\$28.0B
EU+EFTA	\$6.95B	\$371M	\$59.6M	\$7.38B
UK	\$3.36B	\$2.30B	\$101M	\$5.76B
CA	\$1.50B	\$30.2M	\$4.96M	\$1.53B
IL	\$9.48M	\$610M	\$610M	\$1.23B
AU	\$640M	\$429M	\$3.84M	\$1.07B
	\$26.0B	\$13.9B	\$5.04B	\$44.9B

Table 1: Estimated total per-region award amounts from publicly disclosed contracts for products from Microsoft, Amazon, or Alphabet (or one of their subsidiaries) since 2018. Each per-region total is the result of manually estimating the income value of each sufficiently large public procurement award (including the multi-billion dollar DoD cloud computing contract **JWCC**, which is **expected** to be awarded in December).[8] See Tables 8 and 9 for Amazon’s U.S. awards, 4, 5, and 6 for Microsoft’s U.S. awards, and 11 for Alphabet’s U.S. awards. Each other region results from analogous tables reported in this document, though we note that Amazon and Alphabet’s estimated total awards from Israel are entirely due to their Nimbus cloud contracts. While there is a large amount of uncertainty in the ceiling of the U.S. IC’s C2E contract – which was **publicly estimated** by the CIA in 2019 as worth “tens of billions” – we conservatively interpreted this to mean \$10 billion spread evenly across the five recipients (which include Microsoft, Amazon, and Google).[3, 14]

	Microsoft	Amazon	Alphabet	Total
IL	0.02	1.27	1.27	2.55
UK	1.06	0.72	0.03	1.81
US	0.59	0.44	0.18	1.21
CA	0.75	0.02	0.00	0.77
AU	0.41	0.28	0.00	0.69
EU+EFTA	0.38	0.02	0.00	0.40

Table 2: An analogue of Table 1 normalized by 0.1% of each region’s 2021 GDP (as shown in 3). Thus, each box corresponds to our estimate of a given region’s (front-loaded) GDP-normalized public awards to a particular American tech company since 2018. The coefficient of 0.1% was empirically selected simply to keep the largest normalized values between 1 and 10. Using this lens, we might conclude that the Israeli and UK governments are even more aggressive customers of US cloud giants than the US government.

Beyond the expected dominance of a handful of billion dollar defense and intelligence cloud computing contracts (see Table 3), Table 1 details our earlier claim that Israel’s Nimbus award to Amazon and Google is estimated to be worth more than the entirety of the two companies post-2018 government contracts with the EU, EFTA, and Canada.⁷ This is arguably surprising given that Israel’s 2021 **Gross Domestic Product** (\$482 billion) is roughly forty times smaller than that of the combined EU and EFTA. (See Figure 3.)

The bulk of the uncertainty in our estimates is in the **U.S. Intelligence Community**’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) contract with Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM, which has been **reported** to be worth “tens of billions” over 15 years.⁸[3, 14, 685] Given the uncertainty in how many tens of billions, we took the conservative estimate of \$10 billion distributed evenly among the five vendors. We similarly conservatively estimated the value of Amazon’s **WILDANDSTORMY** cloud computing contract with the

⁷The UK Met Office’s £1 billion weather supercomputer **contract** with Microsoft is a notable – and **controversial** – case of a billion dollar contract which is reasonably disconnected from any security establishment.[568]

⁸Former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper **told CNN** in April 2019 that “*I always cringed any time I was referred to as the head spy. The word ‘spy’ has a lot of negative baggage with it, negative connotations. It smacks of illegality without oversight or supervision.*” While there is a public relations angle to U.S. (secret) security services branding themselves as “intelligence” that **‘speaks truth to power’**,[677] we use the term “U.S. Intelligence Community” as the official title of the collection of (now) 18 components, including the Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, and Federal Bureau of Investigation. As should be clear from our report, our usage of this term is not meant to obscure abuses – up to and including **coups** and torture – committed by said agencies.

Vendors	Buyers	Name	Ceiling	Award	Length
Microsoft	US Army	IVAS	\$22B USD	March 2021	10-11 years
AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle and IBM	US IC	C2E[14]	‘tens of billions’ USD*	Nov. 2020	15 years[16]
AWS	US NSA	WILDANDSTORMY[10]	\$10B	July 2021	5 years
AWS, Microsoft, Google and Oracle	US DoD	JWCC[684]	\$9B*	Dec. 2022*	5 years*
AWS and Google	Israel	Nimbus	4B NIS (\$1.2B)	April 2021	7-23 years
Microsoft	UK Met	Weather Supercomputer[568]	£1.03B	2021	10-12 years
AWS	UK IC	N/A	£500M-1B †	2021*	10 years*
AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, IBM, UKCloud...	UK Cabinet	Cloud Compute	£750M	May 2021	2 years
AWS et al.	US AF	Adv. Battle Mgmt. System	\$950M	Sept. 2020	5 years

Table 3: The largest publicly disclosed government purchases from Amazon, Microsoft, Google, or Oracle since 2018. All fields marked with a ‘*’ are projections based upon the most recently known public statements from the relevant government. The Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability (JWCC) contract is projected to have a 3 year base period with two one-year options.

†’s denote reported estimates from “experts”.

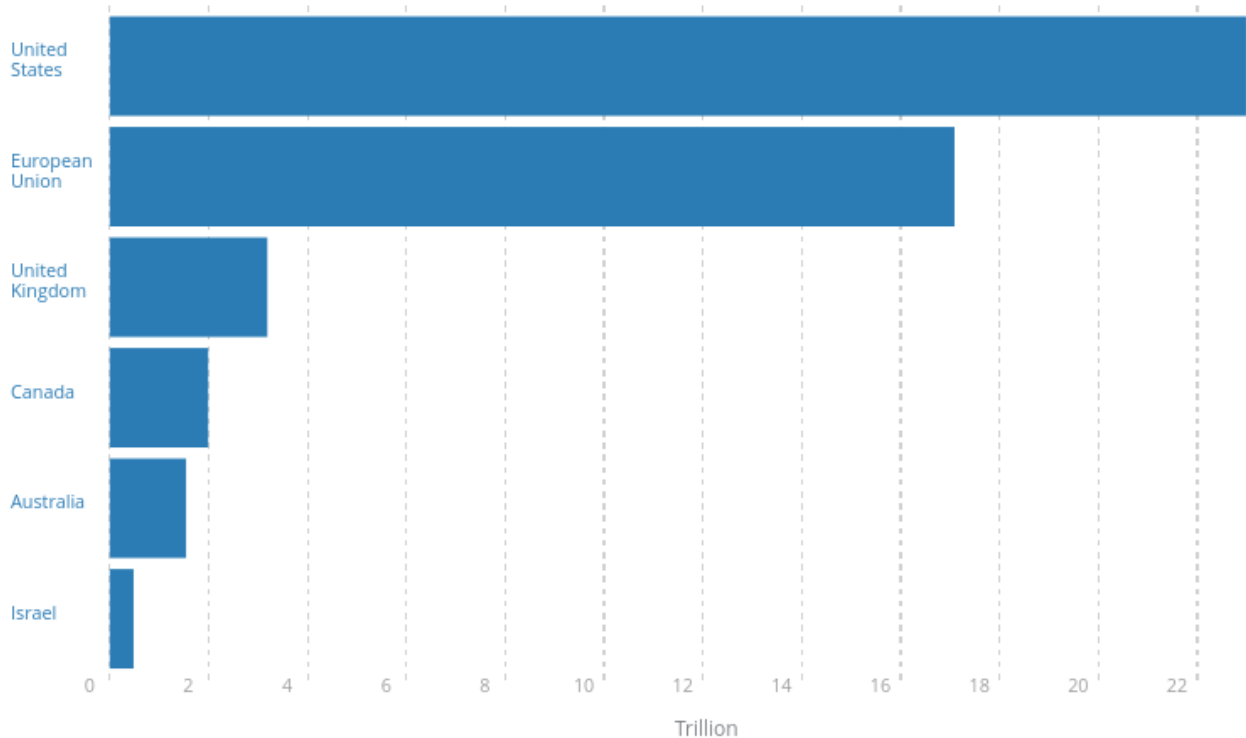


Figure 3: A comparison of the 2021 Gross Domestic Products of the United States (\$23 trillion), European Union (\$17.09 trillion), United Kingdom (\$3.19 trillion), Canada (\$1.99 trillion), Australia (\$1.54 trillion), and Israel (\$482 billion) produced by the World Bank. (Our regional analysis makes use of the combination of the European Union and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) – which includes Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein – and the EFTA contributed roughly \$1.3 trillion in additional 2021 GDP.)

National Security Agency half-way between the contract ceiling (\$10 billion) and Amazon’s published bid (\$482M) and estimated Microsoft’s **troubled** \$22 billion ceiling Integrated Visual Augmentation System (IVAS) contract at \$5 billion (so far, FPDS **lists** \$397M in obligations).[674, 10]⁹ In the case of the Department of Defense’s **expected** December award of the **Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability** contract – which replaces the cancelled Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure contract – we assumed an even split of the \$9 billion ceiling between the four awarded vendors.[8, 684] The Israeli government’s 4 billion NIS **Nimbus** cloud computing award to Amazon and Google was assumed to be equally split between the two companies (at the moment, this is \$610M each).¹⁰ Further, we took the center of Financial Times’ **estimated range** of the value of Amazon’s cloud contract with UK intelligence agencies (**GCHQ**, **Security Service** (MI5), and **Secret Intelligence Service** (MI6)).[1385]

Using said conservative estimates for the large defense and intelligence cloud contracts results in an overall estimate of roughly \$44.9 Billion in contracts with Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet from the governments of the U.S., U.K., Canada, Israel, and EU over roughly the last four and a half years.¹¹ Of this total estimate, Microsoft was concluded to receive roughly 58% (\$26.0 billion), Amazon 31% (\$13.9 billion), and Alphabet 11% (\$5.04 billion). The volatility of Alphabet’s estimate is particularly high, as roughly 96% of its estimated total (i.e., \$4.83 billion) comes from the assumption of equal award amount splits between the five recipients of C2E (which is presumed to have a \$10 billion ceiling), four active bidders for the soon-to-be-awarded \$9 billion **JWCC**, and two recipients for the \$1.2 billion **Nimbus**.¹²¹³

According to a September 2021 **report** from Synergy Research Group, Amazon, Microsoft, and Google then accounted for 69% of the 26 billion EUR European (public plus private) cloud market. One might thus argue that the EU procuring less from Amazon and Google than the UK and Israel is the result of:

1. The tendency of defense and intelligence to dominate government cloud computing procurement.
2. The US’s close security relationships with the United Kingdom and Israel.
3. The lack of large EU-native cloud computing companies.¹⁴
4. Israel’s **Nimbus** cloud computing contract, a unique seven year investment meant to further develop the country’s famously **high density** of tech companies.

Each section that follows breaks down and contextualizes a particular region’s public procurement with Microsoft, Amazon, and Google. The uniting theme outside of the United States is a demand for domestic storage and legal control over the data associated with the use of American cloud computing services. For example, four months after **Human Rights Watch** released a **report** describing Israeli “crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution”, the head of Oracle Israel **publicly warned** that Google’s **Nimbus** award could lead to the **International Criminal Court** gathering information on the **Israel Defense Forces** through the German government.¹⁵ We also discuss in detail the German and French governments’ **troubled GAIA-X** effort to push for European data sovereignty when partnering with American cloud giants.

While Amazon, Microsoft, and Alphabet are the three largest cloud computing providers, we were only able to partially break out cloud contracts as part of our analysis of their total government revenue.

⁹In most cases for U.S. awards, we split the difference between published obligated amounts and the contract ceiling only when at least six months were left on the contract (otherwise, we used the obligated amount as the estimate). In a few high profile cases where there is reason to believe otherwise, such as Microsoft’s IVAS, we estimated less than the centerpoint.

¹⁰As part of this research, the author stumbled on the Israeli government providing the link to Google’s **Nimbus** training materials: googlecloud.folloze.com/nimbus. This discovery resulted in a **report** from The Intercept.[5]

¹¹**JWCC** is an exception, as it is expected to be awarded in December of this year. We have included JWCC because its now-cancelled predecessor, JEDI, had previously been awarded to Microsoft and the pair of contracts (though especially JEDI) is widely acknowledged by the general public.

¹²The author would guess that Amazon received a larger share than Google on both C2E and **Nimbus** but – given the lack of any evidence – remained with the default assumption of an equal distribution.

¹³We do not include the State Department’s **reported** \$10 billion “Evolve” solicitation.

¹⁴The **infamous fire** in OVHcloud’s Strasbourg data center damaged the reputation of the EU cloud computing industry.

¹⁵Oracle’s Israel head, Eran Feigenbaum, is also a **mentalist** and was previously Director of Security for Google Enterprise.

Beyond the ambiguity in contract descriptions and the fact that some contracts include a blend of cloud and non-cloud components with unclear financial breakdowns, understanding the totality of revenue from particular governments allows us to meaningfully compare against tax withholdings. Comparing our overall estimates of government contracting income in the U.S. and U.K. with the most recently available five year period of public tax filing data yielded two striking conclusions: that Amazon was awarded roughly twice as much in U.S. federal contracts as its tax withholdings (roughly \$5 billion in withholdings vs. roughly \$10 billion in contracts), and Microsoft is receiving roughly fifteen times as much in contracts from the UK government as it is paying in taxes (£2.8 billion vs. £191 million).¹⁶

¹⁶Because Amazon's 2022 annual report to the SEC will likely only become public in February of 2023, we used the most recent five years of public data (from 2017 to 2021).

2 United States

2.1 The rise of billion dollar military and intelligence cloud contracts

On March 12th of 2013, Barack Obama’s Director of National Intelligence, **James Clapper**, infamously issued a **public denial** in response to Senator **Ron Wyden**’s question as to whether “*the [National Security Agency] collect[s] any type of data at all on millions or hundreds of millions of Americans*”. Less than a week later, government-focused news outlet FCW **reported** an unprecedented contract between Amazon Web Services and the Central Intelligence Agency worth as much as \$600 million (the so-called “ceiling”) over 10 years and support the (then) 17 members of the U.S. Intelligence Community (USIC) – including the NSA. **According to** a “senior U.S. intelligence official”, the purchasing decision was based around Clapper’s *Intelligence Community Information Technology Enterprise*, or **IC ITE**, strategy.

Edward Snowden’s disclosures of the NSA’s domestic surveillance **arrived** in June of 2013 and brought about **years of scrutiny** as to whether Clapper had committed perjury when responding to Wyden in March. And on the Saturday just four days after Snowden **went public**, Microsoft began a \$575 million ceiling **contract** with the Defense Information Systems Agency – which, like the NSA, is headquartered at Fort Meade.¹⁷[585] A \$710,893 **offshoot contract** between Microsoft and Joint Task Guantanamo (**JTF-GTMO**) started the next year.[586] According to its website:

*“Joint Task Force Guantanamo is responsible for the safe, humane, legal care and custody of law of armed conflict detainees; collection and dissemination of intelligence...”*¹⁸

The Senate Intelligence Committee’s **report on CIA torture** was **released** less than three months after Microsoft’s contract began (and the contract would continue into September 2018).

While details are scarce on the multi-vendor replacement for Amazon’s 2013 Commercial Cloud Services (C2S) award,¹⁹ the Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E), the CIA **confirmed** that C2E was awarded on November 20, 2020 and it is **widely** reported that the five awardees were: Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM. (While the value of C2E is not confirmed, a March 2019 CIA industry day **presentation** had estimated “tens of billions”.[3]) A **sustained** bid protest from Microsoft similarly revealed that the National Security Agency has awarded AWS a \$10 billion ceiling Top Secret / Sensitive Compartmented Information (TS/SCI) cloud computing contract codenamed WILDANDSTORMY. (The Request for Proposals was issued in November 2020, AWS’s bid was \$482 million vs. Microsoft’s \$422.5 million, and, in April 2021, NSA **reawarded** WILDANDSTORMY to AWS.[674])

The NSA’s award of the \$10 billion WILDANDSTORMY contract took place the day after the **cancellation** of the Pentagon’s unprecedented multi-billion dollar commercial cloud computing contract, Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure (JEDI). Because of Amazon Web Services having won the \$600M **Commercial Cloud Services** (C2S) contract with the USIC in 2013 (which IBM **protested**), AWS had been widely assumed to be the recipient of the winner-take-all \$10 billion ceiling JEDI contract. Roughly a year before JEDI’s initial – and somewhat surprising – award to Microsoft in late 2019, the Government Accountability Office denied a **pre-award bid protest** submitted by Oracle which both critiqued the single-vendor nature of JEDI and pointed to the **conflict of interest** arising from Secretary of Defense **Jim Mattis**’s Deputy Secretary of Staff, **Tony DeMartino**, having previously consulted for Amazon Web Services. Around the same time, the private intelligence firm **RosettiStarr** was privately sharing a **dossier** alleging that Jim Mattis’s former Senior Advisor, **Sally Donnelly**, had been paid \$1 million to influence the Pentagon into selecting Amazon for JEDI. Both Oracle and Microsoft **refused to comment** on whether they had funded the RosettiStarr investigation.

¹⁷Both Amazon Web Services and the National Security Agency are listed as **partners** of the **Fort Meade Alliance**.

¹⁸Cf. The New York Time’s “**What the CIA’s Torture Program Looked Like to the Tortured**”.[676]

¹⁹Amazon had **secretly won** a piece of the Department of the Interior’s 2013 cloud contracts, whose combined ceilings were \$10 billion. Despite the Interior contracts’ much larger combined ceiling, Amazon’s \$600 million of Commercial Cloud Services prime contract with the U.S. Intelligence Community was far more widely reported.[13] The Interior Department recently **issued** a draft solicitation for a \$1 billion single-vendor cloud contract.[17]

As was made clear in an August 2019 [interview](#) of Tony DeMartino by the Department of Defense’s Inspector General, DeMartino’s consulting work with Amazon was under Sally B. Donnelly at her previous firm, SBD Advisors. (Donnelly and DeMartino would later jointly found [Pallas Advisors](#).²⁰) Donnelly “sold her holdings” in SBD Advisors in January 2017, and then the firm was [acquired](#) by [C5 Capital](#) in April 2018. C5 Capital’s CEO, [André Pienaar](#), is [married](#) to former Amazon executive [Teresa Carlson](#), who [claims credit](#) for the launch of AWS in Bahrain in 2019.²¹ As [documented by Amazon](#), “*In April of 2017, C5 became part of the AWS Partner Network...for one deal supporting the Bahrain Information and eGovernment Authority*”, and AWS supported two of C5’s startup accelerator programs. Carlson’s further reported attendance of a dinner meeting with Mattis and Donnelly during the development of JEDI helped contribute to a [corruption inquiry](#).²²

After the Pentagon initially awarded Microsoft the JEDI contract in November 2019, Amazon legally protested the award with [allegations](#) that Trump had asked Secretary Mattis to “screw” Amazon. The Pentagon would then [reaward](#) JEDI to Microsoft in September 2020, and Amazon quickly announced the [continuation](#) of its protest (but later [urged](#) the Supreme Court to reject the continuation of Oracle’s ongoing initial protest). In July of the next year, the Pentagon [replaced](#) JEDI with a multi-vendor alternative, the \$9 billion ceiling Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability (JWCC), and in November the Pentagon [picked](#) Microsoft, AWS, Google, and Oracle to bid.²³ (JWCC is [expected](#) to be awarded in December of this year.)

JWCC is run out of the Defense Information System Agency (DISA) [Hosting and Compute Center](#) (HaCC), which also houses the [Stratus](#) hybrid cloud. As a result of delays in the award of JWCC, the previous major cloud effort, General Dynamics Information Technology’s [milCloud 2.0](#), [sunset](#) into Stratus by the end of May 2022. Delays in JEDI had earlier led the [Joint Artificial Intelligence Center](#) (JAIC) to [transition](#) to the Air Force’s own cloud alternative, [cloudONE](#).²⁴ cloudONE is run by legacy defense contract [SAIC](#) but has been [described](#) as “*a one-stop-shop for acquiring secure cloud services from Amazon Web Services (AWS), Microsoft, and Google—always preconfigured to meet exacting DOD security requirements.*”²⁵ The Air Force’s first Chief Software Officer, Nicolas Chaillan, mocked the JAIC’s movement to cloudONE after delays in the JEDI award:

“Two years later, they pretty much came back to us, you know, crying and saying, ‘Hey, we’re going to use Cloud One, because we can’t wait anymore.’..So that’s where JEDI probably for many programs cost a two-year delay, which is insane. I mean, the impact on the warfighter is just out of control.”

In October 2021, Chaillan [publicly resigned](#) from the Air Force, where he led [Platform One](#).²⁶ Chaillan’s resignation focused on his frustration with the Pentagon’s slow progress in software engineering relating to its artificial intelligence adoption – but rather than critiquing the series of obstructionist bid protests lodged by Microsoft, Amazon, and Oracle, he publicly [blamed](#) Google workers who had refused to contribute to the Pentagon’s AI drone warfare initiative, Project Maven.

Despite Google Cloud’s withdrawal from JEDI, it is one of the five recipients of the CIA’s multi-billion dollar C2E contract, one of four companies invited to bid on JWCC, one of two recipients of the billion dollar [Nimbus](#) contract supporting the [Israel Defense Forces](#), [closely partnered](#) with the [State Department](#)’s

²⁰Sally Donnelly is also a member of the Board of Directors of the [Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft](#).

²¹[Google Cloud](#) and [Oracle](#) have similarly partnered with the government of Saudi Arabia as part of launching cloud regions.

²²Jim Mattis was also a [Board Member](#) of the infamously fraudulent biotech company Theranos.

²³Federal News Network [reported](#) that JWCC’s system for tracking awards to each vendor is called AT-AT, which is short for Account Tracking and Automation Tool. As was the case with JEDI, the Pentagon frequently uses Star Wars references for its cloud computing program names.[684]

²⁴cloudONE is largely credited to [Will Roper](#), who has since left his position as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force to become CEO of the commercial drone company [Volansi](#).

²⁵The author recently received a copy of [BAE Systems](#)’ [contract](#) with the U.S. Army for a lethal unmanned tank – the Optionally Manned Fighting Vehicle (OMFV) – and a related [slide deck](#) which noted the usage of cloudONE. It would thus appear that Microsoft, Amazon, and Google are providing cloud computing support for weaponized unmanned tanks.

²⁶As of July 19, 2022, Chaillan’s video explanation is still on the homepage of Platform One.

Foreign Affairs Network, and **recently created** a public sector subsidiary focused on defense that is temporarily led by former U.S. Army Captain **Will Grannis**. Further, former Google CEO Eric Schmidt now runs the **Kissinger-inspired Schmidt Special Competitive Studies Project** through his **innovation fund** as a **privatization** of the **National Security Commission on AI**, which he previously chaired. Schmidt also previously chaired the **Defense Innovation Board**, is Chairman of the Board of **In-Q-Tel** investee **SandboxAQ**, and is a major backer of **America’s Frontier Fund**, which is led by the **first CEO** of In-Q-Tel.

Lastly, the largest public government contract with any American tech giant in recent years is the U.S. Army’s \$22 billion ceiling augmented reality goggles contract based on Microsoft’s **HoloLens**, the Integrated Visual Augmentation System (IVAS).²⁷ [350] The report went on to state that “[*Capability Set*] 4 hardware discomfort still leads to headaches, nausea, pressure on the face, and neck strain.” As a result, the Department of Defense’s Inspector General released a **report** in April stating that “*Procuring IVAS without attaining user acceptance could result in wasting up to \$21.88 billion in taxpayer funds to field a system that Soldiers may not want to use*”. [339] In June, the head of Microsoft’s HoloLens **resigned** over sexual harassment allegations and, in late July, the Senate Committee on Appropriations released an **explanatory statement** clarifying that \$350 million had been cut from the \$400 million IVAS production budget, but \$50 million had been added for research and development. [4]

2.2 Procurement analysis

Tech Inquiry’s contract monitoring efforts began as a means of informing **Freedom of Information Act** requests relating to the U.S. military’s financial relationships with technology companies. Over time, we expanded into monitoring the so-called **Five Eyes**, then the European Union, and then Israel.²⁸ As one would expect from the U.S.’s high GDP, as well as from the high-profile reporting surrounding U.S. **defense** and **intelligence** contracts with American cloud computing companies, U.S. government procurement records are the most important (and highest volume) component of our study.²⁹

Despite popular misunderstanding, **USASpending.gov** is not a complete source of U.S. federal government contracting summaries: for example, USASpending does not include **Other Transaction** Agreements such as Microsoft’s \$22 billion ceiling Integrated Visual Augmentation System (IVAS) **contract** with the U.S. Army. [642] In an official **response** on the USASpending forums roughly two years ago, ostensible U.S. Treasury employee “AmandaC” explained:

“[Other Transaction Agreements are] a type of non-contract, non-financial assistance vehicle which is not covered under the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act (FFATA). As such, it is not mandated to be pulled into USASpending under law. We currently do not pull in any OTA data into USA spending.gov [sic]”

Contracts not covered by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act of 2006 (**FFATA**) are published each morning within the **Atom Feed** of the – otherwise now largely nonfunctioning – Federal Procurement Data System (**fpds.gov**). USASpending itself **retrieves** contracting data from fpds.gov (and, as a result, is roughly 24 hours behind). However, USASpending is the **primary source** for *subcontracting*

²⁷According to the U.S. Army’s 2021 DOT&E report, the “*IVAS includes a heads-up display (HUD), body-worn computer (puck), networked data radio, and three conformal batteries for each soldier.*” [350] As detailed in a **leaked**, Controlled Unclassified Information (CUI) version of a January Annual Report from the Director of Operational Test & Evaluation of the U.S. Army, “IVAS-equipped units experienced movement delays, were not able to distinguish enemy from friendly forces, had limited situational awareness, and struggled to reliably engage the enemy.”

²⁸New Zealand’s **public procurement data** is far less structured – for example, there is no dedicated field for awarded companies – has a significantly lower volume, and is updated less frequently. The recent **React** rewrite of Tech Inquiry’s **Influence Explorer** UI has not yet reenabled New Zealand procurement, and we do not include it in the analysis in this document.

²⁹Amazon Web Services’ 2015 **contract** with the Department of Energy is **unique** since 2013 in that it explicitly names the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA). [587] The award description states that the **Department of Energy** cloud computing award is part of AWS’s (\$600M) 2013 **Commercial Cloud Services** (C2S) award with the CIA. (Since this study focuses on awards since 2018, both the C2S and DoE component are outside of our scope.)

data, which provides overviews of the business-to-business relationships between (“prime”) contractors and the subcontractors they paid to execute pieces of contracts. (Subcontracting data is often of significant interest.) Tech Inquiry therefore retrieves (prime) contract data from FPDS and subcontracting data from USASpending on a (quasi-)daily basis.

The largest public contracts directly between the U.S. federal government and Amazon Web Services, Microsoft Azure, and Google Cloud initiated since 2018 are shown in tables 4, 8 and 11; the one exception is the inclusion of the projected amounts for the Department of Defense’s Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability contract.³⁰ Due to the subtleties of nested contracts, we truncated to the list of sufficiently large awards so that each included contract could be explicitly listed with a corresponding citation.

³⁰By “initiated since 2018”, we mean that the ultimate parent award’s initial signing date was at least January 1, 2018.

2.2.1 Microsoft

Months after **reports** in 2003 of vulnerabilities in Microsoft’s web software leading to a hack of a Defense Department computer, the company surprised many observers by **winning** a \$478 million contract with the U.S. Army which the Los Angeles Time described as Microsoft’s “biggest single order” yet. The order was through a largely forgotten company named Softmart – which was **acquired** by **Connection** in May 2016 – and the intermediated contract would form the template for Microsoft’s relationships with governments over the following decades. And while Microsoft would eventually become the number two provider of cloud computing (behind Amazon), such government licensing revenue gave Microsoft more than a decade head start and remains the bulk of its income from numerous governments.

Microsoft was willing to go much further than simply selling its pre-written software to governments and formed a surveillance **partnership** directly with the New York Police Department (NYPD) in 2012. The “Domain Awareness System” was announced by Mayor **Michael Bloomberg**, the billionaire co-founder of finance and media company **Bloomberg L.P.** who would later run a **failed** presidential campaign and then **chair** the Defense Innovation Board. According to a 2017 **publication** on the Domain Awareness System authored by four NYPD employees:

“the Washington D.C. Metro Police, the Singapore Police Force, and the Brazilian National Police have purchased the [Domain Awareness System] software from Microsoft, our software developer, and have used it to secure high-profile governmental and cultural sites, the 2014 World Cup, and the 2016 Summer Olympics. Microsoft has agreed to give New York City 30 percent of the revenue it derives from selling the software to other jurisdictions; these purchases have already generated over \$1 million of additional revenue for the City.”

The Domain Awareness System was not Microsoft’s only international police surveillance partnership: the year after its launch, Microsoft **announced** its CityNext “smart city” program, with Moscow, Russia and Zhengzhou, China as two of its initial “visionary cities” (as were Philadelphia, Manchester, Barcelona, Hamburg, and Buenos Aires). One of Microsoft’s CityNext partners, **iOmniscient**, differentiated its closed-circuit television facial recognition product through “smell analytics” in a 2016 **post** on Microsoft’s industry blog.³¹

Unlike Amazon and Alphabet, Microsoft’s largest known U.S. federal contract is not for cloud computing, but from another direct partnership: a \$22 billion ceiling augmented reality goggles project with the U.S. Army based upon its HoloLens technology (the Integrated Visual Augmentation System, or IVAS). While not listed in USASpending due to technicalities arising from the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act (**FFATA**) and its treatment of Other Transaction Agreements, the Federal Procurement Data System (FPDS) **states** that the contract was initially signed in March of 2021 and has so far obligated just \$397 million of the \$22 billion upper bound.

After Congress **froze** \$349 million in IVAS funding in March, in late July the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations **released** an **explanatory statement** on the 2023 Defense budget which *decreased* the President’s IVAS procurement budget from \$400 million down to \$50 million but *increased* the IVAS research and development budget from \$46.6 million up to \$96.6 million:

“The fiscal year 2023 President’s budget request includes \$46,637,000 in research, development, test and evaluation funding and \$400,024,000 in procurement funding for the...[IVAS]... While the Committee was encouraged by the...Army’s 2021 decision to extend testing and evaluation for an additional 10 months, it notes that significant development challenges with IVAS 1.1 remain. Recent reports from the Director, Operational Test and Evaluation, and the Department of Defense Inspector General identified concerns with users’ physical impairments while using

³¹iOmniscient’s **dedicated page** on “sound & smell analytics” promises to “Detect gunshots, people shouting, glass breaking” and that its product “Can analyse complex smells from spray paint to sewage and gas leaks to smoke.” Gunshot detection is similarly sold by the **controversial** company **ShotSpotter** and Axon-partner **Flock Safety**. ShotSpotter acquiree **CrimeCenter** was powered by Microsoft Azure, and fellow acquiree **Forensic Logic** listed Microsoft as an “infrastructure partner”.

the system, as well as overall user acceptance rates. The Army has noted that IVAS 1.2 is expected to provide significant capability increases over previous versions.

Therefore, the Committee recommends a reduction of \$350,024,000 to the IVAS procurement request without prejudice. Further, the Committee recommends an increase of \$50,000,000 to IVAS research, development, test and evaluation funding to further mature v1.2.”

Along with the decrease in \$300 million funding for IVAS, the budget increased funding for the predecessor Enhanced Night Vision Goggle-Binocular (ENVG-B) system produced by Elbit Systems and L3Harris. A recent bill report for the 2023 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) published by the Senate Armed Services Committee explained the thinking as follows:

“The committee also notes that a recurring comment from soldiers and junior leaders at IVAS soldier touch points is that not all personnel in a close-combat formation should be equipped with IVAS and that equipping select soldiers with alternative night vision and situation awareness equipment could make the formations more combat effective. The committee believes the Army should experiment with mixed-equipping of close-combat formations in order to best inform its IVAS and night vision systems basis-of-issue, procurement decisions, and overarching night vision strategy.

Therefore, the committee directs the Secretary of the Army to conduct experimentation on mixed-equipping within close combat formations of IVAS, Enhanced Night Vision Goggle-Binocular, and other elements of the Army night vision and situational awareness systems, and to provide a briefing to the congressional defense committees on findings and recommendations of the experimentation, not later than March 31, 2023.”

As a result of this uncertainty, our current estimate for IVAS is an allocation of just \$5 billion out of the \$22 billion ceiling. The Assistant Secretary for Acquisition of the U.S. Army, Doug Bush, had noted in April that “Less than half of [the \$22 billion] total is possible for the U.S. Army”, and that the full total included “all possible sales to sister services, Foreign Military Sales and all maximized service contracts”. (While we find it most likely that less than \$5 billion will be spent, our estimate is balanced against the possibility of a recovery of the project. Last month an unknown percentage of the initial order of 5000 goggles was approved for delivery.)

Our estimates for Microsoft’s percentage of the DoD’s JWCC and USIC’s C2E were equal to those of Amazon, and Microsoft’s largest identified other awards were for enterprise software contracts which were not clearly identified as relating to cloud computing. For example, neither Microsoft’s \$1.79 billion ceiling Enterprise Software Initiative (ESI) award from the Navy nor its Advanced Battle Management System (ABMS) award from the Air Force are clearly centered on cloud computing.[603, 619]³² Both contracts have at least a year remaining, and so we took their estimates as the midpoint between their obligations and ceilings.

Out of our total \$11.8 billion estimate for Microsoft’s post-2018 direct U.S. federal revenue (see tables 4 to 6), more than 98% came from contracts with military, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies. We emphasize the high volatility in our estimate: the Integrated Visual Augmentation System itself has a nominal contract ceiling of \$21.9 billion, though the Assistant Secretary for Acquisition of the Army implied that the true ceiling is roughly \$11 billion. Our forecast of \$5 billion in Microsoft revenue from IVAS is a low confidence estimation resulting from the CUI DoD IG critique, the resignation of the lead of HoloLens, and IVAS’s slashed 2023 budget. The result is roughly 62% (\$7.3 billion) of Microsoft’s estimated \$11.8 billion in post-2018 direct U.S. federal revenue originating from prime awards which were not ostensibly focused on cloud computing.

In a further divergence from Amazon, Table 7 estimates roughly \$1.72 billion in revenue for Microsoft from intermediated contracts through, for example, Dell.

³²The Advanced Battle Management System is the Air Force’s component of the DoD’s Joint All-Domain Command and Control effort, JADC2. In terms of actual obligations, Anduril Industries has been one of the largest recipients of ABMS funds.[601]

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2022-12*	DoD	\$9B*	N/A	\$2.25B	JWCC[684]
2020-11-20	Intelligence Community	\$10B*	N/A	\$2B	C2E[14]
2018-08-01	State	\$244M	\$102M	\$173M	19AQMM18D0108[593]

Table 4: (Projected) publicly disclosed U.S. prime awards to Microsoft Azure since 2018 with a ceilings of at least \$2.5M. **Our estimated total of these awards to Microsoft is \$4.42 billion, of which roughly 96% was noted as involving either militaries or intelligence agencies.** The U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) award was reported in Nov. 2020 as worth “tens of billions” over 15 years with AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM as the performers. (We follow Bloomberg Government in the use of \$10 billion as the conservative interpretation of “tens of billions”.) We also include the DoD’s upcoming \$9 billion Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability (JWCC) award which will reportedly be restricted to members from AWS, Microsoft, Google, and Oracle.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2021-03-25	Army	\$22.0B	\$397M	\$5B	W91CRB219P002[642]
2019-01-11	Navy	\$1.79B	\$262M	\$1.03B	N6600119D0019[603]
2020-11-04	Air Force	\$950M	\$2K	\$475M	FA861221D0096[619]
2018-11-20	Army	\$641M	\$499M	\$499M	W91CRB1990001[661]
2019-09-26	Army	\$179M	\$149M	\$149M	W15QKN1991033[605]
2018-09-26	Air Force	\$110M	\$109M	\$109M	FA87261890002[660]
2018-09-21	SSA	\$87.9M	\$13.6M	\$13.6M	28321318D00060018[597]
2020-07-09	UNICOR	\$75.3M	\$5.74M	\$20M	15UC0C20D00001772[623]
2021-09-30	TSA	\$34.5M	\$6.90M	\$6.90M	70T03021C7667N002[652]
2020-07-31	Navy	\$15.0M	\$3.02M	\$3.02M	M678542094654[620]
2018-06-28	Army	\$13.3M	\$13.3M	\$13.3M	W91RUS18C0018[590]
2018-11-27	FAA	\$11.3M	\$11.2M	\$11.3M	692M1519A00001[595]
2018-08-21	Air Force	\$9.84M	\$9.34M	\$9.34M	FA282318C8004[588]
2021-08-03	TSA	\$8.92M	\$3.12M	\$3.12M	70T02021C6100N001[651]
2018-08-15	Army	\$5.00M	\$1.00M	\$1.00M	W15QKN1896002[591]

Table 5: Publicly disclosed U.S. prime awards to Microsoft – which were not ostensibly focused on cloud computing – whose base award was signed since 2018 with a ceilings of at least \$5M. **Our estimated total of these awards is \$7.34 billion, of which more than 99% were noted as relating to militaries or domestic security.**

Prime	Prime Start	Sub Start	Buyer	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
ECS Federal	2018-09-28	2019-07-17	Army	\$19.2M	\$19.2M	W911QX18C0037[589]
ECS Federal	2020-02-10	2020-10-13	Army/OSD	\$12.4M	\$12.4M	W911QX20C0019[615]
GDIT	2020-09-25	2021-01-20	Army	\$2.58M	\$2.58M	47QFCA20F0049[625]
Peraton	2020-06-10	2021-12-23	DHS	\$778K	\$778K	70RTAC20D00000002[622]
Leidos	2019-03-01	2021-02-25	NASA	\$699K	\$699K	80NSSC19F0293[608]
SAIC	2019-09-10	2020-03-25	Air Force	\$434K	\$434K	FA872619F0096[602]
Accenture	2022-03-01	2022-04-27	TSA	\$385K	\$385K	70T01022C7663N001[670]
Accenture	2019-07-17	2021-05-28	Army	\$266K	\$266K	W52P1J21C0025[640]

Table 6: Publicly disclosed U.S. contracts where Microsoft had a subaward of at least \$250K in a prime award beginning since 2018. **The total of these subawards is \$36.7M, of which roughly 98% are noted as relating to militaries or domestic security.**

Table 7: Publicly disclosed intermediated U.S. awards for Microsoft products whose ultimate parent began since 2018 and have a ceiling of at least \$5M. Awards with more than six months left on their contract estimated the eventual value as the average of the obligated and ceiling amounts, intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30% except for Dell and Peraton, which were estimated as 40%, and the awards to ECS and Procentrix, which were estimated at 50%. In the case of the NSTXL award, only \$76M of the \$100.6M of obligations directly named Microsoft; in both cases, both Microsoft and IBM were named, and so we give Microsoft half of the remainder after giving NSTXL 30% off the top of \$76M. **The total of these estimations is \$1.72 billion, of which roughly 50% was noted as relating to militaries, law enforcement, or domestic security.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2022-04-01	Dell	Veterans Affairs	\$1.64B	\$419M	\$617M	36C10B22F0089[673]
2020-11-01	Dell	Army/DISA	\$311.4M	\$311.4M	\$187M	HC108421F0009[612]
2019-11-19	Dell	Air Force	\$282.3M	\$282.3M	\$169M	FA877120F0004[600]
2020-08-23	Procentrix	SEC	\$227M	\$34.9M	\$65.5M	50310220F0160[626]
	Dell	FAA	\$185M	\$175M	\$108M	692M1518A00002[594]
2021-10-29	Dell	Army/DISA	\$174.2M	\$174.2M	\$105M	HC108422F0028[632]
2020-09-10	NSTXL	Navy/WHs	\$100.6M	\$100.6M	\$26.6M	N00164209G009[621]
2020-09-27	Dell	DISA/OSD	\$93.1M	\$93.1M	\$55.9M	HC108420F0346[610]
2021-09-30	Peraton	DHS	\$92.8M	\$13.4M	\$31.9M	70RTAC22FR0000064[655]
2021-05-06	Minburn	Justice	\$85.9M	\$85.9M	\$60.1M	15JPSS21F00000429[656]
2021-03-27	Dell	CBP	\$77.3M	\$52.4M	\$38.9M	70B04C21F00000286[643]
2021-03-27	Dell	TSA	\$71.0M	\$45.9M	\$35.1M	70T03021F7667N013[648]
2021-11-04	Dell	SSA	\$40.4M	\$40.4M	\$24.2M	28321322FA0010025[658]
2021-03-27	Dell	ICE	\$34.0M	\$11.3M	\$6.8M	70CTD021FC0000031[644]
2022-07-01	Protege Health	CIS	\$24.9M	\$4.5M	\$10.3M	70SBUR22C00000009[669]
2018-06-25	ECS	FBI	\$21.8M	\$15.6M	\$7.8M	15F06718F0001469[592]
2019-05-01	Regan Technologies	FERC	\$16.3M	\$11.1M	\$7.8M	89603019F0049[607]
2019-05-01	Regan Technologies	NNSA	\$16.0M	\$12.6M	\$8.8M	89233119FNA000052[606]
2022-04-19	Dell	FEMA	\$15.1M	\$15.1M	\$9.1M	70FA3022F00000188[665]
2022-04-21	Dell	DHS	\$14.6M	\$14.6M	\$8.8M	70RTAC22FC0000015[666]
2021-12-01	Dell	DISA/Army	\$14.2M	\$14.2M	\$8.5M	HC108422F0044[634]
2021-06-24	Insight	Navy	\$14.0M	\$14.0M	\$9.8M	M6785421F4034[635]
2021-01-14	Dell	DISA/Army	\$13.9M	\$13.9M	\$8.3M	HC108421F0064[628]
2021-03-26	Dell	CIS	\$12.5M	\$12.5M	\$7.5M	70SBUR21F00000090[647]
2022-05-31	Insight	Education	\$12.5M	\$4.2M	\$5.8M	91990022F0332[662]
2022-03-24	Dell	CIS	\$12.3M	\$12.3M	\$7.4M	70SBUR22F00000066[667]
2021-03-27	Dell	DHS	\$11.6M	\$11.6M	\$7.0M	70RTAC21FC0000012[646]
2022-03-27	Dell	ICE	\$11.5M	\$11.5M	\$6.9M	70CTD022FC0000005[664]
2021-06-25	Insight	Navy	\$10.5M	\$10.5M	\$7.4M	N0003921F1039[636]
2020-11-01	Dell	DISA	\$10.3M	\$10.3M	\$6.2M	HC108421F0020[614]
2020-11-01	Dell	DISA	\$10.1M	\$10.1M	\$6.1M	HC108421F0007[611]
2022-06-30	Dell	HHS	\$9.9M	\$9.9M	\$5.9M	75P00122F80128[663]
2021-11-01	Dell	Army	\$7.6M	\$7.6M	\$4.6M	W52P1J22F0142[639]
2021-10-29	Dell	DISA	\$7.5M	\$7.5M	\$4.5M	HC108422F0030[633]
2021-05-25	KCI-Acuity	ICE	\$7.1M	\$4.9M	\$4.2M	70CTD021FR0000099[653]
2021-06-04	Dell	DISA/Army	\$6.4M	\$6.4M	\$3.8M	HC108421F0160[630]
2021-09-29	Carahsoft	Air Force	\$6.4M	\$1.0M	\$0.7M	FA251821F0035[641]
2021-03-27	Dell	DHS OIG	\$6.2M	\$3.4M	\$2.9M	70VT1521F00006[650]
2022-05-01	Minburn	Justice	\$6.1M	\$6.1M	\$4.3M	15JPSS22F00000484[672]
2022-05-02	ECS	FBI	\$5.9M	\$2.9M	\$2.2M	15F06722F0000706[671]
2019-07-01	Insight	NARA	\$5.9M	\$5.5M	\$3.8M	88310319C00014[609]
2021-06-25	Insight	Navy	\$5.8M	\$5.8M	\$4.1M	N6426721F5078[638]
2021-06-16	Insight	Navy	\$5.8M	\$5.8M	\$4.1M	N0018921FZ495[637]

Continued on next page

Table 7 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2022-03-27	Dell	Secret Service	\$5.6M	\$5.6M	\$3.3M	70US0922F1DHS0016[668]
2021-01-01	Dell	DISA/DCMA	\$5.4M	\$5.4M	\$3.2M	HC108421F0041[627]
2020-11-01	Dell	Army/DISA	\$5.3M	\$5.3M	\$3.2M	HC108421F0018[613]
2021-03-27	Dell	Secret Service	\$5.3M	\$5.3M	\$3.2M	70US0921F1DHS0036[649]
2021-10-29	Dell	DISA	\$5.2M	\$5.2M	\$3.1M	HC108422F0001[631]
2021-01-28	Dell	Army/DISA	\$5.1M	\$5.1M	\$3.1M	HC108421F0077[629]
2021-05-28	Dell	ICE	\$5.0M	\$2.2M	\$2.2M	70CTD021FC0000045[645]

2.2.2 Amazon

On March 3rd of 2016, Barack Obama’s Secretary of Defense, Ash Carter, **visited** Amazon’s Seattle headquarters to sit down with CEO Jeff Bezos and the head of Amazon Web Services, **Andy Jassy**. Carter would later explain his visit by stating:

“If we’re going to have the best military in the world...we need to strengthen our partnership with companies like Microsoft, Amazon, Boeing...I’m determined to do that...And the most important ingredient [for our military] is our wonderful people, but secondly, it’s technology”

Four months later, it was widely **reported** that Jeff Bezos had – alongside celebrity astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson – joined Ash Carter’s Defense Innovation (Advisory) Board. Despite Amazon having itself **published** Bezos’s alleged membership on its own website in August of 2016, the Washington Post would later **correct the record** and cite an anonymous Pentagon official that the security clearance process and optics surrounding conflicts of interest had led to Bezos’s withdrawal.

More than a year and a half later, more of the details behind Bezos’s complicated relationship with the Defense Innovation Board (DIB) would be **jointly reported** by ProPublica and Forbes. Carter’s formation of the DIB had been **reported** by the Washington Post as relating to the burial of an internal Pentagon study alleging \$125 billion in administrative waste that had been produced by the related Defense Business Board (DBB) under the direction of Deputy Secretary of Defense **Robert Work**, who would later Vice-Chair the Schmidt-led National Security Commission on AI. And the **whistleblower** behind the ProPublica piece, Roma Laster, had **shifted** from the DIB to the DBB.³³

When the Eric Schmidt-led National Security Commission on AI was **formally established** in August of 2018 by the yearly defense budget bill, one of its many tech executive **commissioners** was Andy Jassy, who had been **leading** Amazon Web Services for 15 years and officially serving as its CEO for two. (Three years later he would replace **Jeff Bezos** as CEO of the entire company.) Under Jassy’s leadership, Amazon Web Services had **reportedly** convinced much of the U.S. Intelligence Community of the value of commercial cloud computing after their 2013 win of the \$600 million Commercial Cloud Services contract. Despite losing the JEDI contract to Microsoft twice – Microsoft Chief Science Officer Eric Horvitz was incidentally also a **member** of NSCAI – Amazon would win the entire \$10 billion ceiling WILDANDSTORMY NSA contract in 2021 despite having a higher bid than Microsoft.

By the time the NSCAI had published its more than 700 page **final report** in March of 2021 – which included calls for a \$35 billion federal investment in “domestic microchip fabrication” and \$40 billion “to expand and democratize federal AI research and development” – Jassy and Microsoft CSO Eric Horvitz would have been sitting members of the commission during:

- **Both** DoD JEDI awards to Microsoft,
- **Both** NSA WILDANDSTORMY awards to Amazon, and
- The USCIB’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (**reported**) award to both of their companies. (And the commission was chaired by one of the largest shareholders of Alphabet, which was reportedly also a C2E awardee.)

Given that Amazon is the sole awardee of the \$10 billion ceiling WILDANDSTORMY NSA contract, as well as one of the (reported) five recipients of the CIA-led C2E contract worth “tens of billions”, and one of the four active bidders on the DoD’s JWCC, our overall estimate of \$10.2 billion of awards since 2018 might come across as overly conservative. However, our goal is accuracy and international contextualization rather than sensationalism. To this end, we have broken down the 10 cloud computing prime awards with a ceiling of at least \$5 million (Table 8) and four cloud computing subawards with a transaction of at least

³³The Executive Director of the DIB, **Joshua Marcuse**, **publicly defended** Eric Schmidt regarding conflicts of interests alleged by Roma Laster and was directly hired away by Google Cloud.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2022-04-27	NSA	\$10B	\$482M	\$5.24B	WILDANDSTORMY[674]
2022-12*	DoD	\$9B*	N/A	\$2.25B	JWCC[684]
2020-11-20	Intelligence Community	\$10B*	N/A	\$2B	C2E[14]
2020-09-23	Air Force	\$950M	\$2.45K	\$475M	FA861220D0065[618]
2018-10-05	GSA	\$240M	\$52.6M	\$146M	47QTCA19D000C[596]
2020-06-01	Air Force	\$35.0M	\$8.81M	\$8.81M	FA002120D0001[617]
2019-11-01	Air Force	\$32.6M	\$11.2M	\$21.9M	FA830720G0064[599]
2019-08-02	Air Force	\$11.5M	\$6.0M	\$6.0M	FA86491999006[584]
2020-09-27	IRS	\$8.2M	\$3.7M	\$3.7M	2032H520P00125[624]
2019-11-01	Air Force	\$5.0M	\$0M	\$2.5M	FA830720G0002[598]

Table 8: (Projected) publicly disclosed U.S. (non-child) prime awards to Amazon Web Services which began since 2018 and have a ceiling of at least \$5 million. **Our estimated total of these awards to Amazon Web Services is \$10.2 billion, of which more than 99.9% is noted as deriving from intelligence agencies or militaries.** The U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) award was [described](#) in a March 2019 CIA industry day presentation as worth “tens of billions” over 15 years with AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM as the performers. (We assume an even split of the contract among the five recipients and follow Bloomberg Government in the use of \$10 billion as the conservative interpretation of “tens of billions”.) We also include the Department of Defense’s upcoming \$9 billion Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability ([JWCC](#)) award which will reportedly be restricted to AWS, Microsoft, Google, and Oracle. We use the total obligations of completed contracts as their value (when they are public), split the difference with the ceiling when at least six months is left on the contract, and evenly divide ceilings among the participants when no obligations are available.

\$2.5 million (Table 9). In each case, we document the contract ceiling, the amount committed to be paid so far (or “obligated”), and what our estimate is for Amazon’s revenue from the contract.

Out of this \$10.2 billion estimate, roughly \$9.5 billion came from just three defense and intelligence contracts: the NSA’s WILDANDSTORMY (\$5.24 billion), DoD’s upcoming Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability (\$2.25 billion), and the broader USIC’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (\$2 billion). Our estimate of \$5.24 billion for the \$10 billion ceiling WILDANDSTORMY contract is a result of taking the midpoint between said upper bound and Amazon’s \$482 million which was made public through the Government Accountability Office’s [summary](#) of Microsoft’s bid protest.[674] The \$2.25 billion and \$2 billion estimates for JWCC and C2E are the results of dividing each award ceiling by the number of reported bidders (\$9 billion split between four bidders, and \$10 billion split between five bidders, respectively).

All of the 14 (sub)awards were with an agency at least tied to U.S. defense, intelligence, or law enforcement, but even if we exclude Amazon’s obligations of \$3.7M from the Internal Revenue Service and \$4M from DHS’s Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency, **more than 99.9% of our estimate of Amazon’s post-2018 U.S. federal revenue derives from intelligence, military, or law enforcement cloud contracts.**

The single award for Amazon Web Services which was intermediated by a specialized government contractor is shown in Table 10, and were estimated its worth to Amazon as \$5.53 million.

Prime	Prime Start	Sub Start	Buyer	Obligation	Reference
ECS Federal	2020-02-10	2020-10-21	Army/USD	\$8.92M	W911QX20C0019[615]
ECS Federal	2018-09-28	2020-02-21	Army	\$7.05M	W911QX18C0037[589]
Accenture	2021-04-30	2021-06-15	CISA	\$4.00M	47QFRA21F0029[657]
ECS Federal	2020-04-23	2020-09-01	Army/DISA	\$3.26M	W911QX20C0023[616]

Table 9: Publicly disclosed U.S. contracts whose parent award began since 2018 where Amazon Web Services had a subaward of at least \$2.5M. **The total of these subawards is \$23.2M, roughly 83% of which was noted as deriving from the U.S. military.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-01	Four Points	SSA	\$23.7M	\$23.7M	\$5.53M	28321321FA0010133[659]

Table 10: Publicly disclosed intermediated U.S. awards for Amazon Web Services whose ultimate parent began since 2018 and have a ceiling of at least \$5M. The intermediary overhead rate of the single Four Points SSA award was assumed at 30%, and AWS was assumed to receive an equal share as one of the three named cloud vendors (alongside Google and Microsoft).

2.2.3 Alphabet

Roughly one week before the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center, The Washington Post provided a **brief history** of the U.S. Intelligence Community’s internal information sharing platform, **Intelink**.^[675, 7] after a former Air Force Master Sergeant was arrested for allegedly attempting to sell information from Intelink to Libya. Intelink had been set up by then-CIA Director **James Woolsey in response** to troubles with fragmented information sharing systems during the Persian Gulf War,³⁴ and The Washington Post painted the following picture of its capabilities in 2001:

“Today, an authorized user could call up a map of Europe, place a cursor on Macedonia and put in queries about military force levels or weapons proliferation. Instantly, the user would get back communications intercepts supplied by the NSA, troop numbers from the DIA and on-scene commanders, and reports on proliferation from the CIA.”

Intelink rapidly expanded over the next year in response to demands for increased inter-agency information sharing after the September 11th attacks. In August of 2002, the “director of knowledge management” within the Intelligence Community’s CIO Office, Stephen Selwyn, **critiqued** the quality of Intelink’s search results on top of the (then) 2.4 million internal webpages: “Searching Intelink is like shooting craps”. The director of the Intelink Management Office, John Brantley, would counter that analysts were shooting craps “with loaded dice”.³⁵

By the end of 2003, Government Computer News had Brantley **on record** that the Intelink Management Office (IMO) had purchased two separate Google Search Appliances: one for its secret networks and one for top-secret.^[9] The same purchases would be **reported** five months later by The Sarasota-Herald Tribune, which was **then** owned by The New York Times.³⁶ And then in 2010, **Pulitzer-winning** freelance journalist Russell Carollo obtained a **copy** of an NSA contract dated August, 4 2003 which procured a “Search Appliance GB-8008” from Google for \$2.08 million.^[2]^{37,38} Carollo’s FOIA results would become a prominent part of a 2011 report from the **Inside Google** project of the nonprofit **Consumer Watchdog** entitled **Lost in the Cloud: Google and the US Government**. The report would – through another FOIA request from Carollo – also reveal details from Google’s relationship with NASA. Consumer Watchdog had **previously reported** the FBI’s \$321,000 contract with “**public sector growth**” company **DLT Solutions** in May 2010 for “Google Earth Fusion Pro” – a reference to the company’s famous interactive view of the earth built from commercial satellite imagery.^[1]³⁹

Google Earth’s utility to the U.S. National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) was explained by one of their spokespersons in a 2008 **report** from MarketWatch:

“The advantage of being able to use that imagery is it’s unclassified; we can take it and give it to

³⁴James Woolsey **resigned** as CIA Director after just two years in the position at the end of 1994 and would later **publicly state** that Edward Snowden should be “*hanged by the neck until he’s dead, rather than merely electrocuted*” as punishment for the trove of internal U.S. Intelligence Community documents that he leaked to journalists.

³⁵Intelink Management Office Director John Brantley **published** a slide deck overview of Intelink the same month.^[6]

³⁶The Herald Tribune’s story also detailed the Google Search Appliance reseller IntraWerks Inc., which was run by Peter Pawlus. According to Pawlus’s **LinkedIn**, IntraWerks operated from May 2002 to January 2005, when it was acquired by Google. Pawlus then ostensibly worked as an “Enterprise Product Evangelist & Sales Executive” at Google until October 2007.

³⁷The author found of copy of Russell Carollo’s FOIA requests – and corresponding responsive documents – in a May 2014 Pando article entitled **Emails showing Google’s closeness with the NSA Director really aren’t that surprising**.

³⁸According to a May 2002 **report** from CNET, Google’s GB-8008 was a “freestanding device” that held eight of the standard GB-1001 units and started at \$250,000.^[11]

³⁹It would later be **reported** by The Washington Post that Carollo had worked in 2016 as a public records consultant for **Fusion GPS**, the company behind the **infamous dossier** on Donald Trump created by former **MI6** officer Christopher Steele. Carollo similarly filed freedom of information requests for Fusion GPS, but this time in support of an unnamed client’s interest in a Chinese company’s \$1.2 billion Beverly Hills hotel and condo project. As part of the campaign against the real estate project, Carollo contributed a quote to the local newspaper which resulted in the headline “*Pulitzer Prize-winning Journalist Petitions Court For Public Information On Mayor’s Domestic Disputes With Ex-Wife.*” The former mayor subsequently described Fusion’s work as “dirty politics and misinformation”.

a coalition partner and talk about what we see... We're not only interested, we're the government agency that developed Google's technology and spun it off into the private sector"

The NGA spokesperson was referring to the venture capital arm of the U.S. Intelligence Community, **In-Q-Tel**, having **invested** on behalf of the NGA (under its original name) in a company named Keyhole in February 2003.⁴⁰ Google **acquired** Keyhole in October of 2004 and transformed Keyhole's product into Google Earth; In-Q-Tel's lead investor into Keyhole, **Rob Painter** – according to his **LinkedIn** – became Chief Technologist of Google Federal in June 2005.^{41,42}

Despite Painter's optimistic statements about Google Federal's growth to journalists between **2007** and **2008**,⁴³ a MarketWatch **report** from February 2009 cited a significant decline in Google's public U.S. federal sales since 2006:

"data available from the Office of Management and Budget's site, Usaspending.gov, show Google's contracts with U.S. federal agencies have declined from \$413,960 in 2006 to \$81,046 in 2008...Microsoft Corp., [on the other hand], has seen the value of its federal-government contracts grow from \$59.5 million in 2006 to \$63.2 million in 2008, according to Usaspending.gov."

By June of 2009, Painter had left Google to **found** the national security investment firm **Razor's Edge** and become an executive in Razor's Edge investee **Blackbird Technologies** (which was **purchased** by Raytheon in November 2014 for \$420 million).⁴⁴ According to Painter's **bio** for his award from **Ohio University**, while at Raytheon he "*crafted and managed several classified, special access programs supporting both technology development and foreign and domestic intelligence operations for Intelligence Community and Department of Defense partners.*" (In recent history, the NGA appears to be procuring Google Maps **through Thermopylae Science & Technology**, a **subsidiary** of Swedish IT company **Hexagon**.)

Alphabet's investment in satellite surveillance technology would expand throughout the 2010's, albeit with more complicated financial relationships. In June of 2014, Google paid \$500 million to **acquire** Skybox Imaging, a sub-meter resolution satellite imaging company. But less than three years later, Google had **renamed** Skybox Imaging as Terra Bella and **sold** the company to its satellite imagery competitor, **Planet Labs**. (Google became an investor in Planet Labs as part of the **deal**.)

During the time period between Google's acquisition of Terra Bella and partnership with Planet, the renamed Google Ventures (**GV**):

- **Led** the Series B investment round for **Orbital Insight**, a "geospatial big data company" **founded** by the former **Engineering Director** of Google Books, and
- **Invested** in the Series A of MapD, a GPU-powered "**common operational picture**" company which later renamed to OmniSci and then to **HEAVY.AI**.

Eric Schmidt's venture capital firm **Innovation Endeavors** was years ahead of Google itself and had **invested** in Planet Labs as early as 2013 as part of its Series A. In-Q-Tel's investments mirrored those of Alphabet

⁴⁰The NGA was **previously known** as the National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA) from its founding on Oct. 1, 1996 until Nov. 24, 2003. In-Q-Tel's investment in Keyhole took place before NIMA renamed to the NGA.

⁴¹The CEO of Keyhole, **John Hanke**, became the head of Google's Geo division and later founded **Niantic**, the company that made Pokemon Go. Beyond an **investment** from a **firm** run by the first CEO of In-Q-Tel, **Gilman Louie**, Niantic announced the **hiring** of disinformation researcher Camille Francois from her previous role at **Graphika** in November of 2021. In December of 2017 **The Syria Campaign** published a **report** based on Graphika's work entitled: *Killing the Truth: How Russia is fueling a disinformation campaign to cover up war crimes in Syria*.

⁴²Google acquired at least two In-Q-Tel **investees** beyond Keyhole: **Appurify** (in 2014) and **Apigee** (in 2016). And Alphabet's quantum computing spin-out, SandboxAQ, **announced** In-Q-Tel as an investor in May.

⁴³Nearly three years and seventh months had passed between Google's August 4, 2003 Search Appliance contract with the NSA and The Washington Post's 2007 report quoting Rob Painter. Given the anonymous Google officials' claim that Google had started selling to the U.S. government roughly three years prior, Google's 2003 Search Appliance sales to the NSA would appear to be one of the company's first contracts with the U.S. government.

⁴⁴According to a July 2017 publication from **Wikileaks** as part of its **Vault 7** disclosures, between November 2014 and September 2015 Raytheon Blackbird had submitted documents to the CIA on its "UMBRAGE Component Library". Wikileaks described the documents as "Proof-of-Concept ideas and assessments for malware attack vectors".

and Schmidt: In-Q-Tel invested in Orbital Insight in August 2015, in MapD’s Series A in 2016, and in OpenGeo in July 2013 – which would rename to Boundless Spatial before being acquired by Planet Labs in 2018 (with some complication).⁴⁵

Google’s work with the U.S. national security community became a sustained component of front-page news in 2018 through a series of work stoppages and protests over the company’s work on military cloud computing and drone surveillance (as part of the Pentagon’s Algorithmic Warfare Cross-Functional Team, which was more commonly known as Project Maven).[340] Reported emails from Google’s head lawyer, Kent Walker, would later claim that the company had – in response to worker protests – transitioned from developing custom drone AI surveillance into selling the DoD “off-the-shelf Google Cloud Platform (basic compute service, rather than Cloud AI or other Cloud Services)”. And Google dropped out of bidding on the Pentagon’s (now cancelled) \$10 billion JEDI cloud contract in October 2018.

At the time of Google’s decision to damp its support for Project Maven, the Pentagon had feared a domino effect of other U.S. tech companies refusing to build custom software for warfare. Rather than, say, mitigating the U.S. military’s human rights abuses by ending support for the Saudi- and UAE-led war in Yemen, the Executive Director of the Schmidt-led Defense Innovation Board, Joshua Marcuse, led the development of a set of technical principles for the Department of Defense’s AI development. (Marcuse was later directly hired from the Defense Innovation Board into Google Cloud’s public sector division in March 2020.) The billionaire Michael Bloomberg was one of the first to chastise Google for its decision not to build custom drone warfare technology, and in June of this year he was sworn in as Chair of the Defense Innovation Board.⁴⁶ The next year, billionaire Peter Thiel would go further by calling for the FBI and CIA to investigate Google for its “seemingly treasonous” decision on Maven. While serving as Director of the the U.S. government’s Defense Digital Services, Chris Lynch, criticized tech workers who did not want to build weapons systems for not “show[ing] up at the table”; three months later Lynch would found the for-profit AI defense contractor Rebellion Defense, which advertises Eric Schmidt as both an investor and board member.⁴⁷

A previous analysis conducted by the author on the Project Maven subawards under ECS Federal led to reporting on both the central roles of Microsoft and Amazon and the numerous Google- and Schmidt-backed startups (including Rebellion Defense, Orbital Insight, and Clarifai). While the fact that Project Maven extended beyond Google was previously reported, the author was arguably the first to provide a detailed breakdown of the subcontractors and their work based upon analysis of public records. Beyond the widely reported drone surveillance component, Project Maven included similar computer vision for satellite imagery, as well as surveillance of “Publicly Available Information”, the deployment of facial recognition, and custom software for analyzing Synthetic Aperture Radar.

Google itself reportedly accepted part of the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) contract in November 2020 which was earlier estimated by the CIA to be worth “tens of billions” of dollars. (To the best of the author’s knowledge, there are no reported protests from workers at any of the five companies which are reportedly performing on C2E: Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM.) And in November of 2021, Google Cloud’s CEO officially announced that the company “proudly serve[s] the US military” and would “proudly work with the DoD” on their replacement for JEDI, the Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability. And in June of this year, Google Cloud announced the spin-off of a federal division to be led by former U.S. Army Captain Will Grannis. (Alphabet’s AI and quantum computing focused spin-out chaired by Eric Schmidt, SandboxAQ, similarly announced an investment from In-Q-Tel in May.)⁴⁸

Our estimations of Google Cloud’s income from the combination of its public contracts, its reported

⁴⁵ According to In-Q-Tel’s most recent public tax filing, OmniSci (now HEAVY.AI) was its single largest independent contractor in Fiscal Year 2020 (receiving \$4.25M from In-Q-Tel in the twelve months ending March 31, 2021).

⁴⁶ Michael Bloomberg had in 2012 helped shepherd the surveillance partnership between Microsoft and the New York Police Department known as the Domain Awareness System.

⁴⁷ Rebellion Defense was reportedly valued at a billion dollars as of September 2021.

⁴⁸ And cybersecurity company Mandiant’s March announcement of its intent to be acquired by Google has been potentially stalled by a shareholder lawsuit.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2022-12*	DoD	\$9B*	N/A	\$2.25B	JWCC[684]
2020-11-20	Intelligence Community	\$10B*	N/A	\$2B	C2E[14]
2019-12-19	Air Force	\$1.9M	\$1.9M	\$1.9M	FA87262090001[604]

Table 11: (Projected) publicly disclosed U.S. prime awards to Google Cloud since 2018 with a ceilings of at least \$1.5M. **Our estimated total of these awards to Google is \$4.25B, 100% of which originate from militaries or intelligence agencies.** The U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise (C2E) award was reported in Nov. 2020 as worth “tens of billions” over 15 years with AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, and IBM as the performers. (We follow Bloomberg Government in the use of \$10B as the conservative interpretation of “tens of billions”.) We also include the DoD’s upcoming \$9B Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability (JWCC) award which will reportedly be restricted to members from AWS, Microsoft, Google, and Oracle.

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Ceiling	Obligation	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-01	Four Points	SSA	\$23.7M	\$23.7M	\$5.53M	28321321FA0010133[659]
2022-06-30	Daston	GSA	\$13.3M	\$1.49M	\$5.18M	47HAA022F0129[?]
2021-09-16	Arch Systems	DHS S&T	\$3.4M	\$1.2M	\$0.84M	70RSAT21FR0000112[654]

Table 12: Publicly disclosed intermediated U.S. awards for Google Cloud whose ultimate parent began since 2018 which have a ceiling of at least \$2.5M. Awards with more than six months left on their contract estimated the eventual value as the average of the obligated and ceiling amounts, intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is \$11.6 million.**

C2E award, and its current bid for the multi-vendor JWCC are shown in Table 11. Outside of the DoD’s JWCC and theUSIC’s C2E, Alphabet only has a single public contract with the U.S. federal government since 2018 which has a ceiling of at least \$1.5 million. Further, Table 12 shows that there are only three intermediated U.S. federal contracts since 2018 whose ceiling was at least \$2.5 million and whose procurement descriptions made clear that the focus was procurement of Google Cloud.

The result is that **virtually 100% of Alphabet’s estimated post-2018 revenue from the U.S. federal government (\$4.25 billion) comes from the U.S. Intelligence Community’s Commercial Cloud Enterprise and its assumed share of the Department of Defense’s Joint Warfighting Cloud Capability.** An additional estimation of \$6.4 million comes from awards intermediated by **Four Points** and **Arch Systems**.

Given Alphabet’s relatively small amount of public contracting relative to Amazon and Microsoft, it would be reasonable to assume that Alphabet similarly received a smaller portion of C2E – and will receive a smaller portion of JWCC – than Amazon and Microsoft. Nevertheless, for the sake of a keeping our methodology simple we have assumed equal distributions of awards in every case where we do not have citable evidence to the contrary.

2.2.4 Comparison between procurement and federal taxes

Relative to estimating income from U.S. federal contracting, it is straightforward to measure the U.S. federal tax withholdings of Alphabet, Microsoft and Amazon. While we cannot cover the exact same time periods, we can compare the companies’ withholdings as reported to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission for the five fiscal years from 2017 to 2021 with our estimation of their (front-loaded) contract revenue from 2018 through (most of) 2022. As shown in Table 13, Alphabet’s withholdings from 2017 through 2021 were \$35.3 billion, versus \$23.6 billion for Microsoft and \$5.14 billion for Amazon. When compared with the 2018 to present U.S. federal contract revenue estimates, we see that Alphabet is withholding more than eight times as much in taxes as we estimate it receiving from the U.S. federal government (\$35.3 billion

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Total
Alphabet	\$12.8B	\$3.20B	\$2.27B	\$5.81B	\$11.2B	\$35.3B
Microsoft	\$2.185B	\$15.47B	-\$929M	\$3.595B	\$3.31B	\$23.6B
Amazon	-\$339M	\$436M	\$1.076B	\$1.684B	\$2.284B	\$5.14B

Table 13: Amazon, Microsoft, and Alphabet’s U.S. federal tax withholdings (current plus deferred) from 2017 to 2021, as reported in their annual reports to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (Form 10-Ks). Microsoft’s amounts were sourced from their **FY2019** and **FY2021** filings (with fiscal years ending June 30),^[678, 681] Amazon’s from their **FY2019** and **FY2021** filings (with fiscal years ending Dec. 31),^[680, 683] and Alphabet’s from their **FY2019** and **FY2021** filings (with fiscal years ending Dec. 31).^[679, 682] Because Alphabet reported its combined U.S. federal and state and local taxes, we compensated by subtracting out their reported percentage of state and local taxes.

vs. \$4.25 billion), Microsoft is withholding roughly 75% more (\$23.6 billion vs. \$13.5 billion), and Amazon roughly half as much (\$5.14 billion vs. \$10.2 billion). Thus, according to our estimates, Amazon is the only company that we estimate to be receiving more from the U.S. federal government in taxes than what it reported in withholdings – and the margin is roughly \$5 billion.⁴⁹

⁴⁹The passage of the **Tax Cuts and Jobs Act** (TCJA) led to significant temporary increases in tax withholdings for many businesses in 2017 and 2018. Our **earlier analysis** attributed \$10.5 billion in one-time TCJA charges for Alphabet and \$13.9 billion for Microsoft; we attributed \$946 million in one-time TCJA *benefits* to Amazon. If we had removed one-time TCJA impacts from all three companies’ withholdings, we would estimate Alphabet as withholding nearly six times as much as its frontloaded revenue (\$24.8 billion vs. \$4.25 billion), Microsoft withholding roughly 72% as much (\$9.7 billion vs. \$13.5 billion), and Amazon withholding roughly 60% as much (\$6.1 billion vs. \$10.2 billion).

3 European Union and European Free Trade Association

Despite the European Union’s economy being a large fraction of that of the United States (see Figure 3), one of the most surprising findings of our analysis is that its public government procurement from Amazon and Alphabet is, as a whole, less than that of the much smaller economies of the UK and Israel. (Microsoft’s government procurement tracks more closely with GDP and we caution that the government procurement market is typically much smaller than the private sector market. And recent reporting from Reuters lists Germany as “Amazon’s second-biggest market after the United States”.)

National security concerns have been intimately tied into government cloud computing procurement since at least the Snowden revelations, which unveiled the National Security Agency’s spying on both then German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** and (ostensibly) on Gmail, Google Maps, and Google Docs usage in Google Cloud’s internal networks.⁵⁰ (See Figure 4 for the infamous “SSL Added and removed here! [smiley face]” slide.) A combination of fears of U.S. government surveillance and concern for the anti-competitive practices of Amazon, Microsoft, and Google have led to widespread international adoption of “sovereign cloud” initiatives, which – in their typical form – involve a large domestic telecom or technology company intermediating between the local government and American technology infrastructure (often through a joint venture).

3.1 Scaleway and GAIA-X

Roughly one year ago, French cloud provider Scaleway hosted a panel entitled “*Demystifying European Digital Sovereignty*” alongside Microsoft’s “Top Lawyer in Europe”, Jeff Bullwinkel.⁵¹ Tensions were apparent, and Mr. Bullwinkel explicitly defended Microsoft’s access to European markets: “*digital sovereignty shouldn’t be about shielding Europeans from technology outside of Europe...and should be based upon...competitive and open markets*”. By contrast, Scaleway’s CEO, Yann Lechelle, emphasized the need for Europe to create its own digital giants to become a true peer of the United States and China: “[*Europe is*] *highly regulated and, at the same time, extremely liberal. So, while we let other players – say, from the U.S. – take on the bulk of the market share, we also create barriers of entry to allow smaller players to emerge and take over or become an AWS equivalent...To me, multilateralism at the geopolitical level involves the creation of massive players on every continent*”.

While not a household name in the United States, Scaleway was founded in 1999 by French billionaire **Xavier Niel** (originally under the name ‘Online’) and is a subsidiary of French telecommunications provider **Iliad**, of which Niel is the majority owner. Just as Jeff Bezos bought the Washington Post and **Pierre Omidyar** founded The Intercept in 2013 – and **Marc Benioff** purchased TIME magazine in 2018 – Niel became a co-owner of French center-left newspaper **Le Monde** in 2010.

Scaleway had in 2020 helped found Europe’s primary effort to remain digitally independent in the face of the dominant market power of American tech giants: GAIA-X. Despite protests from Lechelle, GAIA had in April of 2021 admitted as members the very organizations they hoped to counter: American cloud giants Amazon, Microsoft, and Google, as well as American data fusion company **Palantir** and the Chinese networking equipment provider **Huawei**. (See Figure 5 for an overview of how the market caps of American, European, and Chinese members of GAIA-X compare – reported values for Scaleway’s revenue suggest a relatively negligible valuation.)

By October, Lechelle was on record in a **POLITICO** piece on how said companies had infiltrated the organization: “*First, they knock on the door, then they take a step in the door...Very quickly it became clear that these guys were dominant in the technical groups*”. And then in November, Scaleway’s CEO publicly

⁵⁰According to reporting from Reuters, “the NSA used Danish information cables to spy on senior officials in Sweden, Norway, France and Germany, including former German Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier and former German opposition leader Peer Steinbrück”.

⁵¹At the time, Mr. Bullwinkel’s title was listed as “Assistant General Counsel and Director of Legal and Corporate Affairs for Asia Pacific & Japan for Microsoft”. Clearly he was well within the process of transitioning his area of responsibility into Europe.



Current Efforts - Google

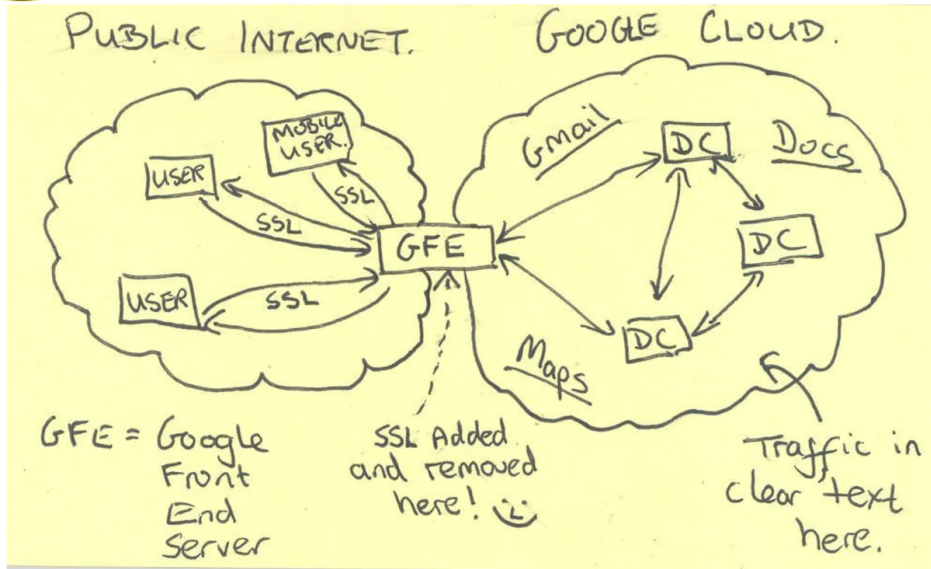


Figure 4: A slide from a National Security Agency Special Source Operations presentation entitled “Google Cloud Exploitation” published by The Washington Post in October 2013. The implication was that the NSA was surveilling Google Cloud content – including usage of Gmail, Google Docs, and Google Maps – by tapping Google’s unencrypted internal data flows. Google’s then Executive Chairman, Eric Schmidt, publicly denounced the NSA’s ostensible spying on Google and, the next year, Google announced an increase in its internal deployment of encryption.

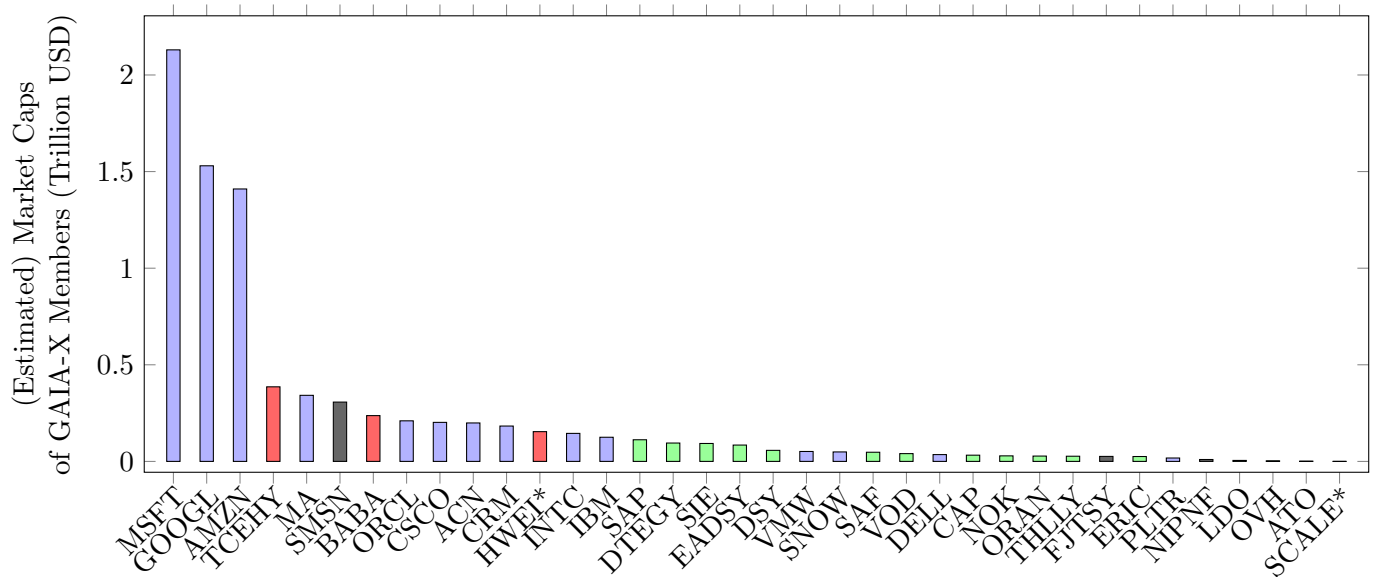


Figure 5: Market capitalizations of a large selection of the members of the GAIA-X European sovereign cloud initiative. American companies are colored blue, Chinese companies red, European companies green, and all other companies black. *Market capitalizations are as of August 20, 2022 – except for Huawei and Scaleway, whose market capitalizations were approximated.*



(a) Scaleway CEO Yann Lechelle. (b) Microsoft Associate General Counsel Jeff Bullwinkel.

Figure 6: Both Scaleway CEO Yann Lechelle and Microsoft Associate General Counsel Jeff Bullwinkel were participants in a July 12, 2021 panel entitled “Demystifying European Digital Sovereignty”. Scaleway was a founding French member of the European digital sovereignty association GAIA-X, while Microsoft joined with a nominal Belgian affiliation.

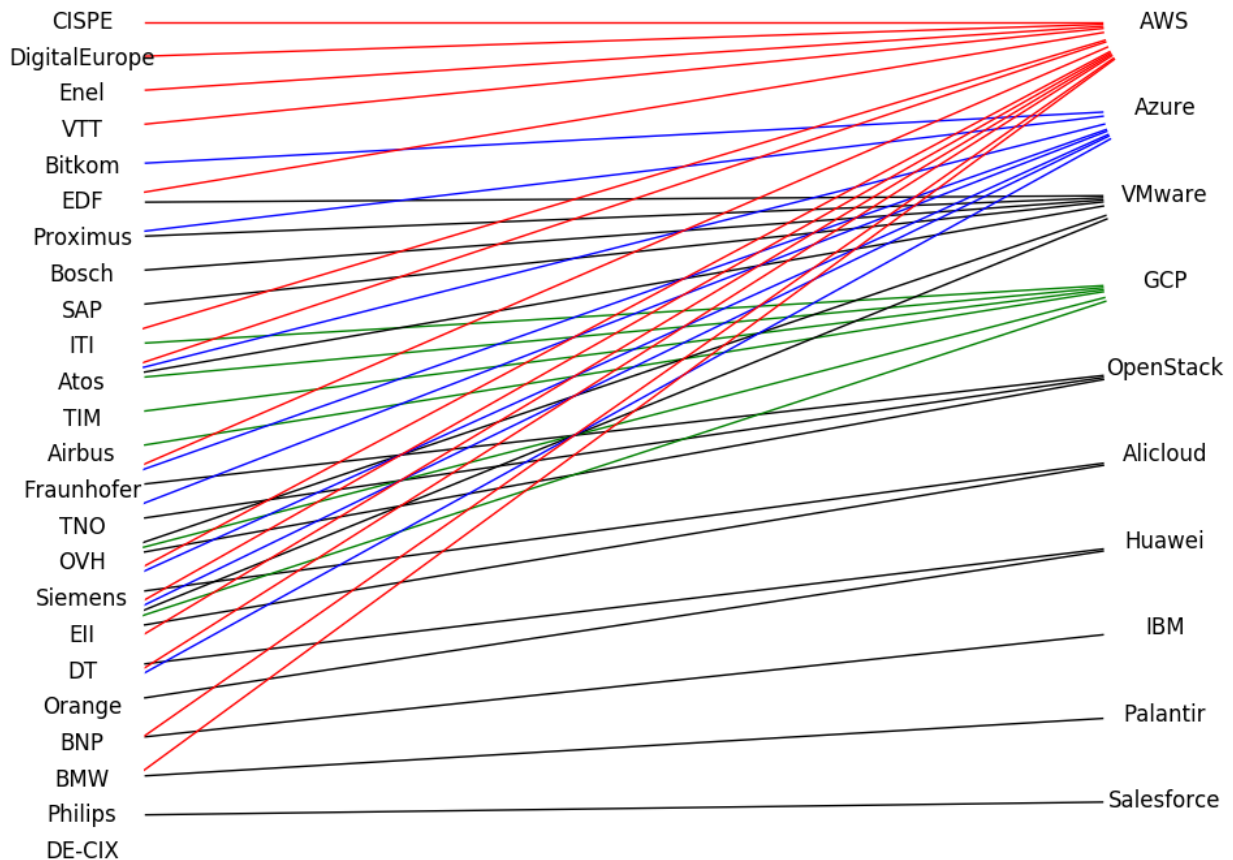


Figure 7: The cloud vendors used by the companies represented on the new board of GAIA-X, as reported in a [spreadsheet](#) published by Scaleway CEO Yann Lechelle.

withdrew his company from GAIA-X and published an [overview](#) of the “broken promises” of the effort. One of Lechelle’s major complaints was that the European cloud providers had, with the sole exception of the larger French cloud provider OVH, no representation in GAIA-X’s new board. And that the new board was instead dominated by a collection of trade associations representing American tech giants (e.g., [CISPE](#), [DigitalEurope](#), and [Bitkom](#)) as well as “vertical industry players in Germany (BMW, Volkswagen, Deutsche Bank, etc.) using mostly non-European cloud”.

Lechelle and Scaleway underscored the ties between GAIA-X’s new board and American tech giants by publishing a [spreadsheet](#) detailing the cloud vendors used by each member, which we demonstrate in Figure 7. Beyond the influence Amazon et al. wielded as the cloud suppliers of the GAIA board members, Lechelle elaborated that “tech diplomats” had “flooded...proposals and comments that...the European collective could not possibly cope with”. The combination had proven too much for his company to continue supporting the consortia, and so Scaleway would instead contribute to a strictly European alternative to GAIA-X, [EUCLIDIA](#).

The politics surrounding GAIA-X complicated significantly in April of this year after the EU’s antitrust chief, Margrethe Vestager, [downplayed](#) an antitrust claim submitted against Microsoft by two European cloud providers – Germany’s NextCloud and France’s OVH, who are both members of GAIA-X⁵² – on the grounds that GAIA-X had enabled competition: “I basically see it as pro-competitive when you have

⁵²OVH was even a [Founding Member](#) of GAIA-X. And its roll as a champion of EU-based cloud computing capability is complicated by continuing scrutiny for the [massive fire](#) which destroyed OVH’s Strasbourg data center in March 2021 – roughly one month before GAIA-X admitted in the American tech giants.

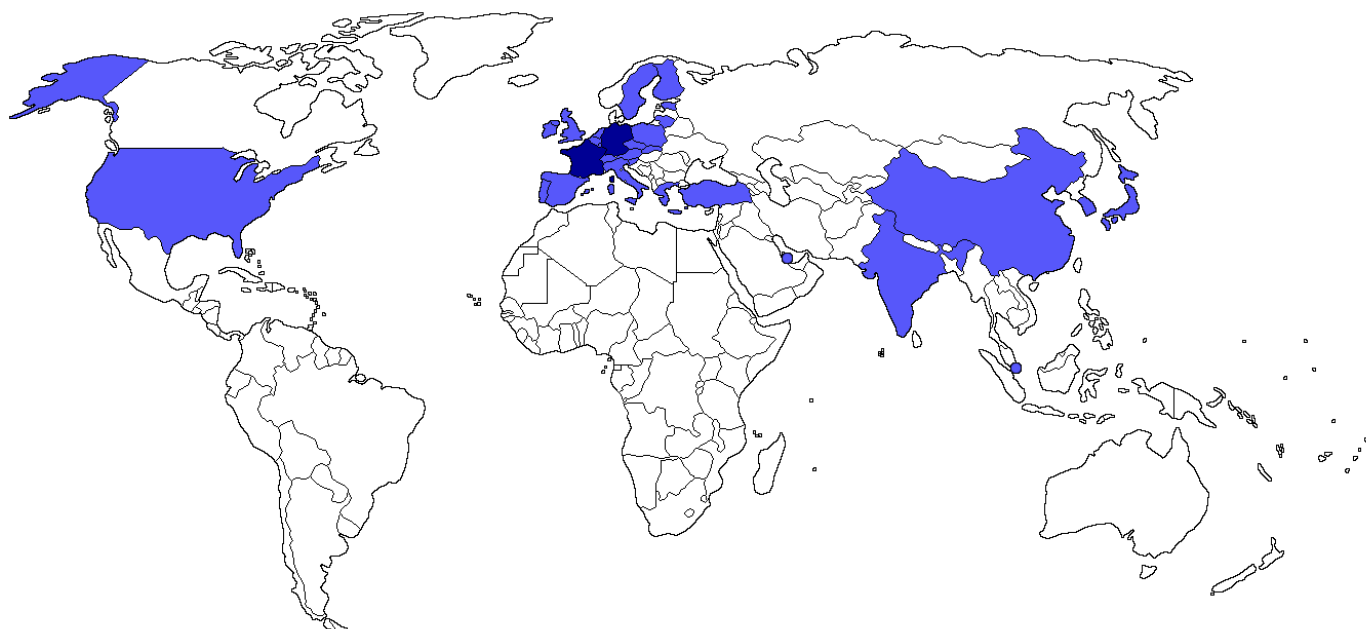


Figure 8: Represented nations in Europe’s GAIA-X sovereign cloud initiative. The founding members, France and Germany, are shaded more darkly, and the smaller nations of Qatar and Singapore are articulated.

someone to show potential customers that there are more than two giants where you can place your business”. The next month, Microsoft publicly committed to updating its approach to licensing in response to European antitrust concerns.⁵³

Microsoft’s entry into GAIA-X through a nominal Belgian affiliation was far from an anomaly: GAIA-X has 20 U.S. members, and 65% used nominal European affiliations (and Ernst & Young used Japan). By contrast, there are five Chinese members, but Huawei was the only one to use a nominal European affiliation (i.e., Germany); Alibaba used Singapore. Other formally represented non-European nations include India, Qatar, and South Korea, and the full list is depicted in Fig. 8. Likewise, breakdowns of the nominally represented countries of the 20 U.S. members and five Chinese members are provided in Figure 9.

Ireland is perhaps the most extreme case of U.S. corporate infiltration of GAIA-X: only two of the six representatives from Ireland are actually Irish – Ernieapp and Circular. These companies are dramatically smaller than each of the four tech giants which joined GAIA-X through nominal Irish affiliation: Google, Accenture, VMware, and Seagate. The LinkedIn profiles of Ernieapp and Circular list 13 and 71 ostensible employees, respectively, whereas Google’s alone links to hundreds of thousands.⁵⁴⁵⁵ Further, ErnieApp’s CEO, Isabella De Michelis, was previously an executive at American companies Qualcomm and Cisco.

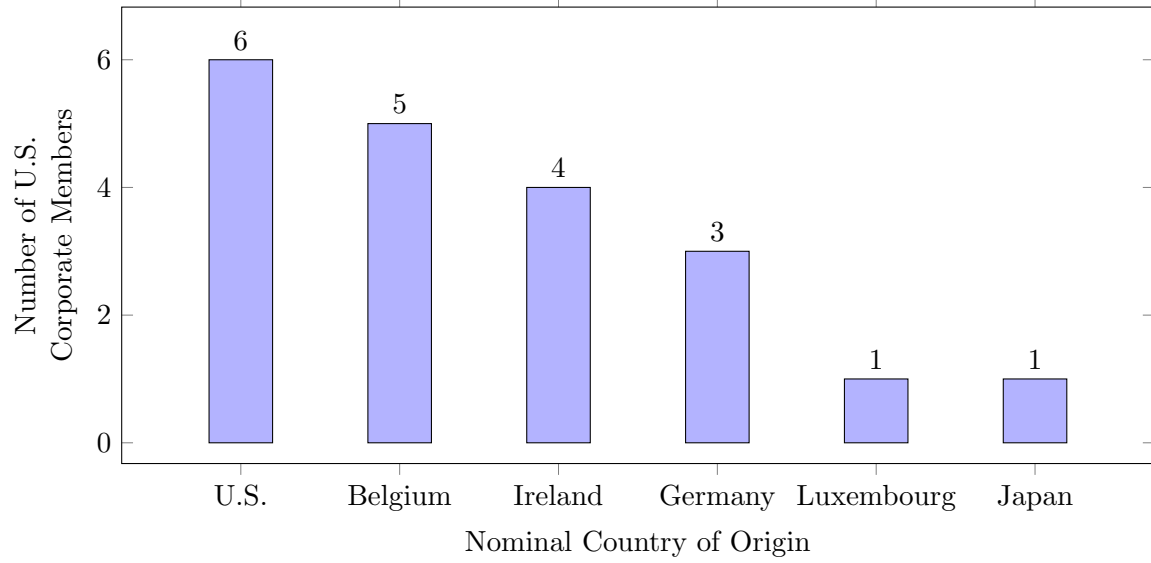
Cisco itself joined GAIA-X through Belgium – as did Microsoft, IBM, Dell, and Mastercard. Whereas Intel, HPE, and Equinix joined through Germany and Amazon joined through Luxembourg. Out of the 20 U.S. members, only six joined with their domestic affiliations: Salesforce, Oracle, Palantir, Snowflake, AMD, and cybersecurity company Resecurity.

At the same time Scaleway’s relationship with GAIA-X was degrading, the American cloud companies were making deals with established “industry players” who would intermediate American cloud services

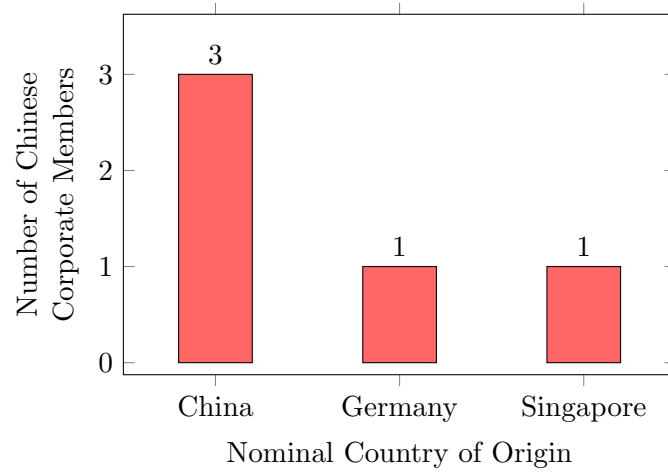
⁵³As we show in the next subsection, the bulk of public European Union and European Free Trade Association spending with Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet is for licenses for Microsoft products purchased through intermediaries.

⁵⁴Circular’s about page asserts that they have a “global team of 55”.

⁵⁵Alphabet Inc.’s 2021 Form 10-K claimed the company had 156,500 employees as of December 31, 2021. In the past, the company has been reported to have roughly as many contractors as full-time employees, and so we might expect Alphabet to have roughly 300 thousand total workers.



(a) U.S.



(b) China

Figure 9: The number of GAIA-X corporate members originating from the U.S. (top) or China (bottom) per nominal country affiliation.

with the French government rather than developing their own. In May of 2021, Microsoft and French members Capgemini and Orange announced a joint venture named **Bleu** to create a “Cloud de Confiance” for France.⁵⁶ In August and October of the same year, Google would respectively partner with **Deutsche Telekom** to provide a sovereign cloud in Germany and with **Thales** to provide a “trusted cloud” in France. Both of Google’s partners were members of GAIA-X, and Lechelle would resign from the effort a month after the deal with Thales.⁵⁷

Despite American tech giants infiltrating GAIA-X, as explained by Lechelle himself in his **conversation** with Microsoft, there were no giant EU government cloud computing awards for American companies to dominate:

“...in the U.S. we hear about this JEDI contract which is worth gigantic amounts of money and is being challenged as we speak. So, these things will create giants, or reinforce giants, and we do not have such a thing.”

Perhaps the closest is Italy’s plan for a national cloud hub, which was **initially** estimated at \$1 billion but now involves competing \$2.8 billion bids between two consortia: one led by former Italian phone monopoly **Gruppo TIM** which has **included** defense contractor **Leonardo** (which planned to intermediate cloud services from Amazon, Microsoft, and Google), and another led by the **Fastweb** subsidiary of Italian government-owned **Swisscom** and the Italian cloud provider **Aruba**. Bloomberg **reported** last year that the Italian government was leaning towards TIM because it wanted “to keep public administration data out of foreign hands”. (TIM, Leonardo, Amazon, Microsoft, Google, Fastweb, and Aruba are all **members** of GAIA-X.)

Beyond Google **partnering** with TIM for its new cloud region in Milan, former Google executive Carlo d’Asaro Biondo was **announced** as the CEO of TIM subsidiary **Noovle** in January 2021, which is itself a Google **partner**. In October of 2021, Oracle **partnered** with Noovle to provide sovereign cloud services to the Italian government. Six months prior, TIM Brasil had **selected** Oracle and Microsoft “to migrate all of its on-premises workloads to the cloud”.

Similar relationships exist in Spain through Microsoft, Google, and Oracle’s **partnership** with Spanish telecom **Telefónica** and Google’s sovereign cloud **collaboration** with **Minsait**, a subsidiary of Spanish defense and IT company **Indra Sistemas**. And Finnish IT company **Tietoenvy** **partnered** with Amazon, Microsoft, Google, and VMware to provide a “sovereign data backbone of the Nordics”.

3.2 Procurement analysis

“Due to the Covid 19 pandemic with its unforeseen and strong growth in the need for e.g. licenses for Office 365 licenses suitable for home work together with a sharp increase in the need for the use of cloud-based services and in addition an unusually large price increase from Microsoft, the maximum value of the framework agreement has been exceeded.”

Part of the description of an April 2022 **contract** between Microsoft reseller **Crayon** and the **Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation** (NRK) which was raised from 100 million to 160 million NOK (roughly from 10.2 to 16.3 million EUR).

“The procurement’s size is very difficult to set, as we will have a large increase in consumption through Azure and other cloud services in future years. The total cost in 2019 was approx. NOK 4 350 000 a year for Microsoft licences and NOK 400 000 on Azure consumption.”

Part of the description of a December 2020 **contract** between Microsoft reseller **Crayon** and the Norwegian Environment Agency for 30 million NOK.

⁵⁶While Bleu appears to not yet have a public website, a June **press release** promised that the joint venture would begin operating by the end of 2022.

⁵⁷Amazon Web Services had also **announced** a partnership with Monaco Digital the year before.

Reporting on Amazon, Microsoft, and Google’s percentage of the full European cloud computing market frequently cites Synergy Research Group (SRG). For example, their [analysis](#) of the first quarter of 2020 concluded that Amazon was the leading cloud computing provider in each major European country (i.e., the UK, Germany, France, and the Netherlands) as well as across Europe as a whole. SRG similarly listed Microsoft as in second position across the board and, with the exception of France, Google in third place.⁵⁸ An SRG [report](#) the next year argued that – as of 2021 Q1 – Amazon, Microsoft, and Google “account[ed] for 69% of the regional market and their share continues to steadily rise”.

In addition to our analysis of the European Union excluding the United Kingdom (which SRG included for its European statistics), we are more specific in the sense that we are only analyzing public procurement. On the other hand, our focus is more general in that – due to the vagaries of procurement descriptions and the multi-purpose scope of some contracts – we study even non-cloud government purchasing from the cloud giants. Under such conditions, we find that Microsoft, rather than Amazon, receives the most money from public EU government contracts – by more than a factor of sixteen. (As we will show, this is largely due to licensing revenue through intermediaries such as [Crayon](#), [SoftwareONE](#), [Insight](#), [Bechtle](#), and [SEIDOR](#), though Microsoft had a lead over Amazon even without accounting for intermediated revenue.)

European Union procurement analysis is conveniently centralized within [Tenders Electronic Daily](#) (TED) and supplies daily bulk contract downloads, and its primary complication is the diversity of languages. In the case of Israeli procurement, we only required Hebrew-to-English machine translation; in the case of TED, our current support for fifteen languages models only a partial solution. (Thankfully we do not generally require machine translation to find contracts, only to interpret them. And we can manually run contracts of interest through, for example, Google Translate.)

As demonstrated in tables [14](#) and [15](#), roughly half of Microsoft’s **direct** public contracts with the EU government are clearly annotated as relating to cloud computing. And, as further demonstrated by Table [46](#), Microsoft’s (clearly marked) EU cloud contracts have nearly the same total as those of Amazon Web Services. Thus, because Amazon does not have an equivalent enterprise software business to Microsoft, Microsoft’s revenue from direct contracts with the EU government is roughly double Amazon’s. (As shown by tables [48](#) and [49](#), Google is a distant third.)

But the balance of revenue dramatically changes in Microsoft’s favor when we account for indirect revenue through intermediated contracts. While we estimated roughly a 60 million EUR in such revenue for Amazon (see Table [47](#)) and 41 million EUR for Google (see Table [50](#)), Microsoft’s indirect revenue was so voluminous that we broke it up into a separate table for each country (see tables [16](#) to [45](#)). In total, this amounted to **5.75 billion EUR** of estimated indirect EU and EFTA revenue for Microsoft.

The interested reader can click through to investigate individual contracts using the hyperlinks in each country’s table entries, but we will restrict ourselves to describing the largest contracts from the five countries with the highest estimates: the Netherlands (1.08 billion EUR), Hungary (905 million EUR), Germany (800 million EUR), Finland (415 million EUR), and the Czech Republic (343 million EUR). We will also note that Microsoft’s three **largest indirect contracts** with the Italian government are through [TIM](#), the former Italian phone monopoly and [GAIA-X member](#) that we previously mentioned to have partnered with [Google](#) and [Oracle](#).

To some degree, the Netherlands’ position as the number one EU / EFTA source of intermediated Microsoft contracts is misleading, as 36 of the largest such contracts are supplying cloud computing to other countries through the Open Clouds for Research Environments ([OCRE](#)) project.⁵⁹ The two dominant intermediaries for Microsoft’s Dutch contracts are: [Bechtle](#), a reseller of [AWS](#), [Azure](#), and [Google Cloud](#) that also [partners](#) with [OVHcloud](#), and [SoftwareONE](#), which resells [Azure](#), [IBM Cloud](#), and [Oracle](#).

The largest intermediated **contract** for Microsoft licenses in Hungary was split between five separate vendors: [SoftwareONE](#), a [subsidiary](#) of Deutsche Telekom, a [spin-out](#) of [Hewlett Packard Enterprise](#), and two lesser known companies ([S&T](#) and [SMP](#)). These five vendors are prototypical of Microsoft’s sales in Hungary and, more broadly, the participation of former German state-owned telecom monopoly Deutsche

⁵⁸SRG listed both OVHcloud and Orange as overtaking Google’s cloud in France during 2020 Q1.

⁵⁹The first [“success story”](#) listed on OCRE’s website is for [“Algorithmic solutions for autonomous drone swarms”](#).

Telekom – which is also a **founding member** of GAIA-X – echoes Microsoft’s noted relationship with TIM in Italy.

Germany’s largest award for Microsoft products was a 553.5 million EUR **contract** with **SoftwareONE** through the procurement office of its **Federal Ministry of the Interior**, or BMI.⁶⁰ The German BMI runs not only the two largest federal police forces in Germany, but also a domestic intelligence service, the **Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz** (BfV). While the bulk of Microsoft’s indirect revenue in Finland was from two **centralized contracts** through **Crayon** totaling 565 million EUR, the **largest two** Czech contracts were through the Czech Interior Ministry (**MVCR**) and totalled 10.8 billion CZK (roughly 440 million EUR). (Both of the Czech Interior Ministry contracts were through a subsidiary of **Deutsche Telekom**, as well as lesser known firms DNS, **AUTOCONT**, and **Exe**.)

The author notes that, despite noticing these few instances of contracts with the Czech and German Interior Ministries, due to time constraints, European contracts were not fully categorized and color-coded as to the degree of their proximity to security agencies.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-06-24	Switzerland	550M CHF	110M CHF	2021/S 123-327216 [1089]
2020-01-23	Switzerland	320M CHF	107M CHF	2020/S 017-038313 [865]
2021-11-23	Norway	1.5B NOK	1.5B NOK	2021/S 230-607419 [1378]
2022-06-19	Switzerland	75M CHF	25M CHF	2022/S 120-342764 [1292]
2020-04-17	Belgium	54.0M EUR	54.0M EUR	2020/S 081-189843 [903]
2019-10-17	Germany	20.0M EUR	20.0M EUR	2019/S 204-497547 [814]
2022-03-31	Italy	22.7M EUR	1.13M EUR	2022/S 067-178346 [1354]
2022-03-31	Italy	12.9M EUR	0.65M EUR	2022/S 067-178344 [1353]
2022-04-05	Belgium	10.2M EUR	10.2M EUR	2022/S 072-191024 [1247]
2022-03-30	Italy	6.59M EUR	0.33M EUR	2022/S 066-175460 [1352]
2022-04-26	Germany	3.68M EUR	3.68M EUR	2022/S 084-226868 [1259]
2019-12-11	Austria	1.71M EUR	1.71M EUR	2019/S 242-594376 [843]
2021-03-12	Finland	1.25M EUR	1.25M EUR	2021/S 053-134422 [1370]
2019-03-26	Italy	1.03M EUR	1.03M EUR	2019/S 063-147634 [1324]
2018-07-25	Italy	561K EUR	561K EUR	2018/S 143-328084 [691]

Table 14: Publicly disclosed European Union and European Free Trade Association cloud computing awards with Microsoft as one of the named vendors since 2018 (excluding the UK) with a total value of at least 500,000 EUR. **The total estimate of these awards is 498 million EUR.** When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Microsoft’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors.

Table 15: Publicly disclosed European Union and European Free Trade Association awards not ostensibly focused on cloud computing with Microsoft as one of the named vendors since 2018 (excluding the UK) with a total value of at least 500,000 EUR. **Microsoft’s total estimated revenue from these awards is 664 million EUR.** When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimated Microsoft’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-11	Spain	396M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 010-018976 [1001]

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⁶⁰As noted in 18, several contracts with larger estimated values were not included due to the award values being listed as low as 0.01 EUR. In the case of contract [2020/S 192-462545](#), it was made clear by the award text that the contract value was 553.5 million EUR and that the award value of 143.5 million EUR was simply the increase above the original value of 410 million EUR.

Table 15 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2022-07-05	Italy	222M EUR	1.68M EUR	2022/S 130-370942 [1299]
2018-12-14	France	200M EUR	200M EUR	2018/S 244-558281 [726]
2021-12-15	Austria	158M EUR	2.50M EUR	2021/S 246-651054 [1196]
2021-06-14	Belgium	115M EUR	115M EUR	2021/S 118-309050 [1346]
2020-10-26	Italy	70.0M EUR	70.0M EUR	2020/S 212-519996 [971]
2019-10-10	Hungary	15B HUF	15B HUF	2019/S 199-484551 [1330]
2019-08-07	Italy	33.4M EUR	33.4M EUR	2019/S 155-383782 [797]
2019-07-17	France	28.0M EUR	0.70M EUR	2019/S 138-340743 [789]
2022-05-17	Italy	20.9M EUR	20.9M EUR	2022/S 098-272331 [1271]
2021-09-06	Sweden	200M SEK	64.1K SEK	2021/S 176-458572 [1153]
2020-02-13	Italy	15.9M EUR	15.9M EUR	2020/S 033-078114 [875]
2022-06-14	Hungary	6B HUF	6B HUF	2022/S 116-327511 [1288]
2021-09-21	Ireland	12.0M EUR	12.0M EUR	2021/S 186-484033 [1157]
2019-06-21	Italy	10.7M EUR	10.7M EUR	2019/S 121-297463 [772]
2021-06-18	Italy	9.70M EUR	1.21M EUR	2021/S 119-315852 [1374]
2019-07-03	Italy	8.80M EUR	8.80M EUR	2019/S 129-317561 [781]
2020-09-29	Italy	8.62M EUR	0.23M EUR	2020/S 192-463950 [962]
2021-02-16	Austria	6.53M EUR	6.53M EUR	2021/S 035-085904 [1030]
2022-07-05	Germany	6.53M EUR	6.53M EUR	2022/S 130-370934 [1298]
2021-01-14	Italy	5.62M EUR	0.49M EUR	2021/S 012-025584 [1006]
2021-09-14	Italy	5.06M EUR	5.06M EUR	2021/S 182-474465 [1350]
2020-01-16	Italy	4.83M EUR	0.23M EUR	2020/S 013-026717 [862]
2020-02-26	Germany	4.59M EUR	4.59M EUR	2020/S 041-097495 [879]
2020-01-27	Italy	4.46M EUR	0.06M EUR	2020/S 020-044703 [871]
2018-08-07	Italy	4.29M EUR	0.36M EUR	2018/S 152-349861 [697]
2019-07-01	Germany	4.24M EUR	4.24M EUR	2019/S 126-308870 [776]
2021-03-17	Italy	3.95M EUR	3.95M EUR	2021/S 056-142278 [1371]
2020-01-17	Germany	3.85M EUR	3.85M EUR	2020/S 014-029256 [1364]
2022-08-12	Germany	3.60M EUR	3.60M EUR	2022/S 157-451094 [1384]
2020-04-22	Finland	3.08M EUR	3.08M EUR	2020/S 081-192346 [904]
2020-01-07	Italy	3.00M EUR	3.00M EUR	2020/S 009-015281 [858]
2019-12-19	Spain	2.50M EUR	2.50M EUR	2019/S 248-616860 [847]
2020-05-13	France	2.48M EUR	2.48M EUR	2020/S 095-226726 [910]
2020-05-26	Italy	2.35M EUR	2.35M EUR	2020/S 102-247055 [917]
2020-08-24	Luxembourg	2.24M EUR	2.24M EUR	2020/S 172-412805 [957]
2022-01-17	Germany	2.20M EUR	2.20M EUR	2022/S 015-035309 [1219]
2021-11-23	Germany	2.20M EUR	2.20M EUR	2021/S 230-606500 [1377]
2020-01-30	Germany	2.19M EUR	2.19M EUR	2020/S 023-052235 [872]
2021-06-08	Spain	1.99M EUR	1.99M EUR	2021/S 112-294282 [1075]
2022-07-20	Italy	1.98M EUR	1.98M EUR	2022/S 142-407686 [1310]
2022-08-01	Belgium	1.94M EUR	1.94M EUR	2022/S 150-430823 [1316]
2020-12-21	Germany	1.79M EUR	1.79M EUR	2020/S 251-631857 [990]
2018-09-27	Slovakia	1.67M EUR	1.67M EUR	2018/S 190-430556 [1322]
2022-02-08	Italy	1.47M EUR	1.47M EUR	2022/S 030-077154 [1224]
2022-06-22	Germany	1.42M EUR	1.42M EUR	2022/S 121-344895 [1293]
2020-12-24	Germany	1.38M EUR	1.38M EUR	2020/S 247-613298 [986]
2019-12-18	Germany	1.34M EUR	1.34M EUR	2019/S 245-603906 [846]
2019-06-25	Italy	1.32M EUR	1.32M EUR	2019/S 123-301666 [773]
2019-07-04	Germany	1.26M EUR	1.26M EUR	2019/S 129-316989 [780]
2019-06-14	France	1.26M EUR	1.26M EUR	2019/S 114-279715 [766]
2020-12-16	Finland	1.19M EUR	1.19M EUR	2020/S 248-617872 [987]
2019-12-04	Belgium	1.18M EUR	1.18M EUR	2019/S 237-581754 [836]

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Table 15 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2019-12-18	Finland	1.10M EUR	1.10M EUR	2019/S 245-603804 [845]
2022-04-14	Netherlands	1.1M EUR	1.1M EUR	2022/S 076-208726 [1382]
2022-02-17	Denmark	8.03M DKK	8.03M DKK	2022/S 037-096505 [1381]
2021-06-04	Germany	1.07M EUR	1.07M EUR	2021/S 110-290290 [1373]
2018-12-20	Germany	1.02M EUR	1.02M EUR	2018/S 246-565609 [729]
2022-01-19	Finland	1.00M EUR	1.00M EUR	2022/S 016-038532 [1221]
2019-02-07	Finland	951K EUR	951K EUR	2019/S 028-063210 [743]
2020-06-23	Italy	947K EUR	947K EUR	2020/S 121-297769 [933]
2021-02-01	Italy	945K EUR	945K EUR	2021/S 025-061052 [1024]
2018-07-25	Italy	940K EUR	940K EUR	2018/S 144-330520 [692]
2018-10-19	Germany	914K EUR	914K EUR	2018/S 203-463148 [714]
2019-04-03	Italy	895K EUR	74.6K EUR	2019/S 069-162856 [754]
2020-06-05	Spain	855K EUR	855K EUR	2020/S 110-267542 [927]
2020-05-07	Spain	855K EUR	855K EUR	2020/S 092-220669 [1365]
2019-11-11	Germany	840K EUR	840K EUR	2019/S 220-540444 [826]
2018-12-27	Italy	823K EUR	823K EUR	2018/S 249-576193 [733]
2020-12-03	Hungary	307M HUF	307M HUF	2020/S 239-591407 [979]
2020-02-22	Italy	763K EUR	763K EUR	2020/S 040-095674 [878]
2020-12-29	Germany	742K EUR	742K EUR	2020/S 255-642100 [994]
2020-04-16	Spain	740K EUR	740K EUR	2020/S 076-180410 [899]
2019-07-25	Spain	734K EUR	734K EUR	2019/S 145-357714 [793]
2020-01-06	Germany	700K EUR	700K EUR	2020/S 005-006940 [854]
2021-01-04	Italy	668K EUR	668K EUR	2021/S 005-006680 [997]
2020-01-13	Germany	625K EUR	625K EUR	2020/S 010-019929 [860]
2019-03-05	Germany	618K EUR	618K EUR	2019/S 048-110725 [750]
2021-01-21	Italy	615K EUR	615K EUR	2021/S 017-039320 [1014]
2021-02-19	Germany	614K EUR	614K EUR	2021/S 038-095735 [1031]
2021-07-07	Hungary	241M HUF	241M HUF	2021/S 132-351384 [1095]
2019-02-27	Germany	600K EUR	600K EUR	2019/S 044-100960 [748]
2019-02-06	Germany	600K EUR	600K EUR	2019/S 029-065552 [1363]
2019-11-06	Italy	594K EUR	594K EUR	2019/S 217-532451 [820]
2021-07-06	Ireland	546K EUR	546K EUR	2021/S 131-348438 [1092]
2022-07-06	Denmark	4.00M DKK	4.00M DKK	2022/S 131-374821 [1301]
2022-06-14	Denmark	4.00M DKK	4.00M DKK	2022/S 116-328554 [1383]
2020-12-08	Germany	535K EUR	535K EUR	2020/S 242-598785 [982]
2020-01-09	Germany	523K EUR	523K EUR	2020/S 007-012011 [857]
2022-01-05	Germany	510K EUR	510K EUR	2022/S 006-012247 [1207]
2021-12-09	Germany	510K EUR	510K EUR	2021/S 242-638855 [1379]
2020-06-03	Norway	5.27M NOK	5.27M NOK	2020/S 107-260576 [1366]
2021-03-30	Estonia	500K EUR	500K EUR	2021/S 065-167414 [1038]
2021-11-17	Finland	500K EUR	500K EUR	2021/S 226-595872 [1376]
2020-11-17	Finland	500K EUR	500K EUR	2020/S 235-580980 [1369]

Table 16: Publicly disclosed intermediated Dutch awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%, and a 600 million EUR contract with the Ministry of Defense was withheld due to the lot awards each being (likely falsely) listed as 1 EUR. **The total of these estimations is 1.08 billion EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-01-24	Insight	190M EUR	40.3M EUR	2020/S 020-044141[868]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	150M EUR	105M EUR	2021/S 148-394621[1107]
2020-08-11	Crayon	150M EUR	35.0M EUR	2020/S 158-385600[948]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407573[1110]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407611[1143]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407602[1138]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407592[1128]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407577[1113]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	100M EUR	70.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407604[1139]
2018-11-23	SoftwareONE	85.0M EUR	59.5M EUR	2018/S 228-521197[720]
2018-08-22	SoftwareONE	80.0M EUR	56.0M EUR	2018/S 162-370773[699]
2018-07-29	Insight	67.5M EUR	7.86M EUR	2018/S 145-331710[693]
2018-08-26	SoftwareONE	60.0M EUR	14.0M EUR	2018/S 165-376572[701]
2020-12-02	SoftwareONE	53.0M EUR	6.18M EUR	2020/S 239-590740[978]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	50.0M EUR	35.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407587[1123]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	50.0M EUR	35.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407600[1136]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	50.0M EUR	35.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407590[1126]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	50.0M EUR	35.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407584[1120]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	50.0M EUR	35.0M EUR	2021/S 153-407588[1124]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	25.00M EUR	17.5M EUR	2021/S 153-407578[1114]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	25.00M EUR	17.5M EUR	2021/S 153-407601[1137]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	25.00M EUR	17.5M EUR	2021/S 153-407594[1130]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	25.00M EUR	17.5M EUR	2021/S 153-407608[1140]
2020-11-25	Atos, SEIDOR Uni Systems, NTT Data ilionx, Capgemini Altia, OTE Group CANCOM, Delaware Consulting	12.0M EUR	6.00M EUR	2020/S 236-581569[976]
2020-07-03	Bechtle	5.09M EUR	3.56M EUR	2020/S 129-316001[936]
2021-08-04	Bechtle	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407595[1131]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407598[1134]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407571[1108]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407583[1119]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407609[1141]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407586[1122]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407591[1127]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407589[1125]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407582[1118]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407599[1135]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407593[1129]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407574[1111]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407580[1116]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407596[1132]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407585[1121]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407576[1112]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407581[1117]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407597[1133]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407579[1115]

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Table 16 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407610[1142]
2021-08-04	SoftwareONE	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 153-407572[1109]
2021-06-17	Crayon	2.84M EUR	1.98M EUR	2021/S 119-313670[1082]
2018-12-03	Bechtle	2.00M EUR	1.40M EUR	2018/S 234-535602[723]
2021-07-19	Bechtle	1.75M EUR	1.22M EUR	2021/S 141-373721[1103]
2021-05-03	Insight	1.60M EUR	1.12M EUR	2021/S 089-228953[1059]
2021-04-05	Crayon	1.45M EUR	1.01M EUR	2021/S 069-175336[1042]
2019-07-02	Bechtle	1.30M EUR	0.91M EUR	2019/S 127-310952[777]
2020-12-28	SoftwareONE	1.19M EUR	0.17M EUR	2020/S 255-640678[993]
2019-02-06	SoftwareONE	1.18M EUR	0.83M EUR	2019/S 030-067712[744]
2019-07-11	SoftwareONE	1.05M EUR	0.73M EUR	2019/S 133-326790[784]
2021-04-16	Insight	1.11M EUR	0.77M EUR	2021/S 077-197079[1049]
2019-09-30	Insight	1.06M EUR	0.74M EUR	2019/S 192-466975[807]
2020-08-10	Crayon	1.00M EUR	0.70M EUR	2020/S 157-382203[947]

Table 17: Publicly disclosed intermediated Hungarian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 905 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-06-30	T-Systems, S&T SoftwareONE SMP Solutions DXC	120B HUF	60.0B HUF	2021/S 127-337384[1090]
2022-06-24	T-Systems, S&T SoftwareONE SMP Solutions DXC	120B HUF	60.0B HUF	2022/S 123-350880[1362]
2022-06-24	T-Systems SoftwareONE SMP Solutions DXC, Softline	120B HUF	84B HUF	2022/S 123-350879[1361]
2021-08-13	T-Systems SoftwareONE SMP Solutions DXC, Softline	120B HUF	84.0B HUF	2021/S 159-420789[1147]
2020-11-24	SMP Solutions T-Systems, S&T SoftwareONE DXC	40.0B HUF	28.0B HUF	2020/S 232-571172[1339]
2019-10-09	SMP Solutions T-Systems, S&T SoftwareONE DXC	30B HUF	21B HUF	2019/S 198-481207[1328]
2019-10-10	SeE Enterprise, IMG Solution S&T, T-Systems Softline, ALOHA Duna, SysInfo Bit Service, Sysman	10.0B HUF	7.00B HUF	2019/S 199-483588[1329]

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Table 17 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-20	SMP Solutions S&T, DXC SoftwareONE	7.49B HUF	3.74B HUF	2021/S 016-036153[1011]
2021-06-22	SMP Solutions S&T, DXC SoftwareONE	4.56B HUF	2.28B HUF	2021/S 121-318925[1084]
2022-04-13	S&T	4.27B HUF	2.99B HUF	2022/S 075-204021[1254]
2021-06-31	S&T	4.27B HUF	2.99B HUF	2021/S 127-337414[1091]
2021-04-30	SMP Solutions	2.95B HUF	2.07B HUF	2021/S 087-224712[1057]
2020-12-08	SMP Solutions S&T, DXC SoftwareONE	2.59B HUF	1.30B HUF	2020/S 242-597051[981]
2021-05-11	Softline	2.10B HUF	1.47B HUF	2021/S 093-244168[1062]
2019-01-30	SMP Solutions	699M HUF	489M HUF	2019/S 023-050723[742]
2019-02-21	SMP Solutions	699M HUF	489M HUF	2019/S 040-091461[1323]
2019-06-12	Softline	649M HUF	227M HUF	2019/S 113-277131[765]
2020-06-03	SMP Solutions	631M HUF	442M HUF	2020/S 108-262489[925]
2021-06-18	S&T	600M HUF	420M HUF	2021/S 119-315382[1083]
2019-03-13	SoftwareONE	551M HUF	386M HUF	2019/S 054-124225[751]
2022-05-31	S&T	549M HUF	384M HUF	2022/S 107-302375[1358]
2021-10-14	S&T	549M HUF	384M HUF	2021/S 203-531014[1163]
2022-08-18	S&T	545M HUF	382M HUF	2022/S 161-458969[?]
2021-04-23	S&T	544M HUF	381M HUF	2021/S 082-211050[1051]
2021-12-21	S&T	500M HUF	350M HUF	2021/S 250-661153[1198]
2022-04-11	Softline	474M HUF	284M HUF	2022/S 075-202936[1252]
2020-12-11	SeE, IMG, S&T Softline, Grepton Invitech, M&M Rufusz, ALOHA Poli, Duna SysInfo, Bit Service	438M HUF	307M HUF	2020/S 245-606937[983]

Table 18: Publicly disclosed intermediated German awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. The German government’s estimated 550 million, 525 million, and 12 million EUR contracts through SoftwareONE for Microsoft products were not included because their total award values – despite the much higher coupled estimates – were listed as 0.01 EUR. **The total of these estimations is 800 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-09-28	SoftwareONE	554M EUR	387M EUR	2020/S 192-462545[1336]
2022-07-11	SoftwareONE	138M EUR	96.7M EUR	2022/S 135-384126[1303]
2020-04-08	SoftwareONE	108M EUR	75.4M EUR	2020/S 073-174207[897]
2020-03-31	SoftwareONE MSG Services Deutsche Telekom	105M EUR	73.6M EUR	2020/S 067-159820[892]
2019-10-17	SoftwareONE	30.4M EUR	21.3M EUR	2019/S 204-496574[813]
2020-06-21	Fujitsu	28.8M EUR	20.2M EUR	2020/S 121-295041[932]
2020-09-23	Crayon	25.6M EUR	17.9M EUR	2020/S 189-455951[960]
2022-06-09	Crayon	16.7M EUR	11.7M EUR	2022/S 114-321205[1286]

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Table 18 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-04-11	Crayon	15.4M EUR	10.8M EUR	2021/S 074-186738[1045]
2022-05-30	Fujitsu	15.0M EUR	10.5M EUR	2022/S 107-298044[1279]
2022-04-04	Crayon	15.0M EUR	10.5M EUR	2022/S 070-186593[1245]
2020-11-02	H&G	10.8M EUR	7.53M EUR	2020/S 217-530484[972]
2020-05-12	SoftwareONE	8.50M EUR	5.95M EUR	2020/S 095-226755[911]
2020-02-02	Fujitsu	8.21M EUR	5.75M EUR	2020/S 025-056530[873]
2021-04-05	SoftwareONE	6.73M EUR	4.71M EUR	2021/S 069-174956[1040]
2019-11-11	SoftwareONE	5.16M EUR	2.58M EUR	2019/S 220-540338[825]
2021-06-22	Crayon	4.49M EUR	3.15M EUR	2021/S 122-323209[1086]
2022-04-06	Crayon	4.30M EUR	2.15M EUR	2022/S 072-192012[1248]
2021-04-19	Fujitsu	2.90M EUR	2.03M EUR	2021/S 079-203805[1372]
2020-03-19	Fujitsu	2.85M EUR	1.99M EUR	2020/S 058-138610[886]
2020-02-17	Bechtle	2.76M EUR	1.94M EUR	2020/S 036-084665[876]
2022-05-19	Fujitsu	2.69M EUR	1.88M EUR	2022/S 101-279607[1273]
2022-05-16	Crayon	2.47M EUR	1.73M EUR	2022/S 098-271476[1270]
2020-06-01	Bechtle	2.15M EUR	1.51M EUR	2020/S 107-259133[923]
2022-07-27	SoftwareONE	2.02M EUR	1.41M EUR	2022/S 147-421525[1312]
2019-10-13	Fujitsu	1.90M EUR	1.33M EUR	2019/S 202-491499[1331]
2022-08-09	CANCOM	1.79M EUR	1.25M EUR	2022/S 155-442078[1319]
2022-02-23	SoftwareONE	1.72M EUR	1.20M EUR	2022/S 042-108859[1230]
2020-11-10	SoftwareONE	1.62M EUR	1.13M EUR	2020/S 223-548169[974]
2020-01-01	SoftwareONE	1.60M EUR	1.12M EUR	2020/S 003-003077[852]
2021-05-03	Fujitsu	1.58M EUR	1.11M EUR	2021/S 089-228439[1058]
2020-06-30	SoftwareONE	1.54M EUR	1.08M EUR	2020/S 108-262702[926]
2021-01-20	Bechtle	1.50M EUR	1.04M EUR	2021/S 017-038592[1013]
2022-04-12	SoftwareONE	1.49M EUR	1.04M EUR	2022/S 075-200867[1251]
2020-06-02	SoftwareONE	1.43M EUR	1.00M EUR	2020/S 108-261726[924]
2019-12-03	CANCOM	1.32M EUR	0.92M EUR	2019/S 236-578440[834]
2021-03-09	Fujitsu	1.26M EUR	0.88M EUR	2021/S 051-128455[1344]
2022-01-10	Computacenter	1.25M EUR	0.88M EUR	2022/S 010-018963[1211]
2020-01-27	SoftwareONE	1.20M EUR	0.84M EUR	2020/S 020-044219[869]
2019-12-10	SoftwareONE	1.17M EUR	0.82M EUR	2019/S 241-591362[840]
2020-08-23	SoftwareONE	1.13M EUR	0.79M EUR	2020/S 167-403228[954]
2021-07-15	Crayon	1.10M EUR	0.77M EUR	2021/S 139-370986[1348]
2020-07-07	Crayon	1.04M EUR	0.73M EUR	2020/S 132-323323[941]
2022-01-09	Crayon	1.03M EUR	0.72M EUR	2022/S 010-018223[1209]
2021-03-15	SoftwareONE	1.01M EUR	0.71M EUR	2021/S 055-137074[1036]

Table 19: Publicly disclosed intermediated Finnish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 415 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-27	Crayon	310M EUR	217M EUR	2021/S 105-277001[1069]
2021-05-27	Crayon	255M EUR	179M EUR	2021/S 105-277004[1070]
2020-04-14	ATEA	10.0M EUR	7.00M EUR	2020/S 075-178578[898]
2021-10-14	Crayon	9.00M EUR	6.30M EUR	2021/S 204-533827[1166]
2022-01-04	Crayon	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2022/S 006-012032[1206]
2022-08-14	Crayon	1.80M EUR	1.26M EUR	2022/S 159-453992[1320]

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Table 19 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-11-09	Efima	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2021/S 221-583171[1182]

Table 20: Publicly disclosed intermediated Czech awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. A large batch of EUR-denominated contracts with the Czech Republic’s Interior Ministry was listed but with estimated values of zero because the author believes them to be components of a similarly listed 4.60 billion CZK award. **The total of these estimations is 341 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-04-26	SoftwareONE DNS AUTOCONT Exe Crayon	6.20B CZK	4.34B CZK	2022/S 085-229357[1261]
2018-12-16	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	4.60B CZK	3.22B CZK	2018/S 245-560964[728]
2021-01-24	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	40.9M EUR	0	2021/S 020-045129[1017]
2020-01-21	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	32.2M EUR	0	2020/S 018-039012[866]
2020-10-18	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	24.1M EUR	0	2020/S 207-503175[967]
2020-04-21	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	11.3M EUR	0	2020/S 082-193242[905]
2021-07-19	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	10.4M EUR	0	2021/S 141-373358[1102]
2021-10-17	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	8.70M EUR	0	2021/S 206-536504[1167]
2019-10-20	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	8.33M EUR	0	2019/S 206-501909[816]
2019-04-17	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	8.24M EUR	0	2019/S 079-189631[1325]

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Table 20 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-07-25	Deutsche Telekom	200M CZK	140M CZK	2019/S 146-360030[794]
2021-04-15	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	7.15M EUR	5.01M EUR	2021/S 077-196904[1048]
2022-04-20	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	6.85M EUR	0	2022/S 081-217730[1256]
2019-07-14	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	6.27M EUR	0	2019/S 137-337192[786]
2022-01-12	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	5.76M EUR	0	2022/S 012-026237[1216]
2019-10-06	SoftwareONE	102M CZK	71.5M CZK	2019/S 197-479113[811]
2021-10-20	Deutsche Telekom	100M CZK	70.0M CZK	2021/S 208-545286[1171]
2022-07-13	SoftwareONE DNS Crayon AUTOCONT	99.5M CZK	69.7M CZK	2022/S 137-391509[1306]
2020-07-16	DNS Deutsche Telekom AUTOCONT Exe	3.87M EUR	0	2020/S 139-342062[943]
2022-04-27	SoftwareONE	66.3M CZK	46.4M CZK	2022/S 086-232458[1263]
2019-02-27	SoftwareONE	55.0M CZK	38.5M CZK	2019/S 044-101193[749]
2019-07-18	SoftwareONE	52.0M CZK	36.4M CZK	2019/S 140-344575[791]
2021-09-06	SoftwareONE	50.7M CZK	35.5M CZK	2021/S 176-457248[1152]
2018-11-21	SoftwareONE	49.0M CZK	17.2M CZK	2018/S 226-516822[719]
2018-08-28	Deutsche Telekom	45.9M CZK	32.1M CZK	2018/S 167-380880[703]
2020-05-28	SoftwareONE	44.6M CZK	31.2M CZK	2020/S 106-256449[922]
2018-11-28	SoftwareONE	40.0M CZK	28.0M CZK	2018/S 232-529996[722]
2021-06-22	AUTOCONT	37.6M CZK	26.3M CZK	2021/S 122-324615[1088]
2019-09-30	Exe	38.9M CZK	27.3M CZK	2019/S 192-467089[808]
2020-01-19	SoftwareONE	34.1M CZK	23.8M CZK	2020/S 016-033515[864]
2020-12-01	SoftwareONE	25.2M CZK	12.6M CZK	2020/S 238-588973[977]
2022-05-23	SoftwareONE	25.0M CZK	17.5M CZK	2022/S 102-285829[1275]

Table 21: Publicly disclosed intermediated French awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 293 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2018-08-06	SCC	190M EUR	133M EUR	2018/S 151-346778[695]
2021-04-13	SCC Open Group	150M EUR	90.0M EUR	2021/S 075-191573[1046]
2022-01-05	SHI	20.5M EUR	14.4M EUR	2022/S 006-011016[1205]

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Table 21 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-06-07	SCC	15.5M EUR	7.74M EUR	2020/S 112-271454[928]
2021-12-01	SCC	10.0M EUR	7.00M EUR	2021/S 236-622201[1190]
2022-08-02	Bechtle	8.00M EUR	5.60M EUR	2022/S 150-427792[1315]
2021-03-25	SCC	7.50M EUR	3.75M EUR	2021/S 062-156966[1037]
2021-04-02	Crayon	7.30M EUR	5.11M EUR	2021/S 067-173207[1039]
2020-03-17	Crayon	6.12M EUR	4.28M EUR	2020/S 057-135702[883]
2022-01-03	SCC	4.40M EUR	2.20M EUR	2022/S 005-007141[1204]
2020-12-07	SCC	3.53M EUR	2.47M EUR	2020/S 242-596707[980]
2019-09-23	Bechtle	3.50M EUR	2.45M EUR	2019/S 186-452091[804]
2022-05-11	Econocom	1.90M EUR	1.33M EUR	2022/S 094-259069[1266]
2019-08-23	Bechtle	2.45M EUR	1.72M EUR	2019/S 164-402504[799]
2021-11-09	SCC	2.44M EUR	1.71M EUR	2021/S 220-579896[1181]
2021-04-26	Crayon	2.40M EUR	1.68M EUR	2021/S 084-214644[1055]
2018-08-28	SoftwareONE	2.18M EUR	0.76M EUR	2018/S 166-378418[702]
2019-11-07	SCC	2.00M EUR	1.40M EUR	2019/S 218-535990[823]
2019-06-18	SCC	1.88M EUR	1.31M EUR	2019/S 118-290096[769]
2021-10-15	SCC	1.56M EUR	1.09M EUR	2021/S 204-532574[1165]
2021-04-23	Crayon	1.55M EUR	1.08M EUR	2021/S 082-211110[1052]
2022-06-29	SCC	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2022/S 126-358236[1295]
2021-08-23	Insight	1.34M EUR	0.80M EUR	2021/S 166-433388[1148]
2021-06-22	Upper-Link	1.10M EUR	0.77M EUR	2021/S 121-318957[1085]
2020-12-29	Crayon	1.07M EUR	0.75M EUR	2021/S 001-001350[996]

Table 22: Publicly disclosed intermediated Spanish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 280 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-04-13	SEIDOR	83.8M EUR	58.6M EUR	2022/S 075-200749[1250]
2022-06-13	SEIDOR	18.5M EUR	13.0M EUR	2022/S 116-324927[1287]
	Academic Software			
	SEIDOR			
2021-07-18	Telefonica SCC inetum	12.9M EUR	9.04M EUR	2021/S 141-373327[1101]
2019-11-12	BT	12.7M EUR	8.90M EUR	2019/S 221-543192[827]
2021-05-20	SEIDOR	11.7M EUR	8.16M EUR	2021/S 099-261102[1068]
2019-05-27	SCC	9.83M EUR	6.88M EUR	2019/S 104-252052[761]
2022-08-04	SEIDOR	9.57M EUR	6.70M EUR	2022/S 153-436969[1317]
2022-07-12	SEIDOR	9.57M EUR	6.70M EUR	2022/S 136-388751[1304]
2020-05-21	SEIDOR	9.16M EUR	6.41M EUR	2020/S 100-240332[913]
2020-07-24	Atos	8.80M EUR	6.16M EUR	2020/S 144-355780[945]
2020-06-25	SEIDOR	8.00M EUR	5.60M EUR	2020/S 123-301219[935]
2021-06-15	SEIDOR	7.75M EUR	3.88M EUR	2021/S 118-309854[1079]
2019-04-25	SEIDOR	7.22M EUR	5.05M EUR	2019/S 084-201290[758]
2021-04-22	Crayon	7.15M EUR	5.01M EUR	2021/S 082-211306[1053]
2021-01-13	SEIDOR	6.96M EUR	4.87M EUR	2021/S 012-025059[1342]
2022-04-26	SEIDOR	6.77M EUR	4.74M EUR	2022/S 085-229396[1262]

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Table 22 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-03-16	BT SEIDOR	6.74M EUR	4.72M EUR	2020/S 057-137253[884]
2018-12-26	Fujitsu	6.51M EUR	4.55M EUR	2018/S 250-577822[734]
2019-10-27	SEIDOR	6.42M EUR	4.49M EUR	2019/S 210-513297[1333]
2019-06-03	SEIDOR	6.29M EUR	4.40M EUR	2019/S 109-265245[762]
2020-11-29	SEIDOR	6.29M EUR	4.40M EUR	2020/S 237-584037[1340]
2021-06-29	SEIDOR	6.29M EUR	4.40M EUR	2021/S 127-336884[1347]
2021-10-26	SCC	6.17M EUR	4.32M EUR	2021/S 211-556861[1175]
2019-08-18	SEIDOR	6.07M EUR	4.25M EUR	2019/S 183-445565[803]
2021-01-31	SCC	5.76M EUR	4.03M EUR	2021/S 025-059293[1023]
2022-05-19	inetum	5.62M EUR	3.93M EUR	2022/S 101-280549[1274]
2019-12-29	SEIDOR	4.89M EUR	3.42M EUR	2020/S 001-000269[851]
2018-07-22	SEIDOR	4.75M EUR	3.32M EUR	2018/S 143-327972[690]
2019-06-27	Telefonica	4.62M EUR	3.23M EUR	2019/S 125-305513[775]
2022-06-28	SEIDOR	4.40M EUR	3.08M EUR	2022/S 125-357072[1294]
2020-10-15	SEIDOR	4.23M EUR	2.96M EUR	2020/S 205-498624[966]
2020-05-12	SEIDOR	4.23M EUR	2.96M EUR	2020/S 095-226567[908]
2020-02-04	Fujitsu	3.96M EUR	1.98M EUR	2020/S 027-061397[874]
2020-05-19	SEIDOR	3.94M EUR	2.76M EUR	2020/S 100-240808[1335]
2019-10-14	SEIDOR	3.93M EUR	2.75M EUR	2019/S 202-492505[1332]
2022-03-29	SEIDOR	3.93M EUR	2.75M EUR	2022/S 066-175404[1351]
2021-05-30	SEIDOR	3.93M EUR	2.75M EUR	2021/S 107-282609[1345]
2020-03-24	Bechtle	3.73M EUR	2.61M EUR	2020/S 062-148707[890]
2019-06-27	SEIDOR	3.00M EUR	2.10M EUR	2019/S 125-305509[774]
2021-06-02	SEIDOR	2.98M EUR	2.09M EUR	2021/S 108-284721[1073]
2019-07-18	SCC	2.82M EUR	1.97M EUR	2019/S 140-346038[792]
2019-07-08	SCC	2.82M EUR	1.97M EUR	2019/S 132-325394[783]
2021-07-06	SEIDOR	2.72M EUR	1.90M EUR	2021/S 132-350632[1094]
2018-12-17	SEIDOR	2.44M EUR	1.71M EUR	2018/S 245-560710[727]
2021-05-17	Crayon	2.22M EUR	1.55M EUR	2021/S 098-254938[1067]
2021-11-29	SEIDOR	2.19M EUR	1.53M EUR	2021/S 235-616811[1189]
2021-02-11	SEIDOR	2.02M EUR	1.41M EUR	2021/S 033-082300[1343]
2019-02-26	SEIDOR	1.95M EUR	1.36M EUR	2019/S 043-097872[746]
2022-03-14	SEIDOR	1.89M EUR	0.95M EUR	2022/S 055-141615[1238]
2020-05-21	Telefonica	1.85M EUR	0.93M EUR	2020/S 100-240340[914]
2018-11-07	inetum	1.80M EUR	1.26M EUR	2018/S 217-496970[715]
2019-06-02	SoftwareONE	1.69M EUR	1.01M EUR	2019/S 106-258888[1326]
2021-08-25	SEIDOR	1.66M EUR	1.00M EUR	2021/S 167-438662[1150]
2021-04-06	SEIDOR	1.63M EUR	1.14M EUR	2021/S 069-175206[1041]
2019-10-28	SEIDOR	1.61M EUR	0.80M EUR	2019/S 211-517815[818]
2018-07-09	inetum	1.60M EUR	0.96M EUR	2018/S 133-303626[689]
2019-06-18	SEIDOR	1.58M EUR	1.10M EUR	2019/S 118-289435[768]
2021-07-08	SEIDOR	1.55M EUR	1.08M EUR	2021/S 134-356313[1096]
2022-01-09	SEIDOR Factum	1.54M EUR	0.77M EUR	2022/S 010-018401[1210]
2020-11-02	SEIDOR	1.51M EUR	1.05M EUR	2020/S 217-531230[1338]
2021-08-04	SEIDOR	1.51M EUR	0.91M EUR	2021/S 153-407958[1144]
2019-10-01	SCC	1.48M EUR	1.04M EUR	2019/S 193-468355[809]
2022-06-30	SCC	1.46M EUR	1.02M EUR	2022/S 128-364144[1296]
2019-11-07	SCC	1.42M EUR	0.99M EUR	2019/S 218-534819[821]
2021-01-28	SEIDOR	1.39M EUR	0.97M EUR	2021/S 022-052265[1020]
2019-04-10	SEIDOR	1.37M EUR	0.69M EUR	2019/S 075-177740[756]

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Table 22 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-10-01	SEIDOR	1.29M EUR	0.91M EUR	2019/S 192-465935[806]
2020-06-11	SCC	1.25M EUR	0.87M EUR	2020/S 115-278902[929]
2020-05-07	SEIDOR	1.22M EUR	0.73M EUR	2020/S 092-219376[907]
2019-12-11	SCC	1.21M EUR	0.84M EUR	2019/S 241-591604[842]
2019-01-24	Ibermática	1.16M EUR	0.58M EUR	2019/S 020-044173[741]
2020-05-20	Telefonica	1.14M EUR	0.80M EUR	2020/S 100-240353[915]
2020-03-15	Telefonica	1.10M EUR	0.77M EUR	2020/S 056-132228[882]
2021-02-11	SEIDOR	1.09M EUR	0.76M EUR	2021/S 033-082102[1028]
2020-04-02	SEIDOR	1.05M EUR	0.53M EUR	2020/S 069-163821[895]

Table 23: Publicly disclosed intermediated Belgian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 259 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-12-02	SoftwareONE	160M EUR	112M EUR	2019/S 236-578539[835]
2019-06-11	SoftwareONE	101.7M EUR	71.2M EUR	2019/S 116-283866[1327]
2021-10-20	SoftwareONE	49.8M EUR	34.8M EUR	2021/S 208-545220[1170]
2021-04-08	Academic Software	16.5M EUR	11.6M EUR	2021/S 072-183193[1044]
2019-11-28	Econocom	9.56M EUR	6.69M EUR	2019/S 234-573474[832]
2019-06-19	SoftwareONE	9.00M EUR	6.30M EUR	2019/S 119-292322[770]
2021-04-18	Bechtle	7.00M EUR	4.90M EUR	2021/S 079-200731[1050]
2019-08-01	SoftwareONE	5.63M EUR	3.94M EUR	2019/S 150-369370[795]
2021-04-08	Academic Software	5.00M EUR	3.50M EUR	2021/S 072-183188[1043]
2022-02-21	Insight	2.85M EUR	2.00M EUR	2022/S 040-102018[1228]
2020-08-24	Insight	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2020/S 167-403705[956]
2019-05-13	Academic Software	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2019/S 093-224533[759]
2019-07-02	SoftwareONE	1.13M EUR	0.79M EUR	2019/S 128-313047[778]
2018-11-25	SoftwareONE	1.01M EUR	0.71M EUR	2018/S 230-525507[721]
2021-07-12	Bechtle	1.00M EUR	0.18M EUR	2021/S 136-360340[1098]

Table 24: Publicly disclosed intermediated Norwegian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 226 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-05-26	ATEA	575M NOK	403M NOK	2020/S 103-249438[920]
2018-12-18	Crayon	420M NOK	73.5M NOK	2018/S 246-566709[730]
2022-04-05	Crayon	340M NOK	238M NOK	2022/S 071-190922[1246]
2022-03-29	Crayon	240M NOK	168M NOK	2022/S 066-175875[1244]
2020-07-05	Crayon	240M NOK	144M NOK	2020/S 130-320244[939]
2022-01-19	ATEA	200M NOK	100M NOK	2022/S 017-042363[1223]
2018-07-02	Crayon	195M NOK	137M NOK	2018/S 127-290650[687]
2018-08-21	Crayon	184M NOK	91.8M NOK	2018/S 162-371679[700]
2018-10-08	Crayon	145M NOK	101M NOK	2018/S 196-444491[712]
2019-03-20	ATEA	140M NOK	98.0M NOK	2019/S 060-140537[752]

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Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-06-17	Crayon	133M NOK	53.2M NOK	2022/S 119-336749[1291]
2021-11-11	Crayon	128M NOK	89.3M NOK	2021/S 223-588287[1184]
2022-03-01	Crayon	120M NOK	84.0M NOK	2022/S 046-120927[1234]
2019-08-26	Crayon	100M NOK	60.0M NOK	2019/S 166-407628[800]
2019-04-12	Crayon	92.0M NOK	55.2M NOK	2019/S 075-179710[757]
2019-11-13	Crayon	66.4M NOK	46.5M NOK	2019/S 222-545871[828]
2021-12-06	Crayon	52.0M NOK	36.4M NOK	2021/S 240-634153[1191]
2022-01-19	Crayon	40.0M NOK	28.0M NOK	2022/S 017-042356[1222]
2018-08-20	Crayon	40.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2018/S 160-367619[698]
2022-01-11	ATEA	36.0M NOK	25.2M NOK	2022/S 011-025314[1215]
2020-12-22	Crayon	30.0M NOK	18.0M NOK	2020/S 252-638005[991]
2022-07-03	Crayon	30.0M NOK	15.0M NOK	2022/S 130-372139[1300]
2020-03-17	Crayon	30.0M NOK	15.0M NOK	2020/S 057-137466[885]
2019-06-11	Crayon	25.0M NOK	17.5M NOK	2019/S 112-276126[764]
2021-01-17	Crayon	22.7M NOK	15.9M NOK	2021/S 015-034928[1009]
2020-04-05	Crayon	21.0M NOK	10.5M NOK	2020/S 071-169922[896]
2022-03-20	Crayon	20.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2022/S 060-159184[1243]
2021-12-08	Crayon	20.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2021/S 242-639285[1193]
2019-12-20	ATEA	20.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2019/S 248-617132[848]
2018-09-24	Crayon	20.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2018/S 186-421455[709]
2019-02-06	Crayon	18.8M NOK	9.40M NOK	2019/S 030-068611[745]
2019-12-02	Crayon	16.0M NOK	11.2M NOK	2019/S 235-577346[833]
2020-06-15	Crayon	15.2M NOK	1.82M NOK	2020/S 116-282702[930]
2019-06-04	Crayon	13.0M NOK	5.20M NOK	2019/S 109-267102[763]
2021-01-26	ATEA	12.0M NOK	6.00M NOK	2021/S 021-051341[1018]
2020-08-11	ATEA	12.0M NOK	6.00M NOK	2020/S 158-386741[949]
2019-01-22	Crayon	12.0M NOK	6.00M NOK	2019/S 018-039841[740]
2020-02-18	Crayon	11.0M NOK	3.30M NOK	2020/S 036-086248[877]

Table 25: Publicly disclosed intermediated Polish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 185 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-10-19	SoftwareONE	46.6M EUR	32.6M EUR	2019/S 205-499070[815]
	Asseco, SoftwareONE APN Promise	119M PLN	71.4M PLN	2020/S 046-108457[880]
2019-07-15	SoftwareONE	94.3M PLN	66.0M PLN	2019/S 138-341051[790]
	APN Promise			
2022-07-21	Orange Polska Crayon SoftwareONE	77.2M PLN	54.0M PLN	2022/S 142-406085[1309]
	APN Promise			
2020-09-28	Chmury Krajowej Orange Polska Crayon SoftwareONE	76.3M PLN	30.5M PLN	2020/S 192-462099[961]
2021-03-15	APN Promise	65.0M PLN	32.5M PLN	2021/S 055-136598[1035]

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Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-12	Orange Polska APN Promise Deutsche Telekom Asseco SoftwareONE Crayon	61.0M PLN	36.6M PLN	2021/S 010-017303[1000]
2021-09-08	APN Promise	50.3M PLN	30.2M PLN	2021/S 178-464663[1155]
2021-04-23	Orange Polska	43.2M PLN	10.8M PLN	2021/S 082-212045[1054]
2022-06-09	Orange Polska	38.3M PLN	26.8M PLN	2022/S 114-321020[1285]
2021-12-21	APN Promise	35.0M PLN	21.0M PLN	2021/S 250-661187[1199]
2018-11-13	APN Promise	34.6M PLN	24.2M PLN	2018/S 219-501416[716]
2022-07-04	Orange Polska	31.5M PLN	22.0M PLN	2022/S 130-368163[1297]
2020-01-03	SoftwareONE	26.3M PLN	15.8M PLN	2020/S 004-005455[853]
2020-01-22	APN Promise	25.7M PLN	12.8M PLN	2020/S 018-039074[867]
2020-08-24	Crayon	24.6M PLN	17.2M PLN	2020/S 167-403503[955]
2022-07-14	Crayon	23.2M PLN	11.6M PLN	2022/S 137-391504[1305]
2020-01-10	APN Promise	22.9M PLN	16.0M PLN	2020/S 010-019035[859]
2019-12-09	Orange Polska	21.4M PLN	10.7M PLN	2019/S 239-587778[837]
2019-07-12	APN Promise S&T	21.0M PLN	14.7M PLN	2019/S 136-335058[785]
2018-09-14	APN Promise	21.0M PLN	10.5M PLN	2018/S 179-406781[707]
2021-10-21	APN Promise	19.1M PLN	13.4M PLN	2021/S 208-544092[1169]
2018-07-11	APN Promise	16.8M PLN	11.7M PLN	2018/S 133-302709[688]
2020-12-28	APN Promise	16.5M PLN	8.23M PLN	2020/S 255-640588[992]
2022-07-15	Crayon	15.2M PLN	10.7M PLN	2022/S 138-394227[1307]
2019-08-29	APN Promise	14.1M PLN	7.07M PLN	2019/S 169-413634[801]
2022-03-08	APN Promise	13.3M PLN	9.29M PLN	2022/S 050-128140[1236]
2019-12-10	Orange Polska APN Promise	13.0M PLN	6.50M PLN	2019/S 241-591527[841]
2018-09-18	SoftwareONE	12.9M PLN	6.47M PLN	2018/S 182-412492[708]
2020-10-23	SoftwareONE	11.6M PLN	5.78M PLN	2020/S 210-512941[968]
2020-07-03	APN Promise	2.24M EUR	1.57M EUR	2020/S 130-319566[938]
2019-01-22	APN Promise	10.8M PLN	7.56M PLN	2019/S 018-039564[739]
2019-07-03	SoftwareONE	10.0M PLN	7.00M PLN	2019/S 129-316151[779]
2019-04-01	Orange Polska	9.69M PLN	4.85M PLN	2019/S 068-159287[753]
2021-12-22	Crayon	9.30M PLN	6.51M PLN	2021/S 252-671710[1202]
2019-06-13	APN Promise	9.09M PLN	4.55M PLN	2019/S 115-282281[767]
2021-08-26	APN Promise	8.39M PLN	5.87M PLN	2021/S 169-441794[1151]
2019-01-03	APN Promise	8.13M PLN	4.07M PLN	2019/S 003-003199[736]
2021-10-13	APN Promise	7.94M PLN	5.56M PLN	2021/S 203-530943[1162]
2021-11-08	Orange Polska	7.50M PLN	3.75M PLN	2021/S 220-577794[1180]
2018-12-27	APN Promise	7.43M PLN	2.60M PLN	2018/S 250-578209[735]
2021-02-04	APN Promise	7.33M PLN	5.13M PLN	2021/S 028-068776[1026]
2022-04-21	Crayon	7.31M PLN	3.66M PLN	2022/S 081-218844[1257]
2022-04-19	Crayon	7.15M PLN	3.58M PLN	2022/S 079-211976[1255]
2020-08-20	SoftwareONE	6.80M PLN	4.76M PLN	2020/S 165-401428[953]
2020-03-31	Deutsche Telekom	6.58M PLN	3.29M PLN	2020/S 065-156163[891]
2020-01-07	APN Promise	6.50M PLN	2.28M PLN	2020/S 006-009357[856]
2022-01-18	Orange Polska	6.44M PLN	4.51M PLN	2022/S 015-035611[1220]
2020-06-23	APN Promise	6.27M PLN	4.39M PLN	2020/S 122-300198[934]
2021-01-08	APN Promise	6.10M PLN	3.05M PLN	2021/S 008-015223[999]
2022-06-22	Deutsche Telekom	6.10M PLN	3.05M PLN	2022/S 108-304728[1282]

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Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2018-09-13	APN Promise	5.60M PLN	3.92M PLN	2018/S 177-401905[705]
2021-05-12	Crayon	5.40M PLN	3.78M PLN	2021/S 094-247781[1064]
2021-02-25	APN Promise	5.23M PLN	2.61M PLN	2021/S 042-104654[1032]
2021-11-04	APN Promise	5.15M PLN	3.61M PLN	2021/S 217-572520[1178]

Table 26: Publicly disclosed intermediated Danish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 159 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-05-30	Crayon	1.69B DKK	1.18B DKK	2022/S 107-298002[1278]

Table 27: Publicly disclosed intermediated Swedish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 142 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-28	Insight Advania ATEA Dustin	2.9B SEK	725M SEK	2021/S 022-053109[1021]
2021-01-13	ATEA	1.4B SEK	700M SEK	2021/S 011-021748[1003]
2021-10-12	ATEA	150M SEK	75.0M SEK	2021/S 201-525123[1161]
2021-01-18	ATEA	20M SEK	8.00M SEK	2021/S 015-031087[1008]

Table 28: Publicly disclosed intermediated Italian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 130 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-06-16	TIM	63.8M EUR	31.9M EUR	2022/S 119-336412[1360]
2022-05-09	TIM	63.6M EUR	31.8M EUR	2022/S 093-257377[1356]
2021-05-13	TIM	45.0M EUR	22.5M EUR	2021/S 095-249177[1065]
2021-01-22	SimNT	20.0M EUR	14.0M EUR	2021/S 018-041123[1015]
2019-12-09	TIM	7.07M EUR	4.95M EUR	2019/S 240-588674[838]
2021-09-13	Var Group	6.31M EUR	4.42M EUR	2021/S 181-469423[1156]
2018-08-02	TIM	4.42M EUR	3.09M EUR	2018/S 151-346845[696]
2018-05-16	TIM	4.17M EUR	2.92M EUR	2018/S 094-214325[686]
2022-06-16	TIM	3.95M EUR	2.77M EUR	2022/S 119-336400[1359]
2021-11-17	Postel Italware	3.30M EUR	1.65M EUR	2021/S 227-598264[1186]
2021-01-14	Var Group	3.25M EUR	2.28M EUR	2021/S 012-024759[1005]
2021-07-26	TIM	2.32M EUR	1.62M EUR	2021/S 146-386889[1105]

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Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-03-23	TIM	1.52M EUR	1.06M EUR	2020/S 060-143470[887]
2021-06-16	Postel	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2021/S 119-313182[1080]
2022-05-31	TIM	1.39M EUR	0.97M EUR	2022/S 107-302364[1357]
2021-07-22	TIM	1.38M EUR	0.97M EUR	2021/S 143-381297[1349]
2019-10-13	TIM	1.25M EUR	0.87M EUR	2019/S 201-489284[812]
2020-05-19	TIM	1.08M EUR	0.76M EUR	2020/S 099-237993[912]
2021-04-14	Postel	1.01M EUR	0.71M EUR	2021/S 076-193963[1047]

Table 29: Publicly disclosed intermediated Irish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 90.4 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-11-10	CDW Micromail SoftwareONE	120M EUR	84.0M EUR	2019/S 218-535883[822]
2021-10-07	Softcat	4.80M EUR	3.36M EUR	2021/S 199-519906[1160]
2021-11-11	Micromail	2.50M EUR	1.25M EUR	2021/S 223-587487[1183]
2021-12-19	Micromail	2.23M EUR	1.56M EUR	2021/S 250-663219[1200]
2020-10-22	Zarrdia	1.49M EUR	0.22M EUR	2020/S 210-513744[969]

Table 30: Publicly disclosed intermediated Portuguese awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 72.9 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-07-22	Claranet	22.2M EUR	15.5M EUR	2020/S 143-351519[944]
2021-12-28	Claranet NOS	15.7M EUR	11.0M EUR	2022/S 001-000663[1203]
2018-12-25	Claranet	7.32M EUR	5.12M EUR	2018/S 249-575606[732]
2022-04-11	Claranet	7.26M EUR	5.08M EUR	2022/S 075-200437[1249]
2021-05-03	El Corte Inglés	5.56M EUR	3.89M EUR	2021/S 089-230633[1060]
2021-09-27	NOS	5.56M EUR	3.89M EUR	2021/S 191-495543[1159]
2020-12-16	El Corte Inglés	4.95M EUR	3.46M EUR	2020/S 249-620338[988]
2021-06-13	inetum	4.30M EUR	3.01M EUR	2021/S 117-307181[1078]
2022-05-11	inetum	3.85M EUR	2.69M EUR	2022/S 094-259311[1267]
2021-11-05	inetum	3.18M EUR	2.23M EUR	2021/S 218-573666[1179]
2022-05-31	NOS	2.64M EUR	1.85M EUR	2022/S 107-298288[1280]
2021-10-21	Claranet	1.91M EUR	1.34M EUR	2021/S 209-548007[1172]
2019-02-26	RTP	1.91M EUR	1.34M EUR	2019/S 043-098592[747]
2021-06-16	Claranet	1.85M EUR	0.92M EUR	2021/S 119-313276[1081]
2022-05-19	Claranet	1.83M EUR	0.91M EUR	2022/S 101-279587[1272]
2020-05-24	Claranet	1.65M EUR	1.15M EUR	2020/S 102-245733[916]
2020-05-24	Claranet	1.65M EUR	1.15M EUR	2020/S 103-248318[918]
2020-08-19	El Corte Inglés	1.51M EUR	1.06M EUR	2020/S 164-398432[951]
2022-06-06	inetum	1.42M EUR	1.00M EUR	2022/S 111-311312[1283]

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Table 30 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-04-28	Claranet	1.27M EUR	0.89M EUR	2021/S 086-223725[1056]
2021-06-10	inetum	1.23M EUR	0.86M EUR	2021/S 115-301884[1077]
2022-08-21	inetum	1.22M EUR	0.85M EUR	2022/S 164-464295[1321]
2020-05-25	El Corte Inglés	1.22M EUR	0.85M EUR	2020/S 103-248704[919]
2022-05-26	Vinci	1.12M EUR	0.56M EUR	2022/S 105-293156[1277]
2020-08-04	El Corte Inglés	1.11M EUR	0.78M EUR	2020/S 153-374433[946]
2020-04-02	Vinci	1.10M EUR	0.77M EUR	2020/S 069-163819[894]
2020-10-12	El Corte Inglés	1.06M EUR	0.74M EUR	2020/S 202-488796[965]

Table 31: Publicly disclosed intermediated Austrian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 69.6 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-06-22	ACP	40.0M EUR	28.0M EUR	2021/S 122-323235[1087]
2020-04-14	SoftwareONE	37.0M EUR	25.9M EUR	2020/S 077-182910[901]
2021-07-12	DCCS	15.0M EUR	10.5M EUR	2021/S 136-360271[1097]
2018-11-11	DCCS	3.80M EUR	2.66M EUR	2018/S 219-501421[717]
2021-01-27	Software Broker	3.64M EUR	2.55M EUR	2021/S 022-052136[1019]

Table 32: Publicly disclosed intermediated Croatian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 62.4 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-07-14	Span Group Combis	35.6M EUR	24.9M EUR	2022/S 138-394357[1308]
2020-06-16	Span Group Combis	24.0M EUR	16.8M EUR	2020/S 119-288985[931]
2020-05-05	Combis	3.78M EUR	2.64M EUR	2020/S 091-216717[906]
2020-03-31	Span Group	25.8M HRK	18.1M HRK	2020/S 068-162687[893]
2021-05-27	Combis	2.77M EUR	1.94M EUR	2021/S 105-277856[1071]
2021-07-13	Combis	2.47M EUR	1.73M EUR	2021/S 137-365809[1100]
2020-07-14	Perpetuum Mobile Combis	15.0M HRK	10.5M HRK	2020/S 138-340076[942]
2018-09-26	Combis	2.04M EUR	1.43M EUR	2018/S 189-428414[711]
2020-08-31	Combis	1.83M EUR	1.28M EUR	2020/S 172-416089[958]
2021-10-17	Perpetuum Mobile Combis	13.2M HRK	9.25M HRK	2021/S 206-539048[1168]
2019-09-10	Combis	12.8M HRK	8.96M HRK	2019/S 178-434644[802]
2019-04-09	Perpetuum KING ICT	12.1M HRK	8.46M HRK	2019/S 074-175995[755]
2022-02-14	Combis	1.39M EUR	0.70M EUR	2022/S 035-088469[1225]
2021-07-22	Combis	1.32M EUR	0.92M EUR	2021/S 144-383764[1104]
2018-09-25	Combis	1.29M EUR	0.90M EUR	2018/S 188-424525[710]
2021-02-08	Combis	1.28M EUR	0.90M EUR	2021/S 030-072955[1027]

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Table 32 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-03-19	Combis	9.65M HRK	6.76M HRK	2020/S 060-144078[888]

Table 33: Publicly disclosed intermediated Slovenian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 46.5 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-08-10	Softline	32.4M EUR	22.5M EUR	2021/S 157-416010[1145]
2022-02-27	SoftwareONE	4.98M EUR	3.49M EUR	2022/S 045-117805[1232]
2022-02-28	BE-terna	4.83M EUR	2.42M EUR	2022/S 045-118060[1233]
2022-08-04	Span	3.98M EUR	1.99M EUR	2022/S 153-438511[1318]
2019-01-20	SoftwareONE	3.84M EUR	2.69M EUR	2019/S 016-034705[738]
2020-04-14	Gambit trade	2.93M EUR	2.05M EUR	2020/S 077-181765[900]
2019-08-07	Span	2.61M EUR	1.83M EUR	2019/S 155-383775[796]
2021-02-24	Span	2.21M EUR	1.83M EUR	2021/S 042-104790[1033]
2018-09-05	Telekom Slovenije Span	1.98M EUR	1.39M EUR	2018/S 174-395160[704]
2020-12-17	BE-terna	1.94M EUR	0.97M EUR	2020/S 250-626303[989]
2021-08-22	Span	1.92M EUR	1.34M EUR	2021/S 166-434153[1149]
2020-08-19	Span	1.62M EUR	1.13M EUR	2020/S 164-399501[952]
2022-01-09	Span	1.50M EUR	1.05M EUR	2022/S 010-022079[1213]
2020-01-16	Span	1.33M EUR	0.93M EUR	2020/S 015-030556[863]
2019-09-26	Span	1.31M EUR	0.92M EUR	2019/S 190-463098[805]

Table 34: Publicly disclosed intermediated Slovak awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30% and a contract between Exe and the Slovak railway services was excluded because it was unclear to the author if the procurement was for Microsoft products, or products meant to run on Microsoft’s platforms. Contracts which mentioned Microsoft Premier Support Services, but not software licenses themselves, were also excluded. **The total of these estimations is 33.0 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-01-13	AUTOCONT	15.3M EUR	10.7M EUR	2022/S 013-029236[1218]
2021-10-28	Slovak Telekom	5.56M EUR	3.89M EUR	2021/S 213-561283[1176]
2022-01-13	DNS	5.19M EUR	3.63M EUR	2022/S 013-029160[1217]
2022-03-17	E.ON Group	3.97M EUR	2.78M EUR	2022/S 058-153238[1242]
2020-03-23	DNS	3.20M EUR	2.24M EUR	2020/S 061-146128[889]
2020-10-06	DNS	3.20M EUR	2.24M EUR	2020/S 198-480907[1337]
2020-03-25	DNS	3.20M EUR	2.24M EUR	2020/S 064-153904[1334]
2022-07-21	Exe Slovak Telekom SoftwareONE	2.36M EUR	1.42M EUR	2022/S 143-408988[1311]
2018-12-11	BSP DNS	2.16M EUR	1.08M EUR	2018/S 241-550130[725]
2019-10-29	AUTOCONT	1.71M EUR	1.19M EUR	2019/S 212-521140[819]
2020-12-28	Exe	1.37M EUR	0.69M EUR	2020/S 255-642486[995]

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Table 34 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-04-25	Exe	1.33M EUR	0.93M EUR	2022/S 084-225101[1258]

Table 35: Publicly disclosed intermediated Estonian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 28.3 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-09-21	Telia GT Tarkvara ATEA Promise Primend	27.9M EUR	19.5M EUR	2021/S 187-486447[1158]
2018-12-20	GT Tarkvara	4.80M EUR	3.36M EUR	2018/S 248-573032[731]
2020-12-10	GT Tarkvara	2.20M EUR	1.54M EUR	2020/S 245-606944[984]
2021-09-08	Promise Primend	1.67M EUR	1.17M EUR	2021/S 178-463513[1154]
2018-08-01	Promise Primend	1.54M EUR	1.07M EUR	2018/S 150-344228[694]
2020-07-05	Promise	1.27M EUR	0.89M EUR	2020/S 132-323273[940]
2020-05-11	Promise	1.16M EUR	0.81M EUR	2020/S 095-226630[909]

Table 36: Publicly disclosed intermediated Swiss awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 24.5 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-03-02	SoftwareONE	8.50M CHF	5.95M CHF	2020/S 046-109610[881]
2021-11-01	SoftwareONE	6.89M CHF	4.82M CHF	2021/S 215-567326[1177]
2018-09-11	Crayon	5.77M CHF	4.04M CHF	2018/S 177-402427[706]
2021-03-05	Crayon	5.38M CHF	3.77M CHF	2021/S 049-122180[1034]
2021-01-21	SoftwareONE	5.33M CHF	3.73M CHF	2021/S 018-043084[1016]
2019-06-20	SoftwareONE	4.65M CHF	3.25M CHF	2019/S 119-292781[771]
2020-10-08	SoftwareONE	1.84M CHF	1.29M CHF	2020/S 199-483771[964]
2021-07-12	Bechtle	1.12M CHF	0.78M CHF	2021/S 136-363740[1099]

Table 37: Publicly disclosed intermediated Romanian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 22.2 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-02-21	Asseco	30.0M RON	18.0M RON	2022/S 040-104827[1229]
2021-12-20	Asseco	26.1M RON	15.7M RON	2021/S 250-665055[1201]
2021-08-11	Asseco	25.3M RON	15.2M RON	2021/S 158-419193[1146]

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Table 37 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-07-05	Asseco	21.7M RON	13.0M RON	2021/S 131-349302[1093]
2021-12-12	Asseco	11.3M RON	7.88M RON	2021/S 245-648276[1195]
2021-12-07	Asseco	9.96M RON	6.97M RON	2021/S 241-636486[1192]
2022-06-13	Asseco	13.0M RON	6.49M RON	2022/S 116-328288[1289]
2021-05-12	Asseco	10.8M RON	5.38M RON	2021/S 095-249958[1066]
2021-05-09	Asseco	7.95M RON	3.98M RON	2021/S 093-245174[1063]
2022-05-12	Crayon	6.07M RON	4.25M RON	2022/S 096-266762[1269]
2019-01-02	SoftwareONE	5.83M RON	4.08M RON	2019/S 005-006462[737]
2021-10-24	Crayon	5.39M RON	3.77M RON	2021/S 211-556820[1174]
2021-10-13	Crayon	5.39M RON	3.77M RON	2021/S 203-531524[1164]

Table 38: Publicly disclosed intermediated Bulgarian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 21.8 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-04-27	TBS	14.0M BGN	7.00M BGN	2022/S 086-233891[1264]
2019-07-04	TBS	13.9M BGN	6.95M BGN	2019/S 130-320103[782]
2021-06-06	Crayon	7.35M BGN	3.67M BGN	2021/S 112-295308[1076]
2019-10-21	Softline	6.80M BGN	4.76M BGN	2019/S 207-505569[817]
2022-04-25	Softline	5.40M BGN	3.78M BGN	2022/S 084-227012[1260]
2022-04-28	Softline	5.33M BGN	2.67M BGN	2022/S 087-237595[1355]
2019-12-29	TBS	4.76M BGN	2.38M BGN	2019/S 251-622440[850]
2020-12-03	Kontrax Progress Group	3.68M BGN	1.84M BGN	2020/S 240-594464[1341]
2022-07-06	TBS	3.46M BGN	2.42M BGN	2022/S 132-377671[1302]
2019-05-19	TBS	3.15M BGN	2.21M BGN	2019/S 099-240992[760]
2019-07-14	Softline	2.47M BGN	1.73M BGN	2019/S 137-337973[787]
2022-04-12	Softline	2.46M BGN	1.72M BGN	2022/S 075-203969[1253]
2019-10-03	TBS	2.29M BGN	1.60M BGN	2019/S 195-474349[810]

Table 39: Publicly disclosed intermediated Icelandic awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 19.9 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-11-17	Opin Kerfi, Advania Origo, Crayon, TRS	4.00B ISK	2.80B ISK	2021/S 227-598889[1187]

Table 40: Publicly disclosed intermediated Lithuanian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 17.1 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-12-27	ATEA	4.95M EUR	3.47M EUR	2019/S 250-620435 [849]
2021-01-05	Squalio Group	2.75M EUR	1.92M EUR	2021/S 006-010128 [998]
2022-02-28	Squalio Group	2.15M EUR	1.51M EUR	2022/S 045-115225 [1231]
2019-11-12	ATEA	1.95M EUR	1.37M EUR	2019/S 220-539593 [824]
2021-05-07	ATEA	1.92M EUR	1.34M EUR	2021/S 092-238174 [1061]
2019-11-24	Squalio Group	1.74M EUR	1.22M EUR	2019/S 229-561876 [831]
2019-08-20	Fortevento APN Promise	1.49M EUR	1.04M EUR	2019/S 162-398215 [798]
2018-11-13	Blue Bridge	1.43M EUR	1.00M EUR	2018/S 220-503276 [718]
2022-01-12	Fortevento APN Promise	1.35M EUR	0.95M EUR	2022/S 011-023292 [1214]
2020-07-04	Squalio Group	1.27M EUR	0.89M EUR	2020/S 130-318881 [937]
2018-10-15	Fortevento APN Promise	1.19M EUR	0.83M EUR	2018/S 202-458939 [713]
2019-12-10	Fortevento APN Promise	1.14M EUR	0.80M EUR	2019/S 240-588858 [839]
2019-12-16	ATEA	1.14M EUR	0.80M EUR	2019/S 244-599756 [844]

Table 41: Publicly disclosed intermediated Greek awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 13.0 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-13	OTE Group	22.9M EUR	11.5M EUR	2021/S 012-024655 [1004]
2022-02-15	Byte	2.14M EUR	1.50M EUR	2022/S 036-092579 [1227]

Table 42: Publicly disclosed intermediated Maltese awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 5.53 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-11-03	CSL	3.88M EUR	2.33M EUR	2020/S 218-535704 [973]
2020-10-28	CSL	3.88M EUR	2.33M EUR	2020/S 214-525285 [1368]
2022-06-15	Squalio Group	1.24M EUR	0.87M EUR	2022/S 118-333567 [1290]

Table 43: Publicly disclosed intermediated Luxembourgish awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 3.87 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-01-31	Econocom	3.91M EUR	2.74M EUR	2021/S 025-059281[1022]
2020-09-07	Schneider IT	1.62M EUR	1.13M EUR	2020/S 177-425668[959]

Table 44: Publicly disclosed intermediated Liechtenstein awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 3.42 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-10-04	Bechtle	4.70M CHF	3.29M CHF	2020/S 197-478391[963]

Table 45: Publicly disclosed intermediated Latvian awards for Microsoft products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 2.24 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-11-14	Squalio Group	2.04M EUR	1.22M EUR	2019/S 223-548334[829]
2020-05-27	APN Promise	1.70M EUR	1.02M EUR	2020/S 105-253657[921]

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-11-23	Denmark	10.3B DKK	42.4M DKK	2021/S 230-603976[1188]
2021-06-24	Switzerland	550M CHF	110M CHF	2021/S 123-327216[1089]
2020-01-23	Switzerland	302M CHF	101M CHF	2020/S 017-038313[865]
2020-04-17	EU Commission	112M EUR	57.9M EUR	2020/S 081-189843[903]
2022-06-19	Switzerland	75M CHF	25M CHF	2022/S 120-342764[1292]
2021-01-20	Finland	385K EUR	325K EUR	2021/S 016-036905[1012]
2020-10-12	Finland	385K EUR	325K EUR	2020/S 202-491297[1367]
2021-02-01	Sweden	3.0M SEK	600K SEK	2021/S 025-061089[1025]

Table 46: Publicly disclosed European Union and European Free Trade Association awards with Amazon Web Services as one of the named vendors since 2018 (excluding the UK) with a total value of at least 500,000 EUR. When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Amazon’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors. The total estimated amount of AWS’s portion of these awards is \$309 million.

Table 47: Publicly disclosed intermediated European Union and European Free Trade Association awards for AWS products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 60.3 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Buyer	Total	Est. value	Reference
2020-08-12	Accenture, Capgemini IBM, Netcompany Systematic, Visma	Denmark	3.00B DKK	300M DKK	2020/S 159-388541[950]
2022-07-28	BlackRock	Luxembourg	13.5M EUR	3.37M EUR	2022/S 150-425460[1313]
2018-12-18	Cloudearch	Norway	420M NOK	73.5M NOK	2018/S 246-566709[730]
2021-12-16	Deloitte	Denmark	76.2M DKK	22.9M DKK	2021/S 248-657179[1197]
2022-01-10	Cronos	Belgium	6.00M EUR	3.00M EUR	2022/S 010-020951[1212]
2021-02-10	Information Lab	Luxembourg	5.25M EUR	1.31M EUR	2021/S 034-083758[1029]
2021-07-27	Fujitsu	Germany	1.73M EUR	0.52M EUR	2021/S 147-392060[1106]
2020-10-22	Zarrdia	Ireland	1.49M EUR	0.12M EUR	2020/S 210-513744[969]
2020-11-17	Tech Data Knowit	Spain Norway	1.20M EUR 10.0M NOK	0.84M EUR 2.50M NOK	2020/S 228-562336[975] 2020/S 077-183099[902]

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2018-12-03	Germany	0.01 EUR	0.01 EUR	2018/S 236-539890[724]

Table 48: Publicly disclosed European Union and European Free Trade Association cloud computing awards with Google as one of the named vendors since 2018 (excluding the UK). When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Google’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2022-03-15	Germany	5.32M EUR	5.32M EUR	2022/S 055-144093[1240]
2022-01-28	Germany	5.32M EUR	5.32M EUR	2022/S 023-058765[1380]
2021-01-12	Austria	2.88M EUR	2.88M EUR	2021/S 010-019371[1002]
2022-03-03	Austria	2.58M EUR	2.58M EUR	2022/S 047-122727[1235]
2020-01-16	Austria	1.50M EUR	1.50M EUR	2020/S 013-026678[861]
2021-06-07	Italy	614K EUR	614K EUR	2021/S 112-293912[1074]

Table 49: Publicly disclosed European Union and European Free Trade Association awards with Alphabet not ostensibly focused on cloud computing since 2018 (excluding the UK) with a total value of at least 500,000 EUR. When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Google’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors. **The total value is 18.2 million EUR.**

Table 50: Publicly disclosed intermediated European Union and European Free Trade Association awards for Alphabet products whose since 2018 which have a value of at least 1 million EUR. Intermediary overhead rates were assumed at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 41.1 million EUR.**

Date	Intermediaries	Buyer	Total	Est. value	Reference
2018-12-18	Cloudfreach	Norway	420M NOK	73.5M NOK	2018/S 246-566709 [730]
2022-08-01	TIM	Italy	15.8M EUR	11.0M EUR	2022/S 150-427117 [1314]
2022-03-15	TIM	Italy	15.1M EUR	10.6M EUR	2022/S 055-141759 [1239]
2022-05-26	Mindshare	Italy	13.5M EUR	2.70M EUR	2022/S 104-291791 [1276]
2021-01-13	Mindshare	Italy	9.86M EUR	0.99M EUR	2021/S 012-025585 [1007]
2022-03-07	Dentsu	Poland	40.0M PLN	2.00M PLN	2022/S 050-129702 [1237]
2021-12-13	Gdańskie Centrum Multimedialne	Poland	15.4M PLN	0.77M PLN	2021/S 245-647070 [1194]
2021-11-17	Gdańskie Centrum Multimedialne	Poland	15.4M PLN	0.77M PLN	2021/S 226-595866 [1375]
2022-01-04	Fragile, Alpdest, BeSocial et al.	Czech Republic	143M CZK	28.6M CZK	2022/S 006-012410 [1208]
2022-05-09	Magnas Media	Czech republic	33.1M CZK	6.61M CZK	2022/S 093-256806 [1265]
2022-05-11	Innovaway, Injenia	Italy	3.36M EUR	1.76M EUR	2022/S 095-263164 [1268]
2022-03-15	Connelly Partners, 256	Ireland	2.50M EUR	0.38M EUR	2022/S 056-147367 [1241]
2020-04-05	Crayon	Norway	21.0M NOK	1.05M NOK	2020/S 071-169922 [896]
2020-01-06	Knowit	Norway	20.0M NOK	10.0M NOK	2020/S 005-007613 [855]
2019-11-18	Los & Co	Norway	17.5M NOK	1.75M NOK	2019/S 224-550818 [830]
2021-10-25	Lounge Group	Hungary	980M HUF	147M HUF	2021/S 211-554803 [1173]
2021-06-01	Lounge Group	Hungary	783M HUF	117M HUF	2021/S 107-281740 [1072]
2021-11-18	Lounge Group	Hungary	700M HUF	105M HUF	2021/S 227-598198 [1185]
2020-01-26	Irismedia	Spain	1.52M EUR	0.23M EUR	2020/S 020-044652 [870]
2020-12-13	OMD	Finland	1.50M EUR	0.30M EUR	2020/S 247-613295 [985]
2022-02-14	Roxer	Hungary	616M HUF	92.4M HUF	2022/S 035-089848 [1226]
2022-05-30	MyAd Marketing	Hungary	580M HUF	87.0M HUF	2022/S 107-300579 [1281]
2019-07-17	Increnta	Spain	1.25M EUR	0.25M EUR	2019/S 138-340687 [788]
2022-06-09	de Rolf, Buyitdirect, Odin	Netherlands	1.19M EUR	0.18M EUR	2022/S 113-318111 [1284]
2020-10-26	Familie Redlich	Germany	1.17M EUR	0.23M EUR	2020/S 212-518737 [970]
2021-01-18	Devoteam	Norway	10.9M NOK	2.18M NOK	2021/S 015-034981 [1010]

4 United Kingdom

Analysis of American tech giant contracts with the United Kingdom is significantly simpler than with the United States and the European Union: beyond the smaller volume of contracts, the only significant classified award to recently make the news is Amazon Web Services’ [contract](#) with [GCHQ](#), [MI5](#), and [MI6](#). (We took the midpoint within Financial Times’ estimation that the value contract value was between £500 million and £1 billion.) That the British intelligence services would allow their own cloud to be run by perhaps the leading cloud supplier to American intelligence should come as no surprise given the two countries’ “[special relationship](#)” and reported partnerships on mass internet surveillance (such as [Tempora](#) and [XKEYSCORE](#)).

The United Kingdom’s infamous early 2020 withdrawal from the European Union requires us to make use the United Kingdom component of the European Union’s [Tenders Electronic Daily](#) alongside our primary source, the [UK Contracts Finder](#). According to our analysis of these two data sets, the largest recent UK government contract with Amazon, Microsoft, or Alphabet is – for a change – not for defense or intelligence, but for weather and climate simulation. The £1.03 billion [contract](#) between the [Met Office](#) and Microsoft was officially titled “Supercomputing 2020+”. And, as [reported](#) by Data Center Dynamics in June of this year, the UK government settled with French information technology company [Atos](#) over claims that the Met Office violated procurement law in its determination that Atos’s bid was non-compliant.

Beyond AWS’s contract with UK intelligence services and Microsoft’s with the Met Office, the largest [contract](#) is £750 million to supply the [Cabinet Office](#) with cloud computing. The contract is split nine ways between AWS, Microsoft, Google, Oracle, IBM, and four other vendors. And one of the other four vendors, [UKCloud](#), specializes in providing “sovereign cloud” capabilities to the UK government and has [steadily lost](#) market share to Amazon; the Cabinet Office [reportedly](#) told UKCloud users to migrate to other providers last year.⁶¹

Despite Microsoft’s Met Office cloud contract being worth £1 billion vs. AWS’s estimated £750 million with the UK intelligence services, if we restrict ourselves to *direct* contracts, AWS more than makes up for the difference through a string of contracts with the Home Office, Ministry of Justice, Revenue & Customs, and the Department for Work & Pensions (see tables [51](#) and [52](#)). After further including direct awards not ostensibly focused on cloud computing (see tables [54](#) and [57](#)), we estimated Amazon’s direct post-2018 revenue from the UK government is just over £2 billion, versus Microsoft’s £1.4 billion. (As shown in tables [53](#) and [56](#), we estimated Alphabet at receiving less than £86 million over the same period.)

But the balance qualitatively changes once we include *indirect* revenue: as shown in Tables [58](#) and [55](#), we estimated Microsoft as receiving an additional £1.46 billion in indirect revenue versus Amazon’s £8.05 million. When both direct and indirect revenue estimates are combined, Microsoft’s total becomes £2.84 billion versus Amazon’s £1.95 billion and Alphabet’s £85.6 million.

⁶¹Despite the framing of the competition between UKCloud and Amazon Web Services as opposition to American tech giants, UKCloud is [closely partnered](#) with [VMware](#).

Table 58: Publicly disclosed intermediated UK government contracts for Microsoft products since 2018 worth at least £2.5 million. Intermediary overhead rates were, by default, estimated at 30%; in the case of Methods' Azure/AWS award, we halved Azure's assumed percentage after the usual overhead. We did not include the £4.71 million **Accenture contract** for "managing and operating Cloud platforms (AWS and MS Azure)" because it appeared to be focused on labor rather than cloud acquisition. We further avoided inclusion of **Project_421**, which appears to be a duplicate of **tender_177117/694012**, and **Littlefish's** Azure and Oracle Cloud ServiceDesk Capability **contract** with the Care Quality Commission. And **Through Technology's contract** with the Ministry of Justice was excluded because it was unclear whether Through was responsible for the Azure bill. **The total of these estimations is £1.46 billion, of which £716 million (roughly 49%) was noted as involving militaries, intelligence, or law enforcement.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total	Est. value	Reference
2022-06-07	Boxxe	Defence Digital	£292M	£204M	CCIT22A01[490]
2019-06-20	Boxxe	Ministry of Defence	£191M	£133M	CCSO19A38[503]
2018-04-29	Bytes	NHS	£163M	£114M	CCSO18A15[487]
2018-05-25	Bytes	NHS	£158M	£111M	tender_177117/694012[526]
2019-05-31	Softcat	Revenue & Customs	£105M	£73.5M	SR201666964[479]
2022-05-31	Trustmarque	Ministry of Justice	£96M	£67.2M	tender_288484/1075260[529]
2022-06-01	Trustmarque	Ministry of Justice	£83M	£58.1M	tender_288482/1075802[446]
2020-04-01	Softcat	Work & Pensions	£70.8M	£49.6M	tender_200593/848635[432]
2019-05-31	Trustmarque	Ministry of Justice	£57.5M	£40.3M	tender_105223/799685[530]
2020-06-30	Phoenix	Defra Network	£46.5M	£32.6M	tender_233987/888873[492]
2020-05-31	Bytes	Education	£45.5M	£31.8M	tender_237759/888449[399]
2020-03-31	Phoenix	Home Office	£42.1M	£29.5M	CF-0130200D58000000L5A4EAK1[502]
2020-12-08	Insight	Cheshire East	£35.0M	£24.5M	20_092[493]
2021-06-01	Softcat	Nuclear Decomm.	£33.6M	£23.5M	NDA/00913[551]
2022-03-31	Trustmarque	Care Quality Comm.	£25.8M	£18.1M	CF-0666500D0O000000rwimUAA2[429]
2018-06-30	CDW	Education	£25.7M	£18.0M	RD1001518[384]
2022-04-01	Trustmarque	Health Security	£20.0M	£14.0M	CF-0718200D0O000000rwimUAA2[470]
2021-04-01	Bytes	BCP Council	£18.0M	£12.6M	BOURN001-DN526112-89457037[570]
2019-11-01	Softcat	Richmondshire	£16.9M	£11.8M	RICHDC001-DN436272-38368025[410]
2021-04-01	Phoenix	Essex & Kent Police	£12.9M	£9.05M	7F-2020-0156[?][357]
2021-04-30	Phoenix	London & Quadrant	£12.3M	£8.59M	ICT00244[467]
2021-06-30	Insight	South Yorkshire Police	£11.8M	£8.28M	2354-2021[458]
2022-06-01	Trustmarque	NHS	£11.3M	£7.91M	CF-0984700D0O000000rwimUAA1[535]
2021-03-31	Phoenix	Norfolk Police	£10.7M	£7.50M	7F-2020-0156[356]
2022-05-31	Phoenix	Student Loans	£10.2M	£7.14M	2022-TR-0003[476]
2019-06-01	Trustmarque	Revenue & Customs	£10.0M	£7.00M	SR183824545[439]
2022-03-30	SCC	Land Registry	£9.33M	£6.53M	HMLR700604[443]
2022-03-31	Boxxe	South Yorkshire Police	£9.27M	£6.49M	2575-2021[457]
2020-12-31	Phoenix	Ministry of Housing	£9.08M	£6.35M	CPD4121070[436]
2019-09-30	Trustmarque	Crown Prosecution	£8.57M	£6.00M	PR_69_2019[498]
2020-03-31	Softcat	Birmingham City	£8.28M	£5.79M	CCSO19B12[472]
2021-03-31	Boxxe	DFSA	£8.00M	£5.60M	K280021211[402]
2022-06-28	Bytes	Education	£7.93M	£5.55M	tender_306550/1091547[496]
2020-09-30	Phoenix	Defra Network	£7.80M	£5.46M	tender_250455/1001207[453]
2022-03-31	Phoenix	Lancashire County	£7.54M	£5.28M	JA/ICT/LCC/22/1703[552]
2018-06-30	Phoenix	South Yorkshire Police	£7.53M	£5.27M	1651-2017[546]
2022-03-31	SCC	NHS	£7.46M	£5.22M	CF-0837700D0O000000rwimUAA1[464]
2022-03-31	Bytes	Coventry City	£7.20M	£5.04M	COV-12765[462]
2021-03-31	Insight	Financial Ombudsman	£7.05M	£4.94M	tender_137728/1043257[564]
2021-06-30	Bytes	Kent County	£7.00M	£4.90M	KENT001-DN500499-37258327[567]
2022-01-31	Trustmarque	MHRA	£7.00M	£4.90M	CF-0710600D0O000000rwimUAA2[438]
2021-01-31	Hitachi	Health & Social Care	£7.00M	£0	CF-0147800D0O000000rwimUAA1[401]
2022-06-30	Phoenix	NHS	£6.91M	£2.42M	PRO1002548[494]
2020-10-30	Phoenix	DVLA	£6.89M	£4.82M	PS/20/150[547]
2022-03-28	Insight	Derbyshire County	£6.80M	£4.76M	DERBSCC001-DN606189-49003106[382]

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Table 58 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total	Est. value	Reference
2021-08-08	Trustmarque	Health & Social Care	£6.69M	£4.68M	CF-0313700D0O000000rwmUAA1[433]
2020-12-31	Phoenix	Hampshire County	£6.62M	£4.63M	CR15232[491]
2021-03-31	Phoenix	East Suffolk & North Essex	£6.50M	£4.55M	b0ace808-51b9-422e-8644-4752beae8344[379]
2022-07-01	Trustmarque	NHS	£6.34M	£4.44M	C80017[497]
2021-02-28	Phoenix	Norfolk Police	£6.30M	£4.41M	7F-2020-0156[358]
2022-03-31	Trustmarque	Manchester City	£6.23M	£4.36M	MANC001-DN580339-57164975[571]
2020-12-31	SoftwareONE	Ministry of Justice	£6.05M	£4.23M	tender_253189/931284[423]
2019-06-30	Phoenix	Wiltshire Council	£5.86M	£4.10M	CCSO19A02[508]
2021-05-26	SCC	NHS	£5.83M	£4.08M	CF-0747700D0O000000rwmUAA1[485]
2019-11-30	Phoenix	Essex County	£5.75M	£4.02M	0813[549]
2020-09-08	Phoenix	NHS	£5.57M	£3.90M	909[533]
2021-03-31	Insight	West Mercia Police	£5.54M	£3.88M	11012[473]
2020-09-20	Softcat	Cambridgeshire County	£5.45M	£3.82M	LGSS001-DN478445-20329628[381]
2018-05-31	Trustmarque	capitalEsourcing	£5.39M	£3.77M	tender_149994/685194[465]
2018-05-08	Bytes	Education	£5.34M	£3.74M	RD1001476[504]
2020-06-30	Bytes	Wolverhampton City	£5.28M	£3.69M	CWC20156[463]
2020-06-30	Bytes	Norfolk & Norwich U.	£5.27M	£3.69M	16cab820-af48-4921-b2cf-361b600f1011[378]
2019-08-31	Bytes	Suffolk County	£5.25M	£3.68M	CD0855-3[489]
2021-03-31	SCC	Lancashire Police	£5.18M	£3.63M	BLPD 47408[447]
2020-01-31	Softcat	Uni. of Lincoln	£5.10M	£3.57M	BIP461613918[415]
2018-06-30	Bytes	Bristol City	£5.00M	£3.50M	BRISTOLCC001-DN339911-40164432[450]
2019-05-31	SoftwareONE	Transport	£4.98M	£3.49M	TIT0030[484]
2019-06-30	Bytes	Highways England	£4.90M	£3.43M	ITPD0143[499]
2018-08-31	Trustmarque	High Speed Two	£4.90M	£3.43M	tender_173421/697779[362]
2021-03-31	Bytes	Gloucestershire County	£4.82M	£3.38M	GLOSCC001-DN527530-07863577[478]
2021-03-22	Methods	Home Office	£4.80M	£1.68M	CF-0184200D58000000L5A4EAK3[387]
2021-03-31	ANS Group	NHS	£4.77M	£3.34M	CF-0398200D0O000000rwmUAA3[372]
2021-06-21	Insight	NHS	£4.76M	£3.33M	CF-0899800D0O000000rwmUAA1[512]
2021-04-30	Trustmarque	Cabinet Office	£4.72M	£3.31M	CDIO-49[452]
2022-06-30	Trustmarque	Leicestershire County	£4.69M	£3.28M	LEICSCC001-DN614712-22992718[466]
2021-06-24	Bytes	Education	£4.63M	£3.24M	tender_250906/978700[448]
2022-06-30	Trustmarque	West Northamptonshire	£4.61M	£3.23M	WNC00000130[561]
2022-02-28	Bytes	Liverpool University	£4.60M	£3.22M	eb4dc93c-3b28-4745-b95d-0611fc4953e6[380]
2022-03-31	Trustmarque	NHS	£4.54M	£3.18M	CF-0806400D0O000000rwmUAA1[461]
2020-02-29	Sol-Tec	Education	£4.50M	£0	tender_236285/872590[445]
2020-06-30	Trustmarque	High Speed Two	£4.50M	£3.15M	tender_242284/864965[444]
2019-12-31	Softcat	North Yorkshire County	£4.50M	£3.15M	NYCC001-DN421761-21356145[501]
2019-06-24	Bytes	Education	£4.50M	£3.15M	RD1002320[449]
2021-02-07	Phoenix	Hull City Council	£4.49M	£3.14M	DN502924[405]
2021-04-30	Civica	London Borough	£4.49M	£3.14M	ENFLD001-DN526099-58990421[440]
2021-08-31	Phoenix	University of Bristol	£4.43M	£3.10M	tender_266445/999199[495]
2022-06-30	Softcat	Lincolnshire County	£4.35M	£3.05M	LINCOLN001-DN619222-67345792[562]
2019-07-07	Bytes	Liverpool City	£4.28M	£3.00M	LPOOL001-DN414839-12398110[505]
2022-03-31	Computacenter	West Sussex County	£4.20M	£2.94M	WSSC - JS[581]
2019-03-31	Phoenix	Transport Police	£4.20M	£2.94M	BTP/CON/092[483]
2018-06-30	SoftwareONE	Guinness Partnership	£4.15M	£2.90M	TGP286[548]
2020-02-26	Boxxe	Competition & Markets	£4.12M	£2.88M	PROC-91-2020[480]
2022-07-11	CGI	Defence	£4.11M	£2.88M	RM6100CES0145[374]
2021-07-01	CoreAzure	Food Standards	£4.00M	£2.80M	tender_284630/999952[409]
2021-06-30	Bytes	Bristol City	£4.00M	£2.80M	BRISTOLCC001-DN553238-34487484[451]
2019-03-31	CPS	Falmouth Exeter	£4.00M	£0	1401FXPLUS[442]
2020-03-31	Insight	Bradford Metropolitan	£3.95M	£2.77M	BFDMDC001-DN473187-72089593[481]
2019-06-30	Trustmarque	Blood Services	£3.75M	£2.62M	NHSBT1222[507]
2020-09-30	Bytes	Leeds City	£3.71M	£2.60M	LEEDSCITY001-DN501879-28643936[471]
2021-05-01	Phoenix	NHS	£3.68M	£2.58M	BIP591719773[417]
2021-03-31	Trustmarque	Care Quality Comm.	£3.63M	£2.54M	CQC I&D 002[477]
2020-03-31	Bytes	Health & Safety	£3.60M	£2.52M	1.11.4.3581[488]

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Table 58 – continued from previous page.

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total	Est. value	Reference
2019-01-06	Insight	Oxfordshire County	£3.59M	£2.51M	OXFS001-DN362719-63871115[456]
2021-04-30	Pugh	Uni. of Southampton	£3.50M	£2.45M	2020UoS-0218[574]
2019-10-31	Sol-Tec	Education	£3.50M	£0	RD1002017-1[412]
2021-07-01	Phoenix	Insolvency	£3.44M	£2.41M	TIS0449[511]
2021-02-28	Phoenix	London Boroughs	£3.41M	£2.39M	BIP580895593[416]
2018-03-31	SCC	Land Registry	£3.28M	£2.30M	2018025[510]
2022-03-31	Trustmarque	Health Education	£3.19M	£2.23M	CF-0740800D00000000rwmUAA1[509]
2022-06-29	Bytes	Brighton & Hove	£3.18M	£2.23M	ESCC - 033908[376]
2022-02-28	Cognizant	National Highways	£3.16M	£2.21M	ITIP0276[435]
2022-05-16	Phoenix	Newcastle City	£3.14M	£2.20M	007779[352]
2021-05-31	Softcat	Newcastle Uni.	£3.05M	£2.14M	NCL001-DN534550-15595017[536]
2020-05-31	Phoenix	Home Office	£3.00M	£2.10M	CF-0249400D5800000L5A4EAK1[373]
2021-08-31	Phoenix	Sheffield Hallam Uni.	£3.00M	£2.10M	2021-36-DTS-DF[455]
2019-03-31	Bytes	BCP Council	£3.00M	£2.10M	BOURN001-DN404958-84954974[460]
2019-01-31	Bytes	Somerset County	£3.00M	£2.10M	DN375963[550]
2019-01-31	Trustmarque	MHRA	£3.00M	£2.10M	project_4321/ecm_6199[437]
2021-03-31	Hitachi	Revenue & Customs	£3.00M	£0	ITP1527 - SR593992139[575]
2019-02-28	Trustmarque	Leicestershire County	£2.96M	£2.07M	LEICSCC001-DN386911-18015429[500]
2018-04-30	Insight	Cheshire East	£2.91M	£2.03M	CHEAST001-DN324347-88704823[353]
2019-02-28	Trustmarque	Shropshire Council	£2.80M	£1.96M	BIP370046906[419]
2019-10-31	Sol-Tec	Education	£2.80M	£0	RD1002017-2[411]
2022-06-30	Bytes	South Gloucestershire	£2.76M	£1.93M	SGLOS001-DN610208-64732727[474]
2018-08-13	SoftwareONE	Nottinghamshire Police	£2.75M	£1.92M	CN1001850[486]
2019-03-31	Sol-Tec	Education	£2.75M	£0	RD1002017[375]
2019-12-31	Insight	Kirklees County	£2.73M	£1.91M	KIRKC001-DN447315-05379335[430]
2021-03-31	Civica	London Borough	£2.69M	£1.88M	ENFLD001-DN545127-93114831[441]
2021-04-30	Phoenix	Sunderland City	£2.63M	£1.84M	SUN001-DN530068-54657764[569]
2021-04-30	Phoenix	Southend-on-sea Borough	£2.61M	£1.83M	DN526000[468]
2020-06-30	SCC	Bank of England	£2.61M	£1.83M	BOE001-DN485545-62812065[459]
2021-12-31	Phoenix	North East Lincolnshire	£2.51M	£1.75M	NELINCS001-DN562714-23262730[469]

4.0.1 Comparison between procurement and taxes

Through the summation of reported UK (total current) taxes of the five leaf Microsoft subsidiaries listed in Fig. 33 over the fiscal years ending in June 2017 through June 2021, we found that Microsoft has reported a total of £191M in payments over said five year period.⁶² Given that our estimate of Microsoft’s post-2018 procurement revenue from Tables 52 and 57 was roughly £1.4 billion, we conclude that Microsoft is receiving roughly seven times as much in contracts from the UK government as it paid in taxes.

In the case of Amazon, we estimate more than £300 million more in revenue than in taxes paid, albeit with a much lower ratio than for Microsoft (£2.0 billion versus £1.7 billion). According to a combination of reports from the Fair Tax Foundation and Amazon itself, Amazon paid the UK government £4.6 million in 2017, £220 million in 2018, £293 million in 2019, £492 million in 2020, and £648 million in 2021.⁶³

Given Alphabet’s dramatically lower amount of public contract revenue from the UK government, it should not come as a surprise that its UK tax bill is much larger than its UK government revenue. Using the most recent five years of reported (current total) UK taxes for Google UK Limited – for the years ending June 2016 through June 2020 – we find a five year tax bill of £281 million versus their less than £86 million in contracts.

⁶²We combined the annual reports for Microsoft Limited, Microsoft Research Limited, Microsoft System Marketing Limited, LinkedIn Technology UK Limited, and Microsoft Properties UK Limited.

⁶³As was the case for the U.S., our procurement analysis uses the frontloaded revenue from 2018 through present (with an exception in the U.S. in the case of JWCC), whereas the tax analysis uses fiscal years 2017 through 2021. The tax analysis spans five fiscal years whereas the procurement analysis is slightly less than five (albeit roughly a year more recent).

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-10-26	GCHQ/MI5/MI6	£750M*	£750M*	Financial Times[1385]
2021-05-05	Cabinet Office	£750M	£83.3M	RM6111[383]
2019-08-01	YPO	£400M	£13.8M	YPO001-DN387210-63601854[582]
2020-12-01	Home Office	£120M	£120M	CF-0129200D58000000L5A4EAK3[556]
2019-12-12	Home Office	£100M	£25M*	CF-0091700D58000000L5A4EAK2[557]
2021-04-01	Revenue & Customs	£94.0M	£94.0M	HMRC_AWS006 Compute (OGVA)[428]
2020-12-01	Dept. Work & Pensions	£57.0M	£57.0M	tender_235891/907591[365]
2020-09-01	Revenue & Customs	£41.0M	£41.0M	AWS_HMRC004 - Compute[371]
2021-05-01	Ministry of Justice	£23.9M	£23.9M	tender_253864/956718[553]
2019-04-18	Revenue & Customs	£20.0M	£20.0M	HMRC_AWS002[425]
2021-05-06	NHS Ed. for Scotland	£15.0M	£15.0M	2021/S 092-240128[554]
2021-07-01	Cabinet Office	£12.0M	£12.0M	WP1960[579]
2021-04-08	Dept. Health & Social Care	£9.00M	£9.00M	CF-0181000D00000000rwmUAA1[420]
2019-10-01	Ministry of Justice	£9.00M	£9.00M	tender_216243/852862[555]
2021-02-01	Driver & Vehicle Standards	£7.70M	£7.70M	K280021246[537]
2021-04-01	Driver & Vehicle Licensing	£6.74M	£6.74M	PS/20/277A[543]
2020-07-01	Government Digital Service	£6.62M	£6.62M	WP1872[578]
2021-03-01	Companies House	£5.00M	£5.00M	CH-ITT-255[367]
2020-03-01	Land Registry	£4.80M	£4.80M	2020036[558]
2021-03-01	Land Registry	£4.50M	£4.50M	HMLR700445[393]
2018-06-11	DVLA	£4.00M	£4.00M	PS/18/71[366]
2021-01-01	Defra Network eTendering	£3.50M	£1.75M	tender_253008/920596[363]
2019-07-01	Government Digital Service	£3.35M	£3.35M	WP1752[577]
2020-05-22	UK Shared Business Services	£3.30M	£3.30M	DDaT20108 - AWS Web Hosting[396]
2019-08-01	Dept. Work & Pensions	£3.10M	£3.10M	AWS_G10-21729_Hyperscale Compute[370]
2020-06-01	Driver & Vehicle Licensing	£2.40M	£2.40M	PS/20/54[544]
2021-08-01	Dept. for Int'l Trade	£2.23M	£2.23M	tender_280379/986347[576]
2020-04-01	Office for National Statistics	£2.00M	£2.00M	PU-20-0309[359]
2020-08-01	Revenue & Customs	£2.00M	£2.00M	HMRC_AWS005 - ProServe[427]
2021-02-01	FCDO	£2.00M	£2.00M	CPG/6232/2021[408]
2020-08-21	Dept. Health & Social Care	£2.00M	£2.00M	CF-0028100D00000000rwmUAA1[573]
2018-09-28	NHS Digital	£2.00M	£2.00M	tender_163738/800820[364]
2021-11-01	London Borough of Hackney	£1.07M	£1.07M	HACK001-DN590187-56365329[385]
2019-04-04	Revenue & Customs	£0.95M	£0.95M	HMRC_AWS003[426]
2021-06-02	Peterborough City Council	£0.73M	£0.73M	PCC001-DN554168-43994304[369]
2021-10-01	National Archives	£0.71M	£0.71M	TNA383[368]
2018-03-21	Land Registry	£0.59M	£0.59M	2018026[559]
2021-04-01	Police ICT Company	£0.56M	£0.56M	PICTN-0128-2021[541]
2020-09-28	Cabinet Office	£0.52M	£0.52M	CCIT20A05[560]
2020-01-31	London Borough of Hackney	£0.50M	£0.50M	HACK001-DN468660-49989556[542]
2020-06-18	National Archives	£0.50M	£0.50M	TNA301[386]
2018-08-01	Disclosure & Barring Service	£0.50M	£0.50M	C13719[361]

Table 51: United Kingdom awards with Amazon Web Services as one of the named vendors publicly disclosed since 2018 with a total value of at least £500K. When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Amazon’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors. In the case of the GCHQ/MI5/MI6 award,[1385] we use the center of the estimated £500M-£1B range reported by the Financial Times and date the contract based upon the publication of the reporting. **The estimated total of these awards is £1.42 billion, of which £930 million (roughly 66%) was noted as involving militaries, intelligence, or law enforcement.** The GCHQ/MI5/MI6 award estimate of £750M alone dominates the combined £670M of other estimates from awards with ceilings of at least £500K. (*) In the case of the December 12, 2019 Home Office award, a request to the Home Office in regards to its replacement by a contract the next year clarified that the combined value should only make use of the first year’s spend (of four) of the first contract.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-09	Met Office	£1.03B	£1.03B	2021/S 093-245699[568]
2021-05-05	Cabinet Office	£750M	£83.3M	RM6111[383]
2022-06-30	NHS	£6.91M	£3.46M	PRO1002548
2018-08-10	Wiltshire Council	£5.63M	£5.63M	WILTS001-DN359380-28627565[390]
2021-10-05	Revenue and Customs	£5.02M	£5.02M	CW35325[406]
2020-11-13	Ministry of Justice	£3.75M	£3.75M	tender_249887/902420[431]
2020-11-16	Ministry of Justice	£3.13M	£3.13M	tender_240682/903160[424]
2018-10-26	Student Loans	£2.80M	£2.80M	BIP354393514[414]
2021-01-04	Livestock Info.	£2.21M	£2.21M	6GBR2010-317447-384655[388]
2021-08-31	Public Health	£2.16M	£2.16M	CF-0283500D0O000000rwinUAA2[540]
2022-01-19	Revenue & Customs	£1.92M	£1.92M	SR823186217[520]
2022-05-30	Ministry of Justice	£1.86M	£1.86M	tender_295583/1075146[514]
2021-09-06	Clarion Housing	£1.78M	£1.78M	RM1557.12[518]
2021-09-17	Revenue & Customs	£1.70M	£1.70M	SR467456761[519]
2022-03-22	Education	£1.55M	£1.55M	tender_300275/1054103[516]
2021-04-16	Education	£1.52M	£1.52M	tender_251453/952562[515]
2021-06-11	Public Health	£1.51M	£1.51M	tender_270376/971615[538]
2020-11-17	Education	£1.37M	£1.37M	tender_251450/889815[400]
2020-10-23	Ministry of Justice	£1.30M	£1.30M	tender_251638/897677[389]
2022-05-11	Home Office	£1.08M	£1.08M	CF-0244500D58000000L5A4EAK1[517]
2021-08-02	Defra Network	£1.02M	£1.02M	tender_277631/984727[522]
2021-06-03	Ministry of Justice	£1.00M	£1.00M	tender_265249/968621[422]
2021-10-25	Work & Pensions	£1.00M	£1.00M	tender_283968/1008406[523]
2021-09-16	Work & Pensions	£1.00M	£1.00M	tender_250747/998212[521]
2021-08-16	Ministry of Justice	£986K	£986K	tender_262147/988914[407]
2020-01-16	Southampton City Council	£855K	£855K	EC09/01/2934[434]
2021-11-16	Cabinet Office	£600K	£600K	CCZX21A64[545]
2022-04-29	NDA Shared Services	£573K	£573K	20220429142701-3510[355]
2021-01-04	NDA Shared Services	£555K	£555K	20210104123544-3510[391]
2022-01-07	Work & Pensions	£555K	£555K	tender_290611/1031092[394]
2020-11-12	Ministry of Justice	£532K	£532K	tender_249921/902045[563]

Table 52: United Kingdom cloud computing (and supercomputing) awards with Microsoft as one of the named vendors publicly disclosed since 2018 with a total value of at least £500,000. **The total of the estimated values is £1.17 billion, of which £1.03 billion came from the Met Office supercomputing contract.** When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Microsoft’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-05	Cabinet Office	£750M	£83.3M	RM6111[383]
2021-02-16	Culture Media & Sport	£1.80M	£1.80M	102163[395]
2022-02-14	Digital Service	£136K	£136K	WP1987[580]

Table 53: United Kingdom cloud computing awards with Google as one of the named vendors publicly disclosed since 2018 with a total value of at least £100,000. When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Google’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors. **The total is £85.2 million.**

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2019-03-27	YPO	£350M	£350M	2019S063-146571 [351]
2022-01-14	NEUPC	£80.0M	£80.0M	BIP665752521 [404]
2021-03-02	Ministry of Justice	£8.00M	£8.00M	tender_248778/932063 [392]
2020-03-26	Health & Social Care	£8.00M	£8.00M	CF-0046700D0000000rwmUAA1 [360]
2022-04-11	University of Derby	£600K	£600K	PROC DMC DA/638 [403]
2020-05-06	Royal Holloway, U London	£600K	£600K	BIP496460760 [413]

Table 54: Publicly disclosed United Kingdom awards with Amazon since 2018 with a total value of at least £500,000 which were not ostensibly focused on cloud computing. Beyond the £1.42 billion total estimation of the AWS awards listed in Table 51, **this table contributes an additional £519 million** (for a total of £1.94 billion).

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2019-03-17	Kainos	Public Health	£6.27M	£4.71M	tender_242099/885807 [539]
2021-03-22	Methods	Home Office	£4.80M	£1.68M	CF-0184200D58000000L5A4EAK3 [387]
2021-07-01	IBM	Revenue & Customs	£4.73M	£1.66M	zCloud WMF AWS [583]

Table 55: Publicly disclosed intermediated UK government contracts for Amazon products since 2018 worth at least £500,000. Intermediary overhead rates were, by default, estimated at 30%; in the cases of IBM’s zCloud/AWS award and Methods’ Azure/AWS award, we halved AWS’s assumed percentage after the usual overhead. We did not include [Equal Experts’](#) £20 million Multi Digital Tax Platform [contract](#) with H M Revenue & Customs because the procurement appeared to be purely labor focused. The same went for the £6.3 million [Equal Experts](#) and [Kainos](#) contracts with H M Revenue & Customs to “build and maintain” the Buyer Transaction Monitoring and Customer Insight Platform in AWS, the £6.0 million [Made Tech](#) and [Equal Experts](#) contracts for a Continuous Integration-Continuous Delivery capability, and the £4.71 million [Accenture contract](#) for “managing and operating Cloud platforms (AWS and MS Azure)”. And the same is true for the [contract](#) between [Coforge](#) – formerly Incessant Technologies to convert Revenue & Customs’ Case Management technology to AWS. **The total of these estimations is £8.05 million.**

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2022-06-01	U. Bedfordshire	£300K	£300K	BH [565]
2019-10-15	Business Bank	£108K	£108K	BIP437281840 [418]

Table 56: United Kingdom awards with Alphabet as one of the named vendors publicly disclosed since 2018 with a total value of at least £100,000 which are not ostensibly focused on cloud computing. When per-recipient award amounts are unspecified, we estimate Google’s portion of the award by equally dividing the maximum contract value among the recipient vendors. **The total is £408,000.**

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2020-07-31	NHS	£1.25B	£48.1M	2020/S 150-369126 [421]
2018-04-18	Work & Pensions	£43.7M	£43.7M	ecm_4343a [482]
2022-07-07	Ministry of Defence	£31.0M	£31.0M	DDSFTW/060 [524]
2020-06-02	FCO	£18.0M	£18.0M	CPG/4487/2020 [506]
2020-06-25	Ministry of Defence	£17.8M	£17.8M	BIP88079944 [397]
2020-05-21	Ministry of Defence	£17.8M	£17.8M	BIP85214190 [398]
2018-07-09	Ministry of Defence	£9.62M	£9.62M	CCT 582 [513]
2019-04-29	Bristol City Council	£9.60M	£9.60M	BRISTOLCC001-DN404254-77842540 [377]
2021-06-30	Care Quality Commission	£6.80M	£1.70M	CQC I&D 005
2018-02-21	Ministry of Justice	£4.13M	£4.13M	RP092.1 [525]
2022-05-25	NHS	£2.20M	£2.20M	CF-0862600D0O000000rwimUAA1 [528]
2022-07-08	Met Office	£1.74M	£1.74M	P110968 [572]
2021-09-17	Ministry of Justice	£1.51M	£1.51M	tender_255241/998398 [566]
2022-05-25	NHS	£1.44M	£1.44M	CF-0854400D0O000000rwimUAA1 [527]
2021-11-05	Ministry of Justice	£1.41M	£1.41M	tender_105223/1011831 [531]
2022-04-04	Defra Network	£975K	£975K	tender_298751/1058074 [534]
2022-02-03	Nursing & Midwifery	£914K	£914K	CON-00000388 [454]
2022-05-25	NHS	£847K	£847K	CF-0861900D0O000000rwimUAA1 [475]
2019-09-20	Ministry of Justice	£635K	£635K	tender_105223/799707 [532]
2022-04-29	NDA Shared Services	£545K	£545K	20220429143030-3510 [354]

Table 57: Publicly disclosed United Kingdom awards with Microsoft since 2018 with a total value of at least £500K which were not ostensibly focused on cloud computing. Beyond the £1.17 billion total estimation of the Microsoft cloud awards listed in Table 52, **this table contributes an additional £214 million** (for a total of £1.38 billion).

5 Canada

Given that Canada and the United States share the world’s longest international border and are both members of the Five Eyes intelligence sharing partnership, it can be expected that the Canadian government is a major customer of American technology. But the author was surprised to learn that public Canadian procurement from Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet since 2018 is almost entirely dominated by a single, seven-year CA\$1.56 billion **contract** with Microsoft through **Shared Services Canada** which started in March 2019. The contract was originally **announced** in mid-April of 2019 as “valued at \$940 million [CAD] over seven years, includ[ing] continued support for Windows operating system, Microsoft Exchange...Server Operating System...infrastructure software for the data centres, development software...business applications (Project, Visio, etc.)” and “access to Office 365”.⁶⁴ While the award itself is not selling Microsoft Azure, the press release claimed that the agreement would “allow the Government of Canada to take a step forward in achieving its **Cloud Adoption Strategy**.”

One of the supported departments in the contract is **Public Safety Canada**, which houses the **Royal Canadian Mounted Police** (RCMP), **Canadian Security Intelligence Service** (CSIS), and **Canada Border Services Agency** (CBSA). The RCMP has a history of both **arresting and surveilling journalists** who cover pipelines. (The RCMP has also **contracted** with **Babel Street** to perform broader internet surveillance. And CSIS is itself **separated** from the RCMP in 1984 due to the latter’s Security Service having conducted **illegal** break-ins and wiretaps in the late 1970s.)

Due to subtleties in the manner in which the Canadian government publicly discloses contracts, we primarily make use of the so called **Proactive Disclosure** dataset, but, in at least one case, a contract was only found through a **specialized dataset** for contracts awarded by Public Works and Government Canada.[338]

Beyond Microsoft’s CA\$1.56B Shared Service Canada award, Table 59 documents an additional CA\$340 million in awards which are not clearly marked as for cloud computing, and Table 60 lists CA\$31.7 million which are. By contrast, Amazon has a total of CA\$31.2 million in contracts through Amazon Web Services (see Table 61), and Alphabet has just over CA\$4 million in direct awards (see Tables 62 and 63) and CA\$2.16 million in indirect awards (see Table 64). While Google’s intermediated search appliance **contract** with Canadian Libraries & Archives through **Advanced Chippewa Technologies** was unambiguous, we hedged on the larger **contract** through **Computacenter** (formerly **Teramach**) because the contract description was unclear on whether Google software was being replaced or provided.

Table 59: Publicly disclosed Canadian awards to Microsoft since 2018 which are not ostensibly focused on cloud computing and have a value of at least CA\$673,000, which is roughly 500,000 EUR. **The total of these awards is CA\$1.91 billion.**

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2019-03-18	Shared Services*	CA\$1.558B	700433063[264]
2020-08-27	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$42.6M	2BS16281A[247]
2019-12-17	Shared Services	CA\$27.8M	2B0KQBQ0133[235]
2021-03-01	Health	CA\$20.8M	R202959[285]
2022-04-29	RCMP	CA\$19.5M	S202300463[214]
2022-05-03	RCMP	CA\$15.0M	S202300467[215]
2019-04-01	Indigenous Services	CA\$9.85M	R33063B[287]
2020-08-27	Veterans Affairs	CA\$6.89M	0A200602571302P[226]
2022-04-01	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$6.39M	9600738[270]
2020-06-02	Veterans Affairs	CA\$6.16M	0A200602571301P[204]
2020-02-03	RCMP	CA\$6.06M	S202005113[290]
2021-02-09	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$6.03M	2BS17429[249]

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⁶⁴Office 365 has since rebranded to **Microsoft 365**.

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Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2022-03-04	Natural Resources	CA\$5.76M	80004773[269]
2019-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$4.78M	2BH433063B[241]
2021-09-07	RCMP	CA\$4.53M	S202202621[292]
2019-03-18	Shared Services	CA\$4.39M	P000033569[278]
2020-12-07	Border Services	CA\$4.30M	2B21356165[238]
2019-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.93M	2BS433063[259]
2019-09-20	Shared Services	CA\$3.81M*	K000006772[274]
2019-04-01	Elections	CA\$3.65M	180812[206]
2019-04-01	Infrastructure	CA\$3.62M	9600159[319]
2019-04-01	Justice	CA\$3.61M	SSC1879551[293]
2021-07-15	Fisheries & Oceans	CA\$3.60M	4500008491[209]
2020-12-01	Environment & Climate Change	CA\$3.55M	80003545[326]
2022-03-28	Fisheries & Oceans	CA\$3.50M	4500023530[210]
2021-02-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.47M	2BS17386[248]
2020-05-15	Statistics	CA\$3.39M	11861[221]
2022-03-28	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.29M	2BSC20554[260]
2021-02-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.13M	2BS17576[251]
2021-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.10M	2BS180409[325]
2021-07-21	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$3.00M	2BS18840[253]
2022-05-25	Fisheries & Oceans	CA\$2.96M	4500026436[211]
2021-12-15	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$2.87M	2BS220025A[257]
2021-12-07	National Defence	CA\$2.71M	W8484-220186/Roc 324[309]
2020-03-19	Shared Services	CA\$2.56M	700507879[265]
2021-02-01	National Defence	CA\$2.52M	W8484-2199986[336]
2021-10-25	Auditor General	CA\$2.37M	P2100082[279]
2022-06-27	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$2.34M	2BS021500[245]
2022-01-11	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$2.30M	2BS2220146[258]
2021-03-05	Health & Social Dev.	CA\$2.26M	R200003060[281]
2021-02-04	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$2.25M	G9292-190689/001/ZM[338]
2021-01-19	National Defence	CA\$2.23M	W8484-219986[334]
2019-04-01	Public Services & Procurement	CA\$2.20M	E62ZR93431[271]
2019-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$2.18M	2BH433063A[240]
2019-04-01	Public Services & Procurement	CA\$2.07M	E62ZR93444[272]
2020-08-04	Shared Services	CA\$1.96M	700525775[266]
2022-04-01	National Defence	CA\$1.94M	Roc 344/W8484-220238[330]
2019-04-01	Immigration & Refugee	CA\$1.94M	7004330570[263]
2021-04-01	Elections	CA\$1.90M	3000727500[208]
2021-04-01	National Defence	CA\$1.89M	W8484-210046 Roc 227[331]
2018-08-01	Shared Services	CA\$1.88M	P000004534[275]
2020-05-01	National Defence	CA\$1.82M	R000063720[328]
2021-03-23	Public Health	CA\$1.82M	R200003072[282]
2022-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.70M	2BS20991[256]
2019-01-02	Shared Services	CA\$1.69M	2B0KBQ0063[234]
2018-04-01	National Defence	CA\$1.68M	EN578-142904/001/EE[273]
2021-02-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.67M	2BS17468[250]
2019-04-01	Border Services	CA\$1.63M	2B19346215[236]
2021-04-01	Border Services	CA\$1.60M	2B21357479[239]
2021-03-04	National Defence	CA\$1.57M	SO 3219[304]
2021-03-03	National Defence	CA\$1.57M	SO 3129[305]
2021-05-01	Statistics	CA\$1.40M	000012443[218]
2018-04-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.38M	G929280371[310]
2019-04-01	Privacy Commissioner	CA\$1.32M	2R008-19-0001[316]

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Table 59 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2020-11-18	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.31M	2BS001340[242]
2022-03-24	Statistics	CA\$1.31M	000013082[220]
2022-03-04	National Defence	CA\$1.31M	SO 8264[306]
2019-04-01	Food Inspection	CA\$1.30M	80002322[268]
2021-03-01	Global Affairs	CA\$1.24M	4001663[317]
2018-08-01	Shared Services	CA\$1.24M	P000008979[276]
2021-03-10	National Defence	CA\$1.23M	SO 3128[303]
2022-03-14	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.15M	2BS020713[244]
2018-03-20	Statistics	CA\$1.14M	10318[312]
2019-08-07	Fisheries & Oceans	CA\$1.13M	FP815-190008[212]
2020-02-26	RCMP	CA\$1.12M	S202005296[291]
2019-04-15	National Research Council	CA\$1.11M	RAS191281[288]
2021-04-01	Statistics	CA\$1.11M	000012209[217]
2022-04-01	Statistics	CA\$1.09M	000013099[225]
2022-05-26	Transport	CA\$1.07M	T8086-213055-1[301]
2022-01-18	Transport	CA\$1.07M	T8086-212508-1[298]
2019-04-01	Correctional Service	CA\$1.06M	21120-19-3060142[228]
2022-04-01	Statistics	CA\$1.05M	000013096[224]
2021-04-01	Statistics & Agri-food	CA\$1.05M	000012202[216]
2022-04-01	Statistics	CA\$1.03M	000013045[219]
2020-01-28	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.03M	2BS14737[246]
2019-04-01	Indigenous Relations	CA\$1.03M	R33063[321]
2021-07-12	National Defence	CA\$959K	W8484-220108 ROC 276[308]
2022-02-24	Global Affairs	CA\$945K	4001849[318]
2021-09-30	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$928K	2BS19172[254]
2019-04-01	Elections	CA\$924K	00000000000000000000180812[207]
2018-05-02	RCMP	CA\$916K	S201900590[324]
2022-03-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$915K	2BS020632[243]
2020-12-22	National Defence	CA\$912K	W8484-219965[332]
2022-01-27	Transport	CA\$912K	T8086-212727[299]
2021-03-09	Transport	CA\$912K	T8086-202704[296]
2021-02-17	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$904K	2BS17645[252]
2019-04-01	Transportation	CA\$877K	Y21202001[302]
2022-04-01	Health	CA\$876K	R2021360[283]
2021-04-01	Statistics	CA\$870K	12414[223]
2021-06-25	Transport	CA\$797K	T8086-203012[297]
2022-03-04	Natural Resources	CA\$791K	80004772[203]
2018-03-21	Statistics	CA\$777K	10313[311]
2019-04-01	Official Languages	CA\$771K	0P001-19-0004[205]
2021-12-23	National Defence	CA\$760K	w8484-220182/Roc 325[307]
2022-03-04	Transport	CA\$756K	T8086-212937[300]
2021-02-09	National Defence	CA\$741K	W8484=219992[335]
2022-03-31	Health	CA\$735K	R2021642[284]
2020-08-18	National Defence	CA\$727K	R069243/ROC # 163[329]
2021-04-27	National Film Board	CA\$720K	S200202101[289]
2021-01-21	National Defence	CA\$707K	W8484-219977[333]
2020-07-09	National Defence	CA\$707K	P2P R066040/Roc 155[327]
2021-02-10	Heritage	CA\$706K	45435665[261]
2020-01-17	Health	CA\$704K	R00054194[280]
2018-03-22	Health	CA\$694K	R1725683[323]
2022-02-01	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$689K	2BS20520[255]
2020-04-01	Border Services	CA\$686K	2B20351159[237]

Continued on next page

Table 59 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2018-04-01	Public Services & Procurement	CA\$681K	E62ZRA3222 [322]
2019-03-18	Shared Services	CA\$678K	P000033203 [277]
2021-03-02	Fisheries & Oceans	CA\$678K	FP876-200021 [213]
2021-05-20	Health	CA\$673K	R2190953 [286]

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2020-05-15	Statistics	CA\$6.33M	12408 [222]
2021-10-01	Treasury Board	CA\$5.69M	2406222180 [233]
2019-10-24	Revenue	CA\$3.84M	2020001487 [227]
2020-10-22	Treasury Board	CA\$3.11M	2406221191 [231]
2020-11-02	Transport	CA\$2.92M	T8086-172007/001/ZM [338]
2021-03-22	Treasury Board	CA\$2.72M	2406221350 [232]
2020-02-04	Treasury Board	CA\$2.06M	2406220651 [229]
2020-12-14	Infrastructure	CA\$892K	9600427 [320]
2018-05-17	Treasury Board	CA\$799K	2406219038 [314]
2020-03-26	Treasury Board	CA\$786K	2406220867 [230]
2019-04-09	Transport	CA\$551K	T8086-172007-TA002 [294]
2020-09-04	Transport	CA\$549K	T8086-202351 [295]
2018-02-09	Treasury Board	CA\$491K	2406218258 [313]
2018-09-28	Treasury Board	CA\$347K	2406219275 [315]
2020-11-16	Financial Institutions	CA\$309K	6959185A [262]
2021-01-07	Public Safety	CA\$258K	7247745 [267]

Table 60: Publicly disclosed Canadian cloud computing awards to Microsoft since 2018 with a value of at least CA\$250,000. **The total of these awards is CA\$31.7 million.**

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2020-11-30	Border Services	CA\$10.1M	2B2A351393 [160]
2020-01-01	Border Services	CA\$4.02M	2B20351393 [167]
2021-02-26	National Defence	CA\$3.06M	SO 3126 [191]
2021-02-16	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$1.87M	2BS17481 [161]
2019-10-25	Revenue Agency	CA\$1.81M	2020001503 [166]
2020-09-08	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$1.41M	9600388 [177]
2022-05-06	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$1.36M	9600759 [184]
2021-03-12	Natural Resources Canada	CA\$1.13M	80003816 [175]
2021-07-16	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.74M	9600565 [179]
2022-03-25	Natural Resources Canada	CA\$0.60M	80004844 [176]
2022-03-10	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.57M	9600723 [182]
2022-03-10	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.57M	9600715 [181]
2021-09-07	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.57M	9600570 [180]
2022-01-27	Revenue Agency	CA\$0.57M	2022028350 [156]
2021-03-24	Revenue Agency	CA\$0.56M	2021002874 [155]
2022-04-21	Revenue Agency	CA\$0.56M	2B23398844 [157]
2022-04-27	Revenue Agency	CA\$0.56M	2B23406805 [159]
2022-05-27	Revenue Agency	CA\$0.56M	2B23405597 [158]
2022-03-31	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.55M	9600732 [183]
2021-10-25	Shared Services	CA\$0.55M	700612329 [172]
2022-06-08	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$0.53M	2BS21097 [163]
2022-04-01	National Film Board	CA\$0.47M	8052086 [186]
2021-02-09	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$0.46M	2BS17482 [162]
2021-01-06	Shared Services	CA\$0.46M	700553207 [171]
2021-11-19	National Defence	CA\$0.45M	SO 3941 [192]
2021-02-22	National Defence	CA\$0.45M	SO 1739 [190]
2020-11-17	Natural Resources	CA\$0.45M	S1333 [188]
2021-03-25	National Film Board	CA\$0.43M	8048606 [185]
2021-04-06	Shared Services	CA\$0.42M	700572376 [165]
2022-03-23	Shared Services	CA\$0.36M	700640055 [173]
2020-06-18	Shared Services	CA\$0.34M	700518488 [170]
2020-06-10	Shared Services	CA\$0.34M	700656403 [174]
2021-04-06	Public Health Agency	CA\$0.34M	R200002979 [153]
2021-11-02	Public Health Agency	CA\$0.33M	R213698 [187]
2021-03-24	Shared Services	CA\$0.31M	700570859 [164]
2022-05-12	National Defence	CA\$0.30M	SO 10574 [154]
2021-12-15	Employment & Social Dev.	CA\$0.29M	2BS220024 [168]
2020-04-08	National Film Board	CA\$0.29M	S200202002 [189]
2021-03-09	Innovation, Science & Economic Dev.	CA\$0.25M	9600481 [178]
2020-03-25	Shared Services	CA\$0.25M	700508329 [169]

Table 61: Publicly disclosed Canadian awards to Amazon Web Services since 2018 with a value of at least CA\$250,000. **The total of these awards is CA\$39.2 million.**

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2022-03-30	Public Safety	CA\$322K	S202205900[198]
2020-12-23	Public Safety	CA\$237K	S202103474[197]
2022-06-10	Shared Services	CA\$224K	700656399[196]
2021-10-07	Shared Services	CA\$171K	700609528[195]
2021-02-09	Shared Services	CA\$170K	700560333[194]

Table 62: Publicly disclosed Canadian cloud computing awards to Google since 2018 with a value of at least CA\$100,000. **The total of these awards is CA\$1.12 million.**

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2021-03-16	National Defence	CA\$1.31M	SO 1696[193]
2021-03-30	Public Health	CA\$790K	R00001737[202]
2022-03-08	Natural Resources	CA\$394K	80004791[201]
2021-10-28	Natural Resources	CA\$363K	80004385[200]
2021-10-28	Natural Resources	CA\$295K	80004379[199]

Table 63: Publicly disclosed Canadian awards to Alphabet since 2018 with a value of at least CA\$250,000 which are not ostensibly focused on cloud computing. **The total of these awards is CA\$3.15 million.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2019-10-11	Computacenter	Libraries & Archives	CA\$5.15M	CA\$1.80M	5Z011-18-0124[337]
2019-01-16	Advanced Chippewa	Libraries & Archives	CA\$520K	CA\$364K	5Z011-19-0183[152]

Table 64: Publicly disclosed intermediated Canadian government contracts for Alphabet products since 2018 worth at least CA\$250K. Intermediary overhead rates were estimated at 30% and, because it was unclear whether the CA\$5.15 million Computacenter (originally Teramach Technologies) “Google Replacement Solution” contract was replacing Google search with something else, or vice versa, we took the average of the two outcomes. **The total of these estimations is CA\$2.16 million.**

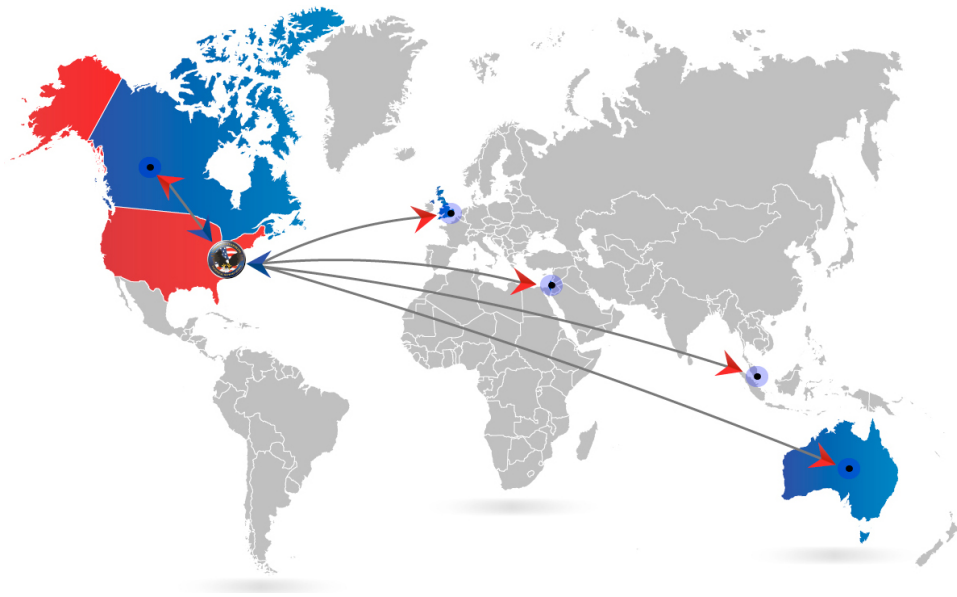


Figure 10: The five international partners of the U.S. Department of Defense’s Irregular Warfare Technical Support Directorate: Australia, Canada, Israel, Singapore, and the United Kingdom.

6 Israel

While not a member of the Five Eyes intelligence sharing partnership, Israel is one of the five **international partners** of the Department of Defense’s **Irregular Warfare Technical Support Directorate** (IWTSD), which was previously known as the Combating Terrorism Technical Support Office (CTTSO) – see Figure 10. CTTSO’s 2016 **annual report** notes that it received \$40 million which was “congressionally directed for cooperative anti-tunnel work with the Government of Israel” and, more recently, the IWTSD collaborated with the Israel Ministry of Defense on the Mobile Standoff Autonomous Indoor Capabilities (**MoSAIC**) challenge.⁶⁵⁶⁶ The U.S.- and Israel-created **BIRD Foundation** has similarly been promoting “mutually beneficial cooperation between U.S. and Israeli companies” since 1977 through funding companies **such as General Dynamics** and **IBM**. The U.S. Congress further **introduced** an **AIPAC-backed** bill in September 2021 to establish a \$10 million per year U.S.-Israel Artificial Intelligence Center.

But the most significant artificial intelligence partnership between the U.S. and Israel is arguably the Israeli government’s **Nimbus** cloud computing modernization project, which was **jointly awarded** to Amazon and Google in early 2021 rather than to incumbents Oracle and Microsoft. Nimbus’s focus is on shifting Israeli government ministries and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) onto commercial clouds and has been estimated to be worth 4 billion shekels, which exchanges to roughly \$1.2 billion (though Nimbus comes with a **provision** that Amazon and Google reciprocate by spending 20% of the contract value with Israeli companies). The same month that news of Nimbus’s aware broke, Human Rights Watch **released** its first report formally concluding that the Israeli government is committing “crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution” through its oppression of Palestinians. (**Amnesty International** would **follow** in February of the next year.)

Microsoft had been selling Azure to the Israeli government for years, **including** to the Ministry of Public Security, and so the company’s protest of its loss **reportedly** went as high as a conversation between its CEO, Satya Nadella, and then-Prime Minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**. **Ronit Atad** had joined as Microsoft’s Israel Country Manager in October 2019, a month after the launch of the Nimbus tender, and – according to **reporting** from **Globes** – was set to be replaced by Alon Haimovich in July. Oracle CEO **Safra Catz** was

⁶⁵The Wall Street Journal has **noted** U.S. Customs and Border Protection usage of cellphone location-tracking data from **Venntel** to detect underground tunnels.

⁶⁶Autonomous flight company **Shield AI** has received second prize in the Tactical Robotics System category.



(a) Eran Feigenbaum as “Eran Raven”



(b) Ronit Atad

Figure 11: Oracle Israel Country Leader Eran Feigenbaum in character as the mentalist Eran Raven (left) and Microsoft’s (reportedly) former Israel Country Manager, Ronit Atad (right). Feigenbaum has **publicly argued** that it is “dangerous” for the Israeli government to use any cloud with data centers located outside of Israel due to the risk of the International Criminal Court investigating the Israel Defense Forces. Atad **reportedly** stepped down as Country Manager of Microsoft Israel after the company lost the competition for Nimbus. *The images were respectively sourced from the official website for Eran Raven, eranraven.co, and Ronit Atad’s [LinkedIn profile](#).*

equally **confused** by Nimbus’s award to Amazon and Google: Oracle founder **Larry Ellison** was a **founding member** of the **Friends of Israel Initiative** who had **reportedly** offered Netanyahu a board seat at Oracle, and Catz was herself born in Israel and retained close ties. By contrast, hundreds of Google and Amazon workers **publicly condemned** Nimbus.

To make its case, Oracle **hired** former IDF General **Uzi Moscovitch** to lobby the Israeli government on the importance of its secure **underground** data center. Oracle Israel Country Leader **Eran Feigenbaum** – a mentalist who performed had **performed** under Uri Geller with the stage name **Eran Raven** – would similarly **argue** the importance of Oracle’s underground Israeli data center:

“Suppose we put Israel’s data in Germany; it’s now subject to German law. You can see for yourself how many times Google gave information to the German government. Now imagine that an organization like the International Criminal Court wants information on IDF soldiers. It doesn’t have to ask Israel for anything. All it has to do is get an order in the country where the data are stored. It’s not Google or Amazon’s fault, it’s just the way the world works. Running any cloud outside of Israel, storing Israeli data outside Israel, is dangerous. Even if you were using Oracle, if it were outside Israel, I wouldn’t rest easy.”

The human rights implications of Feigenbaum’s statement are perhaps obvious given the recent apartheid designations from both Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. And recent Nimbus **tender documents** make clear that: (a) “*there will be no restriction of any kind, including ‘permitted use’ rules for a service being offered in the government digital marketplace*”, even in the case of non-payment, and (b) provision 1.11.3 of the **tender booklet** demands that Amazon and Google refuse to comply with legal requests for Nimbus data from any non-Israeli “*supra-state entity...tribunal...administrative entity, law enforcement or security agenc[y]*”.

A **case study** on the relationship between Israel’s Ministry of Defense (IMOD) and Silicon Valley “Confidential Cloud” provider **Anjuna** claims that the latter ensures “employees of cloud providers, system

administrators, and third parties no longer have access to sensitive data”. (Anjuna’s [homepage](#) implies that it intermediates with the five major US cloud providers – AWS, Azure, Google Cloud, IBM, and Oracle – as well as [Alibaba Cloud](#).) Anjuna [elsewhere claims](#) that it “assures that IT insiders are never over-exposed to data they should not see”. According to Anjuna, IMOD’s [first test case](#) in its Confidential Cloud was a “compute-intensive AI workload”.

As described on an unlisted but [public website discovered](#) by the author through Israeli procurement documents, Google’s artificial intelligence sales to the IDF include: emotion analysis, facial recognition, car tracking, speech to text, sentiment analysis, entity detection, and – most importantly – tooling for constructing custom models.⁶⁷

Beyond the estimated 4 billion shekels to be split between Amazon and Google for Nimbus, Table 65 documents 19.2 million shekels of post-2018 public contracts with Microsoft found through a combination of the most recent public procurement [bulk dataset](#) and a [manual search](#) on the official procurement website (which we machine translated into English with a custom Hebrew-to-English OpenNMT transformer model trained on the OPUS Commoncrawl dataset). When combined with the contracts intermediated by [Ness Technologies](#) and [Getter Group](#) shown in 66, roughly 79% of Microsoft’s estimated post-2018 revenue from the Israeli government was from the Israeli police.

Out of the six regions in our study, Israel is the only place where Microsoft was estimated to receive less than Alphabet – and it is by more than a factor of 60.

Date	Buyer	Ceiling	Est. value	Reference
2021-12-28	Police	6.00M ILS	6.00M ILS	4000546043 [342]
2018-05-06	Police	4.00M ILS	4.00M ILS	615805 [344]
2019-03-24	Police	3.50M ILS	3.50M ILS	631994 [348]
2019-05-23	Tax Authority	2.50M ILS	2.50M ILS	634573 [349]
2018-06-08	Education	1.87M ILS	1.87M ILS	617760 [345]
2018-04-25	Social Affairs	778K ILS	778K ILS	615319 [343]
2021-05-24	Health	551K ILS	551K ILS	4000533507 [341]

Table 65: Publicly disclosed awards from the government of Israel to Microsoft since 2018 with a total value of at least 500,000 ILS. **The total value of these awards is 19.2 million ILS, of which 70% were in support of the Israeli police.** Only the 2019 and 2021 contracts with the Israeli police were clearly labeled as for Microsoft Azure.

⁶⁷Google’s [slides](#) couch the facial recognition as “celebrity detection”, but clearly this is simply a matter of the training set. And Google is selling tooling for building models from custom datasets.

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2019-03-17	Ness	Israel Police	16M ILS	11.2M ILS	631461 [347]
2019-02-25	Getter Group	Agriculture & Rural Dev.	970K ILS	679K ILS	631160 [346]

Table 66: Publicly disclosed intermediated Israeli government contracts for Microsoft products since 2018 worth at least 500,000 ILS. Intermediary overhead rates were estimated at 30%. **The total of these estimations is 11.9 million ILS, of which roughly 94% was in support of the Israeli police.**

7 Australia

The last region of our study is – by GDP – the second smallest member of the Five Eyes intelligence sharing partnership; it is also a member of the so-called **Quad** partnership alongside the United States, India, and Japan and a member of the **AUKUS** nuclear powered submarine partnership with the United Kingdom and United States.⁶⁸⁶⁹ (We have left analysis of the government of New Zealand’s procurement from US tech giants for future work. Though we note that New Zealand’s 2021 GDP was less than one sixth of that of Australia – and the **procurement dataset** does not contain a dedicated field for the vendor(s).)

While our analysis of Australia’s **AusTender** procurement data makes clear that Google is a distant third place in government sales, the comparison between Microsoft and Amazon is sensitive to how one counts. If one only measures *direct* awards between the two companies and the Australian government, then we find that Amazon received AU\$623 million vs. Microsoft’s AU\$159 million (nearly a factor of four difference). But the bulk of Microsoft’s sales were through a three year, AU\$810 million “Microsoft Volume Source Agreement (VSA4) - Common Cloud Commitment (CCC)” **award** between its exclusive Australian government **reseller**, **Data#3**, and the DTA. Australia’s iTnews quoted a DTA spokesperson with the following justification for the size of the award: “*The DTA has established a dedicated centralized environment where agencies can purchase Microsoft’s M365 E5 if it is deployed enterprise-wide*” (the URL is our addition). Using our default overhead rate assumption of 30%, the inclusion of Microsoft’s indirect revenue through this contract and its analogues in Table 72 leads to Microsoft outpacing Amazon in Australian government revenue by nearly 50% (AU\$927 million vs. AU\$623 million).

As shown in Table 67, more than 90% of Amazon’s public, post-2018 income from the Australian government came from two contracts with Australia’s **Digital Transformation Agency** (DTA). The **first** and largest of the two contracts was a three year, AU\$391 million “Whole of Government Agreement” for Amazon Web Services which began in May 2019. The **second** was a three year, AU\$174 million “AWS Arrangement” which began the day after the “Whole of Government Agreement” ended (May 1, 2022). (Table 68 shows that adding in Amazon intermediaries such as **Gruden** and **Salsa Digital** makes little difference. The complication is IBM’s nebulous AWS awards, which appear to be about transitioning to AWS rather than supplying it.)

The DTA had only **announced** Amazon’s ability to host sensitive Australian government data in October of 2021 – roughly seven months before the end of its first major three year contract. Whereas the **Australian Signals Directorate**, Australia’s analogue of the NSA, had **included** Microsoft Azure on its Certified Cloud Services List as far back as 2017. (By October 2019, Microsoft was **advertising** Azure’s ability to store PROTECTED Australian government data alongside its **VicCloud Protect** project with **Oobe**.)

Microsoft’s largest *direct* contract over our time window was a three-and-a-half year, AU\$17.6 million **agreement** with DTA for “Microsoft Premier Support Services” which began in December 2019. But the bulk of Microsoft’s sales were through an AU\$810 million **award** between its exclusive Australian government **reseller**, **Data#3**, and the DTA.

Alphabet trails far behind both Microsoft and Amazon in Australian procurement: beyond its roughly AU\$3.5 million in direct contracts (see Table 70), we document an approximated AU\$2.1 million in direct revenue through **Jellyfish** and **OniGroup** (see Table 73). Amazon Web Services’ contracts can be found in Table 67, Microsoft’s clearly-annotated cloud awards can be found in 69, all other (sufficiently) large Microsoft awards are listed in 71, and Google’s cloud contracts are listed in 70.

In an absolute sense, we documented Amazon, Microsoft, and Alphabet collectively receiving less from Australia since 2018 than any of our other regions of study. Though we note that all three companies contracted with both the Australian Signals Directorate and the **Australian Department of Defence**. The largest contracts were all intermediated through the Digital Transformation Agency, and so it is difficult to assess what percentage of the contracts were driven by defense, intelligence, and law enforcement.

⁶⁸Beyond the four members of the Quad alliance, “**Quad Plus**” is often used to a larger group which also includes South Korea, Vietnam, and New Zealand.

⁶⁹Australia’s 2021 cancellation of a multi-billion dollar nuclear submarine contract with French company **Naval Group** as it joined AUKUS caused a significant **diplomatic row** between Australia, the US, and France.

Date	Buyer	Value	Reference
2019-05-01	Digital Transformation	AU\$391M	CN3601345[60]
2022-05-01	Digital Transformation	AU\$174M	CN3864913[132]
2022-06-09	Geoscience	AU\$12.3M	CN3881294[139]
2022-05-06	Bureau of Statistics	AU\$10.6M	CN3870497[136]
2022-05-03	IP Australia	AU\$6.81M	CN3869286[135]
2022-05-02	Securities & Investments	AU\$5.87M	CN3869054[134]
2022-06-23	Department of Defence	AU\$4.58M	CN3886836[141]
2022-05-31	CSIRO	AU\$3.23M	CN3878121[138]
2018-08-24	Employment, Skills, Small & Family Biz.	AU\$2.97M	CN3535817[42]
2022-06-29	Bureau of Statistics	AU\$2.75M	CN3894155[144]
2018-05-02	Employment, Skills, Small & Family Biz.	AU\$1.45M	CN3501579[23]
2018-11-13	Signals Directorate	AU\$1.04M	CN3552263[47]
2022-04-28	Agriculture, Water & the Env.	AU\$0.91M	CN3868420[133]
2018-05-25	Taxation Office	AU\$0.88M	CN3508443[28]
2020-06-25	Department of Defence	AU\$0.72M	CN3693689[98]
2018-03-07	Taxation Office	AU\$0.67M	CN3489616[21]
2018-10-01	Signals Directorate	AU\$0.61M	CN3556868[48]
2022-05-01	Department of Defence	AU\$0.46M	CN3906315[151]
2018-02-08	Digital Transformation	AU\$0.45M	CN3483802[20]
2022-02-03	Department of Defence	AU\$0.41M	CN3877088[137]
2018-07-18	Department of Defence	AU\$0.38M	CN3525479[38]
2019-01-15	Bureau of Meteorology	AU\$0.38M	CN3563748[50]
2018-09-13	Taxation Office	AU\$0.37M	CN3539864[45]
2019-10-08	Department of Defence	AU\$0.29M	CN3632802[77]

Table 67: Publicly disclosed Australian awards to Amazon Web Services since 2018 with a value of at least AU\$250,000. **The total of these awards is AU\$623 million.**

Table 71: Publicly disclosed Australian awards to Microsoft since 2018 which are not ostensibly focused on cloud computing and have a value of at least AU\$720,000, which is roughly \$500,000 USD. **The total of these awards is AU\$157 million.**

Date	Buyer	Total Value	Est. value	Reference
2019-12-10	Digital Transformation	AU\$17.6M	AU\$17.6M	CN3654730[89]
2020-06-23	Department of Defence	AU\$13.9M	AU\$13.9M	CN3687262[95]
2020-11-09	Agriculture, Water and Env.	AU\$13.1M	AU\$3.28M	CN3733257[107]
2021-05-04	Agriculture, Water and Env.	AU\$9.76M	AU\$2.44M	CN3768400[112]
2022-06-01	Department of Defence	AU\$7.91M	AU\$7.91M	CN3885746[140]
2018-06-15	Services	AU\$7.47M	AU\$7.47M	CN3531409[40]
2021-07-09	Health	AU\$5.10M	AU\$1.27M	CN3794344[120]
2021-06-15	Signals Directorate	AU\$4.80M	AU\$4.80M	CN3777917[115]

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Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2022-07-13	Salsa Digital	Finance	AU\$523K	AU\$366K	CN3901458[147]
2020-10-29	Salsa Digital	Finance	AU\$496K	AU\$347K	CN3729676[105]
2019-10-28	Salsa Digital	Finance	AU\$474K	AU\$332K	CN3641476[84]

Table 68: Publicly disclosed intermediated Australian government contracts for Amazon products since 2018 worth at least AU\$450K. Intermediary overhead rates were estimated at 30%. **The total of these estimations is AU\$1.05 million.**

Table 71 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Total Value	Est. value	Reference
2019-07-01	Department of Defence	AU\$4.41M	AU\$4.41M	CN3615623[65]
2020-05-18	Department of Defence	AU\$4.27M	AU\$4.27M	CN3685032[94]
2020-03-01	Services	AU\$3.40M	AU\$3.40M	CN3666849[91]
2021-06-30	Services	AU\$3.51M	AU\$3.51M	CN3791391[119]
2018-06-07	Securities and Investments	AU\$3.36M	AU\$3.36M	CN3512477[31]
2021-06-29	Services	AU\$2.88M	AU\$2.88M	CN3800912[123]
2018-04-30	Services	AU\$2.84M	AU\$2.84M	CN3508029[27]
2019-09-02	Criminal Intelligence	AU\$2.78M	AU\$2.78M	CN3624358[67]
2021-06-07	Prudential Regulation	AU\$2.66M	AU\$2.66M	CN3785219[117]
2019-09-03	Taxation Office	AU\$2.65M	AU\$2.65M	CN3539860[44]
2022-07-31	Foreign Affairs & Trade	AU\$2.57M	AU\$2.57M	CN3904176[148]
2022-03-21	Agriculture, Water & the Env.	AU\$2.49M	AU\$622K	CN3858004[131]
2020-07-01	Services	AU\$2.42M	AU\$2.42M	CN3699002[101]
2021-06-23	Education, Skills & Employment	AU\$2.42M	AU\$2.42M	CN3785708[118]
2020-11-23	Department of Defence	AU\$2.19M	AU\$2.19M	CN3732350[106]
2022-02-01	Agriculture, Water & the Env.	AU\$2.18M	AU\$2.18M	CN3852911[130]
2019-06-03	Bureau of Statistics	AU\$2.14M	AU\$2.14M	CN3600882[59]
2018-03-26	Services	AU\$1.87M	AU\$1.87M	CN3502466[24]
2018-03-23	Meteorology	AU\$1.80M	AU\$1.80M	CN3496063[22]
2022-02-26	CSIRO	AU\$1.80M	AU\$0.45M	CN3852226[129]
2020-05-19	Signals Directorate	AU\$1.65M	AU\$1.65M	CN3689798[96]
2018-06-22	Digital Transformation	AU\$1.61M	AU\$1.61M	CN3521801[37]
2019-08-14	Department of Defence	AU\$1.59M	AU\$1.59M	CN3624075[66]
2019-01-01	Department of Defence	AU\$1.56M	AU\$1.56M	CN3562177[49]
2018-07-02	Digital Health	AU\$1.53M	AU\$1.53M	CN3520315[34]
2021-10-12	Signals Directorate	AU\$1.50M	AU\$1.50M	CN3821896[126]
2020-07-01	Prime Minister & Cabinet	AU\$1.45M	AU\$1.45M	CN3708754[103]
2020-06-16	Education, Skills & Employment	AU\$1.44M	AU\$1.44M	CN3691413[97]
2018-05-14	Education	AU\$1.38M	AU\$1.38M	CN3508959[29]
2019-05-13	Signals Directorate	AU\$1.37M	AU\$1.37M	CN3594660[56]
2019-07-01	Home Affairs	AU\$1.34M	AU\$1.34M	CN3607880[63]
2021-05-18	Signals Directorate	AU\$1.31M	AU\$1.31M	CN3773732[114]
2021-06-28	Home Affairs	AU\$1.30M	AU\$1.30M	CN3796151[121]
2020-03-23	Services	AU\$1.25M	AU\$1.25M	CN3671586[92]
2021-07-30	Foreign Affairs & Trade	AU\$1.20M	AU\$1.20M	CN3801465[124]
2019-07-01	DITRDC	AU\$1.20M	AU\$1.20M	CN3635468[78]
2019-05-20	Education	AU\$1.17M	AU\$1.17M	CN3594922[57]
2019-06-24	Foreign Affairs & Trade	AU\$1.15M	AU\$1.15M	CN3638887[81]
2018-12-10	Prime Minister & Cabinet	AU\$1.09M	AU\$1.09M	CN3564539[51]
2019-08-23	Department of Defence	AU\$1.00M	AU\$1.00M	CN3626620[72]
2018-06-23	Employment, Skills, Small Biz.	AU\$1.00M	AU\$1.00M	CN3517971[33]
2018-11-05	Services	AU\$990K	AU\$990K	CN3569020[52]
2018-08-02	Department of Defence	AU\$988K	AU\$988K	CN3537736[43]
2019-04-11	Department of Defence	AU\$985K	AU\$985K	CN3589825[55]
2021-12-20	Department of Defence	AU\$982K	AU\$982K	CN3837166[128]
2020-07-01	Prudential Regulation	AU\$970K	AU\$970K	CN3737516[108]
2020-04-20	Department of Defence	AU\$965K	AU\$965K	CN3676861[93]
2022-07-08	Signals Directorate	AU\$942K	AU\$942K	CN3893385[143]
2021-06-26	Federal Police	AU\$940K	AU\$940K	CN3779375[116]
2020-06-25	Federal Police	AU\$918K	AU\$918K	CN3694377[99]
2019-06-22	Education	AU\$882K	AU\$882K	CN3597963[58]
2018-05-09	Digital Transformation	AU\$864K	AU\$864K	CN3520913[35]

Continued on next page

Table 71 – continued from previous page.

Date	Buyer	Total Value	Est. value	Reference
2020-06-28	Home Affairs	AU\$860K	AU\$860K	CN3697095[100]
2019-09-15	Treasury	AU\$859K	AU\$859K	CN3628893[75]
2019-05-23	Digital Health	AU\$859K	AU\$859K	CN3605184[62]
2021-03-15	Agriculture, Water & the Env.	AU\$858K	AU\$858K	CN3754475[110]
2019-06-25	Federal Police	AU\$812K	AU\$812K	CN3602737[61]
2018-01-10	Bureau of Meteorology	AU\$784K	AU\$784K	CN3482069[19]
2019-03-24	Agriculture, Water & the Env.	AU\$783K	AU\$783K	CN3587719[54]
2018-06-26	Bureau of Meteorology	AU\$760K	AU\$760K	CN3532816[41]
2018-06-29	Foreign Affairs & Trade	AU\$747K	AU\$747K	CN3520961[36]
2018.06.18	Home Affairs	AU\$738K	AU\$738K	CN3529999[39]
2020.04.30	Reserve Bank	AU\$721K	AU\$721K	CN3708067[102]

Date	Buyer	Total Value	Est. value	Reference
2021-05-19	Education, Skills & Employment	AU\$4.60M	AU\$4.60M	CN3773287[113]
2020-01-17	Tourism	AU\$1.46M	AU\$1.46M	CN3653441[88]
2022-07-08	Signals Directorate	AU\$789K	AU\$789K	CN3893373[142]
2018-05-11	Services	AU\$418K	AU\$418K	CN3513573[32]

Table 69: Publicly disclosed Australian cloud computing awards to Microsoft since 2018 with a value of at least AU\$250,000. **The total of these awards is AU\$7.3 million.**

Date	Buyer	Total Value	Est. value	Reference
2022-06-30	CSIRO	AU\$1.17M	AU\$1.17M	CN3905476[150]
2020-02-17	CSIRO	AU\$600K	AU\$600K	CN3660395[90]
2021-09-02	Signals Directorate	AU\$589K	AU\$589K	CN3809980[125]
2020-09-18	Signals Directorate	AU\$429K	AU\$429K	CN3718281[104]
2018-10-22	Defence	AU\$331K	AU\$331K	CN3547069[46]
2019-09-01	Defence	AU\$185K	AU\$185K	CN3625053[69]
2019-09-01	Signals Directorate	AU\$167K	AU\$167K	CN3625824[70]

Table 70: Publicly disclosed Australian cloud computing awards to Google since 2018 with a value of at least AU\$150,000. **The total of these awards is AU\$3.47 million.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2019-08-02	Data#3	Digital Transformation	AU\$810M	\$567M	CN3626393[71]
2018-02-02	Data#3	Digital Transformation	AU\$90.9M	\$63.6M	CN3505390[25]
2022-07-01	Data#3	Employment & Workplace Relations	AU\$52.9M	\$37.0M	CN3900696[146]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Employment & Workplace Relations	AU\$36.2M	\$25.4M	CN3632569[76]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Taxation Office	AU\$32.9M	\$23.0M	CN3628527[74]
2022-07-01	Data#3	Bureau of Statistics	AU\$8.89M	\$6.22M	CN3904245[149]
2019-07-01	Data#3	CSIRO	AU\$7.15M	\$5.00M	CN3624890[68]
2018-05-31	Data#3	Department of Defence	AU\$7.05M	\$4.93M	CN3511586[30]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Clean Energy Regulator	AU\$6.18M	\$4.32M	CN3626912[73]
2020-01-14	Data#3	Department of Defence	AU\$6.10M	\$4.27M	CN3650107[86]
2019-10-04	Data#3	Parliamentary Services	AU\$6.07M	\$4.25M	CN3636703[80]
2019-09-25	Data#3	Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry	AU\$5.67M	\$3.97M	CN3639498[82]
2019-12-19	Data#3	Taxation Office	AU\$4.83M	\$3.38M	CN3649270[85]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Meteorology	AU\$3.77M	\$2.63M	CN3639990[83]
2022-07-01	Data#3	Attorney-General	AU\$3.70M	\$2.59M	CN3898501[145]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Attorney-General	AU\$3.36M	\$2.35M	CN3614040[64]
2019-03-04	Data#3	Competition and Consumer Commission	AU\$3.00M	\$2.10M	CN3583320[53]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Prudential Regulation Authority	AU\$2.86M	\$2.00M	CN3800875[122]
2019-07-01	Data#3	Reserve Bank	AU\$2.51M	\$1.76M	CN3636675[79]

Table 72: Publicly disclosed intermediated Australian government contracts for Microsoft products since 2018 worth at least AU\$2.5M. Intermediary overhead rates were estimated at 30%. **The total of these estimations is AU\$766 billion.**

Date	Intermediary	Buyer	Total Amount	Est. value	Reference
2018-01-01	Jellyfish	Digital Transformation	AU\$1.18M	\$0.83M	CN3480563[18]
2021-01-01	Jellyfish	Digital Transformation	AU\$885K	\$619K	CN3740604[109]
2021-12-10	OniGroup	Digital Transformation	AU\$298K	\$209K	CN3835330[127]
2019-12-23	OniGroup	Health & Aged Care	AU\$282K	\$197K	CN3653411[87]
2021-03-16	OniGroup	Health & Aged Care	AU\$203K	\$142K	CN3754761[111]
2018-05-22	OniGroup	Employment, Skills, Small & Family Biz.	AU\$160K	\$112K	CN3507734[26]

Table 73: Publicly disclosed intermediated Australian government contracts for Alphabet products since 2018 worth at least AU\$150K. Intermediary overhead rates were estimated at 30%. **The total of these estimations is AU\$2.11 million.**

8 Rest of World

In terms of any global analysis of government procurement of technology companies, the obvious missing region from this study was the People’s Republic of China. Beyond China having the next largest Gross Domestic Product after the United States and European Union, these three **major powers** are already years into a **heated** technology competition, with the European Union largely acting as a client of U.S. and Chinese companies. While Chinese public procurement datasets are **readily available** – and are **occasionally analyzed** by U.S. think tanks – their exclusion from this study was simply due to Tech Inquiry’s limited resources. Given that both Microsoft and Amazon sell cloud services in China through joint ventures with Chinese owned companies (Microsoft through **21Vianet** and Amazon through **Sinnet and Ningxia**), detailed analysis of Chinese government procurement has the potential to complicate the simple narrative of a three-way competition between the U.S., China, and Europe.⁷⁰

Relatedly, the United States is part of two separate alliances with Australia which are largely – if **not explicitly** – focused on countering Chinese military and economic power: the **Quad** “diplomatic network” which also includes India and Japan, and **AUKUS** military alliance, which includes the United Kingdom. (The White House even officially **promoted** former Google CEO Eric Schmidt’s **Quad Fellowship**, whose **website** prominently displays video endorsements from Joe Biden and the Prime Ministers of India, Japan, and Australia.⁷¹)

This document has made repeated reference to the Five Eyes intelligence sharing partnership and the U.S. Irregular Warfare Technical Support Directorate (IWTSD). Including New Zealand and Singapore in a future analysis would round out analysis of U.S. tech giant relationships across both networks. Beyond Microsoft having **sold** its Domain Awareness System to the **Singapore Police Force**, the **HTX** division of Singapore’s Ministry of Home Affairs **announced** a strategic agreement with Microsoft in February to develop a sovereign cloud. HTX also developed its **Rover-X** “robotic dog” in collaboration with the same company **selling** to U.S. Customs and Border Protection (**Ghost Robotics**). (HTX developed its **Drone Box** in collaboration with Israeli drone company **Airobotics** and announced partnerships with the **Australian Federal Police** and French defense contractor **Thales**.)

We might also prioritize analysis of government procurement in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, and Bahrain due to the combination of their history of human rights abuses with their housing of American data centers.⁷² For example, Microsoft **recently launched** an Azure region in Doha, Qatar and the exclusive reseller of Google Cloud in Saudi Arabia, **CNTXT**, is jointly owned by the state-owned oil company **Saudi Aramco** and the Norwegian company **Cognite**. Figure 12 shows high-level executives from Google – including CEO Sundar Pichai, Co-Founder Sergey Brin, and Head of Google AI Jeff Dean – meeting with Mohammed bin Salman (MbS) six months before the dismemberment of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul.

Oracle has an even longer standing relationship with the government of Saudi Arabia: its first cloud region in the Kingdom was launched in Jeddah in February 2020 and, in October 2021, Oracle was **announced** as the first tenant the “hyperscale data center at **NEOM**”. The data center will be created and run by a \$500M joint venture between state-owned NEOM Tech and EzdiTek (via its affiliate, **Fawaz Alhokair Group**). VMware and Huawei similarly **partnered** with the **Saudi Telecom Company** in February of this year.

⁷⁰Google similarly helped run a joint venture in China as part of its **Project Dragonfly**.

⁷¹For its part, Amazon Web Services directly **partnered** with the Japan Digital Agency and simultaneously announced a solar power **partnership** with Mitsubishi Corporation.

⁷²Saudi doctoral student Salma al-Shehab was **sentenced** to 34 years in prison by the Saudi government earlier this month for – according to The Guardian – “following and retweeting dissidents and activists”.



Figure 12: Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) meeting with the CEO of Google, Sundar Pichai and its Co-Founder, Sergey Brin, (left) and with the head of Google AI, Jeff Dean, and Sundar Pichai (right) in April 2018. Former Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi was dismembered in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul six months later – **allegedly** at the direction of MBS – which delayed Google Cloud’s 2018 Memorandum of Understanding with state-owned Saudi Arabian Oil Company (“Saudi Aramco”) from **concluding** into an agreement until December 2020. *Source of Pictures: Bandar Algaloud and [cnbc.com/2018/04/07/heres-a-look-at-who.html](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/04/07/heres-a-look-at-who.html).*

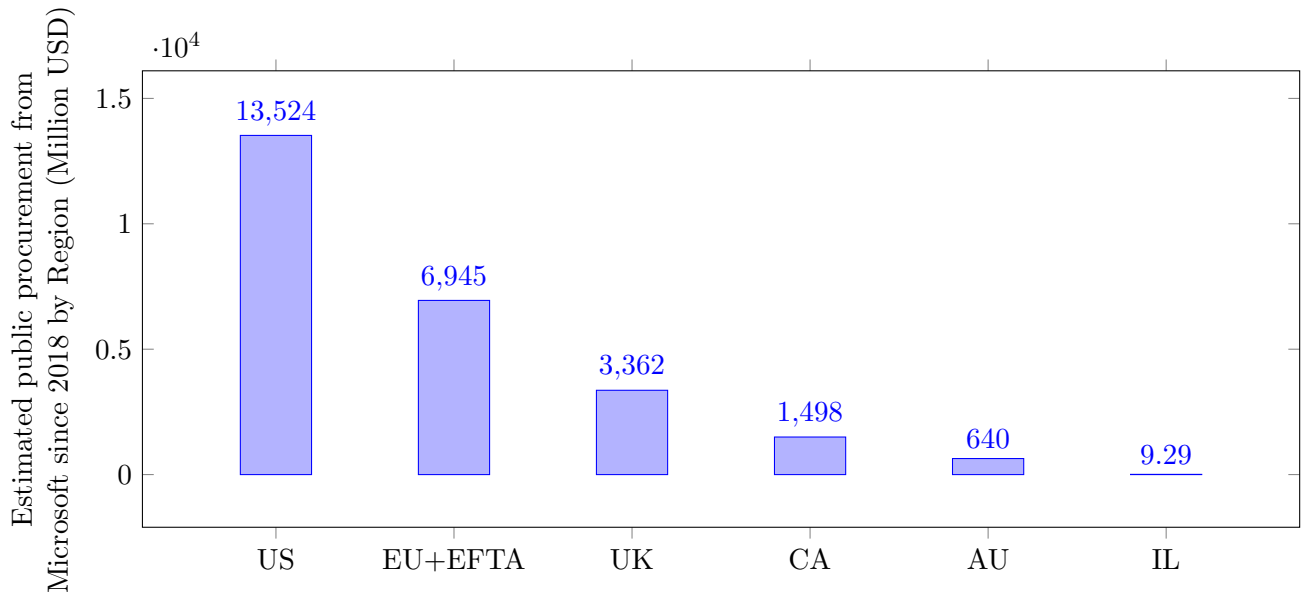


Figure 13: Estimated public procurement directly from Microsoft by several governments since 2018.

9 Conclusions

Tech Inquiry expanded its **Influence Explorer** entity map across the tech sectors of the US, UK, Canada, Australia, Israel, European Union, and European Free Trade Association as part of its analysis of government procurement from Amazon, Microsoft, and Alphabet since 2018. Perhaps the biggest surprises were: the near total dependence of the three companies on security establishment contracts in their relationship with the U.S. government, Microsoft receiving roughly 90% of the EU and EFTA revenue across the three companies (largely through software licenses), and that Amazon and Google’s Nimbus contract is larger than their combined EU, EFTA, and Canadian contracts. (This last fact is especially surprising given that the 2021 GDP of Israel was less than one fortieth of that of the combined EU, EFTA, and Canada.)

Comparing the roughly five year period of procurement to the most recent five years of U.S. tax data resulted in the surprising estimate that Amazon was awarded roughly twice as much in U.S. federal contracts as its tax withholdings (roughly \$5 billion in withholdings vs. roughly \$10 billion in contracts). A similar analysis in the United Kingdom suggested that Microsoft is receiving roughly fifteen times as much in contracts from the UK government as it is paying in taxes (£2.8 billion vs. £191 million).

Lastly, when looking at plots of estimated government income across our three companies and six regions of study (see figs. 13 to 15), only Microsoft’s estimated revenue roughly tracks with Gross Domestic Product. This is arguably the result of Microsoft’s non-U.S. government revenue largely consisting of software license fees rather than cloud computing, which is a newer industry whose adoption is still tumultuous due to data sovereignty concerns. This volatility is perhaps clearest with Microsoft and Oracle’s unexpected loss of the billion dollar Nimbus contract, which led to Oracle’s head of Israel suggesting that Google might allow the International Criminal Court to prosecute the Israel Defense Forces, and Microsoft reportedly dismissing its head of Israel.

In future work, we hope to expand our analysis to China, India, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, and Singapore. Doing so would allow us to round out the ten largest world economies, the Five Eyes and Quad alliances, and the international partners of the U.S.’s Irregular Warfare Technical Support Directorate.

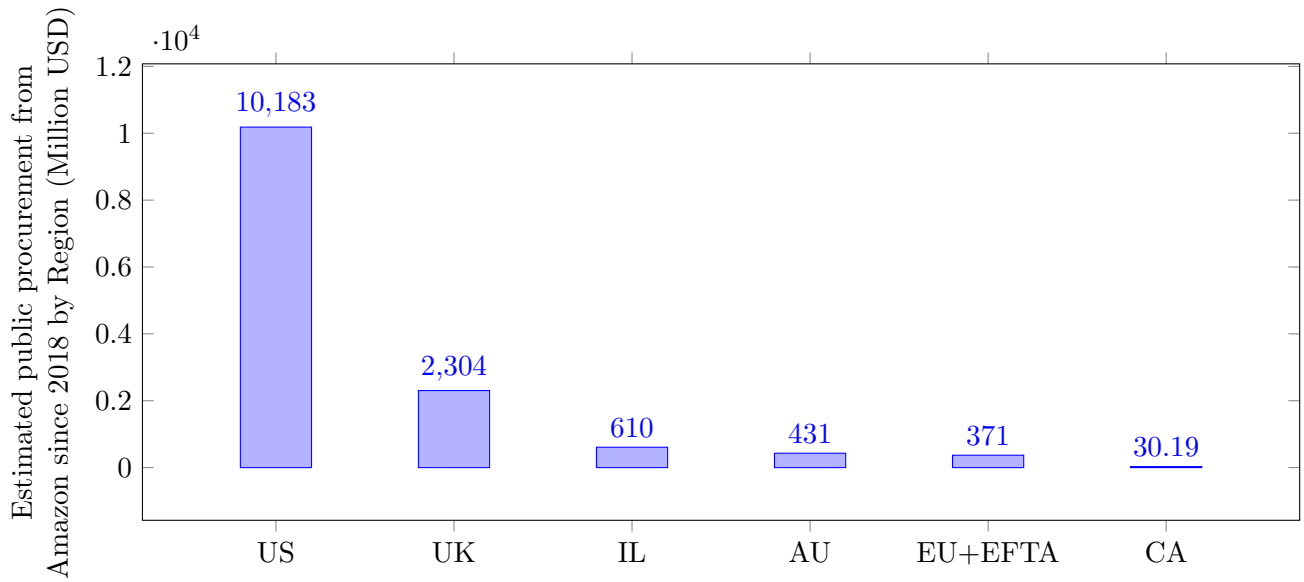


Figure 14: Estimated public procurement directly from Amazon by several governments since 2018.

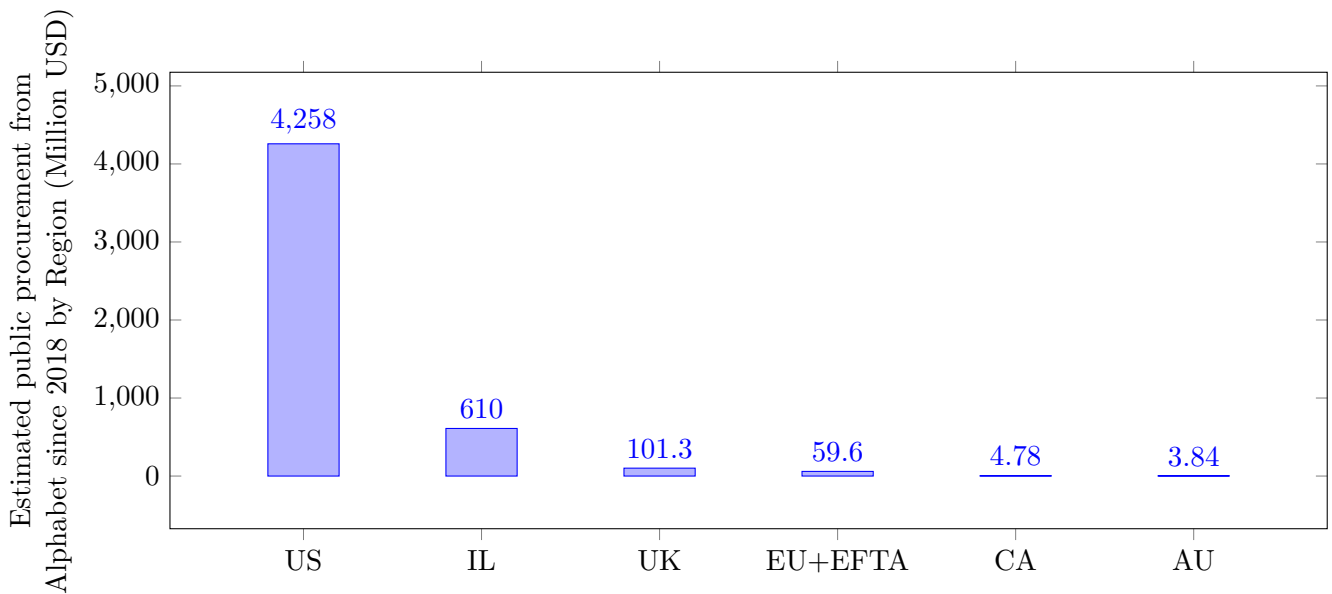


Figure 15: Estimated public procurement from Alphabet by several governments since 2018. We note that Alphabet’s US estimation has a large amount of uncertainty due to it primarily resulting from an assumption that Alphabet received an equal one-fifth share of the USIC’s C2E contract (valued at \$10 billion) and will likewise receive an equal one-quarter share of the DoD’s JWCC (valued at \$9 billion).

10 Appendix

In the early phases of this study, one of the major challenges was identifying which countries and regions should be prioritized. We eventually settled on the combination of Gross Domestic Products and membership in military, intelligence sharing, and broader diplomatic alliances with the United States, but our earliest attempt combined maps of data center locations (see figs. 16 to 19) with the geographic revenue breakdowns in Form 10-K filings to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission and analogous tax filings to the United Kingdom.⁷³

Such an attempt was unenlightening primarily due to two confounding issues: some companies have extremely coarse-grained geographic revenue breakdowns (Microsoft’s roughly only states that half is U.S.-based and half is from elsewhere, see figs. 21 to 29), and the revenues reported to even the U.S. and U.K. governments appear to be incompatible.

The approximately factor of two difference between the 2020 United Kingdom revenue / “net turnover” that Amazon respectively reported to the United States and United Kingdom is demonstrated in Figure 31.⁷⁴ The primary complication for this comparison was the detailed hierarchy of Amazon’s European subsidiaries – see Figure 30 – which had to be manually constructed so that individual net turnover filings could be summed. (The analogous subsidiary hierarchies for Alphabet, Microsoft, Oracle, and IBM are respectively shown in Figures 32, 33, 35, and 34. Alphabet’s hierarchy is arguably the only the rival the complication of Amazon’s – see the analysis of Phillips et al. in *The Amazon Method* for a related overview of Amazon’s European tax dodging.)

The cloud revenue breakdowns reported in 10-K filings were purposefully enlarged/obscured by several companies, especially Oracle and Tencent (see fig. 36). The reader may also be interested in the various companies’ Fiscal Year 2021 income before income taxes, both holistically (Figure 37) and domestically (Figure 38). In each of the three cases of: overall revenues, overall income before income taxes, and domestic income before income taxes, it is clear that Oracle and IBM are not operating in the same league as Microsoft, Amazon, and Alphabet. In fact, as shown in Figure 38, IBM reported \$2.65 billion in domestic losses in Fiscal Year 2021.

⁷³The similarity between Google Cloud and Oracle Cloud regions can perhaps be partly explained by Google Cloud CEO Thomas Kurian previously working as *President of Oracle*, where he “Led Oracle’s 45 Cloud Data Centers”.

⁷⁴The author’s hypothesis is that the United Kingdom accounting standards for “net turnover” differ from U.S. accounting standards for revenue.

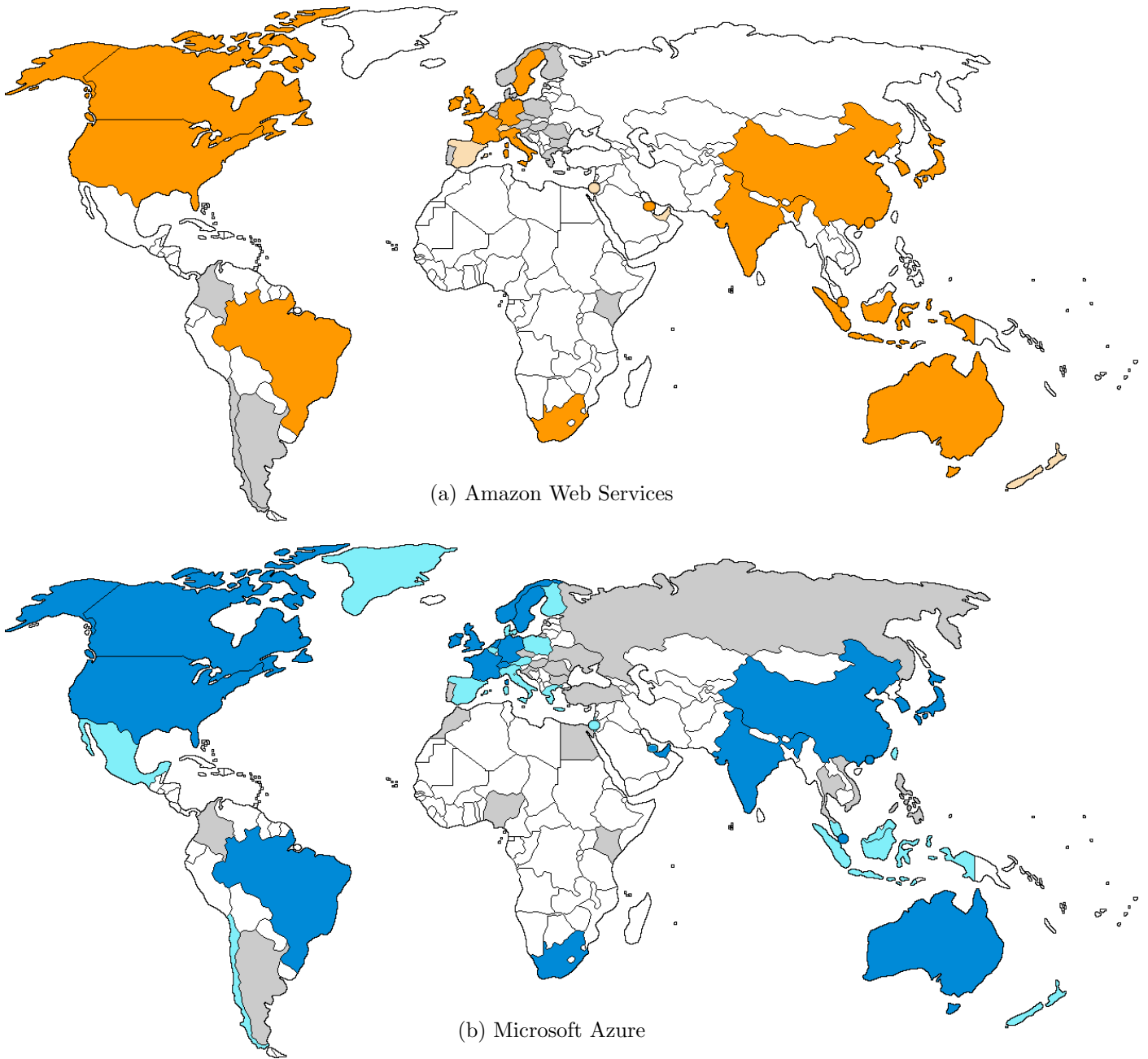


Figure 16: Countries with current cloud regions (dark colors), announced cloud regions (light colors), and partner/edge locations with no current or announced cloud regions (grey) for Amazon Web Services (top) and Microsoft Azure (bottom). AWS cloud regions and edge locations were respectively sourced from aws.amazon.com/about-aws/global-infrastructure/ and aws.amazon.com/about-aws/global-infrastructure/regions_az/. Disks were added to articulate AWS’s current data centers in **Hong Kong, Singapore, and Manama, Bahrain**, and the planned data center in **Tel Aviv, Israel**. Azure cloud regions and Front Door edge locations were respectively sourced from infrastructuremap.microsoft.com/ and docs.microsoft.com/en-us/azure/frontdoor/edge-locations-by-region. Disks were added to articulate Azure’s current data centers in **Hong Kong, Singapore, and Doha, Qatar** and planned data center in **Israel**.

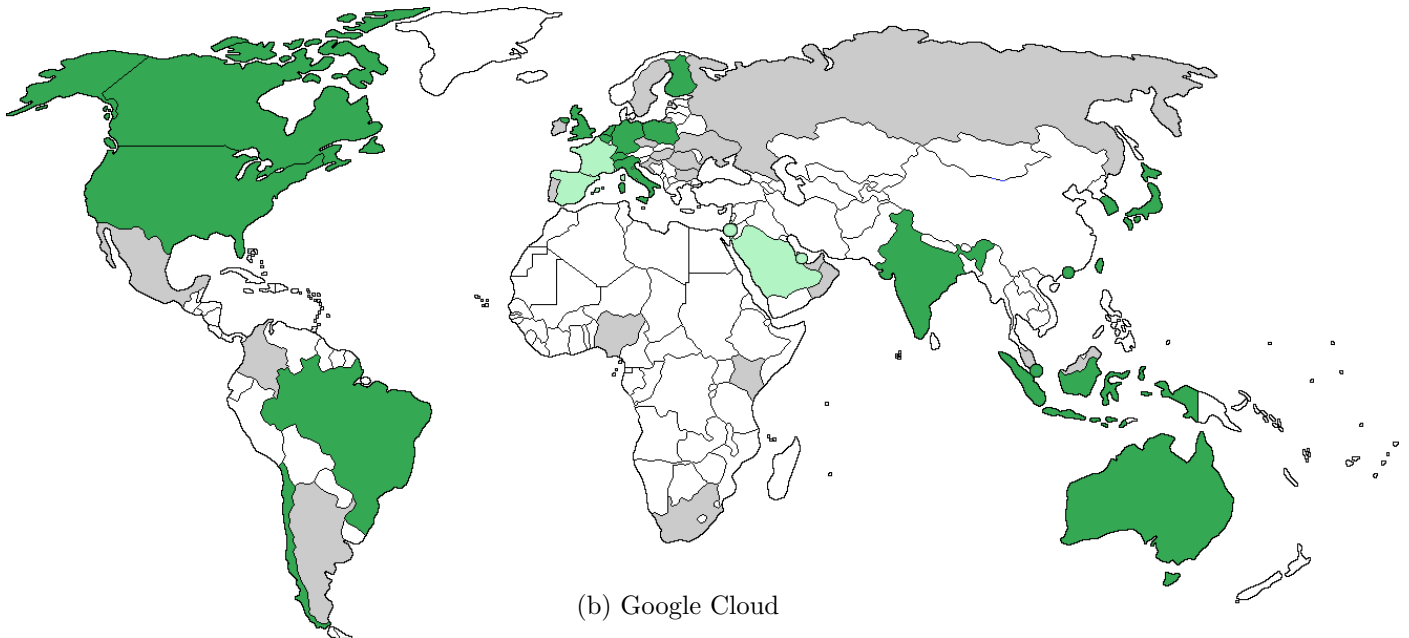
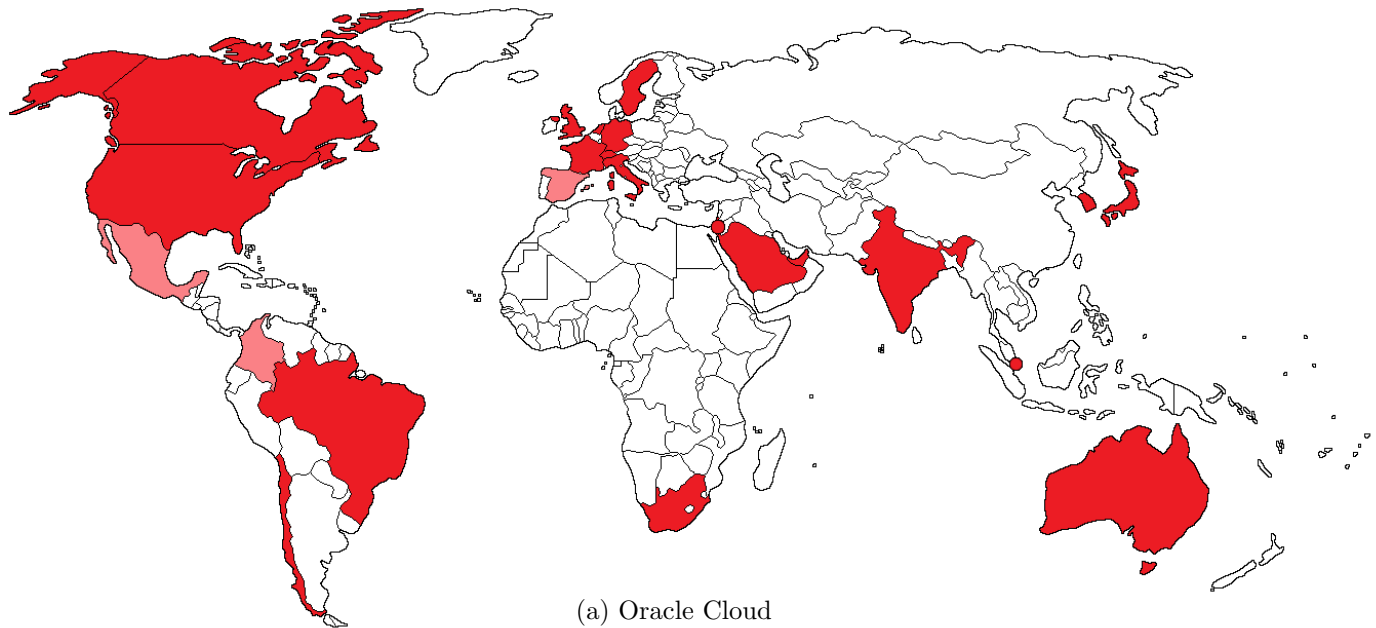


Figure 17: Countries with current cloud regions (dark colors), announced cloud regions (light colors), and partner/edge locations with no current or announced cloud regions (grey) for Oracle Cloud (top) and Google Cloud (bottom). Oracle Cloud regions were sourced from oracle.com/cloud/cloud-regions/; edge locations have not yet been found. Disks were added to articulate Oracle’s current data centers in **Singapore** and **Israel**. Google Cloud regions and edge locations were respectively sourced from cloud.google.com/about/locations and cloud.google.com/vpc/docs/edge-locations. Disks were added to articulate Google’s current data centers in **Hong Kong** and **Singapore** and the planned data centers in **Doha, Qatar** and **Tel Aviv, Israel**.

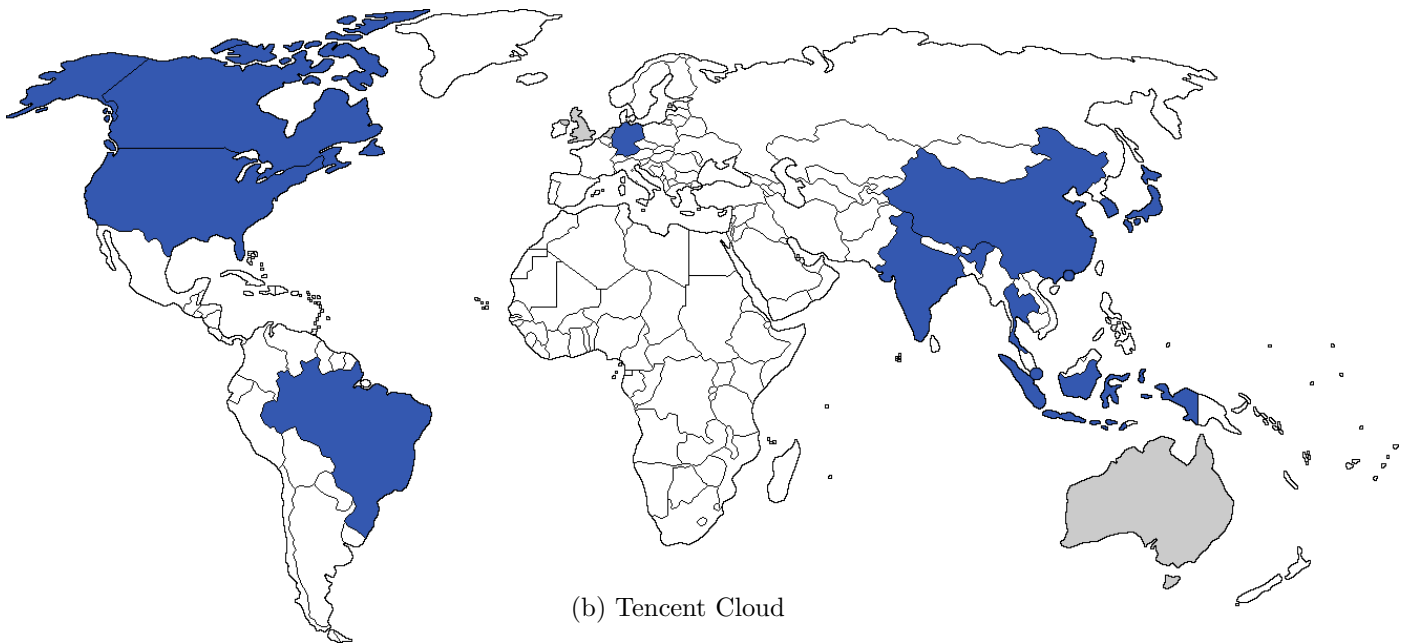
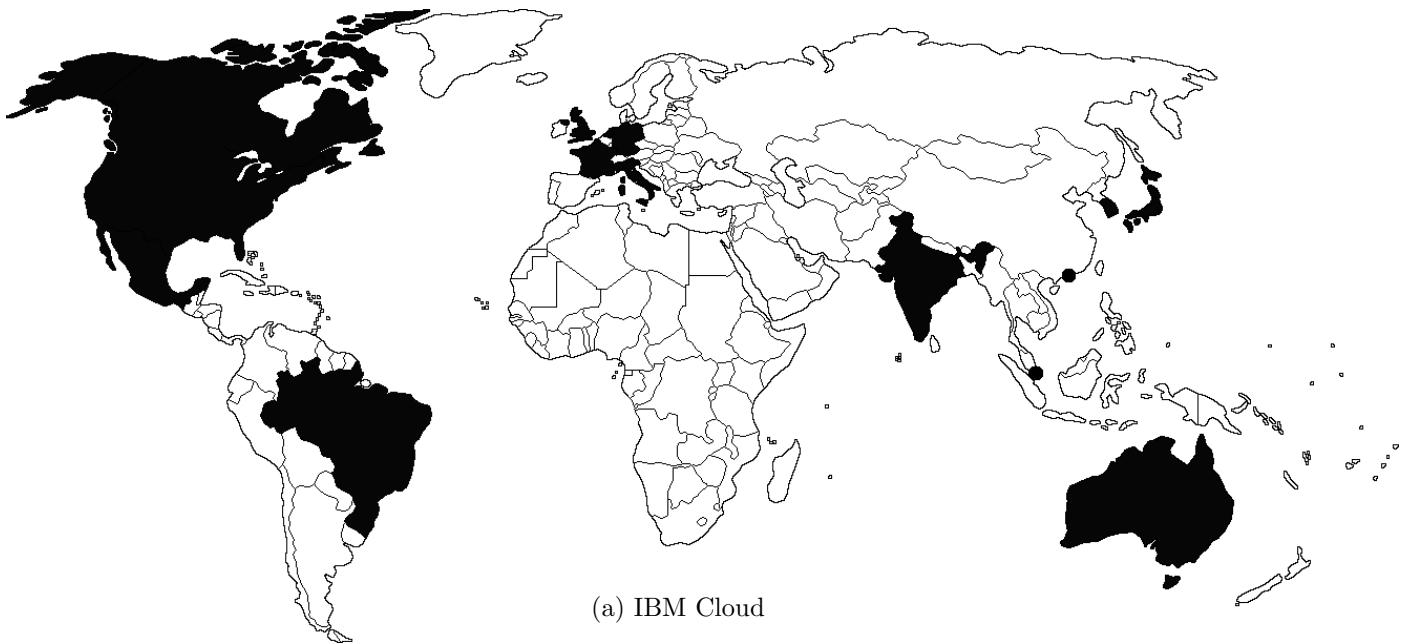


Figure 18: Countries with current cloud regions (dark colors), announced cloud regions (light colors), and partner/edge locations with no current or announced cloud regions (grey) for IBM (top) and Tencent (top). IBM Cloud regions were sourced from cloud.ibm.com/docs/overview?topic=overview-locations; edge locations have not yet been found. Tencent (partner) regions were sourced from intl.cloud.tencent.com/global-infrastructure. Disks were added to articulate IBM and Tencent’s current data centers in **Hong Kong** and **Singapore**.

Currency	Exchange Rate into U.S. Dollars
AUD	0.687700
CAD	0.769450
EUR	1.004085
GBP	1.183025
NIS	0.3051832

Table 74: Exchange rates into U.S. Dollars as determined on August 19, 2022.

Currency	Exchange Rate into Euros
BGN	0.51091308
CHF	1.03879400
CZK	0.04058435
DKK	0.13446550
HRK	0.13304764
HUF	0.00247375
ISK	0.00709486
NOK	0.10152492
PLN	0.21049899
RON	0.20512238
SEK	0.09406081

Table 75: Exchange rates into Euros as determined on August 19, 2022.

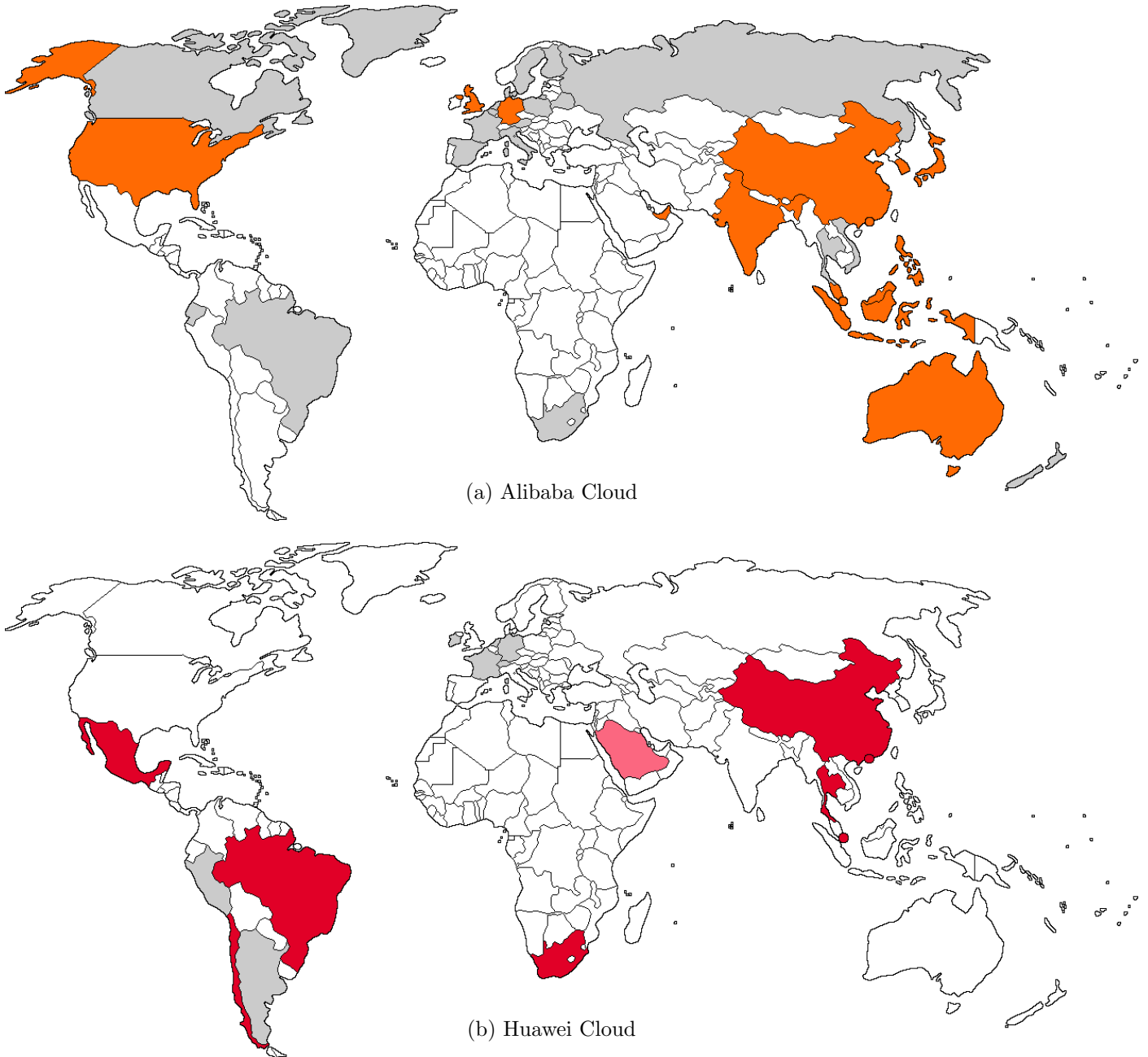
10.1 Currency Conversion

Due to the numerous involved currencies and roughly five year time frame, all currencies exchange rates were finalized in the final stages of the preparation of this report, on August 19, 2022 (see Table 74). As part of standardizing European procurement into Euros, we similarly made use of Table 75.

11 Acknowledgements

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The author would like to thank [Laura Nolan](#) and [Shauna Gordon-McKeon](#) for providing detailed feedback on a draft of this report. And if you find [Tech Inquiry](#)'s work valuable, please consider [donating](#).



(a) Alibaba Cloud

(b) Huawei Cloud

Figure 19: Countries with current cloud regions (dark colors), announced cloud regions (light colors), and partner/edge locations with no current or announced cloud regions (grey) for Alibaba (top) and Huawei (bottom). Alibaba Cloud regions and network edge locations were retrieved from https://www.alibabacloud.com/global-locations#J_7780260320. Current Huawei Cloud regions were sourced from [huaweicloud.com/intl/en-us/global/](https://www.huaweicloud.com/intl/en-us/global/) and the announcement for a Saudi Arabian region from [Data Center Dynamics](#); further (partner) infrastructure locations were sourced from [huaweicloud.com/intl/es-us/activity/infraestructura1.html](https://www.huaweicloud.com/intl/es-us/activity/infraestructura1.html). Disks were added to articulate Alibaba and Huawei's current data centers in **Hong Kong** and **Singapore**.

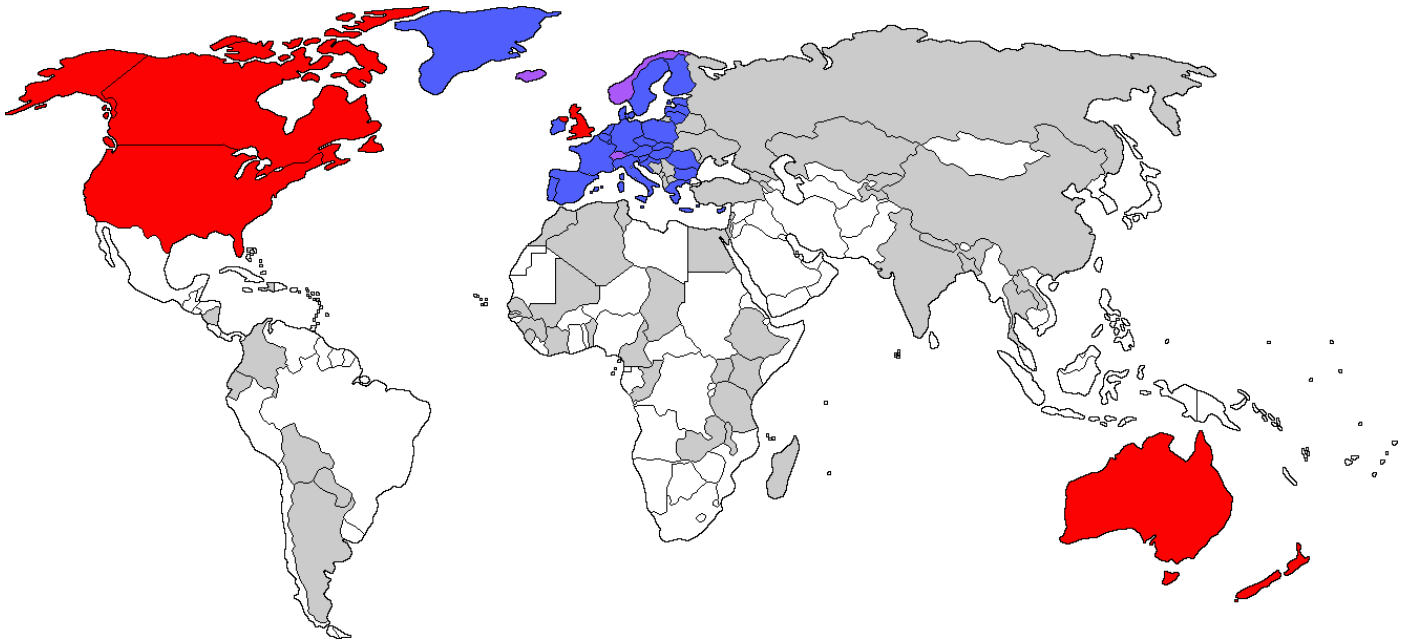


Figure 20: Countries where Tech Inquiry currently mirrors procurement data. Countries colored red are part of the Five Eyes alliance (US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), blue countries are in the European Union, purple countries are in the European Free Trade Association (Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein), and grey countries have sporadic public contracts published by the EU.

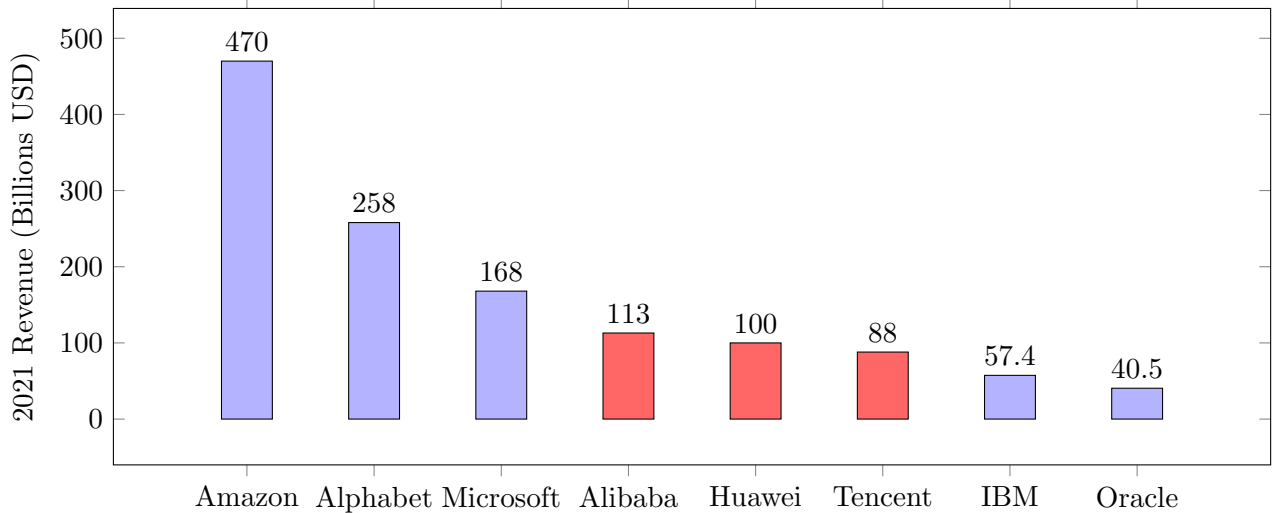


Figure 21: Fiscal Year 2021 revenues, in billions of USD, of Amazon, Microsoft, Oracle, IBM, Alphabet, Tencent, Alibaba, and Huawei as reported in their 2021 annual reports. The latter three companies' revenues were converted from RMB to USD using the exchange rate from April 9, 2022: 0.15715 USD / RMB.

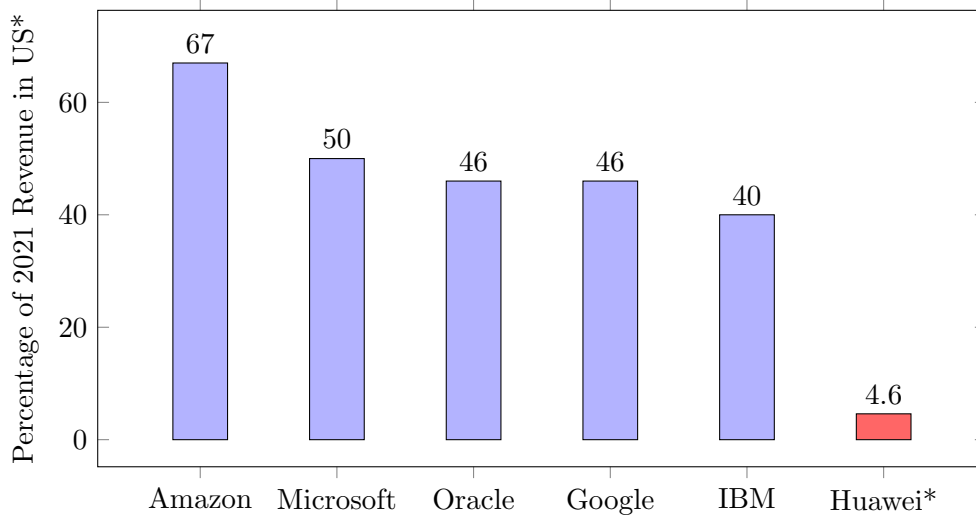


Figure 22: The percentage of 2021 revenue that Amazon, Microsoft, Oracle, Alphabet, and IBM reported as originating in the United States in their most recent Form 10-K filings with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. Amazon’s filing is unique in that we can deduce a lower bound on the percentage of its cloud revenue that originates in the U.S.: more than 54.7%. (*) Huawei’s 2021 Annual Report broke out its Americas revenue as 4.6%, but did not disclose the restriction to the U.S. We thus display Huawei’s Americas percentage as an overestimate. (And Huawei reported that 65% of its 2021 revenue came from China.) Alibaba primarily only breaks out its China revenue, which we can lower-bound as the sum of its China Commerce and Local Consumer Services segments. One could then upper-bound Alibaba’s 2021 international revenue percentage as 27.6%, but this is too loose of a bound to display as even a rough stand-in for U.S. revenue. Similarly, Tencent only breaks out its revenue from China, which takes up 91.7% of the total. Thus only 8.3% of Tencent’s 2021 revenue came from abroad, which could serve as a loose upper-bound for U.S. revenue.

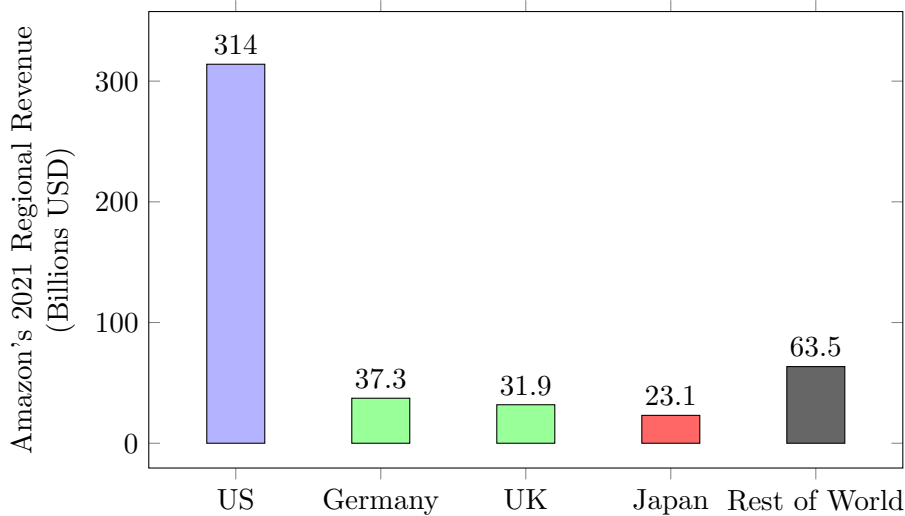


Figure 23: Amazon’s 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of USD) as reported by their 2021 U.S. Form 10-K. Amazon asserts no other countries constituted a “significant portion” of revenue, which we may interpret as an assertion that all other countries provided revenue less than that of Japan (i.e., less than \$23.1 billion).

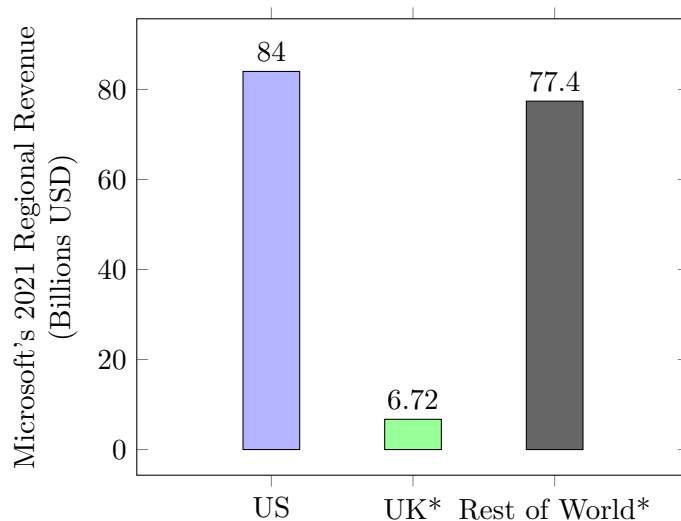


Figure 24: Microsoft’s 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of USD) as reported by the combination of its **2021 U.S. Form 10-K** and **2021 U.K. Annual Report**. Microsoft asserted in its Form 10-K that no non-U.S. customers or countries provided more than 10% of its 2021 revenue (that is, more than \$12.6 billion) and only broke out the U.S. and the “Rest of World”. (*) We extracted the U.K. portion of “Rest of World” from the Companies House report for Microsoft Limited’s net turnover of £4.86 billion (which translated to \$6.72 billion on June 30, 2021 at a rate of 1.3827 USD / pound). While Microsoft’s U.K. accounting of U.K. net turnover and U.S. accounting of U.K. revenue may follow slightly different rules, in the case of Oracle (where we could conduct a direct comparison), U.K. accounting of U.K. net turnover overestimated U.S. accounting of U.K. revenue by just under 20%.

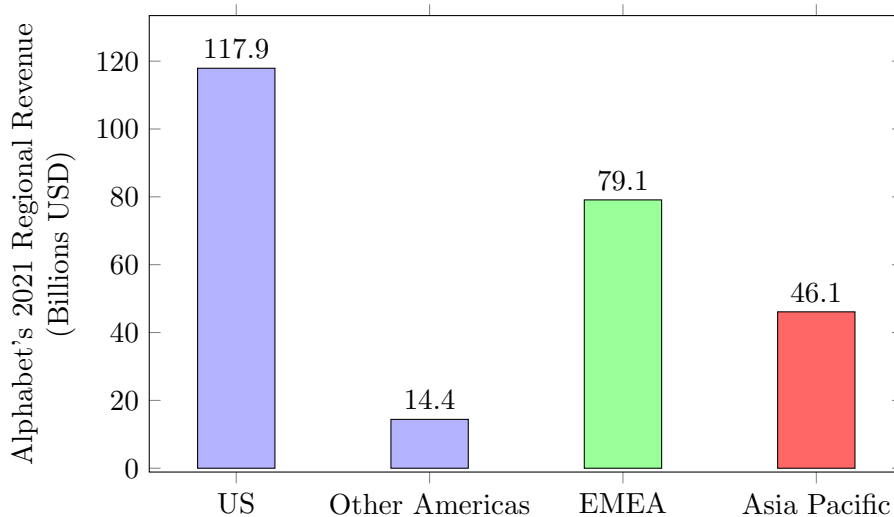


Figure 25: Alphabet’s 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of USD) as reported by their **2021 U.S. Form 10-K**. (*) We cannot separate out the UK portion of EMEA via Companies House data because we do not yet have 2021 filings.

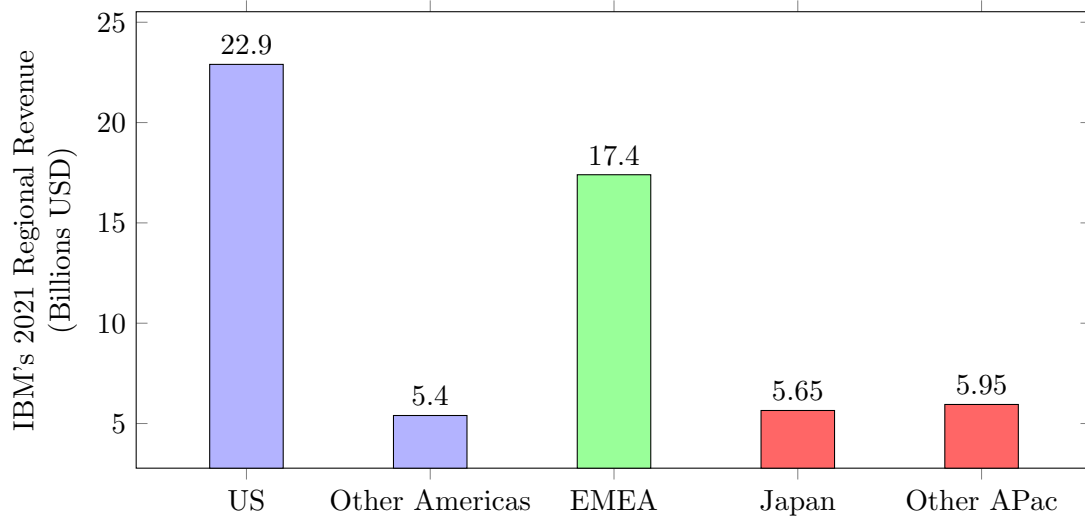


Figure 26: IBM's 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of USD) as reported by the combination of their 2021 U.S. Form 10-K and to Companies House. IBM asserts that no other countries provide more than 10% of its revenue (that is, more than \$5.735 billion). (*) We cannot separate out the UK portion of EMEA via Companies House data because we do not yet have 2021 filings. However, the 2020 filings suggested total UK net turnover of \$4.79 billion.

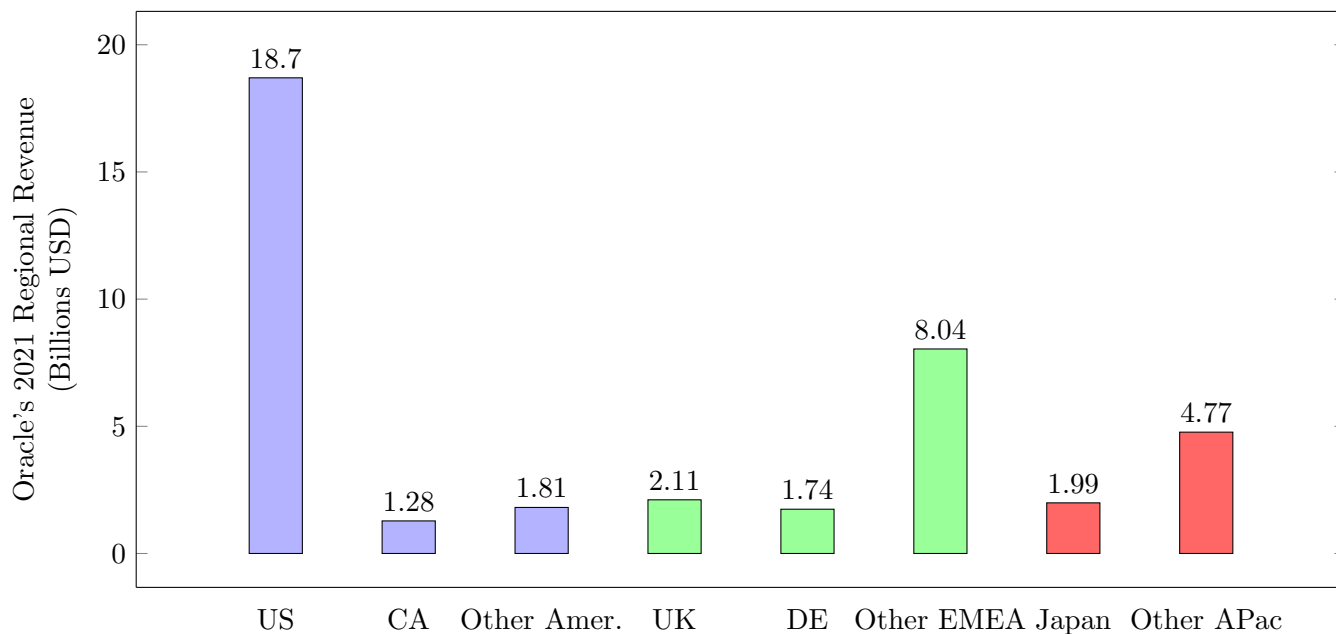


Figure 27: Oracle's 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of USD) as reported by their 2021 U.S. Form 10-K. Oracle asserts that no countries besides the US, UK, Japan, Germany, and Canada contributed more than 3% of their 2021 revenue (that is, more than \$1.21 billion). We note that Oracle Corporation UK Limited's Companies House 2021 Annual Report listed net turnover as £2.06 billion, which – at the May 31, 2021 translation rate of 1.4208 USD / GBP – yields just under a 40% overestimation of the U.S. accounting analogue of \$2.11B.

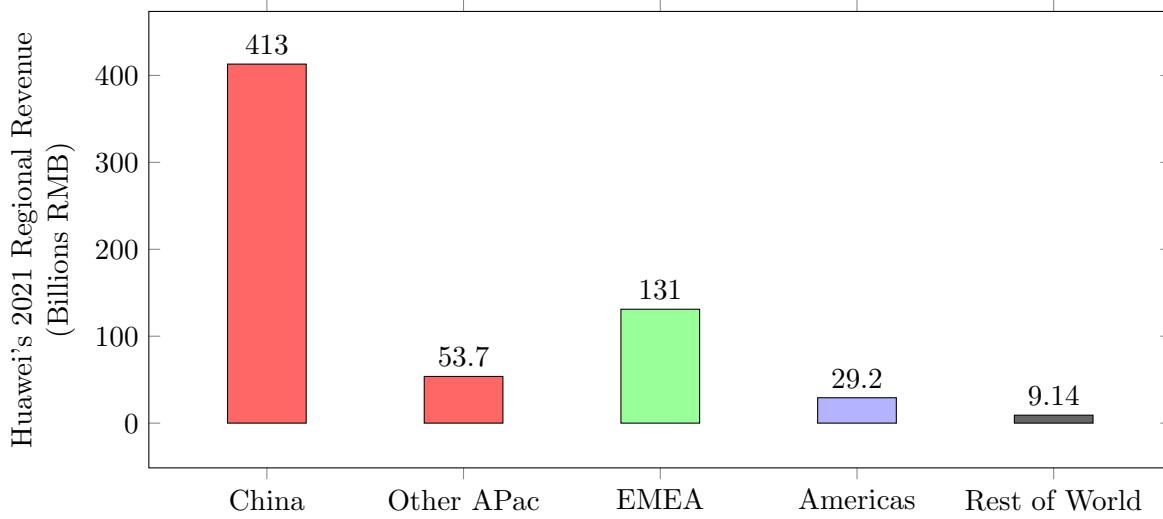


Figure 28: Huawei's 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of RMB) as reported by their [2021 Annual Report](#).

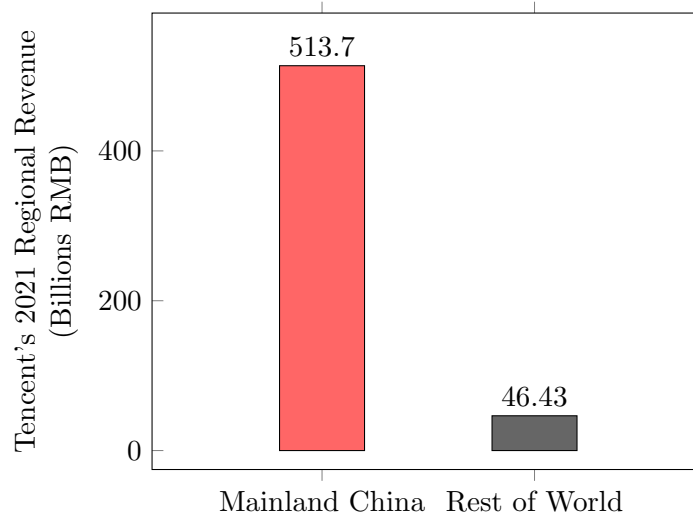


Figure 29: Tencent's 2021 regional revenue components (in billions of RMB) as reported by their [2021 Annual Report](#).

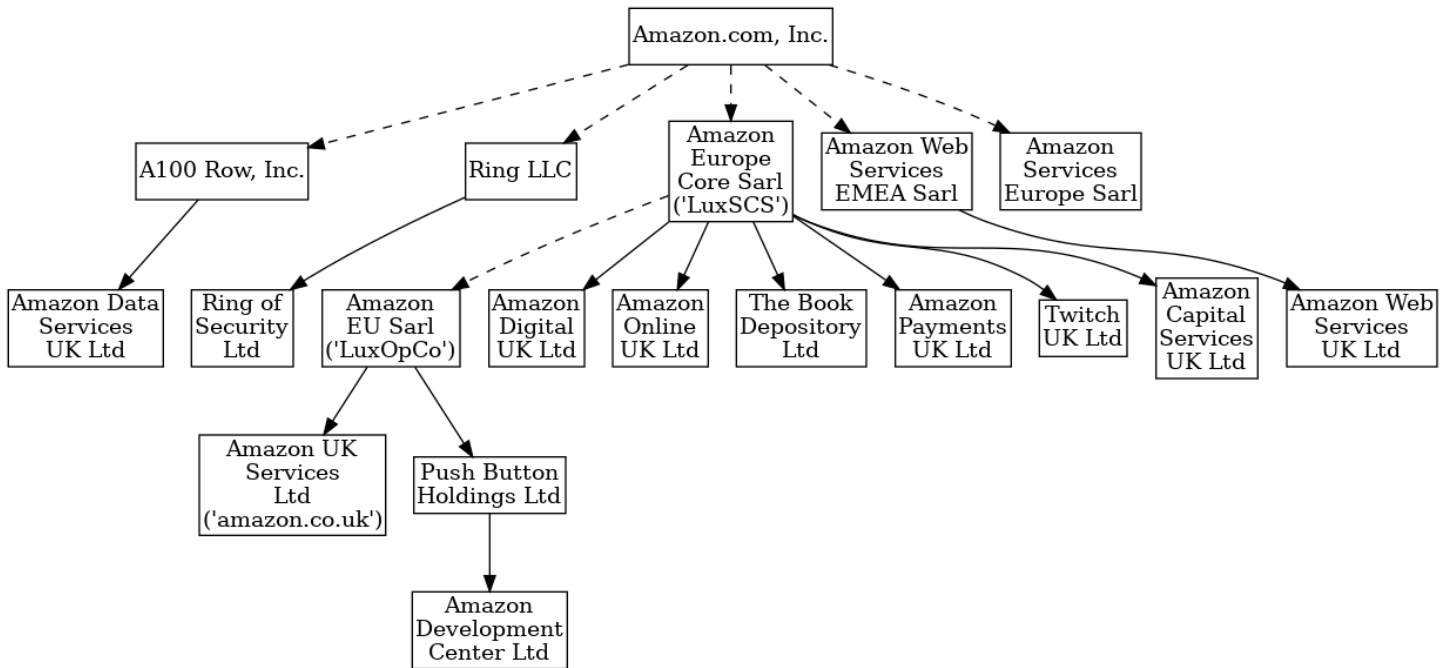


Figure 30: Significant Amazon subsidiaries (and their named ancestors) which filed 2020 annual financial reports with the government of the United Kingdom: *Wondery, Inc.*, *Wondery UK Ltd*, *Internet Movie Database Limited*, *IMDb Services Limited*, *LOVEFiLM International Limited*, *D1P1 Transport Limited*, *DCE1 Transport Limited*, and *NCL1 Limited* subsidiaries were removed to simplify the graph due to their insignificant financial contributions. Solid lines denote direct parentships named in the filings and dashed lines denote inferred parentage – while all such companies are known to be ultimately owned by *Amazon.com, Inc.*, the inferred direct parentage of *Amazon EU S.a.r.l.* by *Amazon Europe Core S.a.r.l.* was derived from the analysis by the 2015 European Commission [investigation](#) into Amazon, which also *Amazon Europe Core S.a.r.l.* as the successor to *Amazon Europe Holding Technologies SCS* (“*LuxSCS*”) and referred to *Amazon EU S.a.r.l.* as “*LuxOpCo*”. We also note that *Amazon UK Services Ltd* was [previously known](#) as *Amazon.co.uk Ltd*. Cf. the analysis of Phillips et al. in [The Amazon Method](#), which also draws upon data from *Moody’s Analytics*’s Orbis product.

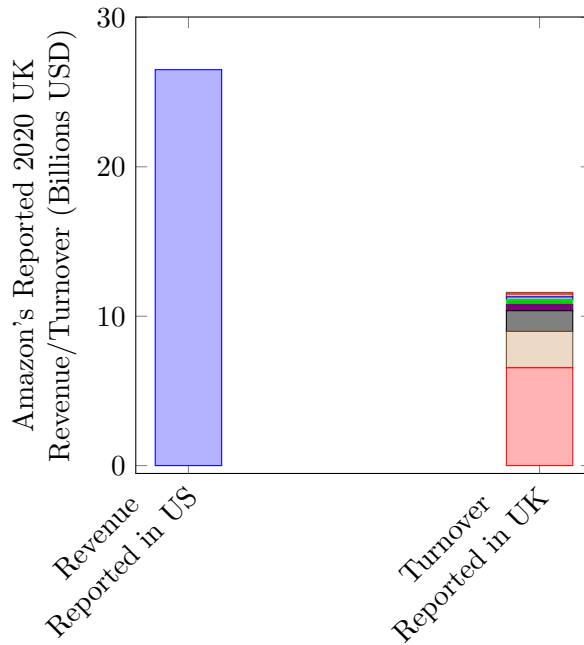


Figure 31: A comparison between the amount of 2020 UK revenue Amazon reported in its US annual report (\$26.5B) vs. the sum of net turnover amounts reported to the UK government via its identified subsidiaries (\$11.6B). Using the closing exchange rate on Dec. 31, 2021 of 1.3498 USD / GBP, the resulting contributions were, in decreasing order: \$6.55B from *Amazon UK Services Ltd*, \$2.43B from *Amazon Digital UK Ltd*, \$1.39 billion from *Amazon Online UK Ltd*, \$400 million from *The Book Depository Ltd*, \$320 million from *Amazon Data Services UK Ltd*, \$200 million from *Amazon Payments UK Ltd*, \$190 million from *Amazon Development Center Ltd*, \$110 million from *Twitch UK Ltd*, \$10 million from *IMDb Services Ltd*, and insignificant contributions from *Ring of Security Limited* et al.

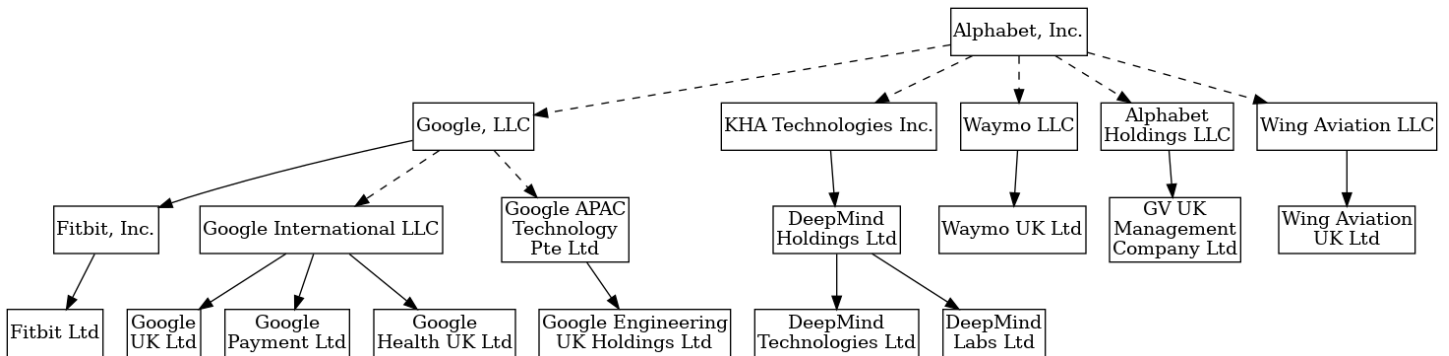


Figure 32: Significant Alphabet subsidiaries (and their named ancestors) which filed 2020 annual financial reports with the government of the United Kingdom. Solid lines denote direct parentships named in the filings and dashed lines denote inferred parentage – all such companies are known to be ultimately owned by *Alphabet, Inc.*

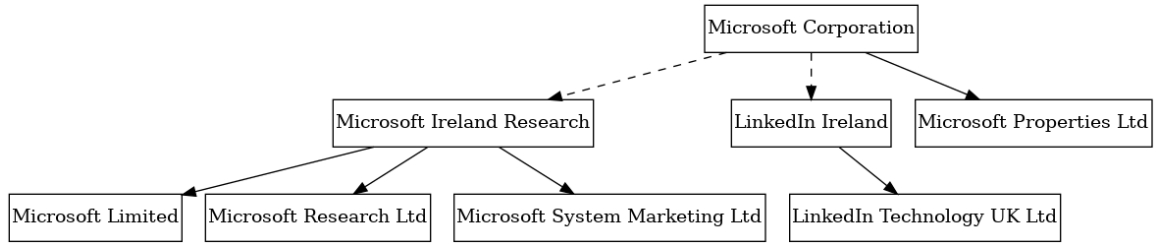


Figure 33: Significant Microsoft subsidiaries (and their named ancestors) which filed 2020 annual financial reports with the government of the United Kingdom. Solid lines denote direct parentships named in the filings and dashed lines denote inferred parentage – all such companies are known to be ultimately owned by *Microsoft Corporation*.

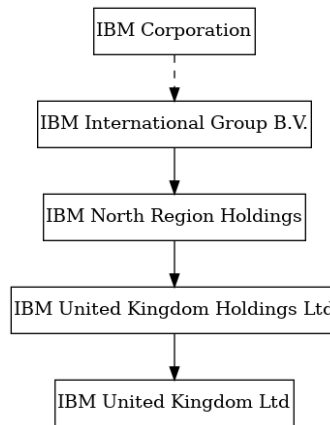


Figure 34: Significant IBM subsidiaries (and their named ancestors) which filed 2020 annual financial reports with the government of the United Kingdom. Solid lines denote direct parentships named in the filings and dashed lines denote inferred parentage – all such companies are known to be ultimately owned by *IBM Corporation*.

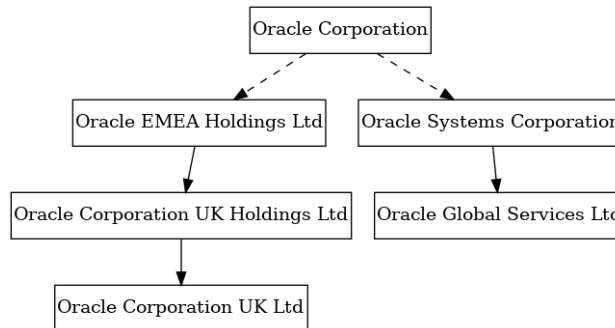


Figure 35: Significant Oracle subsidiaries (and their named ancestors) which filed 2020 annual financial reports with the government of the United Kingdom. Solid lines denote direct parentships named in the filings and dashed lines denote inferred parentage – all such companies are known to be ultimately owned by *Oracle Corporation*.

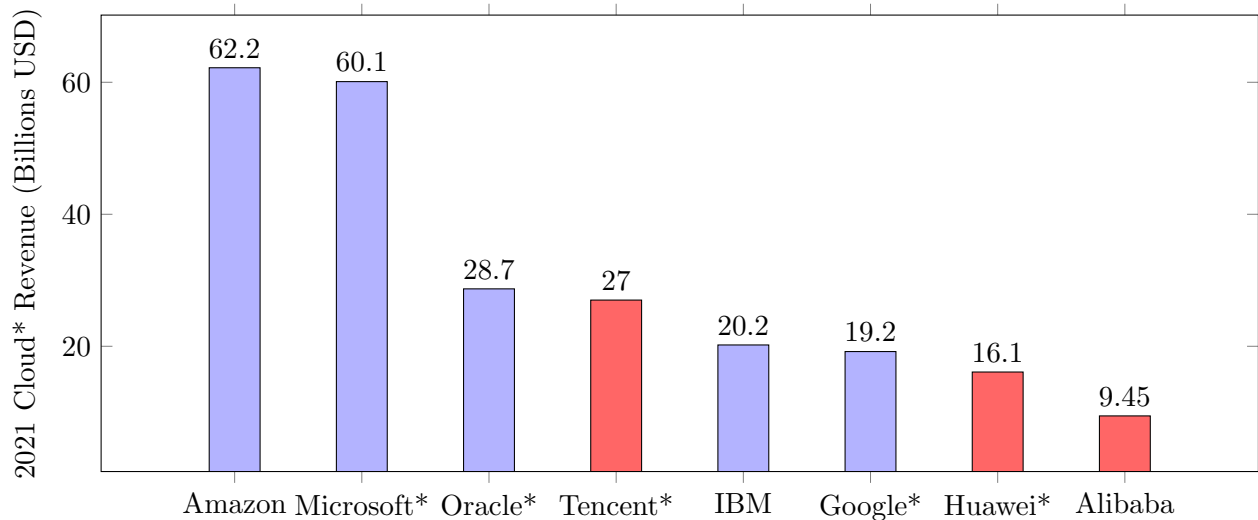


Figure 36: The closest Amazon, Microsoft, Oracle, IBM, and Alphabet came to reporting their 2021 cloud revenues (in billions) via their most recent Form 10-K filings with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. Tencent’s 2021 “FinTech and Business Services” revenue was sourced from pg. 233 of their 2021 Annual Report. Huawei’s 2021 Enterprise revenue was sourced from its 2021 Annual Report and Alibaba’s yearly cloud revenue for the fiscal year ended March 31, 2021 were sourced from pg. 98 of their 2021 Annual Report. All RMB amounts were translated into USD using the April 9, 2022 conversion rate of 0.15715 USD / RMB. (*) Microsoft does not explicitly break out its Azure revenue and instead reports on its “Intelligent Cloud” business, of which Azure is a component. Oracle reports the combination of its cloud and licensing revenue and does not break out either of the two components. Tencent reports cloud computing revenue as part of its “FinTech and Business Services” segment. Google reports the combined revenue of its Google Cloud Platform and Google Workspace services; the latter includes Gmail, Docs, Drive, Calendar, and Meet. Huawei does not break out Huawei Cloud and so we reported the revenue of its larger Enterprise segment as an overestimate.

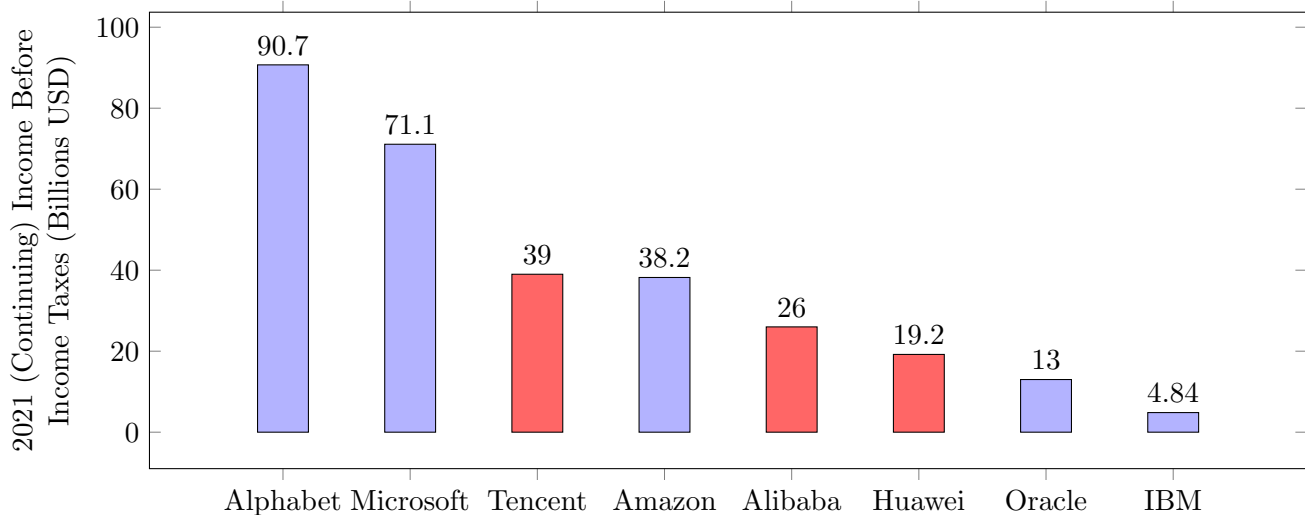


Figure 37: Fiscal Year 2021 (continuing) income before income taxes, in billions of USD, of Amazon, Microsoft, Oracle, IBM, Alphabet, Tencent, Alibaba, and Huawei as reported in their 2021 annual reports. The latter three companies’ incomes before income taxes were converted from RMB to USD using the exchange rate from April 9, 2022: 0.15715 USD / RMB.

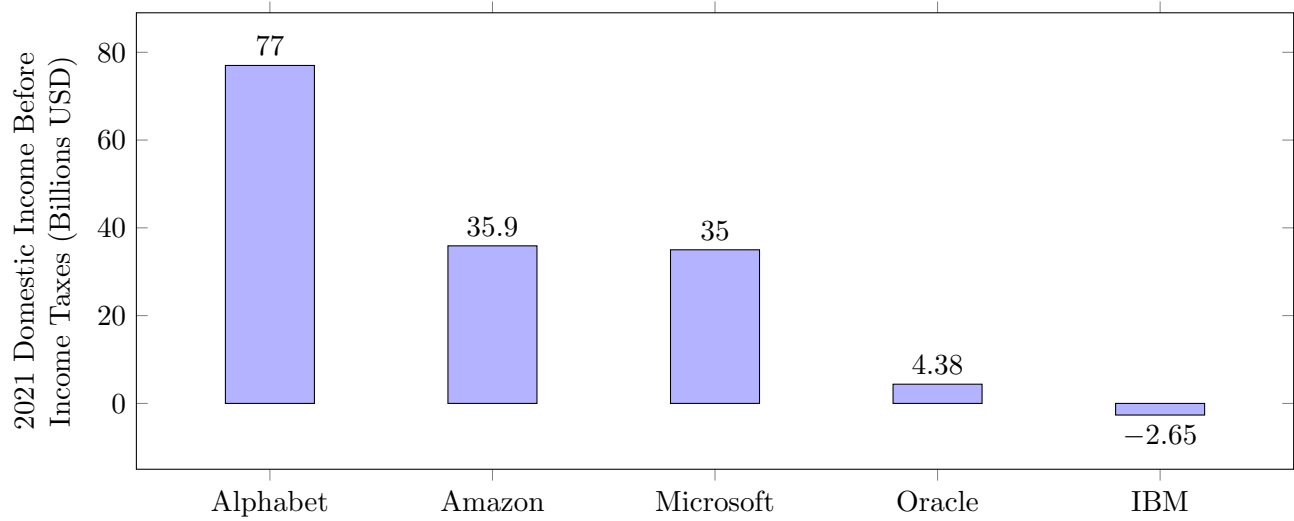


Figure 38: Fiscal Year 2021 domestic (i.e., U.S.) income before income taxes, in billions of USD, of Amazon, Microsoft, Oracle, IBM, and Alphabet as reported in their 2021 annual reports. Said amounts do not appear to be broken out in the annual reports of Tencent, Alibaba, and Huawei.

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