

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Robert "Bob" Funck  
Senior Vice President  
Abbott Laboratories  
100 Abbott Park Rd  
Abbott Park, IL 60064

Dear Mr. Funck:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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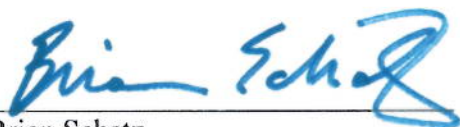
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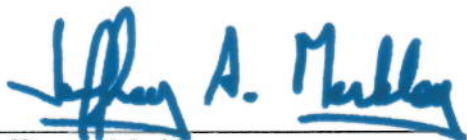
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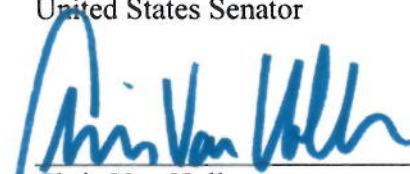
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



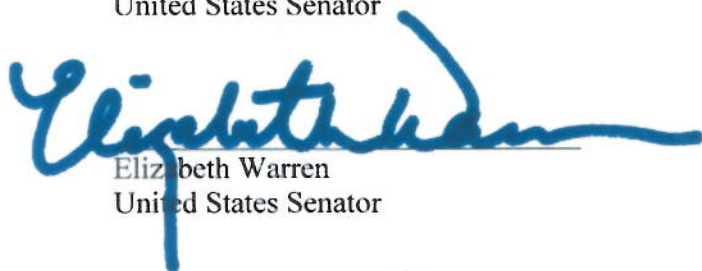
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Jeffrey A. Merkley  
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Chris Van Hollen  
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Elizabeth Warren  
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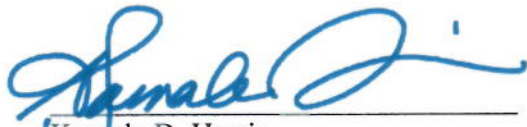
Tom Udall  
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Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Thomas J. Wilson  
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer and President  
Allstate  
2775 Sanders Road  
Northbrook, IL 60062

Dear Mr. Wilson:

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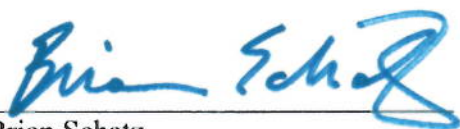
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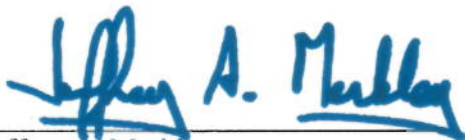
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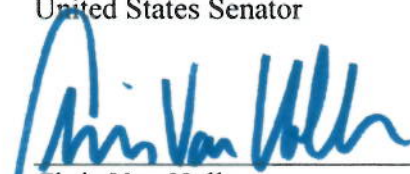
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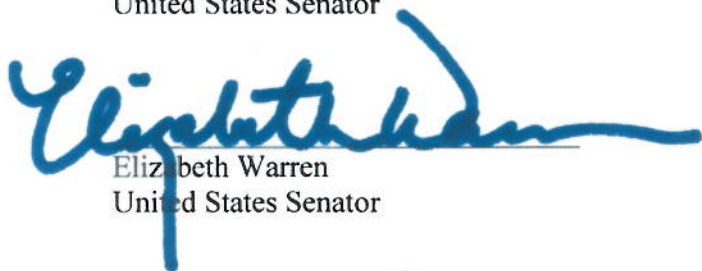
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Jack Reed  
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Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Todd Walker  
Senior Vice President, Corporate Citizenship and Government Affairs  
Altria  
6601 W Broad St  
Richmond, VA 23230

Dear Mr. Walker:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

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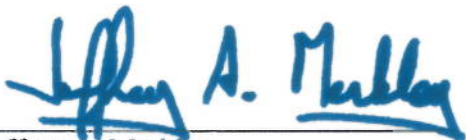
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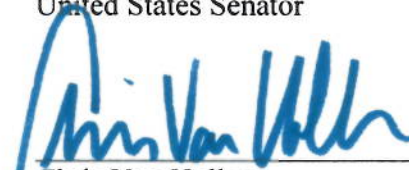
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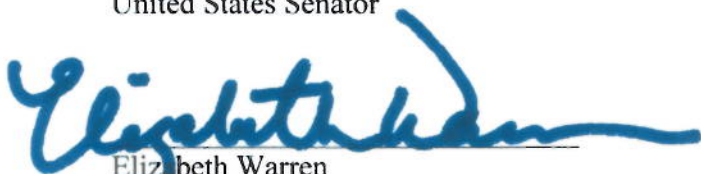
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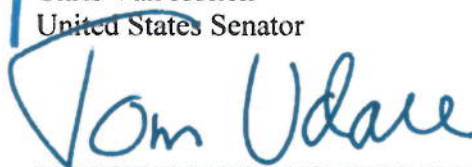
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Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Stephen Johnson  
Executive VP, Corporate Affairs  
American Airlines  
1 Skyview Drive  
Fort Worth, TX 76155

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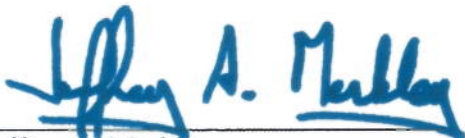
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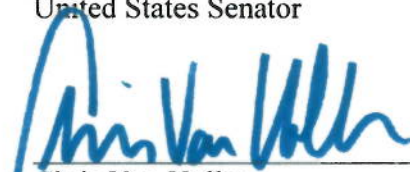
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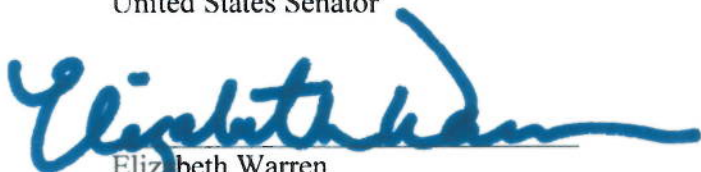
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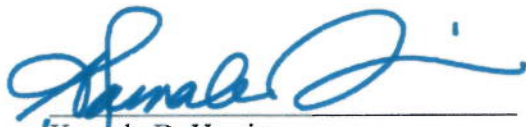
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Jack Reed  
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United States Senator



Sherrrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

John Stephens  
Senior Executive VP and CFO  
AT&T  
208 Akard St  
Dallas, TX 75202

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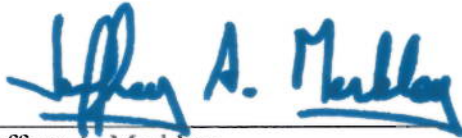
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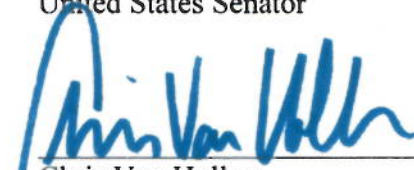
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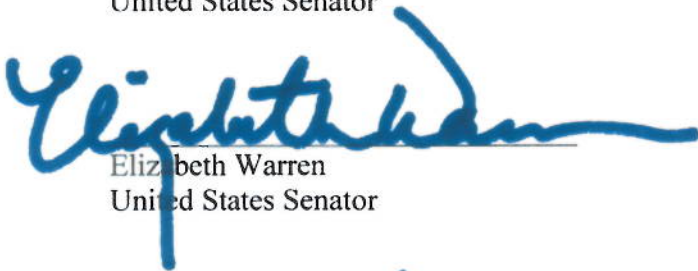
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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Raymond F. Kerins, Jr.  
Senior Vice President  
Bayer Corporation  
100 Bayer Boulevard  
Whippany, NJ 07981

Dear Mr. Kerins:

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The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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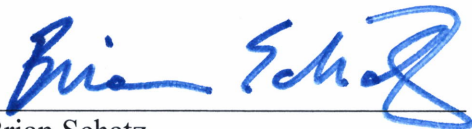
<sup>8</sup> <https://www.clcouncil.org/founding-members/>

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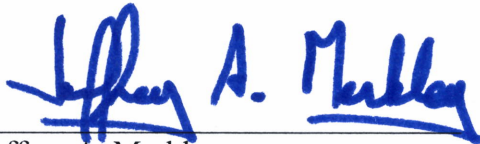
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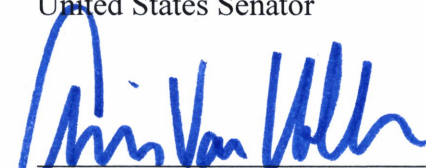
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



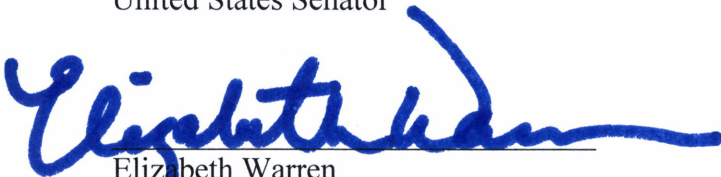
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



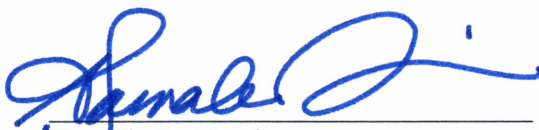
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



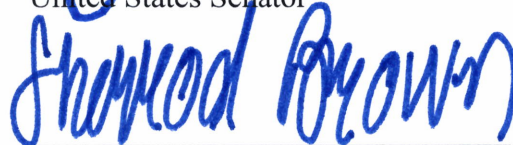
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Matthew K. Rose  
Executive Chairman (Retired)  
BNSF Railway Company  
2500 Lou Menk Dr.  
Fort Worth, TX 76131

Dear Mr. Rose:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

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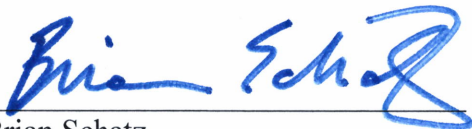
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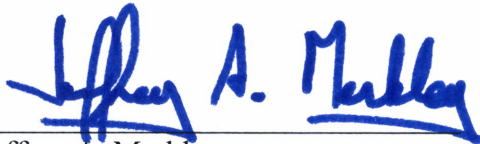
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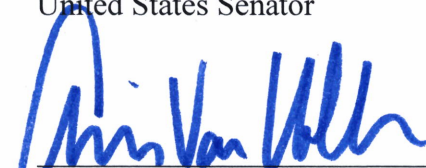
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



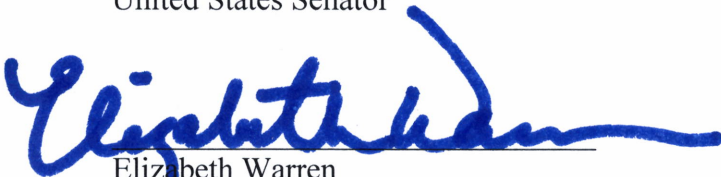
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



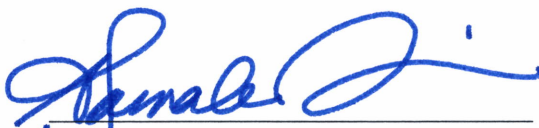
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



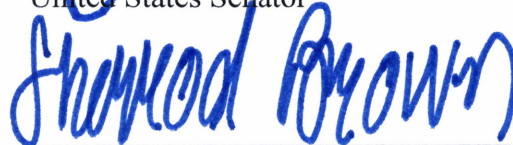
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Jan Jones Blackhurst  
Executive VP, Public Policy and Corporate Responsibility  
Caesar's Entertainment  
One Caesars Palace Drive  
Las Vegas, NV 89109

Dear Ms. Blackhurst:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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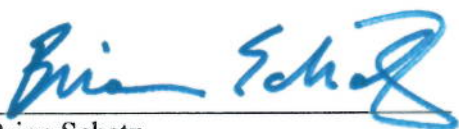
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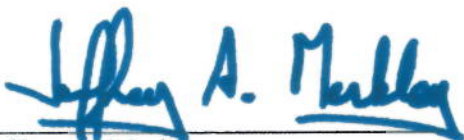
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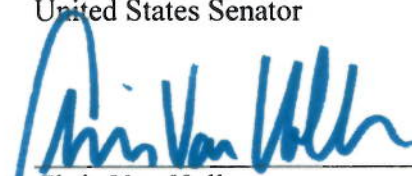
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



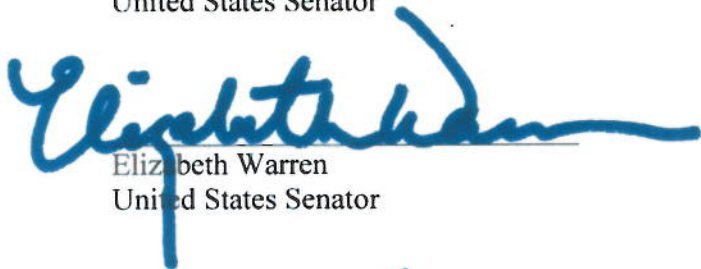
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United States Senator



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United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



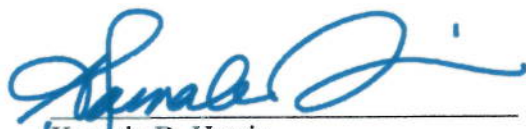
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Richard H. Bagger  
Executive Vice President, Corporate Affairs & Market Access  
Celgene Corporation  
86 Morris Avenue  
Summit, NJ 07901

Dear Mr. Bagger:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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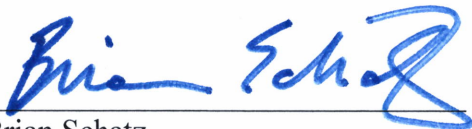
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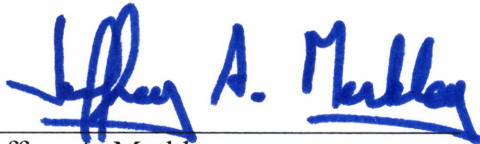
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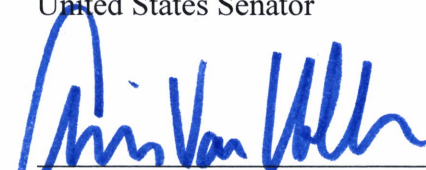
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



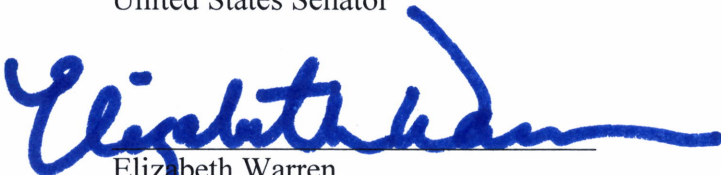
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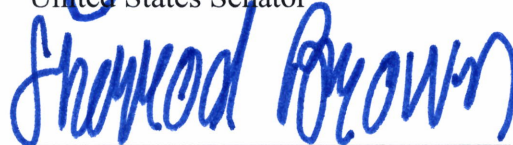
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Andrew D. Lundquist  
Senior Vice President, Government Affairs  
ConocoPhillips  
925 N. Eldridge Parkway  
Houston, TX 77079

Dear Mr. Lundquist:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the “endangerment finding” that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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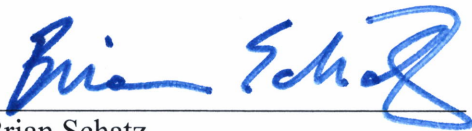
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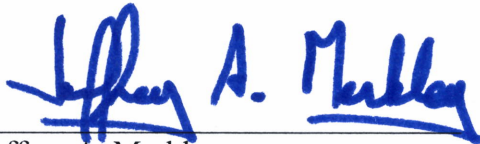
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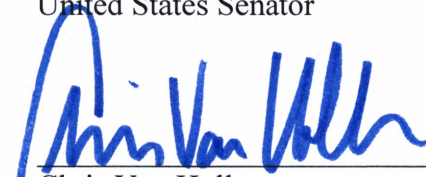
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



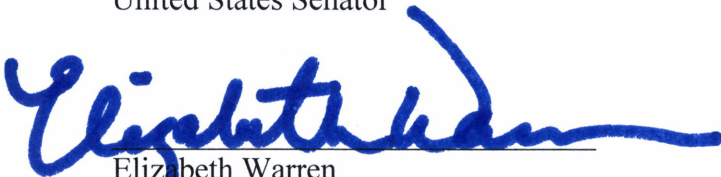
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



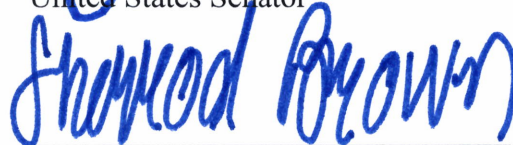
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Charles R. Stamp, Jr.  
(Retired) Vice-President, Corporate Strategy & Business Development  
Deere & Co.  
1 John Deere Place  
Moline, IL 61265

Dear Mr. Stamp:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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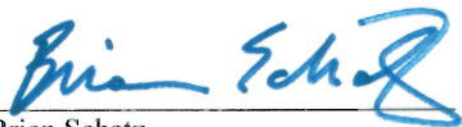
<sup>8</sup> <https://www.clcouncil.org/founding-members/>

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To better gauge your and your company’s understanding of its responsibilities as a member of the Chamber’s board, we respectfully request you respond to the following questions by December 20, 2019:

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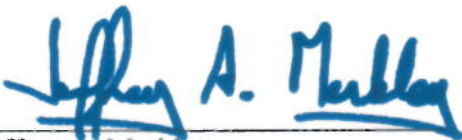
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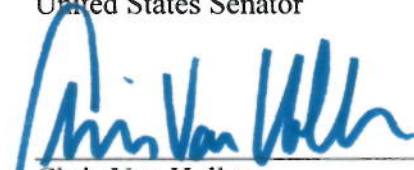
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



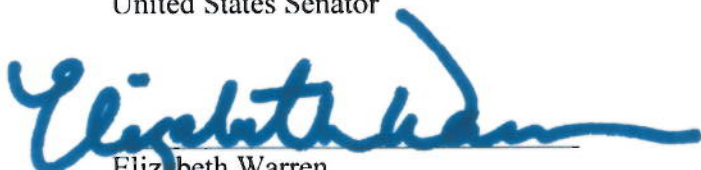
Sheldon Whitehouse  
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United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Heather Wingate  
Senior Vice President  
Delta Airlines  
1030 Delta Blvd.  
Atlanta, GA 30354

Dear Ms. Wingate:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

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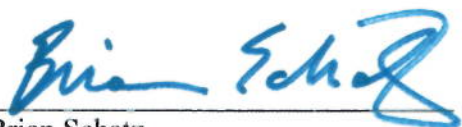
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exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

To better gauge your and your company’s understanding of its responsibilities as a member of the Chamber’s board, we respectfully request you respond to the following questions by December 20, 2019:

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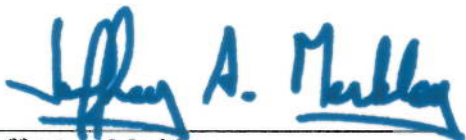
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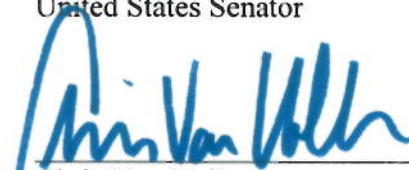
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



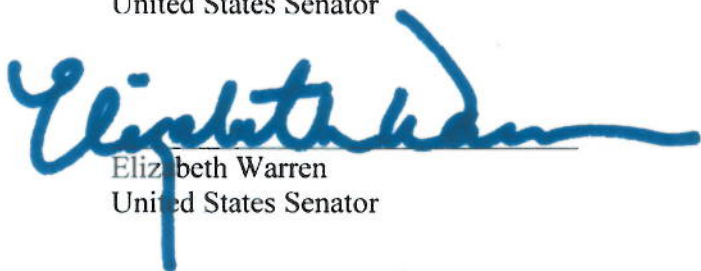
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Allen Wright  
VP, Public and Government Affairs  
Devon Energy  
333 W Sheridan Ave  
Oklahoma City, OK 73102

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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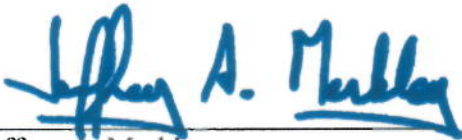
Sincerely,



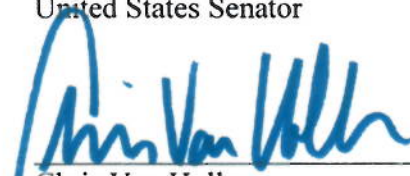
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



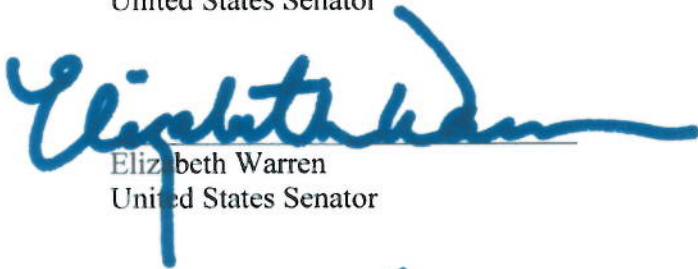
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Amy Wilson  
General Counsel and Corporate Secretary  
Dow  
693 Washington St #627  
Midland, MI 48640

Dear Ms. Wilson:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

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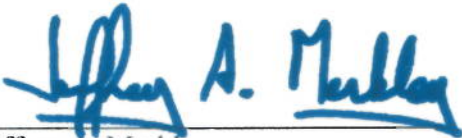
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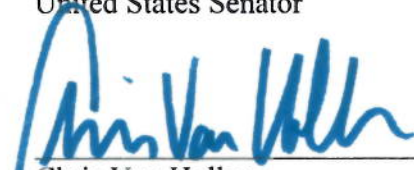
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



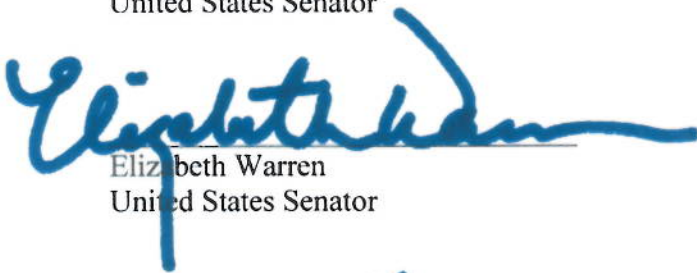
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United States Senator



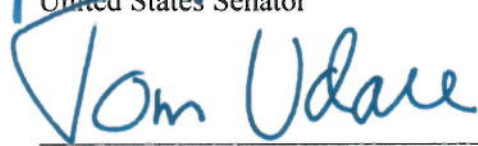
Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Phillip May  
President and Chief Executive Officer  
Entergy Louisiana, LLC  
639 Loyola Avenue  
New Orleans, LA 70113

Dear Mr. May:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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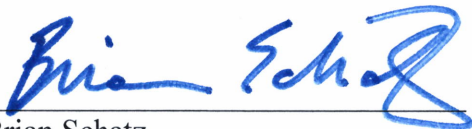
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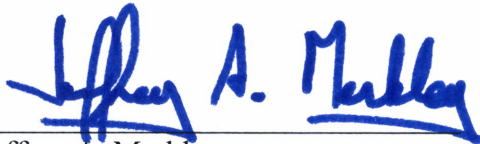
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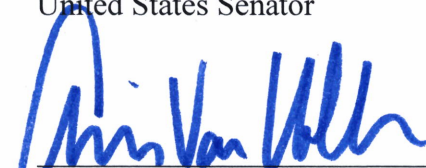
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



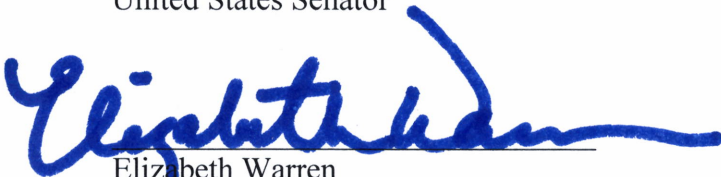
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



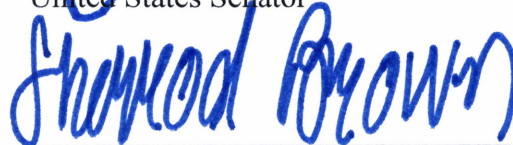
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Mark Allen  
Executive Vice President, General Counsel, and Secretary  
FedEx  
3680 Hacks Cross Road  
Memphis, TN 38125

Dear Mr. Allen:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

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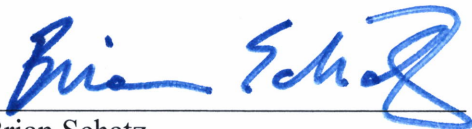
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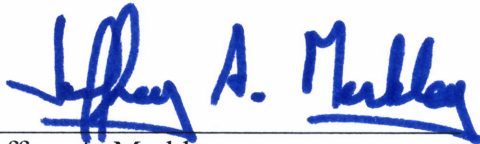
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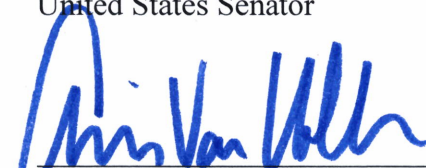
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United States Senator



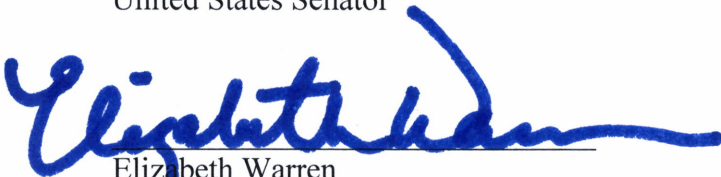
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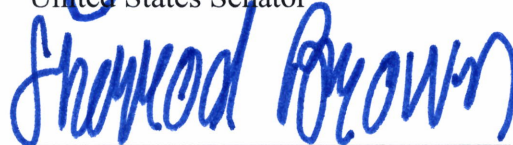
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United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Eric Silagy  
President & CEO  
Florida Power & Light (NextEra)  
700 Universe Blvd  
Juno Beach, FL 33408

Dear Mr. Silagy:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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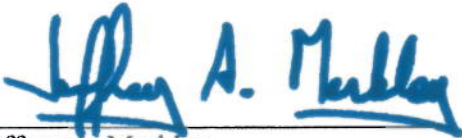
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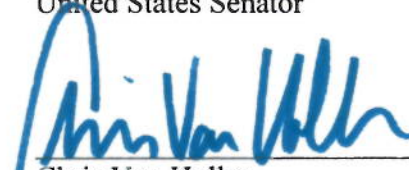
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



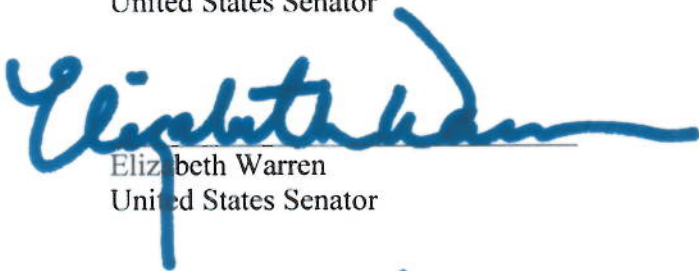
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Chris Van Hollen  
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Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Gerald L. Shaheen  
Board Member  
Ford Motor Company  
1 American Road, PO Box 6248  
Dearborn, MI 48126

Dear Mr. Shaheen:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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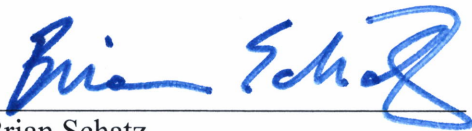
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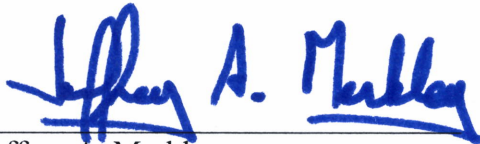
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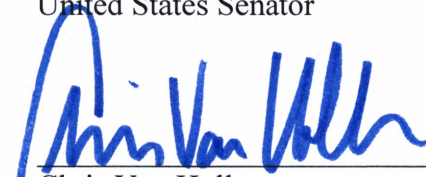
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



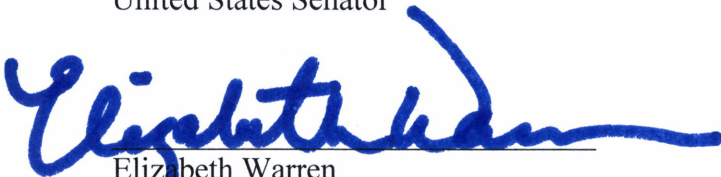
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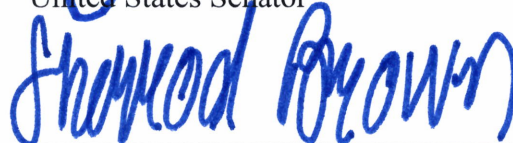
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. James Carroll  
Senior Vice President, Government Relations  
Honeywell  
101 Constitution Ave. NW, Suite 500 West  
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Mr. Carroll:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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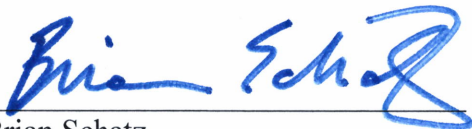
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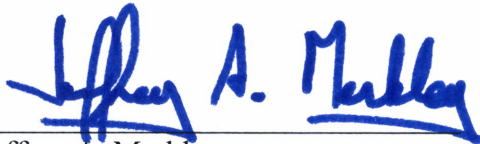
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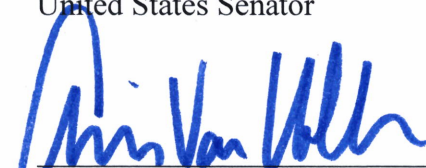
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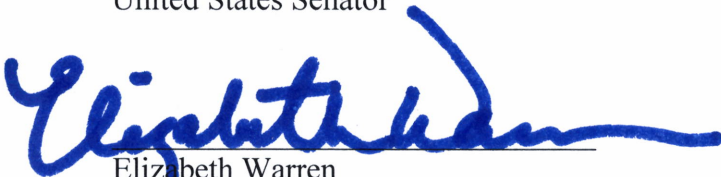
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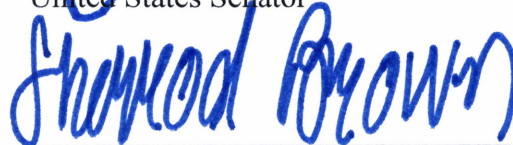
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United States Senator



Jack Reed  
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Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Ms. Michelle H. Browdy  
Senior Vice President, Legal and Regulatory Affairs and General Counsel  
International Business Machines  
1 New Orchard Road  
Armonk, NY 10504

Dear Ms. Browdy:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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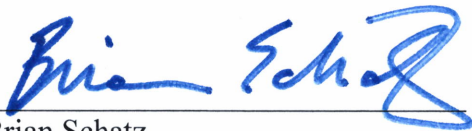
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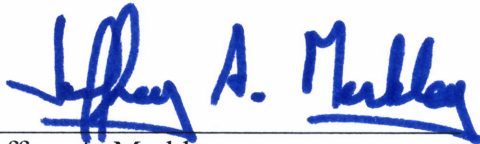
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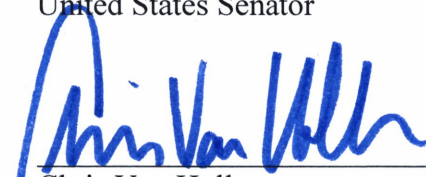
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



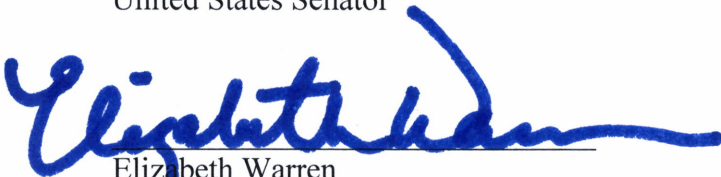
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



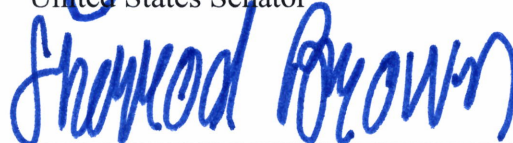
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. C. Howard Nye  
Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer  
Martin Marietta Materials  
2710 Wycliff Road  
Raleigh, NC 27607

Dear Mr. Nye:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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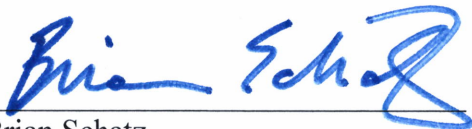
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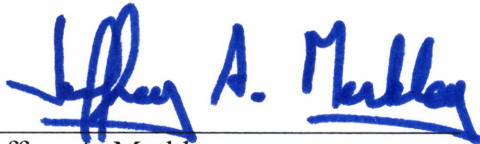
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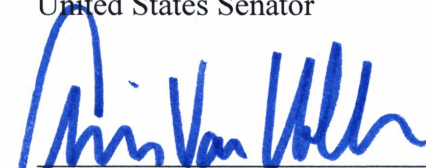
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



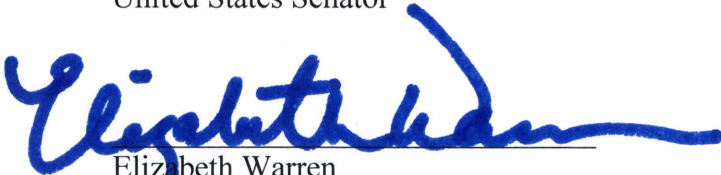
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Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



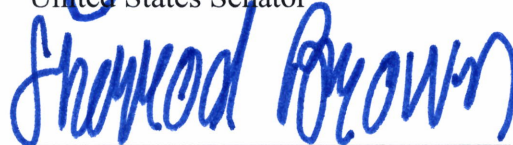
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Michael A. Zarcone  
Executive VP and Chief of Staff, Office of the CEO Head of Corporate Affairs  
MetLife  
200 Park Ave  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Zarcone:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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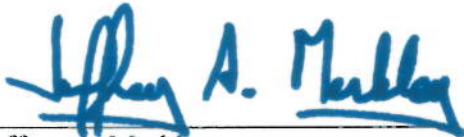
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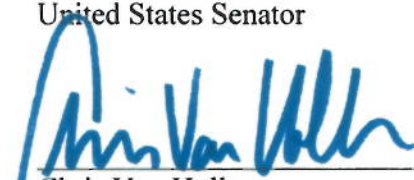
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



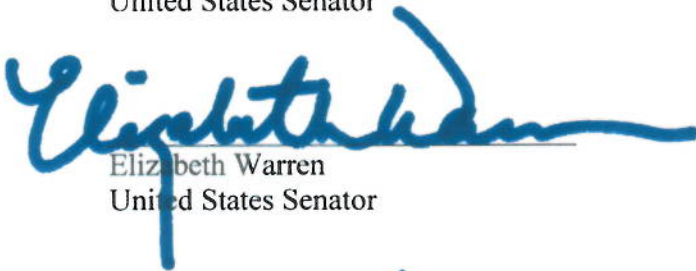
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



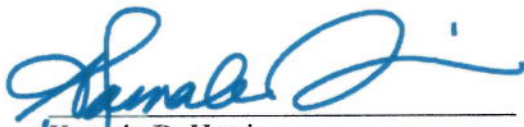
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. John Scheib  
Executive Vice President and Chief Strategy Officer  
Norfolk Southern Corporation  
Three Commercial Place  
Norfolk, VA 23510

Dear Mr. Scheib:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

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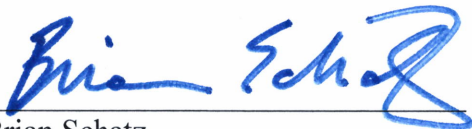
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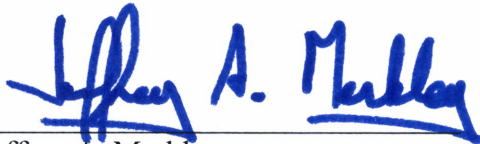
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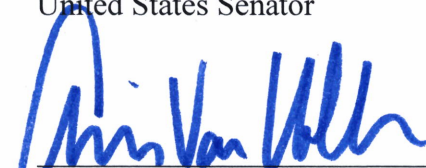
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



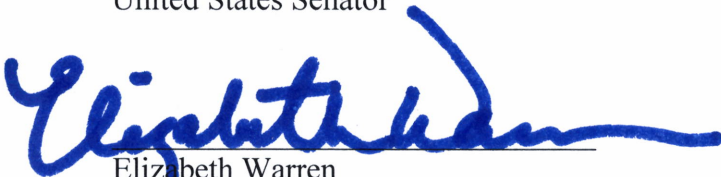
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Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



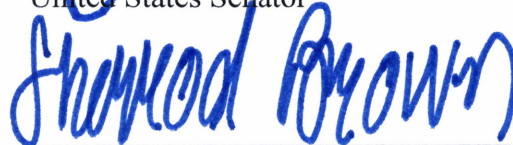
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Robert Jones  
Senior VP, Government Affairs  
Pfizer  
235 East 42nd Street  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Jones:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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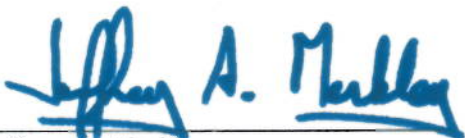
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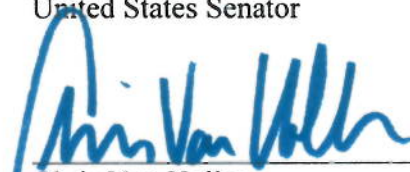
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United States Senator



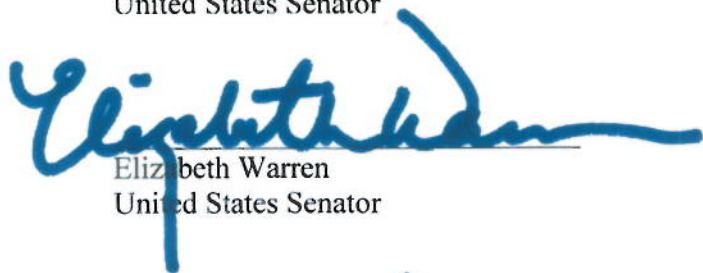
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United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
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Chris Van Hollen  
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United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Paula Johnson  
Executive VP, Legal and Government Affairs, General Counsel & Corporate Secretary  
Phillips 66  
P.O. Box 421959  
Houston, TX 77242

Dear Ms. Johnson:

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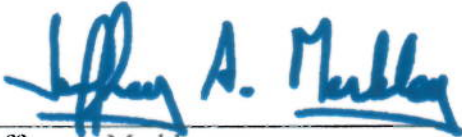
Sincerely,



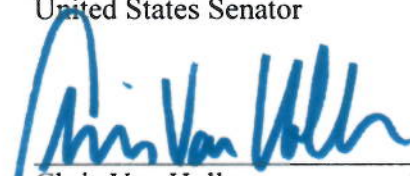
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



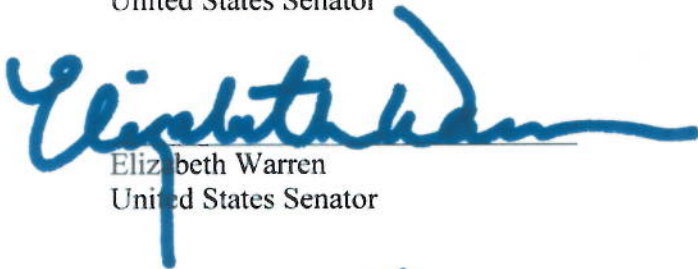
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



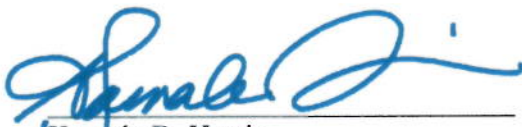
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Robert D. Fatovic  
Executive VP Chief Legal Officer & Corporate Strategy  
Ryder  
3600 NW 54th St  
Miami, FL 33142

Dear Mr. Fatovic:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

To better gauge your and your company’s understanding of its responsibilities as a member of the Chamber’s board, we respectfully request you respond to the following questions by December 20, 2019:

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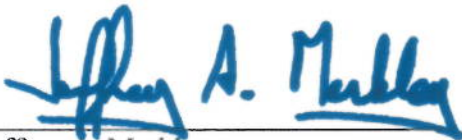
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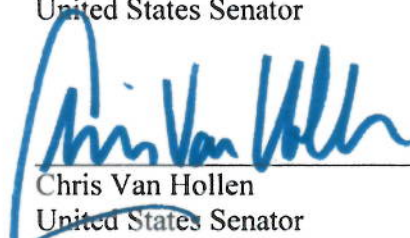
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



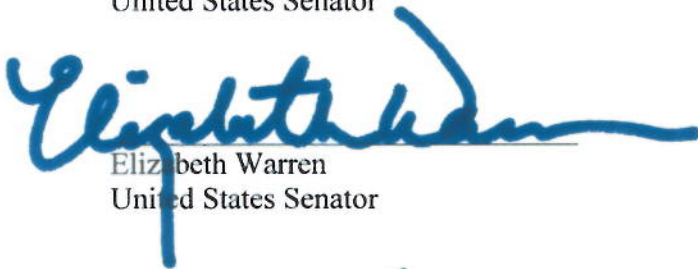
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



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United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Dennis Arriola  
Executive Vice President and Group President  
Sempra Energy  
488 8th Avenue  
San Diego, CA 92101

Dear Mr. Arriola:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

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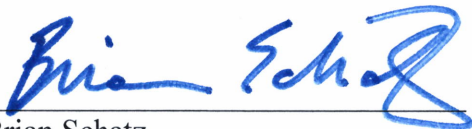
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exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

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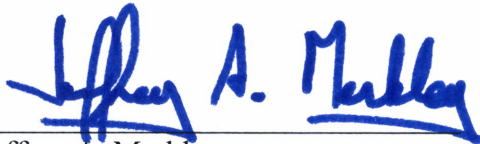
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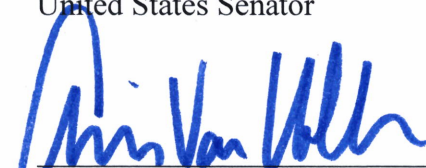
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



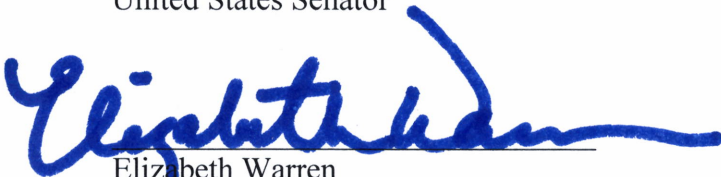
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



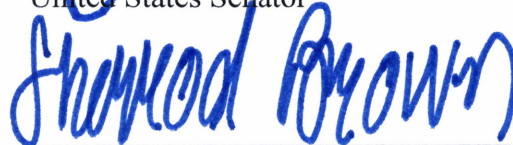
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Bruce Culpepper  
President (Retired)  
Shell Oil Company  
150 N Dairy Ashford Rd  
Houston, TX 77079

Dear Mr. Culpepper:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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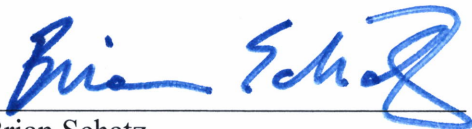
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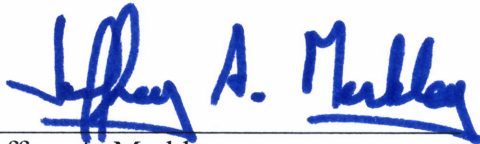
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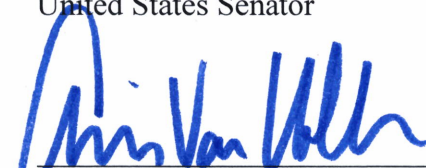
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



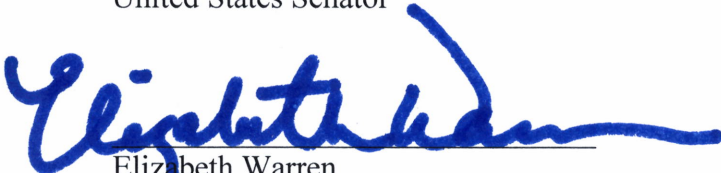
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



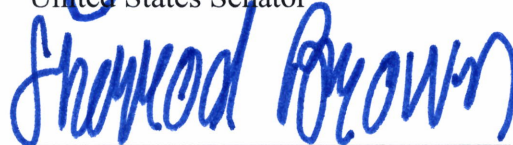
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Christopher C. Womack  
Executive VP and President, External Affairs  
Southern Co.  
30 Ivan Allen Jr. Blvd. NW  
Atlanta, GA 30308

Dear Mr. Womack:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

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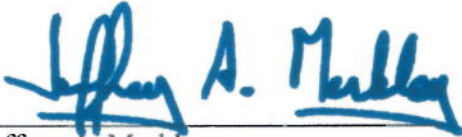
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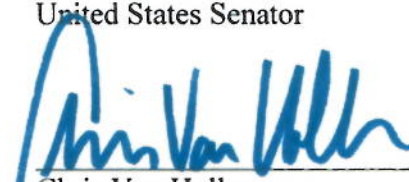
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



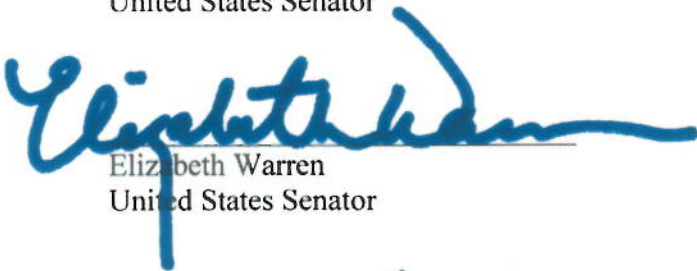
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



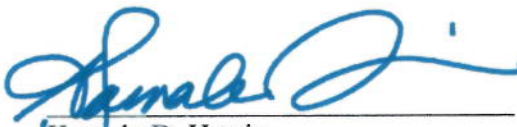
Tom Udall  
United States Senator




Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Edward B. Rust, Jr.  
Chairman (Retired)  
State Farm Insurance Companies  
One State Farm Plaza  
Bloomington, IL 61710

Dear Mr. Rust:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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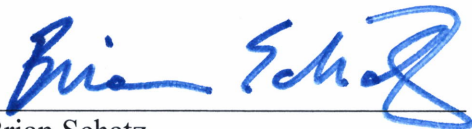
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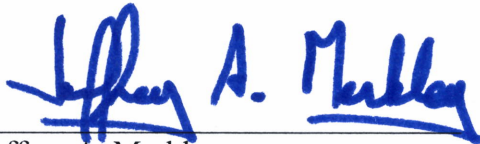
Sincerely,



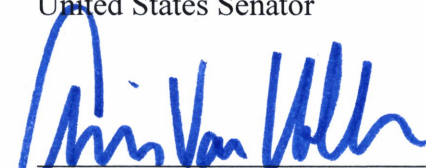
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



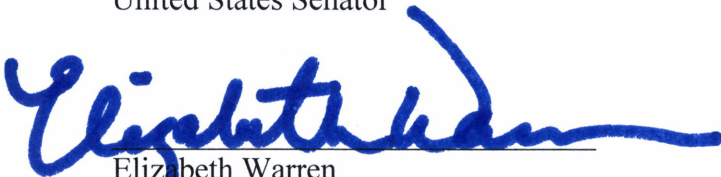
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



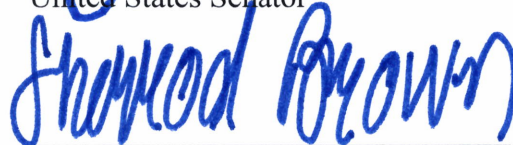
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Lance M. Fritz  
Chairman, President, CEO  
Union Pacific  
1400 Douglas St  
Omaha, NE 68179

Dear Mr. Fritz:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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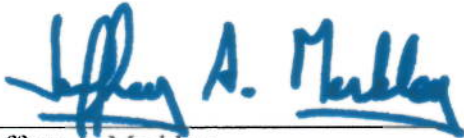
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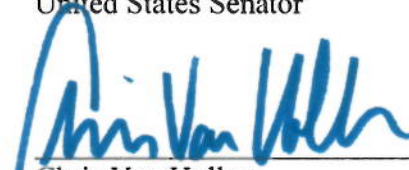
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



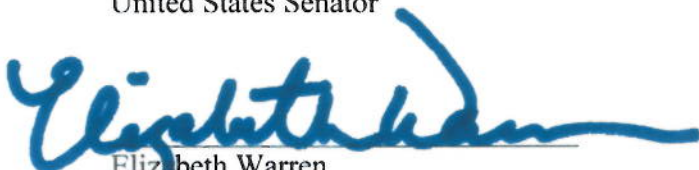
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United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Ms. Terri Fariello  
Senior Vice President, Government Affairs & Global Public Policy  
United Airlines  
233 S. Wacker Drive  
Chicago, IL 60606

Dear Ms. Fariello:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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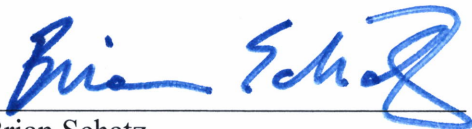
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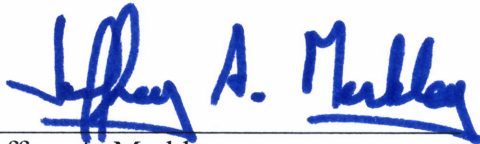
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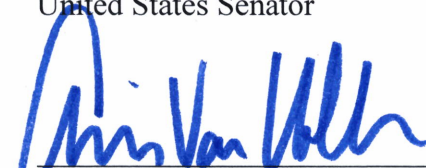
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



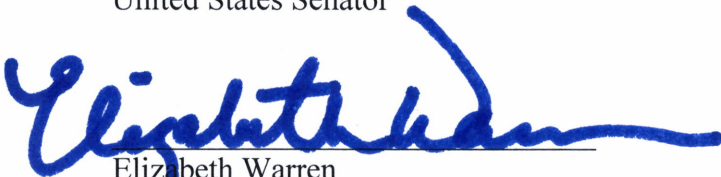
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United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



Tom Udall  
United States Senator



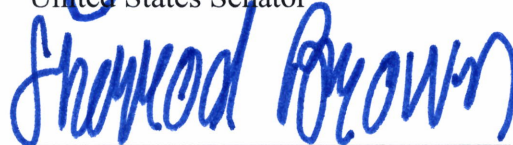
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Ms. Laura Lane  
President, Global Public Affairs  
United Parcel Service  
316 Pennsylvania Ave. SE Suite 300  
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Ms. Lane:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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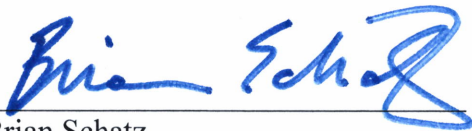
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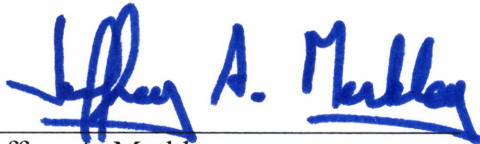
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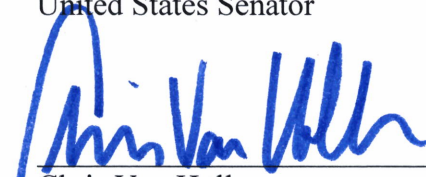
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



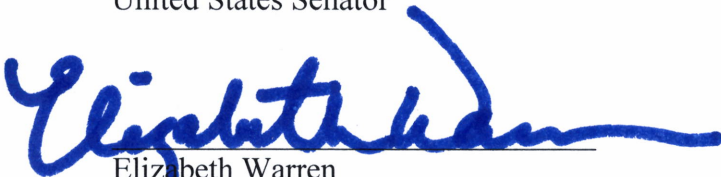
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



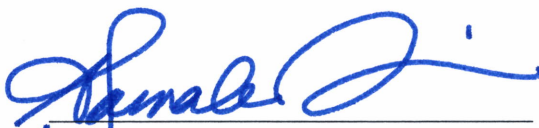
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United States Senator



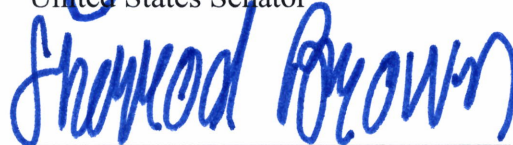
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Elliot J. Jaffee  
Executive VP & Head of Commercial Banking  
U.S. Bank  
800 Nicollet Mall  
Minneapolis, MN 55402

Dear Mr. Jaffee:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

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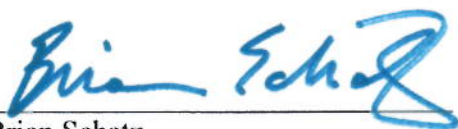
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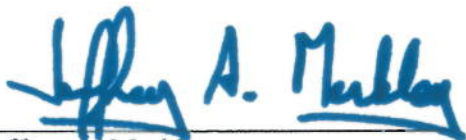
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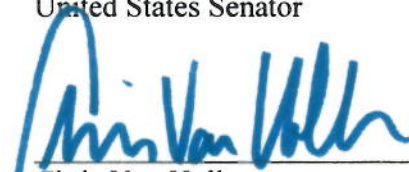
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United States Senator



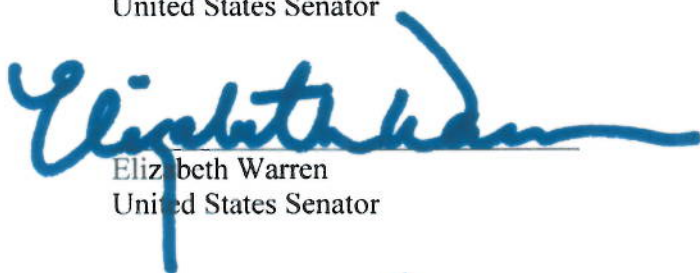
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Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Mr. Louis (Louie) Pastor  
Executive Vice President and General Counsel  
Xerox Corporation  
201 Merritt 7  
Norwalk, CT 06851

Dear Mr. Pastor:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

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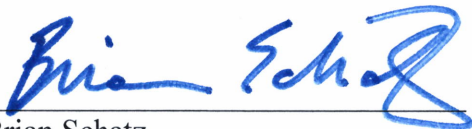
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  - b. Are you aware that non-business entities may be funding the chamber, and do you think this is consistent with the chamber’s purpose as a business association?
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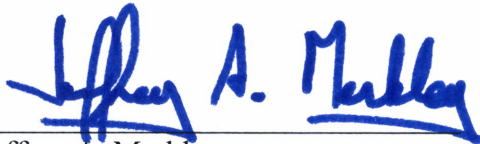
Sincerely,



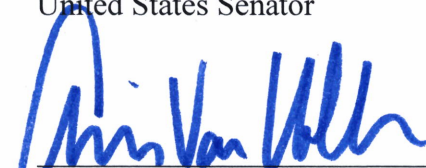
Brian Schatz  
United States Senator



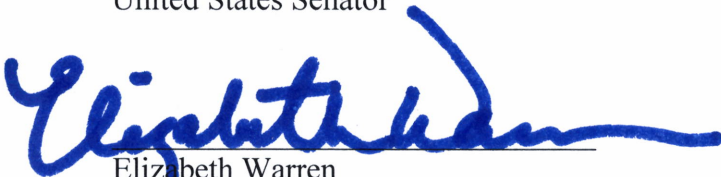
Sheldon Whitehouse  
United States Senator



Jeffrey A. Merkley  
United States Senator



Chris Van Hollen  
United States Senator



Elizabeth Warren  
United States Senator



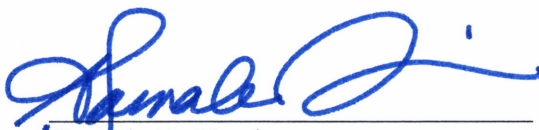
Tom Udall  
United States Senator



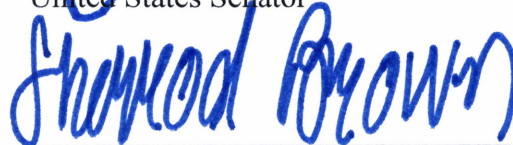
Kirsten Gillibrand  
United States Senator



Jack Reed  
United States Senator



Kamala D. Harris  
United States Senator



Sherrod Brown  
United States Senator

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 18, 2019

Eric Hammes  
Senior Vice President  
3M  
275 Market St  
Minneapolis, MN 55405

Dear Mr. Hammes:

We are writing to you because you represent your company as a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Board of Directors, the principal governing body of the Chamber and the group charged with determining the Chamber's policy positions and strategic planning.

The U.S. Chamber has a long history of opposing climate action in Congress, before executive agencies, in the courts, and at the state level. In early 2014, a group of corporate lawyers, coal lobbyists, and Republican political strategists began meeting regularly in the Chamber's headquarters to devise legal strategies to dismantle the Clean Power Plan—before President Obama had even released a draft proposal.<sup>1</sup> The group's gathering place should come as no surprise, given the Chamber's record of opposition to any meaningful attempt at climate action. The Chamber testified in opposition to the Paris Agreement, despite many of its board members' pledges to support the Agreement's goals;<sup>2</sup> it was a leading voice in the lobbying effort against the Waxman-Markey cap and trade legislation;<sup>3</sup> and it sued the Environmental Protection Agency, seeking to overturn the "endangerment finding" that underpins the Clean Air Act.<sup>4</sup>

The Chamber is also one of the largest spenders of undisclosed donations—"dark money"—in congressional elections, almost entirely on candidates who oppose climate action. The Chamber has spent more than \$150 million on congressional races since 2008,<sup>5</sup> and 94 percent of its donations have reportedly gone to candidates who were climate change deniers.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Chamber does not disclose its membership, our review of companies on the Chamber's board suggests most do not support its anti-climate positions.<sup>7</sup> In fact, several companies on the board have expressly advocated for climate legislation, including a fee on carbon emissions.<sup>8</sup> This disconnect raises questions about whether the companies represented on the board are properly

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/04/us/obama-unveils-plan-to-sharply-limit-greenhouse-gas-emissions.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.uschamber.com/testimony/steve-eule-s-testimony-the-house-science-committee-cop-21-paris-climate-agreement>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.uschamber.com/letter/letter-opposing-hr-2454-american-clean-energy-and-security-act-2009>

<sup>4</sup> <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/cwire/2009/08/25/25climatewire-chamber-threatens-lawsuit-if-epa-rejects-cli-62828.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://chamberofcommercewatch.org/challengingthechamber/politicalspending/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.wealthmanagement.com/commentary/ritholtz-us-chamber-commerce-goes-extreme>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Chamber%20of%20Commerce%20Report.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.clcouncil.org/founding-members/>

exercising their governance and oversight role as board members, including a duty to “determine the U.S. Chamber’s policy positions on business issues,” as the Chamber’s own website states.

To better gauge your and your company’s understanding of its responsibilities as a member of the Chamber’s board, we respectfully request you respond to the following questions by December 20, 2019:

1. Have you made any effort to understand which members (or other sources) are responsible for and directing funding to the Chamber’s anti-climate activities?
2. Have you made any effort to understand what entities are funding the Chamber?
  - a. If you are not aware of the entities that are funding the chambers, please explain how this is consistent with your duty of care as a board member.
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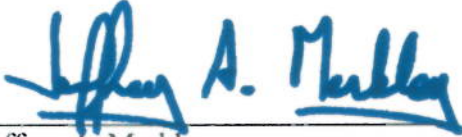
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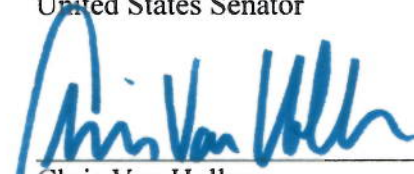
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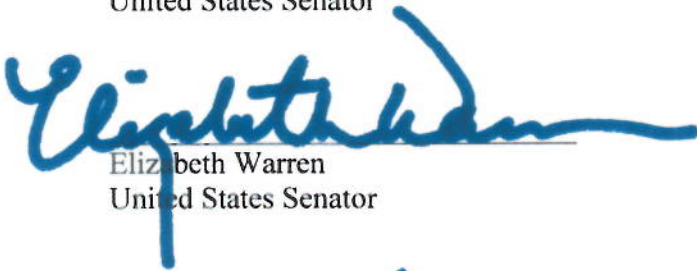
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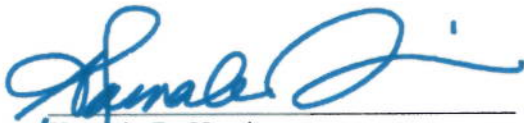
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