September 16, 2021

Ms. Gretchen Watkins  
President  
Shell Oil Company  
50 North Dairy Ashford Road  
Houston, TX 77079

Dear Ms. Watkins:

We are writing to request information and documents regarding the reported role of Shell Oil Company and its parent company, Royal Dutch Shell plc, (collectively, “Shell”) in a long-running, industry-wide campaign to spread disinformation about the role of fossil fuels in causing global warming, and to request your appearance at a Committee hearing on Thursday, October 28, 2021. We are deeply concerned that the fossil fuel industry has reaped massive profits for decades while contributing to climate change that is devastating American communities, costing taxpayers billions of dollars, and ravaging the natural world. We are also concerned that to protect those profits, the industry has reportedly led a coordinated effort to spread disinformation to mislead the public and prevent crucial action to address climate change.

Just four fossil fuel companies—BP, Shell, Chevron, and ExxonMobil—reported nearly $2 trillion in profits between 1990 and 2019.1 During this same period, the global climate crisis became increasingly dire, and its deadly impact on Americans increased. The world experienced 19 of the warmest years on record between 2000 and 2020.2 In each of the last six years, the United States has faced more than ten weather and climate disasters—including storms, wildfires, and heat waves—costing over $1 billion each. There were 22 reported billion-dollar climate disasters across the country in 2020.3

Public reporting indicates that Shell and its allies in the fossil fuel industry have worked to prevent serious action on global warming by generating doubt about the documented dangers of fossil fuels and misrepresenting the scale of your efforts to develop alternative energy

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technologies—some of the same tactics the tobacco industry used to resist regulation while selling products that kill hundreds of thousands of Americans.  

**Fossil Fuel Industry Spread Disinformation About Climate Science for Decades**

Fossil fuel companies have been aware of the science of climate change for decades. In 1977, an ExxonMobil scientist warned the company’s management about the connection between fossil fuel emissions and the “general scientific agreement that the most likely manner in which mankind is influencing the global climate is through carbon dioxide release from the burning of fossil fuels.” From 1979 to 1983, the American Petroleum Institute (API) and its oil company members, including the companies that are now operating as or owned by ExxonMobil, Shell, and Chevron, participated in a task force that shared climate science research and discussed possible ways to reduce emissions. In 1988, a Shell internal memorandum estimated that “the Shell group alone was contributing 4 percent of global carbon-dioxide emissions through its oil, natural gas and coal products” and warned, “By the time global warming becomes detectable it could be too late to take effective countermeasures to reduce the effects or even to stabilize the situation.”

In 1988, Dr. James Hansen, then the director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration’s Institute for Space Studies, testified before Congress that “it was 99 percent certain that the warming trend was not a natural variation but was caused by a buildup of carbon dioxide and other artificial gases in the atmosphere” and that the global warming effect was already “starting to cause changes in climate and weather.” Dr. Hansen emphasized, “It is time to stop waffling so much and say that the evidence is pretty strong that the greenhouse effect is here.”

In response to these developments, fossil fuel industry actors reportedly sought to counteract prevailing scientific knowledge. A 1998 memorandum developed with input from

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representatives of Chevon, ExxonMobil, API, and other industry-funded front groups detailed plans for a coordinated disinformation campaign targeting the media, the public, and policymakers. In discussing actions around climate policy, the memorandum declared, “victory will be achieved when average citizens ‘understand’ (recognize) uncertainties in climate science” and when “recognition of uncertainties becomes part of the ‘conventional wisdom.’”

Reports indicate that fossil fuel companies continued their climate “counter movement” by contributing millions of dollars to academic and policy groups to influence third-party promotion of climate misinformation. Throughout the 1990s, ExxonMobil, Chevron, BP, and Shell all joined API and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in one such trade group, the Global Climate Coalition (GCC), which lobbied the U.S. government in an effort to derail international action to reduce carbon pollution emissions. The successful campaign led to the United States’ leaving the Kyoto climate agreement in 2001. Documents prepared for then-Under Secretary of State Paula Dobriansky’s 2001 meeting with the GCC stated, “POTUS rejected Kyoto, in part, based on input from you.”

One study found that between 2003 and 2010, 91 think tanks and advocacy organizations that downplayed global warming were heavily funded by ExxonMobil, Koch Industries, DonorsTrust, and other industry groups. These organizations held out the appearance of neutrality, while reportedly working to “identify, recruit, and train” scientists to publish research aligned with industry, lobbying public officials to oppose efforts to address climate change, and harassing scientists. They pressed journalists to give media coverage to industry-backed researchers, giving the misleading appearance of a division of opinion among climate scientists.

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Fossil fuel industry actors reportedly paid over $1.2 million to Dr. Willie Soon, an aerospace engineer with no climate science training. According to media reports, Dr. Soon described his climate-science-denying papers and testimony before Congress as “deliverables” to his corporate donors. Fossil fuel interests amplified his studies in media stories, publications, and talking points.

Fossil fuel companies also publicly spread doubt themselves. For example, then-Chief Executive Officer of Exxon Corporation, Lee Raymond, said in 1997, “Currently, the scientific evidence is inconclusive as to whether human activities are having a significant effect on the global climate.”

**The Disinformation Campaign Continues Today**

We are concerned that these strategies of obfuscation and distraction continue today. Reporting indicates that, facing weak market performance and investor pressure, some large fossil fuel companies have taken public stances in support of action on global warming while continuing efforts in private to block meaningful solutions and legislation. ExxonMobil and Chevron publicly supported the Paris Agreement, and BP and Shell have made “net-zero” pledges for their direct emissions. At the same time, fossil fuel companies continue to invest overwhelmingly in fossil fuel extraction and to support efforts to extend the life of their

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investments in fossil fuel, all while lobbying against reforms that would curb global warming. In 2018, the fossil fuel industry supported efforts to roll back vehicle emission standards enacted by the Obama Administration. More recently, the industry has challenged the transition toward electric vehicles by opposing the installation of vehicle charging stations.

Shell also promotes a green public image. However, in a 2016 brochure entitled “Pathways to Net-Zero Emissions,” the company explained its true intentions in the fine print:

We have no immediate plans to move to a net-zero emissions portfolio over our investment horizon of 10-20 years. Net-zero emissions...must be driven by society, governments and industry through an effective overall policy framework for the energy system as a whole, integrating consumption and production.

In 2021 when a Dutch court ordered Shell to cut CO2 emissions by 45% by 2030, the company fought back, stating that it “fully expect[s] to appeal today’s disappointing court decision.”

Between 2015 and 2018, the five largest publicly traded oil and gas companies reportedly spent $1 billion to promote climate disinformation through “branding and lobbying.”

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capital expenditure budget on lower-carbon energy resources. Exxon has publicized its investments in algae biodiesel research, even though most scientists agree that algae biodiesel is not likely commercially viable. In the meantime, Exxon has proceeded with investments in oil and gas.

Although Shell continues to paint itself as a leader of green energy in its ongoing Make the Future advertising campaign, launched in 2015, the company has invested just 1.3% of its capital expenditures in low-carbon projects between 2010 and 2018.

Fossil fuel companies increasingly outsource lobbying to trade groups, obscuring their own roles in disinformation efforts. Recently, an ExxonMobil lobbyist was caught on video discussing the tactics employed by ExxonMobil to obstruct climate change legislation, including using API and other industry groups as the “whipping boy” to advocate for policy positions that Exxon did not want to be associated with publicly. During the interview, the lobbyist said, “Did we aggressively fight against some of the science? Yes.” He added, “Did we join some of these shadow groups to work against some of the early efforts? Yes, that’s true.” He also detailed ExxonMobil’s lobbying efforts to include natural gas as a clean energy source in the event that Congress adopts a Clean Energy Standard, despite clear scientific evidence that natural gas is a major driver of climate change.

The Committees’ Investigation and Requests

As worsening natural disasters linked to global warming devastate communities in the United States and globally, one of Congress’s top legislative priorities is combating the increasingly urgent crisis of a changing climate. To do this, Congress must address pollution caused by the fossil fuel industry and curb troubling business practices that lead to disinformation on these issues. In March 2021, the White House proposed an investment of

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close to $2 trillion this decade through President Biden’s American Jobs Plan,\textsuperscript{32} with more than half of the investments potentially used to address the climate crisis.\textsuperscript{33} Congress is contemplating wide-ranging climate change legislation in connection with the President’s plan and beyond it.

To inform these efforts, our Committee is investigating the role of the fossil fuel industry and related entities in the unfolding crisis. In particular, we are seeking to understand Shell’s role in contributing to climate change, and Shell’s role in supporting disinformation or misleading the public to prevent action to address this global crisis.

In order to assist the Committee with this investigation, please produce the following documents or information by September 30, 2021. Unless otherwise specified, the applicable time period covered by these requests is from November 30, 2015 to the present:

1. All documents and communications sent, received, or created by key Shell leaders and executives, including the chief executive officer, members of the board, and the senior executives in charge of federal governmental affairs, U.S. public affairs, marketing and advertising, and public relations, relating to the following topics:
   a. climate science, climate policy, or climate change;
   b. clean energy;
   c. the role of Shell, oil and gas companies, or the fossil fuel industry in causing, mitigating, or responding to climate change;
   d. marketing, advertising, social media, or lobbying activities tending to influence public opinion on the issues described in Request 1(a)–(c), including communications with public relations firms or social media companies;
   e. communications with the federal government, including the White House and Congress, relating to any of the issues described in Request 1(a)–(c); and
   f. the impacts climate change or climate policy could have on Shell, including impacts on facilities, operations, revenues, profits, net worth, or financial interests;

\textsuperscript{32} The White House, \textit{Fact Sheet: The American Jobs Plan} (May 4, 2021) (online at www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/31/fact-sheet-the-american-jobs-plan/).

2. Documents sufficient to show the total amount and itemization of any direct or indirect funding provided by Shell to any employees, contractors, or entities, including funding that is subsequently distributed to other entities, relating to any of the issues described in Request 1(a)–(d), and, for any such funding provided by the company, documents sufficient to show:

   a. what activity was funded; and

   b. any results achieved;

3. All internal and external policy memorandums, data, talking points, communications, leave-behind materials, and other documents that Shell provided to Members of Congress, their staff members, or executive branch officials related to climate policy and legislation;

4. Documents relating to Shell’s plan to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, including:

   a. any feasibility, cost, financial, impact, or other analysis of the plan;

   b. any documents or communications related to the implementation of the plan; and

   c. any documents or communications discussing questions or concerns about the plan or any draft of the plan, including about its feasibility, cost, financing, or implementation; and

5. A listing and description of any projects or actions undertaken by Shell to protect company facilities or operations from the impacts of climate change, including the dates the projects or actions were undertaken and the amounts expended on the projects or actions.

   In addition, please confirm by September 23, 2021, that you will appear at the Committee’s hearing on October 28, 2021.

   The enclosed Witness Instruction Sheet provides information for witnesses appearing before the Committee. Please note the procedures for submitting written testimony at least two business days prior to the hearing.

   The Committee on Oversight and Reform is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate “any matter” at “any time” under House Rule X. An attachment to this letter provides additional instructions for responding to the Committee’s request. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact Environment Subcommittee staff at (202) 225-5051.
Sincerely,

Carolyn B. Maloney
Chairwoman
Committee on Oversight and Reform

Ro Khanna
Chairman
Subcommittee on Environment

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Ranking Member
    Committee on Oversight and Reform

    The Honorable Ralph Norman, Ranking Member
    Subcommittee on Environment
Responding to Oversight Committee Document Requests

1. In complying with this request, produce all responsive documents that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, and representatives acting on your behalf. Produce all documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access, as well as documents that you have placed in the temporary possession, custody, or control of any third party.

2. Requested documents, and all documents reasonably related to the requested documents, should not be destroyed, altered, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Committee.

3. In the event that any entity, organization, or individual denoted in this request is or has been known by any name other than that herein denoted, the request shall be read also to include that alternative identification.

4. The Committee’s preference is to receive documents in electronic form (i.e., CD, memory stick, thumb drive, or secure file transfer) in lieu of paper productions.

5. Documents produced in electronic format should be organized, identified, and indexed electronically.

6. Electronic document productions should be prepared according to the following standards:
   a. The production should consist of single page Tagged Image File (“TIF”), files accompanied by a Concordance-format load file, an Opticon reference file, and a file defining the fields and character lengths of the load file.
   b. Document numbers in the load file should match document Bates numbers and TIF file names.
   c. If the production is completed through a series of multiple partial productions, field names and file order in all load files should match.
   d. All electronic documents produced to the Committee should include the following fields of metadata specific to each document, and no modifications should be made to the original metadata:

   BEGDOC, ENDDOC, TEXT, BEGATTACH, ENDATTACH, PAGECOUNT, CUSTODIAN, RECORDTYPE, DATE, TIME, SENTDATE, SENTTIME, BEGINDATE, BEGINTIME, ENDDATE, ENDTIME, AUTHOR, FROM, CC, TO, BCC, SUBJECT, TITLE, FILENAME, FILEEXT, FILESIZE, DATECREATED, TIMECREATED, DATELASTMOD, TIMELASTMOD,
7. Documents produced to the Committee should include an index describing the contents of the production. To the extent more than one CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, zip file, box, or folder is produced, each should contain an index describing its contents.

8. Documents produced in response to this request shall be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when the request was served.

9. When you produce documents, you should identify the paragraph(s) or request(s) in the Committee’s letter to which the documents respond.

10. The fact that any other person or entity also possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same documents shall not be a basis to withhold any information.

11. The pendency of or potential for litigation shall not be a basis to withhold any information.

12. In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(d), the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and any statutory exemptions to FOIA shall not be a basis for withholding any information.

13. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 552a(b)(9), the Privacy Act shall not be a basis for withholding information.

14. If compliance with the request cannot be made in full by the specified return date, compliance shall be made to the extent possible by that date. An explanation of why full compliance is not possible shall be provided along with any partial production.

15. In the event that a document is withheld on the basis of privilege, provide a privilege log containing the following information concerning any such document: (a) every privilege asserted; (b) the type of document; (c) the general subject matter; (d) the date, author, addressee, and any other recipient(s); (e) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other; and (f) the basis for the privilege(s) asserted.

16. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, identify the document (by date, author, subject, and recipients), and explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control.

17. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, produce all documents that would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.
18. This request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly-discovered information. Any record, document, compilation of data, or information not produced because it has not been located or discovered by the return date shall be produced immediately upon subsequent location or discovery.

19. All documents shall be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially.

20. Two sets of each production shall be delivered, one set to the Majority Staff and one set to the Minority Staff. When documents are produced to the Committee, production sets shall be delivered to the Majority Staff in Room 2157 of the Rayburn House Office Building and the Minority Staff in Room 2105 of the Rayburn House Office Building.

21. Upon completion of the production, submit a written certification, signed by you or your counsel, stating that: (1) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control that reasonably could contain responsive documents; and (2) all documents located during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committee.

Definitions

1. The term “document” means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of how recorded, and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: memoranda, reports, expense reports, books, manuals, instructions, financial reports, data, working papers, records, notes, letters, notices, confirmations, telegrams, receipts, appraisals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, prospectuses, communications, electronic mail (email), contracts, cables, notations of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other inter-office or intra-office communication, bulletins, printed matter, computer printouts, teletypes, invoices, transcripts, diaries, analyses, returns, summaries, minutes, bills, accounts, estimates, projections, comparisons, messages, correspondence, press releases, circulars, financial statements, reviews, opinions, offers, studies and investigations, questionnaires and surveys, and work sheets (and all drafts, preliminary versions, alterations, modifications, revisions, changes, and amendments of any of the foregoing, as well as any attachments or appendices thereto), and graphic or oral records or representations of any kind (including without limitation, photographs, charts, graphs, microfiche, microfilm, videotape, recordings and motion pictures), and electronic, mechanical, and electric records or representations of any kind (including, without limitation, tapes, cassettes, disks, and recordings) and other written, printed, typed, or other graphic or recorded matter of any kind or nature, however produced or reproduced, and whether preserved in writing, film, tape, disk, videotape, or otherwise. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.

2. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether in a meeting, by telephone, facsimile, mail, releases, electronic
message including email (desktop or mobile device), text message, instant message, MMS or SMS message, message application, or otherwise.

3. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this request any information that might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neutral genders.

4. The term “including” shall be construed broadly to mean “including, but not limited to.”

5. The term “Company” means the named legal entity as well as any units, firms, partnerships, associations, corporations, limited liability companies, trusts, subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, or other legal, business or government entities over which the named legal entity exercises control or in which the named entity has any ownership whatsoever.

6. The term “identify,” when used in a question about individuals, means to provide the following information: (a) the individual’s complete name and title; (b) the individual’s business or personal address and phone number; and (c) any and all known aliases.

7. The term “related to” or “referring or relating to,” with respect to any given subject, means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is pertinent to that subject in any manner whatsoever.

8. The term “employee” means any past or present agent, borrowed employee, casual employee, consultant, contractor, de facto employee, detailee, fellow, independent contractor, intern, joint adventurer, loaned employee, officer, part-time employee, permanent employee, provisional employee, special government employee, subcontractor, or any other type of service provider.

9. The term “individual” means all natural persons and all persons or entities acting on their behalf.
1. Witnesses should provide their testimony, biography, and "Truth in Testimony" disclosure and certification form via email to Oversight_Clerks@mail.house.gov no later than 10:00 a.m. two business days prior to the hearing.

2. Witnesses should also provide a short biographical summary and include it with the electronic copy of testimony provided to the Clerk.

3. At the hearing, each witness will be asked to summarize his or her written testimony in five minutes or less in order to maximize the time available for discussion and questions. Written testimony will be entered into the hearing record and may extend to any reasonable length.

4. Written testimony will be made publicly available and will be posted on the Committee’s website and the U.S. House of Representatives Document Repository. It is therefore recommended that personally identifiable information, such as addresses and phone numbers, not be included in the biographical information.

5. The Committee does not provide financial reimbursement for witness travel or accommodations. Witnesses with extenuating circumstances, however, may submit a written request for such reimbursements to Robin Butler, Financial Administrator, 2157 Rayburn House Office Building, at least one week prior to the hearing. Reimbursements will not be made without prior approval.

6. Witnesses with disabilities should contact Committee staff to arrange any necessary accommodations.

7. Please note that Committee Rule 16(b) requires counsel representing an individual or entity before the Committee or any of its subcommittees, whether in connection with a request, subpoena, or testimony, promptly submit a notice of appearance to the Committee. If this applies to you, please email the address above to acquire this form.

For inquiries regarding these rules and procedures, please contact the Committee on Oversight and Reform at (202) 225-5051.