

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Bjørn Gulden
Chief Executive Officer
Adidas Group
Adi-Dassler-Strasse 1
91074 Herzogenaurach
Germany

Mr. John R. Miller
President
Adidas North America
5055 North Greeley Avenue
Portland, OR 97217

Dear Mr. Gulden and Mr. Miller:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Adidas Group to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

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monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Adidas Group answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Adidas Group or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Adidas Group support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Adidas Group participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Adidas Group aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Adidas Group support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Adidas Group may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Adidas Group preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Adidas Group’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

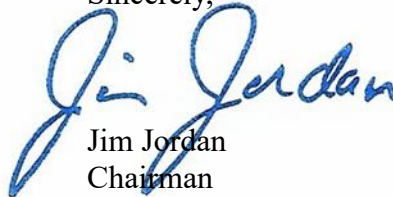
Mr. Bjørn Gulden
Mr. John R. Miller
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2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "J" and "D".

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Stephen J. Squeri
Chief Executive Officer
American Express
200 Vesey Street
New York, NY 10285

Dear Mr. Squeri:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask American Express to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that American Express answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does American Express or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does American Express support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did American Express participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was American Express aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does American Express support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe American Express may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that American Express preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, American Express's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Stephen J. Squeri

August 1, 2024

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Bill Anderson
Chief Executive Officer
Bayer AG
Kaiser-Wilhelm-Allee 1
51368 Leverkusen
Germany

Mr. Sebastian Guth
President
Bayer U.S.
100 Bayer Boulevard
Whippany, NJ 07981

Dear Mr. Anderson and Mr. Guth:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Bayer AG to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Bayer AG answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Bayer AG or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Bayer AG support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Bayer AG participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Bayer AG aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Bayer AG support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Bayer AG may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Bayer AG preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Bayer AG’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

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Mr. Bill Anderson
Mr. Sebastian Guth
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Vincent Warnery
Chief Executive Officer
Beiersdorf AG
Beiersdorfstraße 1-9
22529 Hamburg
Germany

Mr. Mauricio Valdes
General Manager & President
Beiersdorf North America
301 Tresser Boulevard
Stamford, CT 06901

Dear Mr. Warnery and Mr. Valdes:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Beiersdorf AG to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Beiersdorf AG answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Beiersdorf AG or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Beiersdorf AG support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Beiersdorf AG participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Beiersdorf AG aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Beiersdorf AG support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Beiersdorf AG may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Beiersdorf AG preserve the following materials:

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

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Mr. Vincent Warnery
Mr. Mauricio Valdes
August 1, 2024
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1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Beiersdorf AG's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Murray Auchincloss
Chief Executive Officer
BP
1 St. James's Square
London
SW1Y 4PD
United Kingdom

Mr. Orlando A. Alvarez
Chairman and President
BP America
501 Westlake Park Boulevard
Houston, TX 77079

Dear Mr. Auchincloss and Mr. Alvarez:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask BP to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that BP answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does BP or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does BP support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did BP participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was BP aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does BP support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe BP may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that BP preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, BP’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

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Mr. Murray Auchincloss
Mr. Orlando A. Alvarez
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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

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August 1, 2024

Ms. Linda Hubbard
President and Chief Executive Officer
Carhartt
5750 Mercury Drive
Dearborn, MI 48126

Dear Ms. Hubbard:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Carhartt to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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Ms. Linda Hubbard

August 1, 2024

Page 2

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Carhartt answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Carhartt or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated subgroup?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Carhartt support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Carhartt participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Carhartt aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Carhartt support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Carhartt may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Carhartt preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Carhartt's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Ms. Linda Hubbard

August 1, 2024

Page 3

notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "J" and a cursive "Jordan".

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Ms. Sarah M. London
Chief Executive Officer
Centene Corporation
7700 Forsyth Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Ms. London:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Centene Corporation to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Centene Corporation answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Centene Corporation or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Centene Corporation support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Centene Corporation participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Centene Corporation aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Centene Corporation support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Centene Corporation may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Centene Corporation preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Centene Corporation's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Ms. Sarah M. London

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "J" and a cursive "Jordan".

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Ms. Leena Nair
Global Chief Executive Officer
Chanel
5 Barlow Place
London
W1J 6DG
United Kingdom

Mr. Stéphane Blanchard
President, US Region
Chanel
9 West 57th Street
44th Floor
New York, NY 10019

Dear Ms. Nair and Mr. Blanchard:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Chanel to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Chanel answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Chanel or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Chanel support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Chanel participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Chanel aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Chanel support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Chanel may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Chanel preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Chanel’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).


Ms. Leena Nair
Mr. Stéphane Blanchard
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Noel Wallace
President and Chief Executive Officer
Colgate-Palmolive
300 Park Avenue
11th Floor
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Wallace:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Colgate-Palmolive to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Colgate-Palmolive answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Colgate-Palmolive or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Colgate-Palmolive support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Colgate-Palmolive participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Colgate-Palmolive aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Colgate-Palmolive support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Colgate-Palmolive may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Colgate-Palmolive preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Colgate-Palmolive's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Noel Wallace

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Ms. Karen S. Lynch
President and Chief Executive Officer
CVS Health
1 CVS Drive
Woonsocket, RI 02895

Dear Ms. Lynch:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask CVS Health to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that CVS Health answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does CVS Health or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does CVS Health support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did CVS Health participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was CVS Health aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does CVS Health support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe CVS Health may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that CVS Health preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, CVS Health's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Ms. Karen Lynch
August 1, 2024
Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Michael Dell
Chief Executive Officer
Dell Technologies
1 Dell Way
Round Rock, TX 78682

Dear Mr. Dell:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Dell Technologies to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Dell Technologies answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Dell Technologies or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Dell Technologies support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Dell Technologies participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Dell Technologies aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Dell Technologies support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Dell Technologies may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Dell Technologies preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Dell Technologies's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Michael Dell

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Andrew Wilson
Chief Executive Officer
Electronic Arts
209 Redwood Shores Parkway
Redwood City, CA 94065

Dear Mr. Wilson:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Electronic Arts to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Electronic Arts answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Electronic Arts or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Electronic Arts support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Electronic Arts participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Electronic Arts aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Electronic Arts support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Electronic Arts may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Electronic Arts preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Electronic Arts's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Andrew Wilson

August 1, 2024

Page 3

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Jan Derck van Karnebeek
Chief Executive Officer
FrieslandCampina
Stationsplein 4
3818 LE Amersfoort
Netherlands

Mr. Tuncay Özgüner
President Retail & Americas
FrieslandCampina
40196 State Highway 10
Delhi, NY 13753

Dear Mr. van Karnebeek and Mr. Özgüner:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask FrieslandCampina to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that FrieslandCampina answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does FrieslandCampina or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does FrieslandCampina support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did FrieslandCampina participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was FrieslandCampina aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does FrieslandCampina support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe FrieslandCampina may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that FrieslandCampina preserve the following materials:

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Jan Derck van Karnebeek
Mr. Tuncay Özgüner
August 1, 2024
Page 3

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, FrieslandCampina's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Jeffrey Harmening
Chief Executive Officer
General Mills
1 General Mills Boulevard
Golden Valley, MN 55426

Dear Mr. Harmening:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask General Mills to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that General Mills answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does General Mills or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does General Mills support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did General Mills participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was General Mills aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does General Mills support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe General Mills may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that General Mills preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, General Mills's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Jeffrey Harmening

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "J" and "D".

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Ms. Mary T. Barra
Chief Executive Officer
General Motors
300 Renaissance Center
Detroit, MI 48265

Dear Ms. Barra:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask General Motors to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that General Motors answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does General Motors or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does General Motors support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did General Motors participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was General Motors aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does General Motors support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe General Motors may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that General Motors preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, General Motors's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Ms. Mary T. Barra

August 1, 2024

Page 3

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. David Solomon
Chief Executive Officer
Goldman Sachs
200 West Street
New York, NY 10282

Dear Mr. Solomon:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Goldman Sachs to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Goldman Sachs answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Goldman Sachs or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Goldman Sachs support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Goldman Sachs participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Goldman Sachs aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Goldman Sachs support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Goldman Sachs may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Goldman Sachs preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Goldman Sachs's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. David Solomon

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive. Below the signature, the name "Jim Jordan" and the title "Chairman" are printed in a standard black font.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Brian McNamara
Chief Executive Officer
Haleon
The Heights Weybridge, Building 5
First Floor
Surrey KT13 0NY
United Kingdom

Ms. Lisa Paley
President, North America
Haleon
184 Liberty Corner Road
Warren, NJ 07059

Dear Mr. McNamara and Ms. Paley:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Haleon to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

Mr. Brian McNamara
Ms. Lisa Paley
August 1, 2024
Page 2

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Haleon answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Haleon or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Haleon support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Haleon participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Haleon aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Haleon support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Haleon may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Haleon preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Haleon’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Brian McNamara
Ms. Lisa Paley
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Enrique Lores
President and Chief Executive Officer
HP Incorporated
1501 Page Mill Road
Palo Alto, CA 94304

Dear Mr. Lores:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask HP Incorporated to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that HP Incorporated answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does HP Incorporated or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does HP Incorporated support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did HP Incorporated participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was HP Incorporated aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does HP Incorporated support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe HP Incorporated may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that HP Incorporated preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, HP Incorporated's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Enrique Lores
August 1, 2024
Page 3

whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Jesper Brodin
Chief Executive Officer
Ingka Group
Bargelaan 20
2333 CT Leiden
Netherlands

Mr. Javier Quiñones
Chief Executive Officer and Chief Sustainability Officer
IKEA U.S.
420 Alan Wood Road
Conshohocken, PA 19428

Dear Mr. Brodin and Mr. Quiñones:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Ingka Group to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Ingka Group answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Ingka Group or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Ingka Group support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Ingka Group participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Ingka Group aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Ingka Group support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Ingka Group may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Ingka Group preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Ingka Group’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Jesper Brodin
Mr. Javier Quiñones
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Joaquin Duato
Chief Executive Officer
Johnson & Johnson
1 Johnson & Johnson Plaza
New Brunswick , NJ 08933

Dear Mr. Duato:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Johnson & Johnson to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Johnson & Johnson answer the questions below and provide the following information:

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Johnson & Johnson or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Johnson & Johnson support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Johnson & Johnson participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Johnson & Johnson aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Johnson & Johnson support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Johnson & Johnson may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Johnson & Johnson preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Johnson & Johnson's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Joaquin Duato

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Steve Cahillane
President and Chief Executive Officer
Kellanova
412 N Wells Street
Chicago, IL 60654

Dear Mr. Cahillane:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Kellanova to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Kellanova answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Kellanova or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated subgroup?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Kellanova support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Kellanova participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Kellanova aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Kellanova support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Kellanova may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Kellanova preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Kellanova's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Steve Cahillane

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Thibaut Mongon
Chief Executive Officer
Kenvue Incorporated
199 Grandview Road
Skillman, NJ 08558

Dear Mr. Mongon:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Kenvue Incorporated to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Kenvue Incorporated answer the questions below and provide the following information:

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Kenvue Incorporated or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Kenvue Incorporated support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Kenvue Incorporated participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Kenvue Incorporated aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Kenvue Incorporated support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Kenvue Incorporated may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Kenvue Incorporated preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Kenvue Incorporated's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Thibaut Mongon

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Michael Hsu
Chief Executive Officer
Kimberly-Clark Corporation
351 Phelps Drive
Irving, TX 75038

Dear Mr. Hsu:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Kimberly-Clark Corporation to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Kimberly-Clark Corporation answer the questions below and provide the following information:

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

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1. What leadership roles, if any, does Kimberly-Clark Corporation or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
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3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Kimberly-Clark Corporation participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Kimberly-Clark Corporation aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Kimberly-Clark Corporation support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

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Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Kimberly-Clark Corporation may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Kimberly-Clark Corporation preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Kimberly-Clark Corporation's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
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⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Michael Hsu

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Nicolas Hieronimus
Chief Executive Officer
L'Oréal
41 Rue Martre
92117 Clichy
France

Mr. David Greenberg
Chief Executive Officer
L'Oréal USA
10 Hudson Yards
Floors 27-36
New York, NY 10001

Dear Mr. Hieronimus and Mr. Greenberg:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask L'Oréal to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that L’Oréal answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does L’Oréal or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does L’Oréal support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did L’Oréal participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was L’Oréal aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does L’Oréal support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe L’Oréal may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that L’Oréal preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, L’Oréal’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Nicolas Hieronimus
Mr. David Greenberg
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Bernard Arnault
Chief Executive Officer
Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy
22 Avenue Montaigne
75008 Paris
France

Mr. Anish Melwani
Chief Executive Officer
Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy, North America
19 East 57th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Arnault and Mr. Melwani:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Bernard Arnault
Mr. Anish Melwani
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Michael Miebach
Chief Executive Officer
Mastercard
2000 Purchase Street
Purchase, NY 10577

Dear Mr. Miebach:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Mastercard to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Mastercard answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Mastercard or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated subgroup?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Mastercard support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Mastercard participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Mastercard aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Mastercard support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Mastercard may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Mastercard preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Mastercard's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Michael Miebach

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Chris Kempczinski
Chief Executive Officer
McDonalds Corporation
110 N. Carpenter Street
Chicago, IL 60607

Dear Mr. Kempczinski:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask McDonalds Corporation to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that McDonalds Corporation answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does McDonalds Corporation or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does McDonalds Corporation support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did McDonalds Corporation participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was McDonalds Corporation aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does McDonalds Corporation support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe McDonalds Corporation may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that McDonalds Corporation preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, McDonalds Corporation's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Chris Kempczinski

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

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ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Robert Davis
Chief Executive Officer
Merck & Co. Incorporated
126 East Lincoln Avenue
P.O. Box 2000
Rahway, NJ 07065

Dear Mr. Davis:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Merck & Co. Incorporated to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Merck & Co. Incorporated answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Merck & Co. Incorporated or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Merck & Co. Incorporated support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Merck & Co. Incorporated participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Merck & Co. Incorporated aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Merck & Co. Incorporated support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Merck & Co. Incorporated may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Merck & Co. Incorporated preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Merck & Co. Incorporated's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Robert Davis

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive. Below the signature, the name "Jim Jordan" and the title "Chairman" are printed in a standard black font.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Satya Nadella
Chief Executive Officer
Microsoft Corporation
1 Microsoft Way
Redmond, WA 98052

Dear Mr. Nadella:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Microsoft Corporation to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Microsoft Corporation answer the questions below and provide the following information:

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Microsoft Corporation or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Microsoft Corporation support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Microsoft Corporation participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Microsoft Corporation aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Microsoft Corporation support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Microsoft Corporation may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Microsoft Corporation preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Microsoft Corporation's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Satya Nadella

August 1, 2024

Page 3

notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Dirk Van de Put
Chief Executive Officer
Mondelēz International
905 West Fulton Market
Suite 200
Chicago, IL 60607

Dear Mr. Van de Put:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Mondelēz International to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Mondelēz International answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Mondelēz International or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Mondelēz International support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Mondelēz International participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Mondelēz International aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Mondelēz International support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Mondelēz International may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Mondelēz International preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Mondelēz International’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Dirk Van de Put

August 1, 2024

Page 3

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive. Below the signature, the name "Jim Jordan" and the title "Chairman" are printed in a standard black font.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. John Donahoe
President and Chief Executive Officer
NIKE Incorporated
1 Bowerman Drive
Beaverton, OR 97005

Dear Mr. Donahoe:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask NIKE Incorporated to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that NIKE Incorporated answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does NIKE Incorporated or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does NIKE Incorporated support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did NIKE Incorporated participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was NIKE Incorporated aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does NIKE Incorporated support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe NIKE Incorporated may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that NIKE Incorporated preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, NIKE Incorporated's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. John Donahoe

August 1, 2024

Page 3

whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter. .

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "J" and "D".

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Ramon Laguarta
Chief Executive Officer
PepsiCo
700 Anderson Hill Road
Purchase, NY 10577

Dear Mr. Laguarta:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask PepsiCo to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that PepsiCo answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does PepsiCo or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does PepsiCo support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did PepsiCo participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was PepsiCo aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does PepsiCo support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe PepsiCo may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that PepsiCo preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, PepsiCo's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Ramon Laguarta

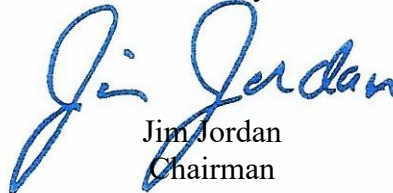
August 1, 2024

Page 3

including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Sameer Suneja
Executive Director and Chief Executive Officer
Perfetti Van Melle
Stationsplein Zuid-West 997
1117 CE Schiphol – Oost
Netherlands

Ms. Sylvia Buxton
President and Chief Executive Officer, North America
Perfetti Van Melle
3645 Turfway Road
P.O. Box 18190
Erlanger, KY 41018

Dear Mr. Suneja and Ms. Buxton:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Perfetti Van Melle to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Perfetti Van Melle answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Perfetti Van Melle or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Perfetti Van Melle support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Perfetti Van Melle participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Perfetti Van Melle aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Perfetti Van Melle support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Perfetti Van Melle may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Perfetti Van Melle preserve the following materials:

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

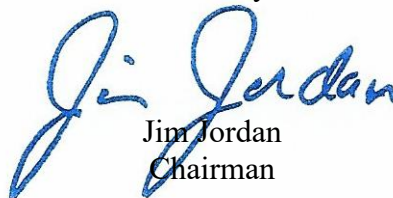
Mr. Sameer Suneja
Ms. Sylvia Buxton
August 1, 2024
Page 3

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Perfetti Van Melle's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Alexandre Ricard
Chief Executive Officer
Pernod Ricard
5 Cours Paul Ricard
75380 Paris
France

Mr. Conor McQuaid
Chief Executive Officer
Pernod Ricard North America
250 Park Avenue
17th Floor
New York, NY 10177

Dear Mr. Ricard and Mr. McQuaid:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Pernod Ricard to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Pernod Ricard answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Pernod Ricard or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Pernod Ricard support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Pernod Ricard participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Pernod Ricard aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Pernod Ricard support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Pernod Ricard may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Pernod Ricard preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Pernod Ricard’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Alexandre Ricard
Mr. Conor McQuaid
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Franz Watzlawick
Chief Executive Officer
Red Bull GmbH
Am Brunnen 1
5330 Fuschl am See
Austria

Mr. Chris Hunt
Chief Executive Officer
Red Bull North America
1740 Stewart Street
Santa Monica, CA 90404

Dear Mr. Watzlawick and Mr. Hunt:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Red Bull GmbH to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

Mr. Franz Watzlawick
Mr. Chris Hunt
August 1, 2024
Page 2

has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Red Bull GmbH answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Red Bull GmbH or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated subgroup?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Red Bull GmbH support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Red Bull GmbH participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Red Bull GmbH aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Red Bull GmbH support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Red Bull GmbH may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Red Bull GmbH preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Red Bull GmbH’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

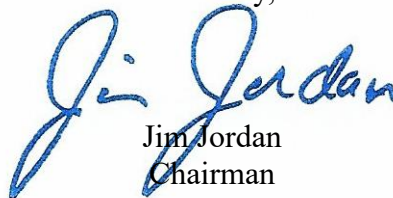
Mr. Franz Watzlawick
Mr. Chris Hunt
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. David Baszucki
Founder and Chief Executive Officer
Roblox
970 Park Place
San Mateo, CA 94403

Dear Mr. Baszucki:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Roblox to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called "brand safety" concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Roblox answer the questions below and provide the following information:

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² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

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1. What leadership roles, if any, does Roblox or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Roblox support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Roblox participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Roblox aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Roblox support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Roblox may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Roblox preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Roblox's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. David Baszucki

August 1, 2024

Page 3

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Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Paul Hudson
Chief Executive Officer
Sanofi
46 Avenue de la Grande Armée
75017 Paris
France

Mr. Olivier Bogillot
Head of General Medicines, North America
Sanofi
55 Corporate Drive
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

Dear Mr. Hudson and Mr. Bogillot:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Sanofi to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM

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has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Sanofi answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Sanofi or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Sanofi support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Sanofi participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Sanofi aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Sanofi support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Sanofi may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Sanofi preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Sanofi’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members,

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Mr. Paul Hudson
Mr. Olivier Bogillot
August 1, 2024
Page 3

referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906
judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Scott Thomson
President and Chief Executive Officer
Scotiabank
40 Temperance Street
Toronto M5H 0B4
Canada

Mr. Michael Kruse
Chief Executive Officer
Scotiabank U.S.
250 Vesey Street
23rd Floor
New York, NY 10281

Dear Mr. Thomson and Mr. Kruse:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Scotiabank to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Scotiabank answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Scotiabank or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Scotiabank support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Scotiabank participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Scotiabank aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Scotiabank support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Scotiabank may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Scotiabank preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Scotiabank’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

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Mr. Scott Thomson
Mr. Michael Kruse
August 1, 2024
Page 3

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized and cursive.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Wael Sawan
Chief Executive Officer
Shell
Shell Centre
London
SE1 7NA
United Kingdom

Ms. Gretchen Watkins
President
Shell USA
200 North Dairy Ashford Road
Houston, TX 77002

Dear Mr. Sawan and Ms. Watkins:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Shell to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Shell answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Shell or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Shell support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Shell participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Shell aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Shell support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

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Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Shell may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Shell preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Shell’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁵ *Id.*

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⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

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Mr. Wael Sawan
Ms. Gretchen Watkins
August 1, 2024
Page 3

2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

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Sincerely,

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Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

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ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Kenichiro Yoshida
Chief Executive Officer
Sony Group
1-7-1 Konan, Minato-ku
Tokyo 108-0075
Japan

Ms. Karen Halby
President
Sony Corporation of America
25 Madison Avenue
26th Floor
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Yoshida and Ms. Halby:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Sony Group to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

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To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Sony Group answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Sony Group or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Sony Group support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
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⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Kenichiro Yoshida
Ms. Karen Halby
August 1, 2024
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2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Takeshi Niinami
President and Chief Executive Officer
Suntory Holdings
2-3-3 Daiba, Minato-ku
Tokyo 135-8631
Japan

Mr. Greg Hughes
President and Chief Executive Officer
Suntory Global Spirits
11 Madison Avenue
12th Floor
New York, NY 10010

Dear Mr. Niinami and Mr. Hughes:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Suntory Holdings to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee’s oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Suntory Holdings answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Suntory Holdings or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Suntory Holdings support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Suntory Holdings participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Suntory Holdings aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Suntory Holdings support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Suntory Holdings may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Suntory Holdings preserve the following materials:

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Takeshi Niinami
Mr. Greg Hughes
August 1, 2024
Page 3

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Suntory Holdings's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information, including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

judiciary.house.gov

August 1, 2024

Mr. Hans Vestberg
Chief Executive Officer
Verizon
1 Verizon Way
Basking Ridge, NJ 07920

Dear Mr. Vestberg:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Verizon to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to “create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result.”⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry “uncommon collaboration” to “effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content.”⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee's report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Verizon answer the questions below and provide the following information:

¹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

² STAFF OF THE H. COMM. ON THE JUDICIARY, 118TH CONG., GARM'S HARM: HOW THE WORLD'S BIGGEST BRANDS SEEK TO CONTROL ONLINE SPEECH (2024) [hereinafter GARM's Harm].

³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ GARM's Harm, *supra* note 2.

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Verizon or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated subgroup?
2. As explained in the Committee's report, GARM's Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an "extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution" and "taking US norms and applying them globally."⁷ Does Verizon support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Verizon participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Verizon aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Verizon support GARM's coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee's requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Verizon may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM's collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Verizon preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Verizon's involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and
2. All documents and communications, including but not limited to communications with WFA and GARM and communications with WFA and GARM members, referring or relating to the categorization, monetization, demonetization, moderation, or elimination of speech.

This letter serves as a formal request to preserve all existing and future records and materials relating to the topics addressed in this letter. You should construe this preservation notice as an instruction to take all reasonable steps to prevent the destruction or alteration, whether intentionally or negligently, of all documents, communications, and other information,

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

⁸ See *NAACP v. Claiborne Hardware*, 458 U.S. 886 (1982).

Mr. Hans Vestberg
August 1, 2024
Page 3

including electronic information and metadata, that are or may be responsive to this congressional inquiry. This instruction includes all electronic messages sent using your official and personal accounts or devices, including records created using text messages, phone-based message applications, or encryption software.

Pursuant to Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the Committee is authorized to conduct oversight of and legislate on matters relating to the “[p]rotection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.”⁹ If you have any questions about this request, please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-6906. Thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jim Jordan". The signature is stylized with a large "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

⁹ Rules of the House of Representatives R. X (2023).

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

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COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2138 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-6906

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August 1, 2024

Mr. Jim Rowan
President and Chief Executive Officer
Volvo Cars
Gunnar Engellaus väg 8
418 78 Göteborg
Sweden

Mr. Michael Cottone
President
Volvo Cars USA
1800 Volvo Place
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Dear Mr. Rowan and Mr. Cottone:

The Committee on the Judiciary is conducting oversight into the adequacy and enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws.¹ Through its oversight, the Committee has learned that collusive activity is occurring within the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), of which your company is a member.² In particular, the Committee has uncovered evidence of coordinated action by GARM and its member companies, including boycotts of disfavored social media platforms, podcasts, and news outlets.³ Accordingly, to inform the Committee's oversight and potential legislative remedies, we write to ask Volvo Cars to preserve documents and provide information.

Beginning as an initiative of the World Federation of Advertisers (WFA), GARM was founded to "create a more sustainable and responsible digital environment that protects consumers, the media industry, and society as a result."⁴ Additionally, GARM claims to utilize its cross-industry "uncommon collaboration" to "effectively reduce the availability and monetization of harmful content."⁵ However, the Committee's oversight has shown that GARM

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³ *Id.*

⁴ *The GARM Charter: Priorities for Uncommon Collaboration*, GARM, <https://wfanet.org/leadership/garm/charter>.

⁵ *Id.*

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has deviated far from its original intent, and has collectively used its immense market power to demonetize voices and viewpoints the group disagrees with—even intervening in situations that do not have a so-called “brand safety” concern.⁶ A copy of the Committee’s report detailing this collusion is attached for your reference.

To further its investigation, the Committee respectfully requests that Volvo Cars answer the questions below and provide the following information:

1. What leadership roles, if any, does Volvo Cars or its employees hold in GARM, including positions on any task forces, working groups, or similarly situated sub-group?
2. As explained in the Committee’s report, GARM’s Initiative Lead and Co-founder, Robert Rakowitz, espoused views stating that a problem with advertising was an “extreme global interpretation of the US Constitution” and “taking US norms and applying them globally.”⁷ Does Volvo Cars support these views about the United States Constitution and the First Amendment?
3. U.S. antitrust caselaw creates protections for certain group boycotts that, although coordinated, seek to influence public policy or opinion.⁸ Did Volvo Cars participate in any collective boycotts with GARM or its members that it believes is exempt from antitrust law? If yes, please list the boycotts, parties to the boycott, and the person or people responsible for organizing the boycott.
4. Was Volvo Cars aware of the coordinated actions taken by GARM toward news outlets and podcasts such as *The Joe Rogan Experience*, *The Daily Wire*, *Breitbart News*, or *Fox News*, or other conservative media? Does Volvo Cars support GARM’s coordinated actions toward these news outlets and podcasts?

Please provide responses to the Committee’s requests as soon as possible, but by no later than August 15, 2024, at 12:00 p.m.

Additionally, as a member of GARM, the Committee has reason to believe Volvo Cars may be in possession of documents and communications related to GARM’s collusive activity. Accordingly, the Committee requests that Volvo Cars preserve the following materials:

1. All documents and communications referring or relating to WFA or GARM, Volvo Cars’s involvement in WFA or GARM, including but not limited to all call notes of discussions or meetings with GARM or GARM members; and

⁶ GARM’s Harm, *supra* note 2.

⁷ See HJC-WFA-GARM-000125324.

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Mr. Michael Cottone
August 1, 2024
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Sincerely,



Jim Jordan
Chairman

cc: The Honorable Jerrold L. Nadler, Ranking Member

Enclosure

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