



# **LEAKED FBI MEMO**

*January 23, 2023*

## **TARGETING CATHOLICS**

*Prepared By:*

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**QUICKCONSERVATIVE.COM**



# WHAT IS THIS DOCUMENT?

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This document includes screenshots of the internal FBI memo originally published by Kyle Seraphin on February 8, 2023 on the website, UncoverDC.com (see: "The FBI Doubles Down on Christians and White Supremacy in 2023").

# THIS DOCUMENT IS NOT...

- ✗ Currently available on any FBI systems (following public backlash, the agency removed the memo and launched a review - which has been criticized by multiple State Attorney Generals as a transparent "damage control" effort).



The formal complaint signed by Virginia's Attorney General and others, penned to FBI Director Christopher Wray, follows the memo. As the complaint notes:


***"The un-American and unconstitutional memorandum alarms us [because] it is part of a dangerous tendency in the FBI and DOJ to label those who hold views contrary to the Administration as violent extremists or terrorists. In October 2021, Attorney General Garland directed the FBI to 'address threats' to school boards and administrators posed by parents and guardians protesting school board meetings, labeling those protests as 'run[ning] counter to our nation's core values.' The weaponization of the DOJ and FBI to suppress political and religious views inconsistent with the Administration's orthodoxy is an alarming trend that must be immediately curtailed. "***

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# FBI CATHOLICS MEMO



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**Domain Perspective**

  
**FBI Richmond**  
**23 January 2023**  


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(U) Warnings and Handling Caveats: Information Concerning Specific Individuals' Activities when that Individual is Part of a Group. Full text is found in the Warnings and Handling Caveats section.  
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(U) Domain Perspective (DP) template approved for fiscal year 2023, as of 1 October 2022.

**(U//FOUO) Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists in Radical-Traditionalist Catholic Ideology Almost Certainly Presents New Mitigation Opportunities**

**(U) Executive Summary**

(U//FOUO) FBI Richmond assesses the increasingly observed interest of racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists (RMVEs) in radical-traditionalist Catholic (RTC)<sup>a</sup> ideology almost certainly<sup>b</sup> presents opportunities for threat mitigation through the exploration of new avenues for tripwire and source development. FBI Richmond makes this assessment with high confidence<sup>c</sup> based on FBI investigations, local law enforcement agency reporting, and liaison reporting, with varying degrees of corroboration and access.

(U//FOUO) In making this assessment, FBI Richmond relied on the key assumption that RMVEs will continue to find RTC ideology attractive and will continue to attempt to connect with RTC adherents, both virtually via social media and in-person at places of worship. Indicators that would cause FBI Richmond to revise the judgments or confidence levels in its assessment include increases or decreases in RMVE subjects' attendance at RTC or traditionalist Catholic places of worship; increases or decreases in RMVE subjects' activity on social media platforms and forums maintained or frequented by RTCs; or the public distancing of prominent RTC or traditionalist Catholic personalities or institutions from RMVE ideologies. FBI Richmond assesses RMVE interest in RTCs is likely to increase over the next 12 to 24 months in the run-up

<sup>a</sup> (U) Analyst Note: RTCs are typically characterized by the rejection of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) as a valid church council; disdain for most of the popes elected since Vatican II, particularly Pope Francis and Pope John Paul II; and frequent adherence to anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, anti-LGBTQ, and white supremacist ideology. Radical-traditionalist Catholics compose a small minority of overall Roman Catholic adherents and are separate and distinct from "traditionalist Catholics" who prefer the Traditional Latin Mass and pre-Vatican II teachings and traditions, but without the more extremist ideological beliefs and violent rhetoric. Vatican II took place from 1962-1965 and essentially shaped the modern Roman Rite Catholic Church. It was intended to help the church respond to global cultural changes in the aftermath of World War II and resulted in significant reforms to the liturgy, attitudes toward non-Christian religions, roles and responsibilities of the laity, views on religious freedom, etc.

<sup>b</sup> (U) See Appendix B: Expressions of Likelihood.

<sup>c</sup> (U) See Appendix C: Confidence in Assessments and Judgments Based on a Body of Information.

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to the next general election cycle, complicating the overall RMVE threat picture while also creating new opportunities for mitigation efforts. During this same 12 to 24 month period, the overall RTC community is likely to remain relatively stable or show modest growth, providing RMVEs a persistent Catholic-oriented base with which to interact. FBI Richmond did not include an Analysis of Alternatives in this product due to the quality of the source information and the lack of significant uncertainties.

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## (U//FOUO) Increasingly Observed Interest of RMVEs in RTC Ideology Almost Certainly Presents New Opportunities for Threat Mitigation

(U//FOUO) FBI Richmond assesses the increasingly observed interest of RMVEs in RTC ideology almost certainly presents new opportunities for threat mitigation through the exploration of new avenues for tripwire and source development. This assessment is based on reporting [REDACTED] and liaison and contact reporting demonstrating RMVE actors have sought out and attended traditionalist Catholic houses of worship, as well as used language indicative of adherence to RTC ideology in social media postings.

<sup>d</sup> (U) Analyst Note: The Society of Saint Pius X (SSPX) is an international priestly society that promotes the traditional Catholic priesthood and the celebration of the traditional Latin Mass and sacraments. It is named after Pope Pius X whose anti-Modernist stance serves as the organization's inspiration. The SSPX is currently considered "canonically irregular" (i.e., not in full communion with the Vatican). The SSPX has spawned a number of offshoots. These include SSPX-Resistance, aka SSPX-Marian Corps (SSPX-MC), which rejected SSPX attempts to reconcile with the Vatican; the Priestly Fraternity of Saint Peter (FSSP), which holds to many of the SSPX beliefs and practices, but ultimately split from the SSPX to stay in full communion with the Vatican; and the Society of Saint Pius V (SSPV), which does not consider Vatican II valid and binding, questions the legitimacy of all of the popes since Vatican II, and has no canonical standing (i.e., is schismatic).

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## (U) Perspective

(U) As of 2021, the Southern Poverty Law Center identified nine RTC hate groups operating in the United States (*see Appendix D for a complete list of these groups and their headquarters*)<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup> (U) Novus Ordo, short for Novus Ordo Missae, refers to the new order of the Catholic Mass promulgated by Pope Paul VI in the aftermath of Vatican II. The Novus Ordo Mass is delivered in the vernacular (as opposed to Latin) and is the normal form of the Mass in the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church.

<sup>f</sup> (U) Legio Christi is not associated with the mainline Roman Catholic religious order known as the Legionaries of Christ, aka the Legion of Christ.

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locations).<sup>9</sup> Open source reporting and FBI investigations have noted a growing overlap between the far-right white nationalist movement and RTCs. Illustrative of this has been the increasing collaboration of the far-right Catholic media outlet Church Militant (and its activist wing, the Resistance network) with the America First<sup>®</sup> “groyper”<sup>®</sup> movement.<sup>10,11</sup> The ongoing convergence of the far-right white nationalist movement and RTCs was further demonstrated through the increase in hostility toward abortion-rights advocates on social media sites in the run-up to and aftermath of the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* decision that overturned *Roe v. Wade*.<sup>12</sup> Much of the interaction between far-right white nationalists and RTCs takes place online, and adherents of RTCs and other far-right white nationalist groups frequently share language and symbolism, such as crusader references or anti-Semitic discourses.

(U//FOUO) This is the first FBI Richmond domain product to focus on the interest of RMVEs in the RTC movement. A search of FBI databases indicated this is also the first FBI finished intelligence product to specifically address this environmental variable.

## (U) Outlook

(U//FOUO) FBI Richmond assesses RMVE interest in RTCs is likely to increase over the next 12 to 24 months in the run-up to the next general election cycle complicating the overall RMVE threat picture while also creating new opportunities for mitigation efforts. This assessment is made in light of the ongoing polarization characterizing the US political environment and the probability that policy issues of mutual interest to RMVEs and RTC adherents will remain in the public spotlight. Catalyzing events in which RMVEs and RTC adherents might have common cause include legislation or judicial decisions in areas such as abortion rights,<sup>h</sup> immigration, affirmative action, and LGBTQ protections. During this same 12 to 24 month period, the overall RTC community is likely to remain relatively stable or show modest growth based on potential disaffection with mainline Catholic churches on social issues in the aforementioned areas, providing RMVEs a persistent Catholic-oriented base with which to interact.

(U//FOUO) Ultimately, there may be limits to the level of engagement between RTCs and other far-right white nationalists. For example, many RTCs consider other forms of Christianity to be heretical and an over-emphasis on white US nationalism may be off-putting to RTCs of different ethnicities and countries of origin. Conversely, deep-seated anti-Catholicism remains a characteristic of many far-right white nationalists. Nonetheless, the current trend of RMVE interest in RTC ideology provides new opportunities to mitigate the RMVE threat through outreach to traditionalist Catholic parishes<sup>i</sup> and the development of sources with the placement

<sup>9</sup> (U) The term “groyper” refers to followers of Nick Fuentes’s alt-right “America First” movement, which is characterized by its white Christian nationalism platform.

<sup>h</sup> (U) Analyst Note: Currently, Virginia bans abortion after 26 weeks, 6 days, unless performed by a licensed physician in a licensed hospital with three physicians certifying that the continuation of the pregnancy will result in death of the pregnant person or impair their mental or physical health. According to open source reporting, in the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, Virginia Governor Youngkin has called on state legislators to enact restrictions that would ban abortions in Virginia after 15 weeks.

<sup>i</sup> (U) According to official websites for the respective organizations, there are both SSPX and FSSP houses of worship in the FBI Richmond AOR. There are no formally recognized SSPX-MC or SSPV houses of worship in the FBI Richmond AOR.

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and access to report on RMVEs seeking to use RTC social media sites or places of worship as facilitation platforms to promote violence.

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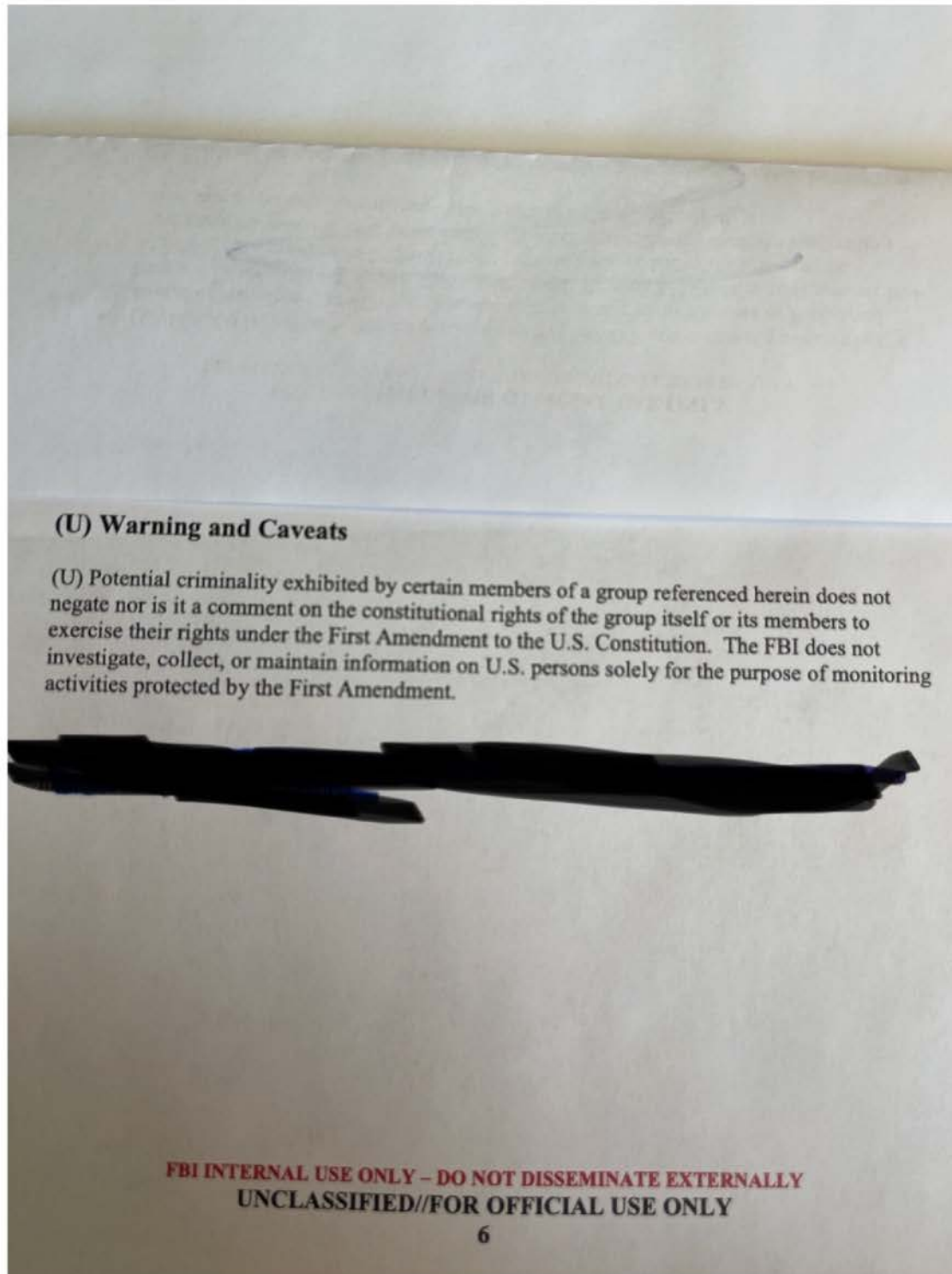
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## (U) Appendix D: Southern Poverty Law Center-Defined RTC Hate Groups in the United States

(U) Following are the nine RTC hate groups operating in the United States in 2021 as defined by the Southern Policy Law Center, followed by the location of their organizational headquarters.

- (U) Catholic Apologetics International (Greencastle, Pennsylvania)
- (U) Catholic Family News/Catholic Family Ministries, Inc. (Niagara Falls, New York)
- (U) Christ or Chaos (Corsicana, Texas)
- (U) Culture Wars/Fidelity Press (South Bend, Indiana)
- (U) The Fatima Crusader/International Fatima Rosary Crusade (Buffalo, New York)
- (U) In the Spirit of Chartres Committee (Glenelg, Maryland)
- (U) The Remnant/The Remnant Press (Forest Lake, Minnesota)
- (U) Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Town of Richmond, New Hampshire)
- (U) Tradition in Action (Los Angeles, California)

Source: (U) Website | Southern Poverty Law Center | "Radical Traditional Catholicism" | <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/radical-traditional-catholicism> | Accessed on 12 December 2022.

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## (U) Endnotes

- <sup>9</sup> (U) Website | Southern Poverty Law Center | "Radical Traditional Catholicism" | <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/radical-traditional-catholicism> | Accessed on 12 December 2022.
- <sup>10</sup> (U) Website | Salon | "White Nationalists Get Religion: On the Far-Right Fringe, a Catholics and Rascists Forge a Movement" | 12 May 2022 | <https://www.salon.com/2022/05/12/nationalists-get-religion-on-the-far-right-fringe-catholics-and-forge-a-movement/> | Accessed on 5 December 2022.
- <sup>11</sup> (U) Website | Salon | "Traditional" Catholics and White Nationalist "Groypers" Forge a New Far-Right Youth Movement" | 13 May 2022 | <https://www.salon.com/2022/05/13/trad-catholics-and-nationalist-groypers-forge-a-new-far-right-youth-movement/> | Accessed on 5 December 2022.
- <sup>12</sup> (U) Website | The Atlantic | "How Extremist Gun Culture is Trying to Co-opt the Rosary" | 14 August 2022 | <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/08/radical-traditionalist-catholic-christian-rosary-weapon/671122/> | Accessed on 5 December 2022.

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# COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

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February 10, 2023

The Honorable Merrick B. Garland  
Attorney General  
United States Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20530

The Honorable Christopher Wray  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20535

### **Via Email and U.S. Mail**

Re: Federal Bureau of Investigation Infiltrating Catholic Congregations

Dear Attorney General Garland and Director Wray:

We are the chief legal officers of our respective States charged not only with enforcing the law, but also with securing the civil rights of our citizens. We write with outrage and alarm to address the anti-Catholic internal memorandum produced by the FBI's Richmond Field Office on January 23, 2023, which was released to the public this week.<sup>1</sup> The FBI must immediately and unequivocally order agency personnel not to target Americans based on their religious beliefs and practices. We also demand that the FBI produce publicly all materials relating to the memorandum and its production.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in . . . religion."<sup>2</sup> This country was founded on the right of all people to worship in the church, mosque, or synagogue of their choice, free from government

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<sup>1</sup> FBI, *Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists in Radical-Traditionalist Catholic Ideology Almost Certainly Presents New Mitigation Opportunities*, reprinted in Kyle Seraphin, *The FBI Doubles Down on Christians and White Supremacy in 2023*, UncoverDC (Feb. 8, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/3fdb69ha>.

<sup>2</sup> *West Virginia State Bd. of Educ. v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624, 642 (1943).



interference. Countless millions were drawn to our country because of that very right. Indeed, some of our first States were founded as safe havens for religious dissenters. There is no right more sacred to American democracy than the right to worship freely.

We are horrified to learn that at least one field office of the FBI apparently does not agree with this proposition. Anti-Catholic bigotry appears to be festering in the FBI, and the Bureau is treating Catholics as potential terrorists because of their beliefs.

On Wednesday, the public learned of an internal memorandum produced by the FBI's Richmond Field Office.<sup>3</sup> The memorandum identifies "radical-traditionalist Catholic[s]" as potential "racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists."<sup>4</sup> The memorandum deploys alarmingly detailed theological distinctions to distinguish between the Catholics whom the FBI deems acceptable, and those it does not. Among those beliefs which distinguish the bad Catholics from the good ones are a preference for "the Traditional Latin Mass and pre-Vatican II teachings," and adherence to traditional Catholic teachings on sex and marriage (which the memorandum glibly describes as "anti-LGBTQ").<sup>5</sup> The memorandum even appears to accuse the Supreme Court and the Governor of Virginia of "[c]atalyzing" the bad Catholics through "legislation or judicial decisions in areas such as abortion rights, immigration, affirmative action, and LGBTQ protections," singling out the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*<sup>6</sup> and Governor Youngkin's support for sensible abortion regulations as examples.<sup>7</sup>

After defining which Catholics are the dangerous ones, the memorandum proposes dealing with those Catholics through "the development of sources with access," including in "places of worship."<sup>8</sup> In other words, the memorandum proposes recruiting Catholics to enter a sacred house of worship, talk to their fellow Catholics, and report those conversations back to the FBI so that the federal government can keep tabs on the bad Catholics. To allocate these "sources," the document includes an appendix with a list of Catholic "hate groups" that was assembled by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC),<sup>9</sup> apparently without any independent vetting from the FBI.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists*, *supra* note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> 142 S. Ct. 2228 (2022).

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Myah Ward, *Youngkin will pursue 15-week abortion ban in Virginia*, Politico (June 24, 2022), [tinyurl.com/yckykeus](https://tinyurl.com/yckykeus).

<sup>8</sup> *Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists*, *supra* note 1.

<sup>9</sup> The memorandum's reliance on the SPLC is particularly disappointing, given that the SPLC has been utterly discredited as a reliable source. Its founder is said to have "viewed civil-rights work mainly as a marketing tool for bilking gullible Northern liberals," and former staffers have confessed that the SPLC has been "ripping off its donors" by failing to "live[] up to the values it espoused." Bob Moser, *The Reckoning of Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center*, New Yorker (Mar. 21, 2019), <https://tinyurl.com/ht6nkfn2>. It should come as no surprise, then, that even the mainstream media has begun to call into question the SPLC's mission and methods. See, e.g., David Montgomery, *Is the Southern Poverty Law Center Judging Hate Fairly?*, The Washington Post (Nov. 8, 2018), <https://tinyurl.com/mwcj6vuz>; Ben Schreckinger, *Has a Civil Rights Stalwart Lost Its Way?*, Politico (June 28, 2017), <https://tinyurl.com/y7zfmxsu>. Indeed, the FBI at one time recognized this reality, having reportedly dropped the SPLC as a hate-crimes resource in 2014. Valerie Richardson, *FBI, Southern Poverty Law Center partnership alarms conservatives*, AP News (July 30, 2018), <https://tinyurl.com/yckkpt77>.

<sup>10</sup> *Interest of Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremists*, *supra* note 1.

After the American public learned of the memorandum, the Bureau apparently emailed a smattering of reporters to inform them that “FBI Headquarters quickly began taking action to remove the document from FBI systems and conduct a review of the basis for the document.”<sup>11</sup> The Bureau’s “action” occurred only in response to public outrage over the memorandum, which the FBI never intended the public to see at all. Had the memorandum not been revealed to the public, it might well still be an intelligence product available to the Bureau.

Suffice to say we are not persuaded by the FBI’s damage-control efforts. The FBI’s scrubbing of the document from its systems and the purported “review” of the process that created it in no way reassures us that this memorandum does not reflect a broader program of secretive surveillance of American Catholics or other religious adherents, and infiltration of their houses of worship. It assures us only that the FBI is embarrassed at the public revelation of the memorandum’s contents.

The memorandum’s targeting of Catholics because they prefer to pray in the ancient liturgical language of the Church, and the tactics it proposes for dealing with those Catholics, harkens back to some of the worst chapters of our past. This country has a sordid history of discrimination against Catholics. An entire political party, the Know Nothings, “formed in the 1850s to decrease the political influence of immigrants and Catholics”—groups that were often interchangeable given the rise of German and Irish immigration in the mid-19th century—and gained “hundreds of seats in Federal and State Government.”<sup>12</sup> A few decades later, in the 1870s, our Constitution was nearly amended to prohibit States from aiding “sectarian” schools.<sup>13</sup> It was an “open secret” that “‘sectarian’ was code for ‘Catholic.’”<sup>14</sup> This amendment was “born of bigotry” and “arose at a time of pervasive hostility to the Catholic Church and to Catholics in general.”<sup>15</sup> When the federal amendment failed, dozens of States adopted these amendments in their own constitutions.<sup>16</sup> And this discrimination did not end in the nineteenth century. Just a few decades ago the Ku Klux Klan—more infamous for its vicious campaign of wanton violence against Black Americans in the South—also targeted religious minorities such as Jews and Catholics.<sup>17</sup>

The targeting of Catholics for treatment as “violent extremists” because of the language in which they pray or because of the beliefs to which they subscribe is unacceptable, unconstitutional, and deeply un-American. It is particularly concerning that this memorandum originated in Virginia. Virginia is the birthplace of religious freedom in America and has a proud history of protecting the right to worship free from government interference or intimidation. Shortly after Independence, Virginia enacted Thomas Jefferson’s “Bill for establishing religious freedom” which decreed that “no man shall be . . . restrained, molested or burdened . . . or shall otherwise

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<sup>11</sup> Brittany Bernstein, *FBI Retracts Memo on “Radical Traditionalist Catholic Ideology,” Says It Failed to Meet Bureau Standards*, National Review (Feb. 9, 2023), [tinyurl.com/2kz3jxkd](https://tinyurl.com/2kz3jxkd).

<sup>12</sup> *Espinoza v. Montana Dep’t of Rev.*, 140 S. Ct. 2246, 2269 (2020) (Alito, J., concurring).

<sup>13</sup> See *Espinoza*, 140 S. Ct. at 2259.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* (cleaned up).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* (cleaned up).

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* at 2268–69 (Alito, J., concurring).

<sup>17</sup> Josh Zeitz, *When America Hated Catholics*, Politico (Sept. 23, 2015), <https://tinyurl.com/7xuuwpwy>.

suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief.”<sup>18</sup> When the former colonies came together to draft the Bill of Rights, they included first and foremost that the new federal government could “make no law” which “prohibit[ed] [the] free exercise” of religion.<sup>19</sup> That foundational protection of those beliefs nearest and dearest to persons of faith extends to all sincere beliefs, whether or not those beliefs may be considered “acceptable.”<sup>20</sup>

The un-American and unconstitutional memorandum alarms us for three additional reasons. First, it is part of a dangerous tendency in the FBI and DOJ to label those who hold views contrary to the Administration as violent extremists or terrorists. In October 2021, Attorney General Garland directed the FBI to “address[] threats” to school boards and administrators posed by parents and guardians protesting school board meetings, labeling those protests as “run[ning] counter to our nation’s core values.”<sup>21</sup> The weaponization of the DOJ and FBI to suppress political and religious views inconsistent with the Administration’s orthodoxy is an alarming trend that must be immediately curtailed.

Second, spying on Catholics in their churches and cathedrals is an absurd use of federal law-enforcement and counterintelligence resources. Every day, lethal amounts of fentanyl cross the southwestern land border unimpeded.<sup>22</sup> The Russian government successfully hacked software used by federal agencies and conducted an unprecedented espionage operation against the United States.<sup>23</sup> And a Chinese spy balloon recently crossed the entire continental expanse of the United States unmolested.<sup>24</sup> The Administration should focus its resources on addressing these real and ongoing threats to Americans, rather than labeling traditional Catholics as violent extremists and recruiting “sources” to spy on them.

Finally, we are particularly alarmed by the memorandum’s suggestion that FBI operatives should be developing “sources with access,” including in “places of worship,” to identify the bad Catholics. The FBI has been down this road before, having infiltrated countless mosques throughout the country in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.<sup>25</sup> The FBI

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<sup>18</sup> *Report of the Committee of Revisors Appointed by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1777* 58 (1784).

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Const. amend. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah*, 508 U.S. 520, 531 (1993).

<sup>21</sup> Letter from the Attorney General to the Director of the FBI, *et al.* (Oct. 4, 2021), available at [tinyurl.com/57y267kh](https://tinyurl.com/57y267kh); Ariana Figueroa, *U.S. Attorney General Defends FBI Probe of Threats Against School Board Members*, *Virginia Mercury* (Oct. 28, 2021), <https://tinyurl.com/bdzf5wjw>.

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Attorney’s Office for the S.D. Cal., *Fentanyl Seizures at Border Continue to Spike, Making San Diego a National Epicenter for Fentanyl Trafficking; U.S. Attorney’s Office Prioritizes Prosecutions and Prevention Programs* (Aug. 11, 2022), <https://tinyurl.com/2p9x3p63>.

<sup>23</sup> Government Accountability Office, *SolarWinds Cyberattack Demands Significant Federal and Private-Sector Response* (Apr. 22, 2021), <https://tinyurl.com/2s4xec8c>; Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency, *Emergency Directive 21-01 – Mitigate Solarwinds Orion Code Compromise* (Dec. 13, 2020), <https://tinyurl.com/27vfnpjd>.

<sup>24</sup> Katie Bo Lillis, *et al.*, *Initial Classified Balloon Report Wasn’t Flagged as Urgent, Drawing Criticism*, *CNN* (Feb. 8, 2023), <https://tinyurl.com/dnsme2rm>.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Sabrina Alimahomed-Wilson, *When the FBI Knocks: Racialized State Surveillance of Muslims*, 45 *Critical Sociology* 871 (2019), available at <https://tinyurl.com/2p84jvkc>.



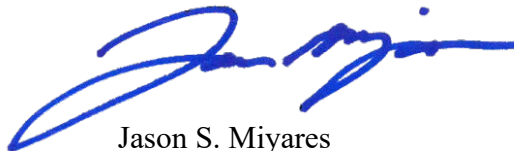
disavowed this ignominious practice in 2008,<sup>26</sup> and revised its internal guidelines in 2010<sup>27</sup> and 2013<sup>28</sup> to prevent its operatives from callously disregarding the religious liberty of American citizens. It would be very concerning indeed if the FBI had revived this practice against American Catholics or, worse, if it had never shut down the program in the first place.

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DOJ and the FBI must desist from investigating and surveilling Americans who have done nothing more than exercise their natural and constitutional right to practice their religion in a manner of their choosing. And they should reveal to the American public the extent to which they have engaged in such activities. We will take all lawful and appropriate means to protect the rights of our constituents as guaranteed by our Constitution.

To that end, we request that you respond to this letter by: (1) producing the full, unredacted January 23, 2023 FBI report to the undersigned Attorneys General; (2) producing any and all documentation used in drafting the report; (3) producing any and all documents implementing the report's recommendations or interpreting the report's conclusions; (4) providing a representative to present to the undersigned Attorneys General or their delegates a full and complete briefing of the process by which the report was drafted, an explanation of its conclusions, and the effect that is likely to be experienced by the Catholic populations of the undersigned's States, and what efforts, if any, have been taken to ensure that the memorandum's recommendations have not been, and will not be, implemented; and (5) providing information on whether the FBI has been adhering to its guidelines restricting the use of operatives to infiltrate houses of worship and if not, providing an explanation as to the extent of those activities and their constitutionality.

Sincerely,



Jason S. Miyares  
Attorney General of Virginia

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<sup>26</sup> FBI Response to Allegations of Mosque Surveillance and Monitoring of the Muslim Community (May 30, 2008), <https://tinyurl.com/4pcfj6b> (“The FBI does not monitor the lawful activities of individuals in the United States, nor does the FBI have a surveillance program to monitor the constitutionally protected activities of houses of worship. We do not target or monitor legal activity of Muslim groups anywhere in the nation.”).

<sup>27</sup> FBI, Corporate Policy Directive (Dec. 23, 2010), *available at* <https://tinyurl.com/33p5mvh6> (outreach personnel “must operate with honesty and transparency” for the sake of “developing trust and confidence”).

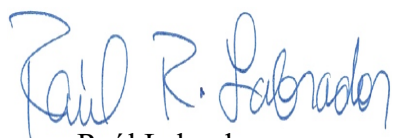
<sup>28</sup> FBI, Community Outreach in Field Offices Corporate Policy Directive and Policy Implementation Guide (Mar. 4, 2013), *available at* <https://tinyurl.com/4b82en48> (requiring officers to maintain “appropriate separation of operational and outreach efforts”).



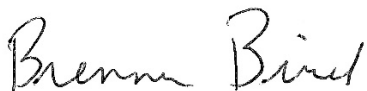
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CC: The Honorable Jim Jordan  
Chairman, Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government  
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**February 20, 2023**