



Council on American-Islamic Relations
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May 24, 2022

Director Christopher Wray
FBI Headquarters
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
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Director Wray:

As our nation grapples with polarization often built on hateful, conspiracy driven ideologies such as the so-called Great Replacement theory, we write to urge you to remove from positions of public trust those within your agency who ally themselves with hate movements. We write of our specific concerns regarding Tonya Ugoretz, who [you recently named](#) to lead the Directorate of Intelligence.

Ugoretz is an alumna of Daniel Pipes' anti-Islam hate group, the [Middle East Forum \(MEF\)](#). The Southern Poverty Law Center says Pipes, "has [made a career of attacking Muslims](#)." In a May 20, 2022, Tweet, Pipes praised Ugoretz, [noting their lengthy thought partnership](#). In his Tweet, Pipes reports that Ugoretz was "managing editor" of his Middle East Quarterly in "1994-1997." He also provides an example of a Wall Street Journal article they co-authored. In a 1990 article for the National Review, [Pipes referred](#) to Muslims as "brown-skinned peoples cooking strange foods and maintaining different standards of hygiene."

Pipes' racist quote was public, in a major national outlet and Ugoretz elected to partner with him. Georgetown University's Bridge Initiative identifies Middle East Forum as a "[a right-wing anti-Islam think tank](#)." In 2003, Pipes wrote favorably of the U.S. internment of American citizens of Japanese descent during WWII. This racist act, not similarly imposed on Americans of German descent, is viewed by many as more reflective of race issues than national security. The Initiative also reports, "Pipes and the MEF were [cited numerous times](#) in Anders Breivik's [manifesto](#) detailing the far-right mass murderer's motivations for his [July 2011 attack](#) that resulted in the death of more than 70 Norwegians." In 2012, [Pipes advanced the false narrative](#) the former President Obama was raised a Muslim.

Your decision to elevate Ugoretz raises several reasonable questions:

1. Was the Bureau previously aware of Ugoretz's work for an anti-Islam think tank?
2. How does the decision to promote Ugoretz not indicate that association with the anti-Islam hate movement remains acceptable within your agency?
3. How can the public trust any assessment emerging from Ugoretz's Intelligence Directorate after she partnered with Pipes?
4. Has she engaged in any professional communication with Middle East Forum representatives during her FBI tenure?

By the mid-2000's, journalist Spencer Ackerman detailed how the Bureau was [infected with anti-Islam training materials](#). After Ackerman's revelations, the Bureau correctly moved to remove such training materials.

Naming Ugoretz to such an important role, after a series of promotions, points to the systemic issues the FBI has regarding its relationship with hate movements. We look forward to either learning of her repudiation of Middle East Forum or your swift, decisive, and public action to ensure racism and bigotry are not uplifted by your agency.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Robert S. McCaw". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "M" and "C".

Robert S. McCaw

CAIR Director of Government Affairs Department