



Mainstreaming Hate

The Far-Right Fringe Origins of Islamophobic and Anti-Refugee Politics

Policy Brief by J. Dana Stuster and Samuel Davidoff-Gore
December 3, 2015

On November 13, 2015, armed gunmen and suicide bombers affiliated with the Islamic State attacked sites across Paris, killing 130 people. Investigators believe the attacks were planned by radicalized Belgian national Abdelhamid Abaaoud and perpetrated mostly by French and Belgian citizens, possibly assisted by two Syrians who entered Europe posing as refugees. Their victims included people of diverse nationalities and faiths.¹

Since then, politicians have seized on reports of participation in the attacks by alleged Syrian refugees to impugn U.S. efforts to resettle 10,000 refugees displaced by the Islamic State and the violence of the Syrian civil war – a relatively small number of refugees in relation to the overall number of people displaced from Syria and the burden on other nations accepting Syrian refugees. These political attacks are irrational and disconnected from events. They ignore key facts, most importantly the drastic differences between the relatively unchecked refugee flow into Europe and the thorough and time-intensive vetting process involved in the U.S. resettlement program. Some Republican presidential candidates have gone further and proposed measures that would circumscribe the rights of Muslim-Americans that are protected by the First Amendment.

The current political climate is the culmination of a years-long and well-funded effort to bring Islamophobia and xenophobia from the far-right fringe to the political mainstream. This rhetoric and legislation has a direct lineage stemming from a network of hate groups and conspiracy theorists. The legitimization of these extremists' views in the political discourse is an irresponsible denigration of American democracy.

The Normalization of Hate

In the aftermath of the Paris attacks, the political response has ignored the facts of the situation and appropriated rhetoric once limited to far-right fringe organizations and hate groups. The ideas now espoused by mainstream politicians, including leading GOP presidential contenders, have a direct ideological lineage to anti-Muslim extremists who believe that Muslims are enacting a coordinated plan to subvert the American political system, something they refer to as “civilization jihad.”

The Republican Party has grappled with anti-Muslim extremists in their ranks before – notably Rep. Allen West (R-FL) and Rep. Michelle Bachmann (R-MN), both of whom have since left office – but has taken steps at the institutional level to limit their influence. In 2011, the Conservative Political Action Committee (CPAC) declined to invite anti-Muslim activist Frank Gaffney Jr. to its annual convention and Gaffney accused CPAC board member Grover Norquist of being an agent of the Muslim Brotherhood.² The last Republican presidential candidate, Mitt Romney, rebuked Islamophobic statements from members of his party, and after his defeat in the 2012 election, the Republican National Committee issued a report on their new “Growth and Opportunity Project” (dubbed the “Republican Autopsy Report” by the *New York Times*’ Tom Edsall), which called for more inclusive policies to combat the perception that “many minorities wrongly think that Republicans do not like them or want them in the country.”³

However, politicians belonging to the Republicans’ Tea Party insurgency have maintained a mutually-reinforcing relationship with the bigots at the fringe of their party. Presidential candidate Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) in particular has given these groups access to Congress, headlining the “Uninvited II” conference established by groups from which CPAC has distanced itself.⁴ And last year, Gaffney was not only back at CPAC, but his organization, the Center for Security Policy, was listed as a contributing sponsor of the event.⁵ The Republican establishment has apparently given up trying to ostracize Gaffney and his ilk, and in September, the Center for Security Policy co-sponsored a Capitol Hill rally protesting the Iran nuclear agreement, featuring Cruz, Donald Trump, and former Gov. Sarah Palin.⁶

In recent weeks, the political rhetoric fostered by these fringe groups has migrated to mainstream political debates. Republican presidential candidate Dr. Ben Carson

dehumanized Syrian refugees, comparing them to “rabid dogs,” as did candidate Mike Huckabee, who compared them to tainted meat.⁷ Campaign frontrunner Donald Trump suggested tracking all Muslims in the United States via a national database or issuing “a special form of identification that noted their religion.”⁸ Other candidates voiced support for halting the U.S. Syrian refugee resettlement program in its entirety or proposed discriminating against Muslim refugees.⁹ At least 30 governors, including one Democrat, issued statements claiming that they would not allow refugees to be resettled in their states – a move that is likely unconstitutional – and others said they would take action to remove or monitor refugees that have already been placed in their states.¹⁰ A Virginia mayor compared Syrian refugees to Japanese-Americans placed in internment camps and suggested that similar action would constitute a legitimate response, failing to recognize that the internment was a stain on U.S. history that President Reagan called “a grave wrong” that required the United States to “reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law.”¹¹

‘Civilization Jihad’

Anti-Muslim extremist groups’ most insidious – and outlandish – claim, which contextualizes much of the Islamophobic rhetoric currently being popularized, is their narrative that Muslims are waging a “civilization jihad” against the West. This assertion stems from a single document, a memorandum written by a Muslim Brotherhood activist in 1991.¹² Despite the absence of supporting evidence of a conspiracy, anti-Muslim groups have seized on this narrative to promote legal action that would target Muslim-Americans and circumscribe their rights.

“The civilization jihadists do a better job of blending in and are subverting our culture from within,” a recent Center for Security Policy report states.¹³ “They are part of the same enemy [as the Islamic State and other terrorist groups] and even more insidious as they do not proclaim their goals openly.” The report calls on the United States to issue “a Declaration of War” against what it terms the “Global Jihad Movement,” and suggests that the government target Muslims – implicitly including U.S. citizens – with “intelligence operations,” “diplomatic initiatives,” “economic policy,” and “lawfare.”¹⁴ Other proponents of this far-right fringe have proposed stripping Muslim-Americans of their constitutional rights. As documented in the Center for American Progress’ reports on the Islamophobia network in America, a number of these propagandists have

asserted that Islam is not a religion, but a “political ideology” and “therefore not protected by the First Amendment.”¹⁵

The Gatestone Institute – “an international policy council and think tank” with Amb. John Bolton as its chairman – has been direct in its fear-mongering about “civilization jihad.” Gatestone has repeatedly warned of the influx of refugees in Europe, calling it a “Muslim invasion” of “illegal migrants” that will increase crime, bankrupt governments by exhausting social welfare programs, and undermine European culture. “A project to overwhelm Europe by a huge wave of migration was already described by the Islamic State,” Gatestone’s Guy Millière wrote in October.¹⁶ “It is hard to rule out that the Islamic State plays a role in what is happening.”

Gatestone’s reports frequently single out Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán for praise.¹⁷ But Orbán’s rhetoric is as conspiratorial and extreme as the fantasies of the U.S. far-right. “I am not brave enough to speak about this in public with certainty, but you cannot get around imagining that some kind of master plan is behind this,” Orbán told press in November, claiming that his paranoia was supported by the work of “the European left and radical American democrats.” Orbán speculated that the influx of refugees was a leftist plot to import liberal voters, stating that “all indications and experience suggest that the overwhelming majority of these migrants will vote for the left once they become citizens, so future leftist voters are being imported to Europe.”¹⁸ He was more direct in a party speech in which he claimed that “the European left...actually import[s] future leftist voters to Europe hiding behind humanism.”¹⁹

While Gatestone reports frequently point to the supposed threat of terrorism from Syrian refugees, some are even more transparent in their Islamophobia – for instance, a recent article that breathlessly states that the “surge in Germany’s Muslim population represents a demographic shift of epic proportions, one that will change the face of Germany forever.”²⁰ This claim that Muslim refugees will dilute Western European culture has also been accepted by mainstream conservative publications, including the *Weekly Standard* and *National Review*.²¹ And after the Paris attacks, Rep. Steve King (R-IA) cited this narrative in a House Judiciary Committee hearing, in which he told his colleagues that by resettling Syrian refugees in the United States, “We are [committing] slow-motion cultural suicide in America; slow-motion, a generation behind Europe.”²²

Refugees as a 'Trojan Horse'

A vital component of the “civilization jihad” narrative is the metaphor of refugees as a “Trojan horse” entering Europe or the United States with sinister intent. This metaphor has been fostered by the Islamophobia industry for years, including before the Syrian civil war. The metaphor was advanced by activist-blogger Robert Spencer, who claimed that Muslim extremists had infiltrated the U.S. military and Congress.²³ The Southern Poverty Law Center describes Spencer as “one of America’s most prolific and vociferous anti-Muslim activists.”²⁴ His views are so vitriolic that he was frequently cited by Norwegian nativist terrorist Anders Behring Breivik in his manifesto explaining his 2011 rampage, and in 2013, the British government barred Spencer from entering the country because his hate speech could be an incitement to violence.²⁵ The “Trojan horse” narrative was further promoted in the 2009 book *Modern Day Trojan Horse: Al-Hijrah, the Islamic Doctrine of Immigration, Accepting Freedom or Imposing Islam?*, published by Advancing Native Missions, a Christian evangelical organization, which asserted that Muslim immigration to Europe was part of a coordinated effort to “Islamize” Europe based on Islamic theology.²⁶

Though this rhetoric originated among hate groups and propagandists, it has now been adopted by American politicians. These politicians are using language once limited to the far-right fringe to dehumanize Muslims and propose unconstitutional measures that would restrict Muslim-Americans’ freedoms of speech, religion, and assembly. Republican presidential candidates have compared Syrian refugees to rabid dogs and tainted meat.²⁷ Frontrunner Donald Trump has adopted the Trojan horse metaphor explicitly, as have mainstream conservative publications including England’s *Daily Mail* and Washington, DC’s *Washington Times*.²⁸ Even more dangerous than this slide toward extremist rhetoric has been presidential candidates’ discussion of undermining First Amendment protections for American Muslims. Sen. Marco Rubio (R-FL) suggested that he’d be willing to close places suspected as sites of radicalization. “I think it’s not about closing down mosques,” he told Fox News’ Megyn Kelly.²⁹ “It’s about closing down any place, whether it’s a cafe, a diner, an internet site, any place where radicals are being inspired.” Trump was more direct, telling Fox News that the United States has “absolutely no choice” but to close mosques. “Nobody wants to say this and nobody wants to shut down religious institutions or anything, but you know, you understand it. A lot of people understand it,” Trump said of violating the First Amendment.³⁰

This reactionary xenophobia is not limited to rhetoric. Conservative politicians have hastily introduced a rash of legislation – much of which is likely unconstitutional – that fundamentally confuses the victims of terror with its perpetrators and denigrates the Muslim and broader refugee population in the United States and abroad.³¹ The U.S. House of Representatives quickly passed legislation introduced by Rep. Michael McCaul (R-TX) that would place onerous new burdens on the vetting process for Syrian refugees, effectively halting the U.S. resettlement effort. Other proposed bills would suspend or defund refugee resettlement directly, or discriminate among refugees on the basis of religion.³² Still other legislation would codify governors' ability to refuse the resettlement of refugees in their states.³³

The first target of this surge in Islamophobia has been the Syrian refugee resettlement program, which has been identified by reactionary politicians as an easy target despite the facts that the Paris attacks were planned by European nationals and that the entry of refugees into Europe is not analogous to their entry into the United States. But with politicians raising the issue of closing mosques, it is clear that the migration of these fringe ideas into the mainstream political discourse could threaten the rights of Americans at home and the protections of the U.S. Constitution.

Irrational Response Disconnected from Events

The focus on U.S. resettlement of refugees in the political response to transnational terrorist attacks tied to the Islamic State is misplaced. To justify the reactionary focus on refugees, politicians have relied on a series of inaccurate assertions that do not withstand scrutiny.

Claim: “The FBI director himself said they can't vet these folks. The FBI director sat before Congress last week and said they cannot vet these folks.”³⁴

Fact: While FBI Director James Comey and Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson both voiced concerns about their ability to vet refugees given a lack of on the ground intelligence in Syria, neither stated that they could not vet them, rather, that it would be more difficult.³⁵ Such a lack of access to foreign records is not uncommon when vetting refugees – in fact, the vast amount of information available to the United States about Iraqi and Afghan refugees is an anomaly based on the large U.S. troop presence in those two countries.³⁶ The Syrian refugee resettlement process comprises 21 steps, which

include a variety of screening methods and built in redundancies.³⁷ If there are doubts about any individual, their application can be rejected.³⁸

Claim: “How so many of the people in the migration were strong young men. You look at them. I’m saying, Where are the women? Where are the children?”³⁹

Fact: While some politicians claim that the majority of Syrian refugees are military-age males, UNHCR statistics demonstrate that most are women and children.⁴⁰

Furthermore, because the United States prioritizes vulnerable persons for resettlement, only 2% of the refugees resettled in the United States are young men unattached to families.⁴¹ Mark Smith of World Vision and Michael Bowers of Mercy Corps have testified that there are more male Syrian refugees in Europe because they are being sent by their families to earn money to send back to their families, often to bring the rest of the family to Europe at a later date.⁴²

Claim: We should not resettle Syrian refugees in the United States; rather, they should stay in Middle Eastern countries so they can return to Syria once the war is over.⁴³

Fact: The United States only resettles the most vulnerable refugees, for many of whom a return to Syria would be impossible. These include families comprising mostly of widows, children, and the elderly, burn victims, trauma victims, and victims of torture.⁴⁴

Claim: Syrian refugees are a security threat to the United States.⁴⁵

Fact: There have been over 700,000 refugees resettled in the United States since September 11, 2001. Of those, only three have been arrested on terrorism-related charges, and of those three, none was connected to a credible threat of violence.⁴⁶ Of the approximately 2,000 Syrian refugees resettled in the United States since 2011, none has been arrested on charges of terrorism.⁴⁷ As terrorism analyst Peter Bergen testified before Congress recently, radicalized U.S. citizens pose a far greater threat of committing “jihadist criminal activity” than do refugees.⁴⁸

Fact: Leaving refugees in the Middle East, specifically in the crowded refugee communities in Jordan, Turkey, Iraq, and Lebanon, could pose a greater security threat than resettlement. The internally displaced camps in Iraq have been likened to “time bombs” on account of their ability to incubate radicalism.⁴⁹ Furthermore, by turning

away refugees, the United States reinforces the Islamic State's narrative that the United States is inhospitable to Muslims.

Conclusion

American politics has a long history of exploiting conspiratorial fears for electoral gain – what historian Richard Hofstadter described as “the paranoid style in American politics.” The current political climate is the latest chapter in this shameful tradition. Since the Paris attacks, U.S. politicians have capitalized on public ignorance to promote reactionary Islamophobic ideas for political gain. Many of these ideas and the rhetoric to which they are tied are rooted in the dubious work of far-right fringe groups. Their adoption by mainstream politicians is nothing short of the normalization of hate speech. It plays dangerously into the hands of the Islamic State and other terrorist groups that thrive on the alienation of Muslim populations in the West.⁵⁰ The promotion of anti-Muslim extremist narratives already threatens the U.S. effort to resettle Syrian refugees displaced by war and terrorism, a cruel abdication of American leadership and responsibility that confuses the victims of terrorism with its perpetrators. Left unchecked and unchallenged, these narratives also threaten constitutional protections – as presidential candidates have already tied these narratives to limitations on the free exercise of speech and religion.

¹ Rukmini Callimachi, Katrin Bennhold, and Laure Fourquet, “How the Paris Attackers Honed Their Assault through Trial and Error,” *New York Times*, November 30, 2015, Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/01/world/europe/how-the-paris-attackers-honed-their-assault-through-trial-and-error.html>

² Alex Seitz-Wald, “Exclusive: Frank Gaffney Was Barred From Participating In CPAC, So He Invented A Reason To ‘Boycott’ It,” *ThinkProgress*, February 15, 2011, Available at: <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2011/02/15/144098/frank-gaffney-banned-from-cpac/>

³ The report notably omitted any reference to Muslims or Arabs in its engagement strategy. “Growth & Opportunity Project,” Republican National Committee, March 2013, p. 4, Available at: http://goproject.gop.com/rnc_growth_opportunity_book_2013.pdf; Thomas B. Edsall, “The Republican Autopsy Report,” *New York Times*, March 20, 2013, Available at: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/20/the-republican-autopsy-report/>. For an instance of Mitt Romney pushing back on Islamophobic assertions, see “Republican Debate,” CNN, June 13, 2011, Available at: <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1106/13/se.02.html>

⁴ Pema Levy, “Insider Ted Cruz Embraces the Conservative Outcasts,” *Newsweek*, March 7, 2014, Available at: <http://www.newsweek.com/insider-ted-cruz-embraces-conservative-outcasts-231218>

⁵ “Hatewatch: Extremist Highlights from CPAC 2015,” Southern Poverty Law Center, March 5, 2015, Available at: <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/03/05/extremist-highlights-cpac-2015>; “CPAC 2015 Sponsors,” Conservative Political Action Conference, Available at: <http://cpac.conservative.org/cpac-2015-sponsors/>

⁶ Dean Obeidallah, "Trump Rallies Muslim Haters Against the Iran Deal," Daily Beast, September 3, 2015, Available at: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/09/03/trump-rallies-muslim-haters-against-the-iran-deal.html>

⁷ Bethania Palma Markus, "Mike Huckabee compares Syrian refugees to tainted Chipotle food in weird analogy about closing borders," Raw Story, November 17, 2015, Available at: <http://www.rawstory.com/2015/11/mike-huckabee-compares-syrian-refugees-to-tainted-chipotle-food-in-weird-analogy-about-closing-borders/>

⁸ Alan Yuhas, "Trump won't rule out special ID for Muslim Americans noting their religion," *Guardian*, November 20, 2015, Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/nov/19/donald-trump-muslim-americans-special-identification-tracking-mosques>

⁹ Thomas Kaplan and Wilson Andrews, "Presidential Candidates on Allowing Syrian Refugees in the United States," *New York Times*, November 17, 2015, Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/17/us/politics/presidential-candidates-on-syrian-refugees.html?_r=0

¹⁰ Arnie Seipel, "30 Governors Call For Halt To U.S. Resettlement Of Syrian Refugees," NPR, November 17, 2015, Available at: <http://www.npr.org/2015/11/17/456336432/more-governors-oppose-u-s-resettlement-of-syrian-refugees>; Steve Vladeck, "Three Thoughts on Refugee Resettlement Federalism," Lawfare, November 17, 2015, Available at: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/three-thoughts-refugee-resettlement-federalism>; Mark Niquette and Margaret Newkirk, "Governors Target Syrian Refugees Already Resettled in U.S.," Bloomberg, November 19, 2015, Available at: <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2015-11-19/republicans-target-syrian-refugees-already-resettled-in-u-s->

¹¹ The mayor, David Bowers, apologized two days later for his letter, stating that it is "just not in my heart to be racist or bigoted." Amber Phillips, "Virginia mayor cites Japanese internment camps (favorably) in making case for halting Syrian refugees. Really.," *Washington Post*, November 18, 2015, Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/11/18/the-mayor-of-roanoke-va-cited-japanese-internment-camps-favorably-in-make-case-for-halting-syrian-refugees-really/>; Ronald Reagan, "Remarks on Signing the Bill Providing Restitution for the Wartime Internment of Japanese-American Civilians," August 10, 1988, Available at: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1988/081088d.htm>

¹² Matthew Duss, Yasmine Taeb, Ken Gude, and Ken Sofer, "Fear, Inc. 2.0: The Islamophobia Network's Efforts to Manufacture Hate in America," Center for American Progress, February 2015, p. 8, Available at: <https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/FearInc-report2.11.pdf>

¹³ The report, published as an ebook and available via Amazon, frequently cites Wikipedia to support its dubious assertions. Its support for its paranoid claims would not receive a passing grade in an undergraduate college course, but has become the foundation for government policies. Jim Hanson, Brad Patty, and John Donovan, "Cut Down the Black Flag: A Plan to Defeat the Islamic State," Center for Security Policy, September 17, 2015.

¹⁴ Hanson, Patty, and Donovan, "Cut Down the Black Flag"

¹⁵ Duss, Taeb, Gude, and Sofer, "Fear, Inc. 2.0," p. 19

¹⁶ Guy Millière, "Muslim Invasion of Europe," Gatestone Institute, October 22, 2015, Available at: <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/6721/muslim-invasion-europe>

¹⁷ Millière, "Muslim Invasion of Europe;" Soeren Kern, "Germany: '20 Million Muslims by 2020,'" Gatestone Institute, November 1, 2015, Available at: <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/6793/germany-20-million-muslims>

¹⁸ "Hungary's Orbán suspects left-wing plot in migrant crisis," Reuters, November 12, 2015, Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/hungarys-Orban-suspects-left-wing-plot-migrant-crisis-102909260.html>

¹⁹ Viktor Orbán, "Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress," Government of Hungary, October 26, 2015, Available at: <http://www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/speech-of-viktor-Orban-at-the-epp-congress20151024>

²⁰ Kern, "Germany: '20 Million Muslims by 2020'"

²¹ Jean Kaufman, "Why Does Western Europe Seem So Determined to Commit Cultural Suicide?" *Weekly Standard*, October 5, 2015, Available at: http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/why-does-western-europe-seem-so-determined-commit-cultural-suicide_1041317.html; Victor Davis Hanson, "Western Cultural Suicide," May 29, 2013, *National Review*, Available at: <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/349447/western-cultural-suicide-victor-davis-hanson>

²² Rep. Steve King, "Syrian Refugees and National Security," Hearing before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security, November 19, 2015, Available at: <http://www.c-span.org/video/?400915-1/hearing-syrian-refugees-national-security>

²³ Hugh Fitzgerald, "Fitzgerald: Islam's Trojan Horse, and what to do about it," JihadWatch, October 11, 2007, Available at: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2007/10/fitzgerald-islams-trojan-horse-and-what-to-do-about-it>

²⁴ "Extremist Files: Robert Spencer," Southern Poverty Law Center, Available at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/robert-spencer>

²⁵ Scott Shane, "Killings in Norway Spotlight Anti-Muslim Thought in U.S." *New York Times*, July 24, 2015, Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/25/us/25debate.html?_r=0; "US bloggers banned from entering UK," BBC, June 26, 2013, Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-23064355>

²⁶ Sam Solomon and E. Al Maqdisi, *Modern Day Trojan Horse: Al-Hijra, The Islamic Doctrine of Immigration, Accepting Freedom or Imposing Islam?* Advancing Native Missions, 2009.

²⁷ Markus, "Mike Huckabee compares Syrian refugees to tainted Chipotle food"

²⁸ David Edwards, "Donald Trump: I'll bring back waterboarding to stop the Syrian refugee 'Trojan Horse,'" Raw Story, November 22, 2015, Available at: <http://www.rawstory.com/2015/11/donald-trump-ill-bring-back-waterboarding-to-stop-the-syrian-refugee-trojan-horse/>; Jack Crone, "ISIS plotting Trojan Horse campaign by smuggling militants into western Europe disguised as refugees," *Daily Mail*, October 6, 2014, Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2782625/ISIS-plotting-Trojan-Horse-campaign-smuggling-militants-western-Europe-disguised-refugees.html>; Monica Crowley, "The 'refugee' crisis is jihad by another name," *Washington Times*, November 18, 2015, Available at: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/nov/18/monica-crowley-the-radical-islamic-challenge-to-we/?page=all>

²⁹ Caitlin Macneal, "Rubio on Closing Mosques: We Should Close Any Place 'Where Radicals Are Being Inspired,'" Talking Points Memo, November 20, 2015, Available at: <http://talkingpointsmemo.com/livewire/marco-rubio-mosques-paris-attacks>

³⁰ Nick Gass, "Trump: 'Absolutely no choice' but to close mosques," Politico, November 18, 2015, Available at: <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/11/trump-close-mosques-216008>

³¹ Vladeck, "Three Thoughts on Refugee Resettlement Federalism"

³² Bills that would suspend the Syrian refugee resettlement program: HR 2284, 4033, 4048, S 2302; that would defund the resettlement program: HR 4025, 4031, 4044; that would defund assistance to resettled refugees: S. Amdt to HR 2577; that would discriminate among refugees on the basis of religion: HR 4017.

³³ Bills that would grant state governments authority refuse the resettlement of refugees in their states: HR 4078, 4030.

³⁴ Chris Christie, *State of the Union*, CNN, November 22, 2015, Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1511/22/sotu.01.html>

³⁵ "Worldwide Threats and Homeland Security Challenges," Hearing before the House Homeland Security Committee, October 21, 2015, Available at: <https://homeland.house.gov/hearing/worldwide-threats-and-homeland-security-challenges/>

³⁶ As Geoffrey Mock, the Syrian country specialist for Amnesty International USA, told PolitiFact, "We've also resettled thousands in recent years from the Central African Republic, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, all of which have faced similar terrorist threats and have unstable governments that present challenges for the vetting process. But we've done this successfully time and time again without incident." Linda Qiu, "Ben Carson: 'There is currently no ability to vet' Syrian refugees," PolitiFact, November 19, 2015, Available at: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2015/nov/19/ben-carson/ben-carson-there-currently-no-ability-vet-syrian-r/>; Hon. Leon Rodriguez, "The Impact of ISIS on the Homeland and Refugee Resettlement," Hearing before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs, November 19, 2015, Available at: <http://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/lessons-from-the-paris-terrorist-attacks-ramifications-for-the-homeland-and-refugee-resettlement>

³⁷ "Infographic: The Screening Process for Entry to the United States for Syrian Refugees," *Center for American Progress*, November 18, 2015, Available at: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2015/11/18/125812/infographic-the-screening->

[process-for-entry-to-the-united-states-for-syrian-refugees/](#); Rodriguez, “The Impact of ISIS on the Homeland and Refugee Resettlement”

³⁸ Anne C. Richard, “The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Its Impact on the Security of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program,” Hearing before the House Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Immigration and Border Security, November 19, 2015, Available at: <http://judiciary.house.gov/index.cfm/hearings?ID=3D0432C4-EDE8-478B-9EEE-7A5683D87359>

³⁹ Maya Rhodan, “Are Syrian Refugees All ‘Young, Strong Men’?” *TIME*, November 20, 2015, Available at: <http://time.com/4122186/syrian-refugees-donald-trump-young-men/>

⁴⁰ UNHCR, “Syria Regional Refugee Response,” November 17, 2015, Available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>.

⁴¹ Richard, “The Impact of ISIS on the Homeland and Refugee Resettlement”

⁴² “Examining the Syrian Humanitarian Crisis from the Ground (Part I),” House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, October 8, 2015, Available at:

<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-examining-syrian-humanitarian-crisis-ground-part-i>;

Anne C. Richard, “Examining the Syrian Humanitarian Crisis from the Ground (Part II),” Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, October 27, 2015, Available at:

<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-examining-syrian-humanitarian-crisis-ground-part-ii>;

Anne C. Richard, “Europe’s Refugee Crisis: How Should the US, EU, and OSCE Respond?” Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe: U.S. Helsinki Commission, October 20, 2015, Available at:

[http://www.csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewTranscript&ContentRecord_id=571&ContentTy](http://www.csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewTranscript&ContentRecord_id=571&ContentType=H,B&ContentRecordType=H)

[pe=H,B&ContentRecordType=H](http://www.csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewTranscript&ContentRecord_id=571&ContentTy)

⁴³ Eric Bradner and Ted Barrett, “Republicans to Obama: Keep Syrian Refugees Out,” CNN, November 16, 2015, Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/16/politics/republicans-syrian-refugees-2016-elections-obama/>

⁴⁴ Richard, “The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Its Impact on the Security of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program”

⁴⁵ Molly Hennessy-Fiske and Lisa Mascaro, “More than Half the Country’s Governors, Citing Security Concerns, Said They Would Refuse Syrian Refugees,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 16, 2015, Available at:

<http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-syrian-refugee-governors-20151116-story.html>

⁴⁶ Michelle Ye Hee Lee, “The viral claim that ‘not one’ refugee resettled since 9/11 has been ‘arrested on domestic terrorism charges,’” *Washington Post*, November 19, 2015, Available at:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/11/19/the-viral-claim-that-not-one-refugee-resettled-since-911-has-been-arrested-on-domestic-terrorism-charges/>

⁴⁷ Richard, “The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Its Impact on the Security of the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program”

⁴⁸ Peter Bergen, “The Impact of ISIS on the Homeland and Refugee Resettlement,” U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, November 19, 2015, Available at:

<http://www.hsgac.senate.gov/hearings/lessons-from-the-paris-terrorist-attacks-ramifications-for-the-homeland-and-refugee-resettlement>

⁴⁹ Nancy Lindborg, “Stopping Europe’s Refugee Crisis at the Source,” *Foreign Policy*, September 18, 2015, Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/18/stopping-europes-refugee-crisis-source-syria-iraq-aid/>

⁵⁰ Ken Gude, “Anti-Muslim Sentiment Is a Serious Threat to American Security,” Center for American Progress, November 25, 2015, Available at:

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/report/2015/11/25/126350/anti-muslim-sentiment-is-a-serious-threat-to-american-security/>