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COSTS OF **WAR**

***Creating Refugees:
Displacement Caused by the
United States' Post-9/11 Wars***

**David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz,
Helen Bush, Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup**



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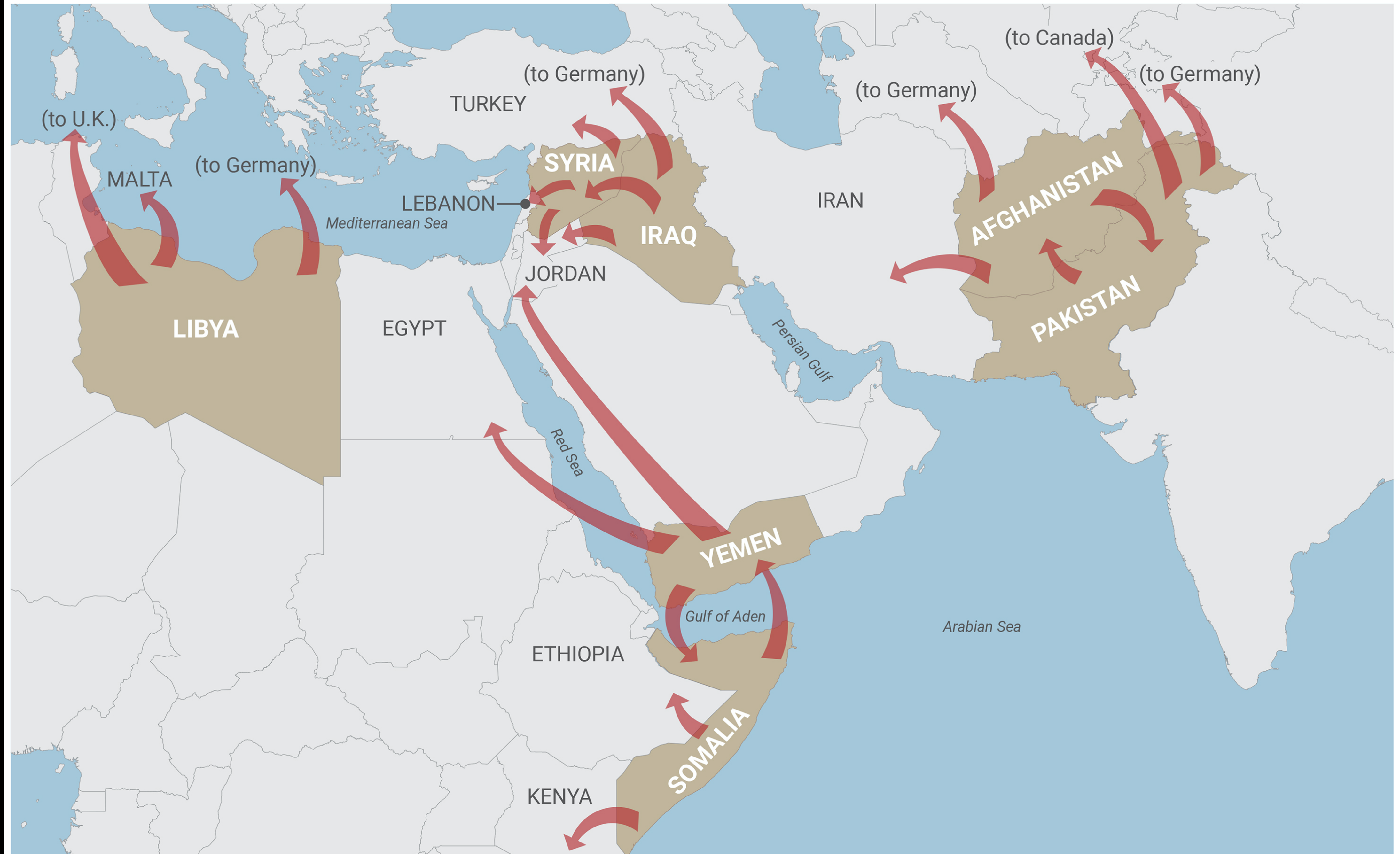
COSTS OF **WAR**

**Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury,
Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush,
Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup**

American University Public Anthropology Clinic

The U.S. post-9/11 wars have forced
at least **37 million people** to flee
their homes.

Arrows point to the top three countries where the most refugees and asylum seekers from each war-affected country have fled.
Arrows for Syria include all displaced Syrians, 2011-2019.



37 million
displaced





Aunt Rita





DIEGO GARCIA

...lled approximately 800 bases
 ...hington, D.C. The sheer
 ...recy and lack of transparency of
 ...y graphic depiction challenging.
 ...number and positioning
 Key sources: Department of
 ...scal Year 2014 Baseline";
 ...g and the Great Powers.







London

Atou Islands

Okinawa, Japan

Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Wake Island

Clark Air Base, Philippines

Guam

E • B • R • U • K • L

Republic of the Marshall Islands

Maldives

Seychelles

Mahé

Chagos Archipelago

Diego Garcia

(British Indian Ocean Territory (UK); claimed by Mauritius)

Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Australia

Aldabra
Comoros
Mayotte (France)

Madagascar

Agalega Islands (Mauritius)

Rodrigues (Mauritius)

Tromelin Islands (claimed by France and Mauritius)

Réunion (France)

Mauritius







Chagossian school, c. 1958

ACCOUNT





London

Okinawa, Japan

Clark Air Base, Philippines

Maldives

Seychelles

Aldabra
Comoros
Mayotte (France)

Madagascar

Agalega Islands (Mauritius)

Mahé

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COSTS OF **WAR**

770,000-801,000
direct combat deaths

**3.1-4 million +
w/ indirect deaths**

- **David Vine, *The United States of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State* (University of California Press, 2020)**



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COSTS OF **WAR**

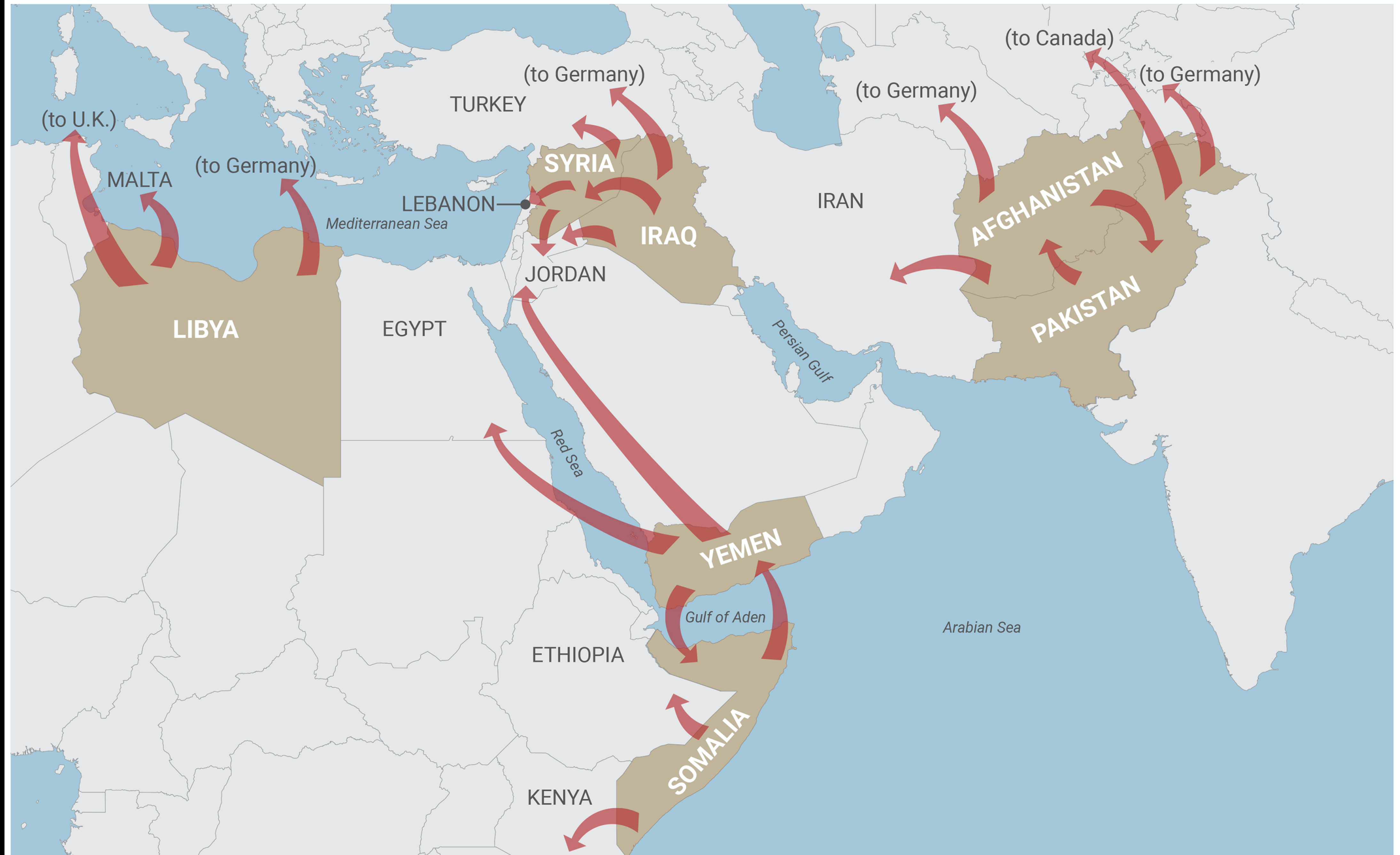
\$6.4 trillion
spent or obligated (10/2020)

The U.S. post-9/11 wars have forced
at least **37 million people** to flee
their homes.

“We are not suggesting the U.S. government or the United States as a country is solely responsible for the displacement.”

- “Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States’ Post-9/11 Wars” report, Costs of War Project

Arrows point to the top three countries where the most refugees and asylum seekers from each war-affected country have fled.
Arrows for Syria include all displaced Syrians, 2011-2019.



37 million
displaced

Table 1: Total Displacement

	<u>Refugees +Asylum Seekers</u>	<u>IDPs</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Pre-War Population</u>
AFGHANISTAN (2001–)	2,083,126	3,218,827	5,301,953	26
PAKISTAN (2001–)	360,643	3,363,753	3,724,396	3
YEMEN (2002–)	71,067	4,283,701	4,354,768	24
SOMALIA (2002–)	813,215	3,383,610	4,196,825	46
PHILIPPINES (2002–)	9,481	1,715,376	1,724,857	2
IRAQ (2003–)	2,249,037	6,963,138	9,212,175	37
LIBYA (2011–)	169,027	1,037,733	1,206,760	19
<u>SYRIA (2014–)</u>	<u>2,142,304</u>	<u>5,004,988</u>	<u>7,147,292</u>	<u>37</u>
TOTAL DISPLACED	7,897,900	28,971,126	36,869,026	

David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup, "Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars," Costs of War Project, Brown University, September 8, 2020, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement_Vine%20et%20al_Costs%20of%20War%202020%2009%2008.pdf

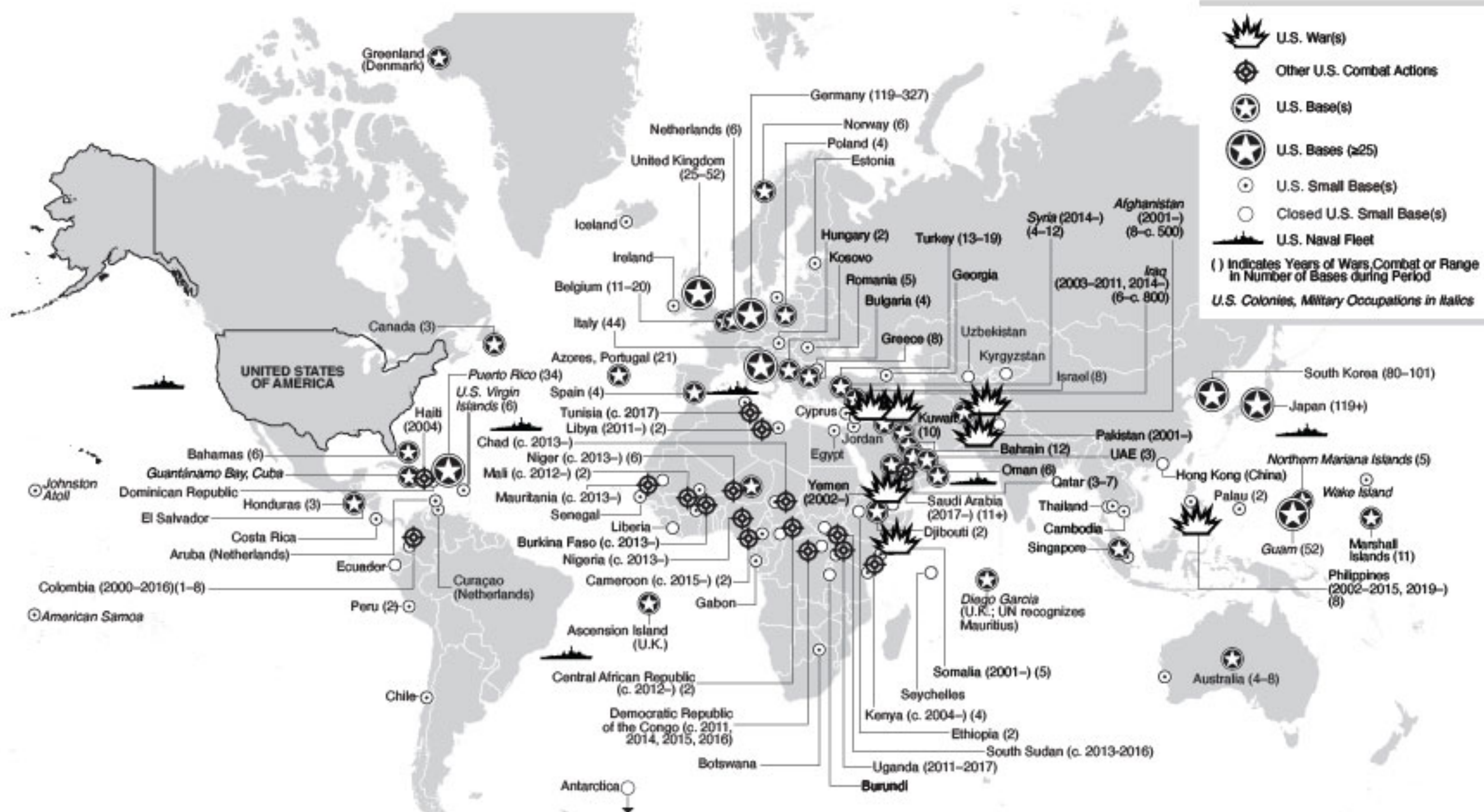
Afghanistan + Iraq
= 14.5 million people
displaced

(More displaced than in any war since 1900, except WWII.)

37 million
displaced

U.S. Wars, Bases, and Expansion Abroad, 2001–2020

Significant combat, bases, and expansion outside U.S. states. Some bases occupied for only part of this period. Base numbers range provided for countries with significant change during the period. During U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, there were over 2,000 bases abroad. There were around 800 in 2020. For ease of comparison we use contemporary borders and a Mercator projection.



Policy Priorities

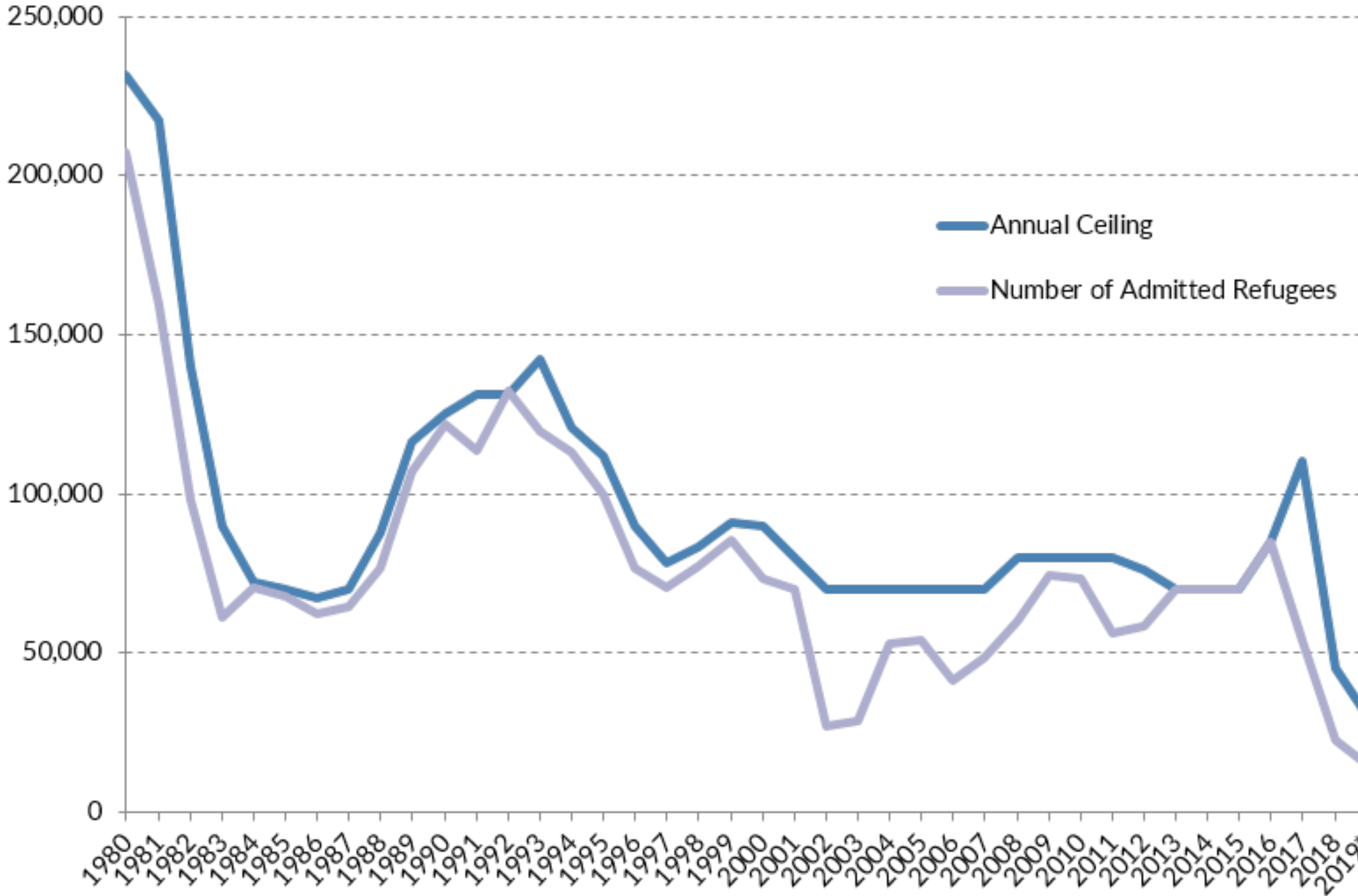
- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**

Policy Priorities

- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**
- 2. Increase Refugee Admissions**

MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE

Annual Refugee Resettlement Ceiling and Number of Refugees Admitted, FY 1980-2019*



Policy Priorities

- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**
- 2. Increase Refugee Admissions**
- 3. Increase Funding Globally**

Policy Priorities

- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**
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Policy Priorities

- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**
- 2. Increase Refugee Admissions**
- 3. Increase Funding Globally**
- 4. Increase Funding in US**
- 5. Reckon with the Total Damage**

Policy Priorities*

- 1. Repair the Damage to Displaced**
- 2. Increase Refugee Admissions**
- 3. Increase Funding Globally**
- 4. Increase Funding in US**
- 5. Reckon with the Total Damage**
- 6. End Endless Wars/Delegitimize War**

* These recommendations are David Vine's alone and do not necessarily reflect the views of the co-authors of the "Creating Refugees" report or the Costs of War Project.