

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

COSTS OF WAR





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American University Public Anthropology Clinic

COSTS OF WAR





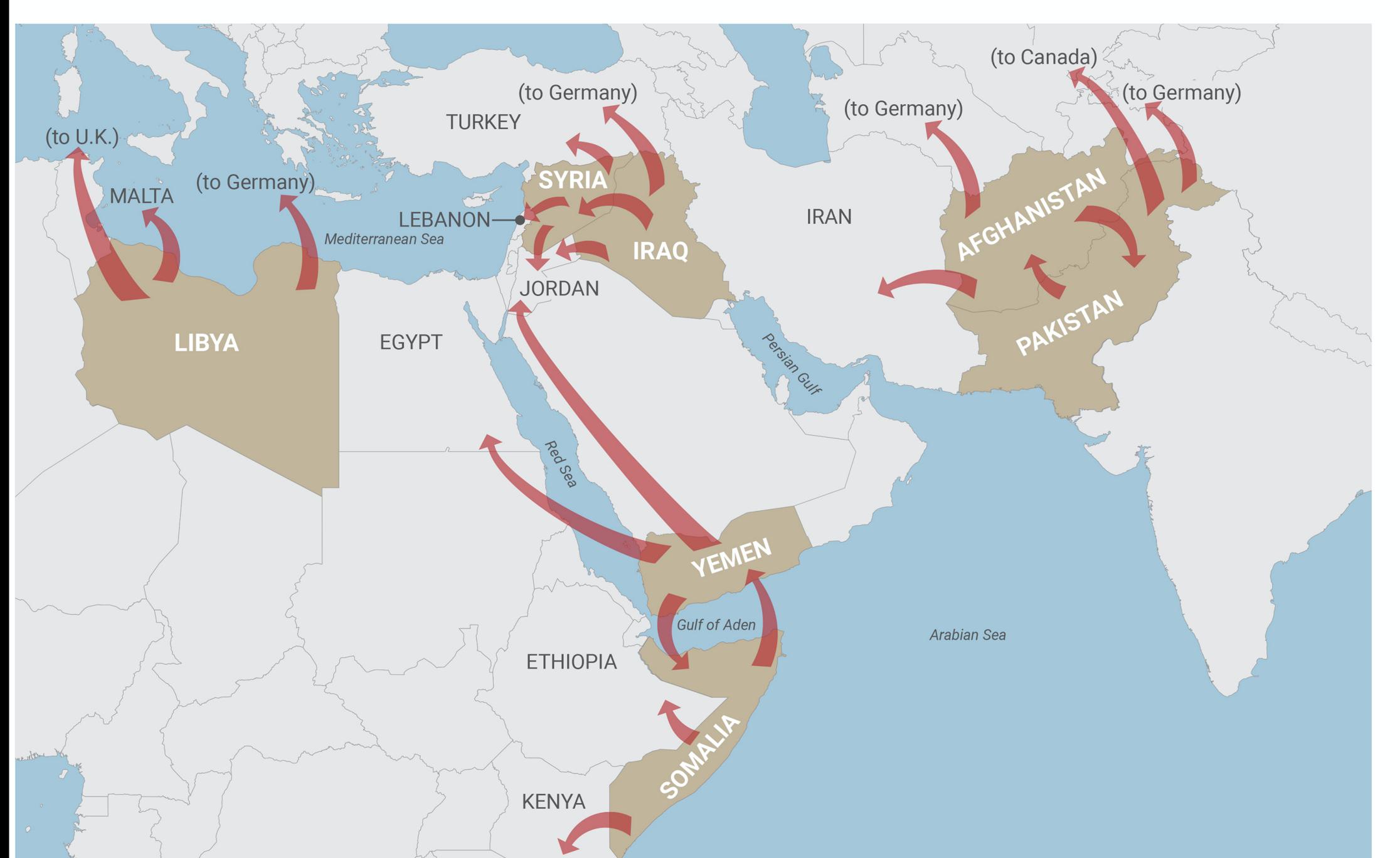
The U.S. post-9/11 wars have forced at least **37 million people** to flee their homes.

#CreatingRefugees





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



währt die Erlanbnis, nach Abgung der Prüfung ein Krafifahrzeug mit Antrieb durch **Verbreuwingsmaßchinen**

Stiefel

er Klasse 2. 2. 3u führen.

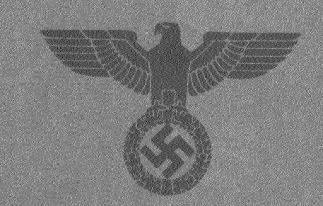
Oulsburg, den 19. Juni 1936. 193.

Der Polizeipräsident

al M



DEUTSCHES REICH



REISEPASS





Aunt Rita























WHERE WE FIGHT

This new map shows for the first time that the United States is now combating terrorism in 40 percent of the world's nations

by Stephanie Savell and 5W Infographics Research assistance by Rechel McMahon, Emily Rockwell, Docus Thompson

ESS THAN A MONTH after the September II terrorist attacks on the United States, U.S. troops—with support from British, Canadian, French, German and Australian forces—invaded Afghanistan to fight Al Qaeda and the Taliban. More than 17 years later, the Global War on Terrorism initiated by President George W. Bush is truly global, with Americans actively engaged in countering terrorism in 80 nations on six continents.

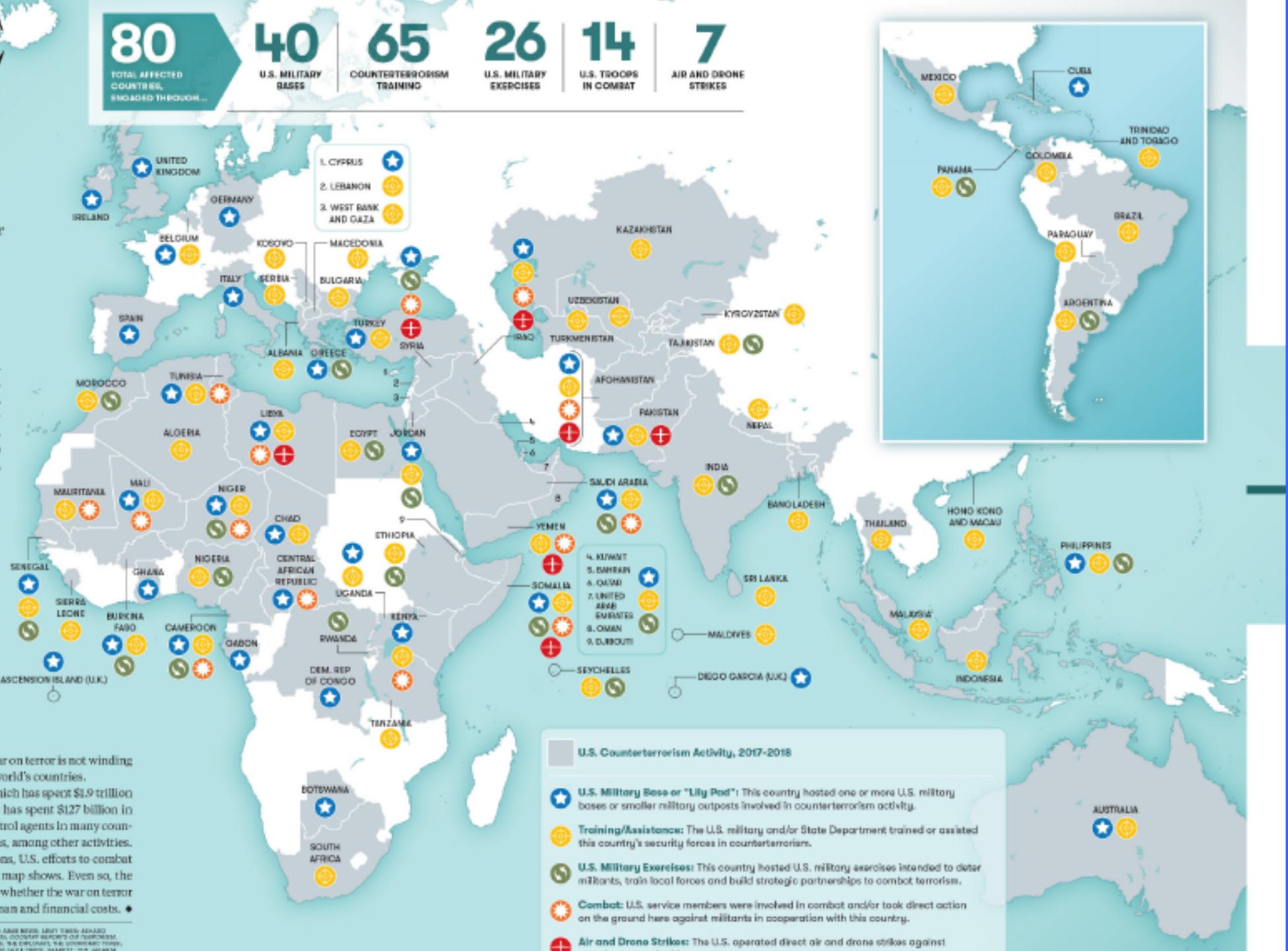
This map is the most comprehensive depiction in civilian circles of U.S. military and government antiterrorist actions overseas in the past two years. To develop it, my colleagues and I at Brown University's Costs of War Project at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, along with Smithsonian magazine, combed through U.S. and foreign government sources, published and unpublished reports, military websites and geographical databases; we contacted foreign embassies in the U.S. and the military's United States Africa Command; and we conducted Interviews with journalists, academics and others. We found

that, contrary to what most Americans believe, the war on terror is not winding down-it has spread to more than 40 percent of the world's countries.

The war isn't being waged by the military alone, which has spent \$1.9 trillion fighting terrorism since 2001. The State Department has spent \$127 billion in the last 17 years to train police, military and border patrol agents in many countries and to develop antiterrorism education programs, among other activities.

Because we have been conservative in our selections, U.S. efforts to combat terrorism abroad are likely more extensive than this map shows. Even so, the vast reach evident here may prompt Americans to ask whether the war on terror has met its goals, and whether they are worth the human and financial costs. •

BOURCES- MIC REPETS OF RECENT AT JUST THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMETCE IN EDVICY AND BEVE ABAY THESE ADALES AL-SPEAK, ESCRETALLOND, MIC, THE REPERSO OF INVESTIGATIVE ADARMENTS AND CAREFORDIANA, COOPUT REPORT OF THE PORT U.S. CEREBRATERY OF MARK CONT., ON N. THE OWNED FROM THE REPORTS FOR THE REPORT OF THE DATA AND THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE REPORT, ON N. THE OWNED FROM THE REPORTS FOR THE REPORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE REPORT, ON N. THE OWNED FROM THE REPORTS FOR THE REPORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE REPORTS OF THE PORTS OF THE PORTS





770,000-801,000 direct combat deaths

COSTS OF WAR

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)





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

COSTS OF WAR

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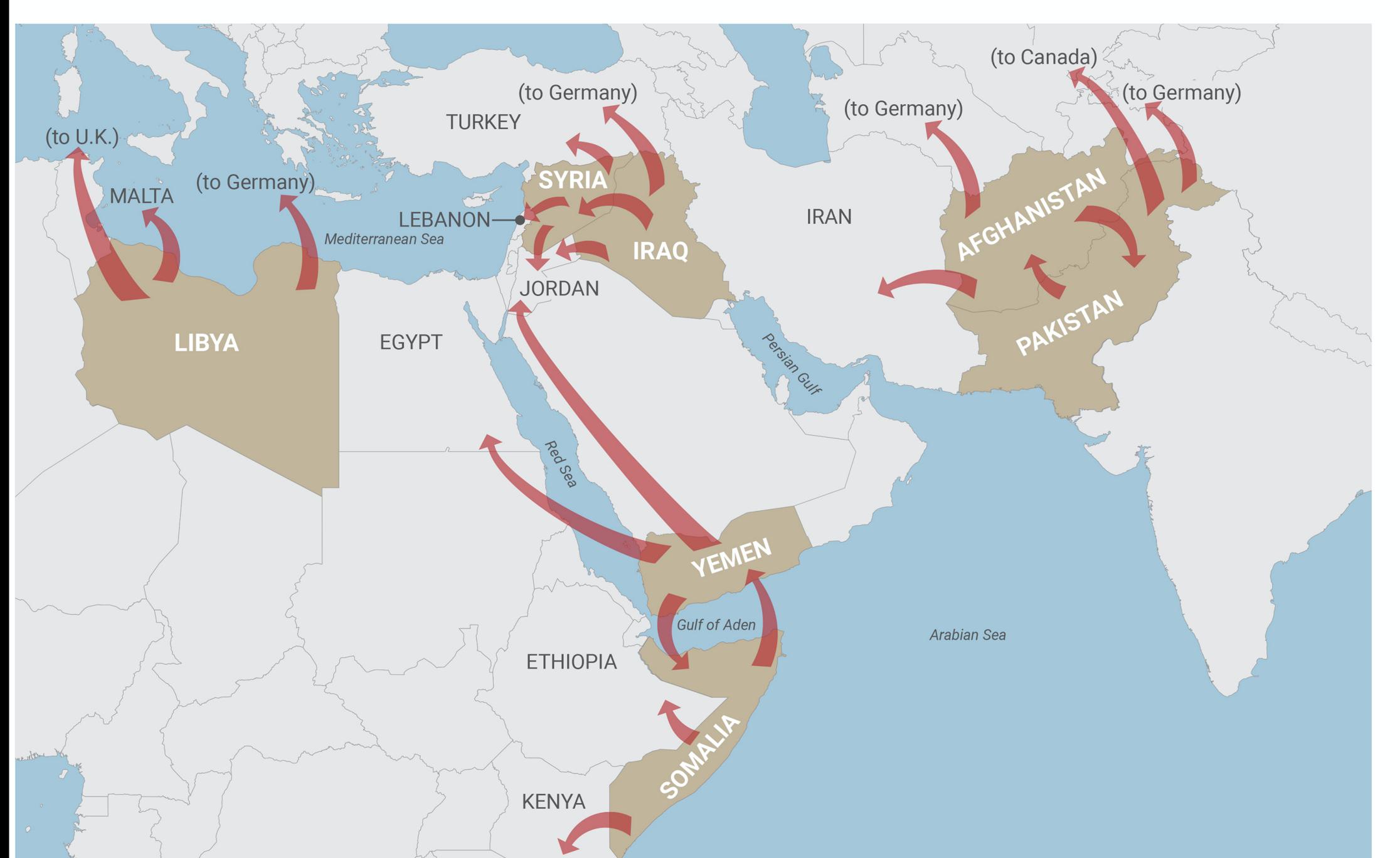




"We are not suggesting the U.S. government or the United States as a country is solely responsible for the displacement."

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

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37 million displaced

Table 1: Total Displacement	
	<u>Refugees</u> +Asylum Seekers
AFGHANISTAN (2001–)	2,083,126
PAKISTAN (2001–)	360,643
YEMEN (2002–)	71,067
SOMALIA (2002–)	813,215
PHILIPPINES (2002–)	9,481
IRAQ (2003–)	2,249,037
LIBYA (2011–)	169,027
<u>SYRIA (2014–)</u>	<u>2,142,304</u>
TOTAL DISPLACED	7,897,900

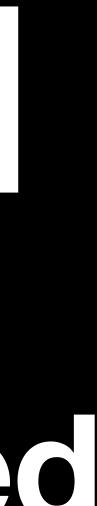
David Vine, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup, "Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars," Costs of War Project, Brown University, September 8, 2020, https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/ cow/imce/papers/2020/Displacement_Vine%20et%20al_Costs%20of%20War%202020%200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

<u>IDPs</u>	<u>Total</u>	% Pre-War Population
3,218,827	5,301,953	26
3,363,753	3,724,396	3
4,283,701	4,354,768	24
3,383,610	4,196,825	46
1,715,376	1,724,857	2
6,963,138	9,212,175	37
1,037,733	1,206,760	19
5,004,988	7,147,292	37
28,971,126	36,869,026	C



Afghanistan + rac = 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.



Map by Kelly Martin / kmartindesign.com for 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).

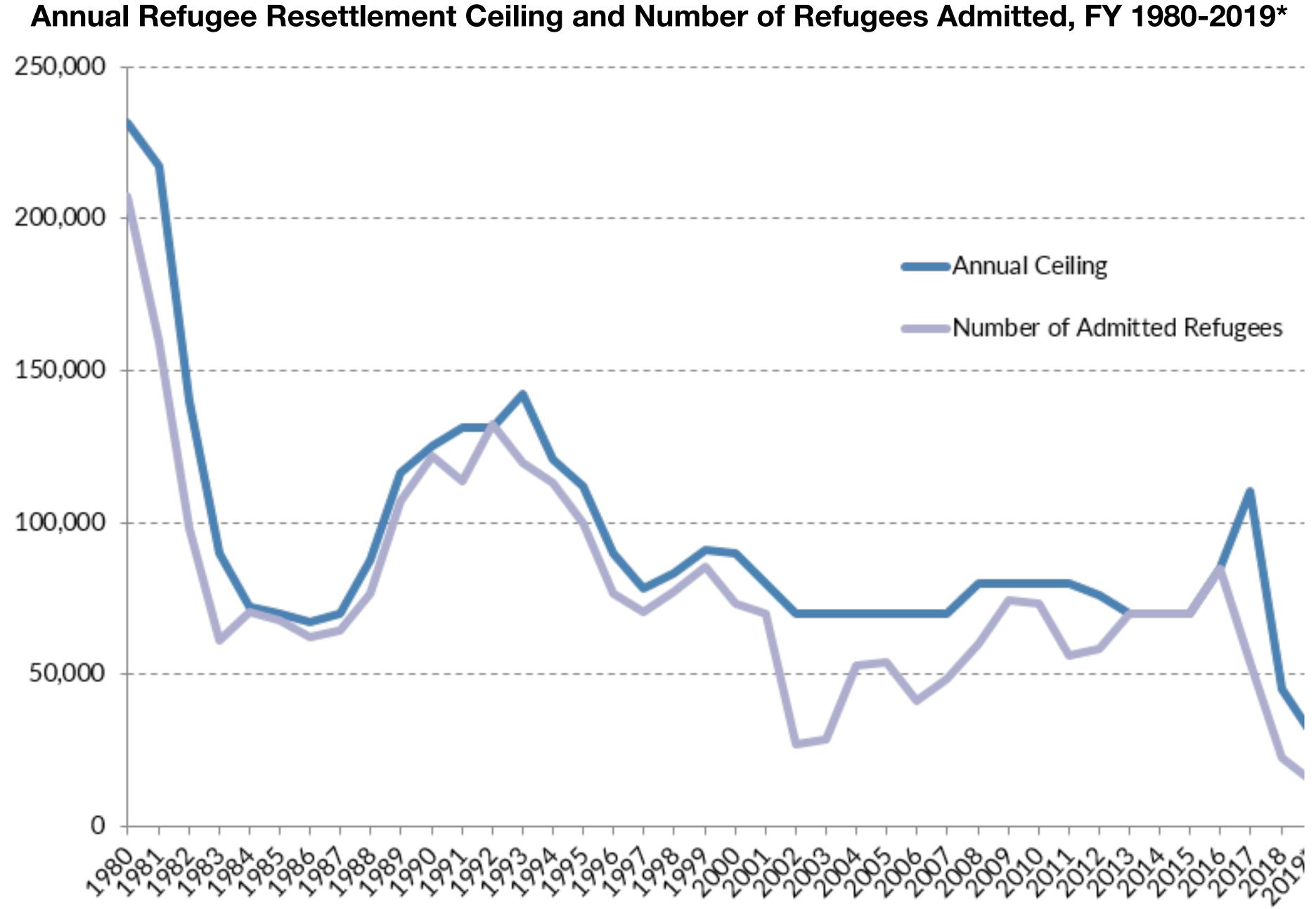
Policy Priorities

1. Repair the Damage to Displaced

Policy Priorities

Repair the Damage to Displaced Increase Refugee Admissions

MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE



Polcy Prorties

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

Policy Priorities

Repair the Damage to Displaced
Increase Refugee Admissions
Increase Funding Globally
Increase Funding in US

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

Polcy Prorties

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.

Poicy Prorties*