The 9/11 Legacies Project

Akademie věd České republiky
Czech Academy of Sciences

Oriental Institute
The Czech Academy of Sciences

139
Science Around Us
Challenges and Questions

LEGACIES OF 9/11

The Oriental Institute (www.orient.cas.cz) is a public non-university research institution. Formally established in 1922—and operating administratively under the auspices of the Czech Academy of Sciences (CAS) since 1993—the Institute is dedicated to scientific research in the field of Oriental studies, focused mainly on the history of the peoples of Asia and Africa, as well as on their religious and philosophical systems, culture, languages and literature from ancient times to the present. Through its activities, the Institute contributes to increasing the level of knowledge and education and to the use of the results of scientific research in practice. Currently, the work of its researchers is mainly focused on the Middle East (Arab countries, Iran, Israel, Turkey), India, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and the ancient Near East.

Can we write about the Global War on Terror in the past tense? As the formal infrastructure of the Global War on Terror retracts, the social relations, logics, and material resources from the planetary war are set to shape our collective futures. Long after the departure of European empires in the mid-20th century, the post-colonial world remained beholden to colonial-era structures and norms. Likewise, the legacies of the Global War on Terror—its laws, language, cultural norms, political hierarchies, and artifacts—continue to reverberate across global, national, and local scales. The *9/11 Legacies Project* presents a diverse set of perspectives from across academia, policy circles, and journalism to reflect on the more enduring, subtle, and (at times) pernicious legacies of 9/11 and the Global War on Terror. The project seeks to answer one overarching question: In what ways will the Global War on Terror impact our future?

How do we write the history of the Global War on Terror?

More than two decades since four airplanes were purposefully crashed at various points on the East Coast of the United States, the aftershocks from that fateful September morning in 2001 still reverberate across the world. The unprecedented attack on the foremost global power, orchestrated not by a rival state but by an ideologically motivated transnational network, led the United States and its coalition into an amorphously defined Global War on Terror (GWOT). Under the Global War on Terror banner, the United States not only engaged in "forever wars" in Afghanistan and Iraq, but also disseminated an elaborate discursive, legal, and material infrastructure to root out those designated as enemies of humanity at large. The 2021 withdrawal of boots-on-the-ground in Afghanistan may have foreclosed the chapter on direct occupation, but the diffusive logics and structures of the GWOT continue to intimately impact the lives of billions in the Muslim world and beyond, even absent the shock and awe of military campaigns.

The *9/11 Legacies Project* highlights the subtle ways the GWOT continues to shape our future, coursing through our social relations, political language, and engagements with technology. As postcolonial scholars have highlighted, long after the departure of European empires in the mid-20th century, the post-colonial world remained beholden to colonial-era structures and norms. The hierarchies of the international system, national, legal, and bureaucratic structures, and even local understandings of religion and community remained rooted in colonial governmentality. Despite nationalist and anti-colonialist fervor to the contrary, the imaginations and resources discarded at the border by departing colonial powers have left a lasting imprint.

So it is true with the legacies of the Global War on Terror: its laws, cultural norms, political hierarchies, and artifacts continue to reverberate on a global, national, and local level, despite claims that the era itself has ended. While official U.S. policy has shifted toward Great Power competition with China and Russia, the GWOT's imprint persists in ways both visible and invisible. Bullets, bombs, burn pits, and other toxins of war have mercilessly marred ecologies and bodies across Asia and Africa, causing birth defects and other maladies. The technological infrastructure built up and refined during decades of war, as seen now in the widespread use of facial recognition software at borders and airports and the proliferation of drones, has become so ingrained in our everyday lives as to become unremarkable. The now perfunctory usage of labeling one's enemy as a "terrorist" has led to the demonization of minorities, forced deportations and migrations, mass imprisonments, or worse.

The Global War on Terror perseveres not only in its technologies and policies, but also in a malleable human infrastructure that brings its logics and practices into entirely new domains. The elaborate architecture of the war mobilized a vast labor force, whose expertise and networks now permeate global institutions far beyond military contexts. Soldiers, academics, and bureaucrats, trained and mobilized for a multi-faceted and multi-front war, are now reapplying their skills from corporate boardrooms to humanitarian missions. For example, anti-terrorism experts mushrooming alongside the war are already trying to explain contexts as varied as growing competition with China to climate change in the language or security-centric

framing developed during the Global War on Terror. Meanwhile, migrant workers from developing nations who were recruited for low-wage military support roles now find themselves drawn into other conflict zones and precarious employment worldwide.

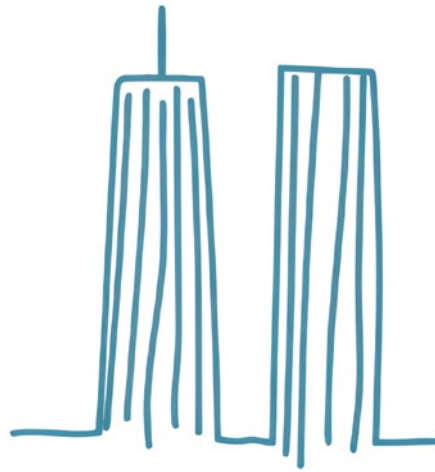
But perhaps the most pernicious and visceral legacy of the War on Terror is the manner it shaped the language of everyday politics to define human relations. The laws and language propagated during the Global War on Terror permeate the way democratic and non-democratic societies articulate differences between those who belong and those who do not. Arab states, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, are using the term "terrorist" to demonize and repress the Muslim Brotherhood. The Chinese government is instrumentalizing the label as a justification to intern millions of Muslims and subject them to cultural genocide. Muslim minorities and diasporas are subjected to questions of loyalty and Islamophobia in the United States and across Europe, condemned to a perpetual state of the "potentially dangerous."

Mainstream accounts of the Global War on Terror often remain confined within disciplinary silos that miss crucial connections between seemingly unrelated phenomena. International relations scholars examine state interactions, security specialists focus on military dimensions, while cultural theorists analyze representations—all typically privileging elite perspectives and global or national scales. The *9/11 Legacies Project* challenges this fragmentation by moving deliberately between scales, mapping how counterterrorism frameworks manifest in specific localities while revealing connections across contexts. By documenting how a surveillance system in one city, a financial regulation in another country, or a cultural narrative in a different region all connect through the dispersed logic of the GWOT, the *9/11 Legacies Project* creates space for impacts and voices that conventional security frameworks overlook while demonstrating how local adaptations continuously reshape the war's meaning.

Beyond these spatial challenges, writing the history of the Global War on Terror faces a distinctive temporal dilemma. While post-colonial scholars theorize the afterlives of colonialism with the certainty of at least a half-century of hindsight, studying the GWOT requires simultaneously thinking about both what has happened and what can happen. As reverberations of the Global War on Terror cascade across environmental, surveillance, legal, and geopolitical domains, they strike unexpected but deep notes far beyond what policymakers anticipated. A prime example is the surprising political realignment occurring in 2025, where opposition to war spending has transformed into skepticism of America's entire global military posture, with segments of the American Right now questioning NATO's legitimacy and the post-WWII order itself—an outcome few security experts foresaw when crafting counter-terrorism policies.

The uncertainty of how recent policies spawn unexpected outcomes transforms the challenge of writing about the Global War on Terror into an analytical opportunity the *9/11 Legacies Project* strives to explore. Established on the 20th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, the *9/11 Legacies Project* seeks to narrate, map, and analyze the many ways 9/11 and the GWOT continue to shape and impact the world around us, from the ways we speak about politics to the ways we understand

security and foreign cultures. The emphasis of the project is to highlight the many forgotten, underreported, or marginalized legacies of 9/11 and the Global War on Terror through short essays written by journalists, scholars, and experts from the Czech Republic and around the globe. As of September 2025, the project consists of 40 essays appearing on a geo-located map at *www.911legacies.com*.



Categories of Inquiry

The essays comprising the *9/11 Legacies Project* offer not a comprehensive account of the Global War on Terror's aftereffects, but rather a carefully curated exploration of overlooked phenomena that merit deeper investigation. By illuminating these lesser-known legacies, we aim to enrich future debate and research on this transformative period in global history. The collection spans theoretical reflections on ideology, religion, and surveillance alongside empirical case studies from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, revealing patterns that cross conventional boundaries.

To make these diverse impacts navigable, the essays are organized into seven thematic categories: Counter-Insurgency Strategies; Knowledge and Cultural Production; Islamism and Internationalism; Semantics and the Language of Terror; Capital Flows and Patronage Networks; Rise of Authoritarianism; and Muslim Networks. These categories emerged organically from our analysis of how GWOT legacies manifest across different contexts, providing readers with conceptual frameworks to understand connections between seemingly disparate phenomena. Through this structure, we invite readers to trace how the reverberations of post-9/11 policies continue to reshape our world in both obvious and subtle ways.

Counter-insurgency Strategies

Signs of the Global War on Terror's deep impact on our everyday lives may be no better seen than in the realm of security and surveillance, developed over years of perfection as part of counter-insurgency strategies to combat one's enemies. Unlike war tactics from earlier epochs, counter-insurgency represents not merely a set of military tactics but a comprehensive logic of governance that seeks to manage populations through surveillance, data collection, and preemptive control. What began as battlefield technologies and techniques in Afghanistan and Iraq have migrated into civilian spaces, fundamentally reshaping the relationship between states and citizens worldwide.

The journey of surveillance technologies exemplifies this migration from battlefield to hometown. Biometric identification systems first deployed at military checkpoints in Iraq to identify potential insurgents now process travelers at borders and airports across North America and Europe. Predictive analytics software developed to anticipate insurgent activities in Afghanistan informs "predictive policing" in urban centers worldwide, using similar algorithms to forecast potential criminal activity in civilian populations. Drones, once exclusive tools of military reconnaissance and targeted killing, are now used to monitor borders, police protests, and even deliver commercial packages. These technologies carry with them not just technical capabilities but embedded assumptions about threat, risk, and security that were forged in conflict zones.

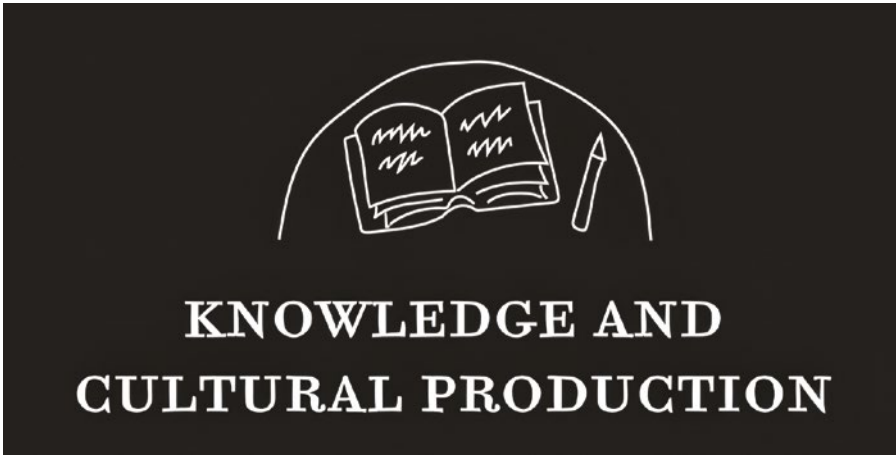
Continuities exist not just in technology but also organizations and individuals. Private companies and contractors that first cut their teeth during the GWOT have become indispensable for states at home and abroad. Military security firms that once protected bases in Afghanistan now guard corporate headquarters and shopping malls, while engineering companies that built military infrastructure abroad now apply their expertise to "smart city" initiatives and border fortifications. The

labor, strategies, tools, and initiatives once developed to fight the enemy abroad have now been turned inward.

This public-private security nexus creates powerful economic incentives for the continuation and expansion of militarized surveillance technologies in civilian contexts like transportation, healthcare, and education. While the technological and human infrastructure of counter-insurgency has been globalized, its impacts remain uneven and localized. Communities caught between security forces and non-state actors often bear the greatest burden, with counter-insurgency techniques reshaping political possibilities and social trust in ways that contradict their stated security objectives.

Essays in the *Counter-Insurgency Strategies* category detail the pervasive nature and costs to our everyday lives stemming from the Global War on Terror's most sophisticated operational technologies and surveillance techniques. From the proliferation of drone technology across the globe to the spotlight cast on Arab and Muslim Americans as "enemies at home," the legacy of the GWOT's strategies and tools to combat insurgents continue to infiltrate the world around us, whether on the macroscopic or granular level.

Essays	
Alessandro Arduino	"The Evolution of Armed Drones for Targeted Killings after 9/11"
Louise Cainkar	"Surveillance Spotlight on Arab and Muslim Americans: An Enduring Legacy of the Global War on Terror"
Saifullah Nasar	"War and State (Un)making in Tribal Borderlands of Pakistan"
Matthew Petti	"America Won the War on Terror, and Everyone is Worse Off"
Alp Yenen	"From Horse Soldiers to Hybrid Conflicts: Unconventional Warfare's Evolution since 9/11"



Knowledge and Cultural Production

The Global War on Terror does not merely consist of actions related to military operations, international relations, and foreign policy, but also encompasses a vast field of knowledge and cultural production. From the outset, the Global War on Terror extended its reach into an array of cultural venues and spheres of knowledge, infiltrating political language, film, media, literature, and the arts, helping shape the way we have come to approach, present, and conceptualize a wide range of phenomena related to the post-9/11 world. This cultural dimension created a feedback loop between security policies and representations, where each reinforced and legitimized the other.

For example, while the depiction of Arabs and Muslims in literature and film as terrorists, "fifth-columns," or threats to Western societies and civilization long predates 9/11, the attacks and subsequent Global War on Terror exacerbated the trend, creating a boon across the arts, with films like *Syriana* (2005), television series like *Homeland* (2011–2020), or novels like *Submission* (2015). The more Arabs and Muslims came to represent the enemy in politics, the more this representation came to be imitated in the arts. Not all portrayals, however, were negative. The *Ms. Marvel* comic books about a Pakistani-American woman's complex identity struggles show how counter-narratives—in this case the agency ascribed to a Muslim woman superhero—were also initiated by the War on Terror.

In addition to popular culture, the relatively more immune world of academia was transformed. The Bush administration's post-9/11 call for more Arabic speakers and Islamic specialists led to a surge in government funding, but with strings attached. In German universities, Islamic Studies departments that had once focused on philology, history, and textual analysis faced mounting pressure to demonstrate their relevance to national security concerns. Research increasingly needed to address such topics as "radicalization" and "extremism"; Islam could no

longer be presented, studied, or understood as a religious, cultural, and social phenomena without reference to the events and actions of the Global War on Terror, and vice-versa. Overall, the Global War on Terror activated a whole cultural, social, and political discourse that came to form the knowledge base around topics like Islam, terrorism, and the Middle East.

The essays in the *Knowledge and Cultural Production* category look at the cultural, political, and artistic aftereffects of the Global War on Terror. From the study of Islam in the German academy to the depiction of Muslim superheroes in cartoons and comics, the cultural legacies of the GWOT appear in variegated artistic forms and guises, permeating private and public spaces, from the cinema to the university classroom.

Essays	
Angeliki Coletsou	"Visual Representations of Iran in Western Media after 9/11"
Olmo Gölz	"Productive Discomfort: German Islamic Studies after 9/11"
Safiyya Hosein	"More than Just Spandex: American Muslim Superheroes and the Global War on Terror"
Abu Jenin	"In this Genocide: Self-Subtracting Humanity and Signification in the U.S. Academy"
Julian Schmid	"The 'War on Terror' Did Not Take Place: '9/11,' Ahistoricity, and the Infinite Apocalypse"

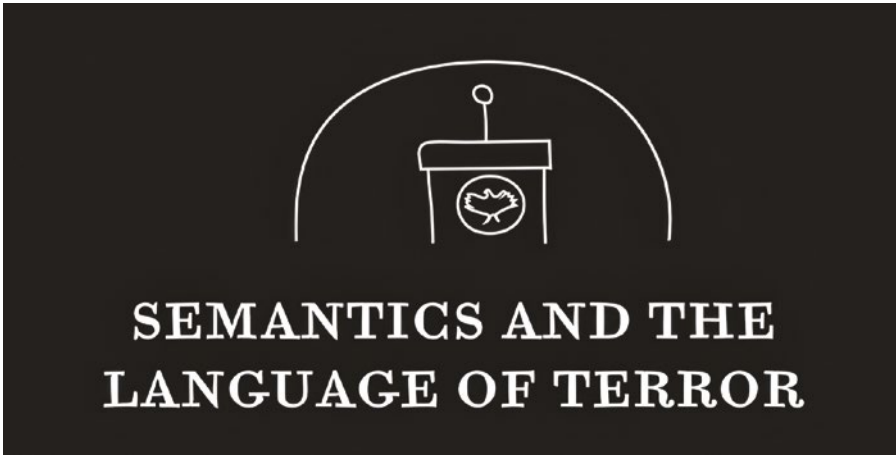
Islamism and Internationalism

At the outset of the Global War the United States believed the fight against terrorism could be harnessed to forge a new international order. American policy-makers drew parallels to how earlier collective efforts against pirates had helped build the liberal order, anticipating that a shared enemy would once again unite disparate nations under U.S. leadership. But after 9/11, dreams of a unipolar international order were swiftly displaced by a strong belief in the clash of civilizations thesis that placed Islam and Internationalism as diametrically opposed. Working almost as a self-fulfilling prophecy, the world was divided into incompatible Islamic and liberal civilizational units destined to be embroiled further.

The Global War on Terror also created significant rifts within the Muslim world under a reworked colonial rubric of pitting "good Muslims" vs. "bad Muslims." Consequently, dreams of pluralistic societies came crashing down both in the Western world and within Muslim states. While countries like France hardened their position on *laïcité* (secularism), Muslim majority states like Pakistan saw a burgeoning of the religious right-wing. These parallel transformations within the international order and Islamist politics created a new geopolitical landscape where religious identity, security frameworks, and global power dynamics became inextricably entangled, fundamentally reshaping prospects for both international cooperation and religious pluralism.

The essays in the *Islamism and Internationalism* category illuminate these dynamics by examining specific cases where counter-terrorism policies have simultaneously reshaped both Western security doctrines and Muslim political movements, revealing how the supposed clash between civilizations produced complex mutual transformations on both sides. Instead of viewing Islamism and Internationalism as invariably opposed to one another, the essays in this category focus on how they converged and transformed each other. Authors of essays in this category ask: How did engagement with Islamism remake the contemporary international order? Similarly, how did the changing international order impact Islamism and intra-Muslim relations?

Essays	
Jonah Blank	"The Global War on Terror and U.S Relations with the Muslim World: Reflections on Afghanistan"
Clemens Chay	"How the Sands Have Shifted: Reflections on 9/11 as a Chapter in U.S.-Gulf Relations"
James M. Dorsey	"Bin Laden's Legacy Probably Surpasses His Wildest Dreams"
Courtney Freer	"9/11 and the Securitization of Political Islam in the Gulf"
Alain Gabon	"From the War on Terror to the War Against 'Islamism': France in the post-9/11 Era"
Pelin Ayan Musil	"The Rise and Fall of Moderate Islamism as a Political Project: The Legacy of 9/11 in Turkey's Relations with the West"
Tomáš Petrů	"Keeping Watch: Islamism in Indonesia after 9/11 and the Bali Bombing of 2002"
Sonia Qadir	"Counter-terrorism Laws and Criminal Justice: The Legacies of Colonial Legality"
Asif Shuja	"Iran's Exclusion and Lost Opportunities in the U.S.-Led Global War on Terror"
Gökhan Tekir	"Türkiye-U.S. Relations After 9/11: From Strategic Partnership to Strategic Divergence"



Semantics and the Language of Terror

No other word has been more closely associated with the ideology, rhetoric, and political language of the Global War on Terror than that of "terrorist," a catch-all label used to describe one's enemies, undertake extraordinary legal measures against them, and condone military actions. Following the 9/11 attacks, and throughout the GWOT, the U.S. government instrumentalized the label of "terrorist" to justify the use of American military force around the globe, from boots-on-the-ground operations to drone strikes, and to explain security assistance, joint military exercises with regional partners, and the stationing of special forces in more than 150 countries.

But while this key term of the Global War on Terror found its greatest expression in American political discourse, leading to the rise of terrorism studies centers and a host of new government agencies, it quickly became global political currency.

The label of "terrorist," and the language of the GWOT more broadly, pervaded the political language of countries across the globe as they sought to execute a variety of legal and military agendas within their national boundaries and beyond.

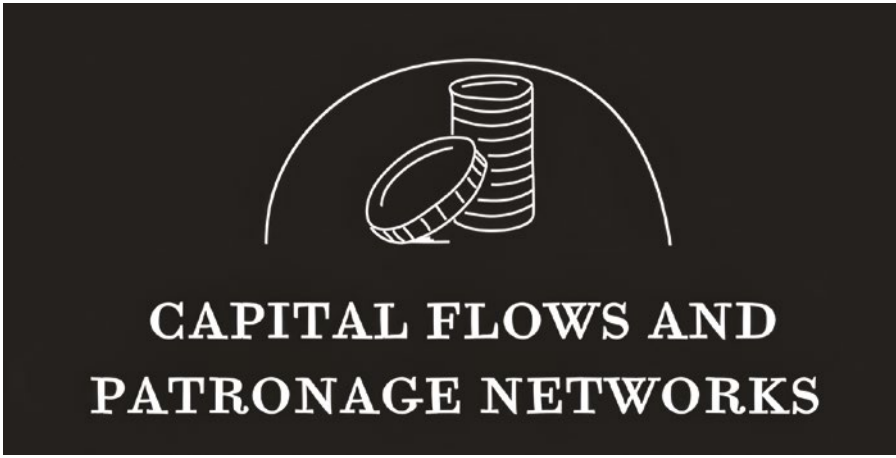
China deployed the label to justify the arrests, imprisonments, and disappearances of the Uyghur peoples in Xinjiang. In Yemen, former President Saleh leveraged the terrorist threat to persuade multiple U.S. administrations for increased security assistance and foreign aid for his sometimes questionable counter-terrorism operations. In India, as elsewhere, the term was utilized by various political actors and groups to smear their domestic opponents. Finally, across West and South Asia, Iran, Israel, Jordan, and others have undertaken unilateral military actions outside their national borders (often resulting in civilian deaths) all under the guise of hunting and killing "terrorists."

The term has been used so prolifically and in so many different contexts that the label has become flawed at best and devoid of meaning at worst. The latter was perhaps no better seen than during the Syrian Civil War when state and non-state

actors on opposing sides lobbed the label of "terrorist" at one another time and time again. This linguistic expansion has not merely been a semantic shift; it has facilitated extraordinary legal regimes, justified military actions outside conventional frameworks, and blurred the boundaries between combatants and civilians in ways that continue to shape conflicts worldwide.

Essays in the *Semantics and Language of Terror* category touch upon the problematics of the term "terrorist," such as its use by the Asad regime in Syria to designate healthcare professionals treating the wounded, as well as other key terms of the Global War on Terror, such as "martyr" and "failed state," as they appear in the context of Palestine and Lebanon, respectively. Together these essays represent examples of how key vocabulary of the GWOT has come to be utilized, misapplied, and misunderstood.

Essays	
Rodrigo Augusto Duarte Amaral, Mariana Medeiros Bernussi, and Victória Wood Farinelli	"The Brazilian Antiterrorism Law: The U.S. Counterterrorism Agenda, International Economic Pressures, and Socio-Political Conveniences"
Jan Daniel	"Myopic Visions of the War on Terror Era: Lebanon as a Post-9/11 Security Problem"
Elena Fellner	"Redefining Terrorism: Iran, the U.S., and the War on Terror"
Rebecca Ruth Gould	"Everyday Martyrs in the Gaza Genocide"
Tiina Hyyppä and Agneta Kallström	"From Healthcare Professional to Terrorist: Anti-terrorism Legislation during the Syrian Civil War"



Capital Flows and Patronage Networks

War is a destructive act. Apart from causing immense violence and suffering, it suspends routine practices and existing relationships. War-making, the process of starting and sustaining wars, however, can be productive. For example, it was the two great World Wars that built the 20th century system of bounded nation-states. But even at a smaller scale, war-making generates new social relations and economic resources in places far from the epicenters of war itself. War-making, after all, requires considerable financial and ideological resources. Mobilizing these resources requires participation of a range of actors not directly related to nations and war—engineers, transporters, merchants, bankers, intellectuals, social activists, holy men, wage-labor, and others. With one leg in war-zones and the other in areas far from the battlefield, these actors instigate social, economic, and political changes that continue to unfold long after the war ends.

Soon after the Global War on Terror was triggered, both capital and its associated networks were increasingly brought under the logic of war-making, creating a system of winners and losers. The value of Persian Gulf states hosting U.S. military bases, acting as both safe havens for capital and conduits for trade from places embargoed by the war, ballooned. Likewise, a host of security experts with specialized knowledge of counter-terrorism, whose expertise proved valuable beyond militarized contexts, have now become consultants to governments and corporations worldwide. But for many others, the cost of war was too high. Base workers from the Third World, mobilized as contractors, were left stuck in between their home countries and foreign lands. Informal *hawala* networks, having facilitated trade across Asia for centuries, were now suspected of war-financing and forced to close shop.

Essays in the *Capital Flows and Patronage Networks* category map the afterlives of capital and its associated networks set in motion by the Global War on Terror. They reveal how war economies create enduring structures that outlive

their military purpose, embedding themselves in commercial relationships, labor patterns, and development priorities worldwide. The asymmetric distribution of capital flows—concentrated wealth for some, precarious existence for others—reflects not temporary distortions but permanent reconfigurations of a global economic geography.

Essays	
Noah Coburn	"How the 'Forever Wars' Reshape Himalayan Villages"
Karolina Kluczewska	"How 9/11 Reshaped the International Development Scene in Central Asia"
Daniel R. Mahanty	"The Sorcerer's Apprentice: U.S. Security Assistance after 9/11"
Magnus Marsden	"The Global War on Terror and the Transformation of Afghanistan's Commercial Networks"
Nisha Mathew	"A Middle Power and Meddler: The United Arab Emirates after 9/11"
Aditi Saraf	"Financial Surveillance and Hawala Accusations in South Asia after 9/11"
Clément Steuer	"U.S. Pressure for Democratization and Political Opportunity Structures after 9/11"
Abi Watson	"The Two Most Dangerous Self-Deceptions in Security Sector Reform"

Rise of Authoritarianism

As the Global War on Terror began taking shape in early 2000s America, countries around the globe quickly began to imitate and instrumentalize its language, policies, and tactics. The emphasis placed on combating terrorism and defining one's enemies rose to the top of many national policy agendas. Authoritarian states in particular jumped at the opportunity to rely on the accepted norms and discourses the GWOT provided, but other countries too began to tighten the reins around public assembly, free speech, and political participation under the guise of combating terrorism. Such policies allowed governments to consolidate power and increase oversight. The overall effect was to exacerbate authoritarianism in countries already exposed to it and institute more authoritarian measures in countries where harsher government tactics and restrictions were not yet part of mainstream political culture. The impact upon various Muslim groups and minorities was especially acute. Chapters of the Muslim Brotherhood witnessed increased surveillance, restrictions, and imprisonment. Muslim minorities in China and Myanmar were subjected to measures that included torture, disappearances, extra-judicial killings, and forced displacement. The essays in the *Rise of Authoritarianism* category unpack the GWOT agendas of multiple countries, demonstrating how the political, legal, and security trends afforded by the war shaped new political cultures and realities, not only at the expense of groups and individuals deemed "enemies of the state," but the general population as well.

Essays	
Tim Epkenhans	"Post-Soviet Central Asia after 9/11: The Global War on Terror, Authoritarian Consolidation, and Religious Revival"
Ondřej Klimeš and Sam Tynen	"Assimilation or Islamophobia?: Uyghurs and China's Counter-Terrorist Discourse after 2001"
Sean Yom	"Jordan: Deepening Authoritarianism"

Muslim Networks

Those systematically targeted by repression survive not just as victims and villains; they find other meanings and alternate possibilities, often emerging from the same practices designed against them. For Muslims, this holds true to a greater extent and on a wider scale due to the strength and geographic scope of their social networks. The trans-national reach of these networks positions them as both primary antagonists and allies within the expansive projects of empires. Viewed through a broader historical lens, 9/11 emerges as merely the latest in a long series of entanglements between Muslim networks and Western imperialism, stretching back to the early days of Portuguese expansion. Building on this history of entanglement, the Global War on Terror has transformed these networks in profound yet uneven ways. While counter-terrorism operations severed some traditional connections through financial restrictions and mobility controls, they paradoxically strengthened others.

Essays in the *Muslim Networks* category explore these intricate entanglements, demonstrating how 9/11 reshaped relationships among diverse Muslim groups. By examining how Muslim networks adapted to, resisted, or were transformed by the Global War on Terror, these essays reveal connections between security policies and religious practices that extend far beyond official battlefields. As surveillance and securitization continue to shape Muslim communities worldwide, these networks demonstrate both the limits of state control and the resilience of trans-national religious connections. Their ongoing evolution provides crucial insight into how the War on Terror's legacies continue to influence religious expression, community formation, and political possibilities—making the study of Muslim networks essential to understanding our present moment.

These essays examine such transformations across multiple contexts, from the intensification of ethnic tensions within Afghan diaspora communities to the derailment of promising Sunni-Shia reconciliation efforts. Other analyses investigate how the pressure to distinguish between "good" and "bad" Muslims shifted political

balances between traditionalist and reformist parties, or highlight how trans-national organizations across regions like the Balkans were systematically uprooted in the name of counter-terrorism.

Essays	
Simon Wolfgang Fuchs	"Bold Shi'is, Frightened Sunnis, and the Making of Sectarianism after 9/11"
Muska Haqiqat	"All Taliban are Pashtuns and all Pashtuns are Taliban?! A Contribution to Differentiation"
M. Sihabudheen Kolakkattil	"9/11 and Sectarianism in Islam: Counter-Terrorism Debates among Muslim Groups of Kerala, India"
Asya Metodieva	"Islamist Radicalism in the Balkans: From Immigrant Arab Fighter to Emigrant Combatant in Arabia"

Kevin L. Schwartz, Ph.D.
Ameem Lutfi, Ph.D.

The project has four main aims:

1. Track, assess, and analyze the unforgotten, marginalized, and misunderstood legacies of 9/11 and the Global War on Terror;

2. Highlight the manner in which the afterlives of the Global War on Terror continue to shape our politics, cultures, and societies today;

3. Visualize the global footprint of the Global War on Terror through a geographically-diverse collection of stories that illustrate its transnational reach;

4. Create an accessible archive bridging academic, journalistic, and policy perspectives on the war's ongoing influence in global affairs.

Project Website: www.911legacies.org

Project Publications:

Ameem Lutfi and Kevin L. Schwartz (eds.), *Legacies of 9/11 and the Global War on Terror: Volume II*, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2024.

Ameem Lutfi and Kevin L. Schwartz, "After 9/11, Hunting 'Enemies of Humanity' Went Global," *The Hill*, 2024.

Ameem Lutfi and Kevin L. Schwartz, "The 'War on Terror' Lives on 22 Years after 9/11," *Responsible Statecraft*, 2023.

Ameem Lutfi and Kevin L. Schwartz (eds.), *Legacies of 9/11 and the Global War on Terror: Volume I*, Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2022.

Ameem Lutfi and Kevin L. Schwartz, "20 Years Later, the Legacies of 9/11 and the War on Terror Have Just Begun," *The Hill*, 2021.

The Project Team

Kevin L. Schwartz is a research fellow and Deputy Director (Academic Affairs) at the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, where he focuses on the history, politics, and culture of Iran. He received his Ph.D. from the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Ameem Lutfi is an Assistant Professor in History and Anthropology at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) in Lahore, Pakistan, where he focuses on trans-national mobility and military-labor markets. He received his Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from Duke University.

Project logo, artwork, and design by **Daniel Brown** (*www.dbrownart.com*).

Website design by **Nyx Alexander Design**.

Despite an end to the U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the renewal of Great Power politics, and intervening international crises like COVID-19 and the wars in Ukraine and Gaza, the legacies of the Global War on Terror continue to surround us at the macroscopic and granular level. They are both forest and trees. Don't zoom out far enough and you'll take for granted just how normalized they have become in shaping our polities. Don't look close enough and you'll miss the minutiae ingrained in our everyday conversations and transactions. From the way the Global War on Terror has impacted our language, culture, and politics to the ways it has shaped ideas about national security, terrorism, and foreign policy, the legacies of the Global War on Terror continue to impact our world today. Established in 2021, on the 20th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, the *9/11 Legacies Project* seeks to narrate, map, and analyze the many forgotten, marginalized, and misunderstood phenomena unleashed by the Global War on Terror. The *9/11 Legacies Project* receives support from Strategy 21, the Czech Academy of Sciences.

COMING UP IN THE SCIENCE AROUND US SERIES:

Reysa Alenzuela: **Knihovna Orientálního ústavu** (překlad do ČJ)
Pavlína Kellarová: **Digital Humanities a knižní kultura**
Alena Šidáková Fialová: **Česká literatura po roce 1989** (aktualizované vydání)
Vojtěch Bližňák: **Meteosat třetí generace (MTG)**

ALREADY PUBLISHED:

Václav Cílek: **Adaptace města na klimatickou změnu**
Karel Segeth: **Ivo Babuška, vynalézavý numerický matematik**
Slavomír Entler, Ondřej Ficker: **Spoutané slunce**
Marta Šimečková: **Archiv zvukových záznamů nářečních promluv**

Akademie věd České republiky STRATEGIE AV21

Science Around Us | Challenges and Questions
9/11 Legacies Project | *Kevin L. Schwartz, Ameem Lutfi*

Published by the Centre of Administration and Operation CAS, v. v. i., Academia Publishing House. Layout: Jakub Krč; Type: Serifa. Editor in charge: Vojtěch Němec. First edition, 2025. Edition number 13187. Print SERIFA®, s. r. o., Jinonická 80, 158 00 Praha 5.

ISSN 2464-6245
Registered by the MK ČR under No. E 22344

Other volumes available at:
www.vedakolemnas.cz | www.academia.cz