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War on Terror and Islamisation of Brunei

'Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make.
Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.'
George W. Bush, 21 September 2001

Introduction

The September 11 attacks set a new scene in the bilateral and multilateral engagements between the US and the world. They moved the international political environment to a security-orientated environment in which relations, political ties and economic interactions were reduced to by-products of security. As security became the hegemonic global narrative, states and regions attempted to respond or react. This was particularly more problematic for the Muslim majority countries. One of the regions that has been impacted significantly by this change is Southeast Asia and one of the very interesting cases in this region is Brunei. As a small absolute monarchy in the region, Brunei is situated on the Island of Borneo, neighbouring Malaysia and is surrounded by the South China Sea.[1] With the population less than a million, Brunei was one of the last countries that became independent in 1984 as the British colonial period ended[2]. During its contemporary history, Brunei has gone through two periods of Islamisation, both instigated by the US politics in the region. This article argues that the post-September 11 security environment instigated

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[1]   M. Cleary, F.J. Lian, 'On the geography of Borneo', *Progress in Human Geography* 1991, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 163–177.
[2]   N. Mukoyama, 'Colonial origins of the resource curse: endogenous sovereignty and authoritarianism in Brunei', *Democratization* 2020, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 224–242.

the second wave of Islamisation and has resulted in fundamental changes in the politics of the country.

The first of these periods was during the Cold War, when the US contained the pressure of communism by promoting Islam as an alternative. The second time was as the result of the US 'War on Terror' in the region, which created an unwanted competition over Islam between the regional states and the Islamic groups.[3] By drawing on Brunei history and the ways in which national and religious identity have been formed, this paper states that there is a significant difference between the first term and the second term of Islamisation in Brunei in terms of centralisation and distribution of political power in the country.[4] While during the Cold War period the Islamisation period assisted the Sultan to further centralise and hegemonise political power, the second phase forced him to present a transformed image of himself as a religious figure and share his power with the religious institutions that he had built during the Cold War in order to secure his position. Exploring the dynamics between Brunei colonial history, Islamisation, and the 'War on Terror' is the foundation for explaining how the second wave of Islamisation transformed the legal system and consequently politics in Brunei.

The Background

The development of the dominant narrative of national identity in Brunei has its roots to its pre-colonial and colonial times. The early 20th century anthropologists like David Brown who wrote about Brunei history, linked a specific ethnic and religious group in the geographical region of Borneo to the dominant political and religious power in Brunei by highlighting specific voices and undermining others. According to this narrative, the first king of Brunei – who was partly human partly divine – was converted to Islam when he married a daughter of the Sultan of Johor in Indonesia. By establishing this narrative as the foundation of the modern political culture of Brunei, the colonial period forged a strong tie between ethnic identities and social systems of alliances between Islam and the central political power. This constructed alliance presented Brunei a society with a hereditary ranking system that advantaged one ethnic group (Malay) over others (such as the Iban or Sea Dayak). During the colonial time, the national myth of Brunei further strengthened the absolutist characteristics of the Brunei monarchy and instigated a patriarchal political system that traces back the genealogy of the monarchy to a divine father and an earthly mother.[5] The combination of this genealogical narrative of ethnicity and religious affiliation defined the modern Brunei politics around a Sultan's figure and has made Brunei one of the very few countries with an absolute monarchy.

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[3] A. Rashid, *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2010.

[4] *Brunei-History, Islam, Society and Contemporary Issues*, ed. O.K. Gin, Routledge, London 2015.

[5] D.E. Brown, 'Hereditary rank and ethnic history: An analysis of Brunei historiography', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 1973, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 113–122.

From 1839, when James Brooke arrived from Britain to Kuching, it only took the British empire less than 20 years to make Brunei its protectorate. This was due to the increase in piracy and crime, the poor political management of Brunei and the ability of the British to give the Sultan the assurance that their presence could protect their rule. In 1847, the Sultan signed a treaty with Great Britain on economic growth and anti-piracy actions, and in 1888 another treaty which gave the right to determine foreign affairs of Brunei to the British.[6]

Brunei became a British protectorate in 1911 and continued to be until the end of the WWII (1947). Brunei experienced war, poverty, poor standards of living, and a lack of modern healthcare system and education. As the colonisation period ended in Southeast Asia, the Cold War cast its shadows on the region. Brunei was not immune to the pressure of the bipolar security system of the Cold War.[7] While the Sultanate of Brunei was a close ally of the West, it witnessed the rise of a dissent group who criticised Brunei's absolute monarchy and manifested in the form of a communist party. The party was originally a branch of the Malaysian People's Party (MPP) and was developed as a result of cooperative meetings between its members and Bruneians. In the 1950s, the Brunei People's Party (Malay: Parti Rakyat Brunei, PRB) was established as a left-leaning party.[8] They announced their goals to end the corrupt monarchy, to make Brunei fully independent, and to democratise the political system of the county. What made the group more attractive in Brunei was their opposition to the Malay-British proposal which suggested the establishment of a federation including Brunei and Malaysia. By 1961, the PRB gained so much popularity that it won all 16 of the elected seats in the 33-seat legislature in the August 1962 election.[9]

To counter his dissents, the Sultan of Brunei began his first wave of Islamisation in the country. The Islamisation attempts in this period brought the Bruneian religious elites closer to Malaysia. In 1956, the Sultan changed the destination of Bruneian religious students whom he sent abroad from Singapore to Malaysia.[10] This was a move towards promoting more conservative teachings that focused on religious attempts in the promotion of Islam in social life. While it paved the ground for the post September 11 Islamisation period, it was radically different in terms of the agency of religious forces in politics. As I discuss in this paper, the long-term consequence of the 'War on Terror' has given religious forces power in politics and legal systems of Brunei, while the first wave made them an ally of the Sultan and legitimised his decision. As the number of religious students grew during the 1950s and 1960s, the Sultan developed religious institutions that were fully submitted to

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[6]   H. Hughes-Hallett, 'A Sketch of the History of Brunei', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1940, vol. 18, no. 2 (137), pp. 23–42.

[7]   R. Kershaw, 'The Last Brunei Revolt? A Case Study of Microstate (In-) Security', *Internationales Asienforum* 2011, vol. 42, no. 1–2, pp. 107–134.

[8]   *Ibidem*.

[9]   N.S. Talib, 'Refashioning the monarchy in Brunei: Sultan Omar Ali and the quest for royal absolutism', in: *Monarchies and decolonisation in Asia*, eds. R. Aldrich, C. McPherry, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2020.

[10] I.A. Mansurnoor, 'Formulating and Implementing a Sharia-Guided Legal System in Brunei Darussalam: Opportunity and Challenge', *Sosiohumanika* 2008, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 219–248.

his rule and in effect became his tool in countering communism or alternative Islamic ideas. In addition to these institutions, the Sultan developed a Department of Religious Affairs whose responsibilities were to pass religious instruction, promote Islam and articulate applications of Shari'a, all of which were fully controlled by the Sultan. To fully control religious institutions and the department, the Sultan developed a Religious Council (Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Negeri) to be the highest authority in religious affairs for these institutions and the Sultan. All members of this council were appointed by him.[11]

The process of Islamisation of Brunei continued during the 1980s and as the result of two factors. First was the ending of the colonisation period. Brunei became completely independent in 1984 but remained a very close ally of the West until the end of the Cold War. Like many other post-colonial states, Brunei struggled for a narrative of national identity. The focus of Islamisation in this period was the centralisation of power rather than democratic decentralisation or developing a modern nation state in which citizens have some degree of a right to negotiate their demands with the state. Developing a narrative that connects this new postcolonial identity to a precolonial identity and could be considered authentic and continuous, however, remained a challenge. In the context of the first Islamisation period, the myth that connects the lineage of the Brunei sultans to a divinely father and a Muslim mother provided the ground for such a narrative.

Secondly, Islamisation, was a suitable strategy for the Cold War security environment and Brunei's alliance with the West. During the Cold War period, the US was a major supporter of Islamic parties, groups, and Islamisation in general as an ideology countering communism.[12] The US praised any attempts of Islamisation across the Muslim world. For instance, the US recognised the government of the Taliban in Afghanistan as legitimate and invited them to the United Nations in the early 1980s. They also strongly supported them in their fight against Russia. To the US, the danger of communism and its spread was graver than Islamisation. This was also the main strategy in Southeast Asia. The influence of communism and the number of people who were attracted to communist parties around the Muslim world made Islamisation a viable strategic option. Huge investments in Islamic parties and groups, as well as providing significant support to those states who undertook draconian measures to counter communism were part of these attempts.[13]

Domestically, the first wave of Islamisation significantly assisted the Sultan of Brunei in consolidating and extending his power to manage and order the dynamics between Islam and politics and monitor and control religious forces in Brunei. As the Cold War replaced the WWII security environment, the centralisation and bureaucratisation of Islam made it a tool for the state. The Sultan remained the highest religious figure in the country and all the clergy worked under his supervision and instructions. During this period, the Sultan focused exclusively on the institutionalisation of Islamic ideals in the state, which resulted in the formation of many Islamic

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[11] *Idem*, 'Islam in Brunei Darussalam: Negotiating Islamic Revivalism and Religious Radicalism', *Islamic Studies* 2008, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 65–97.

[12] A. Rashid, *op. cit*.

[13] B.A. Salmoni, 'Islamization and American policy', in: *Critical Issues Facing the Middle East*, ed. J. Russel, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2006, pp. 103–123.

institutions who were to report to the Sultan. Probably the most significant action at the first stage of Islamisation was the establishment of a department responsible only for bureaucratising Islam.[14]

Brunei finally changed its status from a British Protectorate to an independent state in 1984. Roger Kershaw notes that even after attaining full independence, the country maintained its absolute monarch and its priority in protecting the sultanate. He argues that the modern state of Brunei only 'pretends' to be traditional and that the focus of the centralisation of the role of the Sultan is in fact gaining legitimacy.[15] The discourse of security plays a central role in this narrative and that is why understanding history is important in addressing the impact of the 'War on Terror' discourse on Brunei.

The War on Terror and the change of the US policies in Southeast Asia, accordingly, have had significant impacts on the politics of Brunei and have pushed the country to Islamisation. The 'War on Terror' is a binary narrative that categorises people into two camps of those who are 'with us' and those who are 'against us.' When the US pushed its Southeast Asian allies to cooperate in the 'War on Terror', they were placed in a politically very difficult situation. Allegedly, the discourse of the 'War on Terror' targeted 'extremist Muslims' but they were very difficult to identify in Muslim majority countries. Determining who an extremist Muslim is could not be based on their appearance or the degree of their religiosity. None of the Muslim majority states of Southeast Asia, either desired or was able to employ heavy intelligence in many Islamic groups or assess their ideologies without alienating them. Nonetheless, these states were concerned about the rise of an extremist group who would threaten their rule. As the case of Brunei demonstrates, these states became increasingly and hastily security-orientated and that has resulted in the erosion of democracy.

The first step toward success in convincing their Muslim audience was to prove that the state's narrative of Islam is authentic. Under the pressure from the US and the hegemonising discourse of the 'War on Terror', Muslim countries of Southeast Asia entered a frenzied competition over owning Islam. This competition had two distinct but interlinked dimensions. The first was a competition between the Southeast Asian Muslim states and the Islamic groups and parties who lived within their boundaries or in neighbouring states. Monthly conferences on terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism, webinars, lectures, political statements, and state-owned media were all geared up to ensure that the states were winning the battle of narratives with the Islamic parties and groups. In Brunei, the Sultan's propaganda machine was in full motion as the result.[16] The second step was to present a different picture of the Sultan who his public image from a western-educated, secular, and modern monarch who enjoyed playing polo and drinking whiskey, to a pious and religious sultan fully committed to Shari'a establishing the dominance of Islam in the country. *The Brunei Times,* the country's official newspaper which was closed by the Sultan

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14 I.A. Mansurnoor, 'Islam in Brunei Darussalam…', *op. cit*.

15 R. Kershaw, 'Constraints of History: the Eliciting of Modern Brunei', *Asian Affairs* 1998, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 312–317.

16 *Brunei Times Archive*, https://thewheat.github.io/brunei-times-archive/index.html [accessed: 10.04.2021].

in 2018, printed pictures of the Sultan in prayers, paying Islamic charity, opening a mosque and celebrating the contribution of religious leaders in Brunei on a daily basis.[17] There was always a quote from the Sultan about ownership of Islam and what 'true Islam' was supposed to mean. His orders, advice and royal creeds were focused solely on this competition. His pictures in the newspaper showed him praying, with a group of clerics, or in the process of giving gifts to the students of the theological centre in Brunei. At an increasing rate since 2001, the 'War on Terror' pressured the Sultan to launch a full campaign of Islamisation of Brunei. More and more women were encouraged to wear hijabs, all businesses and government departments were to be closed from 12:00 to 2:00 p.m. on Fridays, Muslim men were obliged to participate in prayers regardless of their religious affiliation, every building had to be within the 'hearing distance' of a mosque and pressure on religious education at school has intensified significantly.[18]

The Sultan, Islam, and the legal system

During the period of colonisation and until the post-September 11 era, most laws in Brunei were either directly adopted from British laws or were derived from them. In the early 1908, Brunei set up an Islamic judiciary system, but their power was very limited. Quoting Brown, Mansournoor argues that in most cases the Sultan's demands for upholding Islamic laws and indigenous legal traditions were often turned down.[19] According to Bruneians, the British disdained Islamic laws and connected them to injustice and disorder.[20] Brunei's pre-colonial legal system was criticized for its laws and implementation methods by some colonial figures who believed the aim of a legal system was to implement justice rather than submit to religious rules.[21] This happened particularly in cases where the protection of women and people from religious fundamentalism was required. As the colonial period ended, the Muslim clergy in Brunei began to discuss returning to the Islamic Shari'a in the 1990s. This was the result of the first wave of Islamisation. However, this wave of Islamisation, as Powers argues, did not aim to eradicate the existing legal system but rather to reform it to ensure that Brunei's legal codes were not contradictory to Islam.[22] This was not the case in the post-September 11 era which set up the second wave of Islamisation.

As the bipolar security architecture of the Cold War broke down, smaller states who had had ties with one of the powers found themselves without any support and often worried about attacks from their neighbours. Pressure from the US on

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[17]   *Ibidem*.

[18]   *Ibidem*.

[19]   I.A. Mansurnoor, 'Re-establishing Order in Brunei: The Introduction of the British Legal System during the Early Residential Period', *Islamic Studies* 2013, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 155–182.

[20]   *Ibidem*.

[21]   D.S. Powers, 'Orientalism, Colonialism and Legal History: The Attack on Muslim Family Endowments in Algeria and India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1989, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 535–571.

[22]   *Ibidem*.

its allies in the region to promote Islam during the Cold War period became a blueprint for future challenges. The Muslim countries in Southeast Asia were struggling to find a balance between the secular political and legal systems they inherited from the colonial period and their religious identities. Now that new states were coming out of the shadow of their main ally from the Cold War, the question of the role of Islam, Shair'a, and its institutionalisation in their modern political states became dominant.

The post-September 11 era in Southeast Asia further exacerbated the countries' confusion and the complexities of the dynamics between secular and religious politics. As a result of this national identity crisis in the region, many Islamist groups who had been empowered during the 1990s began either claiming territories (like the southern Philippines) or launching attacks against their state (like Indonesia)

While it is difficult to decipher the true intellectual intentions of Bruneian academics who write in a totalitarian state, most of their writings consider the totalitarianism of the Sultan as the 'safeguard' for Brunei and its counter-extremism policies. In his article on Islam in Brunei, Mansurnoor writes, 'The control, and perhaps influence, of the palace on religious matters continued to be a crucial factor in making religious ideas uniform and less prone to harmful external influences. From quite an early period a religious bureaucracy emerged'.[23] What he is missing in his assessment is that the security environment that allowed Brunei to Islamise during the Cold War period became the utility for the Sultan to establish his hegemony over religion and become the ultimate religious authority. To the contrary, the post-September 11 discourse took the power and agency of him and transferred to religious authorities by giving them power over the judiciary system.

Bruneian scholars insist on the religiosity and individual commitments of Bruneians to Islam; however, none answers the questions why so many rebelled against the absolute monarchy that made the Islamisation necessary. This round of Islamisation allowed the Sultan to call all religious and non-religious groups who questioned him as un-Islamic. He vehemently pushed Bruneians to adopt an Islamic way of life, marginalised the secular, encouraged religious gathering and lectures to replace social gatherings, and connected Brunei with other Muslim countries more strongly.[24] The post-Cold War era in Brunei saw a transformation of Islam to a tool for the state to develop connections with other Muslim countries. Until the post September 11 era, Brunei used Islam to develop strategic bonds and was very proud of its Malay roots. In the post-September 11 era, Brunei academics further intensified their attempts to create a link between the religious authority of the Sultan and the authenticity of the form of Islam they practiced. They connected the early colonial history of Brunei to its ties with the Muslim world, particularly the Arab Sunni world from which the authenticity of Islam stems.

This competition over authenticity is another major impact of September 11. This is not particular to Brunei and has become a problematic symptom that spread across the non-Arab Muslim world of southeast Asia. Millions of dollars were spent on regional and national conferences on terrorism and counterterrorism, in which

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[23] I.A. Mansurnoor, 'Islam in Brunei Darussalam...', *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[24] *Ibidem*.

the focus was to establish a narrative identifying the state's approach to Islam as authentic. In the meantime, financial resources were dedicated from Saudi Arabia to establish religious education, Islamic schools and narratives that advertised Wahhabi Islam as the authentic narrative. Competition over authenticity and the question of 'who owns Islam' pushed the region towards Islamisation. In Brunei, the image of a secular, whiskey drinking, fun loving Sultan needed to change dramatically. The Sultan soon presented himself as the pious man who was to safeguard Brunei with his prayers. He was filmed praying before flights, after flights, in military parades, at university graduation ceremonies, and all these shows of religious devotion were broadcast every day in all types of media. Soon, all unveiled photos of the Sultan's wife were replaced with a photo of her in full hijab and in a modest pose. She was also shown encouraging girls to be good Muslims, to wear hijab and be submissive to Shari'a. Schools intensified their religious education, and the University of Brunei Darussalam expanded its Islamic studies programmes and made Islam the cornerstone of the university's ideology.

Brunei, who was a full member of the Organization of the Islamic Conferences (OIC), held an international seminar on 'Islamic Civilization in the Malay World' in 1999, only two years before September 11.[25] However, the narrative on the 'War on Terror' made the Sultan send more students to Saudi Arabia to be educated in the Wahhabi tradition as a move to win the authenticity contest. It was to show the Sultan's narrative was the true Islam and that any other Islamic movement in the region was to be silenced. This was specifically the impact of the 'War on Terror' discourse that identified the region as the 'second front in war on terrorism'.[26] By calling the Southeast Asia a front, the US administration further pressured the government into the authenticity competition. Not only did this alienate the Muslim majority countries in the region, but it also made the 'War on Terror' the central discourse in security and the regional politics.[27] Those who wrote on the topic at the time, warned the US about the use of a particular discourse and words that at times equated war on terror with war on Islam.[28] As the region was identified to be the second front in the war on terror, the regional states were to cooperate with the US, out of fear of either losing their strategic and economic ties or changing the regime by the US – as in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq. These concerns caused another complicated situation for the regional states, whereby they needed to identity the criteria for distinguishing a terrorist from a conservative Muslim. Were the criteria to be committed to Islam? Or the way one dressed? Or their focus on Islamic education? As these questions became central for the state, they adopted more security-orientated policies focusing on intelligence, surveillance and pressuring Islamic groups to take a clear position. This was the beginning of the erosion of democracy in the region.

The US administration was not only pressuring the states in words, it was also pursuing its goals with actions. In 2004, George Bush, the US president at the time,

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[25] *Ibidem*.

[26] A. Acharya, A. Acharya, 'The Myth of the second front: Localizing the 'war on terror' in southeast Asia', *Washington Quarterly* 2007, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 75–90.

[27] *Ibidem*.

[28] S.P. Limaye, 'Minding the Gaps: The Bush Administration and U.S.–Southeast Asia Relations', *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 2004, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 73–93.

attended the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit and visited Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, and Indonesia.[29] During that trip, he declared the 'War on Terror' and security of the region to be as important as trade and economic growth. Since the 2004, this annual summit has spent a considerable amount of time and resources on the matter. While the focus of any regional discussion prior to September 11 was the rise of China as an economic pole and managing the regional countries' political ties with the US and China, the 'War on Terror' discourse placed terrorism in the centre of the region's security discourse. As the states securitised their approach to Islam and national identity, they faced more security threats from Islamic groups. By 2004, the CIA had more intelligence officers in the region than at the time of the Vietnam war.[30] The ever-growing presence of the US and the securitisation of the region allowed Islamisation in the region to silence any secular discourse and constrained the region's policy to Islamisation to the point of no return. This is where this form of Islamisation differs from the Cold War period. What happened in Brunei during the 2010s is a great example of this transformation.

As the competition over authentic Islam and religious legitimacy continued in Southeast Asia, the Sultan of Brunei changed the reference of Brunei law from secular law to Shari'a law in a desperate attempt to win the authenticity competition, to rule in the post-September 11 regional security environment, and to remain a US ally. The Sultan of Brunei announced a radical change to the penal law in Brunei by declaring that Shari'a would be the refence of the law.[31] In 2013, he passed the Shari'a Penal Code Order which changed the penal laws in the country to Shari'a laws, and in 2014 he added legal amendments to three other laws for the Islamic Religious Council Act, the Shari'a Court Act, and the Shari'a Court Classification Order to make them more in ordinance with Shari'a. He also stated that his decision had been made to use Shari'a as a sign of adhering to Allah's commands, to protect the country, and to allow the public to get familiar with Shari'a. Furthering his order, he declared that it was intended to restore a Shari'a based system in Brunei to preserve its identity as a Malay Islamic Monarchy concept.[32] His emphasis on the monarchical political model and placing himself at the heart of Islamisation was the aim of Islamisation of this period.

Conclusion

The 'War on Terror' narrative triggered a unique wave of Islamisation in Brunei, which instigated fundamental changes in its legal system. The Sultan's mission became to Islamise Brunei instead of ensuring progress and prosperity. This wave

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[29] S.W. Simon, 'President Bush Presses Antiterror Agenda in Southeast Asia', *Comparative Connections* 2004, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 67–77.

[30] *Ibidem*.

[31] T. Lindsey, K. Steiner, 'Islam, the monarchy and criminal law in Brunei: the Syariah Penal Code Order, 2013', *Griffith Law Review* 2016, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 552–580.

[32] *Implementation of the Shari'ah Penal Code Order 2013*, 2014, http://www.pmo.gov.bn/Lists/Announcements/NewDispform.aspx?ID=30 [accessed: 10.04.2021].

of Islamisation has been planned meticulously and supported by the Sultan's allies. The Sultan's aim is to develop a homogeneous narrative to compete and superposes the Saudi version of Islam. His attempt has resulted in a competition over authenticity and ownership of Islam. The policies which have developed since the 'war on Terror' became globalised have resulted in the erosion of democracy and centralised participation in Islamic rituals and their promotion in the public space. The Islamisation of Brunei legal system further restricted religious and political freedoms and undermined theological discussions and development. It focused on traditionalism and historical narratives and thus pressured Brunei to adopt an amalgamated conservative version of Islam which limited public and political discussions to a monarchical theocracy, undermining democracy and obliging the Sultan to demonstrate strong religious commitment in public.

As the case of Brunei demonstrates, the post-September 11 discourse and pressure from the US on Muslim majority countries in Southeast Asia have had a fundamental impact on the Islamisation of their legal and political systems and have transformed their national identity narrative from the post-Colonial, post-Cold War periods. While the 'War on Terror' discourse was designed to create a binary security environment in which the US allies were to take a clear side, it ironically further pressured the region towards Islamisation. If George W. Bush's aim in his 'you are either with us or against us' was to create a global campaign in which countries were supportive of values such as democracy and secular politics, his narrative certainly had a radically opposite impact on Southeast Asia.

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Wojna z terrorem i islamizacja Brunei
Streszczenie

Narracja, jaką przyjęto w czasie wojny z terroryzmem, doprowadziła państwa muzułmańskie Azji Południowo-Wschodniej do sytuacji, na którą wiele z nich nie było przygotowanych. Państwa te, powstałe z popiołów kolonializmu, walczyły o wypracowanie pragmatycznego podejścia do religijnej i narodowej tożsamości. Wśród nich szczególnie interesującym przypadkiem jest Brunei, państwo zbudowane na tożsamości malajskiej i islamie. Od końca zimnej wojny i kolonizacji do wejścia w erę rozpoczętą przez ataki z 11 września Brunei uważało się za malajskie państwo muzułmańskie, przestrzegające kodeksów prawnych i systemów politycznych odziedziczonych po brytyjskich czasach kolonialnych. Jednak już presja Stanów Zjednoczonych podczas zimnej wojny sprzyjała pierwszej fali islamizacji Brunei, mającej na celu scentralizowanie władzy politycznej i religijnej w rękach sułtana. „Wojna z terrorem" zmieniła dynamikę tego procesu, osłabiła świeckie idee i siły polityczne w kraju, dając siłom religijnym większe znaczenie i władzę w państwie. Artykuł ten pokazuje, w jaki sposób „wojna z terrorem" zwiększyła rywalizację sił religijnych z sułtanem o znaczenie religii w państwie. Ta walka zapoczątkowała drugą falę islamizacji, różniącą się od pierwszej celami oraz rodzajem promowanego islamu.

Słowa kluczowe: islamizacja, wojna z terrorem, Brunei, Azja Południowo-Wschodnia, demokracja

Negar Partow

War on Terror and Islamisation of Brunei
Abstract

The 'War on Terror' narrative placed the Muslim countries of Southeast Asia in a complex situation for which many of them were not prepared. Rising from the ashes of colonialism, Southeast Asian states with Muslim majorities had been struggling to develop a pragmatic approach towards religious and national identities of their states. Amongst the many Muslim states in the region, Brunei offers an interesting case. Brunei considered it national identity to be based on Malay identity and Islam. From the end of the Cold War and colonisation until the September 11 era, it considered itself a Malay Muslim country but followed the legal codes and political systems they inherited from the British colonial times. Pressure from the US during the Cold War encouraged the first wave of Islamisation in Brunei aiming to centralise political and religious powers in the hands of the Sultan. The 'War on Terror', however, transformed this dynamic in Brunei. This transformation has weakened secular ideas and political forces in the country by giving more power to religious forces in Brunei's legal system. By studying Brunei, this paper demonstrates how the 'War on Terror' empowered religious forces politically by igniting a competition between the Sultan and religious forces over the degree of their religiosity. This competition has ignited the second wave of Islamisation that is different from the first one in terms of its goals, agency and the version of Islam they promote.
Key words: islamisation, war on terror, Brunei, Southeast Asia, democracy

Krieg gegen den Terrorismus und Islamisierung von Brunei
Zusammenfassung

Der Diskurs des 'Kriegs gegen den Terror' hat die muslimischen Länder in Südostasien in eine komplexe Lage gebracht, auf die viele der Staaten nicht vorbereitet waren. Nach dem Wiederaufstieg aus der Asche des Kolonialismus hatten die südostasiatischen Länder mit muslimischen Bevölkerungsmehrheiten lange zu kämpfen, um einen pragmatischen Umgang mit den religiösen und nationalen Identitäten ihrer Staaten zu finden. Unter den zahlreichen muslimischen Ländern in der Region stellt Brunei einen interessanten Fall dar. Brunei sieht die eigene nationale Identität als auf der malayischen Identität und dem Islam begründet. Nach Ende des Kalten Krieges und der Kolonialzeit und bis zur Ära des 11. Septembers sah man sich in Brunei als malayisch-muslimisches Land an, hielt aber die Gesetze und politischen Systeme aufrecht, die man als Erbe der britischen Kolonialzeit übernommen hatte. Der Druck seitens der USA während des Kalten Kriegs führte dazu, dass die erste Welle der Islamisierung in Brunei bestrebt war, die politische und religiöse Macht in den Händen des Sultans zu zentralisieren. Der 'Krieg gegen den Terrorismus' dagegen verursachte einen Wandel dieser Dynamik in Brunei. Dieser Wandel schwächte säkulare Ideen und politische Kräfte im Land und verschaffte religiösen Einflüssen mehr Macht im Rechtssystem von Brunei. Anhand der Fallstudie Brunei zeigt dieser Text, wie der 'Krieg gegen den Terrorismus' religiöse Kräfte politisch gestärkt hat, indem ein Wettstreit zwischen dem Sultan und religiösen Entscheidungsträgern über den Grad ihrer Religiosität angefacht wurde. Dieser Wettstreit hingegen hat eine zweite Islamisierungswelle ausgelöst, die sich hinsichtlich der Ziele, Handlungsmacht und unterstützten Version des Islam von der ersten unterscheidet.
Schlüsselwörter: Islamisierung, Krieg gegen den Terrorismus, Brunei, Südostasien, Demokratie

Война с террором и исламизация Брунея
Резюме

События, связанные с войной с терроризмом, привели мусульманские государства Юго-Восточной Азии к ситуации, к которой многие из них не были готовы. Эти государства, возникшие в результате распада колониальной системы, боролись за сформирование прагматического подхода к религиозной и национальной идентичностям. Среди них особенно интересным случаем является Бруней – государство, основанное на малайской идентичности и исламе. С момента окончания холодной войны и колонизации до вступления в эру, начатую терактами 11 сентября, Бруней считался малайским мусульманским государством, которое придерживается правовых кодексов и политических систем, унаследованных со времен британского колониального правления. Однако давление США во времена холодной войны способствовало первой волне исламизации Брунея, направленной на централизацию политической и религиозной власти в руках султана. «Война с террором» изменила динамику этого процесса, ослабила светские идеи и политические силы в стране, придав религиозным силам значимость и большую власть в государстве. В статье показано, как «война с террором» усилила соперничество между религиозными силами и султаном о значении религии в государстве. Эта борьба положила начало второй волне исламизации, отличавшейся от первой, целями и типом ислама.

Ключевые слова: исламизация, война с террором, Бруней, Юго-Восточная Азия, демократия